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Articles

MOTIVATION AND L2 RECEPTIVE VOCABULARY KNOWLEDGE OF SPANISH EFL LEARNERS AT THE OFFICIAL SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES[1]

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1. Introduction

The Official School of Languages (Escuela Oficial de Idiomas - EOI) is a Spanish state-funded school specialising in the non-obligatory teaching of modern foreign languages to adult and adolescent learners.[2] In this school, each language course is divided into three levels according to the *Common European Framework of Reference* [CEFR] (Council of Europe 2001): waystage or elementary, equivalent to CEFR, A2; threshold or intermediate, equivalent to CEFR, B1; and vantage or upper intermediate, equivalent to CEFR, B2. Each of these levels presupposes two years of instruction.

The lack of obligatoriness of this particular type of teaching makes it an attractive laboratory for the analysis of the possible relationship between motivation and any dimension of language achievement, as this absence of obligatoriness might affect attitudinal features, such as learner's motivation, interest, attitude, or willingness to communicate.

The present work attempts to explore the connection between foreign vocabulary acquisition and motivation. In particular, we attempt to investigate the relationship between the size of receptive vocabulary, i.e. the number of words that learners know or vocabulary breadth, and the motivation of a group of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) EOI learners in two consecutive academic

years. In order to measure their receptive vocabulary knowledge, we make use of the 2,000-word frequency-band from the receptive version of the Vocabulary Levels Test (2K VLT) (Schmitt, Schmitt and Clapham 2001, version 2). Learner motivation is measured through an adaptation of Gardner's (1985) A/MTB questionnaire.

1.1. Receptive Vocabulary and the Vocabulary Levels Test

The exploration of the different facets of foreign language vocabulary knowledge is a recurring theme in the specialized literature of the last few decades (e.g. Schmitt 2000; Qian 2002; López Mezquita 2005; Nation 2006; Staehr 2008). Productive word knowledge is understood to be an active skill that consists of the production of words that match, in speaking or writing, the speaker's intended meaning. Receptive knowledge is frequently considered a passive performance that involves the perception of a word and understanding of its meaning while listening and reading (Nation 2001). Different degrees of knowledge must be considered for a comprehensive definition of these two processes. These degrees are inextricably linked to what knowing a word consists of, a set of issues which can be summarized thus: knowing its form, its meaning, and its use (Nation 1990, 2001; Meara 1996).

One of the best-known tools for measuring the ability to learn a word receptively is the Vocabulary Levels Test (VLT) (Nation 1983, 1990), a word-definition matching format test that measures subjects' receptive vocabulary breadth or size based on the recognition of words of graded frequency lists. The VLT has been used in a large number of studies (e.g. Laufer 1998; Cobb and Horst 1999; Cameron 2002; Jiménez Catalán and Terrazas 2005-2008; Canga Alonso 2013). As Terrazas and Agustín Llach (2009: 116-117) note, the test has been traditionally used at university level (Waring 1997; Cobb and Horst 1999; Nurweni and Read 1999; Pérez Basanta 2005). It is only in the last decade that the test has been implemented with younger learners (e.g. Qian 2002; Jiménez Catalán and Terrazas Gallego 2005-2008; Agustín Llach and Terrazas Gallego 2012; Canga Alonso 2013). Table 1 presents a summary of previous estimates of receptive vocabulary size of L2[3] learners of English at primary and secondary level after having received longer or shorter periods of instruction. Studies are arranged according to the receptive vocabulary size of learners.

As can be seen, the results obtained show considerable differences in receptive vocabulary knowledge as regards size. L2 learners' vocabulary knowledge figures are also difficult to compare on account of differences concerning the learner, the learning context, and the test administered for calculating vocabulary size. However, we consider this table to be relevant in order to show that, as far as we

Study	Receptive Vocabulary Size	Hours of Instruction	L1	Participants learning context
Takala (1985)	1,500 words	450	Finnish	Secondary School, grade 9
Milton and Meara (1998)	1,200 words	400	German	Secondary School
López–Mezquita (2005)	941 words	1049	Spanish	Secondary Education (4th ESO[4]/10th Grade)
Agustín Llach and Terrazas Gallego (2012)	663 words	629	Spanish	Primary Education (6th Grade)
Canga Alonso (2013)	935 words	1049	Spanish	Secondary Education (4th ESO/10th Grade)

TABLE 1: Average receptive vocabulary size in L2 English

know, the receptive vocabulary knowledge of learners from the Official School of Languages has not yet been measured by the 2K VLT or by any other receptive vocabulary test, and the data obtained in our sample will be compared with the results presented in Table 1.

1.2. Motivation and Foreign Vocabulary Knowledge

The connection between motivation and language learning has been widely reported in the literature about Foreign Language learning. The development of several theoretical models attests this relationship since Gardner and Lambert's (1972) pioneering Socio-Psychological Model. According to Gardner (1985: 11), motivation towards language learning is the desire to achieve that language, the learner's immediate goal, by means of effort, want or desire, and affect or attitude. This model covers integrative and instrumental orientations, the learner's ultimate reason for learning the language. Thus, while integrative orientation is defined by learners' willingness to learn the language in order to become part of the target language community, instrumental orientation is learners' desire to command the foreign language for practical reasons. According to Gardner, Tremblay and Masgoret (1997), instrumental orientations, as opposed to integrative ones, are vital in language learning. Despite the importance of this attempt to determine the types of motivation, different

studies reveal the need for further classifications (Clément and Kruidenier 1983; Crookes and Schmidt 1991). Hence, the Self-Determination Theory (Deci and Ryan 1985; Noels, Pelletier, Clément and Vallerand 2000; Noels 2001), contributed with two categories of motivation: (1) extrinsic motivation, based on the external factors that influence foreign language learning, and (2) intrinsic motivation, which refers to the interest generated by the activity itself. It should be emphasized that any association between instrumental motivation and some kind of extrinsic motivation, and between intrinsic motivation and some forms of integrative motivation should take into account the different conceptualizations of these terms (see Gardner 1985: 11-12). In this paper, we will use the intrinsic-extrinsic distinction.

In recent decades, a considerable number of studies have explored the link between learners' motivation and foreign language achievement and, in general terms, have identified a positive relationship between both (e.g. Schmidt and Watanabe 2001; Masgoret and Gardner 2003; Csizér and Dörnyei 2005; Bernaus and Gardner 2008; Yu and Watkins 2008). When types of motivation are looked at, intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation tends to be identified as most positively related to language learning (Oller, Hudson and Liu 1977; Tremblay and Gardner 1995; Masgoret and Gardner 2003; Hernández 2006; Fernández Fontecha 2010).

By contrast, fewer specific studies have been designed to examine the relationship between learners' motivation and different issues of foreign vocabulary knowledge (Gardner and MacIntyre 1991; Laufer and Husltijn 2001; Kim 2008). Hence, research focused on exploring the relation between motivation on the one hand and receptive and productive vocabulary knowledge in a foreign language on the other is almost non-existent. In the Spanish context, in a sample of 250 EFL Spanish learners at 2nd grade of secondary education, Fernández Fontecha (2010) identified a significant positive correlation between learners' general motivation towards EFL and achievement in a productive vocabulary test, and between their intrinsic motivation and the productive test. Fernández Fontecha and Terrazas Gallego (2012) correlated the receptive vocabulary knowledge and motivation of a sub-group of this sample both in 2nd and 3rd grade, and found a significant relationship between their level of motivation and three receptive vocabulary tests in 3rd but not in 2nd grade, when a positive correlation had been noted in the previous study by Fernández Fontecha (2010) on productive knowledge. Fernández Fontecha and Terrazas Gallego (2012: 53-54) point to the type of vocabulary tasks, productive and receptive, as a determining factor for the results, the learners being the same and their motivational levels kept broadly unchanged over the two years.

1.3. Motivation, age and the compulsory nature of language teaching

A number of factors can be pointed to as interacting with motivation, such as learners' age, gender, the L2 methodology, or the obligatoriness of the classes. Among them, two are of special relevance in the present study: the learners' age and, mainly, the compulsory nature of the FL classes.

The age of the subjects is a relevant variable considered in studies on motivation for FL learning. Most research identifies a decrease of the motivational level with age (Williams, Burden and Lanvers 2002; Cenoz 2003; Ágreda 2006; Ghenghesh 2010). In a study of university students, Lasagabaster (2003) shows that motivation stabilises after Secondary Education. In another study, Tragant (2006) finds higher levels of motivation towards FL learning in Secondary students than in Primary students, although this tendency discontinues in upper Secondary Education.

We understand that the compulsory nature of FL teaching might have a major role in these findings, since age is inextricably linked to educational level. In our research, this obligatory factor merits close attention as EOI is a clear example of non-compulsory language education, in which one could expect high levels of extrinsic motivation. To our knowledge, no study has been conducted in EOI education that could yield some information on the connection between motivation and a particular language component.

2. Purpose

Our research attempts to examine the possible relevance of motivation in foreign language receptive vocabulary size acquisition in non-obligatory adult and post-secondary language studies. More specifically, we attempt to conduct research on the following questions:

1. Which are the levels of general motivation, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, of the same group of learners in the 1st and 2nd year of EOI intermediate level (B1)?
2. What is the receptive vocabulary knowledge of these learners when they finish their 2nd year?
3. Is there any relationship between the degree of motivation towards EFL and the scores obtained by learners at both grades in the 2K Vocabulary Levels Test?

3. Method

3.1. Participants

A single sample of 30 EFL adolescent and adult learners in their 1st and 2nd year (intermediate level - CEFR B1) of an Official School of Languages in the north of Spain participated in this study. The 30 participants had received 350–400 hours of instruction in EFL. The data was collected in 2011 (1st EOI) and 2012 (2nd EOI).

3.2. Data-gathering instruments

In order to assess the receptive vocabulary size of these subjects, the 2,000-word frequency-band from the receptive version of the Vocabulary Levels Test (2K VLT) (Schmitt, Schmitt and Clapham, 2001, version 2) was implemented. This test is based on the frequency lists collected by West (1953) in the General Service List and the Thorndike and Lorge list (1944), which were checked against the list compiled by Kucera and Francis (1967), known as the Brown Corpus.

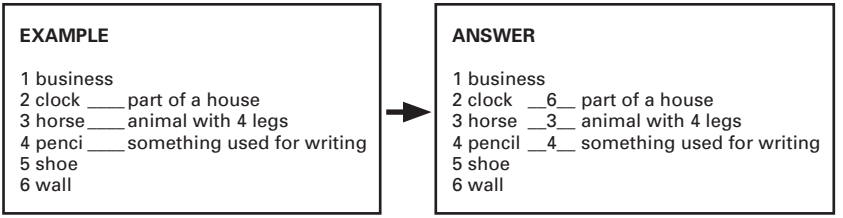
In the 2K VLT (see Figure 1), test-takers have to match a target word with the corresponding definition. A total of 60 target words are used for testing. Ten groups of six words and three definitions make up the test. Each correct answer, i.e. matching the definition to its target word, is given one point, so that the maximum score of the test is 30 points. An analysis of the validity and reliability of the 2K VLT (Read 2000) shows that the test is not only valid and consistent in its measurements, but it measures what it sets out to measure. In order to calculate learners' word estimates, Nation's formula "Vocabulary size = N correct answers multiplied by total N words in dictionary (the relevant word list) divided by N items in test" (Nation 1990: 78) was applied.

The learners' motivation towards EFL was measured by using part of a questionnaire adapted from Gardner's (1985) Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (A/MTB) (see Figure 2). The part selected consisted of a semantic differential technique of 7-point bipolar rating Likert scale using 7 pairs of bipolar adjectives introduced by the Spanish phrase "*Considero que el inglés es...*" ("I consider English to be…") and displayed in this way: 'ugly'/'nice', 'attractive'/'unattractive', 'pleasant'/'unpleasant', 'interesting'/'boring' for intrinsic motivation; and 'necessary'/'unnecessary', 'important'/'unimportant', 'useful'/'useless' for extrinsic motivation. All of the results are used to give an index of general motivation.

3.3. Procedure and analysis

Receptive vocabulary data were collected in one session during the regular school time for each of the two data gathering moments, that is, 1st and 2nd year. The time allotted to complete the vocabulary task was 10 minutes during class time. At

This a receptive vocabulary test. Groups of six English words are presented on your left together with the meanings of only three of them on the right. **Write the number of the word next to its right meaning.** Look at the following example:



1 coffee
2 disease _____ money for work
3 justice _____ a piece of clothing
4 skirt _____ using the law in the right way
5 stage
6 wage

1 choice
2 crop _____ heat
3 flesh _____ meat
4 salary _____ money paid regularly for doing a job
5 secret
6 temperature

1 cap
2 education _____ teaching and learning
3 journey _____ numbers to measure with
4 parent _____ going to a far place
5 scale
6 trick

1 attack
2 charm _____ gold and silver
3 lack _____ pleasing quality
4 pen _____ not having something
5 shadow
6 treasure

1 cream
2 factory _____ part of milk
3 nail _____ a lot of money
4 pupil _____ person who is studying
5 sacrifice
6 wealth

1 adopt
2 climb _____ go up
3 examine _____ look at closely
4 pour _____ be on every side
5 satisfy
6 surround

1 bake
2 connect _____ join together
3 inquire _____ walk without purpose
4 limit _____ keep within a certain size
5 recognize
6 wander

1 burst
2 concern _____ break open
3 deliver _____ make better
4 fold _____ take something to someone
5 improve
6 urge

1 original
2 private _____ first
3 royal _____ not public
4 slow _____ all added together
5 sorry
6 total

1 ancient
2 curious _____ not easy
3 difficult _____ very old
4 entire _____ related to God
5 holy
6 social

FIGURE 1. Vocabulary Levels Test (VLT) 2,000 (Schmitt. Schmitt and Clapham 2001).

Please, put a cross (X) in the appropriate box among the seven that we present (including the shaded one). The shaded box helps you to know the mean of the options that we present.

Learning English is...

Necessary								Unnecessary
Ugly								Nice
Difficult								Easy
Attractive								Unattractive
Unimportant								Important
Useless								Useful
Interesting								Boring

FIGURE 2. Likert scale adapted from the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (A/MTB) Gardner's (1985).

the beginning of each test, clear instructions were given both orally and in written form in the learners' L1 to clarify what they were requested to do.

The 7-point bipolar rating scale used to measure motivation was administered together with another part of Gardner's (1985) A/MTB for 10 minutes at the end of a session. Descriptive and inferential statistical analyses were applied to the data. We used the SPSS program version 19.0 to perform these statistical analyses.

4. Results

In order to answer the first research question the levels of general motivation were ranged according to a three-level scale: level 1 (marks: 1.0 to 3.0), level 2 (marks: 3.01 to 5.0), and level 3 (marks: 5.01 to 7.0), where 1 is the lowest level of motivation and 7 the highest. The results are the same for the two years: most learners (n=20) were motivated at level 3 and the rest (n=10) at level 2. The evolution of mean general motivation from the 1st to the 2nd year is not significant. As regards the other two types of motivation, i.e. extrinsic and intrinsic, extrinsic motivation is higher than intrinsic motivation in both years. Their evolution from one year to the following one is not significant. As for maximum and minimum scores: intrinsic motivation presents the lowest scores, which seems to indicate that some of the learners in the present study are not intrinsically motivated. Table 2 illustrates these results.

Type of Motivation	Year	Mean	Min	Max	SD
General Motivation (GMot)	1st year	5.54	3.88	7	0.77
	2nd year	5.45	3.75	6.63	0.78
Intrinsic Motivation (IMot)	1st year	5.43	2.00	7.00	1.28
	2nd year	5.26	1.75	7.00	1.31
Extrinsic Motivation (EMot)	1st year	6.52	4.33	7.00	0.78
	2nd year	6.43	4.00	7.00	0.83

TABLE 2. Students' degree of motivation.

As for our second research question, i.e. whether there was any significant growth in the receptive vocabulary size of our 1st and 2nd EOI learners in the 2K VLT, Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics for results on the 2K VLT for the two years under study:

	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Word Estimates
1st Year (n=30)	16	30	23.33	3.68	1558
2nd Year (n=30)	17	30	24.88	3.26	1658

TABLE 3. Descriptive statistics 2K VLT

Results reveal that there is an increase in the overall scores of the learners in the two years of our research. As for descriptive statistics, the median values for the VLT are higher in the second year, which represent an increase in our learners' receptive vocabulary size. The p-value obtained (p=0.000831) through a t-test evinces that the growth in receptive vocabulary size along the two years is statistically significant.

Finally, our third research question aimed at finding out whether there was any relationship between the degree of motivation towards EFL and the scores obtained by our learners in the 2K VLT. The results for mean motivation and VLT scores met the normality assumption, so the Pearson correlation test was used to assess if there were statistically significant differences between these two variables during the 1st and 2nd year. In the 1st year of the study, the correlation factor is negative (cor=-0.081) but the p-value (p=0.67) obtained was higher than 5%;

therefore the relationship between general motivation and receptive vocabulary knowledge is not statistically significant in the present study. The same situation occurs during the 2nd year since the correlation coefficient is negative too (cor=-0.092) and the p-value (p=0.60) is higher than 5%. In the light of these findings, we can conclude that the relationship between receptive vocabulary knowledge and mean motivation is not statistically significant.

With regard to the correlation between intrinsic motivation (IMot) and receptive vocabulary size we had to apply non-parametric tests because the p-value (p=0.056) obtained for IMot in the 2nd year of the study was very close to 5%, for which reason the Spearman correlation test was applied. As illustrated in table 4, the results in the two years indicate that the correlation between IMot and 2K VLT and between extrinsic motivation (EMot) and 2K VLT is not statistically significant:

	IMot 2KVLT		EMot 2KVLT	
	rho	p-value	Rho	p-value
1st Year (n=30)	0.045	0.8114	-0.19	0.32
2nd Year (n=30)	0.096	0.59	-0.30	0.09

TABLE 4. Correlation between intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation and 2K VLT.

5. Discussion

Our data reveal that learners' receptive vocabulary knowledge increased significantly from the 1st to the 2nd year. These findings are in line with the assertion that vocabulary size grows as proficiency in the foreign language increases (Barrow *et al.* 1999; Fan 2000), and as exposure to the target language (Golberg et al. 2008) or frequency of input (Vermeer 2001) increase. Moreover, this gain follows a systematic order related to frequency, since at the lowest levels of proficiency learners are familiar with the most frequent words, but as their experience with the foreign language increases, less frequent words are incorporated into their lexicon (Barrow et al. 1999; Vermeer 2001). According to our estimates, our informants also obtain better results in the 2K VLT than younger learners from a similar educational background (Agustín Llach and Terrazas Gallego 2012; Canga Alonso 2013) and from other European contexts (Takala 1985; Milton and Meara 1998).

We should be cautious when considering the sum of two dynamic factors, such as vocabulary and motivation, and the way they interact with each other along time.

Hence, longitudinal studies are needed to capture the fluctuating movement of motivational levels in compulsory and non-compulsory types of language education. Precisely, in our research, the non-compulsory feature of the EOI studies is a key factor when interpreting the results.

As could be expected from a non-compulsory adult-oriented mode of language studies, we found high levels of learner motivation. Yet a decreasing, but non-significant, level of motivation is perceived from 1st to 2nd EOI, although the investigation carried out in two consecutive years cannot show the evolution of this tendency. In any case, in comparison with the results of other studies of different educational levels in which the same questionnaire has been used, EOI results (1st EOI: GMot: 5.54, IMot: 5.43, EMot: 6.52; 2nd EOI: GMot: 5.45, IMot: 5.26, EMot: 6.43) are higher than those of a group of Secondary learners (GMot: 5.32; IMot: 4.54, EMot: 6.39) (Fernández Fontecha 2010), and higher than for a group of CLIL Primary students (GMot: 5.28, IMot: 5.17, EMot: 5.78), although lower than for a group of EFL Primary students GMot: 6.02; IMot: 5.86, EMot: 6.60) (Fernández Fontecha and Canga Alonso, 2014). These series of results are in line with Williams, Burden and Lanvers (2002), Cenoz (2003) Ágreda (2006) and Ghenghesh (2010), who identify a decrease of the motivational level with age, Primary students being more highly motivated than Secondary students. However, as stated above, non-conclusive results about the evolution of levels of motivation in the compulsory schooling years are also evinced in longitudinal studies (Fernández Fontecha 2010; Fernández Fontecha and Terrazas Gallego 2012).

The highest results are obtained in extrinsic motivation (1st EOI mean=6.52, SD=0.78, 2nd EOI mean=6.43, SD=0.83). This result is expected in this type of language teaching, where many learners are enrolled because they urgently need to learn a foreign language. Thus, it is not illogical that in our sample most learners should perceive EFL as *necessary*, *important* and *useful* rather than *nice*, *attractive*, *pleasant* or *interesting*.

In our sample, the relationship between receptive vocabulary achievement and motivation is not statistically significant. This result follows the tendency in Fernández Fontecha and Terrazas Gallego (2012), who identified no link between receptive vocabulary and motivation in a sample of 180 2nd Grade secondary school students. Yet, as explained in the review of the literature, Fernández Fontecha (2010) found a positive correlation between motivation and productive vocabulary in a group of 250 2nd Secondary students, to which the sub-sample of Fernández Fontecha and Terrazas Gallego (2012) belongs. A possible interpretation of this result refers to the sense of wanting to express a meaning in productive tests. As Nation (2001: 28) states, learners need to be

highly motivated to produce words because this is a more demanding task than recognizing words. However, we also find contradictory evidence in the same study by Fernández Fontecha and Terrazas Gallego (2012), who identified a significant relationship between the level of motivation and three receptive vocabulary tests (1K, 2K and 3K VLT) in the sample of 180 learners in 3rd grade Secondary school.

6. Conclusion

Although the difference in learner level of general, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation during the two years is not statistically significant, the findings of the present study show that our learners are motivated or highly motivated in their 1st and 2nd years of the Official School of Languages, intermediate level. These results could be influenced by the non-compulsory-adult-oriented nature of the studies at Official Schools of Languages in Spain. A typical EOI student profile corresponds to an adult who urgently needs to acquire foreign language skills in order to find a job or improve his/her working conditions. This reason could explain why it is that in both years the highest scores are obtained for extrinsic motivation, which seems to point to the conclusion that the learners enrolled in this EOI programme need to learn English for an external rather than an internal reward.

As for the correlation between learner scores in the 2K VLT, receptive vocabulary growth and degree of motivation towards EFL, our data reveal that there is a significant growth in vocabulary size at the end of the second year, which indicates that the students' receptive vocabulary size grows as exposure to and proficiency in the foreign language increase. The relationship between general, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and receptive vocabulary knowledge is not statistically significant. This result suggests that learners have improved their receptive vocabulary knowledge during the period examined but this improvement does not seem to be influenced by their motivation towards English learning, which was quite high from the beginning of the project.

These outcomes also highlight the difficulty of estimating learner motivation with great accuracy. This is a subject for further research. For example, other tests for motivation could be applied, such as a written adaptation of the Willingness to Communicate (WTC) test (MacIntyre et al. 2002), the Foreign Language Attitudes and Goals Survey (FLAGS) by Cid, Granena, and Tragant (2009), or Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 Motivational Self System. Moreover, in subsequent studies with EOI learners it would be interesting to see how a preference for intrinsic or extrinsic motivation might affect language achievement.

Students' receptive vocabulary knowledge can also be correlated with the six levels of the Common European Framework of Reference [CEFR] (2001), and therefore X_Lex (Meara and Milton 2003; Milton 2010) could be implemented to test whether learners receptive vocabulary knowledge corresponds with the word estimates suggested by Meara and Milton (2003) for the B1 level of the CEFR (2750-3250 words). Finally, longitudinal studies are needed to identify the relationship between motivation and vocabulary. Furthermore, these studies could be complemented with qualitative research that would offer a more complete picture of learner performance.

Notes

[1]. This study has been funded through the project FFI2010-19334/FILO.

[2]. EOI studies are regulated by the Organic Law 2/2006 of Education, Royal Decree 806/2006 of 30 June, which establishes the timetable for the implementation of the new management education system and Royal Decree 1629/2006, of 29 December, by fixing the basics of teaching curriculum of specialized language regulated by Organic Law 2/2006, of 3 May, on Education.

[3]. Although we are aware of the differences between the terms Second Language (L2) and Foreign Language (FL), in this article we are using both indistinctly to mean any language different from the mother tongue.

[4]. ESO stands for Educación Secundaria Obligatoria which is compulsory for 12-16 year-old Spanish students. The word "grade" refers to its equivalent level in the British educational system.

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ON THE TRIGGER OF V-TO-T MOVEMENT

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1. Introduction

The present paper deals with one aspect of the interplay between T, *v*, and DP that has been at the centre of syntactic theory within the generative literature for several decades now, but that has arguably not yet been given a completely satisfactory explanation: I am referring to a paradigm instance of head movement as is V-to-T movement, that is the phenomenon by which a finite verb, after moving from the position of head of VP into the little *v* head, moves to the position of T, and which is used to describe a language as a V-moving language (see (1a) below) as opposed to a V-in situ language, which is a language where the verb just moves from the V head into *v*, without further raising to T (see (1b)).

(1) a. $[_{TP}[T]\ [_{vp}[v]\ [_{VP}\ [V]...]]]$

b. $[_{TP}[T]\ [_{vp}[v]\ [_{VP}[V]...]]]$

The discussion centres upon the derivation of a simple sentence for any given language of the Germanic family, as opposed to a language of the Romance family within the Indo-European context, and it assumes well-known tenets of syntactic minimalist theory according to which the relations between functional and/or

lexical heads and phrases, and the places each of these eventually occupy in the phonetic string, are made possible through a process of feature-valuation that each element must satisfy (Chomsky 2000, 2001 et seq.).

The analysis of V-to-T movement to be proposed differs from those in seminal works in the literature of the 1980s and 1990s –originally mainly on the diachronic front– according to which V-to-T movement is triggered by rich agreement or φ–features (that is, person and/or number features), and it also differs from more recent influential works that put the focus on tense or τ–features (that is, features like [+/–present]), rather than on φ–features, or on a combination of both. On a par with all cited approaches, the present analysis of V-to-T differs also from recent views in the minimalist literature that V-to-T should be treated e.g. as a phenomenon belonging to the phonological or PF component proper rather than to syntax proper.

In essence, I defend in this paper that V-to-T movement is a core syntax process and that the trigger of V-to-T lies in a specific type of morphological segment that is known in the traditional philological literature as *stem vowel* or *thematic vowel*, and that is the segment mediating in the verbal forms of some languages between the root on the one hand, and τ–features and φ–features on the other. The cited stem vowel is identified in the ensuing discussion as a feature of the T head itself, and it can actually be likened to the V-feature postulated in the minimalist literature of the first decade (Chomsky 1995). However it is crucially argued that the feature defended here correlates with rich morphology. More specifically, it is argued that the relevant feature is capable of having an impact on τ–features and/or φ–features across verb classes making up the paradigm of any given language, thereby making syntactic computation of verbal forms a relatively complex or long process. This way, richness of τ–features and/or φ–features is considered here to be an indispensable part in the equation of the phenomenon of V-to-T, but only insofar as such richness is available across a productive set of verb classes.

My aim is to explore an analysis that can account for the type of language described in (2), and that can further explain the diachronic dimension in (3), that is, the phenomenon of the loss of V-to-T affecting the Germanic family. Nevertheless, the diachronic issue, which is actually a controversial one given the existence of various different views in the recent literature, is still under research by the present author.

(2) Languages *with rich φ–features in all tenses but no V-to-T*, as has been seriously suggested to be the case with German and also with Icelandic in the recent literature (Vikner 2001, 2005; Wiklund et al. 2007)

(3) The assumption held by a large part of the literature that Germanic languages are V-moving languages in their old periods, and become V-in situ languages in their modern periods.

A proper account of V-to-T, then, requires answers to the puzzles in (2) and (3), and an explanation of the language-type in (4) below.

(4) Languages *with poor φ–features but with V-to-T movement*, like the Swedish dialect of Kronoby, or the Norwegian dialect of TromsØ, or one of the two varieties of Faroese.

As observed above, the analysis proposed here claims that V-to-T is a core syntax process triggered by rich morphology in the way to be justified below – note for now the reference above to the so-called stem vowel, and the potential impact it can have systematically upon τ–features and/or φ–features. The present discussion thus rejects the theory that morphology is located exclusively at the PF component that is made active after core syntax, and relies instead on the idea that morphology can be part of core syntax generally speaking.

However, I also adopt the view that the relation between morphology and syntactic movement as regards the phenomenon of V-to-T is a one-way implication in the sense that rich morphology arguably implies V-to-T, but not the other way round: the language-type in (4) is actually one where V-to-T cannot possibly be the result of abundance or richness of morphological segments.

More specifically, the Scandinavian grammars described in (4) appear to be deviations or developments from a(n expected) pattern where lack of rich morphology is actually coupled with lack of V-to-T. The hypothesis that I would like to suggest here in an interim way and that I could possibly develop in future work is that the languages in question become V-moving languages once they cease to be V2 languages. If the configurationality parameter actually means for a (finite) verb to always move to a front position within sentence structure, then the fact that these languages are ceasing to be V2 languages –that is languages where the verb moves to C in a systematic way– could be the reason why they have incorporated the phenomenon of V-to-T movement. In effect, according to Kristin M. Eide (personal communication), these dialects are still V2 in declarative main clauses, but many are no longer V2 in interrogative main clauses. The existence of languages like those in (4) would then presumably not be associated with morphology but rather with the issue of the cross-linguistic choice between lexical T vs. lexical C.

The present paper is organised as follows. In Sections 2–2.2 I deal with previous approaches to V-to-T in the generative literature, from the times of Government and Binding (GB) theory till recent minimalist theory analyses, all of which are based on richness of φ–features and/or τ–features, or otherwise on strong/weak features irrespective of morphology, and I point out where, in my opinion, their explanations fall short. In Sections 3–3.1 I analyse what this morphological trigger to V-to-T is, first from a descriptive and cross-linguistic point of view and

then, in Section 3.1, from the point of view of syntactic theory. I propose that the cause or trigger of V-to-T lies in the richness of a so-called *v*-feature on T, which can in turn lead to richness of τ–features and/or φ–features of the verbal forms making up the paradigms in the languages in question. Section 4 is a summary of the discussion.

2. Approaches to V-to-T in the generative literature

The accounts of V-to-T previous to Chomsky (2000, 2001) rely heavily on agreement or φ–features as the cause of V-to-T, whereas such a view is called into question in Chomsky (2000, 2001) and in later minimalist works. In Section 2.1 I deal with the former and in Section 2.2 I focus on the latter.

2.1. Approaches to V-to-T before Chomsky (2000, 2001)

The seminal issue of verb movement to T(ense), or more properly in its origin to I(nflection), began with generative works like Emonds (1978), Roberts (1985), or Kosmeijer (1986), and also most importantly Pollock (1989), and it highlighted the fact that there are languages where the finite verb occupies the position before elements such as negation and also before certain adverbs like frequency adverbs in the phonetic string, whereas in others it is negation or the adverbs in question that precede the finite verb. More specifically, within the Indo-European familiy, Romance languages were analysed as V-moving languages generally speaking (see (1a) above) and Germanic languages, on the other hand, were analysed as ones where the finite verb stays put in situ within the VP, or more precisely in later minimalist accounts, on the little *v* head that takes VP as its complement (see (1b) above). Note the contrast between the English or Swedish sequences in (5) on the one hand and the Spanish and French sequences in (6) and (7) on the other: frequency adverbs and/or negation must be placed before the finite verb in the former, whereas it is the verb that precedes such elements in the latter. Nevertheless, it must be observed that for Germanic languages such as German or Icelandic to be analysed as V-in situ is a recent claim in the literature (see (2) above), since they have traditionally been considered to be V-moving languages.

(5) a. John always goes to school / John does not love Mary
b. om hom inte köpte boken[1]
whether she not bought book-the
'whether she didn't buy the book'

(6) Juan va siempre al colegio[2]
John goes always to-the school
'John always goes to school'

(7) Jean mange pas du chocolat
John eats not chocolate
'John doesn't eat chocolate'

On the other hand, highly-influential works mostly within the diachronic literature came to defend the theory that it is *rich morphology* that causes the raising of the verb to the T head (or, originally, the I head): see e.g. Roberts (1985, 1993), Platzack and Holmberg (1989), Rohrbacher (1994, 1999), Vikner (1997).

Pollock (1989) postulated the so-called *split-I analysis*, which establishes that IP consists of an Agr(eement)P projection on the one hand, and a T(ense)P projection on the other. This means that agreement or φ–features, that is, person and/or number features as exhibited by a finite verb, can be structurally differentiated from other features such as tense or τ–features. Most interestingly, those works mentioned above that analyse the raising of the verb to Inflection put the focus initially on agreement morphology proper, that is, on richness in person and/or number features of the languages under scrutiny. Quite soon, however, the need is felt to include in the specific empirical generalisations the type and/or number of *tenses* where such φ–morphology must show in order for V-to-T to apply. A widely-known example of this is Vikner (1997), who postulates the principle in (8) below.

(8) V-to-T movement applies if and only if person morphology is found in all tenses

The above generalisation fails to account for the language-type in (4) above, though it is the language-type in (2), repeated below with the same numeration, that I think should be given full attention in order to tackle the core of the V-to-T phenomenon.

(2) Languages *with rich* φ*–features in all tenses but no V-to-T*, as has been seriously suggested to be the case with German and also with Icelandic in the recent literature

In effect, Wiklund et al. (2007) suggest that Icelandic, which had traditionally been analysed as a V-to-T language, should rather be considered as a language lacking V-to-T, where all verb movement is to the CP domain. The arguments the authors provide to support their analysis rely, as described above in relation to GB theory, on the relative order of verbs and adverbs and/or negation. Their analysis concludes that the verb may precede adverbs and negation, which indicate that it has risen to C, or it may stay in situ, and follow adverbs and negation. Similarly, it is argued that the verb must follow adverbs and negation in Exceptional Case-Marking Structures, which is a type of structure containing IP but no CP. Analysing the argumentation in Wiklund et al. (2007) is actually out of the scope of this paper, and I restrict myself here to assuming the theory or hypothesis proposed –the reader is referred to the work itself for the full discussion and for relevant illustrations.

