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Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
Universidad de Zaragoza
50009 Zaragoza · Spain
Tel. 976 761522 – 976 761526
Fax. 976 761519
E-mail: baelo@unizar.es
mjluzon@unizar.es
editors@miscelaneajournal.net
reviews@miscelaneajournal.net

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Articles

FRAMENET AND ITS LIMITATIONS. THE CASE OF *ENTITY-SPECIFIC CHANGE-OF-STATE* VERBS*

ANDREEA ROSCA
Universidad de Zaragoza
arosca@unizar.es

1. Introduction

The main concern of this study is to provide a critical examination of the treatment proposed by the FrameNet project (Atkins, Fillmore and Johnson 2003; Fillmore, Johnson and Petruck 2003) for *entity-specific change-of-state* verbs. We have focused on this verbal class in order to demonstrate that these verbs display a much richer variety of valence patterns than has been claimed in Levin (1993), Wright (2002) or elsewhere. Levin (1993) and Wright (2002) highlight only the (non)-participation of the verbs under consideration in the causative/inchoative alternation, thus neglecting constructions such as the intransitive resultative, the intransitive causal, the *way*-construction, the resultative construction, among many others. Although FrameNet serves to document the distributional range of entity-specific change-of-state verbs, it will be shown that this database is often incomplete and it does not offer any conceptual motivation for the lexical-constructional behavior of these verbs. FrameNet is a project developed by Fillmore and his colleagues at the International Computer Science Institute in Berkeley which is based on Fillmore's frame semantics model. A frame is defined as "the knowledge network linking the multiple domains associated with a given linguistic form" (Taylor 1995: 87). Frames are static configurations of culture-based, shared and conventionalized knowledge. Words like for example, *buy, sell, pay, money, spend*, etc., activate the 'commerce' frame. A frame comprises a 'core', which is made up of *sine-qua-non* elements or

participant roles (buyer, seller, merchandise, market and money), and peripheral elements such as the manner of performing the transaction, its purpose, time and setting (e.g. department store, shopping center, etc.).

Levin's (1993: 246) list of entity-specific change-of-state verbs comprises twenty-one verbs which we have divided into three main groups on the basis of their conceptual similarity: (i) verbs which describe an increase in size (e.g. *bloom, blossom, flower, germinate, sprout, swell,* and *blister*); (ii) verbs that describe a negative, destructive change affecting the integrity of an entity (e.g. *burn, corrode, decay, deteriorate, erode, molder, molt, rot, rust, stagnate, tarnish, wilt, wither*);[1] and (iii) the verb *ferment* which is different from the first two categories in the sense that there is no increase in size and the change is not necessarily negative nor does it lead to the disappearance of the entity. The verbs in the first group depict the coming to life/existence of an entity out of a pre-existent one. Thus, when a flower blooms/blossoms/flowers, the plant develops a protuberance (bud/blossom) outside the stem (the plant switches from a vegetative state to a reproductive stage). Both *blister* and *swell* indicate a size or volume increase either of a body part (e.g. *My feet and legs swell when I stand for too long a period*; Sketch engine doc#8227) or of other kinds of surface (a blister can also mean a raised bubble on a painted or laminated surface). All the verbs in the second group involve a total transformation of an entity which suffers a gradual/sudden disintegration. For instance, a plant that withers undergoes a size decrease and starts to die. In the case of *erode* the surface of soil or a rock gradually disappears. The verbs *corrode, tarnish,* and *rust* are conceptually related since they refer to changes undergone by metals (the verb *tarnish* is more specific because the metals affected can only be silver, copper or brass). *Tarnish* and *rust* highlight either a loss of color or the acquisition of a reddish-brown color by oxidation, whilst *corrode* specifically points to the process of destruction of a metal.

This article is structured as follows. In sections 2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 3 and 3.1 the frame elements of entity-specific change-of-state verbs will be critically examined and we will show whether they can operate or not as predictors of the syntactic representation of verbs. It is also important to mention that only verbs from the first two groups will be discussed in this article since the verb *ferment* returned no hits in FrameNet. The final section summarizes the findings of our research and also brings forth several critiques of the structure of FrameNet as a whole.

2. Verbs of the First Group in FrameNet

Of the verbs listed in the first category *swell* is the only one that is contemplated in FrameNet. It displays four semantic frames: 'expansion', 'change of position on

a scale', 'causation of expansion' and 'causation of change of position on a scale'. The first two frames were designed to account for intransitive sentences whereas the last two supposedly motivate the use of this verb in causative constructions. As stated by Ruppenhofer *et al.* (2010: 5), FrameNet aims "to document the range of semantic and syntactic combinatory possibilities —*valences*— of each word in each of its senses" (emphasis in the original). Any *lexical unit* (LU; a term borrowed from Cruse 1986), i.e. a pairing of a lexical form and meaning, can evoke one or more semantic frames, which are defined as script-like conceptual structures describing a given situation, object, or event together with its participants or Frame Elements (FEs) and particular role specifications.[2] FrameNet divides FEs into core, peripheral, and extra-thematic. The first are conceptually necessary components of a cognitive scenario which make a frame unique. The second are frame elements that do not refer to additional, independent or distinct events from the main reported event (e.g. time, place, manner, means, degree). The third serve the purpose of situating the main reported event against a backdrop of another state of affairs of the same type or belonging to a larger frame. For example, the Revenge frame groups five core frame elements, such as Avenger, Punishment, Offender, Injury, and Injured_party. An act of revenge is necessarily preceded by an offense and it is directed against someone. The parameters of time, place, manner, etc. can be regarded as instantiations of peripheral FEs (e.g. *The family took brutal revenge on the murderer*). These elements do not solely characterize a frame, and they can be used to describe any semantically appropriate frame. The Iteration (e.g. *He avenged the loss twice*) can be regarded as an extra-thematic FE since it does not conceptually belong to the frame it appears in.