As regards German, which has been at the centre of the V-in situ vs. V-moving dispute for some decades, Vikner (2001, 2005) contends that the clause-final position of finite verbs in embedded clauses of this asymmetric V2 language – which is actually V2 in main clauses and SOV in embedded clauses– is the same position that non-finite verbs have in all clauses, and he further observes that the relevant position is below the I head, which should mean that German lacks V-to-I.

Assuming therefore the statement in (2), and turning to the major claim that I would like to make in this paper, the concept of rich morphology that is needed to explain the V-to-T phenomenon is actually not the one contained in (8). Before introducing the relevant proposal in Section 3, and before dealing with the recent minimalist literature on V-to-T in Section 2.2 below, I must first refer to Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998), who offer an articulation of (8) above in structural terms.

Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) make use of a split IP, that is, the type of hierarchical construct postulated in Pollock (1989) and consisting of an AgrP and a TP, at a time when minimalist theory already postulates that a TP projection is enough to check both its own features and also those previously attributed to AgrP. Bobaljik and Thráinsson nevertheless make use of both an AgrP and a TP in order to argue that the trigger of V-to-T can actually be for agreement features to work independently of tense features. More specifically, the authors postulate that a language where the finite verb moves to Inflection is a language projecting an AgrP on top of a TP, given that the verb has no possibility of checking its φ–features against Agr other than raising first to T –see the simplified structure in (9a) below. By contrast, V –or rather *v* in more modern terms – is in the position of sister or complement to I in a language where I consists of just one projection, with the result that V does not have to move to I and can check all its inflectional features while staying put in the V, or rather *v* head –see (9b).

(9) a. $[_{AgrP}$ [Agr] $[_{TP}$ [T] $[_{VP}$ [V…]]]]

b. $[_{IP}$ [I] $[_{VP}$ [V…]]]

Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) aim to account for the language-type depicted in (2) by using one of the two varieties of Faroese, specifically the non-V-moving variety, rather than German or Icelandic: the authors argue that a language with rich morphology but no V-to-T is a language with a split IP which nevertheless does not exploit its potential for verb movement. The solution that the authors give to the language-type in question (that is, a language with rich morphology but no V-to-T) does not seem to clarify the matter enough. As described above, their idea is that it is a split IP that makes V-to-T possible, but that a language with a split IP may decide whether to apply V-to-T or not. A key point in their analysis is the assumption that morphology is not the trigger of syntax: but, as just observed, the authors ultimately base the availability of a split IP on rich

morphology. All in all, why a language with a split IP should fail to exhibit V-to-T is left unexplained in their account: they just say that such a language would simply not make use of its potential for verb movement.

Despite the cited weakness of Bobaljik and Thráinsson's analysis, I would like to acknowledge the importance of their observation that in some languages agreement markers and tense markers are in complementary distribution, whereas in other languages both agreement and tense markers co-occur (overtly) with the root. In effect, in a language like English the root is never increased by more than one segment –/s/ for the 3rd psn sg in the present, and /d/ for all persons in the past– whereas in German or Icelandic the segment corresponding to agreement co-exists for several persons side by side with the segment corresponding to tense: note (10) below as contrasted with (11). My claim in this paper is that there is a further complication regarding verbal morphology which is to be considered as the trigger of V-to-T movement and which cannot be identified just with (overt) occurrence of agreement markers and tense markers. I justify the existence of such complex morphology in Section 3, though I would like to observe now that it is not found in any of the languages in (10)–(11) below. Incidentally, reference to the plausible existence of zero morphological markers or segments for the forms in (10) and above all (11), which could lead to a different division to the one signalled below, is to be found in Section 3 in connection with Spanish paradigms.

(10) English - Indicative mood

	call	
	Present	Past
1 psn sg	call	call-ed
2 psn sg	call	call-ed
3 psn sg	call-s	call-ed
1 psn pl	call	call-ed
2 psn pl	call	call-ed
3 psn pl	call	call-ed

(11) a. German - Indicative mood

kaufen 'to buy'

	Present	Past
1 psn sg	kauf-e	kauf-t-e
2 psn sg	kauf-st	kauf-t-est
3 psn sg	kauf-t	kauf-t-e
1 psn pl	kauf-ten	kauf-t-en
2 psn pl	kauf-t	kauf-t-et
3 psn pl	kauf-en	kauf-t-en

b. Icelandic - Indicative mood

kasta 'to throw'

	Present	Past
1 psn sg	kasta	kasta-ði
2 psn sg	kasta-r	kasta-ði-r
3 psn sg	kasta-r	kasta-ði
1 psn pl	kōst-um	kōstu-ðu-m
2 psn pl	kast-ið	kōstu-ðu-ð
3 psn pl	kast-a	kōstu-ðu

2.2. The view on V-to-T in Chomsky (2000, 2001) and after

The minimalist framework of Chomsky (2000, 2001) is fully relevant for syntactic theory because of the new so-called *Agree/Move* mechanism between a probe and a goal. As regards the V-to-T phenomenon, no completely satisfactory account has so far appeared, since, on the one hand, Chomsky resorts to a V-feature on T unrelated to morphology, as in Chomsky (1995) and, on the other hand, Chomsky (2001) contains a proposal to eliminate head movement, that is the type of movement that V-to-T is typically identified with, from core or narrow syntax altogether.

2.2.1. Chomsky (2000, 2001) and Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004)

The most relevant aspects of Chomsky (2000, 2001) that have a bearing on V-to-T are shown in (12) in schematic form, followed by a more elaborate description.

(12) Chomsky (2000, 2001)

a. derivations proceed through Agree and/or Move between a probe and a goal

b. a distinction is established between valued vs. unvalued features and interpretable vs. uninterpretable features, the relevant connection between these being captured in the biconditional in (c) immediately below:

c. a feature is uninterpretable if it is unvalued

d. the probe must have unvalued features (and therefore uninterpretable ones)

e. the probe attracts the goal, that is, Move applies if the probe has an EPP-property

Specifically on the trigger of V-to-T:

f. φ–features are no longer analysed as the cause of V-to-T

g. the cause of V-to-T is a V-feature on T, which can be strong or weak: for it to be strong means that T's V-feature has an EPP-property

h. T probes DP and values its φ–features while DP values its Case-feature; then, T probes *v* and values its V-feature while *v* values its φ–features

i. also, *v* has τ–features to value against T, and T has a D-feature to value against DP

Chomsky (2000, 2001) introduces a new minimalist framework, which has of course become by now a seminal one, where derivations proceed through the operations *Agree* and *Move*, and where a distinction is made between *valued* vs. *unvalued features* on the one hand, and *interpretable* vs. *uninterpretable features* on the other. In addition to the semantically-based distinction between interpretable

vs uninterpretable, which was established in Chomsky (1995), and which refers to the capacity of a feature to contribute some kind of meaning to the lexical item it appears on, and eventually to the sentence or proposition as a whole, Chomsky (2000, 2001) argues that a distinction between valued and unvalued feature is also necessary. Certain features come fully valued on certain elements from the Lexicon, that is, the elements themselves have all syntactic properties already specified from the Lexicon, while other features receive their value during the derivation.

Agree means that an element acting as a *probe* searches for a *goal*, which the probe must c-command, in order to value corresponding features: feature valuation can take place without resort to movement, the latter (that is, *Move*) applying only when there is additionally an EPP feature or EPP property involved on the part of the probe.

Crucially, Chomsky (2001: 5) couples together the properties of feature interpretability and feature valuation by positing that a feature is uninterpretable if and only if it is also an unvalued feature (see (12c) above). This way, valued features in Chomsky (2001) are taken to be interpretable features and, similarly, unvalued features are analysed as being intrinsically uninterpretable features.

Regarding V-to-T movement, it must be observed that φ–features were not analysed any longer in Chomsky (1995) as the cause or trigger of V-to-T (as they were in previous generative analyses of the 1980´s and part of the 1990s), a trend that is continued in Chomsky (2000, 2001). In the wake of Chomsky (1995), then, the *Agree* framework of Chomsky (2000, 2001) similarly postulates that V-to-T is caused by a V-feature that T must value against *v*. The *Agree* relation that is invoked to apply between T and *v* is one through which *v* values its φ–features against T (once T has learnt such φ–features from DP) and T values a V-feature against *v*.

In a crucial distinction, T's V-feature is considered to be either *strong* or *weak*, though such a distinction is strongly speculative in the sense that it is not made to correlate with any type of abundant or scarce morphology. It is so postulated that, if T´s V-feature is strong, then movement of V to T applies in core syntax; by contrast, if T's V-feature is weak, then some type of affix-hopping process takes place in the PF component.

Pesetsky and Torrego's (2001, 2004a, 2004b/2007) approach keeps to the troublesome idea of early generative theory that φ–features are the cause of V-to-T, though they do so in an indirect way, as described below. Also, and very importantly, Pesetsky and Torrego postulate that T itself has its own τ–features to value.

(13) Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004a, 2004b/2007)
  a. feature interpretability and feature valuation are independent of each other
  b. T has unvalued (though interpretable) τ–features

c. for any given derivation, T probes DP in order to value the τ–features as mentioned in (b) immediately above
d. in the relevant Agree relation between T and DP, DP gets its own τ–features valued, which are to be identified with a Case-feature on DP
e. also in the Agree relation between T and DP, T values its φ–features against DP
f. after the Agree relation between T and DP, the τ–features on T are still unvalued, and so T probes next for *v*, and values the cited τ–features

Pesetsky and Torrego (2004b/2007) propose to reject the biconditional established in Chomsky (2001) between valuation of features and their interpretability (see (12c) above), thus defending the view that each of the two properties actually works independently of the other (13a). In Pesetsky and Torrego's framework, features that are interpretable can at the same time be unvalued features, and such is precisely the case with the τ–features on T. In a framework like Chomsky (2000, 2001), T's τ–features are unable to drive the probe of T in V-to-T movement, since such features are analysed (in Chomsky (2000, 2001)) as interpretable, and therefore as valued features. Hence, Chomsky argues for a strong/weak V-feature on T – which is incidentally the type of feature that will be used in the present proposal. By analysing T's τ–features as interpretable but unvalued (13b), Pesetsky and Torrego indeed open up the possibility that T's τ–features act as a probe for *v*, a theory which is actually endorsed in the more recent analysis of Biberauer and Roberts (2008/2010) (Section 2.2.2 immediately below).

However, Pesetsky and Torrego (2004b/2007) do not use T's τ–features to support the phenomenon of V-to-T movement: as noted above, their discussion appears to imply that V-to-T is due to the strength of φ–features that *v* values against T once T probes for *v* in order to value the above-mentioned τ–features (13e–f). Thus, Pesetsky and Torrego do make use of the generalised though troublesome idea present in syntactic theory from the GB period onwards that V-to-T relies on φ–features, though they do so indirectly.

The present proposal –to be expounded in Section 3– does not agree specifically with τ–features being the trigger of V-to-T but defends instead, as suggested above, a V-feature on T (similar to that in Chomsky 2000, 2001). However, the present account welcomes indeed the distinction made by Pesetsky and Torrego between feature valuation on the one hand and feature interpretability on the other.

Before putting an end to the present Section, it must be observed that, independently of the account of V-to-T endorsed in Chomsky (2000, 2001) from Chomsky (1995), Chomsky (2001) postulates the theory that head movement (and therefore V-to-T movement) is very plausibly not a core syntax process, but one that must be analysed as belonging to the Phonological component of the

grammar. Chomsky's rejection of head movement as a core syntax mechanism is based on multiple problems related to structural relations such as c-command, the Extension Condition, or also the so-called *trigger problem*.

2.2.2. The τ–feature *analysis* of Biberauer and Roberts (2008/2010)

Biberauer and Roberts (2008/2010) is a recent analysis of the V-to-T phenomenon that shares the idea already expounded in Chomsky (2001) that head movement cannot be sustained as a core syntax process. Though Biberauer and Roberts actually treat rich morphology in verb movement of Romance languages as playing a central role in the syntax, they manage to stick to the rejection of head movement as a core syntax process by arguing that V-to-T (in Romance languages) is actually not an instance of a head moving to another head T, but rather a compound [V+T] determining the formation of TP itself by way of movement (see immediately below).

Biberauer and Roberts (2008/2010) begin their analysis with a kind of observation that is assumed in this paper in a straighforward way, that the V-to-T vs. V-in situ parameter largely correlates with the division between Romance languages on the one hand (which are typically V-moving languages) and Germanic languages on the other (which are in general V-in situ languages). The authors' approach to V-to-T is based on richness of tense or τ–features, which means that both the analysis of Biberauer and Roberts' and the one proposed in this paper owe a lot to Pesetsky and Torrego's original suggestion that features on T itself, not to be identified with φ–features proper, can actually drive a derivation. Nevertheless, the present proposal departs from that of Biberauer and Roberts in the specific type of feature that is held responsible for V-to-T.

Specifically, the authors focus on the fact that verbal tensed forms are richer in Romance languages than in Germanic languages in the sense of there being a much higher number of synthetic tenses in Romance as compared to Germanic, and go on to argue that in V-moving languages – as should be the case with Romance languages – verbal forms constitute a morpho-phonological compound [V+T] already at the Lexicon/Numeration, due precisely to the richness of synthetic tensed forms. Given that the authors assume that morphology belongs as a rule to the PF component, they propose that T behaves in an exceptional way in V-moving languages by valuing its τ–features against V in core syntax (that is, before the activation of PF) while being at the same time part of the relevant morpho-phonological compound already built up in the Lexicon. As for T and V in V-in situ languages, these are separate lexical items on their approach, and T values the corresponding τ–features against V in core syntax just through *Agree* (without any resort to *Move*) since, as just mentioned, morphology plays no role at

this stage, but belongs genuinely later, within the PF component, according to the authors' theoretical tenets.

In this way, Biberauer and Roberts' account relies in the first place on morphology behaving differently in relation to syntax in languages with rich synthetic tenses as compared with languages without: in the former, verbal forms come inflected from the Lexicon and features are satisfied in core syntax through *Agree* and *Move*; in the latter, verbal forms do not come inflected from the Lexicon and features are satisfied in core syntax just through *Agree*, morphology being part exclusively of the PF component. According to the account to be defended here, in Section 3 below, morphology is part of the Lexicon in both V-moving and V-in situ languages, since all verbal forms come inflected from the Lexicon: subsequently, depending on the morphological richness of certain features that T must satisfy (to be specified in Section 3), morphology either triggers V-to-T or else lets the verb stay in situ.

Very importantly, the concept of complex morphology that Biberauer and Roberts defend –namely, one based on the number of synthetic tenses– does not appear to account in a neat way for the diachronic facts described in (3), but this is an issue that belongs to work in preparation by the present author.

3. The present proposal on the morphological trigger of V-to-T

As stated in Section 1 above, the goal of the present discussion is to account for the phenomenon of V-to-T with reference to the existence of languages like those mentioned in (2).

(2) Languages *with rich* φ*–features in all tenses but no V-to-T*, as has been seriously suggested to be the case with German and also with Icelandic in the recent literature

The relevance of (2) lies in the fact that the generative literature of the last decades, starting mainly with the GB tradition, has very often put the focus precisely on richness of φ–features, either alone or in combination with τ–features. Later, within the minimalist framework, there has been a strong tendency towards rejecting the morphology of V-to-T as a core syntax process in various guises: either through claiming that V-to-T is triggered by a V-feature of T, or by e.g. postulating that V-to-T is a PF-phenomenon,… (see Sections 2.2–2.2.2 above).

The plausible existence of languages like (2) poses a serious problem for an analysis of V-to-T in terms of *gross* morphological abundance of φ–features and/or τ–features. I would like to argue that V-to-T indeed has a morphological trigger that is part of core syntax proper and that is closely connected with morphological

richness of τ–features and also of φ–features, though the morphological trigger in question lies in a kind of complexity that has as yet, or so it seems to me, not been given due attention.

Two specific analyses within the recent literature have been criticised in the preceding Sections in relation to V-to-T, namely Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) and Biberauer and Roberts (2008/2010), and the two use morphology only partially and arguably in a non-satisfactory way. Indeed, (2) is a problem for the analysis of Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998), since the authors analyse a language like Icelandic as a V-moving language, because of the distinction it is possible to make in the language between φ–features on the one hand and τ–features on the other, which correlates, in the authors' approach, with a split IP in the syntax of Icelandic. In addition, Bobaljik and Thráinsson argue that languages with a split IP, and therefore with the cited distinction between φ–features and τ–features, may decide not to apply V-to-T. Bobaljik and Thráinsson's analysis therefore lacks explanatory power given that it does not offer any account as to why a language should apply no V-to-T despite exhibiting rich verbal morphology.

As for Biberauer and Roberts (2008/2010), their account relies on the higher number of synthetic tenses in V-moving languages when compared with V-in-situ languages –which would fit in principle with German or Icelandic not being V-to-T, as stated in (2), since these languages have just a (synthetic) present tense and a past. However, the authors' approach consists in positing that, just because of the above-mentioned higher number of tenses, morphology works differently with respect to core syntax in V-moving languages than in V-in-situ languages. It would seem to me that the type of morphological richness that lies at the core of V-to-T must be one that affects the *inner structure* of verbal paradigms (in the way to be explained below) and not one based on just how many tenses can be found within verbal paradigms. In the analysis to be proposed immediately below, the connection between morphology and core syntax is the same for both V-moving and V-in situ languages.

I make the claim in this paper that the concept of rich morphology that is needed to explain the V-to-T phenomenon is one that relies on the existence of *productive verb classes* across the verbal paradigms of a language as caused by the so-called *thematic* or *stem vowel*.

I would like to argue that in order to explain V-to-T, a concept of *verb class* is needed that emerges from the availability of *distinct stem vowels* in the verbal paradigms of languages, which have the property of differentiating *sets of verbs for the various tense slots and the various person and/or number slots within each tense*. In order to explain the relevant concept, I will use the simplified structure in (14) as representative of the morphological build-up of a verbal form.

(14) root + stem vowel + τ–feature and/or φ–feature endings

stem

Assuming a morpheme division as in (14), it logically follows that *verb stem* can be defined as the morphological segment that is left after removing the endings corresponding to agreement and/or tense features. Alternatively, *verb stem* can be defined as the morphological segment that results from the union of the so-called *verbal root* on the one hand and the *stem or thematic vowel* on the other.

The stem cannot be distinguished from the root for the verbal forms of a language like English or for a large number of forms in other Germanic languages like German, Icelandic, or Norwegian, in the sense that these lack any discrete morphological segment that can be identified as a thematic vowel. Languages such as German or Icelandic exhibit indeed much richer verbal morphology than a language like English, since in German or Icelandic agreement markers and tense markers (corresponding, respectively, to φ–features and τ–features) co-occur as distinct morphological segments for manifold verbal forms (let us recall (11) in Section 2.1 above) whereas in English the segment corresponding to the endings in (15) is reduced to /s/ for the 3rd psn sg in the present, and otherwise /d/ for all persons in the past. Importantly, in addition to the cited richness in agreement and/or tense markers, there is in a language like German a minority of verbs that could be characterised as *stem-changing* verbs, due to vowel alternation in the segment to which τ–features and φ–features are added: compare 2nd and 3rd psn sg on the one hand and remaining persons on the other hand for a verb like *fahren* 'to travel' or a verb like *sprechen* 'to speak' in the present in (15b) below, as opposed to the paradigm of *kaufen* 'to buy' in (11a) above, repeated here as (15a), where no such variation occurs. Also, certain groups of verbs in Icelandic or Norwegian feature indeed a *stem vowel* that is overtly distinguishable: note the front stem diphthong in the paradigm for the present and past tense of an Icelandic verb like *beina* 'to direct, aim' in (16b) below, as opposed to the back stem vowel of *kasta* 'to know' in (11b) above, repeated here as (16a).

(15) a. German - Indicative mood — kaufen 'to buy'

	Present	Past
1 psn sg	kaufe	kaufte
2 psn sg	kaufst	kauftest
3 psn sg	kauft	kaufte
1 psn pl	kaufen	kaufen
2 psn pl	kauft	kauftet
3 psn pl	kaufen	kaufen

b. German – Indicative mood — fahren 'to travel'/sprechen 'to speak'

Present[3]
fahre / spreche
fährst / sprichst
fährt / spricht
fahren / sprechen
fahrt /sprecht
fahren /sprechen

16) a. Icelandic – Indicative mood
kasta ‘ to throw’

	Present	Past
1 psn sg	kasta	kastaði
2 psn sg	kastar	kastaðir
3 psn sg	kastar	kastaði
1 psn pl	kōstum	kōstuðum
2 psn pl	kastið	kōstuðuð
3 psn pl	kasta	kōstuðu

b. Icelandic – Indicative mood
beina ‘to direct, aim’

Present	Past
beina	beindi
beinir	beindir
beinir	beindi
beinum	beindum
beinið	beinduð
beina	beindu

In addition to the fact that the verbs in a language like (Modern) German cannot be said to be grouped in any systematic way into stem classes, the crucial aspect to highlight in relation to the German paradigms and the Icelandic paradigms in (15a) vs. (15b) and (16a) vs. (16b), respectively, is that the observed differences (that is, vowel mutation in 2nd and 3rd psn sg in (15b), or back vs. front stem vowel in (16)) do not have an effect upon the endings for the various person slots: all endings are identical, except for the allomorphic variation /ð/–/d/ in the past of (16a) vs. (16b). Consequently, learning what the pattern is for one verb in these languages appears to be enough to conjugate the vast majority of verbs.

In contrast with German and Icelandic, the verbal paradigms of such languages as Spanish, Portuguese, or Italian, that is, languages that are unambiguously characterised as V-moving languages, are ones where a change in the stem vowel results in uniform alterations of tense and/or agreement endings throughout the whole paradigm. Now, such morphological complication, which is shown in (17a) below for the three classes of (regular) verbs in Spanish, namely the *–ar* class, the *–er* class and the *–ir* class, and in (17b) for the *–are*, *–ere*, and *–ire* class in Italian, is significantly absent from the verbal paradigms of German or Icelandic, and of course from those of English: it is my contention that this kind of morphological alteration is the cause of the V-to-T phenomenon. For reasons of space, only three tenses are illustrated.

(17) a. Spanish – Indicative mood
cantar ‘to sing’ (*-ar* class)

	Present	Past	Imperfect
1 psn sg	canto	canté	cantaba
2 psn sg	cantas	cantaste	cantabas
3 psn sg	canta	cantó	cantaba
1 psn pl	cantamos	cantamos	cantábamos
2 psn pl	cantáis	cantasteis	cantabais
3 psn pl	cantan	cantaron	cantaban

temer 'to fear' (*-er* class)

	Present	Past	Imperfect
1 psn sg	temo	temí	temía
2 psn sg	temes	temiste	temías
3 psn sg	teme	temió	temía
1 psn pl	tememos	temimos	temíamos
2 psn pl	teméis	temisteis	temíais
3 psn pl	temen	temieron	temían

partir 'to break, cut' (*-ir* class)

	Present	Past	Imperfect
1 psn sg	parto	partí	partía
2 psn sg	partes	partiste	partías
3 psn sg	parte	partió	partía
1 psn pl	partimos	partimos	partíamos
2 psn pl	partís	partisteis	partíais
3 psn pl	parten	partieron	partían

b. Italian – Indicative mood

amare 'to love' (*-are* class)

	Present	Past	Imperfect
1 psn sg	amo	amai	amavo
2 psn sg	ami	amasti	amavi
3 psn sg	ama	amó	amava
1 psn pl	amiamo	amammo	amavamo
(…)			

temere 'to fear' (*-ere* class)

	Present	Past	Imperfect
1 psn sg	temo	temei/temetti	temevo
2 psn sg	temi	temesti	temevi
3 psn sg	teme	temé/temette	temeva
1 psn pl	temiamo	tememmo	temevamo
(…)		temettero	

capire 'to understand' (*-ire* class)

	Present	Past	Imperfect
1 psn sg	capisco	capii	capivo
2 psn sg	capisci	capisti	capivi
3 psn sg	capisce	capi	capiva
1 psn pl	capiamo	capimmo	capivamo
(…)			

As just suggested, if the material in (17) above is compared to that in (15) or (16), we will see that the endings for all persons in the present and/or past tenses are the same in (15) and (16), irrespective of whether it is one verb class or another, a situation that is not to be found in (17). In Spanish (17a), not only does the stem vowel change e.g. from /a/ to /e/ in the present tense for verbs in /ar/ or /er/ respectively, as could be expected. In addition, the stem vowel in the simple past for the /er/ class is /i/ while the corresponding stem vowel for the /ar/ class varies for each person (*canté*, *cantaste*, *cantó*, *cantamos*, etc.); or also the imperfect for the /ar/ class features a bilabial plosive (*cantaba*,…), which is not the case at all for the /er/ or the /ir/ class; or also, the /ir/ class coincides with the /er/ class in the vocalism for all persons in the simple past and imperfect but not so in the present –note the form *partimos* 'we cut' vs. *tememos* 'we fear', or *partís* 'you cut' vs. *teméis* 'you fear'.

Though in German or Icelandic knowing the pattern for one verb may entail knowing the pattern for most verbs, in a language like Spanish or Italian (or also Portuguese, French,…) it is necessary to know the pattern for *each verb class* featuring a *distinct stem vowel*. The hypothesis proposed here is thus for the computation of features of verbal forms to be more complex or to take longer in Spanish, Italian, or Portuguese than in German, Icelandic, Norwegian or English. The relevant process of computation is described in Section 3.1 below.

It must be observed that no morpheme segmentation has been applied to the forms in (17) above as has been the case of (14). Similarly, the segmentation marking the paradigms in (10) and (11) above must be understood in an informal way. This is due to the fact that so-called zero or covert markers or exponents should probably have to be identified for several forms of verbal paradigms, which is outside the scope of this paper, since it would at the very least entail assuming and/or rejecting a specific framework within morphological theory. Regarding Spanish, the reader is referred to a recent comprehensive philological work, namely Real Academia Española (2009: 185ff.), where various possible segmentations for a form like e.g. *canto* 'I sing' or one like *cantábamos* 'we used to sing' are suggested, with or without zero morphemes, and with or without so-called morpheme-fusion. The purpose of (17) is just to illustrate the co-variation in morphological segments that can be found in just three of the tenses of the verbal paradigms of two Romance languages such as Spanish or Italian, and to be able to emphasise the much higher degree of morphological complexity in these as compared to the verbal paradigms of German or Icelandic, let alone those of English.

One further aspect that must be highlighted is that the concept of verb class that is considered here to be key for V-to-T movement relies on the set of *regular verbs*. Thus, all languages cited, both of the V-moving and the V-in-situ type, contain

paradigms of irregular verbs or strong verbs, in various different guises –in fact, the German verbs in (15b) are of the irregular type. The idea that is endorsed in the present discussion is for a language to be set for the V-moving or otherwise V-in situ parameter by attending to the morphological complexity of its regular class verbs. Though of course the phenomenon of *ablaut* or root vowel alternation clearly deserves deep reflection in this respect, it will be enough for me to suggest in this paper that regular verbs are ones that arguably set the line for the morphological process of computation taking place in core or narrow syntax, whereas irregular verbs would lend themselves to the same process of V-to-T (or lack of V-to-T) as applied to regular verbs. In other words, it should be the class of regular verbs proper that set the line for the V-to-T movement parameter.

The analysis of V-to-T suggested in this Section would correspond roughly to the description below:

(18) V-to-T is triggered by some kind of feature in the form of a thematic or stem vowel that results in the availability of productive verb-stem classes

I will proceed presently to the identification of the cited syntactic feature in minimalist terms.

3.1. On the unvalued and interpretable *v*-feature on T

The actual theoretical explanation of V-to-T that I would like to propose assumes the following basic aspects of the description of Chomsky (2000, 2001) and of Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004a, 2004b/2007) as provided in Section 2.2.1 above:

(19) a. feature interpretability and feature valuation are independent of each other (as in P&T)
b. *v* has τ–features (as in Chomsky and P&T) which are valued but that must be interpreted against T (as in P&T)
c. T has interpretable τ–features to value against *v* (as in P&T)
d. T has a D-feature to value against DP (as in Chomsky and also P&T)

Now, I would like to argue specifically that:

(20) the cause of V-to-T is an interpretable though unvalued *v*-feature on T that T must value against *v* in order to be able to value its τ–features against the same head *v*

I would like to observe that the account of V-to-T that is defended here makes use of Pesetsky and Torrego's (2004b/2007) theory that T's τ–features are unvalued though interpretable –the syntactic locus where these can possibly get valued being naturally on the *v* head. My aim is to argue for a similar characterisation for what I would like to propose is the actual trigger of V-to-T, namely a *v*-feature on T, which

is greatly inspired by the V-feature on T postulated in Chomsky (1995) and also later in Chomsky (2000, 2001). In an important way, T's V-feature is not associated in the cited frameworks with any kind of morphological richness, which contrasts radically with the account proposed here. Further, the present account uses the label *v* in particular, since it identifies the verbal element in question with the head of the functional projection *v*P, rather than with the lexical base merged at V.

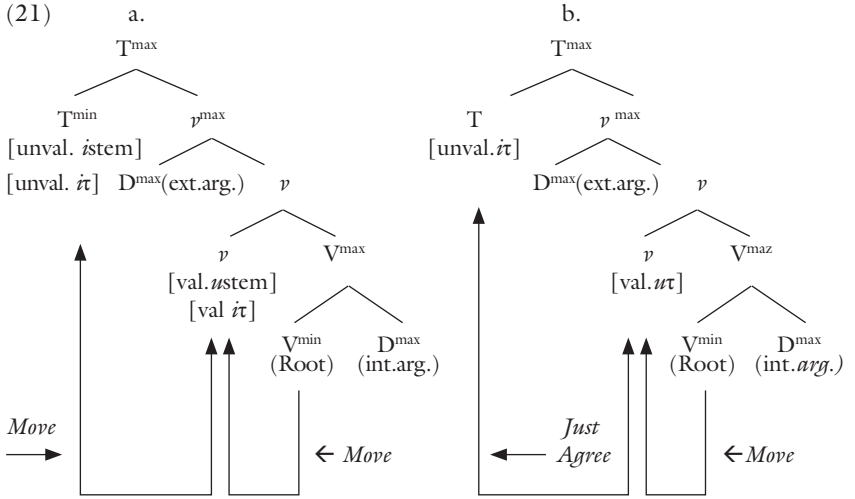
The fact that the *v*-feature on T is unvalued on T itself means that T must learn its value from the value *v* brings with it from the Lexicon. While being an unvalued feature on T, the *v*-feature in question is interpretable on this very head, and also on *v*, a claim that I would like to base on the fact that this kind of feature would appear to be historically associated with *aspectual* distinctions relative to the type of Event that is described by *v*P. Aside from the fact that both T and *v* are functional heads, there exists also a close semantic link between the two, since T represents the Time of an Event, and *v*P represents, as just mentioned, the Event itself.

The *v*-feature that T must value (against *v* itself) can vary in morphological richness depending on the availability in the verbal paradigm of the language in question of a stem vowel morpheme, and on how productive this is, as discussed in the Section immediately above. In particular, T's *v*-feature takes the form of a stem-vowel. I would thus like to make the claim that, in V-moving languages, the valuing of T's *v*-feature (which arguably applies just before the valuing of T's τ–features in the sequence of computation) entails the identification of the verb class that the verbal form in the sentence in question belongs to. By contrast, in case there is no such stem-vowel (as would be the case in e.g. English), or if this is not productive in the sense that it does not correlate in a systematic way with distinct verb classes (as has been argued in Section 3 immediately above to be the case in German or Icelandic), then the corresponding *v*–feature is valued (again before the valuing of τ–features) with the verbal form in question staying put in *v*, that is without any V-to-T movement.

The present account of V-to-T thus contends that the syntactic computation of verbal forms, that is, the process that takes place at core or narrow syntax, is sensitive to the number of morphemes or overt segments that make up the verbal forms in question. It makes the claim that there is one type of segment –the so-called stem vowel– that is identified here as a *v*-feature on T– that can actually make syntactic computation of the overall verbal form a complex or long process, specifically a process that involves the movement of V to T. The length or complexity of the process itself would be due to the speaker having to identify the specific verb class of the form he/she is computing in his/her mind/brain as compared to the other verb classes making up the overall verbal paradigm of the language in question.

The tree-diagram in (21) below shows the process of V-to-T as postulated in this paper, whereas (22) would correspond to a finite verbal form that remains in situ.

(21)



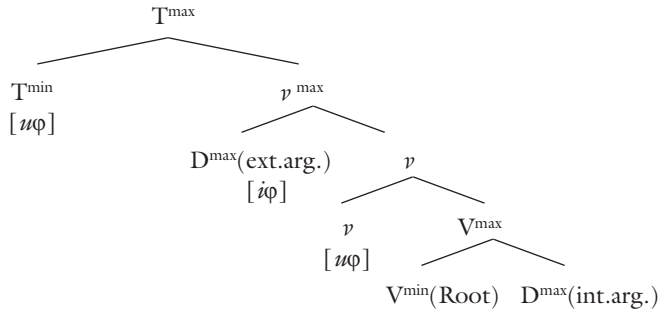
The feature that figures in both (21) and (22) as [unval.*iv*] just below the T head and as [val.*iv*] below *v* is actually the one argued here to be key for V-to-T, namely T's *v*-feature. As suggested, such a feature would be computed before T's τ–feature, that is the one figuring [unval.*i*τ] under T, and as [val.*u*τ] under *v*. While the arrow indicating the movement of the verb from V into the litte *v* head is the same in both (21) and (22), the second arrow, that is the one indicating the *Agree* relation between T and the little *v* head, includes the operation Move only for (21) but not for (22).