2.1. The 'Expansion' Frame of the verb *swell*

In what follows we will illustrate with corpus examples the 'expansion' frame of the entity-specific change-of-state verb *swell*. Thus, this frame, which refers to an entity becoming larger or rounder in size due to an accumulation of fluid, features only one core FE and twelve non-core FEs, either peripheral or extra-thematic. The *Item* represents the core participant role which undergoes a change in size (e.g. *Feel how your abdomen swells and falls*; Sketch engine doc#1206) whilst the non-core ones are as follows:[3]

(i) The *Co-variable*, which is the quantity that varies commensurately with the size of the Item (e.g. *My eye pained and swelled* with each throb of my pounding heart *and I wondered if now I would be allowed to speak*; Sketch engine doc#818950, where an increasing heart rate correlates with the amount of swelling);

(ii) The *Degree* to which the expansion process occurs (e.g. *Sprinkle with the gelatin and leave it [mixture] for 5 minutes for it to swell* completely; Sketch engine doc#30805);

(iii) The *Dimension* (e.g. *[…] the cortex of individuals with preclinical Huntington's disease swells* in size *[…]*; Sketch engine doc#210592);

(iv) The temporal *Duration* that the expansion process takes (e.g. *The researchers are also developing a leg socket that can adjust to the changing diameter of the amputated stump as it swells* over the course of the day *[…]*; Sketch engine doc#134250);

(v) The *Group* in which an Item undergoes the change in size (e.g. *[…] the process of release of oocytes from the ovary is by means of a blister-like fluid swelling* among follicle cells adjacent to each oocyte; Sketch engine doc#1634393);

(vi) The *Initial_size*, which is often accompanied by the (vii) *Result_size* (e.g. *I can cope with a ridiculously foreshortened parasitic lifecycle, but the sight of creatures swelling* from miniscule to twice the size of a human *shows that the creators of this film have no idea of conservation of mass*; Sketch engine doc#1193635);

(vii) The *Manner* of the expansion (e.g. *The material that clothes her swells* softly *with the breath of the fluid that shapes it*; Sketch engine doc#960316);

(viii) The *Path* indicating a point on the scale of size (e.g. *Simultaneously, it causes the slug's antennae to swell* up *and glow phosphorescently*; Sketch engine doc#37978);

(ix) The *Rate* at which the expansion takes place (e.g. *[…] the mountain was swelling* about five feet a day *in a northward, lowering direction*; Sketch engine doc#917263);

(x) The *Size_change* (e.g. *[…] my chest measure had swelled* an inch or so *[…]*; Sketch engine doc#268431);

(xi) and the *Time* when the expansion happens (e.g. *It's likely going to swell on him* tomorrow *[…]*; Sketch engine doc#1681066).

Examples compiled from a bigger corpus than the one employed by the FrameNet lexicographers (i.e. The British National Corpus) demonstrate that a verb has a richer distributional pattern and consequently, more frame elements can be added. Thus, we can complete this frame proposal by contemplating Frame Elements, such as:

(xii) The *Location/Place* where this expansion occurs (e.g. *The anger-vein swelled* in his forehead *as he spoke*; Sketch engine doc#166046);

(xiii) The *External_cause* of the expansion (e.g. *The police, […] kept the body on display for 48 hours as it swelled* in the heat *[…]*; Sketch engine doc#671097);

(xiv) The *Internal_cause* (e.g. *And the mother's heart swelled big* with anguish; Sketch engine doc#1167890);

(xv) The *Subregion* (e.g. *Within 24 hours, the female's back begins to swell* around the eggs; Sketch engine doc#745610);

(xvi) and the *Source* of this process (e.g. *His tongue had swelled* out of his head; Sketch engine doc#2347336).

As will be seen later on, FrameNet has included the cause within the 'causation of expansion' frame. Nevertheless, if we look at the lexicographical definition of the verb *swell* we notice that the increase in size does not occur naturally but as a result of internal pressure. By taking this observation into consideration can we really claim the existence of two separate semantic frames for this verb? At this stage it is important to examine the reasons why FrameNet has decided to separate the causative and the inchoative uses of a verb into two different frames. Ruppenhofer *et al.* (2010: 12) enumerate two main factors motivating this lexicographical decision:

> There may be a legitimate objection about the presence of an AGENT or CAUSE being just a vague linguistic intuition and that we ignore the fact that everything that happens is caused [...] First, there will typically be lexical units that exhibit only one of the two uses. For instance, the verb *gain* only has inchoative uses when referring to scalar change, while the verb *lower* only allows causative uses in the domain of scalar change. Second, cross-linguistic comparison also shows that other languages often distinguish inchoatives and causatives by derivational morphology.

We disagree with the separation of these two frames since the central meaning of the verb *swell* is 'to increase in size or volume', whether we take the causative or the inchoative perspective: *The heat swelled my feet* ('caused the feet to become bigger') or *My feet swelled* ('the feet became bigger'). Causative and inchoative uses of a verb are a matter of the perspective from which we see an event. The frame itself is not affected by perspective. What is more, the perspective is imposed *ad hoc* when the frame is put to use. The causative/inchoative distinction is, thus, a matter of perspective on frames and it should not interfere with the structure of events proposed by frames.

2.2. The Role of Primary Metaphors

Another significant problem is posed by the incorporation of the Path element in the 'expansion' frame. How does FrameNet motivate the conceptual link between the increase in physical size and spatiality without acknowledging the existence of primary metaphors? Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) orientational metaphor MORE

IS UP licenses the combination of the verb *swell* with the preposition *up*, since there is an experiential basis according to which if you add more of a substance or of objects to a container or a pile, the level will go up. In relation to the MORE IS UP metaphor, Taylor (1995: 138) argues that height is literally correlated with quantity and the natural association between quantity and vertical extent has a metonymic basis. This metonymy becomes a metaphor only when more abstract instances of addition are evoked, such as *high prices*. Later on, Radden (2002: 410) takes up this issue and postulates a continuum ranging from literalness via metonymy to metaphor. This notion is tightly connected to the developmental model of primary scenes and primary metaphors and the notion of *deconflation* proposed by Grady (1997) or Grady and Johnson (2002). Radden (2002: 410-412) claims that MORE IS UP is a metonymy-based metaphor which has undergone four stages of evolution: (1) a literal stage in which the concept of verticality is experienced alone; (2) a stage of conflation (UP+MORE) or partial metonymy which emerges from a primary scene in which we see the level of liquid in a container go up when more liquid is poured into it; (3) a stage of deconflation or full metonymy (UP FOR MORE) in which the two concepts start separating; and (4) the final stage or the metaphoric MORE IS UP.

Ruiz de Mendoza (2011) discusses the cognitive operation of integration by *enrichment* whereby the FULL-EMPTY schema is enriched by the implicit VERTICALITY schema underlying the figurative quantity-height correlation. Furthermore, Peña (2003, 2008) claims that the VERTICALITY schema is inherently subsidiary to FULL-EMPTY and demonstrates how the CONTAINER and the PATH schemas blend to give rise to an intransitive resultative construction, e.g. *She was led into a depression*. In this example the subject moves to a resultant state of depression which is understood as a location and the container schema appears in the end-of-path structural slot. The verb *swell* could describe the expansion of an entity on a vertical and also on a horizontal level. The utterance *Tomatoes need a good supply of water when the fruits are swelling up* (Sketch engine doc#54055) makes use of the aforementioned combination between the FULL-EMPTY and the VERTICALITY schemas, whereas in the sentence *The buds of millions of poppy flowers are swelling across Afghanistan* (Sketch engine doc#1363530) the expansion frame is enriched by the SURFACE schema, which is later enriched with the subsidiary motion and path schemas. Thus, there are two primary metaphors at work here, namely SWELLING IS UPWARD AND/OR FORWARD MOTION. Also note that owing to these metaphors sentences like **My foot swelled down* or **The injury swelled back* are impossible. This is so because swelling is accompanied by an increase in height. This obeys the experientially based correlation between quantity and height mentioned above to such an extent that the mind interprets both types of increase as if they were the same. Grady

(1997, 1999) has shown that conflation is also present in other domains of our daily embodied experience, leading to the creation of primary metaphors, such as INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS (e.g. *They are close friends*), AFFECTION IS WARMTH (e.g. *She gave me a warm embrace*), IMPORTANT IS BIG (e.g. *Tomorrow is a big day for my career*), CHANGE IS MOTION (e.g. *My car has gone from bad to worse*), and UNDERSTANDING IS GRASPING (e.g. *She grasped his theory*), to name just a few.

Taylor's (1995: 139) examples of synesthesia, which is a subcategory of metaphor, can also be understood in terms of conflation. Synesthesia results from mapping one sensory domain onto another. Among the most representative examples we list *loud color* (which maps a feature of the auditory domain onto the visual domain), *black mood* (color is mapped onto an emotional state), and *sweet music* (where a gustatory sensation is linked to the auditory domain). Osgood *et al.* (1957) have investigated perceived similarity across different domains and put forward the existence of an 'affective reaction system' which is independent of any sensory modality. The affective reaction system was believed to have three primary dimensions: evaluation, potency, and activity. Identical reactions on these dimensions to stimuli from our environment are what could give rise to metaphor and synesthesia.

Additionally, there is a growing body of empirical studies that support the existence of conflation (also termed co-activation of two domains by one of the reviewers) in primary metaphors. For example, consider the well-known pair of metaphors GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN. Meier, Robinson and Clore's (2004) experiment demonstrates that people recognize positive words faster if these are placed on a higher vertical position on a computer screen and subsequently find negative words faster if they are positioned in the lower part of the screen. These results are in concordance with the idea that people conceptualize abstract notions such as good and bad as being located on a vertical scale, because good experiences are upward (e.g. being alive and healthy implies an upright position) and bad experiences are downward (e.g. sickness and death). Williams and Bargh (2008) explored the correlation between affection and warmth in a study in which people who briefly held warm, as opposed to cold, cups of coffee judged a fictitious person's interpersonal traits as being warmer. Finally, studies using an online lexical priming task revealed that people access conceptual metaphors (e.g. ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER) to process idiomatic sentences like *John blew his stack* (cf. Gibbs, Bogdanovich, Sykes and Barr 1997).

2.3. The 'causation of expansion' frame of the verb *swell*

The 'causation of expansion' frame comprises three core FEs and fifteen peripheral or optional FEs. The first group is made up of a human Agent who causes the

change in size (e.g. He *swelled himself up to near double his size*; Sketch engine doc#511390), the Item which undergoes the change and the Cause which is an inanimate entity bringing about the change (e.g. High rainfall *had swollen the waters draining off the reclaimed lands in the River Yar*; Sketch engine doc#22016). The non-core FEs are the following: the Co_Variable, the Dimension, the Elapsed time, the Group in which the Item changes, the Initial_size and the Result-size, the Rate of change, the Place where the Agent causes the expansion, the Manner, the Means, the Size_change, and the Time. In addition, three new components are added to this frame, that is to say, the Instrument with which the Agent causes the expansion of the Item, the Purpose, and the Reason for which the Agent causes the expansion. What FrameNet seems to overlook is the fact that the cause of the swelling may not always be expressed as the subject of a causative construction, as can be observed in *The waters were swelled* with continual rains*, and the low-lands were almost inundated* (Sketch engine doc#41368), where the cause is lexically realized by the preposition *with*. FrameNet shows how these FEs are realized at the grammatical level by including attested examples from the BNC. For the sake of illustration, let us consider the following FrameNet annotations for the 'causation of expansion' frame:

(1) a. This amount was further SWELLED by a generous donation from Norfolk of £200.