The licensing of φ–features is of course a crucial part in the computation of a finite verb, though an analysis of these is not indispensable in order to account for V-to-T movement. Actually, a detailed analysis of the failure of the theory of richness in φ–feature agreement as the cause of V-to-T has been offered in preceding Sections of the paper.

As described in Section 2.2.1, Chomsky (2000, 2001 et seq.) postulates that φ–features are valued by T against DP and are subsequently valued by *v* on its *Agree* relation with T, a view that is generally endorsed by other authors, among these Pesetstky and Torrego (2001, 2004a,…), who nevertheless explain Case in different ways than Chomsky's own view. For reasons of space, a detailed account

of the ordering of computation of φ–features with respect to τ–features must be left out of the scope of the present paper. The cited standard analysis of φ–feature agreement is shown in the tree-diagram in (23) below, which, as just observed, can actually be incorporated as such into the tree-diagrams in (21) and (22).

(23) Valuation of φ–features as in Chomsky (2000, 2001), or also in P&T



4. Summary of the discussion

I have argued in this paper that V-to-T movement is the result of the licensing of an unvalued though interpretable *v*-feature on T that T must value against *v* in core or narrow syntax, and that is associated with rich morphology in the form of a productive stem vowel. The displacement of *v* to T takes place whenever the cited stem vowel morpheme, which, as just noted, is the morphological realisation of T's *v*-feature, results in productive stem verb classes, and it arguably correlates with a longer or more complex process of computation of verbal forms in the mind/brain of speakers (of V-moving languages as opposed to those of V-in situ languages). The very plausible existence of languages with rich φ–features in all tenses but no V-to-T has been taken as the centre of the critique of analyses where mere richness of φ–features and/or τ–features are taken as the cause of V-to-T. In the present approach, rich τ– and φ–morphology is an integral part of the phenomenon of V-to-T, but only in so far as such morphology is a consequence of the occurrence of distinct stem vowels, which serve as the basis for the grouping of the verbs of the language in question into any given number of classes.

The theory or idea that T has a feature which is interpretable on T but unvalued on T itself is based on Pesetsky and Torrego's (2004b/2007) rejection of Chomsky's (2000, 2001) biconditional. Given that T c-selects *v*P, the relevant feature has been labeled as a *v*-feature.

A specific approach to V-to-T like Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) has been criticised in this paper on the grounds that the authors argue that morphology cannot be the trigger of syntax, which explains, in the authors' view, why it is not possible to explain why some languages with a split IP do not exhibit V-to-T, as opposed to other languages. However, it must be emphasised that Bobaljik and Thráinsson do base the existence of a split IP on rich morphology. By contrast with Bobaljik and Thráinsson's account, the analysis proposed in the present paper defends rich morphology as the trigger of V-to-T in a systematic way.

As for Biberauer and Roberts (2008/2010), the authors argue that morphology is part of core syntax only for V-moving languages but not for V-in situ languages, since they seek the trigger of V-to-T in the number of synthetic tenses (as opposed to periphrastic tenses) for any given language. On the account proposed here, the trigger of V-to-T is to be sought in the inner build-up of verbal paradigms.

Notes

[1]. The Swedish example is of an embedded clause since main clauses are typically V2 in this language, and therefore whether V-to-I movement has actually applied cannot be clearly acknowledged, if indeed it is the case.

[2]. It must be observed that frequency adverbs can also appear before the finite verb in Spanish, as in (i) below, though such an ordering appears to be due to multiple base-generation of adverbs in the language.

(i) Juan siempre va al colegio
John always goes to-the school
'John always goes to school'

[3]. The past tense paradigms of *fahren* 'to travel' or *sprechen* 'to speak' are not relevant here, since these are irregular or strong verbs.

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A PROPOSAL TO EXPLOIT LEGAL TERM REPERTOIRES EXTRACTED AUTOMATICALLY FROM A LEGAL ENGLISH CORPUS

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1. Introduction

The potential applications of specialised vocabulary inventories are manifold. They can be employed by linguists, translators or ESP (English for specific purposes) instructors as reliable sources of information for linguistic analysis, translation or language teaching. This research explores possible ways of exploiting a legal corpus and the vocabulary lists automatically extracted from it for the teaching of legal English terminology.

The role played by language corpora within the field of teaching ESL (English as a second language) and ESP is profusely discussed in the literature on the subject. On the whole, authors tend to favour their use as a learning tool or reference source acknowledging their advantages but also their limitations. McEnery and Xiao (2010: 364-365) accurately summarise the different areas of convergence between corpus linguistics and ESL:

The indirect use of corpora in teaching (reference publishing, materials development, and language testing), the direct use of corpora in teaching (teaching about, teaching to exploit, and exploiting to teach) and further teaching-oriented corpus development (languages for specific purposes (LSP)) corpora, first language (L1) developmental corpora and second language (L2) learner corpora).

Concerning the advantages of the use of corpora in language teaching, various scholars (Boulton 2012b; Hunston 2007; Johns 1986, 1991; McEnery and Wilson

1996; Sinclair 2003) envisage them as a highly motivating and valuable resource which exposes learners to genuine instances of language usage. Moreover, McEnery and Wilson (1996) and Boulton (2012b) underline their useful and current character as they "keep up with the changes as the terminology evolves within specific areas" (Boulton 2012b: 262) and suggest their use as a tool to review and update already existing teaching materials (McEnery and Wilson 1996).

According to Johns (1986, 1991), who coins the term *data-driven learning* (*DDL*), another advantage of the use of corpora in language teaching is their contribution to the development of learning strategies. By discovering the rules of the language underlying real samples, the students become "language detectives" (Johns 1997: 101) and learn how to learn. In Boulton's words, DDL methods contribute to develop learners' autonomy, that is, by handling and analysing corpora, learners "come to their own conclusions" (Boulton 2011: 563).

Conversely, Flowerdew (2009) criticises the predominantly inductive character of DDL methods which tend to offer decontextualised language samples extracted from corpora. She agrees with Swales (1990) that "corpus linguistics techniques encourage a more bottom-up rather than top-down processing of text in which truncated concordance lines are examined atomistically" (Flowerdew 2009: 395).

In spite of this criticism, the use of corpora is considerably widespread for the teaching of ESL and ESP. Nonetheless, as far as legal English is concerned, the scarcity of didactic materials based on legal corpora is manifest. Furthermore, as shown in Boulton's (2010)[1] review of over a hundred different empirical evaluations of DDL, carried out in the last twenty-five years, only two of them (Fan and Xun-feng 2002; Hafner and Candlin 2007) explore the field of legal English teaching.

Therefore, in order to try and bridge the methodological gap existing in the area, this study presents the proposal of four different corpus-based activities for the teaching of legal terminology. These activities have been developed using an 8.85 million-word legal corpus, *BLaRC* (the *British Law Report Corpus*), designed and compiled by the author, which is described in section two of this article. This section also presents a taxonomy for the classification of legal terminology using both qualitative and quantitative criteria. The third section offers a comparison between the list of terms identified in our legal corpus and the one produced from a corpus of legal English textbooks with the aim of demonstrating the relevance and usefulness of the former corpus as support material for teaching legal English vocabulary. A pedagogical research method is also suggested within this section for the future implementation of the activities proposed in it. Finally, section three ends with the actual proposal of the activities mentioned above followed by the conclusion to this study, in section four.

2. Corpus Description and Word Categories

2.1. *BLaRC:* A Legal Corpus of British Law Reports

In spite of the large number of authors who support the use of corpora as a useful ESP teaching and learning resource, the number and accessibility of legal corpora is small[2]. This is the reason why a legal corpus was designed and compiled with the purpose of identifying and exploring the nature of legal terminology. This process was carried out abiding by the standards of corpus linguistics established by Sinclair (2005) for general corpora, and Pearson (1998), Rea (2010) for specialised ones.

BLaRC is an 8.85 million-word legal corpus of law reports, that is, written collections of judicial decisions made at British courts and tribunals. The reasons for focusing on this particular genre to study the linguistic properties of legal terminology are varied. To begin with, the UK belongs to the realm of common law. In common law systems, case law stands at their very basis relying on the principle of binding precedent for it to work, that is to say, a case tried at a higher court must be cited and applied whenever it is similar in its essence (the *ratio dicendi*) to the one being heard. Another fact that makes law reports outstanding within the legal field is that they not only cover all the branches of law, but they might also present fully embedded sections of other public and private law genres such as statutes, lease agreements, wills, deeds of property and the like, displaying therefore great lexical richness and variety.

As for its structure, *BLaRC* is a synchronic, monolingual and specialised collection of 1228 judicial decisions from the UK court and tribunal system issued between 2008 and 2010 in raw text format. Two elements conditioned our structuring of the corpus: the need to attend to the geographical origin of the texts under consideration and the need to abide by hierarchical criteria. The legal vocabulary varies according to which part of the UK has jurisdiction: the judicial systems of Northern Ireland, Scotland, England and Wales do not solely depend on UK institutions, but rather have their own autonomous systems and structure. Except for the Supreme Court (in general terms) and the UK Tribunal Service (with some exceptions), each country is fully independent as regards its judicial system[3].

Consequently, *BLaRC* was structured into five main sections depending on the jurisdictions of the British judicial systems, that is, the geographical scope of its courts and tribunals: a) Commonwealth countries; b) United Kingdom; c) England and Wales; d) Northern Ireland; e) Scotland. Additionally, each corpus section was divided into different sub-sections coinciding with the hierarchical structure of the courts and tribunals involved. By maintaining this structure, the

texts were grouped according to the field of law they belonged to (most courts and tribunals, with the exception of the Supreme Court, are organised according the branch of law they pertain to, i.e. criminal law, family law, commercial law, intellectual law, etc.), hence the similarity of their lexicon. Thus, comparing results by studying the sections separately would be easier and respond to a thematic criterion which is fundamental as far as the identification and study of the specialised vocabulary of this legal genre is concerned.

Owing to the scarceness of legal corpora available and the usefulness of the data provided by them as support for the legal English class, *BLaRC* has recently been made publicly available on Cobb's website *Lextutor*[4], where it can be selected from amongst a list of corpora for legal term queries providing the concordances and extended contexts associated with the terms selected. It will also be accessible shortly on Kilgarriff's *Sketch Engine*[5].

2.2. Word Categories according to their Meaning and Frequency

Applying specialised vocabulary inventories to the teaching of ESP terminology would require a clear classification of the lexical items included in them, since the distinction made in the literature on the subject between terms and non-terms is often blurred and overlapping. This is the reason why a taxonomy is presented below by which the vocabulary found in legal texts can be classified into different categories according to its meaning and frequency both in the specialised and general fields.

The pedagogical advantages of using a vocabulary taxonomy are related to the sequencing of corpus-based activities designed for the acquisition of legal vocabulary. Using this taxonomy, the ESP instructor can classify the terms obtained from a specialised corpus and grade the activities based on those terms according to their level of specialisation, their relevance both in the general and specialised fields, or the different senses a word may acquire in both contexts. Consequently, integrating those activities within the course syllabus will become an easier task for the instructor interested in incorporating DDL methodology as support to textbook-based teaching methods.

The distinction between highly specialised words in any subject field, that is, words which are exclusively employed in the specialised context on the one hand, and highly general ones on the other, such as the ones found in West's (1953) *General Service List of English Words* (*GSL*), appears to be clear-cut.

Nevertheless, there are words standing somewhere in between general and highly specialised vocabulary whose level of specialisation is hard to define, especially using quantitative criteria. A large number of Automatic Term Recognition methods (Chung 2003; Drouin 2003; Nazar and Cabré 2012; to name but a few)

are based on corpus comparison techniques for the extraction of the terms in a specialised corpus. They often employ such parameters as the frequency or distribution of those terms in both general and specialised corpora for the implementation of their algorithms. Therefore, attempting to quantify the level of specialisation of shared vocabulary, which can frequently be found in both contexts, is a complex task because of the statistical data involved.

From a pedagogical point of view, several authors (Baker 1988; Cowan 1974; Chung and Nation 2003; Flowerdew 1993; Wang and Nation 2004) express their concern about the difficulties caused by sub-technical words, that is, words which are employed both in the specialised and general fields, often acquiring a new technical meaning when in contact with the specialised context. Sub-technical vocabulary may have already been acquired as part of the learners' general vocabulary stock in which case it may have to be re-learnt as it often activates a new sense when in contact with the specialised context.

On the whole, authors tend to favour the use of the term *sub-technical* to refer to those types of words which are basically defined as shared vocabulary both by the general and the specialised fields or by scientific disciplines. Some authors also stress the relevance of the different senses of sub-technical words which acquire new meanings in technical areas. In addition, most of them underline their relevance in ESP instruction and the greater importance they must be given within the syllabus due to the fact that they might become an obstacle to the learners' acquisition of the vocabulary in any scientific field. Only Chung and Nation (2003) and Wang and Nation (2004) are more exhaustive as regards the delimitation of the semantic features of technical and sub-technical vocabulary in an attempt to analyse this lexical phenomenon from a different perspective, yet they do not employ the label *semi-* or *sub-technical*.

Thus, taking all these different perspectives into consideration and having observed a wide sample of highly specialised and sub-technical words taken from our legal corpus, a taxonomy is offered for the classification of legal vocabulary. This taxonomy answers to both quantitative and qualitative criteria, that is, it takes into consideration the frequency of usage of sub-technical words in the general[6] and specialised fields and also their meaning in both contexts. The words in bold correspond to the ones employed in the activities designed in the third section of this study. This proposal resembles Wang and Nation's (2004) as regards the semantic criteria employed in its design:

1) Words denoting a legal concept which are frequently used both in the general and specialised fields not changing their meaning in the legal context: *judge, court, tribunal, **law**, jury, legislation, robbery, theft, guilty, solicitor.*

2) Words often employed both in the general and specialised fields which change their meaning in the legal context sharing some semantic features with their original meaning: *charge*, ***offence***, *sentence*, ***claim***, *decision*, *grounds*, *complaint*, *dismiss*, *evidence*, *relief*, *record*, *trial*, *battery*.

3) Words occurring more frequently in the specialised field than in the general one. These words change their meaning in the specialised context, their new meaning being quite distant or completely unrelated to their general one: ***appeal***, *conviction*, ***party***, *warrant*, *terms*, *act*.

4) Highly technical words which appear almost exclusively in the legal field. If these words are employed in a general context, they also convey a legal concept in that field: ***breach***, *appellant*, *tortious*, *respondent*, *grantor*, *dicta*, *jurisprudence*, *tortfeasor*.

3. Direct Applications of the Term Lists Obtained From *BLaRC*

3.1. Term extraction and relevance of *BLaRC* term lists

BLaRC, our legal corpus, was processed using Drouin's (2003) automatic term recognition (ATR) method, *TermoStat*, with the aim of producing a reliable single word term (SWT) inventory which could be employed as reference for the design of vocabulary activities for the legal English class. A list of candidate terms having been obtained, it was compared with a legal glossary of 10,088 entries used as a gold standard to validate the method automatically. The method managed to identify 73% of true terms, on average finding its peak of precision[7] at 87% for the top 400. The resulting term list comprised 2,848 legal terms.

Before actually starting with the proposal of activities, we decided to compile a corpus using three legal English textbooks: *Professional English in Use: Law* (Brown and Rice 2007), *Introduction to International Legal English* (Krois-Linder and Firth 2008) and *Absolute Legal English* (Callanan and Edwards 2010), in an attempt to attest the usefulness and representativeness of the term lists obtained from *BLaRC* to be employed as support material to legal English textbooks. As Harwood affirms, corpora should "be used as a launch pad for classroom research into how the linguistic item in question is used by experts and students in the learners' local context" (Harwood 2005: 158).

The three textbooks mentioned above were selected owing to their comprehensive topic coverage, embracing a wide range of law areas, which guaranteed great lexical variety. Such variety also ensured that, if the overlap percentage found between the term lists obtained from *BLaRC* and the textbook corpus was high, the former would be representative not only of a single legal genre, but also of the whole language variety.

The first step of this comparison consisted in scanning and processing the textbooks using an OCR software. Then, the texts obtained, which contained 196,245 tokens, were stored in raw text format and processed with *Wordsmith 5.0* (Scott 2008) resulting into a type list[8] of 14,686 items that could be analysed and compared with the ones based on *BLaRC*, our legal corpus (the corpus obtained by scanning the three textbooks will be referred to as *LeG-TeXT* henceforth). We concentrated solely on SWTs to facilitate the comparison and the automatic search for concordance lines employing the *Concord* tool included in Scott's (2008) *Wordsmith's* package.

After extracting and validating the STWs in *LeG-TeXT* applying Drouin's (2003) ATR method (following the same steps as in the processing of *BLaRC*), it was attested that 67% of the SWTs identified were already present in the term lists obtained from our legal corpus using the same ATR method, a considerably high percentage taking into account the fact that the textbooks employed as reference deal with many different types of both private and public legal documents and topics apart from law reports. Furthermore, the documents used in the textbooks examined are usually adapted to fit into levels B2 to C1, to use the CEFR system, which makes such a high percentage of overlap even more relevant owing to the fact that *BLaRC* is made up of authentic language samples. Authentic legal texts are not adapted to suit students' needs but rather reflect real usage by legal practitioners. However, in this case, given the high overlap percentage found between our term list and the one obtained from the textbook corpus, our list could safely recommended as suitable for a B2 to C1 level course on legal English.

LeG-TeXT was also analysed with Heatley and Nation's (1996) software *Range* adapting our term list (the SWTs identified in *BLaRC*) to become a base-word list used as reference by the software (instead of employing the ones provided by default with the software programme from *GSL, AWL* or *BNC*[9]) with the purpose of establishing the percentage of running words in *LeG-TeXT* covered by our list. Surprisingly, the specialised terms found in *BLaRC* covered 12.37% of the running words in the textbook corpus, nearly three times as much as the expected percentage of text coverage established by Nation and Waring (1997) for specialised vocabulary.

According to Nation and Waring (1997), knowing the most frequent 2,000 words included in West's (1953) *GSL* enables us to understand approximately 80% of the words in any text. Nation (2001) classifies vocabulary into four different categories depending on their level of specialisation: general words, which provide ca. 80% of text coverage (or *text range*, as Nation puts it); academic words, included in Coxhead's (2000) *AWL,* which can cover around 10% of the words in any text;

technical words, which cover approximately 5% of the tokens in the corpus; and low frequency words, that is, those which do not fit into any of these categories, which would cover the remaining 5% of words.

Even so, the specialised terms in *BLaRC*, which would fit into Nation's category of technical words (5% predicted text range), covered almost three times as many words as might be expected according to Nation (2001). Probably, the representativeness of law reports within legal English, coupled with the fact that legal terminology is often employed outside the legal domain, can explain this finding. As a matter of fact, after processing the lists of terms identified in *BLaRC* with *Range,* almost half of the specialist vocabulary in those lists was present in West's (1953) *GSL* and Coxhead's (2000) *AWL* (40.47% of *BLaRC* term list) as well as amongst the most frequent 2,000 words in the *BNC* (45.41% of it).

The overall number of coinciding terms and the percentage of text coverage provided by the term inventory extracted from *BLaRC* explains why we decided to employ it as a source to design a set of activities for the teaching of legal terminology.

3.2. Didactic Exploitation of Term Inventories

Numerous authors (Boulton 2012a; Brodine 2001; Johns 1991; Landure 2013; Leech 1997; Rodgers et al. 2011, amongst many others) have carried out experiments using DDL methodology to plan and evaluate different types of activities which focus on diverse language levels and learning skills.

Following these experiments and owing to the scarcity of corpus-based proposals for the teaching of legal English terminology in the literature, as already stated, several activities were designed, which could be employed as a complement to other existing ESP teaching materials such as the textbooks mentioned above. The integration and sequencing of these activities within the course syllabus would depend on their relationship with the topics of the didactic units or content blocks, especially those activities focusing on the semantic and discursive levels of the language. For instance, the third and fourth tasks presented below, focusing on the various meanings of the terms *party* and *offence* and the concept of *claim* in the UK, could be included in a didactic unit entitled "Criminal justice and criminal proceedings"[10], given the relevance of these concepts within criminal law. Owing to their greater conceptual complexity of these activities and the fact that they integrate several language skills, they should be planned as final tasks within the unit for the revision and reinforcement of the contents studied in it.

As regards those activities devoted to the teaching of morphological and syntactic aspects of the language (activities 1 and 2 below): their planning could be more flexible due to the fact that they are form-focused. Nevertheless, it would be

recommendable to implement them earlier in the course since learning word formation mechanisms and simple syntactic patterns could contribute to the acquisition and production of more complex structures and patterns as the course progresses. As Schmitt asserts (2010: 36), "learning a word is incremental in nature, [which] means that vocabulary programs need to build recycling into the curriculum".

Prior to the implementation of these corpus-based tasks, the students should also be instructed on the use of concordancers[11] so as to be able to access easily the information requested from the corpus used as support for the legal English class (*BLaRC* in this case). They should learn how to generate concordances, identify collocates, sort the concordance lines depending on their preferences, apply stop lists whenever it was required, adjust the settings for the identification of collocates, and so on, so that the data provided by the corpus could be handled by them autonomously and exploited in as many ways as possible. This process could be time-consuming if not properly planned. Therefore, one session at the beginning of their language course should be given over to learning how to use corpus management tools properly. This would suffice for the carrying out of corpus-based activities during the whole course, as long as this type of tasks is carried out on a regular basis. In fact, using corpora as a means to access the language and to discover the rules governing it should not be a major problem for ESP students. As Boulton (2012b) illustrates through a survey of twenty experimental corpus-based studies focusing on ESP teaching, "overall, it seems that the participants do manage to deal with corpus data quite successfully" (2012b: 277).

3.2.1. Pedagogical Research Design

The activities presented below were conceived not as a substitute for already existing materials but rather as an option for the legal English practitioner interested in experimenting with DDL methodology. Consequently, they are adapted to suit the competence level established for the three legal English textbooks employed as reference, that is, CEFR level B2 to C1 (upper-intermediate to advanced level). The ESL learner who has fully achieved CEFR B2 or *Vantage* level, generally speaking:

Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options. (Council of Europe 2001: 24)

The research method suggested for the evaluation of these activities would be a pre- and post-test design including a randomised group of fourth year Spanish students of translation, whose curriculum offers legal English as one of their compulsory subjects[12]. The students would be selected at random from amongst the members of the group. The use of initial pre-tests (they would be done at the beginning of the language course) would allow the instructor to divide the group in two/three different sub-groups depending on the results obtained. At that point of their academic training, fourth year translation students would be expected to have fully attained the language objectives established for CEFR B2 level. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that the members of the main group were selected at random, forming different level sub-groups would allow the instructor not only to compare the effects of the activity proposal but also to control the competence level variable. The initial pre-tests would include reading and listening comprehension activities as well as writing and speaking tasks which would be adapted to CEFR B2 level. If some of the individuals selected failed to pass the tests, they would be discarded from the control group, since they would not fulfil the requirements set for this experiment.

Once the main group was clearly organised into different competence level sub-groups, a second set of specific pre-tests would be given to them. In this case, they would be identical to the post-tests so that the effectiveness of the activities proposed could be measured (Hamp-Lyons 1985). The specific pre-tests would be administered at the beginning of each of the content blocks with which the activities below were associated. Each of the tests would assess the students' previous knowledge of the legal terminology presented in each of the activities. For instance, activity 2 consists in discovering the prepositional patterns associated with frequent legal terms such as *appeal*, *claim* or *breach*, therefore, as part of the specific pre-test, the students could be given multiple choice questions offering different items to link these terms with; they could be asked to correct phrases or sentences including these prepositional patterns; they could also be requested to fill in the gaps with the correct preposition in each case, and so on.

Subsequently, the post-tests could be carried out at the end of each of the didactic units or content blocks where the activities were included. They would be identical to the specific pre-tests, as already described. The results of the post-tests would thus be compared to the ones obtained with the pre-tests, allowing the instructor to quantify the sub-groups' average progress. Likewise, the results obtained by each of the sub-groups could also be compared as a way of controlling and measuring the competence level variable introduced after dividing the main group into different level sub-groups.

3.2.2. Activity Proposal

Activity 1

One of the activities which were planned to develop the learner's awareness of the morphological structure of legal terms consisted in asking them to guess what terms would stem from a list of the most relevant ones found in their textbooks, that is, asking them to try and form part of their word families (Bauer and Nation 1993). Thus, the students would necessarily have to explicitly reflect on the processes underlying the formation of words, which could also contribute to the development of strategies for the proper understanding and usage of the legal lexicon. As Bauer and Nation (1993: 253) observe, "... once the base word or even a derived word is known, the recognition of other members of the family requires little or no extra effort".

Before starting with the activity, the instructor would necessarily have to make certain morphological rules explicit as regards the use of prefixes and suffixes putting special emphasis on typically legal ones such as *counter-*, *cross-*, *-ant*, etc. to facilitate and control the task.

Words like *appeal, claim* or *law* form other terms by derivation whose usage learners would have to attest through the search of concordance lines in *BLaRC*. These concordances would serve not only to confirm their guesses, but also to study the context of usage and meaning.

A follow-up activity could be suggested consisting in offering them different sentences (obtained from the corpus) with gaps in them. The students would have to decide which of the contexts would be more suitable for each of the members of a given word family, thus proving their understanding of the terms whose morphological structure they have reflected on. The concordances below, extracted from our legal corpus, illustrate the use of some of the legal terms belonging to the word families of:

APPEAL

Concordance

Notice. WAG was joined as a party. There has been no cross-appeal against the Commissioner's findings set out in
with Article 14 of the Convention. * Although there is no cross-appeal by the respondents on the issue of jurisdiction,
him, dismissed the originating applications and dismissed a cross-appeal by HMRC as the points that it sought to raise
to the wife. She was ordered to pay the costs of the cross-appeal. Discussion. The circumstances in which the
have gone back to the judge on this basis, as well as on the cross-appeal, for we are not in a position to make findings of
have no defence to Bocardo's claim. I would dismiss the cross-appeal. (b) Damages: 37. The parties are agreed that,

Concordance

name through a dormant company with the name of the Appellant, Reids Transport Minishant Limited, which was
the appeal against revocation of the operator licence of the Appellant company be DISMISSED. The order of the Traffic
the time of the public inquiry and of matters in favour of the Appellant company and Mr Laidlaw and Mr Fraser. He
to revoke the licence. 3. At the hearing of the appeal the Appellant company and Mr Laidlaw and Mr Fraser were
and A. FRASER & R. LAIDLAW. Attendances: For the Appellant: Tim Nesbitt of Counsel. Heard at Eagle Building,
Judge Frances Burton, Leslie Milliken, Stuart James. Appellant REIDS TRANSPORT MINISHANT LIMITED and A.
His Hon. Michael Brodrick, David Yeomans, Stuart James. Appellant: S & A BRUFORD TRANSPORT. Attendances: For

CLAIM

Concordance

contention was that, since Mr Morris had not made a counterclaim in the county court proceedings for repayment
to them that there was a County Court claim, met by a counterclaim. At a case management hearing on the 13th of
was pronounced in terms of the conclusion to the landlords' counterclaim. This was to the effect that the contract resulting
pleaded in para 18(1)(i) of the re-re-amended defence and counterclaim and are summarised in the agreed statement of
in para 18(1)(i) of TMT's re-re-amended defence and counterclaim by references to "sleeves". TMT pleads that both
* In para 18(1)(ii) of the re-re-amended defence and counterclaim TMT pleads that, in the context of the relevant

Concordance

not accepted at all, then the statutory rule requires that the claimant should pay the acquiring authority's costs from the
adopting the period during which, under CPR pt 36.11, a claimant may accept a pt 36 offer or payment without
order. It does seem to me, however, that where the claimant does accept the offer, and the tribunal has a
namely until the 3rd November 2004, on which date the claimant "declined" the sealed offer. I would award the
the offer, and the tribunal has a discretion as to costs, the claimant should be entitled to the benefit of the ordinary rule
period, but there would be little room for argument that the claimant should be entitled to any further costs thereafter."

LAW

Concordance

it followed that in determining the disturbance element it was lawful also to consider the open market value of the land itself.
by the withdrawal of support from land in connection with lawful coal-mining operations. A letter on costs accompanies
absence of planning permission or a certificate of existing lawful use would affect the minds of potential tenants in the
in 1975/76. (4) No planning permission. (5) No certificate of lawful use. (6) No guarantee planning will be granted. (7) No
The building had no planning permission or certificate of lawful use. It had no water supply, drainage, sewerage or
that the absence of planning permission or a certificate of lawful use for warehousing would not have affected the rent

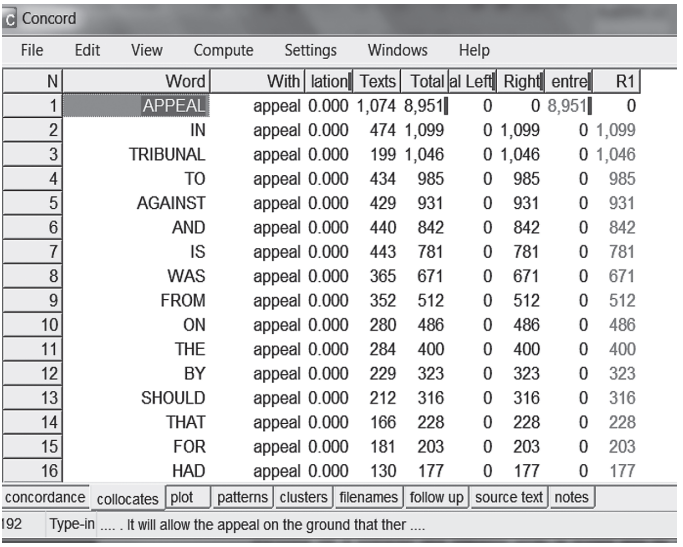
Concordance

I further guarantee that I will not indulge myself into any unlawful or illegal activity in the United Kingdom." 17. The
and the claimant ought to have been held the victim of unlawful discrimination by reference to his status as a
this context the word "lawful" means more than merely not unlawful but should be understood to connote the
consistently. The Home Office had treated his presence as unlawful and it would be inconsistent for the Department for
that the legislation could easily have made clear that even unlawful residence would be taken into account. H. Mr
different part of the criminal law, a person who commits an unlawful act towards another, with the necessary mens rea,

Activity 2

On a syntactic level, the study of lexical patterns is another potential application of specialised corpora within DDL. As pointed out by Lewis, "teachers should present words in the classroom in sequences whenever possible" (in Schmitt 2007: 754). In fact, lexical patterning has been made more accessible thanks to the use of corpora (Schmitt 2007), which clearly illustrate patterning constraints in real language use, hence the relevance of proposing this type of activities for the teaching of ESL and, in turn, ESP.

This activity would consist of asking learners to focus on the most frequent prepositions accompanying a set of legal terms such as *appeal*, *claim*, *right* or *breach* by examining a set of unfiltered concordance lines associated with them and concentrating on their collocate lists. They would be requested to study their main



Concord

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Word	With	lation	Texts	Total	al Left	Right	entre	R1
1	APPEAL	appeal	0.000	1,074	8,951	0	0	8,951	0
2	IN	appeal	0.000	474	1,099	0	1,099	0	1,099
3	TRIBUNAL	appeal	0.000	199	1,046	0	1,046	0	1,046
4	TO	appeal	0.000	434	985	0	985	0	985
5	AGAINST	appeal	0.000	429	931	0	931	0	931
6	AND	appeal	0.000	440	842	0	842	0	842
7	IS	appeal	0.000	443	781	0	781	0	781
8	WAS	appeal	0.000	365	671	0	671	0	671
9	FROM	appeal	0.000	352	512	0	512	0	512
10	ON	appeal	0.000	280	486	0	486	0	486
11	THE	appeal	0.000	284	400	0	400	0	400
12	BY	appeal	0.000	229	323	0	323	0	323
13	SHOULD	appeal	0.000	212	316	0	316	0	316
14	THAT	appeal	0.000	166	228	0	228	0	228
15	FOR	appeal	0.000	181	203	0	203	0	203
16	HAD	appeal	0.000	130	177	0	177	0	177

concordance collocates plot patterns clusters filenames follow up source text notes

192 Type-in .... . It will allow the appeal on the ground that ther ....

FIGURE 1. List of immediate right collocates attracted by appeal.

collocates with the aim of identifying those prepositions which the concordancer would present as their most relevant functional collocates. In order for the activity to accomplish its goal, only the immediate right collocates would be considered. After doing so, they would be offered different examples extracted from *BLaRC* to fill in the gaps with the appropriate prepositions to guarantee the validity of their observations. Following a similar process to activity 1, the students could assess their own performance by consulting a set of concordance lines previously selected and filtered by the instructor, which would act as feedback to their answers.

The figure below illustrates the lists of the main collocates generated by *appeal* in *BLaRC* using *Wordsmith 5.0* (Scott 2008).

Activity 3

Focusing on a semantic level, it would be recommendable to study the contexts of usage of sub-technical words, which characterise legal language and partly explain the great percentage of shared vocabulary between the legal and general fields. Sub-technical words frequently specialise when in contact with the legal

PARTY	
MEANINGS *(OED)*	CONCORDANCES
1. A social gathering especially for pleasure or amusement	… if I were to plan a big party, or an anniversary or something like that, and I'd hope those would be jolly enjoyable days too …(*LACELL*)
2. An established political group organized to promote and support its principles and candidates for public office	I witnessed this over and over again, until I decided to join the Green Party in 1993 (*LACELL*)
3. A person or group involved in a legal proceeding as a litigant	Each party shall pay its own costs in respect of the issue of costs (*BLaRC*)
OFFENCE	
MEANINGS *(OED)*	CONCORDANCES
1. Annoyance, displeasure, or resentment	… I didn't take offence at the question. I think it was a perfectly fair question. … (*LACELL*)
2. A violation or breach of a law, custom, rule, a crime	The Director may withdraw or restrict access to the facilities in response to an offence or a suspected offence against these rules or to protect the services (*BLaRC*)

TABLE 1. General and specialised meanings of party and offence and concordance line examples

environment causing confusion for ESP learners who might already have acquired them as part of their general vocabulary.

The students would be given a list of these words taken from the corpus. They would be asked to match a set of selected concordance lines with the different senses of those words taken from both a general and specialised dictionary: *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2002) and *Dahl's Law Dictionary* (Saint-Dahl 1999). For this activity, they should make use of a general corpus with the aim of identifying the general meanings of the words given. There is a plethora of options: for instance, they could access other general corpora either stored on their computers or offered online. Prof. Mark Davies' website[13] provides online access to varied general English corpora which could serve this purpose. Table 1 illustrates the most frequent senses of the sub-technical terms *party* and *offence* selected from amongst the ones defined in the *OED* (2002) and the concordances obtained from *BLaRC*, our legal corpus, and *LACELL*, the general one.

Activity 4

To finish with this section devoted to the didactic exploitation of corpus data, a content-focused activity is presented. Using the multi-word term (MWT) list generated by Nazar and Cabré's (2012) online ATR software, *Terminus 2.0,* a number of these items was selected with the purpose of helping the students understand and acquire, for example, such a concept as "types of claim" in the UK. In order to do this, they would have to delimit the concept clearly by differentiating the categories or types it comprised. This could be achieved by providing them with concordance examples with gaps which they could fill by using the compound term list provided. Resorting to a specialised dictionary would be recommendable as support for this task. In addition, they would probably have to consult the co-text of the concordances for a fuller understanding of the examples.

Error correction could also be suggested as a follow-up activity. The students would be provided with a set of sentences which they would have to amend by employing the appropriate compound term in each case. Through this task, the students would confirm the conclusions they may have reached thanks to the observation of the concordance lines provided initially.

Owing to the greater linguistic and conceptual complexity of this activity, pair-work is to be recommended as a way of lightening the load for the student. In fact, collaborative learning is highly motivating and promotes linguistic accuracy (Fernández 2012; Storch 1999), apart from providing greater chances of using the L2.

Table 2 shows the MWTs associated with *claim* and identified by *Terminus*[14] (Nazar and Cabré 2012). They have been arranged according to the level of specialisation calculated by the ATR method applied. Further below, table 3 presents some of the concordances for these compound terms found in *BLaRC*.

CLAIM TYPES (MWTs)	SPECIALISATION LEVEL (*Terminus*)
FRESH CLAIM	2767.60
POSSESSION CLAIM	1480.37
DERIVATIVE CLAIM	1426.45
UNFAIR DISMISSAL CLAIM	987.766
BATTERY CLAIM	939.60
PROPRIETARY CLAIM	597.777
CIVIL CLAIM	587.884
ILLIQUID CLAIM	456.557
RENEWAL CLAIM	414.608
EQUAL PAY CLAIM	407.413
PERSONAL INJURY CLAIM	380.729

TABLE 2. MWTs associated with claim as ranked by Nazar and Cabré's (2012) Terminus

CONCORDANCE LINES FROM *BLaRC*
… I don't believe it and therefore I am not going to regard it as a **fresh claim** …
… he could review the Council's decision to bring and maintain the **possession claim** on normal judicial review principles …
… there were special circumstances justifying the **derivative claim** which he seeks to bring …
… if he had been of the view that the unfair **dismissal claim** had not been made in time …
… prosecution in a civil court of the **assault and battery claim** would be "manifestly unfair" to him
… her family was to ensure that the husband acquired no **proprietary claim** to shares in the wife's family …
… It is not necessarily an abuse to proceed with a **civil claim** in tort against a defendant who …
… that the rule that an illiquid claim cannot be pleaded by way of compensation to a **liquid claim** …
… the applicant's own evidence in his **renewal claim** form to benefit where the phrase 'emotional support' was used …
… in what circumstances, if any, can a claimant in an **equal pay claim** show that she is in the same

TABLE 3. Concordance lines illustrating the MWTs generated by claim

To conclude, a final project is proposed to foster and assess the acquisition of this set of compound terms. The students would be given a home assignment consisting in writing an essay which would discuss the concept of *claim* and *claim types* in UK law. A number of questions would be formulated acting as cues for the planning and development of the task, for instance:

— "Who are the participants which take part in the development of a claim in the UK?
— Is this process similar to the one followed in your country?
— What are the most frequent claim types in the UK?
— Do they belong to the criminal or the civil fields?
— Do you know any relevant case belonging to any of these categories? Could you explain it?"

4. Conclusion

This article has presented a proposal to employ a specialised corpus based on law reports and the term lists obtained automatically from it as support material for the teaching and learning of legal English terminology. The formulation of this proposal is the result of the methodological void in the area where only a few experiments have been carried out employing DDL methodology. The pedagogical relevance of the use of DDL activities in SL instruction lies in the role which the learner adopts in the learning process, becoming a central part and an active participant within it. By examining language samples extracted from corpora, learners become researchers themselves trying to solve tasks as if they were

language detectives, to use Johns' terms (1997). In fact, this kind of task promotes linguistic awareness as well as learning autonomy, which are key to success in language learning (Boulton 2011). Studies reveal that once learners have become familiar with corpus linguistics analysis tools, DDL appears to be particularly effective, for instance, in the acquisition and use of specialised vocabulary in context (Lin 2008). Authors like Kaur and Hegelheimer (2005) attest that the experimental group used in their evaluation of DDL methods "used the target items more frequently and more accurately in writing" (Boulton 2011: 278).This is the reason why the use of corpus-based activities could become a useful complement to already existing materials, positively contributing to the acquisition of specialised terminology.

The second section of this article describes the design criteria and features of *BLaRC,* the legal corpus designed by the author and employed as the source to obtain the necessary information from.This section also presents a legal vocabulary taxonomy aimed at facilitating the integration of specialised vocabulary activities within the ESP course syllabus.

In the third section, after reflecting on the subject of DDL and justifying the use of our corpus and specialised vocabulary inventories, some activities are suggested to complement the ones offered in three different legal English textbooks used as references. They focused on several linguistic levels, namely, morphological (concentrating on derivational processes for word formation), syntactic (grammatical patterns associated with certain legal terms), semantic (study of polysemic terms) and discursive (proposal of a written project).

To conclude, as further research, a pedagogical research method is suggested with the aim of implementing these activities in the future and testing the resultant learning outcomes.

Notes

[1]. A supplement to this reference with a detailed explanation of all the experiments can be consulted at: http://corpuscall.eu/file.php/5/0_DDL_empirical_survey_2012_July.pdf

[2]. See Author and Rea (2012) for a fuller review of the amount and availability of legal corpora.

[3]. For further information, see:

— The website of the Judiciary of England and Wales: http://www.judiciary.gov.uk/about-the-judiciary/introduction-to-justice-system/court-structure

— Scottish court and tribunal system: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Justice/legal

— Courts and tribunals in Northern Ireland: http://www.courtsni.gov.uk/en-GB/pages/default.aspx

[4]. http://www.lextutor.ca/concordancers/concord_e.html

[5]. https://the.sketchengine.co.uk/login

[6]. The general corpus employed for the observation of the frequency of the words included in this study is *LACELL,* a 21 million-word general English corpus designed and compiled by the *LACELL* research group of the English Department at the University of Murcia. This corpus is not publicly available.

[7]. Precision is calculated by determining the percentage of true terms (terms found in the gold standard) identified by an ATR method with respect to the whole list of candidate terms extracted by it.

[8]. The term *type* refers to any word identified by the software regardless of the number of times it occurs in the corpus, every time it repeats itself it is referred to as a *token.*

[9]. *British National Corpus*

[10]. This is the title of unit 5 of Brown and Rice's (2007) *Professional English in Use: Law.*

[11]. The concordancer employed in this case has been the *Concord* tool included in Scott's (2008) *Wordsmith 5.0.*

[12]. http://www.um.es/web/letras/contenido/estudios/grados/traduccion-ingles/plan/asignaturas

[13]. http://corpus.byu.edu/

[14]. Although Drouin's software allows the user to identify MWTs as well, the precision levels achieved after testing by Nazar and Cabré's software were higher (35.86% and71.5% on average respectively) in the automatic recognition of compound terms. The latter was therefore selected to perform this task.

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A DEEPER LOOK INTO METRICS FOR TRANSLATION QUALITY ASSESSMENT (TQA): A CASE STUDY

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1. Introduction to TQA

The search for quality in translation is still an unsettled issue today. From the second half of the 20th century onwards, controversy surrounding the quality concept and the way to determine it has become central. Nonetheless, it seems that there is no common ground when it comes to defining quality either from a practical or from a theoretical viewpoint. Moreover, there are many scholars who still believe that quality in translation is a *relative* and *subjective* concept (Horguelin and Brunette 1998; Larose 1998; Parra 2005). Not surprisingly, it has been the excess of conflicting opinions and the experts' lack of consensus on the definition of quality that have hampered any potential progress in the field (Colina 2009).

However, there seems to be a general agreement on some points, such as what are the optimal measures to be taken when building a successful model. In order to assess quality in translation three steps should be taken: firstly, quality must be defined. Many would agree that a quality translation is one which fits its purpose (Nord 1997; O'Brien 2012). Secondly, the methodology must be set. For that, special attention has to be paid to those quality assessment methods that enable measurement[1]. And thirdly, the assessment should be carried out in accordance with the definition of quality as applied to the text and to the assessment methodology chosen.

2. Definition of Quality

Different authors offer various definitions of translation and quality and of translation quality, which are basic concepts of any translation theory. These notions are so ample that different translation theories may put forward their own view (Gómez 2002). Subsequently, different views of translation give shape to different concepts of translation quality and so call for different ways of assessing it (House 1997).

Quality is far too complex a matter and too dependent on context (Nord 1997) to be condensed to an all-embracing definition. It has to do with a wealth of factors: fulfilling user needs or expectations, enhancing work efficiency, profitability, deadline compliance, resources and tools availability, etc. These characteristics (and many others) that could be attributable to quality do not all have the same weight on each translation assignment and are not therefore equally measurable or assessable.

A review of quality evaluation literature from industrial sectors has revealed that most quality standards define the concept as the ability to fulfil a client-defined set of parameters (Jiménez-Crespo 2009)[2]. Nonetheless, in translation, the concept of quality has traditionally been linked to values such as accuracy, correctness and fidelity (to the original). Currently, the concept has evolved to take on a higher polyhedricity due to the fact that quality can be observed from diverse angles[3] and, thus, checked at different stages and with regard to objects. Therefore, delimiting this intricate concept calls for the assumption of a multifaceted view.

It seems reasonable to think that given the subjectivity and relativity of the notion, and indeed of the evaluator (House 1997), quality assessment requires something that could offer the process greater objectivity. Without explicit criteria on which to base evaluation, the evaluator can only rely on his/her own view (Colina 2009). As a result, fixing a number of parameters or criteria as a yardstick for comparing real versus ideal performance could remove a great part (but not all) of the subjectivity and could lead to a higher inter-rater reliability (Doyle 2003; Colina 2008, 2009).

The view of (translation) quality in this paper is equated with the notion of *adequacy*, in the functional sense, considering quality to be the appropriateness of a translated text to fulfil a communicative purpose. It is thus a dynamic concept related to the process of translational action (Nord 1997). Hence, TQA methods have to be flexible and customizable enough to cater for as many scenarios as possible. For that, a comprehensive measurement procedure that incorporates a holistic evaluation (Jiménez-Crespo 2011) would be required.

3. TQA: the What

Colina (2009: 236) states that TQA "is probably one of the most controversial, intensely debated topics in translation scholarship and practice". The bibliographical review has revealed that both the concept and the terminology of the field overlap (Conde 2008). Nonetheless, the process of evaluating translation quality is widely known as Translation Quality Assessment (TQA) (Parra 2005). Many proposals for TQA have already been laid on the table, but none of them has proved to be a definite solution. What is more, the search for a unique method for TQA that could achieve full objectivity in every situation, context and for every type of text seems illusory.

Waddington (2000) warns that the object of assessment must be specified in order to avoid misunderstandings and to carry out a valid assessment. According to Stejskal (2006: 13), quality in translation can be analysed in what he calls the "3Ps" of quality assessment: producer, process and product. The procedures, measures, tools for evaluating quality in each of these instances have nothing to do with each other and, besides, focus on different dimensions. In this case, evaluation focuses on the Product adopting a textual approach (House 1997) to value the linguistic quality of the output.

The quality of the producer can only be evaluated by means of certification and, as Stejskal (2006: 13) points out, this "occurs under three possible scenarios: certification by a professional association, certification by a government, and certification by an academic institution".

As for the process**,** standards have become their measuring rod. They are process and not product-oriented (Martínez and Hurtado 2001) and their basic tenet is that when predefined processes are followed, good results (translations) will be obtained. In Europe, for example, the CEN (*Comité Européen de Normalisation*) approved in 2006 the EN15038 standard whose main aim is "to establish and define the requirements for the provision of quality services by translation service providers". Nonetheless there is not yet available an international standard exclusively designed for translation and some scholars forecast that there never will be. As Secâra (2005: 39) remarks, "The reason why no single standard will suffice is that quality is context dependent". As a result, current TQA tendencies have opted for a more restrictive view by focusing on the product.

On the whole, the product-centred methods are divided into two branches. One of the trends examines the linguistic features of translated texts at sentence level, that is to say, using an error-based translation evaluation system as the procedure for quantifying quality (Secâra 2005), whereas the other trend highlights macrostructure relations of the text as a unit. Waddington (2000) calls the first

type *quantitative-centred* (bottom-up) systems and the second the *qualitative-centred* (top-down) systems. Roughly speaking, this is what Colina (2009: 237) calls *experiential* and *theoretical* approaches, respectively. According to Williams (2004) the first type includes the *quantitative-centred* (error counting) systems and the second the *argumentation-centred* (holistic) systems.

This article analyzes some quantitative systems for TQA, the so-called "metrics". Based on a typology of errors with a point-deduction scheme (depending on error type and severity), these systems count up these points and then subtract their negative value from the previously allocated bonus points. This operation gives a score that classifies the translation on a quality scale. Despite the drawbacks of metrics, as pointed out below, these quantifying systems fill in a gap in professional TQA arena (Jiménez-Crespo 2011), where translation becomes a business with time (De Rooze 2003) and budget (O'Brien 2012) constraints and so deserves to be studied.

4. Metrics for TQA: the How

Henceforth, various quantitative-oriented models for TQA are analyzed. This review includes the SICAL, the LISA QA model, the SAE J2450, the Quality Assessment Tool (QAT) and the TAUS Dynamic Quality Evaluation Model. Special attention is paid to a prototype tool developed by the Directorate General for Translation (DGT) of the European Commission as an aid in the quality quantification process of external translations.

4.1. SICAL

In the 70s, the first steps towards creating a more systematic and objective model for professional TQA were taken within the Canadian government's Translation Bureau with the creation of SICAL (*Système Canadien d'appréciation de la Qualité Linguistique*[4]). This system aimed at discarding the evaluator's value judgement traditionally dependent on his particular knowledge and appraisal (e.g. the translation is "accurate" and "reads well" or the "translator's choice is clumsy and vague", in Williams 1989: 14). SICAL I established a revision process at microlinguistic level that carried out a contrastive linguistic analysis of the pair of texts (ST and TT) based on an error typology. This system fixed a set of reference parameters with which to compare the linguistic features of finished translation and this is how the concept of acceptability threshold for a translation came up, the fixing of a borderline between the acceptance and rejection of a translation. The final result is obtained by dividing the aggregate negative points (errors) by the

number of words of the text (usually a 400-word passage). Later, the system evolved into two general error categories (transfer and language) and, subsequently, these were classified according to seriousness into *minor* and *major*. Both definitions stressed the term *essential* as the defining characteristic for setting the acceptability limit (Williams 1989). A translation might pass with "as many as 12 errors of transfer, provided no major error was detected" (Williams 2001: 330). Therefore, major errors had to be unequivocally recognisable by the prospective raters. A drawback of SICAL was that it could have as many as 675 errors (300 lexical and 375 syntactic), which made its application a cumbersome task (Martínez and Hurtado 2001). Another downside of this system, as Secâra (2005) points out, is that the sample reviewed (approx. 400 words) is chosen randomly, what may raise doubts about its representativeness. All in all, SICAL was a milestone in TQA and paved the way for future developments.

4.2. LISA QA Model

The LISA Quality Assurance (QA) Model was developed in 1995 and distributed by the *Localization Industry Standards Association* (LISA) for localization projects. It is a stand-alone tool applied to product documentation, help and user interface, and even to computer based training (CBT) (Parra 2005). Its user-friendly interface comprises a series of templates, forms and reports embedded in a database (Stejskal 2006). Besides, it contains a predefined list of error levels of seriousness and relevance, a record of error categories, a catalogue of the reviser's tasks and a template for marking the translation as Pass or Fail (acceptability threshold). However, the tool is flexible enough to admit customization and allows the translator to reach a prior agreement with the customer on two key parameters: error type and severity (Parra 2005).

The LISA QA model version 2.0 appeared in 1999 and accommodated upgraded capabilities: Linguistic Issues, Physical Issues, Business and Cultural Issues and Technical Issues (LISA 2007: 12-14). The third version (3.0), completely revised, came out in 2004 (Parra 2005: 277) and was meant: "to define and experiment with their own quality metrics".[5]

However, in spite of the benefits of this new version, Jiménez-Crespo (2009) claims that its error typology lacks an empirical base and some of the error categories overlap, such as accuracy and style. In addition, as Parra Galiano (2005) perspicaciously points out, the norm does not define clearly what a translation error (*mistranslation*) or a style error is.

The LISA QA model also established an application procedure consisting of several steps. One or several samples undergo Quality Assessment (QA) using a template. When the TT fails, the rater adds remarks. When the TT passes, the rater carries

out a full revision or a Quality Control (QC) and adds the amendments later. Once the revision and the correction tasks are over, the TT undergoes another QA (Parra 2005).

The LISA QA Model[6] is a componential model made up of eight items, out of which only one covers language matters (Jiménez-Crespo 2009). Within this linguistic item, the LISA QA Model distinguishes seven error types: *Mistranslation*, *Accuracy*, *Terminology*, *Language*, *Style, Country* and *Consistency* (Parra 2005: 280-281). Each error of this typology, in its turn, may have an effect on the TT and is consequently classified in three degrees of seriousness: minor, major and critical depending on whether the mistake is not important (1 point), whether the error is detected in a visible part of the document (5 points) or whether it is located in a preeminent part of the document or may cause a bug (critical), respectively. To be acceptable, the TT must contain no critical error and the ratio between error points and total words cannot surpass a set figure.

4.3. SAE J2450

A working group made up of SAE and GM representatives developed this metric system. It was first introduced as a *Surface Vehicle Recommended Practice* in 2001 and turned into a standard in 2005. It set out to "be regarded as only one element in a total Quality Assurance Process, albeit an important one" (SAE J2450 2001: 2). This statement reminds us that any metrics are just that, a link within the chain of actions whose aim is to guarantee, check and improve translation quality.

Initially, this tool was to be used for revising service automobile documentation so that it could provide a "consistent standard against which the (linguistic)[7] quality of the automotive service information can be objectively measured" (SAE J2450 2001: 1). Unlike this metrics, it was not intended for translations where characteristics such as style, register and tone might play an important role (marketing, advertising translations or the like). Its application, although with adaptations, has recently spread to other industrial sectors such as Biology (pharmaceutical, medical devices, etc.).

Regarding its scope, the SAE J2450 does not specify how to select the sample, or its size, nor any specific acceptability threshold or, it follows, any advice on what to do with the assessment findings either. The norm openly admits that it only deals with linguistic error detection, but leaves aside style and format features. In addition, it does not attempt to explain the causes of errors but just detects, tags and counts them. It is the only metrics that even counts as errors those brought about by errors in the original text, which the translator has faithfully conveyed

into the TT. The errors are classified first according to their type in one of the seven main categories ranked in order (Wrong Term, Syntactic Error, Omission, Word Structure or Agreement Error, Misspelling, Punctuation Error, Miscellaneous Error), and secondly, according to their severity in one of the two subcategories (minor and major). Errors have a fixed penalization schema that can be adapted, but only on a global basis for each project. The points allocated to each error type are shown in Figure 1:

Main Category	**(abb.)**	**Sub-Category** (abbreviation)	**Weight** serious-minor
Wrong Term	(WT)	serious (s)	5/2
Syntactic Error	(SF)	minor (m)	4/2
Omission	(OM)		4/2
Word Structure or Agreement Error	(SA)		4/2
Misspelling	(SP)		3/1
Punctuation Error	(PE)		2/1
Miscellaneous Error	(ME)		3/1

FIGURE 1: SAE J2450 Translation Quality Metric. *© SAE J2450, Committee*

Likewise, it is admitted that error classification "is necessarily[8] a judgement call by the evaluator" (SAE J2450 2001: 3). The metric system aims at limiting the unavoidable subjective burden of the reviser by providing him with a reference error typology easy to apply accompanied by two metarules. These metarules (SAE J2450 2001: 4) are to be applied by the reviser in case of doubt:

1) *when in doubt, always choose the earliest primary category; and*

2) *when in doubt, always choose 'serious' over 'minor.'*

Their goal is to guide evaluators when they come across a dubious classification of errors. These metarules notwithstanding, the norm openly acknowledges the arbitrariness of setting these two metarules, while it argues that the consistent application of these metarules favours systematicity in the evaluators' decision-making process and, therefore, promotes reproducibility and repeatability.

The norm also stipulates a review process for the rater that consists of five steps in chronological order: 1) mark the error in TT (also repetitions), 2) choose the primary error category, 3) choose the secondary error category, 4) deduct the points and 5) calculate the final mark dividing the aggregate points by the number of words of the text.

4.4. The Quality Assessment Tool (QAT)

This QAT was developed within the Directorate-General for Translation (DGT)[9] to help revisers with external translation assessments. It belongs to the quantitative, "bottom-up" or experiential approaches to TQA. Internally, it is known as the "calculator" in reference to its main function, a computer-aided tool to quantify errors.

An internal audit carried out in 2008 by the IAS (Internal Audit Service) of the EC concluded that there existed diverging practices amongst different Language Departments (LD) regarding their freelance assessment approach. Therefore, it was recommended that DGT should endeavour to base external or freelance translation[10] assessment on quantifiable data as much as possible.

This tool was not devised from scratch. It took on the error typology that was used in the Translation Centre[11] (CdT). This typology included 8 error types: Sense (SENS), Omission (OM), Terminology (TERM), Reference Documents (RD), Grammar (GR), Spelling (SP), Punctuation (PT) and Clarity (CL), two error gravities (minor and major) and quality marking ranges. The QAT inserted slight modifications in relation to the CdT´s marking ranges as can be seen in the following table:

Mark	CdT (0-10 pt.)	QAT (0 -100 %)
Unacceptable	0-39	0 – 39
Below standard	40-59	40 – 59
Acceptable	60-79	60 – 69
Good	80-99	70 – 85

TABLE 1: QAT's mark ranges. *© European Union, 2013*

As with the previous tools, penalizing points are assigned to errors according to their type and seriousness. The final mark is obtained by deducting the aggregate penalizing points from 100% of the initial bonus. As a result, the translation is categorised within a quality range (vid. Table 1). The QAT also adopted the size of the assessment sample from the CdT, about 10% of the text, with a minimum of 2 and a maximum of 10 pages.

This Figure shows the interface of the QAT. The rater locates the file using the drop-down menu *Name* of file; next he chooses *Language* and the *Profile* to start working. There are three profiles available: *General, Political* and *Technical*. This choice exerts a great influence in the final mark since different profiles have

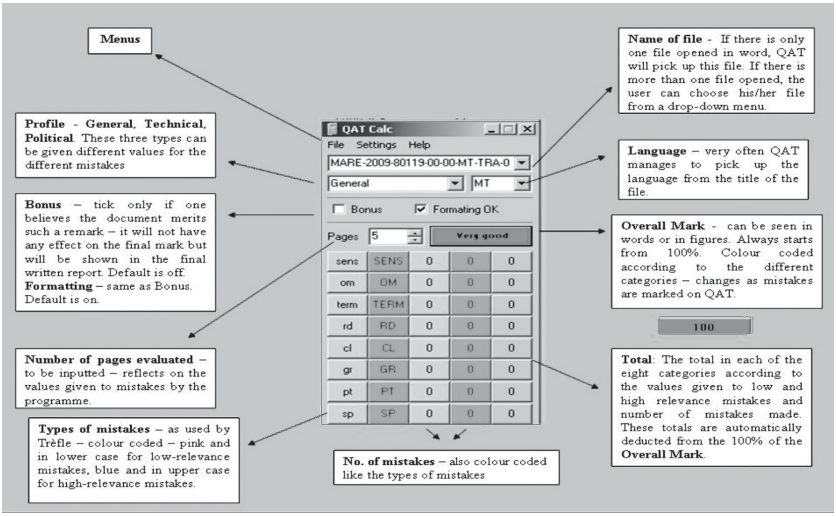

FIGURE 2: QAT's interface. *© European Union, 2013*

different deduction points for each mistake type and degree of seriousness. Next, the rater inserts errors by clicking on the corresponding button. Uppercase codes are for major relevance errors and lower case for minor ones.

All the parameters of this cluster are customizable, although some of them have preset values. The default profile is *General.* Besides, the default number of pages is 5 (considering a page to be 1500 characters with no spaces) and the number of initial credit points is 100 per 5 pages (20 points per page).

This tool allows multi-users. Unlike the SAE, the QAT only counts repetitions of the same error as one error. Below the Profile menu we find *Bonus* and *Formatting OK* checkboxes. By default, the *Bonus* is checked and *Formatting OK* unchecked. The reviser can tick them on or off but just for the sake of indicating that the translator has made good choices in his wording (*Bonus on*) or that the translation is neatly formatted (*Formatting OK*). The rater can activate the option *Comments* in the menu *Settings* to add any information he may deem fit to the errors that have been marked.

After completing the evaluation, the reviser can generate a report (Write report), which summarizes all the information about the revised text. This information includes in a .txt file the title, profile, source language, errors pinpointed, the weightings per error, as well as the final mark of the translation.

A prototype of the tool was presented by mid 2009; all DGT's Language Departments embarked on a trial phase during the second half of the year. The findings of this trial were gathered in 2010 and yielded varied conclusions depending on the LD. As a result, nowadays its application on an LD-basis remains optional.

The tool's greatest contribution is also its greatest weakness: the text type classification. This is the first quantitative TQA tool that contains text types (*Profile*). This initial choice conditions the whole assessment process. Each profile has a different set of weightings assigned to each error according to type and severity. The rater lacks sound criteria for classification. His pick of the Profile, in the absence of instructions, seems to rest on terminology density rather than on other clear parameters. Furthermore, the text classification as 'general', 'political', 'technical' or 'legislative' does not imply that neither a specific translation technique nor a particular evaluation method should be used.

Finally, the QAT stipulates that error repetitions will only be counted once. The question occasionally arises as to what a rater should do when, for instance, he comes across a variety of terms for the same concept.

4.5. TAUS Dynamic Quality Evaluation Model

One of the latest and most significant contributions to TQA has been the Dynamic Quality Evaluation Model. Sharon O'Brien (2012) developed this TQA model in collaboration with the Translation Automation User Society (TAUS).

Echoing the widespread feeling amongst its members that methods whose final score is simply based on counting the number of errors is too static and normative a system (O'Brien 2012: 55), TAUS carried out in 2011 a benchmarking exercise of eleven TQA models. Out of eleven, ten evaluation models were quantitative approaches (which included LISA QA model v. 3.1 and SAE J2450) and the remaining one was process-oriented.

An interesting finding of the benchmarking study was that error-based models sought to identify, classify, allocate severity level and apply penalty points to errors. They all have a pass/fail threshold and their analysis is made at the segment level, ignoring thus the larger unit of text (O'Brien 2012). Broadly, it is interesting to note that all the macro error categories identified coincide (including those of the process-oriented model). The most frequent macro error categories, and the micro error categories included in each macro, are listed in the following table.

This table shows that the prevalent error types are *Language*, *Terminology*, *Accuracy* and *Style*, despite their differing scopes.

Errors present in TQA models	Macro error type	Includes the following micro error types
10/11	Language	9/10 including grammar 7/10 including syntax 7/10 including spelling 6/10 including punctuation
10/11	Terminology	General consensus on definition: 1) Adherence to client glossary 2) Adherence to industry terminology 3) Consistency
9/11	Accuracy	7/10 including omissions 7/10 including additions 7/10 including inaccurate cross-references 7/10 including meaning
7/11	Style	4/7 including lack of adherence to 'client style guide'

TABLE 2: Macro and micro error types (adapted from O'Brien 2012: 60)

The benchmarking exercise reviewed some other evaluation procedures from related professional contexts (Machine Translation, Translation Training, Community Translation and Technical Translation). This review allowed us to shortlist the most common evaluation models, classified according to their control level from the most to the least (O'Brien 2012: 67):

(1) *Adherence to regulatory instruments*
(2) *Usability evaluation*
(3) *Error typology*
(4) *Adequacy/Fluency*
(5) *Community-based evaluation*
(6) *Readability evaluation*
(7) *Content sentiment rating (thumbs up/down, rating allocation)*
(8) *Customer feedback (Sales, Tech Support Calls etc.*)

This summary concluded that apart from the widespread error-counting systems, various other methods for TQA could be applied to professional translation. Consequently, a new proposal was put forward: the Dynamic Quality Evaluation Model. This model is based on two building blocks (Communication channel and content profile) and three evaluation parameters (Utility, Time and Sentiment[12]). In order to identify the various evaluation parameters used in professional

translation a company profiling survey was carried out amongst the participants. As a result, a number of different text types were mapped with different evaluation parameters. Thus, the Dynamic QE Model materialized in the following template (O'Brien 2012: 73):

Communication Channel	Content Profile	Uts Ratings	Recommended QE Models In Descending Order Of Control
		Utility: Time: Sentiment:	

Table 3: Dynamic QE model template (O'Brien 2012: 73)

According to the data gathered in the survey referring to the Communication Channel, the Content and the feedback on the parameters of Utility, Time and Sentiment, an ordered list of some evaluation models for TQA was proposed for five instances.

The main advantage of the DQE model is its adaptability to client preferences in terms of the quality parameters identified (UTS). Based on the type of content (eight parameters were identified)[13] and the communication channel used by the client (three were identified)[14], the model offers a shortlist of evaluation models in order of application. Therefore, it provides a customizable modular TQA system for the selected content types and quality criteria.

On the other hand, all the TQA models recommended for each instance are models with their own advantages and disadvantages, as is the case of error typologies. For example, the DQE model handles eight types of content but misses others, such as technical, legal, economic texts, to name but a few.

5. TQA Metrics Overview: Pros and Cons

Based on the foregoing review, the features of the quantitative-oriented models analyzed in the foregoing review will now be outlined. Moreover, a critical examination of these features has made it possible to list their advantages and disadvantages with a view to building a theoretical construction for a new TQA model.

It is observed that all these tools were created to be stand-alone and not plugged-into applications. They all apply Quality Control procedures[15] (Parra 2005)

(except for the SAE J2450 that also allows for Quality Assurance) highlighting their consideration for deadlines and resource-investment, two key factors in professional translation. Mostly, they take random samples to carry out a linguistic comparative analysis between the target and the source texts. Three of the systems (SICAL, LISA and QAT) coincide in setting the sample length at approximately 10% of the text. In all cases, the evaluation fulfils a summative function (Melis and Hurtado 2001) and is used to determine the end results and to judge whether the objectives have been achieved (criterion-referenced).

5.1. Weaknesses common to TQA metrics analysed

Next, the main weaknesses of quantitative systems are listed:

1. Firstly and most importantly, all the TQA metrics rely on rating scales that lack an explicit theoretical base and verifiable empirical evidence, as several scholars warn (Colina 2008, 2009; Jiménez Crespo 2001). This underlying theoretical defect results in a two-fold inadequacy: first, it damages their value due to their lack of a conceptual background and, second, it prevents these models from being revisited to be applied to other contexts or text types different from the originals.
2. Secondly, all the models analyzed here rely on the central concept of error as the defining element of their assessment model and, subsequently, of the related issues such as the error type, and severity and error weightings. As Parra (2005) stresses, some error categories are ill defined and some even overlap. She gives the LISA QA model as an example of an unclear definition of mistranslation or style errors. Hence, all these proposals shape their definition of a quality translation as an error-free text or a text whose number of errors (their allocated points) does not surpass the predefined limit (acceptability threshold). Moreover, all the proposals analyzed consider error as an absolute notion, disregarding its functional value (Hurtado 2001). Therefore, errors are identified and tagged in isolation and not in relation to their context and function within the text (Nord 1997). Furthermore, once an error is detected the problem is how to categorize it correctly within a type and a severity level. The red line that separates those categories is sometimes so thin or blurred that errors might be classified into different categories by different revisers.
3. These systems take care of linguistic related issues, but at a micro textual level, and pay no attention to textual or extralinguistic matters. Therefore, the search for errors is limited to the word and sentence tier and does not take heed of the larger unit of the text nor of the communicative context (Nord 1997; Williams 2001; Colina 2008, 2009).
4. In order to implement the assessment, the reviser carries out a partial revision (Parra 2007) of the selected sample. It seems reasonable, therefore, to question

the representativeness of the limited, variable-length sample (Larose 1998; Gouadec 1981). Besides, these metrics do not specify what type of revision has to be made (unilingual, comparative; vid. Parra 2005). Therefore, the subjectivity inherent to all human activity cannot be detached from these models since it is a person (reviser/rater) who has the final word in error detection and tagging.