(The Item or the undergoer of expansion is lexicalized by the NP *amount* and the *by*-headed NP represents the Means by which the expansion is carried out).

b. Pity they couldn't actually have joined us because I was last there on a Monday night and my four friends and I SWELLED the numbers beyond double figures.

(*My four friends and I* is the Subject NP and functions as the Agent causing the expansion and the NP *numbers* is the entity that increased in size).

c. The heat SWELLS the metal, so breaking the rusted joint.

(The NP *heat* is the non-animate Cause of the expansion process whilst the Item is expressed by the NP *metal*).

Examples (1) (a)-(c) constitute the most typical combinatory possibilities for the verb *swell*.[4] However, we stumble across the same problem as advanced earlier, i.e. what makes the English speaker's mind establish a link between a literal expansion of the surface of the metal with an abstract swelling of an amount/number? Moreover, we consider that examples (1a) and (1b) evoke a scalar dimension (i.e. the height scale) through activation of the primary metaphor MORE IS UP which connects an increase in number/amount to an increase in height. The vertical scale

thus becomes subsidiary to the concept of quantity and is cued by metaphorical instantiations. On the other hand, physical size does not necessarily involve a scale unless you measure it.

2.4. The 'Change of Position on a Scale' and its Causative Variant

The 'change of position on a scale' frame encompasses eight core FEs and sixteen non-core FEs. The conceptually necessary components are:

(i) The Attribute or the scalar property of the Item (e.g. *Presently, as the voices swelled* in volume, *the baritone stepped forward*; Sketch engine doc#271446);[5]

(ii) The Difference (e.g. *About 1.3m Americans fell into poverty last year, while the total without medical insurance swelled* by 1.4m, *[…]*; Sketch engine doc#43613);

(iii) The Initial_value and Final_value (e.g. *Taken together, the number of tourists world-wide is forecast to swell* from 673 million *this year* to 1,602 million *in 2020*; Sketch engine doc#36209);[6]

(iv) and the Value_range, which is a portion of the scale along which the value of the attribute fluctuates (e.g. *The exchange rate has fluctuated* between a low point of US$82 and a high point of US$145 *per 100 euro*; Sketch engine doc#10239).[7]

Among the peripheral FEs we should mention:

(i) The Circumstances (e.g. *One phenotypic expression of this inherited abnormality of Rbc in Beagles was an accelerated rate of RBC swelling* under osmotic stress *[…]*; Sketch engine doc#1386973);

(ii) The Correlate, which is a directional path against which the Attribute is measured (e.g. *After 1985, these networks swelled* with another outflow of migrants *[…]*; Sketch engine doc#790797);

(iii) The Duration (e.g. *The ranks of the disabled have swelled* over the last two decades; Sketch engine doc#640149);

(iv) The Initial_correlate and Final_correlate (e.g. *The Gangsters swelled* from Ashland and Halsted *on the west* to Cottage Grove *on the east*; Sketch engine doc#207148);

(v) The Group (e.g. *[…] an inane debate swelled* among active gays *over a novel nomenclature […]*; Sketch engine doc#55600);

(vi) The Speed (e.g. *Estimates range from 150,000 to 350,000, swelling* by 5 to 10 percent a month; Sketch engine doc#755520);

(vii) The Path that the Item traverses (e.g. *A fast release could cause the sound to swell* up *in volume very quickly*; Sketch engine doc#166538).[8]

Finally, the causative variant of the 'change of position on a scale' frame adds the human Agent (e.g. Kurdish and Afghan refugees *have swelled the ranks of the minority Sunnis […]*; Sketch engine doc#52924) and the Cause (e.g. *[…]* military campaigns *have only swelled the ranks of his followers*; Sketch engine doc#109320). As for the non-core FEs, these are: the Co_Variable, which is the scale that the dependent Variable is measured against, the Difference, the Manner (e.g. *But Ireland and India* greatly *swelled the revenues available to Britain's ruling class*; Sketch engine doc#256596), the Means, the Place, the Path, the Purpose, the Time, the Value_1 and Value_2, and the Speed. FrameNet lists only one example for this 'causation of change of position on a scale' frame, e.g. *Useful contributions from the tail SWELLED* the score *to 451, leaving India a distant victory target of 372.* In this sentence the *score* is the undergoer that changes its position to a final value due to *contributions* (cause).