5.2. Strengths common to TQA metrics analysed

Bottom-up approaches, despite not having been empirically tested, yield the following theoretical advantages:

1. What at first sight might seem a reductionist and simplistic definition of quality (error-based) of a humanly produced output (full of nuances) could, on the other hand, be seen from the opposite end. If a translated text contains no or only a few errors of a particular type, for instance terminology, this entails that the terminology has been suitably conveyed into it. Therefore, some repetitive macroerror categories can be identified. The comparison of error categories of these quantitative models is summarized in the following table:

METRICS	LISA QA Model	SAE J 2450	TAUS Benchmarking	QAT
ERROR TYPES		Miscellaneous		
	Accuracy	Omission	Accuracy	Omission
	Terminology	Wrong Term	Terminology	Terminology
	Language	Syntactic Punctuation Misspelling	Language	Grammar Punctuation Spelling
		Word structure or agreement error		
	Country		Country standards	
	Consistency		Consistency	Reference documents
	Style		Style	Clarity
	Mistranslation		Mistranslation	Sense
SEVERITY LEVELS	minor, major, critical	minor, major	minor, major, critical	minor, major

TABLE 4: List of error types and features of the quantitative models analyzed (SICAL is not included since its large number of error types makes it unmanageable)

It can be observed that most macro error types are consistently identified through time and the metrics. Some error types, then, are recurrently kept in all the models, although with term variation and slightly different scopes:

— Accuracy (LISA, TAUS)/Omission (SAE, QAT),
— Terminology (LISA, TAUS, QAT)/Wrong term (SAE),
— Language (LISA, TAUS)/Syntactic-Punctuation-Misspelling (SAE)/ Grammar-Punctuation-Spelling (QAT).

Three other error types are present in all the models, except for SAE:

— Consistency (LISA, TAUS)/Reference Documents (QAT),
— Style (LISA, TAUS)/Clarity (QAT) and
— Mistranslation (LISA, TAUS)/Sense (QAT).

However, some error types find no counterparts in other systems such as Miscellaneous (SAE) or only one, such as Country (LISA)/Country standards (TAUS).

2. These metrics present a clear quality categorization by setting an acceptability threshold and different quality ranges. Furthermore, their assessment relies on a predetermined error classification and transparent error weightings known a priori by all parties involved (Schäffner 1998). Since, after all, quality really boils down to an agreement between translator and "customer" on the kind of quality sought for a particular assignment.
3. As Hurtado (2004) points out, nowadays, when assessing translation quality in professional settings criteria such as return on investment cannot be omitted. In professional contexts, where time and resources are limited, TQA metrics are an efficient and timesaving proposal that offers a good value for money relationship and fills a gap in professional translation
4. Acknowledging that full objectivity in TQA seems to be a utopian aim, these metrics raise expectations of a high inter-rater reliability (Doyle 2003; Colina 2008, 2009) offering results that are valid, justified and defendable.
5. Metrics bestow systematicity and reproducibility on a process that necessarily requires human intervention (Hönig 1998).

6. Outlining a Model for TQA

The foregoing analysis aimed to develop a valid and reliable model for professional TQA that tries to remedy the deficiencies in the quantitative models highlighted in the analysis, with special attention to QAT. To this end, some fundamental changes will be made incorporating the positive contributions of qualitative

models. The new proposal has necessarily to bridge the existing gap between theoretical sophistication and the applicability (Colina 2008) of the existing models. To do so, it relies on the functionalist paradigm (Nord 2009) because it provides two main benefits: it offers (i) a sufficiently ample framework to solve the theoretical deficiencies posed in the models of the foregoing review and (ii) a pragmatic and textual approach that encompasses extratextual and pragmatic factors. Consequently, the *Fit-for-purpose* motto is taken as the main evaluation parameter and it is placed in a central position in the new proposal.

As the new TQA model is intended to be used in professional settings, the applicability required relies heavily on its use of easily understood, practical, limited in number and verifiable (Brunette 2000) quality criteria. But above all, these criteria have to be flexible and customizable to the specific situational context (Martínez and Montero 2010) able to assign the relative value of error.

Another important drawback of metric systems is that they do not duly pay attention to the contextual (Sager 1989), the pragmatic (Nord 1997) nor the text-level issues. To overcome these hurdles, this model takes a two-tier and a continuous methodological approach. At the first tier, at sentence level, and taking a bottom-up approach, the new model is grounded in an error typology based on the above identified dominant macro error categories (sense error, terminological error, reference documentation error, omission error, clarity error, spelling error, grammar error, punctuation error plus a new type, addition error). At the same time, this new tool adds a new classification of errors according to their nature. Thus, errors may be tagged as *pragmatic* (relative value) (Nord 1997; Jiménez-Crespo 2011), when the error becomes such in virtue of its context; or as *linguistic* (absolute value), when an item is deemed an error per se and is not context-dependent. This is a key distinction for comprehending and implementing the relative value that functionalism concedes to error. Accordingly, this theoretical stance considers error as an inadequacy in relation to their context and the goals it pursues (Nord 1997).

This first tier of analysis leads to the second one that takes place at text level from a top-down approach. Here, an assessment rubric (Moskal 2000) helps the rater to carry out a linguistic analysis from a holistic viewpoint (Waddington 2000). The rubric is an assessment tool that splits the object of study (quality concept) into smaller components (dimensions) to simplify its assessment. With the form of a double-entry table, the rubric applied allows assessment criteria (dimensions) to be linked to attainment levels. At the intersection of the dimensions (columns) and levels of attainment (rows) we find the descriptors, statements that define precisely the features of the dimension described. The rubric contains five possible performance levels for each dimension: Very Good, Good, Acceptable, Below Standard and Unacceptable.

The analysis of some rubrics used in professional translation contexts (for example that of the American Translators Association for certification purposes) has provided an insightful input that helps to outline the quantitative element of the new model. This rubric breaks the concept of translation quality into four dimensions, whose definition derives from the functionalist concept of translation quality based on the notion of *adequacy*. The dimensions refer to the adequacy in the conveyance of the general sense, of the conformance to target language rules and of the general and specialized contents. Fuzzy and blurred as it is, the boundary between general and specialized knowledge is basically established on cognitive terms (Montero, Faber and Buendía 2011). So the task of the rater is restricted to choosing the most appropriate descriptor for each dimension, thus reducing considerably the unavoidable subjective burden of the reviser. Graphically this theoretical model turns into the following figure:

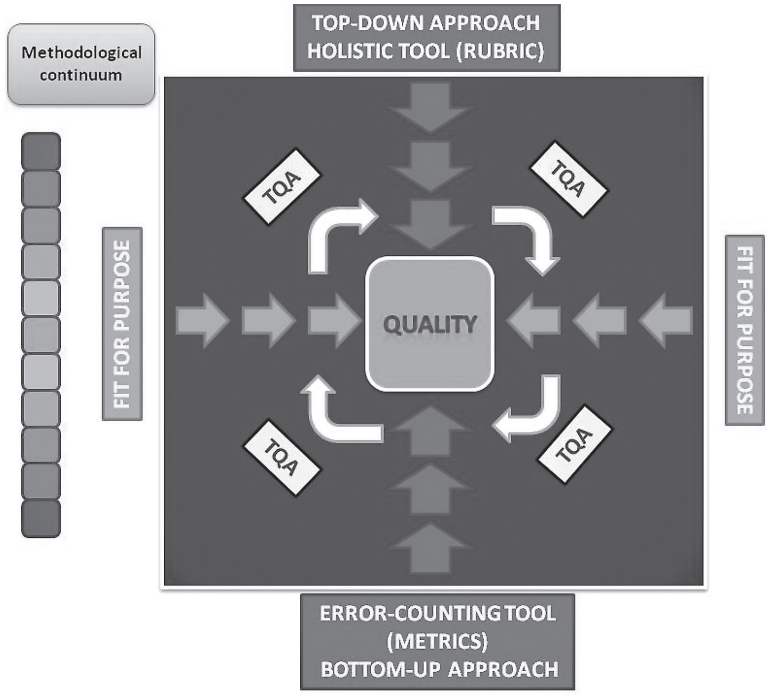

FIGURE 3: Graphical representation of a mixed top-down/bottom-up approach to TQA

As may be observed in the figure, the TQA model puts forward a combined top-down/bottom-up approach by using a quantitative tool (metrics) and an assessment rubric. This mixed approach links the dimensions of the rubric to the error types of the metric and meanwhile the *fitness-for-purpose* principle governs the TQA process. Methodologically, the model integrates two tools from complementary approaches within a *continuum* (Waddington 2000). This flexible tool allows the requester to set the order (of relative importance) of the rubric's dimensions and of the metric's errors by allocating them credit points (rubrics) and deduction points (metrics). Therefore, the resulting tool integrates two complementary views. On the one hand, a top-down approach through the rubric that provides a quantitative assessment of the macrotextual elements of the text by allotting them bonus points. And on the other hand, a bottom-up approach through the metrics that flags and counts error at microtextual level by subtracting points allocated to each error. The application of this componential tool will supply the rater with two quality indicators, one of a qualitative nature (rubric) alongside a quantitative one (metric). Stemming from opposite but complementary views, these two quality indicators will offer the evaluator a global view and a solid basis for making a justifiable decision on the quality of the translation.

This conceptual design remains to be experimentally tested. The results of this continuing empirical study will be disseminated in due time.

Notes

[1]. This paper subscribes the assumption posed by Sir William Thompson in XIX[th] Century: *"You can not assess what you can not measure"* (in Muzii 2006: 21-22) so there is a need to quantify it somehow.

[2]. For example, some general quality definitions identified quality with "fitness for use" or "zero defects" (Juran 1974) or as "conformance to requirements" (Crosby 1979) or as "a system of means to economically produce goods or services which satisfy customers' requirements" (Japanese Industrial Standards Committee 1981).

[3]. For Garvin (LISA 2004: 31) quality is a concept composed of five categories: Perceived; Product-based; User-based; Operations-based and Value-based. These five categories draw a picture whereby quality in translation is a multidimensional reality where each of them adds essential cues to form a comprehensive quality picture; however, none of them on their own would suffice to give a global view of quality.

[4]. TdA: *Sistema Canadiense de Apreciación de la Calidad Lingüística*. Initially created by Alexandre Covacs and afterwards joined by Jean Darbelnet.

[5]. [http://www.translationdirectory.com/article386.htm (Consulted on 7 march 2011)]

[6]. According to LISA (2007: 43), the latest LISA QA Model version (3.1, January 07) is the most widely used tool for TQA in localization and about 20% of all the companies in the world that take part somehow in localized product testing use it. Consulted on 21 March 2011. Available in http://www.lisa.org/LISA-QA-Model-3-1.124.0.html

[7]. Personal insertion

[8]. Emphasis in the original.

[9]. The translation body of the European Commission

[10]. According to DGT's own sources, in 1997 outsourced translations accounted for 16%, whereas in 2004 this figure increased to 23% and in 2008 it reached 26% out of a total translation of 1,805,000 pages. These figures show a clear upward trend in outsourcing percentages and this is expected to continue.

[11]. For further information about the Translation Centre, go to http://cdt.europa.eu/ES/whoweare /Pages/Presentation.aspx

[12]. According to their definition Utility refers to the 'relative importance of the functionality of translated content', Time is the deadline and Sentiment alludes to the 'importance of impact on brand image' (O'Brien 2012: 71)

[13]. 1. User Interface Text, 2. Marketing Material, 3. User Documentation, 4. Website Content, 5. Online Help, 6. Audio/Video Content, 7. Social Media Content, 8. Training Material.

[14]. B2C, B2B and C2C (O'Brien 2011 :68)

[15]. Quality Control is less than a full-revision and Quality Assurance is a broader concept that includes other minor procedures (Mossop 2007: 118)

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THE QUOTATIVE SYSTEM IN SPANISH AND ENGLISH YOUTH TALK. A CONTRASTIVE CORPUS-BASED STUDY[1]

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1. Introduction

The language of teenagers is of particular interest to linguists because youth and adolescence are the life stages in which language change is most clearly present (Romaine 1984; Kerswill 1996; Androutsopoulos 2005; Cheshire 2005). By "teenagers' language", we mean the expression used by teens, boys and girls of 13 to 20 years old, during normal communication among themselves, rather than in interaction with adults.

The literature on the grammar of English teen talk in particular shows that general trends do exist: simplified language, a high occurrence of onomatopoeic and non-lexical words (Nordberg 1987; Palacios Martínez 2013), a large number of vague language items (Cheshire 2007; Tagliamonte and Denis 2010; Palacios Martínez 2011), particular use of certain intensifiers (Paradis and Bergmark 2003; Tagliamonte 2008) and an abundance of taboo and swear words (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002). In the language of Spanish teenagers, most studies have focussed on the lexicon, with very little attention to syntax; findings have revealed the use of specific vocative expressions, insult and abuse words, particular word-formation processes (Casado Velarde 2002; Briz 2003; Vigara Tauste 2005), the use of synonyms with an euphemistic function (Rodríguez 2002), playful malformations, and a general tendency to shorten words (Casado Velarde 2002).

The present study aims to draw a contrast between English and Spanish in terms of the use of quotative markers or indexes, that is, grammatical elements in speech that serve to channel the speaker's own thoughts (internal dialogue), to introduce non-lexical words and sounds, and to reproduce what other people have said; this is what Tannen (1984, 1989) refers to as "constructed dialogue". Attention will be paid not only to particular items belonging to this category but also to the identification of common tendencies and strategies used by speakers of both languages in direct speech, and will serve as a means of providing a more thorough description of the language of teenagers in both systems. To my knowledge, no comparative studies on the use of quotatives in the language of English and Spanish adolescents and teenagers currently exist, and hence this paper is intended to contribute to the literature on quotatives from a contrastive linguistic perspective.

2. Review of the literature

The formal features, variation and function of quotatives have been studied extensively in English and in other languages, including Dutch (Coppen and Foolen 2012), Norwegian (Hasund, Opsahl and Svennevig 2012), German (Golato 2000), Swedish (Eriksson 1995), Greek (Archakis and Papazachariou 2009), Japanese (Oshima and Sano 2012), African languages (Güldemann 2008) and Danish (Rathje 2011), to mention just a few. In most of these cases particular attention has been paid to the variety of quotatives used by adolescents and young speakers as well as to their diachronic development. In Spanish, however, this area of grammar has not received the attention it deserves, the majority of studies concerned with the differences between direct and indirect speech and with the manifestation of quotatives in particular genres, as we will see below. In the remainder of this section I will discuss the main existing studies for both English and Spanish.

Biber *et al.* (1999: 1120) mention how young speakers "mark quoted speech using the highly versatile particle *like*, typically preceded by forms of *be*". They also provide examples in which direct quotations are marked by *all* preceded by a past form of *be* (i.e. *He was all* "Well I wanted to stay out of it"). This suggests that the three forms *go*, *be like* and *be all*, and even a fourth one, *this is* + subject, are nowadays popular among younger generations as quotatives. A number of studies from the 1980s onwards have shown that the age factor plays an important role in the choice of these quotatives, with older speakers tending to use the general reporting verbs, such as *say, ask*, *claim*, *remark*,

reply, *shout*, *report,* etc., whereas adolescents and teenagers opt frequently for alternative forms, such as *go, be like* or *be all*, using general reporting verbs far less. This general tendency is recorded by Romaine and Lange (1991), Ferrara and Bell (1995), Tagliamnonte and Hudson (1999), Dailey-O'Cain (2000), Macaulay (2001), Winter (2002), Stenström *et al.* (2002), Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004), Barbieri (2005), Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009), Buchstaller *et al.* (2010), Buchstaller (2011), Fox (2012) and D'Arcy (2012), among others. The general conclusion from these studies is that in the USA *go* became common among adolescents and younger speakers about 35-40 years ago, its place rapidly taken by *be like* in recent decades. Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) have also shown that this general trend in the use of these quotatives spread from the USA to Canada and the UK. Macaulay (2001) records similar findings with speakers from Glasgow.

More recently, Winter (2002) examined the discourse quotatives of Australian English found in interviews with adolescents. *Be like* is found in the data although it is not so frequent as *go*, *say* and null or zero. Barbieri (2005) has studied the quotative system with particular reference to *be like*, *be all* and *go* in four spoken corpora of American English. Rickford *et al.* (2007) have focused on the use of *all* as an intensifier and quotative in American English.

Cheshire *et al.* (2011) have identified a further two new quotatives, *this is* followed by a personal pronoun in its oblique form, such as *me* or *him*, and the verb *give*. Fox and Robles (2010) have focused on the quotative *it's like* followed by enactments (expressions of thought, feelings and attitudes) without an attributed human subject. Finally, Rodríguez Louro (2013) discusses the use of quotatives by speakers from Perth, Australia, with particular reference to *be like*.

Most of these studies have also considered three of the grammatical variables we are interested in here: grammatical person, verbal tense and aspect, and the content of the quote.

The proliferation of studies on quotatives in English contrasts, as noted above, with a corresponding dearth of similar projects for Spanish. To my knowledge, no specific work dealing with the quotative system in the language of Spanish teenagers exists, despite the fact that, as we know, adolescents and young speakers tend to include a lot of narratives in their daily speech. There is, however, some work on the differences between direct and reported speech (Verdín Díaz 1970; Gutiérrez 1986; Maldonado 1991; Reyes 1993; 1994; Cameron 1998, Camargo 2004; Estévez 2010) as well as studies focusing on these types of discourse in particular genres, such as journalism (Reyes 1982) and literary texts (Reyes 1994).

3. Method

The findings discussed here will be based primarily on data extracted from two corpora, COLT (The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language) and COLA (*Corpus Oral del Lenguaje Adolescente*), which can be considered fairly comparable, since they are of a similar size (around 430,000 words), are both based on recordings of spontaneous and informal interactions made by the participants themselves, and were both compiled at the University of Bergen according to similar criteria and parameters.

The COLT corpus, part of the British National Corpus (BNC), was compiled by Anna-Brita Stenström and her team in 1993 and consists of 431,528 words produced by teenagers aged between 13 to 17 in the London area. Although COLT was compiled in an attempt to represent language produced by British adolescents, it should not be regarded as fully representative of general adolescent British English, but rather of London teenager speech.

For the analysis of the Spanish data, I used the *Corpus oral de lenguaje adolescente* (COLA), which was established in 2002 at the University of Bergen and compiled by Annette Myre Jørgensen and her team. The subjects are between 13 and 18 years old and were selected from schools in areas with varying social profiles. At present, the corpus contains a total of 416,261 transcribed words. As with COLT, we should also be cautious when considering this corpus as fully representing the language of Spanish adolescents, since it was compiled in Madrid with the participation of informants of particular social groups. The concordancer CONCAPP was used to search for different quotative forms. The initial data retrieved then had to be filtered manually with great care, since examples with a possible quotative function had to be disregarded when they did not conform to the features typical of the speech reporting verbs.

4. Results

The data clearly indicate that both Spanish and British teenagers make use of a wide range of quotative forms, the presence of these very often conditioned by a number of grammatical features. There are obviously other social variables, such as the speaker's gender and social background, which also have a bearing on the presence and choice of quotatives, but these fall outside the scope of the present study.

I will begin by discussing the English findings and then move onto Spanish. After this I will draw a contrast between the two groups with the aim of identifying both shared tendencies and differences.

4.1. English data

4.1.1. Quotative frequency and overall distribution

In COLT, as Table 1 below shows, a total of 2,709 quotative tokens were retrieved, at a frequency of 62.5 per 10,000 words. Hence, quotatives may be regarded as common in the language of British teenagers, at least in the light of the data extracted from the corpus used here.

QUOTATIVE	N	%	Frequency per 10,000 words
GO	1,154	42.6%	26.7
SAY	793	29.3%	18.4
Zero	473	17.5%	11
THINK	152	5.6%	3.5
BE like	45	1.7%	1
like only	45	1.7%	1
SAY like	14	0.4%	0.3
GO like	14	0.4%	0.3
this is + subject	10	0.3%	0.2
SHOUT	4	0.1%	0.09
other verbs *(TALK, SOUND + like)*	4	0.1%	0.09
ASK	1	0	0
Total	2,709	100%	62.5

TABLE 1: Overall distribution of quotative markers in COLT (The Bergen Corpus London Teenage Language) (431,528 words)

The proportion of general reporting verbs here, including *say* (29.3%), *think* (5.6%) and to a lesser degree *shout, ask* and *talk*, is around one third (35.1%) of all quotative markers used. So, the other reporting verbs can together be regarded as more typical of teenagers, although of course these are not necessarily exclusive to them. *Go* is by far the most important here, representing almost half of all the quotatives used (42.6%).

In contrast to the high frequency of the verbs *say* and *go*, the various expressions with *like*, including *be like* (1), *go like* (2), *say like* (3), *sound like* (4) and *like* (5) on its own, represent only 4.3 percent of the total. Hence, in the early 1990s, when this corpus was compiled, there was a clear tendency for the use of the verb *go* by British teenagers, with the different forms with *like* not so widely used.

(1) Well *I'm like* <laughing> </> I *was like* <laughing> got to the last sentence and it was cut, and it was really lucky (COB136406/27)[2]

(2) and then he *goes like*, "sorry man, close the door and get out" (COB139003/21)

(3) I mean you can't be, she *says like* "oh her mum should wake her up, put her <unclear> wake her up" (COB136903/75)

(4) That sounds *like* <unclear> <mimicking> "ha ha". (COB/134602/24)

(5) he opens the door and he's got like shaving cr= shaving foam on his f a c e *like* <mimicking> "ah he's white he's white!" <nv> laugh (COB138907/19)

The proportion of zero, null or unframed quotatives (Mathis and Yule 1994; Palacios Martínez 2013) is also worth noting, since they represent 17.5 percent of the total.

(6) A: We gotta go now. Bye

B: Yeah, bye right. We're gonna go

A: <shouting> Bye!

B: Bye Russell! Bye Scott! <mimicking girlie voice> bye cutey Scott (COB135301/49-52)

In the data there are also ten instances of a quotative structure introduced by the demonstrative *this* followed by the verb *to be* and a subject form.

(7) he goes, "this is for you" *this is me*, "thanks" (CO132707/294)

The previous results are very similar, with some minor differences, to those reported in previous studies.

4.1.2. Grammatical person, aspect and tense in quotative frame

As Table 2 shows, the third person singular is, in global terms, the most common in the case of the quotative *go*; this is explained by the fact that, on its own, the form *goes* represents over 58 percent of the total number of tokens recorded for the whole verbal paradigm. This general tendency, however, contrasts with findings for base and past forms, that is, *go* and *went*, in which the first person singular overrides the third. Regarding the *-ing* form *going*, the third person is once again more frequent than the first; under the category of "other" (row 8) are listed cases in which *going* functions independently as a present participle and therefore the grammatical person distinction is wholly irrelevant. This might explain the high proportion of examples attested in this category. The choice of a particular person is closely associated with the tense selected by the speaker and the aspect expressed

by the verb. It also shows on many occasions the degree of involvement of the speaker with what is being narrated.

	GO		*GOING*		*WENT*		*GOES*		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1st p. sing.	56	34	43	19.3	52	54.2	31	4.6	182	15.8
1st p. plural	5	3	5	2.2	-	-	-	-	10	0.9
2nd p.	27	16.3	13	5.8	-	-	-	-	40	3.5
3rd p. sing.	31	18.8	90	40.4	39	40.6	639	95.4	799	69.2
3rd p. plural	28	16.9	15	6.7	5	5.2	-	-	48	4.2
OTHER	18	11	57	25.6	-	-	-	-	75	6.4
TOTAL	165	14.3	223	19.3	96	8.3	670	58.1	1154	100

TABLE 2: Distribution of grammatical person for *go* in COLT

It is also interesting to note the non-standard use of *goes* with the first person singular, presumably by analogy with the third. We have identified a total of 31 examples of this kind. Finally, the second person, *you*, is present with the base and the *-ing* forms in very modest proportions, 16.3 percent and 5.8 percent, respectively

With regard to *say*, something similar applies, as can be seen in Table 3 below; the third person singular form prevails over the rest and, as before, this is followed in frequency by the first person. However, the tendency to favour the third person is more clearly marked with *go* (69.2%) than with *say* (37.2%). Under the category of 'other' we have included here examples that cannot be classified under any grammatical person, mainly because they correspond to non-finite forms.

	SAY		*SAYING*		*SAID*		*SAYS*		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1st p. sing.	56	23.4	16	20.5	174	46.6	3	3.3	252	31.8
1st p. plural	4	1.6	1	1.3	-	-	-	-	5	0.6
2nd p.	42	16.7	6	7.8	31	8.3	-	-	79	10
3rd p. sing.	35	13.9	20	25.6	155	41.6	85	94.5	295	37.2
3rd p. plural	12	4.8	9	11.5	5	1.3	-	-	26	3.3
OTHER	100	39.6	26	33.3	8	2.3	2	2.2	136	17.1
TOTAL	252	31.8	78	9.8	373	47	90	11.4	793	100

TABLE 3: Distribution of grammatical person for *say* in COLT

The predominance of the third person singular is also very clearly attested in COLT with *be like* representing 73.4 percent of the total (see Table 4). In this respect, it is also important to point out that two thirds of these, some 22 tokens out of 33, have the pronoun *it* as their subject, and that this is generally contracted with *is*, resulting in a kind of fixed quotative expression *it's like*.

	COLT	
	N	%
1st person sing.	6	13.4
1st person plural	-	-
2nd person	2	4.4
3rd person sing.	33	73.4
3rd person plural	4	8.8
TOTAL	45	100

TABLE 4: Distribution of grammatical person for *be like* in COLT

If we look at the effects of tense on the choice of the quotative form, we see (Table 5) that this linguistic factor plays an important role. This is most clearly observed in the contrast between *go* and *say*; thus, *go* is selected when the speaker wants to render the story more vivid and realistic, involving the audience more directly in their account through the use of the so called conversational historical present (CHP), which generally has this communicative function and which is particularly common in narratives and stories (Biber *et al.* 1999: 454-455). By contrast, *say* is preferred when simply referring to events in the past without any notable or specific emotional import.

	SAY		*GO*		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
simple present tense	134	42	182	58	316	18.2
historical present tense	99	12	732	88	831	48
simple past	389	71	158	29	547	31.5
habitual will	17	77.2	5	22.8	22	1.2
habitual would	18	90	2	10	20	1.1
TOTAL	657	100	1079	100	1736	100

TABLE 5: Distribution of grammatical tense for *say* and *go* in COLT

Hence, according to the context and situation, speakers will opt for *goe*s or *said/ say(s)*. The differences between these two verbs in terms of the use of the historical present and the past tenses are not so evident with the simple present. Here there is a slight preference for *say* over *go*, but the differences are not overwhelmingly significant, at 42 percent for the former and 58 percent for the latter. Finally, habitual *will* and *would* are represented in the data at very low levels, making definite conclusions impossible, although a slight preference for *will* and particularly for *would* is perceived in the case of *say*.

As regards verbal aspect, Table 6 below illustrates how the progressive is more typical with *go* than with *say*, which might be related to the far more common use of the present historical tense with the former rather than the latter.

	SAY		***GO***		**TOTAL**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
progressive	52	24	166	76	218	100
simple	631	41	913	59	1544	100

TABLE 6: Distribution of the progressive versus non-progressive use of *go* and *say*

Be like and *like* on its own behave as general reporting forms, like *say*. Moreover, *be like* tends to favour historical present rather than present and past.

	COLT	
BE Like quotative form	**N**	**%**
I was like	6	13.3
he was like	3	6.7
she was like	-	-
it was like	1	2.2
Full NP (Dad, Tom, Nathan, the woman) was like	2	4.4
they were like	-	-
we were like	-	-
he's like	3	6.7
she's like	-	-
they're like	4	8.9
I am like	-	-
it's like	22	48.9
you are like	2	4.4
there's like	1	2.2
this is like	1	2.2
TOTAL	45	100%

TABLE 7: Distribution of be like as quotative according to tense and subject person in COLT

4.1.3. Speech versus thought representation and non-lexical sounds

In general, findings here do not differ significantly from previous studies. *Say* is used to introduce direct speech without any pragmatic effect, as with *go*, although I also find some variation. *Think* is clearly the quotative most frequently selected by the speaker to report thoughts, with *be like* and *like* appearing to be more multifunctional, in that they can report not only speech but also inner thoughts and non-lexical words. Finally, unframed quotatives are also quite multifunctional, although they especially favour non-lexical sounds. In what follows, then, we will consider and compare each of these quotatives in detail.

As mentioned above, *say* and *go* serve mainly to report speech but both can also introduce non-lexicalised words, although this is more common with the latter; indeed, in COLT 44 cases of sound words with *go* were found, and only 16 with *say*. We can claim, then, that *go* favours the use of non-lexicalised sounds. Other than this, they can also introduce exclamative expressions, backchannels and imperatives. Quite frequently *be like* communicates the speaker's feelings, attitudes or thoughts at that moment, even if these are not explicitly mentioned, as in (8).

(8) Yeah they're *like* <sound effect> (COB139201/55)

Zero quotatives not only serve to introduce direct speech, yet very often become a strategy used by speakers to report another person's words by imitating their way of speaking, often accompanied by modulation of the voice, gesture or other paralinguistic devices. As regards *this is* + subject, everything seems to indicate that this quotative only serves to express direct speech.

4.2. Spanish data

4.2.1. Quotative frequency and overall distribution

If we now turn to the data from the Spanish corpus, COLA (see Table 8 below), we observe that the number of quotatives is also quite high. However, the total figure of 2,191 is somewhat lower than that for COLT (2,709). This difference, moreover, is statistically significant (x^2 43.89, df= 1, p= <.0001). Such a difference might be attributable to minor differences in the content and type of the conversations recorded in each corpus, variables which would be impossible to control for in the current analysis, and to differences in the general quotative system of Spanish and English.

In this case the general reporting verbs, represented by *say/decir*, *pensar/think* and *contar/tell*, amount to about 70.5 percent of the total. The remaining quotatives, *hacer/do*, *ir/go*, *empezar/begin*, *y yo/and I*, *y el otro/and the other, en plan/like*, etc., then, can be regarded as more typical of teenagers although, as before, this does not mean that they are not used by adults, and are indeed used, albeit at a lower

QUOTATIVE	N	%	Frequency per 10,000 words
decir/say	1,522	69.5%	36.6
y yo/and I/me / y el otro/ and the other	238	10.9%	5.7
Zero	174	8%	4.2
en plan/like	91	4.1%	2.2
empezar/start	49	2.2%	1.2
hacer/do (hace 28, hacía 10, hizo 6)	44	2%	1.1
pensar/think	17	0.8%	0.4
(ser) como/be like	15	0.7%	0.36
saltar/jcome up with	8	0.3%	0.2
soltar/mention (suelta, soltó)	7	0.3%	0.16
ir/go	7	0.3%	0.16
ponerse/go	7	0.3%	0.16
contar/tell (cuenta, contó)	4	0.2%	0.09
coger/take	4	0.2%	0.09
other: *o sea/that is; así/like*	4	0.2%	0.16
TOTAL	2,191	100%	52.78

TABLE 8: Overall distribution of quotative markers in Spanish COLA

frequency. According to this, the quotative system in the language of Spanish teenagers is less innovative than in the case of English, given that the proportion of reporting verbs characteristic of teenage language is higher in the latter than in the former. However, the Spanish quotative system here presents new developments which merit attention. Also worth mentioning is the presence of the first person personal pronoun *yo*, 'I', preceded by the conjunction *y*, 'and', in parallel with the pronoun *otro/a*, 'other', also preceded by the same conjunction, that is, *y yo/and I* and *y el otro/and the other* employed as quotative markers. These represent a number of tokens that cannot be regarded as marginal, since taken together they amount to 10.9 percent of the total.

The number of unframed quotatives is also significant, 174 cases, representing 8 percent of the total. The expression *en plan*, 'like', also functions as a quotative marker, representing 4.1 percent of the total, with some 91 examples attested. It can be considered as one of the most typical quotatives in the language of Spanish adolescents and teenagers, and is very rarely found in the speech of adults.

The verb *empezar/begin* is also used as a quotative and can be adapted to any situation, since it simply marks the beginning of direct speech without adding any further emotional or expressive value. A total of 49 examples were found, representing 2.2 percent of the total number of quotatives.

Contrary to what happens in English, forms with *ir/go* and *ser como/be like* are not very common in Spanish teen speech, at 0.3 percent and 0.7 percent, respectively. Two other verbs of movement, *saltar/come up with* and *soltar/mention*, are also used sporadically as quotatives, and taken together represent around 0.6 percent of the total. Finally, the reflexive verb *ponerse/get* also performs the role of a quotative in a small number of cases, 7 in all representing just 0.3 percent of the total.

4.2.2. Quotative verbal tense and person

In Spanish, as Tables 9 and 10 show, the third person singular and the present tense clearly prevail over the rest. Thus, *decir/say* occurs mostly in the first and third persons of the present tense, that is, *digo* ('I say') and *dice* ('s/he says'), with 679 and 747 tokens, respectively. As a variant of *digo* ('I say'), I also find 2 cases of *me digo*, that is, 'I say to myself', which introduces the speaker's thoughts. The high proportion of this quotative in the present form reduces considerably when the verb occurs in the simple past tense, with 97 examples, and in this case the third person singular, *el/ella dijo* ('s/he said') is clearly the most common. Finally, we also find 96 instances in the gerund form *diciendo* ('saying').

The verb *empezar/begin* regularly occurs in its third singular present form, *empieza*. The same is true for the reflexive verb *ponerse/get*, *saltar/come up with* and *soltar/mention*. These are most frequently used in the present, and indeed no examples in the past were found here.

The verb *hacer/do* is always found in the third person but as regards tense we find more variation than before. From the 44 tokens of this quotative retrieved, 28 (63%) are in the present, the rest referring to actions in the past, either in the imperfect (*hacía*), with 10 examples (22%), or the perfect (*hizo*), with 6 tokens (15%).