3. Verbs of the Second Group in FrameNet

Only seven verbs of the second group were found in FrameNet, namely *corrode, rust, tarnish, rot, decay, molder,* and *burn*. The first three verbs are conceptually related in the sense that there is an overlap of the frames they activate. Thus, the verb *corrode,* which displays two main frames, i.e. 'corroding' and 'corroding_caused', shares its first frame with *rust* and its second frame with *tarnish.* The main difference between the 'corroding' and the 'corroding_caused' frame is that the latter adds two more core FEs beside the undergoer, viz. the Agent and the Cause. The Agent is always an individual that causes the corrosion (e.g. *At first he corroded the surface of the stone with aquafortis […]*)[9] whereas the Cause can be an animate or inanimate entity, a force or an event (e.g. *The acid corroded the metal*). What we find surprising is that FrameNet has listed only the 'corroding' frame for the verb *rust*. This predicate can also evoke the 'causation of corrosion' frame as illustrated by transitive sentences like *The moist air rusted the latch on the door* or *Keep up your bright swords, for the dew will rust them* (*Merriam Webster Online Dictionary*). It is common knowledge that a metal cannot rust by itself. It is always the action of air, water or an acid which causes the metal to acquire a reddish brown color. By the same reasoning, the intransitive use of the verb *tarnish* can evoke a 'corroding' semantic frame, which is not included for this verb in FrameNet (e.g. *Gold does not tarnish easily*). The formation of rust on a metal is produced by an external cause just as the discoloration of a metal surface is.

Exactly like *corrode*, the verb *rot* has two main semantic frames: a 'rotting' and a 'cause to rot' frame. The first frame was postulated in order to account for the intransitive uses of this predicate, whilst the second one accounts for its transitive

use by the inclusion of an Agent (cf. *She said that 'he rotted the blinds' by keeping his window open*)[10] or a Cause (e.g. *Leprosy rotted the flesh from their bones;* COCA 1992). As was the case with the verb *corrode*, the Agent is mentioned as a core FE in the 'cause to rot' frame, but there are no examples that could substantiate these assumptions. Both *decay* and *molder* share the 'rotting' frame which has no cause for the decomposition undergone by an entity. Although the transitive use of these verbs is becoming obsolete, we have come across examples which activate the 'causation of decomposition' frame, e.g. *Pollution has decayed the surface of the stonework on the front of the cathedral* (*Cambridge Online Dictionary*); *Winter mouldered the footprints of besmirching snow […].*[11] FrameNet annotations for these verbs instantiate the most typical combinatory affordances of a predicate, as evidenced by the following sentences:

(2) a. *Acid water trouble* corrodes *pipework.*

b. *Hairsprays, nail enamels and make-up could* tarnish *the gold.*

c. *Our old metal gutters are* rusting *badly – what should I replace them with?*

d. *Linen and lace had* rotted *into cobwebs on the beds, where now there were only twisted brass bones.*

e. *Their flesh* decays, *their shells and their bones become scattered and turn to powder.*

f. *Athelstan had returned but his brother's body still lay* mouldering *in some forgotten field in France.*

Examples (2) (a)-(f) constitute literal instantiations of the predicates under scrutiny, where the undergoer (pipework, gold, metal gutters, linen and lace, flesh, body) is always an organic entity that suffers a process of gradual decomposition, which in some cases is externally caused (acid water trouble, hairsprays, nail enamel and make-up).

Although FrameNet is useful because it helps us "to identify verb classes based on their ability to describe similar types of scenes or situations" (Boas 2011: 216), it has the disadvantage of disregarding more unusual configurations that are contemplated in other corpora. FrameNet lists only one figurative use of the verb *corrode* (cf. *His disappointment had corroded his concentration*) but nothing is said about what motivates the occurrence of this verb in this metaphorical environment. What is more, Boas himself (2010: 57) argues that "while the role of metaphor in structuring language has been amply demonstrated in the literature, its role in licensing particular argument structure constructions remains a matter of debate" and "it is not entirely clear how metaphorical extensions can be systematically restricted to avoid unacceptable sentences". Nevertheless, metaphor and metonymy can act as licensing factors of syntactic behavior. Among the metaphors and

metonymies that underlie grammatical processes, we can mention the following: (i) THE TIME FOR ACTION metonymy (see Kövecses and Radden 1998), which allows the noun *summer* to undergo categorial conversion, thus, becoming a verb 'to spend the summer' (e.g. *An injured bird also summered at Darwell Reservoir in 1958*); (ii) A SOUND ACT IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT (cf. Baicchi and Benedetti 2010) permits the subcategorial conversion of a *sound emission* verb like *wail* which changes into an active accomplishment predicate (e.g. *Police car wailed its way towards them up Wimbledon Hill*; BNC 68235 HR8); (iii) the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC metonymy (see also Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez 2002, 2004), which motivates the parametrization process whereby a generic lexical item stands for a more specific one (e.g. *What's Tom?,* where the generic *what is* question is a specific way of asking either about Tom's job, i.e. an architect or Tom's role, i.e. a leader). So, limiting our study to literal utterances in which an organic entity undergoes decomposition would result in a rather impoverished analysis.

3.1. The semantic frames of the verb *burn*

Regarding the verb *burn,* this predicate displays four semantic frames: 'experience_ bodily harm', 'cause_harm', 'perception_body' and 'emotion_heat'. In the first frame, an experiencer injures a part of his/her body on an injuring entity (cf. *Melanie burned her mouth on scalding tea;* COCA 1993). In the second frame an Agent injures a Victim (cf. *They burnt him alive in the village square;* BNC CJP 620). The 'perception_body' frame refers to an experience that perceives high temperature on some part of his/her body (cf. *Evelyn went cold inside and her skin burned all over;* COCA 1990). The last frame describes a (usually negative and uncontrollable) emotion experienced by an individual as in *Her lips tightened and a flame of anger burned across the cheekbones Montgomery had admired* (COCA 1988). However, even if FrameNet lists this figurative use of the verb *burn,* it still falls short of accounting for how *burn* is used within a metaphorical expression. In this respect, we contend that the association of a negative emotion like *anger* with the verb *burn* is not a random connection. Kövecses (1990) points out that there is a clear connection between the cultural model of the physiological effects of anger and the conceptual expressions coding this emotion. Anger manifests itself in the body through increased body heat, increased heart rate and blood pressure. Therefore, it is not surprising that anger is expressed by means of verbs related to fire which produces extreme heat. The previous example is motivated by Kövecses's (1990: 58) primary metaphor ANGER IS FIRE which has an experiential basis. This metaphor displays the correspondences illustrated in Table 1 below:

SOURCE	TARGET
Fire	Anger
Entity burning	Angry person
Cause of fire	Cause of anger
Intensity of fire	Intensity of anger
Physical damage to burning entity	Mental damage to angry person

TABLE 1: Kövecses's metaphor ANGER IS FIRE

Furthermore, the capacity of the entity burning to fulfill its normal function correlates to the capacity of the angry individual to function normally, whereas the entity at the point of being consumed by fire in the source domain corresponds to the person whose anger has reached its limit in the target domain.

Consider the sentence *Kate's eyes burned with a fury that was fast reducing her to speechlessness* (COCA 1993). Following FrameNet's rationale, we could simply assign the NP *fury* the semantic role of cause and leave the reader do all the inferential work. Nonetheless, we claim that such a sentence is grounded in a metaphor according to which eyes are objects in combustion.

4. FrameNet's Limitations

Although the FrameNet database is undoubtedly a useful tool, several limitations have been identified:

(i) The use of what seems to have become a small size corpus, such as The British National Corpus, has direct consequences for the distributional pattern of lexical units. As we have demonstrated in the previous sections, semantic frames are sometimes incomplete and could be enriched through the inclusion of additional frame elements. As outlined in section 2.1, the 'expansion' frame of the verb *swell* can be enriched through the addition of five different FEs, such as the Location, the External_cause and the Internal_ cause of the expansion, the Subregion and the Source of this process.

(ii) Only a small number of entity-specific change-of-state verbs were found in this database, namely *burn, corrode, decay, molder, rot, rust, swell,* and *tarnish.* In most cases, only literal examples were provided for the verbs under scrutiny, and even when a metaphorical use is listed no motivation is given for the subsumption of a particular verb into a figurative sentence.

(iii) In some cases there is a high degree of overlap between frames and frame elements. In section 3 it has been shown that the verb *corrode* shares the

'corroding' frame with the verb *rust* and respectively, the 'corroding_caused' frame with *tarnish*. To illustrate the overlap between frame elements, consider the sentence *This program will not survive* [with everybody going in different directions].[13] In this example the phrase between brackets can express the Circumstances that facilitate a state of affairs and supply an Explanation for the occurrence of the events described by the verb.

(iv) Despite the fact that it postulates inheritance relationships between semantic frames, FrameNet displays a limited kind of paradigmatic information for words. In this database there are no hierarchical arrangements for the hyponyms of a verb. In this connection, frame elements may reflect the complementation pattern of a lexical unit but they do not predict their syntactic behavior. FrameNet does not focus on the peculiarities of a single verb but on the common semantic features of a frame. This broad treatment cannot help us pinpoint the exact semantic properties that determine a difference at the syntactic level. Thus, *contribute* and *give,* which have been classified by Levin (1993) as change of possession verbs, behave syntactically in different ways, i.e. *contribute* cannot participate in the ditransitive construction, but, according to the FrameNet lexicographers, they belong to the same semantic frame, namely the 'giving' frame. The same holds true for *pay* and *disburse*. While the former can occur in the ditransitive construction, the latter can only appear in the dative construction. If they evoke the same frame (viz. the 'commerce_pay' semantic frame) how can we account for their different syntax?

(v) The lexical units in FrameNet are not provided with any phonological, morphological or etymological information. Also, words in the FrameNet database are not associated with any pragmatic features (information about users and user communities, contexts of use, emotional affect, etc.).[12]

As the reader will have realized, some of the criticisms enumerated above are exclusively directed at the analysis provided for entity-specific change-of-state verbs (see [i], [ii], and [iii]), whereas the remaining points concern the structure of FrameNet as a whole.

Notes

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[1]. Levin (1993) mistakenly includes the verb *stagnate* among entity-specific change-of-state verbs. However, this verb does not evoke any change schema since its meaning encodes cessation of motion or progress.

[2]. Unlike Dik's (1997) model, which proposes a threefold distinction for the functions of a word (i.e. semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic), FrameNet identifies only two functions: the semantic one, which is characterized by frame elements, and the grammatical one (e.g. the subject, the object, and the complement expressed by means of phrase types, such as NPs, PPs, APs, etc.). Frame elements are specifications of the more abstract thematic roles of agent, patient, and theme. For example, the Buyer is an agent in the 'commerce' frame.

[3]. At this point it should be noted that we will illustrate the 'expansion' frame for the verb *swell* with examples extracted from our own corpus (i.e. the Sketch engine) since FrameNet provides no examples for this verb in this particular frame.

[4]. The reader should not confuse the term typical with prototypical. The former signals frequency of occurrence of specific items or tokens. The latter derives from psycholinguistic work on quality of ratings by experimental subjects. A prototype is the best example of a category. Prototypicality usually correlates with frequency of use (cf. Stubbs 2004), but not necessarily so. This means that a highly typical realization can be a prototypical one. Even though Fillmore *et al.* do not calculate frequency of occurrence (cf. Ruppenhofer *et al.* 2010: 22), they claim that they discard occurrences that are marginal, i.e. those for which they have obtained very few hits.

[5]. In this example the voice is the Item, i.e. the entity undergoing a change of position on a scale.

[6]. No examples for the Initial_state and the Final_state were found in our corpus. These two FEs differ from the Initial_value and Final_value in that they express an Item's state after or before the change in the Attribute's value, as an independent predication. Also, FrameNet uses the verb *increase,* not *swell,* to exemplify the Initial_ state and the Final_state (e.g. *Diesels have increased* from having a 20% market share in 1995 *to just over 30% in 2004; It was never bad (1 or 2 seizures a year), but this past decade, it has increased* to having them 1 day a month *[…]*).