In the case of *ser como/be like*, all 15 instances are in the impersonal form, that is, *es como*, 'it's like', and all are in the present tense. We do not record any example with a personal subject as was the case in English (e.g. *I/she was/is like...*).

4.2.3. Speech versus thought representation and non-lexical sounds

Decir/say generally introduces direct speech and, less frequently, the speaker's internal thoughts. However, unlike English *say*, the Spanish equivalent *decir* is not generally used with non-lexicalised sound words, since that function is mainly reserved in Spanish for the verb *hacer/do*. The following extract illustrates this:

(9) va y le abraza y le hace "pimba je je je"
'and he goes and hugs her and he says "pimba je je je"'(CAMASHE3/JO1)

However, we do find examples of *decir/say* with exclamations and non-lexicalised sounds, including taboo words, that are wholly fixed in the language.

	DECIR/ SAY		*EMPEZAR/ BEGIN*		*PONERSE/ GET*		*PENSAR/ THINK*		*SALTAR/ COME UP WITH*		*SOLTAR/ MENTION*		*HACER/ DO*		*SER COMO/ BE LIKE*		**TOTAL**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1st person sing.	679	44.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	679	41
3rd person sing.	747	49.1	49	100	7	100	7	100	8	100	7	100	44	100	15	100	884	53.3
-ing form/gerund	96	6.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	96	5.7
TOTAL	1522	91.7	49	2.9	7	0.4	7	0.5	8	0.4	7	0.4	44	2.6	15	0.9	1659	100

TABLE 9: Distribution of grammatical person for most frequent quotatives in COLA

	DECIR/ SAY		*EMPEZAR/ BEGIN*		*PONERSE/ GET*		*PENSAR/ THINK*		*SALTAR/ COME UP WITH*		*SOLTAR/ MENTION*		*HACER/ DO*		*SER COMO/ BE LIKE*		**TOTAL**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
present tense	1425	93.6	49	100	7	100	7	100	8	100	4	57.1	28	63.6	15	100	1543	93
imperfect	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	22.7	-	-	10	0.6
simple past	97	6.4	-	-							3	42.9	6	13.6	-	-	106	6.4
TOTAL	1522	91.7	49	2.9	7	0.4	7	0.5	8	0.4	7	0.5	44	2.6	15	0.9	1659	100

TABLE 10: Distribution of grammatical tense for most frequent quotatives in COLA

Notice also how *hacer/do* can also introduce gestures often accompanied by the adverbial *así*, 'thus, like this'. The correlative forms *y yo/and I* and *y el otro/and the other* mark direct speech without the presence of a verb.

	speech	thought representation	non-lexical words
DECIR/SAY	√	√ *(say to myself)*	√
PENSAR/THINK		√	
HACER/DO			√
Y YO (AND I)/Y EL OTRO (AND THE OTHER)	√		
NULL OR ZERO	√	√	√
EN PLAN/LIKE		√	
EMPEZAR/BEGIN	√		√
ES COMO/IT'S LIKE			√
PONERSE/GET	√		√
SOLTAR/MENTION	√		
SALTAR/COME UP WITH	√		

TABLE 11: Quotative verbs in Spanish according to the type of quote introduced

Null or unframed quotatives in Spanish play a similar function to those in English and seem to be the most flexible, as we can see from Table 11 above.

Most of the time *en plan* serves to introduce the speaker's internal thoughts and feelings rather than to report what another person has said.

(10) Tu ves que con Javi tu vas a tener confianza *en plan* "tia pues adelante"
You see you will feel safe with Javi *like* "go ahead then man" (CAMAORE2J01)

It is also curious to see that *es como*, 'it's like', can be followed by a word for a sound, which, as noted above, is largely restricted in Spanish to the verbs *hacer/do* and *empezar/begin*.

The quotatives *soltar* and *saltar* indicate spontaneity, and speakers tend to use them when expressing surprise or disagreement with a prior comment by another speaker or with the whole situation.

The reflexive *ponerse* introduces reported speech rather than the speaker's internal thoughts and can also introduce a non-lexicalised word.

5. Summary and conclusions

With regard to methodological issues, the two main corpora used, COLT and COLA, have provided useful information for the description and characterisation of quotatives, since they contain a high number and wide range of examples from different contexts and situations. Furthermore, COLT and COLA have proved to be fairly comparable reference sources for a contrastive study of Spanish and English. Although these two corpora provide a great deal of information, at times we had problems in the interpretation of the data, more particularly when deciding whether the element reproduced by a speaker corresponded to their own words or to the words of another person, thoughts or non-lexical words.

In terms of the quotatives used by teenagers in English and Spanish, the findings here indicate that we are dealing with a rich system, including a wide collection of general and teenager-specific constructions that are rapidly developing and changing, particularly in the case of English. We find this particularly with two English forms. *Go* and *(be) like*, which clearly prevail over the other general reporting verbs, such as *say*, *ask*, *claim*, and which also show typical processes of grammaticalisation. It is also observed that *say* and *go* are not identical, either in use or in their grammatical properties. A low number of tokens of the quotative *this is* + speaker have also been identified.

In the case of Spanish, we also find a system of general reporting verbs and expressions (*decir/say*'; *contar/ tell*; *preguntar/ask, hacer/ do*) and a parallel system characteristic of teenagers (*empezar/start*'; *saltar/come up with*, *soltar/mention; ir/ go*; *ponerse/get; y yo*, 'and I'; *en plan*, 'like'), although the general reporting verbs here play a more important role than in English. In Spanish, teenagers' specific quotatives represent only 25 percent of the total, compared to almost 50 percent in COLT. Curiously enough, the range of alternative quotatives to the general reporting verbs in Spanish is much wider than in English; however, their presence in the language is clearly lower. Within the set of characteristic teenager quotatives in Spanish, special mention should be made of *y yo* and *el otro*. The expression *en plan* as a quotative is also worth mentioning and behaves in a similar way to *like*, conveying the speaker's internal thoughts.

Also notable is the existence of a number of reporting verbs more characteristic of teenagers (*ir*, *soltar*, *saltar*) which generally express movement but which are used here to introduce direct speech by adding the meaning of surprise and spontaneity. The reflexive *ponerse* is also found as a quotative in a small number of cases, conveying something unplanned and unexpected. In the two corpora analysed, zero or unframed quotatives are clearly present at significant levels.

The current study should not be regarded as totally conclusive, since problems remain for a more thorough linguistic interpretation of quotatives; a closer analysis of the audio recordings of oral interactions would be helpful in this respect, although their sound quality is not always good enough to determine exactly what speakers mean.

Endnotes

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[2]. All the examples included in the study have been transcribed following the corpus conventions. Each example will be followed by an identification code indicating the corpus or source from which it was taken (CO for COLT, and COL for COLA), the corresponding code number from the corpus, and the conversation turn reference given. In this case, the example provided was selected from *The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language* (COLT), document number B136406; and the corresponding conversation turn was 27.

Corpora used

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CROSS-CURRICULAR ISSUES AND PUBLISHED ELT MATERIALS IN SPAIN

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1. Introduction

Since 1991 the compulsory primary and secondary education curricula in Spain have promoted the teaching of value-laden issues across all subjects. Those that were applicable until 2007 under the Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo (LOGSE) explicitly suggested that all teachers should address moral and civic education, peace education, health education, gender education, environmental education, sex education, consumer education and road safety education in their classes in order to achieve the full development of the student's personality (cf. Real Decreto 1344/1991: introducción, artículo 4; Real Decreto 1345/1991: introducción).

The Ley Orgánica de Educación (LOE) was passed in Spain on 3rd May 2006. Its official curricula for primary and ESO (Educación Secundaria Obligatoria- compulsory secondary education) came out in the summer of 2007 (cf. Orden ECI/2211/2007; Orden ECI/2220/2007). These LOE curricula do not refer explicitly to the "cross-curricular issues" (CCIs) mentioned in the LOGSE documents. However, it is stated in them that value-centred teaching is to be followed by teachers in all areas, and one of the basic competences to be developed along these stages is the Social and Citizenship competence.

Up to forty-six sets of published ELT materials that were being used in primary education or ESO in Jaén were consulted in 2006 and 2007 to find out how the eight CCIs were covered in them just before the law promoting the cross-curricular approach, the LOGSE, ceased to be valid. It is hoped that the publication of this study at the present time might encourage a similar study of materials taken from the LOE curricula, just before they are replaced by those of another law.

A general descriptive analysis of these materials is accompanied by a more specific one in which a few variables are considered and the analysis of variance (ANOVA) is applied. Conclusions will be drawn as to how successful this original cross-curricular approach in compulsory education ELT classrooms in Spain has been, as teachers of English integrate the CCIs almost exclusively through the set of published materials assigned for the course (Rascón Moreno 2011a: chapter 3).

2. Justification

Apart from the fact that the CCIs are advocated in the educational curricula, there are several other reasons why they should be considered in the context of primary education, *ESO* in general, and English in particular. First, the CCIs are very closely related to Citizenship Education and Values Education, both fundamental in the curriculum. The role of schools as instructors of morality is now stronger than before, since other traditional sources of values like family, religion, politics, and work are in crisis (Gómez Llorente 2005). The ethical formation of future world citizens is becoming a central concern in international educational debates (Tedesco 2005). Second, another way of incorporating this kind of moral education is through specific subjects like Citizenship and Human Rights Education and Ethical-Civic Education. However, it is believed that development in these aspects needs to be more broadly based, and that the whole school must be involved in it (Bailey 2000). For Alonso Vázquez et al. (2004) and Fernández Guisado (2006), both points of view on dealing with values are compatible. Third, a cross-curricular approach to education in values is preferred by some to the introduction of specific subjects dealing with it because the latter would imply a reduction in teaching hours for certain disciplines that are also important for the student's full development (ANPE 2005). Fourth, CCI teaching can help to resolve the problems of coexistence in schools, which are, sadly, more common now than before due to the loss of authority on the part of teachers. Proof of this tense situation is the organisation of campaigns and conferences where antisocial behaviour is discussed by the *Asociación Nacional de Profesores de España* (*ANPE*).

3. Review of the literature

Jiménez Catalán (1997: 37) studies the presence of issues such as AIDS, racism, the destruction of nature, war and liberty in twelve *ESO* coursebooks from five different publishing houses. The conclusions are quite negative, since it is stated that only environmental education is properly dealt with in these coursebooks. Ordóñez et al. (1999) analyse the treatment of these themes in another five ELT textbooks corresponding to the first cycle of *ESO*. They report that just one of the five coursebooks examined covers most of the CCIs prescribed by the *LOGSE* and that the other four deal cursorily with some of them. They also conclude that these matters are usually addressed implicitly and that some of them, especially consumer education and gender education, are addressed in a wrong way. Guijarro Ojeda (2004) analyses gender education and sexual orientation as presented in English textbooks for secondary students. His conclusions are disappointing as well since the materials do not pay attention to diversity and otherness.

Further analyses of CCI content in coursebooks would include those made by Wilson (in Maley 2005) and by Skliar and Eroz (2008). They study secondary school ELT textbooks on their portrayal of women, black people and stereotyping in general, on the one hand, and gender representations and gender bias, on the other. The results of the former show that negative stereotypes prevail and those of the latter reveal that they contain imbalances in the representations of men and women and gender-related stereotypes.

The materials analysis described in this paper can claim to be more comprehensive than those reported above because it covers many more coursebooks of primary and *ESO* level, and because it examines in depth not only textbooks but also whole sets of published materials.

4. Objectives

The main purpose of this empirical research is to know how the eight CCIs mentioned in the *LOGSE* curricula are addressed in the published materials used in the primary education and *ESO* English classrooms in the city of Jaén, Spain. More specifically, it sets out to obtain information about:

1. The frequency and breadth of coverage of the CCIs in these materials.
2. The kinds of contents (conceptual, procedural or attitudinal) that receive in depth or superficial treatment.
3. How explicitly each of the CCIs is broached.
4. Whether published materials include instruments for evaluating these topics.
5. Whether success in achieving the objectives vary significantly from a statistical point of view after considering the variables of publishing house, level and cycle.

5. The corpus of published materials

Researching sets of published materials meant analysing all their components: coursebooks, activity books, existing additional resources like posters, flashcards, CD-ROMs, DVDs and accompanying websites, and teacher's books and syllabuses, all of which proved conducive to a well-rounded analysis.

A total of 46 packs of material were borrowed from schools and examined, material from 9 different publishing houses: 12 from Oxford, 9 from Burlington, 8 from Longman, 7 from Macmillan Heinemann, 5 from Richmond. The ones providing this analysis with the fewest materials were Santillana Richmond (2), Harrap, Grupo Anaya (1), Edebé (1) and SM Cambridge (1). Twenty-two packs of materials were being used in the third cycle (years 5 and 6) in the primary schools visited. They are: *Bingo 4*, *New Happy Days 4*, *Super Bus 4*, *New English Parade 5* and *6*, *English Parade 3*, *Zoom 5* and *6*, *Top Class 3* and *4*, *Best Friends 5*, *Galaxy 5* and *6*, *Little Detectives 1* and *2*, *Frisbee 4*, *Charlie's World 5*, *The Burlington Kids 4*, *Big Red Bus 3*, *New Goldfish 6*, *Having Fun! 6*, and *Cool English 6*. The other 24 are *ESO* materials. Of the 24 *ESO* materials analysed, 11 were used in the first cycle of this level (years 1 and 2) and 13 in the second (years 3 and 4). The former are: *Opportunities Elementary*, *New Opportunities Pre-intermediate*, *Challenge 2*, *Macmillan Secondary Course 1* and *2*, *Oxford Exchange 1* and *2*, *Oxford Spotlight 1*, *Changes for ESO 1* and *2*, and *United 2*. The latter comprise: *Opportunities Intermediate*, *New Opportunities Upper-intermediate*, *Oxford Exchange 3* and *4*, *Can Do 4*, *Oxford Spotlight 3*, *Changes for ESO 3* and *4*, *Different 3* and *4*, *English Links 3* and *4*, and *New Thumbs Up! 4*.

Detailed references are not included at the end of this paper on account of space constraints, but are available upon request. Some of these sets of materials were used by only a few of the groups sampled, for instance the *Oxford Exchange* series, *Changes for ESO 1, 2* and *4*, *Oxford Spotlight 1, New Opportunities Upper-intermediate* and *Different 4*. Several of them were used both in public and private schools, a circumstance that was not considered a variable in this analysis.

6. Instruments

Drawing on previous literature related to cross-curricular teaching, I designed a checklist to evaluate the materials. It can be found shortened and translated into English in the appendix. It begins with a table which helps record technical data as well as other useful contextual information. Then, the main section includes the guidelines that were designed to evaluate the Spanish cross-curricular approach in

these materials. Most of the items of this checklist imply giving closed answers to facilitate and expedite data gathering and its subsequent analysis. However, there are also semi-closed exercises and one open exercise.

7. Data collection

This study is part of wider descriptive research conducted across schools in Jaén. All the schools in the city were visited so as to make the research as representative of the area as possible. All of them are urban. Luckily, 26 of the 30 institutions offering primary education and 20 of the 23 offering *ESO* were willing to participate. This means that the data collected correspond to around 87% of the total of educational establishments in Jaén offering either of these levels.

On the one hand, 15 of the primary schools visited are state schools and the other 11 private schools, of which 2 do not receive any state subsidy. On the other hand, 10 of the secondary schools that participated are state-maintained schools and the other 10 are private schools. Two of the latter, the same institutions as before, are unsubsidised private school (*colegios privados*), in contrast to the other 8, which are subsidised private schools (*colegios privados concertados*).

Each of the sets of materials analysed here was being used in at least one of the schools visited. The information from the materials was normally obtained in the schools, but sometimes they could be borrowed and examined at home, especially the CD-ROMs and DVDs for computer use. Gathering data from each of the sets of materials took between three and four hours, which was always undertaken by the same person, the author of this paper.

It should be noted that the analysis was appropriate to the contents that, according to the *LOGSE* guidelines, should be covered at a given level. These can be found in Rascón Moreno (2011a: 35-36). The ones for *ESO* is also available online (Rascón Moreno 2011b: 98-99).

8. Data analysis

The analysis of the information collected is presented in two different ways. Firstly, the "general descriptives" of all the data are shown. Secondly, a more detailed analysis with the information organised according to the variables of publishing house, level and educational cycle is included. The ANOVA Test allows an assessment of whether results are statistically different in relation to those variables. With regard to each question, both the "mean" and the "standard deviation" (SD) were identified.

General descriptives

Figure 1 shows the percentage of the published materials units that deal with each of the CCIs.

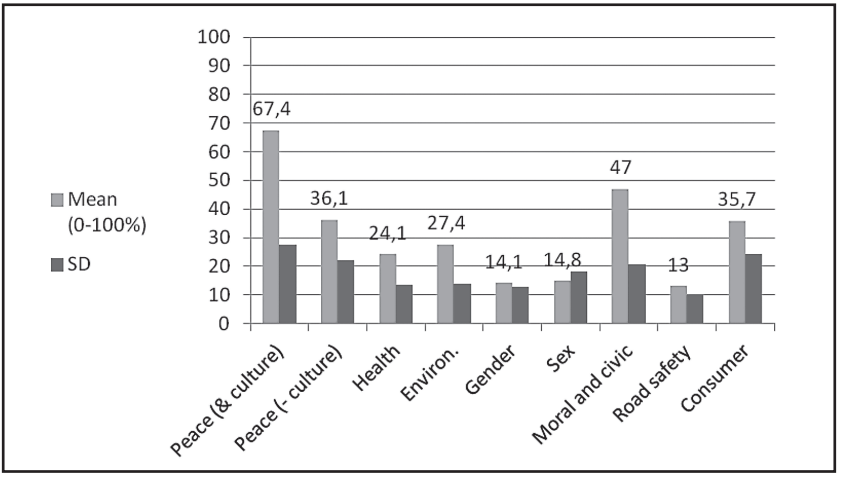

FIGURE 1. Percentage of the published materials units that deal with each of the CCIs

In the case of *peace education*, two analyses were made: one that took into account culture and one that did not. This was done because culture was very much present in the published materials, thus affecting results substantially. Culture, however, represents only a small part of the wide variety of peace-education contents to be covered in the primary and *ESO* classrooms of English (see Rascón Moreno 2011a). When culture was taken into consideration in the analysis, not only everyday matters like local traditions, daily routines, food, drink, etiquette... were taken into account, but also current issues and important events in history, literature, politics, the education system... In other words, both "culture" and "Culture", following Stern's distinction (1992), were considered. If culture is included in the analysis of *peace education*, then this is the most frequently addressed CCI in the corpus of published materials examined in this study, as –on average– around two thirds of all their units (67.4%) deal with it. If not, *moral and civic education* would be at the top of the list, since it is present in a little less than half their units (47%), followed by *culture* (36.1%). *Consumer education* is covered in around a third of the units (35.7%). Then, *environmental* and *health education* are, in this order, the next most frequently addressed issues. Contents with these themes are included in around a quarter of the

units (in 27.4% and 24.1% of them, respectively). *Sex, gender* and *road safety* are the last themes in the scale, as they are present in less than 15% of the published materials units (in 14.8%, 14.1% and 13% of them, respectively).

Though last but one on the list, *gender education* has in its favour the fact that all materials include pictures and photographs of both boys and girls, men and women. Another similar positive aspect of another CCI, in this case of *peace education*, is that respect, integration and love are promoted by means of pictures and photographs of people from different races and cultures in absolutely all the materials researched. Pairwork and groupwork activities, which are contained in most of the coursebooks and activity books examined, also come under the heading of *peace education* (cooperation).

Moreover, all the materials per se (as is the case with schooling in general) promote moral and civic education through effort and interest in learning. Nevertheless, these aspects, though implicit in CCI pedagogy, have not been considered in this analysis since I was endeavouring to focus on more explicit attempts to approach these issues. *Changes for ESO 4* is the pack that emerged as being the one that deal most thorough with the CCIs. The analysis of the *Galaxy 6* set, in contrast, obtained the worst results in this sense.

The answers to question 1 ("The frequency and breadth of coverage of the CCIs in these materials") (see appendix 1) are positive. However, it should be noted that if the breadth of coverage of the CCIs in them (information collected in question 2) is also borne in mind in the analysis, the results are not so good. Only some of the contents that are taken as a basis for this study (see Rascón Moreno 2011a: 35-36) are addressed in them. Let us consider a few examples.

Peace topics like family, friendship, help, NGOs and intercultural education are often broached, but others like talking instead of fighting as the way to bridge differences, disarmament, love, respect for other young people (versus bullying) and education in different religions are rarely included. As for moral and civic education, being polite and tolerant towards other people's opinions, and following the rules in society for a happy coexistence are generally promoted, but building one's own system of values that does not threaten other people's happiness, being tolerant towards other people's conditions, and knowing about democracy and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are not much promoted.

Road safety and *sex education* are even clearer examples. Concerning the former, the means of transport and highway codes are in the majority of cases the only issues addressed. With respect to the latter, broad as it is in terms of the content to be taught, the only topics to be dealt with in fact were relationship, marriage, attraction and romantic love and were covered implicitly, more often than not by means of songs only. However, many of the issues related to *consumer education* and *health* which are listed in the guidelines of this study are broached in these materials.

Regarding the second objective of this research, three types of CCI contents can be distinguished, as with any subject included in the *LOGSE* curricula: conceptual, procedural and attitudinal. The first are theoretical, the second imply teaching through practice (and therefore the most complicated to integrate in the English language classroom) and the third seek to directly instil students with the associated moral values. Undoubtedly, the three kinds of contents are linked.

The information gathered about the types of CCI contents that are most commonly dealt with in each set of published materials yields evidence that the attitudinal ones are the most frequently present. Only in six cases does the transmission of conceptual contents exceed that of attitudinal contents. Procedural content teaching does not predominate in any of the published materials under investigation. This is shown in figure 2.

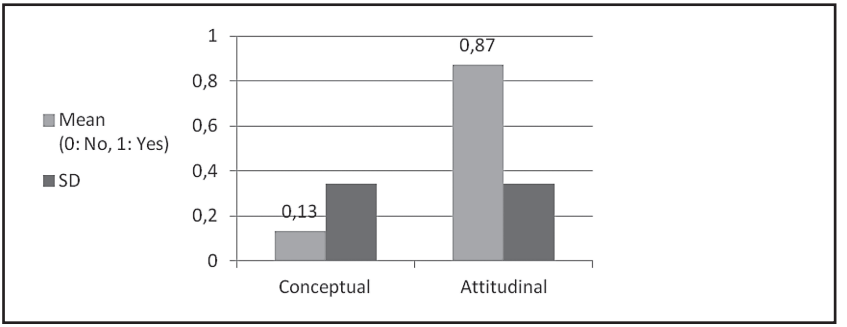

FIGURE 2. Most dealt-with CCI contents in each set of the published materials

Procedural contents of the CCIs not only do not ever predominate over the conceptual and attitudinal ones, but also, in the majority of the published materials, they are the least frequently dealt with. CCI concepts are the least present kinds of contents in three cases (*Top Class 4*, *New English Parade 6* and *English Parade 3*) and CCI attitudes in two cases (*Galaxy 5* and *New English Parade 5*), respectively. This information, which is provided in figure 3, was collected by means of question 3 in the instrument to analyse these materials (appendix 1), as well as the data above concerning the most dealt-with CCI contents.

CCI education can be approached with different levels of explicitness or none at all on the part of the publishers. This was analysed through the closed-answer part of question 2 in the checklist. Figure 4 sheds light on this aspect. *Gender*, *sex* and *peace education* are almost always dealt with implicitly. Results also show that *moral and civic*, and *consumer education* are addressed "more implicitly than explicitly". In contrast, the means of

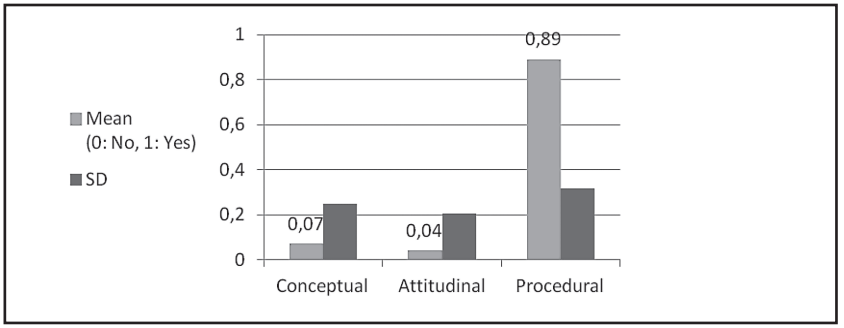

FIGURE 3. Least dealt-with CCI contents in each set of the published materials

health (2.33), *road safety* (2.25) and *environmental educati*on (2.02) are nearer value 2, which indicates that their coverage in general is "more explicit than implicit".

These ways of teaching the CCIs do not depend on the kind of contents that is worked on, although it could be observed that those taught with higher levels of implicitness (*gender, sex, peace* and *moral and civic education*) are more often taught attitudinally than conceptually, and that those dealt with more explicitly (*health, road safety* and *environmental education*) are addressed conceptually with slightly greater frequency than they are attitudinally.

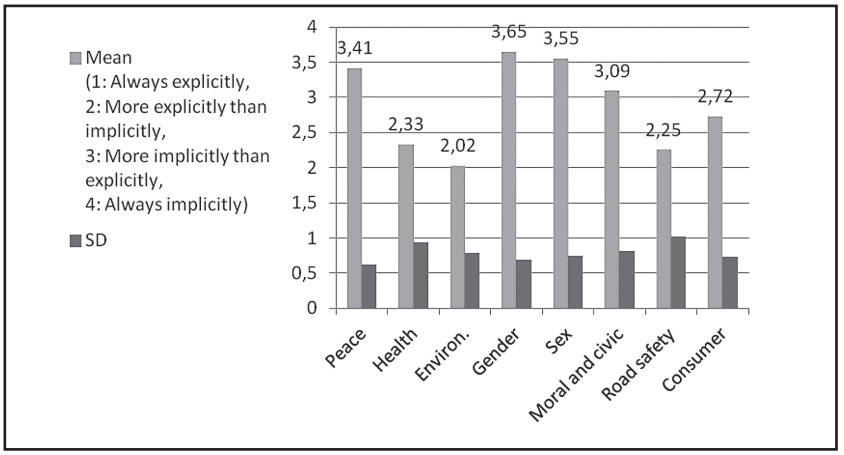

FIGURE 4. Explicitness with which the CCIs are addressed in the published materials

Finally, this analysis is concerned with the evaluation of the CCIs, which is targeted in question 4 of the appendix. The data in figure 5 indicate that the vast majority of the sets of materials sampled offer the possibility of assessing the CCIs by means of some of their evaluation instruments. These can be classified into three groups: tests, self-checks (involving student self-evaluation) or evaluation sheets (completed by the teachers). They may not be labelled in this way in these materials. Two thirds of the materials promote CCI evaluation through tests, while around half of them do so through evaluation sheets and/or self-checks, according to the means in the figure below (0.67%, 0.57% and 0.5%, respectively).

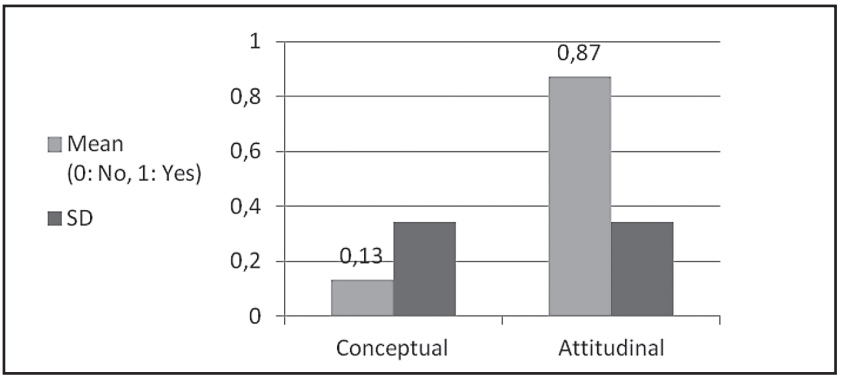

FIGURE 5. Instruments to assess the CCIs included in the published materials

Specific data (variables)

Information from published materials has also been analysed in detail according to the following variables:

1. Publishing house
2. Level
3. Educational cycle

These specific data are shown below in three tables. Broad tendencies are described, and special attention is paid to those occasions when differences are significant statistically. When this is so, that is to say, when the ANOVA Test yields "p" results that are equal to or below 0.050, the corresponding means producing those low p results is highlighted in bold type.

The first important issue that was examined is included in table 1.

VARIABLES		Statistical Data	Percentage of the published materials units approaching the CCIs								
			Peace (& culture)	Peace (- culture)	Health	Environmental	Gender	Sex	Moral and civic	Road safety	Consumer
Publishing house	Longman	Mean	57,5	35	15	27,5	17,5	22,5	46,3	12,5	42,5
		SD	30,6	19,3	7,6	12,8	7,1	22,5	22	7,1	24,9
	Burlington	Mean	83,3	45,6	26,7	32,2	21,1	21,1	53,3	12,2	51,1
		SD	25,5	24,5	14,1	12	15,4	16,9	31,2	6,7	25,7
	Macmillan H.	Mean	70	31,4	32,9	27,1	10	10	51,4	14,3	27,1
		SD	30	33,9	15	13,8	11,6	15,3	20,3	16,2	26,2
	Oxford	Mean	67,5	36,7	28,3	25	13,3	18,3	44,2	12,5	35,8
		SD	25	20,1	13,4	15,7	13	20,4	12,4	10,5	21,9
	Richmond	Mean	62	30	18	22	10	4	46	18	32
		SD	27,7	17,3	8,4	17,9	14,1	5,5	8,9	10,9	17,9
	Santillana Richmond	Mean	55	20	25	40	0	0	40	10	15
		SD	49,5	14,1	21,2	0	0	0	42,4	14,1	7,1
	Harrap (Anaya)	Mean	50	30	10	10	10	0	20	10	10
		SD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Edebé	Mean	50	50	10	30	30	0	40	0	0
		SD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	SM Cambridge	Mean	70	40	20	30	0	0	50	20	20
		SD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Level	Primary education	Mean	**46,8**	**20,9**	26,8	30	**9,1**	**0,5**	41,8	15	**15**
		SD	22,3	12,7	16,1	12,3	13,1	2,1	18,7	12,2	10,1
	ESO	Mean	**86,3**	**50**	21,7	25	**18,8**	**27,9**	51,7	11,3	**54,6**
		SD	15,5	19,8	10,1	14,7	10,8	16,1	21,4	7,4	16,7
Educational cycle	3rd cycle of pr.ed.	Mean	**46,8**	**20,9**	26,8	30	**9,1**	**0,5**	41,8	15	**15**
		SD	22,3	12,7	16,1	12,3	13,1	2,1	18,7	12,2	10,1
	1st cycle of *ESO*	Mean	**86,4**	**50,9**	23,6	24,5	**18,2**	**26,4**	50	10,9	**52,7**
		SD	18	21,7	8,1	12,9	12,5	11,2	24,9	9,4	16,8
	2nd cycle of *ESO*	Mean	**86,2**	**49,2**	20	25,4	**19,2**	**29,2**	53,1	11,5	**56,2**
		SD	13,9	18,9	11,5	16,6	9,5	19,8	18,9	5,5	17,1

TABLE 1. Percentage of units covering the CCIs

Concerning the variable of *publishing house*, the Burlington and Santillana Richmond sets of materials are those which cover the CCIs the most and the least, respectively –although this is not statistically significant. As for *level*, the means vary much more. *ESO* materials cover the majority of the CCIs the most. The differences here are statistically significant except those (differences) on *moral and civic education* (*peace education* including culture –p=0.000– and excluding it –p=0.000–, *gender education* –p=0.009–, *sex education* –p=0.000– and *consumer education* –p=0.000). In connection with the *educational cycle,* the clearest differences are the same as those having to do with *level.* Results from the first cycle of *ESO* sets of materials are usually quite close to the second cycle of *ESO* sets or they are in between the results from that upper cycle and those from the third cycle of primary education. Except for moral and civic education, these differences are also statistically significant (peace education including culture –p=0.000– and excluding it –p=0.000–, gender education –p=0.033–, sex education –p=0.000– and consumer education –p=0.000).

Results for the information in table 2 –levels of explicitness of the CCIs in the published materials– are more similar.

The means are usually very similar, when considering the variable of *publishing house*. As far as *level* is concerned, clear differences between the two levels can be observed in relation to the ways in which health, gender and moral and civic education are broached. They are statistically significant. The first is slightly more implicitly addressed in *ESO* (p=0.009), and the second and the third are not so implicitly addressed in *ESO* as in primary education (p=0.000 and p=0.025, respectively). Analysing the data taking the variable of *educational cycle* into account yields the same differences as those mentioned above. They are statistically significant here as well (ways in which *health* –p=0.026–, *gender* –p=0.000– and *moral and civic education* –p=0.027– are broached). It should be noted that the evolution of results between cycles does not occur with respect to how *health* is broached, which is more implicit in the first cycle than in the second cycle of *ESO* materials.

The questions in table 3 are concerned with the most and least dealt-with CCI contents in each set of materials, and with the instruments they include that help assess the CCIs.

Their specific analysis according to the variable of *publishing house* shows that results do not vary as they did for the first variable. The most common type of CCI contents in each set of materials of the eight publishing companies is usually the attitudinal one, and the least frequently addressed is in the majority of cases the procedural one. As for the instruments to assess the CCIs, the vast majority of publishers often include some. These are usually tests. Self-checks and evaluation sheets are generally included too, but there are discrepancies in this respect, although they are not statistically significant.