[7]. The Value_range frame element could not have been exemplified with the verb *swell* whose unidirectionality is incompatible with oscillation between two points on a scale.

[8]. Eight peripheral FEs were left out from this 'change of position on a scale' frame, i.e. the Containing_event, the Degree, the Manner, the Particular_iteration, the Period_of_iterations, the Place, the Result, and the Time. These were not illustrated here owing to the fact that no examples were found in our corpus. Nevertheless, FrameNet lists no examples for this frame.

[9]. Google Books: *Chats on old prints,* by Arthur Hayden (1923). Accessed on February 17, 2012. It should also be noted that although FrameNet lists the Agent as one of the FEs of the 'corroding_caused' frame, no example is provided to support their claim.

[10]. Google Books: *A biography of Edward Marsh,* by Christopher Hassal (1959). Accessed on February 17, 2012.

[11]. Google Books: *Glasgow: fabric of a city,* by Maurice Lindsay (2001). Accessed on February 17, 2012.

[12]. These disadvantages are also made evident in the work of Atkins *et al.* (2003: 271-272) or in Fillmore, Johnson & Petruck (2003: 248).

[13]. This example has been extracted from Ruppenhofer *et al.* (2010: 147).

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VOWEL-COLOUR SYMBOLISM IN ENGLISH AND ARABIC: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

PILAR MOMPEÁN GUILLAMÓN
Universidad de Castilla- La Mancha
Pilar.Mompean@uclm.es

1. Introduction

The present paper aims at exploring the potential motivated relation between vowel sounds and colours, as well as at expanding the range of languages analysed in this respect so far. To this end, two experiments are presented using the same methodology, a free-forced-choice task, but different language speakers, English and Arabic. In both experiments, participants were asked to listen to a vowel sound and choose a colour from twelve options available. But before detailing the experiments, I will summarize the theoretical background that led the author to study the two apparently unrelated fields of vowel sounds and colours.

1.1. The Linguistic Sign: Perspectives

The phenomenon of sound symbolism had not been openly accepted and studied till relatively recently. During the 20th century a strong debate around the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign took place, where three positions are easily observable. The first position —arbitrary— establishes that there is nothing in nature that may help the speaker use certain sounds to name entities (Saussure 1983; see also Bally 1951; Bloomfield 1933; Bolinger 1950, 1975, 1980; Brekle 1974; Culler 1975; Dubois 1974; Leach 1964; Leech 1969;

Lyons 1977; Meier 1999; Thorndike 1945). The second point of view —motivated— states that language is motivated particularly because there is something in nature that helps speakers know that certain sounds are appropriate for naming certain entities (Coward and Ellis 1977; Durbin 1973; Gabelentz 1891; Hodge and Kress 1988; Houdé *et al.* 2002; Hymes 1960; Jakobson 1971; Jakobson and Waugh 1987; Kress and Leeuven 1996; Marcos Marín 1997; Monneret 2003, 2005; Nuckolls 1999; Sereno 1994; Toussaint 1983; Ultan 1978; Wilden 1987). The third perspective —middle-ground— agrees partially with the previous two by considering that there is a scale that goes from the most arbitrary elements in language to the most motivated signs. One of the reasons put forward in favour of this argument is that the dichotomy *signifier-signified* is too simplistic, and that the linguistic sign is made up of different layers, some arbitrary and some extremely motivated (see Bouissac 2003; Fill 2005; Fischer 1999; Haiman 1999; Magnus 2000; Nöth 1990; Waugh 1993).

1.2. Sound Symbolism: Typology

All the definitions of sound symbolism seem to coincide in the idea that it is the motivated relationship between the formal elements in a word and its meaning component. This makes sound symbolism a very general concept which may be divided into different categories that have received different degrees of attention. The most common types of sound symbolism may be reduced to four: corporeal, imitative, conventional and synesthetic (for an in-depth review of this typology see Hinton et al. 1994). Corporeal symbolism (Ostwald 1994) refers to the sounds speakers produce when expressing a physical or psychological state (e.g. grumbling when angry). Imitative symbolism (Grammont 1993; Jespersen 1922; Radden and Panther 2004; Tsur 2001) —i.e. onomatopoeia— implies the imitation of natural sounds using linguistic elements (e.g. saying *bow-bow* to represent the barking of a dog). Conventional sound symbolism (Bergen 2004; Lázaro Carreter 1977) —i.e. phonesthemes— deals with the association between certain consonants or consonant clusters and certain meanings (e.g. the cluster /fl-/ is usually associated with "moving light" as in *flash*, *flare*, *flame* or with "movement in air" as in *fly, flap, flip*). Synaesthetic sound symbolism (Aoki 1994: 15; Bolinger 1980: 19; Hinton et al. 1994: 4) considers the association between sounds and the physical characteristics of objects, such as colour, shape, size or temperature. For instance, the pair *maluma* and *takete* has been associated by participants with rounded and spiky figures respectively (see Davis 1961; Fox 1935; Irwin and Newland 1940; Köhler 1929; Maurer et al. 2006; Rogers and Ross 1975). In terms of research effort, this last type is the one that has received most attention.