VARIABLES		Statistical Data	How explicitly the CCIs are addressed in the published materials							
			Peace	Health	Environmental	Gender	Sex	Moral and civic	Road safety	Consumer
Publishing house	Longman	Mean	3,38	2,25	2,13	3,25	3,6	2,63	2,43	2,43
		SD	0,74	1,03	0,64	0,89	0,55	0,92	1,13	0,79
	Burlington	Mean	3,67	2,67	2,33	3,67	3,43	3,22	2,13	2,78
		SD	0,5	1	0,71	0,71	0,98	0,67	1,25	0,44
	Macmillan H.	Mean	3,43	2,57	2,14	4	3,67	3	2,5	3,17
		SD	0,53	0,79	0,38	0	0,58	0,82	1,29	0,75
	Oxford	Mean	3,5	2,42	2,17	3,73	3,8	3,25	2,33	2,75
		SD	5,22	0,79	1,03	0,65	0,45	0,87	0,87	0,87
	Richmond	Mean	3,2	2,2	1,75	3,25	3	3,2	2	2,8
		SD	0,45	1,3	0,5	0,96	1,41	0,34	1,22	0,45
	Santillana Richmond	Mean	3,5	1,5	1	4	-	4	2	1,5
		SD	0,71	0,71	0	0	-	0	-	0,71
	Harrap (Anaya)	Mean	2	2	1	4	-	2	2	3
		SD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Edebé	Mean	4	1	1	4	-	3	-	-
		SD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	SM Cambridge	Mean	2	1	1	4	-	3	2	3
		SD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Level	Primary education	Mean	3,45	**1,95**	1,95	**4**	4	**3,36**	2,44	2,53
		SD	0,67	0,9	0,78	0	-	0,95	0,81	1,02
	ESO	Mean	3,38	**2,67**	2,09	**3,29**	3,52	**2,83**	2,1	2,88
		SD	0,58	0,67	0,79	0,84	0,75	0,56	1,16	0,34
Educational cycle	3rd cycle of pr.ed.	Mean	3,45	**1,95**	1,95	**4**	4	**3,36**	2,44	2,53
		SD	0,67	0,9	0,78	0	-	0,95	0,81	1,02
	1st cycle of *ESO*	Mean	3,45	**2,82**	1,82	**3,56**	3,8	**3,09**	2	2,91
		SD	0,52	0,75	0,6	0,73	0,42	0,54	1,07	0,3
	2nd cycle of *ESO*	Mean	3,31	**2,54**	2,33	**3,08**	3,27	**2,62**	2,17	2,85
		SD	0,63	0,97	0,89	0,9	0,9	0,51	1,27	0,38

TABLE 2. Ways of addressing the CCIs

An analysis of these issues from the point of view of *level* shows that the attitudinal CCI contents are practically on all occasions the most frequently dealt with in the *ESO* materials, whereas occasionally the conceptual CCI contents are those on which the primary education ones focus most. Something similar can be said about the least dealt-with contents. Whereas procedural contents on the CCIs always head this classification in the *ESO* materials, the other contents –though rarely– occupy this position in some of the primary education sets. Results for procedural contents as the least dealt-with CCI contents are statistically significant (p=0.013). This variable also yields discrepancies in relation to cross-curricular assessment. The three kinds of tools encouraging some CCI evaluation can be more commonly found in the *ESO* materials. The ANOVA Test shows statistically significant differences in the inclusion of some evaluation instruments (p=0.005), and of tests (p=0.000) and of self-checks (p=0.000) in particular.

If the variable of *educational cycle* is considered, the same differences spotted above in connection with their level are applicable here. The statistically significant differences can also be found in these items: procedural contents as the least dealt-with CCI contents (p=0.046), and the existence of some instruments to assess the CCIs in general, and of tests and self-checks in particular (p=0.021, p=0.000 and p=0.000, respectively). Results in these aspects for the two *ESO* cycles practically coincide, contrasted with those of the third cycle of primary education. However, there are more evaluation sheets that promote CCI assessment among the materials of the primary education cycle under research than among those of the first *ESO* cycle. These differences are not statistically significant.

9. Conclusions

Objective 1. Published materials address *peace* and *moral and civic education* more frequently than the other CCIs, according to the analysis of those under study. The former type is present in two thirds of their units but if culture is not included in the analysis, then this CCI is present in slightly more than one third of them. *Moral* and *civic education* is also very commonly covered in these materials, as it is present in around half the units. Surprisingly, *consumer education* is the third most frequently addressed CCI, since it is broached in a little more than one third of the total of units. Contents related to *environmental* and *health education* are addressed in around one quarter of the units. *Sex, gender education* and *road safety* (in this order) are not so often integrated in published materials, according to the forty-six sets sampled here, because they are present in less than 15% of the units (see figure 1). The frequency with which *gender, peace* and *moral and civic education* are incorporated by publishers would be much higher if the aspects mentioned in the data analysis above were taken

VARIABLES		Statistical Data	Most dealt-with CCI contents in each set of published materials		Least dealt-with CCI contents in each set of published materials			Instruments to assess the CCIs in the published materials			
			Conceptual	Attitudinal	Conceptual	Attitudinal	Procedural	Some	Tests	Self-checks	Evaluation sheets
Publishing house	Longman	Mean	0,25	0,75	0,25	0,13	0,63	1	0,63	0,63	0,38
		SD	0,46	0,46	0,46	0,35	0,52	0	0,52	0,52	0,52
	Burlington	Mean	0	1	0	0	1	0,89	0,78	0,78	0,89
		SD	0	0	0	0	0	0,33	0,44	0,44	0,33
	Macmillan H.	Mean	0	1	0	0	1	0,86	0,71	0,43	0,14
		SD	0	0	0	0	0	0,38	0,49	0,53	0,38
	Oxford	Mean	0,17	0,83	0,08	0,08	0,83	0,75	0,58	0,25	0,58
		SD	0,39	0,39	0,29	0,29	0,39	0,45	0,51	0,45	0,51
	Richmond	Mean	0,2	0,8	0	0	1	1	0,8	0,6	0,8
		SD	0,45	0,45	0	0	0	0	0,45	0,59	0,45
	Santillana Richmond	Mean	0	1	0	0	1	1	0,5	0,5	0,5
		SD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,71	0,71	0,71
	Harrap (Anaya)	Mean	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
		SD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Edebé	Mean	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
		SD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	SM Cambridge	Mean	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
		SD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Level	Primary education	Mean	0,23	0,77	0,14	0,09	**0,77**	**0,73**	**0,32**	**0,14**	0,55
		SD	0,43	0,43	0,35	0,29	0,43	0,46	0,48	0,35	0,51
	ESO	Mean	0,04	0,96	0	0	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0,83**	0,58
		SD	0,2	0,2	0	0	0	0	0	0,38	0,5
Educational cycle	3rd cycle of pr.ed.	Mean	0,23	0,77	0,14	0,09	**0,77**	**0,73**	**0,32**	**0,14**	0,55
		SD	0,43	0,43	0,35	0,29	0,43	0,46	0,48	0,35	0,51
	1st cycle of *ESO*	Mean	0,09	0,91	0	0	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0,82**	0,45
		SD	0,3	0,3	0	0	0	0	0	0,4	0,52
	2nd cycle of *ESO*	Mean	0	1	0	0	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0,85**	0,69
		SD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,38	0,48

TABLE 3. Most and least dealt-with contents in each set, and CCI evaluation

into account. However, these aspects should not be borne in mind because there was no clear and decisive attempt to deal with the CCIs.

It should be noted that results about how often the CCIs are addressed in these materials, and therefore in the Jaén ELT classrooms in which they were used, are positive. However, if breadth of coverage in these resources is considered, the results are not so good. Only some of the contents that are objects of the study here are addressed in them. Examples were given above.

Objective 2. In these materials attitudinal teaching of the CCIs predominates over conceptual teaching, and especially over procedural teaching –the most neglected type. This can be asserted on the basis of the information included in figures 2 and 3.

Objective 3. It can be concluded that *gender, sex* and *peace education* are dealth with "almost always implicitly" in these resources. Results also show that *moral and civic education,* and *consumer education* are addressed "more implicitly than explicitly". In contrast, *health, road safety* and *environmental education* are mostly broached "more explicitly than implicitly" (see figure 4).

Objective 4. Practically all published materials include tools such as tests, self-checks and/or evaluation sheets that enable the students to assess some of the cross-curricular contents covered (see figure 5). Teachers should benefit from these too, as CCIs must not only be taught, but also evaluated.

Objective 5. The results obtained in the fulfilment of objectives 1-4 above do not normally differ from a statistical point of view when the variable of publishing house is considered. In contrast, there are many significant differences among them when the variables of level and cycle are taken into account (see tables 1-3).

10. Recapitulation, teaching implications and further research

This research is believed to be very relevant to language teaching since one conclusion would be that the *LOGSE cross-curricular* approach was not followed closely enough in the English classroom in the last few years during which the LOGSE education law was in force. When the CCIs are not dealt with adequately by publishers, teachers do not normally compensate for this lack by planning other activities that address these topics. It can be claimed then that the results of this analysis of 46 sets of published materials are an accurate portrayal of the teaching of these issues. The CCIs are not dealt with in the English classroom as much as they should be because although they are often touched on in a general way, very little of what could and should be covered in these subjects actually finds its way into published materials. On the positive side, it should be added that all the CCIs are present, in general terms, in the materials analysed, especially five of them.

This empirical study also sheds light on the influence of a series of variables in the results obtained. The specific analysis by means of the ANOVA Test shows that, generally, the higher the level of the materials and the more advanced the educational cycle, the more cross-curricular contents they include.

Given the results obtained, this research can be useful in two ways. On the one hand, it will ideally contribute to the improvement of the new ELT materials in terms of CCI teaching if this paper finds echo in materials designers and publishers. On the other hand, it should encourage teachers to create their own materials for the CCIs. This is now easier than ever thanks to computer technology. In Rascón Moreno (2011a: chapter 5) I report on a few projects that prove that cross-curricular teaching fits perfectly into the compulsory education English classroom thanks to materials designed by means of ICT. The benefits of following the *LOGSE* cross-curricular approach are many. This is especially the case in the English classroom due to the flexibility of language learning in terms of content. Teachers of English are in a privileged position since they can bring into their classrooms CCIs that raise issues vital for the building of a better world. This opportunity should not be missed.

Finally, with regard to further research, it would be interesting to conduct a similar analysis of published materials adapted to another educational law. This would reveal whether a different approach to value-based topics such as the *LOGSE* CCIs affects ELT. Another analysis that might follow on from this one could be made of the materials used in lower cycles of primary education. At the present time in Spain the teaching of a foreign language is obligatory from year 1 in the first cycle, two years earlier than under the *LOGSE*. Thus, undertaking this research in the second cycle of primary education (when many *LOGSE* students had their first contact with English) would be appropriate now.

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Appendix. Published materials evaluation checklist

Title:
Author/s:
Publisher:
Publication date:
Materials included:
Institution in which they are exploited:

1. Are the CCIs dealt with? If so, indicate the number of units in which they are covered

	Yes	No	Number of units
Peace Health			☐
Environment			☐
Gender			☐
Sex education			☐
Moral and civic education			☐
Road safety			☐
Consumer education			☐

2. How explicitly are the CCIs addressed, and by means of which specific contents and activities?

PEACE

Always explicitly

More explicitly than implicitly

More implicitly than explicitly

Always implicitly

Contents/activities: _____

_____

HEALTH

Always explicitly
More explicitly than implicitly
More implicitly than explicitly
Always implicitly
Contents/activities: _____

_____

ENVIRONMENT

Always explicitly
More explicitly than implicitly
More implicitly than explicitly
Always implicitly
Contents/activities: _____

_____

GENDER

Always explicitly
More explicitly than implicitly
More implicitly than explicitly
Always implicitly
Contents/activities: _____

_____

SEX EDUCATION

Always explicitly
More explicitly than implicitly
More implicitly than explicitly
Always implicitly
Contents/activities: _____

_____

MORAL AND CIVIC EDUCATION

Always explicitly
More explicitly than implicitly
More implicitly than explicitly
Always implicitly
Contents/activities: _____

_____

ROAD SAFETY

Always explicitly
More explicitly than implicitly
More implicitly than explicitly
Always implicitly
Contents/activities: _____

_____

CONSUMER EDUCATION

Always explicitly
More explicitly than implicitly
More implicitly than explicitly
Always implicitly
Contents/activities: _____

_____

3. Write the following kinds of CCI contents starting with the most dealt-with type and finishing with the least dealt-with one: conceptual, procedural and attitudinal

_____

4. Do they include evaluation instruments that help assess the CCIs covered?

Yes Specify _____

No

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LEXICAL-CONSTRUCTIONAL SUBSUMPTION PROCESSES IN THE LEXICAL CONSTRUCTIONAL MODEL: THE CASE OF JOIN AND ATTACH

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1. Introduction[1]

The nature of the relationship between grammar and lexicon has been the object of numerous studies that present different views attending to the type of relationship that is claimed to exist between these two components. Functional theories such as Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) (Van Valin 2005; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997) and Functional Discourse Grammar (Dik 1997; Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008) claim that the morphosyntactic structure of predicates derives from their lexical structure by means of a set of linking rules, whereas cognitive and constructional models of linguistic description postulate the existence of a continuum from lexicon to grammar (Croft 2001; Goldberg 1995, 2002, 2006; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Langacker 1987, 2005).

The Lexical Constructional Model (henceforth LCM) as outlined in Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2007a, 2007b, 2008) and Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza (2006, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011) combines assumptions from functional projectionist theories and constructional models adopting a non-eclectic but rather inferential[2] approach (Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza 2009b) which aims to explore the relationship between lexical and syntactic meaning and provides a basis for the characterization of the logical structure of verbs, their semantic content (lexical templates) and the cognitive and pragmatic constraints which might block or, on the contrary, license the merging of lexical templates and other higher-level

constructions. From RRG, they adopt the "functional face of the model" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2008: 1) whereas the constructional orientation of the model mainly derives from Goldberg (1995, 1998, 2002, 2006)[3].

The present contribution provides a description of the semantic representation of the verbs *join* and *attach,* which belong to the lexical subdomain of "putting things together", as presented in the paradigmatic organization of the lexicon in Faber and Mairal (1999), along with the structural patterns and alternations in which these predicates might participate (Levin 1993; Rappaport and Levin 1998). For the purposes of this research, I have been inspired by the theoretical framework of the LCM and by the methodological assumptions of Role and Reference Grammar, which have been proved valid tools for the analysis of position verbs. These are verbs that describe how to put things together (e.g. *join* and *attach*).

The remainder of this article is structured as follows. Section 2 includes information about the corpus and methodology used. Section 3 offers a description of the semantic representation of the verbs along with the structural patterns and alternations in which these predicates participate (Levin 1993). Section 4 provides a general overview of the LCM and deals with the representation of the lexical templates of the predicates under study, their logical structures (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005) and the constructional templates of these verbs at the core grammar level of description. Finally, in section 5, by analyzing the interaction between the lexical and constructional templates of these lexical items, I aim to predict and explore the constraints which underlie the syntagmatic behavior of these verbs and present a simplified representation of lexical-constructional subsumption processes of these verbs at the core grammar level of description. With this modest study I also hope to help confirm the explanatory potential of the LCM for the study of the semantic and syntactic description of predicates.

2. Methodology

This study is restricted to the following senses of the verbs *join* and *attach* as defined in the *Macmillan Online Dictionary*: *Join:* "to connect two things" (transitive) (sense 2) or "to become connected at a particular point" (intransitive); *Attach:* "to fasten or join one thing to another" (transitive) (sense 1). The example sentences that have been analyzed in this research are all naturally-occurring data mainly withdrawn from the *British National Corpus* (*BNC*) (128 examples containing the predicate *join* and 28 containing the predicate *attach*) and, in the case of the predicate *attach,* from other sources such as the *Corpus of American Contemporary English* (COCA, 6 examples), the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA, 5 examples) and Google searches (55 examples)[4].

Thus, examples such as those presented in Table 1, which include transitive and intransitive uses of the predicates *join* and *attach* both in their prepositional variants and the simple and *together* reciprocal alternations, will be accounted for by making use of the analytical tools provided by the Lexical Constructional Model and Role and Reference Grammar. We will also briefly refer to the lexical database of English, FrameNet[5], in order to better understand the semantics of the verbs under scrutiny:

	JOIN		**ATTACH**	
	TRANSITIVE	**INTRANSITIVE**	**TRANSITIVE**	**INTRANSITIVE**
PREPOSITIONAL VARIANTS	What you do is *join* the bell to the two middle, or deck, feathers with a strip of leather, threaded with a bell.	… each nucleotide consists of a common piece (which *joins* to other identical pieces to form the " string ") …	Now you *attach* your lead dog to a tree, …	De Brown (…) told me later that day (…) that they do this to knock off the remoras that *attach* to their sides.
SIMPLE RECIPROCAL ALTERNATION	This new plan also envisaged (…) *joining* the church and the halls.	When two 2nd Order rivers *join* (not a 1st and a 2nd), the much larger river is 3rd Order, and so on in a hierarchy of sizes.	_____	_____
***TOGETHER* RECIPROCAL ALTERNATION**	The combine tool is used to *join together* the blade and the handle to make a single filled object	And when two black holes collided and *joined together* to form a single hole,…	These we *attach* three *together*, on the "ridge and furrow" system	_____

TABLE 1. Representative examples of the different patterns analyzed.

3. Semantic Representation of the Verbs Join and Attach: Structural Patterns and Alternations

In this section, we provide a detailed description of the semantic representation of the verbs *join* and *attach*, and present the verb classes these two predicates are claimed to belong to, following Faber and Mairal's (1999) verb subdomain classification, Levin's (1993) verb class organization, and Van Valin and Lapolla's (1997) verb class distinctions. Once we have examined the semantic description of the predicates *join* and *attach*, we will analyze the structural patterns and alternations in which these predicates participate (Levin 1993).

The lexical architecture of the domain of verbs of *position* as presented in the paradigmatic organization of the lexicon proposed in Faber and Mairal (1999), is structured in lexical subdomains, one of which is the verbal subdomain "putting things together", to which *join* and *attach* belong. These verbs come under three other higher levels or subdomains which are described as follows (Faber and Mairal 1999: 284):

1. To be in a particular state/condition/position, without moving, changing (STAY, LIE)
    1.1. to cause somebody or something to stay in a particular state/condition/position (KEEP, MAINTAIN)
        1.1.1. to cause somebody or something to BE in a particular place/position (PUT, PLACE)
            1.1.1.1. to put things together (JOIN, ATTACH)

In Levin's classification of English verbs, which is based on the organization of verbs in terms of their having similar semantic components and showing similar syntactic behavior (1993: 17), the verbs *join* and *attach* belong to the verbs of "combining and attaching" (Levin 1993:159ff), where different subclasses are distinguished according to whether their meaning involves a *result* or a *means* component. In the case in hand, *join* belongs to the verb subclass of "mix verbs" (Levin 1993: 159), which includes verbs that describe the *result* or *endstate* of their direct object. Within this group different subclasses are distinguished according to the preposition selected when taking a prepositional phrase complement. *Attach* belongs to the verb subclass of "shake verbs" (Levin 1993: 161), which are characterized because they describe the *manner* in which things are combined, and are also classified into different subclasses according to the preposition selected when taking a prepositional phrase as complement.

In order to obtain a more complete analysis of the semantic representation of the verbs *join* and *attach,* we have also resorted to the lexical database of English, FrameNet, which offers the semantic and syntactic combinatory possibilities of

each verb in each of its senses. Thus, the lexical unit *join* is included in two semantic frames[6], "cause to amalgamate" and "attach", which are distinguished because of the semantics underlying the parts that undergo the process of joining. In order to establish the differences between these two frames, the notion of symmetry is introduced to determine whether after the process of joining the entities are fused and form a new distinct whole which indicates the result of the amalgamation, showing a symmetrical relationship ("cause to amalgamate": *join together*), or "whether" there is no new entity involved ("attach"). In this latter frame, the manipulation of a Connector is required in order to physically connect two parts that show an asymmetrical relationship. However, in this frame we can find a second situation in which someone, using a Connector, causes two Items to be connected to each other, thus showing a symmetric relation or mutual attachment, very often together with the frame element Result represented by the adverb *together*, without creating a new entity.

As regards FrameNet's semantic description of *attach,* two lexical units are distinguished, the first belonging to the frame "inchoative attaching", and the second to the frame "attaching", which has already been described. In the frame "Inchoative attaching", an Item is attached to a Goal (the location at which the first Item is attached) using a Connector (usually introduced by the preposition *with*), and so Item precedes Goal, which in turn precedes Connector.

In order to present the structural patterns and alternations in which the predicates *join* and *attach* may participate, we have followed Levin's classification (1993). These verbs can be found in different alternations where the most basic patterns alternate with other forms in a near-paraphrase relationship (Levin 1993: 60). I will first present the most prototypical prepositional variants and will then show the constructions with which they alternate.

The basic structural pattern for the underlying semantic representation of the *transitive* uses of these predicates is constituted of three core arguments, two direct and one oblique, both patterns including prepositional variants:

NP1 JOIN NP2 [PP (to) NP3] / NP1 ATTACH NP2 [PP (to) NP3]

a. What you do is join the bell to the two middle, or deck, feathers with a strip of leather, threaded with a bell. (BNC_CHE W_biography)

b. Now you attach your lead dog to a tree, or the sledge in front, or anything to keep your tow line taut. (BNC_A67 W_misc)

c. Once you've joined the male sperm with the female egg, it's a human being, … (corpus.byu.edu/time/- 1992/10/05)

The prepositional phrase complement, which introduces the third oblique argument, is typically introduced by the preposition *to*, although the preposition

with is also possible with the predicate *join*[7]. In these cases, someone or something (typically a machine or equipment) causes one thing to be physically connected to something else, very often by manipulating a connector (FrameNet) or fastener (Levin 1993: 164), which is typically introduced by the preposition *with*. In these cases, there seems to be an asymmetric relation between NP2 and NP3 and no new entity has been created after the joining or attachment of the entities.

From a purely syntactic perspective, the typical frame for the intransitive use of *join* requires a first core argument and a prepositional phrase complement introducing the second oblique argument[8]. The preposition assigned to the oblique argument is typically *to*: NP1 JOIN [PP to NP2], and although Levin does not include intransitive uses of *attach*, we have found intransitive examples following this pattern[9]. In these cases, there seems to be an asymmetric relation between NP1 and NP2:

d. … each nucleotide consists of a common piece (which joins to other identical pieces to form the " string "), … (BNC-AE7_W_non_ac_nat_science)

e. De Brown (…) told me later that day (…) that they do this to knock off the remoras that attach to their sides. (COCA- 2007_MAG_Field and Stream)

The predicate *join* is found in patterns with the preposition *with* too, NP1 JOIN [PP with NP2], in which case there also seems to be an asymmetric relation between NP1 and NP2:

f. The presence of wading birds was all that defined the place at which the river joined with the sea. (BNC-AEA_W_fict_prose)

The predicates *join* and *attach* participate in various *reciprocal alternations* which involve a shift of some phrase without affecting their transitivity, but allow more than one way of expressing their arguments, namely as direct core arguments (involving the absence of a prepositional phrase complement) or as oblique core arguments adpositionally marked. In the case in hand, *join* participates in both the simple reciprocal alternation and the *together* reciprocal alternation, whereas *attach* only participates in the *together* reciprocal alternation.

When the transitive *join* (NP1 JOIN NP2 [PP (with/to) NP3]) participates in the simple reciprocal alternation, the transitive reciprocal variant presents a direct core argument as object constituted by a conjoined noun phrase: NP1 JOIN [NP2 AND NP3], which presents some semantic constraints: the object must be a collective noun, i.e. the noun phrase must have a group interpretation; all the entities constituting the object NP must be of comparable status, i.e. they must be "of about the same size, rank or importance" (Kreidler 1998: 107), and there must be a symmetric relation between NP2 and NP3 (Levin 1993: 59).

g. This new plan also envisaged (…) joining the church and the halls. (BNC-B13_W_non_ac_humanities_arts)

However, a plural noun phrase as object is also common: NP1 JOIN [NP2 plural]

h. If you are using hardboard or plywood, cut each of the four sides separately and join them with glue and nails. (BNC-EUR_W_non_ac_nat_science)

i. The chain joining the handcuffs chinked … (BNC-C85_W_fict_prose)

In the *together* reciprocal alternation (transitive), *join* and *attach* also need a collective NP as object and a symmetric logical relation is established between the conjoined NPS.

NP1 JOIN NP2 [PP (with/to) NP3] / NP1 JOIN [NP2 AND NP3] TOGETHER

NP1 ATTACH NP2 [PP (to) NP3] / NP1 ATTACH [NP2 AND NP3] TOGETHER

j. The combine tool is used to join together the blade and the handle to make a single filled object (BNC- HAC W_pop_lore)

k. … and then join the parts together to make five sentences. (BNC-H7V_W_fict_prose)

l. These we attach three together, on the 'ridge and furrow' system, as shown in sketch. (COHA-1865-NF_WoodwardsGraperies)

m. … the Stardust Twins had found three small pieces of bone, attached together with a wire -- obviously a human artifact. (COCA- 1994-FIC_FantasySciFi))

Similarly, it is very common to find a plural noun phrase as object: NP1 JOIN/ ATTACH NP2 (plural) TOGETHER. The presence of *together* in the transitive alternation implies that, as is suggested in FrameNet, "the two entities that undergo the process of joining are fused or consumed and are no longer distinct entities but form now a whole". Thus, *together* indicates the result of the amalgamation (FrameNet) and is connected to phrases which indicate the "resulting configuration" (Levin 1993: 62). It is important to highlight here that in these cases it is very common for the new entity created as a result of the joining to be explicitly expressed in the sentence by means of a to-infinitive or a prepositional phrase (normally introduced by *in*).

As for the intransitive counterparts, only *join* participates in the simple reciprocal alternation: [NP1 AND NP2] JOIN[10]. The first argument is typically expressed by two noun phrases coordinated by the conjunction *and* showing a symmetric relation between NP1 and NP2 and also by a plural NP as subject ([NP1 plural] JOIN):

n. Bone, liver and lights join at the sheer table. (BNC-H9V_W_fict_prose)

o. When two 2nd Order rivers join (not a 1st and a 2nd), the much larger river is 3rd Order, and so on in a hierarchy of sizes. (BNC-B1H_W_non_ac_soc_science)

When intransitive *join* appears in the *together* reciprocal alternation (intransitive), *together* follows the verb and there is a symmetric relation between NP1 and NP2: [NP1 AND NP2] JOIN TOGETHER. As with the transitive *together* reciprocal alternation, a new entity is implied as a result of the joining.

p. And when two black holes collided and joined together to form a single hole,… (BNC- FYX_W_non_ac_nat_science)

q. …. all the amine molecules at the interface of the two liquids join together in a polymer. (BNC-A3Y_W_newsp_brdsht_nat_science)

4. Lexical and Constructional Templates for *Join and Attach*

The Lexical Constructional Model (LCM) is a meaning construction model whose *core* component accounts for the relationship between lexicon and grammar, where the subsumption or unification of lexical templates (lower-level semantic representations of the syntactically relevant content of a predicate) and constructional templates (higher-level semantic representations) gives rise to semantic interpretation (Butler 2009, 2013; Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza 2006, 2008, 2009a, 2009b; Ruiz de Mendoza 2013; Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2007a, 2007b, 2008). Lexical templates are the triggering point which provides the input required for the activation of rules which act as an interface between the lexical representation of verbal classes and the lexical representation of constructions in which such predicates occur. Thus, meaning is related to the syntactic level by means of interface mechanisms. Lexical-constructional subsumption processes are regulated by internal constraints (which refer to the semantic nature or status of some elements in the lexical and constructional templates) and external constraints (which explain grammatical processes on the basis of higher level conceptual and cognitive mechanisms: high-level metaphorical and metonymic mappings), both of which serve as licensing or blocking factors that filter out impossible combinations of lexical items with constructions.

For the description of the lexical and constructional templates of the lexical items *join* and *attach*, we have mainly resorted to the LCM. It presents a finer-grained analysis for meaning construction in terms of internal constraints associated with the semantic structure of predicates, an analysis not present in the FrameNet approach, in spite of the latter providing detailed semantic and syntactic information of predicates by presenting accurate definitions of the frames they belong to and their syntactic realizations. The LCM has been proved to be valid for lexical and constructional description "by endowing the semantic description with a higher

degree of systematicity, richness of detail, and typological adequacy" (Pérez Hernández and Peña Cervel 2009: 71)[11]. In our analysis, however, we have felt the need to incorporate analytical tools from Role and Reference Grammar such as *Aktionsart distinctions,* macro-role assignment and thematic relations to account for the interface mechanisms which link semantics and syntax enabling us to provide a thorough description of the lexical and constructional templates of the predicates concerned.

In order to build up the lexical and constructional templates for verbal predicates, we need to first ascertain the verb class to which these predicates can be ascribed. In doing so, we have relied on the theory of verb classes presented in the work of Valin and Lapolla (1997: 90ff.) and Van Valin (2005: 31ff.), which adopt a lexical decomposition approach in terms of the *Aktionsart* distinctions proposed in Vendler (1967) and the decompositional system put forward by Dowty (1979). Thus, the verb class ascribed to *join* and *attach* is "accomplishment" for the intransitive uses of the verb[12], which can be decomposed into the following semantic parameters: [- static], [- dynamic], [+ telic], [+ duration], [- punctual]. Accomplishment verbs can be said to "involve both a process that takes place over time [that is why they have duration and are not punctual], and an inherent endpoint of the process leading to a result state [that is why they are telic]" (Van Valin and Lapolla 1997: 43). As regards the transitive uses of these verbs, they are ascribed to the verb class "causative accomplishment", which can be paraphrased as "x CAUSES y and z to become joined/attached"[13].

The linking algorithm that is used in the LCM in order to build up the format of lexical templates has been developed stemming from the Logical Structures of RRG, which are used to represent the semantic and argument structure of predicates. These lexical templates include a semantic module (where lexical functions are specified; Mel'cuk 1989; Mel'cuk and Wanner 1996) and an *Aktionsart* module, which is based on RRG logical structures where constants, which are part of the vocabulary of the semantic metalanguage used in the decomposition, are represented in boldface followed by a prime; and variables, which are filled in by lexical items from the language that is being examined, are presented in normal font (Van Valin 2005: 45). For the purpose of this preliminary research, I will only work on the *Aktionsart* module.

Predicate:	[SEMANTIC MODULE < lexical functions>]	[AKTIONSART MODULE < semantic primes >]

The lexical representation for predicates whose *Aktionsart* class is Accomplishment is presented through the following logical structure (LS) which consists of a state

predicate (a primitive) plus the BECOME operator (which codes change over some temporal span; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 104-105):

BECOME **predicate'** (x) or (x, y)

The intransitive use of *join* and *attach* includes the BECOME operator plus a locative predicate (**be-LOC'**) and two arguments, which can be represented as follows:

BECOME **be-LOC'** (x, y)

Join/Attach: BECOME **be-next to'** (x, y)

f. … the place at which the river joined with the sea.

BECOME **be-next to'** (sea, river)

Causative verbs have a complex structure consisting of two predicates linked by the operator-connective CAUSE, the first of which shows the causing action (or event, usually an activity predicate) and the second indicates the resulting state of affairs (Van Valin 2005: 42):

(α CAUSES β) à [**do'** …] CAUSE [BECOME **pred'** ...]

Join and *attach* are examples of lexical causatives which are represented in their LS by the direct (coercive) connector CAUSE and which belong to the so called implicative causality, in which the resulting state of affairs is necessarily entailed: ***** *Pam joined y and z, but y and z did not join* would not be regarded as correct (Van Valin 2005: 42). The following LS represents the semantic structure for causative accomplishment, which is associated to the transitive uses of *join* and *attach*:

[**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next to'** (y, z)]

Once we have sketched the logical structures for these predicates, we should determine the thematic relations and the assignment of macroroles[14]. Thematic relations correspond to the five possible argument positions in logical structure following the "thematic relations continuum in terms of logical structure argument position" (Van Valin 2005: 58):

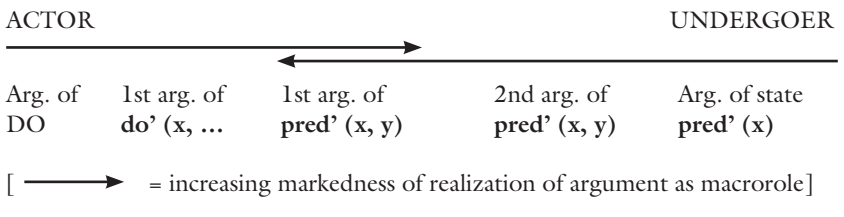
Arg. of DO	1st arg. of **do' (x, …**	1st arg. of **pred' (x, y)**	2nd arg. of **pred' (x, y)**	Arg. of state **pred' (x)**
AGENT	EFFECTOR	LOCATION (GOAL)	THEME	PATIENT

Thus, the thematic relations that can be ascribed to the arguments in the logical structures that have been presented so far are *effector*, which corresponds to the first argument of an activity (**do'** (x…)) and could be described as the doer of an action, which may or may not be willed or purposeful; the *theme*, which corresponds

to the second argument of a two-place state predicate of location (**predicate'** (x, y)), including participants which are placed, moved, transferred, etc.; and just in the middle of the continuum falls the first location argument of **predicate'** (x, y), which in the case of the logical structure configuration "… BECOME **be-LOC'** (x, y)" is assigned the semantic role *goal*.

BECOME **be-next to'** (x_{GOAL}, y_{THEME})
[**do'** ($x_{EFFECTOR}$, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next to'** (y_{GOAL}, z_{THEME})]

In order to determine the macrorole assignments the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy (A-UH) (Van Valin 2005:126) has been followed:



Actor selection: highest ranking argument in LS
Undergoer selection:
Principle A: lowest ranking argument in LS (default)
Principle B: second highest ranking argument in LS

In the causative accomplishment predicate, there are two macroroles: taking the actor and undergoer selection principles, the first argument of the activity predicate is assigned the MR actor and the theme becomes the Undergoer. There is also a non-macrorole argument (the first argument of a locative predicate) which is assigned the preposition *to* or *with*, following Van Valin's preposition assignment rules[15].

[**do'** ($x_{EFFECTOR}$, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next to'** (y_{GOAL}, z_{THEME})]
[X = Actor] [Z = Undergoer]

As for the accomplishment predicates (intransitive structure), there is only one macrorole, [MR1 = U], which is assigned to the second argument of a two-place state predicate of location, **predicate'** (x, y), x becoming a non-macrorole argument which is assigned the preposition *to* or *with*, following Van Valin's preposition assignment rules.

BECOME **be-next to'** (x_{GOAL}, y_{THEME})] [y = U]

5. Constraints on the Lexical Constructional Subsumption Processes for *Join* and *Attach*

The lexical representation for predicates whose verb class or *aktionsart* is Accomplishment is presented through the following logical structure (LS), which corresponds to the intransitive use of *join,* and which consists of a state (a primitive) plus the operator BECOME:

BECOME **predicate'** (x) or (x, y)

BECOME **be-next to'** (x, y) or (x Λ y)

As for causative accomplishment (α CAUSES β), the following LS represents the semantic structure for the transitive uses of *join* and *attach* in their maximum structure, in which we observe that two LSs are implied: an activity (α) and an accomplishment (β).

[**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next to'** (y, z)]

In the examples in which *join* (and also *attach*) participates in the *together reciprocal alternation,* the LS is as follows:

[**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next to'** (y, z) & BECOME **be-together'** (y Λ z)]

The idea that there is a possibility that a new entity comes into existence after the process of joining must be grasped in the logical structure of the causative accomplishment examples of *join* in the *together* alternation, which might be represented with the symbol Λ indicating that there are two simultaneous changes of state taking place and that there is a transformation implied, and that is why there is a new entity resulting from the joining:

[**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next to'** (y, z) Λ BECOME **be-together'** (y Λ z)]

Once we have outlined the basic logical structures for the accomplishment and causative accomplishment predicates *join* and *attach* in their prototypical structures at the core grammar (or argument structure) level of description, we need to identify the argument-structure constructions into which these verb classes may be subsumed in the lexical-constructional linking process.

5.1. Transitive Structures

The transitive uses of these verbs are represented by a causative accomplishment logical structure with three arguments. In the prototypical prepositional variants, where prepositional marking is required, two prepositions where found in Levin's syntactic frames for *join* (*to/with*) and one for *attach* (*with*). According to the rule for assigning the preposition *to* in English (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997), the NP

marked by *to* is in every instance the first argument of a two-place state predicate embedded under BECOME operator in the LS, which is also a non-macrorole core argument:

> Assign *to* to the non-macrorole x argument in the LS segment: … BECOME/ INGR **pred'** (x, y) (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 377).

Therefore, if only one of the arguments is candidate for macrorole assignment (as a result of there being a non-symmetric relation between y and z), then the rule for prepositional marking triggers the assignment of *to* to the non-macrorole core argument. The following simplified constructional template (CT) represents the transitive prepositional variants of *join* and *attach*:

[**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next-to'** (y, z)]

[x= A]; [z = U]; [y = non macrorole (*to* assignment)]

b. Now you [A] attach your lead dog [U: theme] to a tree [non-MR: goal], …

However, *join* also allows the possibility of marking the NP3 by *with*. In this case, the preposition *with* is associated with its comitative use, which is possible when there is an alternation involved (Van Valin and LaPolla 1995: 379). Thus, with potential undergoer arguments, where we have conjoined NPs alternating with *NP with NP*, the generalization would be that if an argument, which would otherwise appear as a macrorole, does not, it is marked by *with*. The rule for assigning *with* in English reads as follows:

> Given two arguments, *x* and *y*, in a logical structure, with *x* lower than or equal to *y* on the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy, and a specific grammatical status (macrorole, head of NP), assign *with* to the *y* argument if it is not selected for that status (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 379).

This possibility would be represented as follows in the LS/CT:

[**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next-to'** (y Λ z)]

We assume that there is a single logical structure underlying the two following frames: [NP1 JOIN [NP2 AND NP3]] and [NP1 JOIN [NP2 WITH NP3]]. The two arguments in question are candidates for the same grammatical status (and this is reflected by using the lambda symbol which places the two arguments at the same level) as a result of there being a symmetric relation between all the participants constituting the object NP, which must fulfill the semantic constraint that they be of comparable status. Thus, if in the macrorole assignment phase, both y and z are chosen as undergoers (because they are either both themes or goals), there is no need for prepositional marking and the result is [NP1 JOIN [NP2 AND NP3]]:

[**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next-to'** (y Λ z)] [y and z = undergoer]

g. This new plan also envisaged (…) joining the church [U] and the halls [U].

However, if only one of the potential undergoers is selected as undergoer, argument-marking preposition is required and the result would be [NP1 JOIN [NP2 WITH NP3]]:

[**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next-to'** (y Λ z)]

[z = Undergoer]

[y = non-macrorole oblique core argument < semantic constraint: the two potential macrorole candidates must be of comparable status and y must be of equal or higher rank in the AU-H] à prepositional marking = *with* >]

c. Once you've [A] joined the male sperm [U] with the female egg [Non-MR], …

To sum up, the two different syntactic prepositional realizations for *join* can be associated with different macrorole assignments. Thus, the difference between simple reciprocal alternations and their corresponding prepositional variants lies in the assignment of macroroles at the interface level. It is important to highlight that, unlike the rule for *to* marking, which refers to specific argument positions in logical structures, the rule for assigning *with* in English refers "to the macrorole assignment phase of the linking procedure" (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 379).

A. [**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next-to'** (y, z)] (x JOIN y TO z)

[x= A]; [z = U]; [y = non macrorole < semantic constraint: there is only one potential argument for U (always lower in the AU-H than z = theme), thus the non-macrorole argument (always higher in the hierarchy = goal) must be marked by *to*>]

B. [**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next-to'** (y Λ z)] (x JOIN y AND z)

[x= A]; [y and z = undergoer]

C. [**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next-to'** (y Λ z)] (x JOIN y WITH z)

[x= A]; [z = Undergoer]; [y = non-macrorole oblique core argument < semantic constraint: the two potential macrorole candidates must be of comparable status and y must be of equal or higher rank in the AU-H] à prepositional marking = *with* >]

The abbreviated constructional templates presented so far for the basic transitive and intransitive constructions can be fused into higher-level characterizations when the verbs participate in the *together reciprocal* alternation. In this case, we assume that there is a resultative construction subsumed, which is not an inherent part of the predicate but a secondary predication. This assumption is close to Levin's claim that "it is possible that the together reciprocal construction may turn out to be a type of resultative construction" (1993: 62, 64).

In fact, as has been mentioned before, when *join* and *attach* participate in the *together* transitive reciprocal alternation, the conjoined or attached parts are no longer individual entities but are fused into a new entity, very often explicitly specified in the sentence by means of a prepositional phrase (typically introduced by *in*) or a to-infinitive clause.

j. The combine tool is used to join together the blade and the handle *to make a single filled object*.

k. … and then join the parts together *to make five sentences.*

Thus, this possibility of a new entity coming into existence after the process of joining must be grasped in the logical structure of the predicates, and it might be represented as follows:

[[**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next to'** (y, z)]
CAUSE (BECOME **be-together'** (y Λ z)]
LS1: [x = A]; [z = U]
LS2: [z and y = U]

Similarly, in this alternation the resultative logical structure (BECOME **be-together'** (y Λ z)), realized by the resultative phrase *together*, could be regarded as a simultaneous change of state taking place at the same time as the first one, (BECOME **be-next to'** (y, z)), which is part of the internal semantic configuration of the predicates *join* and *attach*; the resultative phrase "describes the state achieved by the referent of the noun phrase it is predicated of as a result of the action named by the verb" (Levin 1999: 100-01). This second change of state has to be explicitly specified in the logical structure as a secondary predication that is not governed by the verb. We could also add a third predication [BECOME **exist'** (w)] representing the new entity that comes into existence after the process of joining:

[[**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-next to'** (y, z)]
CAUSE (BECOME **be-together'** (y Λ z)]
CAUSE [BECOME **exist'** (w) **pred'**new concept (= y & z)]

In this sense, it can be claimed that in the causative accomplishment examples of *join* and *attach* when they participate in the *together* reciprocal alternation, there is a transformation involved. This would explain why there is a new entity resulting from the joining; as a result, it can be stated that in this alternation there is a built-in resultative construction. In this sense, we go along with Van Valin (2005: 238) when he claims that just as in lexical causative accomplishments an activity causes a change of state with a result, so resultative constructions also have a causative meaning and both the causing activity and the change of state are explicitly specified. Resultative constructions could be regarded as secondary small

predications which are not governed by the predicate and which show the end of the process or a final point of completion.

5.2. Intransitive Structures

The intransitive uses[16] of these verbs are represented by an accomplishment logical structure with two arguments. In the LS for the intransitive prepositional variant with *to,* there is an asymmetric relation between x and y, and thus there is just one macrorole potential argument (the lower position in the AU-H = theme), which automatically leads to the assignment of *to* to the non-macrorole argument, as indicated in the rule for assigning *to* in English (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 377):

BECOME **be-next to'** (x, y) [y = U]; [x = non-MR à prepositional marking *to*]

e. … the remoras that [U] attach to their sides [Non-MR].

As with their transitive counterparts, the corresponding intransitive prepositional variant (with the assignment of the preposition *with*) and the simple reciprocal intransitive alternations show a symmetric relation between x and y, which implies that the two constituents are given the same status, as a result of which they can both be assigned the macrorole undergoer. This is captured in the LS by means of the lambda symbol indicating that there is a symmetric relation between x and y, which would trigger the syntactic realization [NP1 AND NP2 JOIN], if the two arguments are marked as undergoers, or [NP1 JOIN WITH NP2], only if the second argument of the locative predicate is assigned the macrorole undergoer, in which case prepositional marking is required:

BECOME **be-next to'** (x Λ y) [x and y = Undergoer]

o. When two 2nd Order [U] rivers join, …

BECOME **be-next to'** (x Λ y) [y = Undergoer]; [x = non-MR]

f. … the place at which the river [U] joined with the sea [non-MR].

In the intransitive *together reciprocal alternation,* we observe that the presence of *together* has to be specifically represented in the LS of the predicate as another predication which describes another change of state, simultaneous with the first one and indicating the result of that first change of state. Here, again, we feel that the *together* intransitive reciprocal construction is in fact an example of a subsumed resultative construction which has been fused into a lower-level accomplishment semantic representation. Some might object that it is the telic nature of the predicate that shows the final point of completion, which is why telic verbs are sometimes called resultatives (Saeed 1997: 110). In our view, the resultative construction is a secondary predication that is not governed by the original predicate and one that adds a further specification that has be to represented as another predication:

[BECOME **be-next to'** (x, y)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-together'** (x Λ y)
CAUSE [BECOME **exist'** (w) **pred'**new concept (= y & z)]
LS2: [x and y = U]

p. And when two black holes collided and joined together *to form a single hole*,…

q. … all the amine molecules at the interface of the two liquids join together *in a polymer.*

r. …large soft construction cushions that attach together *to make forts, playhouses, puppet theaters, tunnels, boats, and more*. (COCA-2003-MAG_USAToday)

6. Conclusion

Among the similarities that can be established between the two predicates *join* and *attach*, we can highlight the fact that they both fall within the same Aktionsart category, (causative) accomplishment, and that they can both appear in the *together* reciprocal alternation. One of the most salient differences between them is that *attach* can never be used with the comitative preposition *with* but only with *to*, which shows that there exists an asymmetric relation between the two entities being attached (x à y), and that the reciprocal interpretation in *attach* is only possible if the logical structure for *attach* is subsumed into the higher-level resultative construction, which would imply that the two entities are of comparable status and as a result a symmetric relation can be predicated between them (x « y). The difference between the prepositional variants and the reciprocal variants lies in the fact that the latter usually implies that a new entity is involved, very often explicitly specified in the syntax either in the form of a prepositional phrase or a *to*-infinitive purpose clause. Reciprocal alternations are the ones that show symmetric relations or mutual attachments. Inherently speaking, we can say that the predicates *join* and *attach* display an asymmetric relation between the entities that become connected, and that the reciprocal alternations in which they may occur contribute to the symmetrical relationship between the connected entities.

With this modest research, I have tried to show that in the lexical-constructional subsumption processes with *join* and *attach*, the internal semantic configuration of the lexical templates, external to the construction, can be affected by the subsumption of the resultative construction if the internal constraints on the status of the arguments of the locative predicate are satisfied. The fulfilling of the internal semantic constraints license the merging of the lexical templates and the higher-level resultative construction, very much in the line of Levin's suggestion that the *together* reciprocal alternation is in fact a resultative construction (1993: 62, 64).

Endnotes

[1]. Financial support for this research has been received from the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (Grant number: FFI 2011-29798-C02-02).

[2]. It is not eclectic in the sense that it integrates insights from both cognitive and functional approaches but adopting a productive rather than a passive form of integration, by providing its own analytical instruments and set of postulates in order to achieve explanatory adequacy.

[3]. Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal claim, however, that weaknesses can be found in both approaches. As regards the functional projectionist theories, the role of constructions in predicting morphosyntactic structure is ignored, and with respect to constructional models, they state that these models have not explored the restrictions that constrain the unification process of a particular construction and a particular lexical entry (2008:356).

[4]. Specific reference to the corpus will be provided next to the examples that are mentioned for the first time.

[5]. The FrameNet Project is developed by the International Computer Science Institute in Berkeley, California and is based on the theory of meaning called Frame Semantics, which derives from the work of the late Charles J. Fillmore and colleagues (Fillmore and Baker 2010). See: http://www.icsi.berkeley.edu/~framenet for details.

[6]. In Frame Semantics, the meaning of words is represented by means of semantic frames that describe events, relations or entities and the participants in them in the form of frame elements (FEs) (e.g. Instrument, Container, etc.). The different frames are illustrated by lexical units (LUs) belonging to each of them (https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/about).

[7]. Examples of *join* with *into* have also been registered: *To join a new length of pipe* **into** *an existing inspection chamber, you will have to break a hole in the wall of the chamber …* (BNC-43 HH6 W_instructional).

[8]. We will be making reference to the transitive and intrantsitive uses of the predicates under concern from a purely syntactic perspective. However, the intransitive uses can in fact be regarded as examples of the inchoative construction in which the true causal agent is implicit.

[9]. In Fillmore's semantic description of *attach*, the frame "inchoative attaching" is illustrated by means of intransitive examples; however, only the transitive uses of *join* are represented.

[10]. Levin states that *attach* cannot be found in the causative alternation and therefore does not show the intransitive form of any of the reciprocal alternations (1993:26-27); however, one example of intransitive *attach* participating in this alternation has been found in the COCA: *because now there are Squash Blox, Mongo Toys, LLC, Hoboken, N.J. –large soft construction cushions that attach together to make forts, playhouses, puppet theaters, tunnels, boats, and more* (COCA-2003-MAG_USAToday).

[11]. Furthermore, the LCM has been used in the design of FunGramKB, a multipurpose lexico-conceptual knowledge base for natural language processing (NLP) systems that has resorted to two theoretical models, the LCM and Role and Reference Grammar, in order to support the linguistic level of description (Periñán 2013; Periñán-Pascual and Mairal Usón 2011). Interested readers can get more information about FunGramKB in http://www.fungramkb.com/.

[12]. Van Valin and Lapolla (1997: 94) and Van Valin (2005: 37-39) provide tests for determining the Aktionsart classes.

[13]. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 97) state that all the spontaneous states of affairs have "a corresponding induced type", and that each of the basic *Aktionsart* classes (state, achievement, accomplishment, activity)

presents "a corresponding causative class", which is connected to the induced state of affairs. This is illustrated in example sentences such as *The ice melted* (Accomplishment) and *The hot water melted the ice* (Causative Accomplishment), which can be paraphrased as 'The hot water caused the ice to melt'.

[14]. The LCM is a meaning construction model and does not account for the way in which the linking between syntax and semantics takes place. As a result, the explanatory apparatus of Role and Reference Grammar, which has been proved to be valid for the linking of meaning to syntactic structure, has been followed, and, in particular, RRG lexical templates have been adapted as a natural extension of this model. Thus, macroroles, which are generalizations of the different types of sematic roles and serve to link the semantics of predicates to its syntax, are adopted as the triggering point in this interface mechanism.

[15]. See section 4 for a description of Van Valin's preposition assignment rules.

[16]. We remind the reader that from a constructional perspective the instransitive uses of these predicates are in fact examples of the inchoative construction.

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Abstracts

MOTIVATION AND L2 RECEPTIVE VOCABULARY KNOWLEDGE OF SPANISH EFL LEARNERS AT THE OFFICIAL SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES

Andrés Canga Alonso
Almudena Fernández Fontecha

This study explores the relationship between the motivation and receptive vocabulary knowledge of a group of 30 English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners in the 1st and 2nd year of the Official School of Languages intermediate level (B1) (Escuela Oficial de Idiomas - EOI). We measure the size of receptive vocabulary by means of the 2,000-word frequency-band from the receptive version of the Vocabulary Levels Test (2K VLT) (Schmitt, Schmitt and Clapham 2001, version 2). An adaptation of Gardner's (1985) A/MTB questionnaire is used to analyse motivational levels on a three-level scale to range learners' motivation marks, i.e. high motivation, medium motivation, low motivation. Our results evince that most learners showed high motivation in the two years (level 3) and the rest medium motivation (level 2). As could be expected, no low motivation learners were identified in this type of language teaching. Of the two types of motivation, extrinsic proved to be higher than intrinsic in both years. The evolution of general motivation and the two types, extrinsic and intrinsic, is not significant from the 1st to the 2nd year. Both the general motivation and the intrinsic type decrease slightly from one year to the next. As for learners' receptive vocabulary knowledge, it increased significantly from the 1st to the 2nd year. Finally, no significant correlation was detected between this type of vocabulary and learners' levels of general intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.

Keywords: EFL, motivation, receptive vocabulary, Vocabulary Levels Test (VLT), Official School of Languages.

Este estudio explora la relación entre el vocabulario receptivo y la motivación de un grupo de 30 estudiantes de inglés como lengua extranjera de primer y segundo curso (B1) de la Escuela Oficial de Idiomas (EOI). Medimos el tamaño de su vocabulario receptivo por medio de la versión receptiva del test VLT (2K VLT) de Schmitt, Schmitt and Clapham (2001, versión 2). Por otra parte, usamos una adaptación del cuestionario A/MTB de Gardner (1985) para explorar la motivación. En una escala de tres niveles de motivación (alta, media, baja), nuestros resultados muestran que la mayoría de los estudiantes están altamente motivados en los dos años (nivel 1) y el resto está motivado (nivel 2). Como se puede esperar en este tipo de enseñanza de lenguas no obligatoria, ningún alumno está poco motivado. Con respecto a los tipos de motivación estudiados, la motivación extrínseca es más alta que la intrínseca en ambos años. La evolución de la motivación general y los dos tipos de motivación no es significativa de 1º EOI a 2º EOI. Tanto la motivación general como la intrínseca disminuyen ligeramente de un año al siguiente. En cuanto al vocabulario receptivo, éste incrementó significativamente de 1º a 2º. Finalmente no se observa ninguna correlación entre este tipo de vocabulario y la motivación.

Palabras clave: Inglés como lengua extranjera, motivación, vocabulario receptivo, Vocabulary Levels Test, Escuela Oficial de Idiomas (EOI).

ON THE TRIGGER OF V-TO-T MOVEMENT

Concepción Castillo Orihuela

This paper deals with the trigger of V-to-T movement and claims that rich morphology is the actual cause of verb-raising as occurring in core or narrow syntax. After rejecting a gross analysis of φ–features and/or τ–features as the cause of V-to-T, it is argued that the trigger of V-to-T lies in a v-feature that T must value, which (in V-moving languages) corresponds morphologically with the so-called stem or thematic vowel, and which is responsible for the availability of productive stem verb classes. The relevant productivity lies in the systematic co-variation of τ–features and/or φ–features throughout the verbal paradigms of corresponding languages. The cited v-feature on T is greatly inspired by the V-feature on T in Chomsky (1995) and Chomsky (2000, 2001), though it is argued that it has a morphological correlate. The feature is characterised as interpretable and unvalued on T, and interpretable and valued on v.

Keywords: V-to-T movement, stem vowel, T's v–feature, τ–features, φ–features, Romance vs. Germanic, role of morphology in core syntax.

El presente artículo trata sobre la causa o el factor desencadenante del llamado movimiento de V-a-T, y defiende que dicho factor se encuentra en un tipo específico de riqueza morfológica presente en el mismo proceso de computación de la sintaxis. Se lleva a cabo una crítica de cualquier análisis de V-a-T que se base pura y llanamente en la satisfacción bien de rasgos–φ o bien de rasgos–τ , y se identifica la causa de V-a-T con un rasgo-v que T debe validar, y que se corresponde morfológicamente (en aquellas lenguas que tengan dicho movimiento de V-a-T) con la llamada vocal temática, la cual da lugar a la existencia de clases temáticas verbales productivas. La productividad o riqueza morfológica propiamente dicha consiste en la co-variación de rasgos–τ y/o rasgos–φ en los paradigmas verbales de las lenguas en cuestión. El rasgo-v que T debe validar se inspira en el rasgo-T que postula Chomsky (1995) e igualmente Chomsky (2000, 2001), con la diferencia crucial de que tendría un correlato morfológico. Es un rasgo no-valuado e interpretable en T, y asimismo valuado e interpretable en lo que concierne a v.

Palabras clave: movimiento de V-a-T, vocal temática, rasgo-v de T, rasgos–τ, rasgos–φ, lenguas romances vs. lenguas germánicas, papel de la morfología en el proceso de computación sintáctico.

A PROPOSAL TO EXPLOIT LEGAL TERM REPERTOIRES EXTRACTED AUTOMATICALLY FROM A LEGAL ENGLISH CORPUS

María José Marín Pérez

The use of language corpora in second language (SL) instruction dates back to the late 1980s, when Johns (1986) coins the term *data-driven learning* (DDL). DDL is based on the use of concordance lines extracted from corpora which learners examine with the aim of eliciting the rules of the language governing them. Scholars highlight the usefulness of specialised corpora in ESP (English for Specialised Purposes) teaching due to their authentic and current character. However, in the area of legal English, the number and availability of these corpora is reduced. Likewise, the number of experiments with DDL methods in this area is almost nonexistent (Boulton 2011). Owing to this methodological void, this article presents a proposal to exploit the legal term inventories extracted automatically from *BLaRC,* an 8.85 million-word legal English corpus. The proposal consists in the designing of four different corpus-based activities which focus on the morphological, lexical, semantic and syntactic levels of the language as well as a pedagogical research method for their future implementation.

Keywords: Specialised corpora, English for specialised purposes (ESP), data-driven learning (DDL), legal English.

El uso de corpora lingüísticos en la enseñanza de segundas lenguas se remonta a finales de los años 80, cuando Johns (1986) acuña el término *data-driven learning* (DDL).Esta metodología didáctica está basada en el uso de concordancias extraídas de los corpora que los discentes examinan con el fin de deducir las normas lingüísticas que las rigen. Los especialistas destacan la utilidad de los corpora especializados en la enseñanza del inglés para fines específicos (IFE) debido a su carácter genuino y actual, sin embargo, en el área del inglés jurídico, el número y la disponibilidad de estos es reducido. Del mismo modo, la cantidad de experimentos que emplean una metodología DDL en este área es casi inexistente (Boulton 2011). Debido a este vacío metodológico, este artículo presenta una propuesta para la explotación didáctica de los inventarios de términos legales extraídos de manera automática de *BLaRC,* un corpus legal de 8,85 millones de palabras. Esta propuesta consiste en el diseño de cuatro actividades basadas en corpus para el estudio de los niveles morfológico, léxico, semántico y sintáctico de la lengua, además de un diseño de investigación pedagógico para su futura implementación.

Palabras clave: Corpora especializados, inglés para fines específicos, aprendizaje *data-driven*, inglés jurídico.

A DEEPER LOOK INTO METRICS FOR TRANSLATION QUALITY ASSESSMENT (TQA): A CASE STUDY

Roberto Martinez Mateo

In spite of the professionalization of translators and their central role in international relations, there is as yet no widely accepted methodology available for professional Translation Quality Assessment (TQA). At the same time, there is a pressing need to standardize TQA criteria to mitigate the subjectivity that prevails in quality assessment. Evaluating the quality of a translation first requires defining concepts of Quality and Translation, which inevitably parallels the approach characteristic of a translation theory (House, 1997). In this case, the functionalist approach is adopted.

The aim of this article is to review the Quality Assessment Tool (QAT), a computer-aided tool developed by the Directorate General for Translation (DGT) of the European Commission as an aid in the quality quantification process of external

translations. Simultaneously, some of the most representative quantitative models for TQA are analyzed with a view to laying the foundations for an alternative model that might improve the QAT. I begin by analyzing a selection of outstanding quantitative-oriented models of TQA (metrics), identifying their strengths and weaknesses as viable and efficient assessment tools. Having surveyed these models, I then propose suitable forms for the refinement and polishing of existing metrics so as to establish a basis for the structuring of a new theoretical model for TQA. The result is a mixed approach to TQA involving both top-down (rubrics) and bottom-up (metrics) tools.

Keywords: Translation Quality Assessment (TQA), quantitative methods, metrics, Quality Assessment Tool (QAT), *fit-for-purpose*.

Pese a la creciente profesionalización de los traductores y al destacado papel que este colectivo desempeña en las relaciones internacionales, todavía no se cuenta con una metodología comúnmente aceptada para la Evaluación de la Calidad de las Traducciones (ECT). Al mismo tiempo, existe una apremiante necesidad de estandarizar los criterios para la ECT con el fin de reducir la subjetividad que prevalece en el proceso de ECT. Ahora bien, para evaluar la calidad de una traducción, primero es necesario definir lo que se entiende por Calidad y por Traducción, lo que inevitablemente lleva a participar de los postulados de una determinada teoría (House, 1997). En este artículo se asume una vision funcionalista de la traducción.

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar la *Quality Assement Tool* (QAT), una herramienta informática desarrollada por la Dirección General de Traducción (DGT) de la Comisión Europea como ayuda a los revisores en el proceso de cuantificación de la calidad de las traducciones externas. Asimismo se estudian las características de algunos de los modelos cuantitativos para la ECT más representativos para sentar las bases que permitan desarrollar un modelo que subsane las carencias de QAT. Se revisan una selección de los modelos de corte cuantitativo (sistemas métricos) más destacados y se señalan sus virtudes y sus deficiencias como herramientas de ayuda a la evaluación. En base a dicho análisis se proponen una serie de mejoras a las debilidades señaladas y se complementan sus carencias para diseñar el armazón sobre el que edificar un modelo teórico para la ECT. El resultado es una propuesta de enfoque mixto para la ECT que integra una herramienta de enfoque cuantitativo con otra de corte cualitativo.

Palabras clave: Evaluación de la Calidad de las Traducciones (ECT), métodos cuantitativos, sistemas métricos, *Quality Assessment Tool* (QAT), adecuación al propósito.

THE QUOTATIVE SYSTEM IN SPANISH AND ENGLISH YOUTH TALK. A CONTRASTIVE CORPUS-BASED STUDY

Ignacio Miguel Palacios Martínez

The speech of teenagers is rich in narratives, with the direct reproduction of speech, thoughts, and non-lexical material often introduced through the use of quotatives. This paper aims to compare such quotative markers in English and Spanish. Findings indicate that both Spanish and British teenagers make use of a wide range of specific quotatives in their speech. For example, in English *go* and (*be*) *like* clearly prevail over general reporting verbs such as *say*, *think* and *ask*. In Spanish, we also find a system of both general reporting verbs (*decir*, 'say', *contar*, 'tell', *preguntar 'ask'*) and those more typical of teenager speech (*y yo*.... 'and I ...', *en plan 'like', es como* "it's like", *saltar* , 'come up with', etc). However, in Spanish the latter represent only 25 percent of the total, compared to almost 50 percent in English. Linguistic factors (grammatical person, aspect, tense, content of the quote) seem to constrain differently the choice and function of the quotatives observed in the teen talk of English and Spanish.

Keywords: spoken language, youth language, quotatives, direct speech, grammaticalisation.

El lenguaje de los jóvenes está lleno de narraciones donde se reproducen directamente por medio de verbos citativos o *verba dicendi* las palabras y pensamientos de otras personas así como otro material no léxico. Este trabajo tiene como objetivo establecer una comparación de estos verbos entre el español y el inglés. Los resultados nos indican que tanto los jóvenes españoles como los ingleses utilizan una gran variedad de elementos léxicos de esta naturaleza en su discurso. Así, por ejemplo, en inglés *go* y *be* (*like)* predominan sobre otras formas verbales más habituales como *say*, t*hink* y *ask*. En español nos encontramos también con un sistema de verbos generales (*decir, contar, preguntar*) junto a otros que son más típicos de los jóvenes (*y yo*....., *en plan*....., *es como*, *saltar,* etc). Por otra parte, mientras que en español estos verbos característicos del lenguaje de los jóvenes representan tan solo el 25% del total, en inglés este porcentaje se eleva al 50%. Factores lingüísticos (persona gramatical, aspecto, tiempo, contenido de la cita) parecen condicionar de modo diferente la elección y función de estos citativos en inglés y en español.

Palabras clave: lengua hablada, lenguaje juvenil, verbos citativos, estilo directo, gramaticalización.

CROSS-CURRICULAR ISSUES AND PUBLISHED ELT MATERIALS IN SPAIN

Diego Rascón Moreno

This paper shows the results of an analysis of forty-six sets of published ELT materials used in schools in 2006/2007 in Jaén (Spain), in order to know how the cross-curricular issues encouraged by educational policies (LOGSE) are addressed in them. The paper includes not only a general descriptive analysis of all the data gathered, but also a specific one consisting in determining whether the variables of publishing house, level and educational cycle make results vary significantly. A relevant conclusion of this study is that the value-laden topics under research are relatively often addressed in the materials sampled, but that their teaching is poor in terms of width of coverage. Concerning the specific analysis, the main idea that can be derived is that the level and educational cycle of these resources usually yield statistically significant differences.

Keywords: Cross-curricular issues, English language teaching, published materials, value-centred teaching.

Este artículo muestra los resultados de examinar cuarenta y seis materiales editoriales de inglés completos usados en colegios e institutos de la ciudad de Jaén en 2006/2007 con el objetivo de conocer cómo se tratan en ellos los temas transversales. No sólo incluye un análisis descriptivo general de todos los datos recogidos sino también uno específico, consistente en determinar si las variables de editorial, nivel y ciclo educativo hacen que los resultados varíen significativamente. Una conclusión relevante del estudio es que estos temas cargados en valores aparecen con relativa frecuencia en los materiales muestreados, pero de forma limitada porque tan sólo se enseñan unos pocos aspectos sobre ellos. En cuanto al análisis específico, la idea principal que se puede extraer es que el nivel y el ciclo educativo de estos recursos normalmente producen diferencias estadísticamente significativas.

Palabras clave: Temas transversales, enseñanza del inglés, materiales editoriales, value-centred teaching.

LEXICAL-CONSTRUCTIONAL SUBSUMPTION PROCESSES IN THE LEXICAL CONSTRUCTIONAL MODEL: THE CASE OF JOIN AND ATTACH

Carolina Rodríguez-Juárez

This article presents the results of the study of the verbs of position *join* and *attach,* as members of the verbal subdomain 'putting things together' (Faber and Mairal 1999), taking as a basis the theoretical and methodological assumptions of Role

and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and Lapolla 1997; Van Valin 2005), and the tenets of the Lexical Constructional Model, as outlined in Ruiz de Mendoza (2013), Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2007a, 2007b, 2008), Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza (2006, 2008, 2009a, 2009b) and Butler (2009, 2013). In order to account for the relationship between lexical meaning and syntactic representation, we will first provide the semantic and syntactic information of these verbs which will allow us to propose their lexical templates and explore the constraints that regulate the process of lexical-constructional subsumption at the core grammar level of description, thereby licensing the fusion of low-level lexical templates into higher level-constructional patterns such as the resultative construction.

Keywords: lexical and constructional templates, subsumption, Lexical Constructional Model.

Este artículo presenta los resultados de un estudio sobre los verbos de posición *join* y *attach*, miembros del subdominio verbal 'putting things together' (Faber y Mairal 1999), tomando como base las hipótesis teóricas y metodológicas de la Gramática del Papel y la Referencia (Van Valin y Lapolla 1997; Van Valin 2005) y los principios del Modelo Léxico Construccional desarrollado en Ruiz de Mendoza (2013), Ruiz de Mendoza y Mairal (2007a, 2007b, 2008), Mairal y Ruiz de Mendoza (2006, 2008, 2009a, 2009b) y Butler (2009, 2013). Con el fin de abordar la relación entre el significado léxico y la representación sintáctica, presentaremos en primer lugar la información semántica y sintáctica de estos verbos que nos permitirá proponer sus plantillas lexicas y explorar las restricciones que pueden condicionar el proceso de subsunción léxico-construccional en el nivel descriptivo de la gramática nuclear, y que pueden conducir a la fusión de plantillas de bajo nivel con estructuras construccionales de más alto nivel tal como la construcción resultativa.

Palabras clave: plantillas léxicas y construccionales, subsunción, Modelo Léxico Construccional.

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…following Blakemore (1987: 35),…

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

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

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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.

TURBIDE, Diane. 1993. "A Literary Trickster: Thomas King Conjures up Comic Worlds". *Maclean's* (3 May): 43-44.

WILLIAMS, Tennessee. 1983. *La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente*. Trans. A. Diosdado. Madrid: Ediciones MK.

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