1.3. Synaesthetic Sound Symbolism: Research Methods

Depending on the purpose of the research, different methodologies can be observed within the study of sound symbolism with non-synesthetic participants. As a case in point, the free-production task has been commonly used with the aim of analyzing the productivity of the phenomenon. This consists firstly of asking participants to provide a name for a given object considering certain characteristics such as its size or shape (see Bentley and Varon 1933; Iritani 1969; Johnson 1967; Klank et al. 1971). Secondly, in order to study the automatic activation of the sound-symbolic process, different variations of the Stroop task (Stroop 1935) have also been employed (see Beeli et al. 2005; Westbury 2005). In an original Stroop task names of colours are displayed in the same or a different colour from the one denoted by the name, and participants are required to say the name of the colour. In principle, it will take them longer to recognise, for example, the name of the colour yellow if this is displayed in blue, than if both colour and name match. Thirdly, when the objective is that of obtaining quantifiable data from the connotative meaning of a word or concept, rating scales are used (Bentley and Varon 1933; Fischer-Jørgensen 1978; Gebels 1969; Heise 1966; Marks 1982; Miron 1961; Taylor and Taylor 1962). Finally, matching tasks are perhaps the most common type of technique employed when dealing with synesthetic sound symbolism (see e.g. Bentley and Varon 1933; Brackbill and Little 1957; Brown et al. 1955; Davis 1961; Maurer et al. 2006; Miyahara et al. 2006; Newman 1933; Sapir 1929; Tarte and Barrit 1971; Tsuru and Fries 1933; Usnadze 1924; Wrembel 2007, 2009). The main purpose of these tasks is to obtain knowledge on how the form of a word provides information, so that participants are able to relate it to a certain meaning; or, conversely, how the physical characteristics of an entity may give speakers clues about which string of sounds would be appropriate to name it.

Despite the great variations in the use of the methodologies outlined above, some findings seem to be common to most of them. In the first place, the way in which stimuli are presented —visually, auditorily, framed by consonants or alone — does not influence results (Taylor and Taylor 1962). Secondly, even if the strength of the associations seems to vary depending on the language studied, the phenomenon itself seems to be universal. In addition, the normal population seems to recognize sound-symbolic elements on the basis of a combination of their experience of the world and their innate predisposition towards this phenomenon (Abelin 1999; Brown 1958; Cytowic 1989; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Werner and Kaplan 1963). Furthermore, sound symbolism seems to be found particularly in those word pairs referring to *sensible* continua, such as magnitude or shape (Brown and Nuttall 1959: 445; see also Birch and Erickson 1958; Brown 1958). Moreover, in general terms, age does not seem to influence speakers' ability to perceive sound

symbolism (Maurer et al. 2006; Newman 1933). Finally, findings in studies such as Roper *et al.* (1976) point towards a statistical difference between male and female participants in terms of the types of sound symbolic relations established by children when asked to classify non-sense words in terms of size or texture and colour. Roper et al. (1976: 393) found that male participants in their study chose black for soft words, whereas females chose white tokens ($F= 15.75$, d.f. = 1.28, $p<0.01$).

2. Experiments

2.1. Introduction

As explained above, the findings obtained in studies carried out with non-synesthetes have determined that the latter have the ability to associate sounds and properties of objects to a better than chance degree in most of the cases. At the same time, the existence of an automatic innate condition called synesthesia is widely known. Those who possess this condition automatically associate sensations emanating from two senses or from two dimensions of the same sense (e.g. a synaesthete may listen to vowel /a/ and simultaneously see the colour red, or read the word *Wednesday* and automatically see the colour blue). Most studies of the synaesthetes' association between sounds or letters and meanings consist in the experimenter asking the participant which sound, letter or word is connected with which colour (Rich *et al.* 2005; Simner *et al.* 2005; Weiss *et al.* 2001). Most of the experiments carried out in this respect have found that: a) synaesthesia is more frequent in women than in men and that it is hereditary (see also Bailey and Johnson 1997; Baron-Cohen *et al.* 1996); b) synaesthesia is equally present in left- and right-handed people; c) a synaesthete's life tends to be connected with artistic activities; d) synaesthetes tend to be worse at direction finding and mathematics than non-synaesthetes; and e) the associations established are not purely idiosyncratic[1].

In most cases, the study of the synaesthetes' responses has been compared with those of a non-synesthetic control group tested under the same conditions. The results of all the studies carried out in this respect (see e.g. Baron-Cohen *et al.* 1993) show that the control group performs poorly in comparison with the experimental group of synaesthetes. Nevertheless, other studies (Rich *et al.* 2005) have also found that, even if non-synaesthetes are not able to recall so well their first choices when retested, some commonalities between both groups can be observed. This suggests that "common experiences may underlie the links evident in the two groups" (Rich *et al.* 2005: 78).

Despite the existence of a great deal of theoretical and experimental work on synaesthetic associations, few empirical studies have so far investigated the association between sounds and colours as perceived by non-synaesthete participants. Exceptions are the studies by Miyahara et al. (2006), Wrembel (2007, 2009), and similar work by Wrembel and Rataj (2008). These authors used matching tasks asking participants from different languages (Japanese, English, Polish) to listen to sounds and choose the colours they considered appropriate. In all three cases, the authors found statistically significant associations between both elements. For example, Miyahara et al. (2006) observed that /a/ was mostly related with red, /i/ with yellow, /u/ and /o/ with blue and green, and /e/ with green. Moreover Wrembel (2007, 2009) and Wrembel and Rataj (2008) also observed significant associations and reached the conclusion that for both Polish and English there was a tendency to associate bright colours with front vowels and dark colours with back vowels. However, despite the coincidences observed by both authors within this specific type of association, the findings obtained in synaesthetic sound symbolism in general are not completely conclusive (Kennedy and Ross 1975; Miron 1961; O'Boyle *et al.* 1987; Rogers and Ross 1975; Slobin 1968; Taylor 1963). The results available seem to point towards a type of sound symbolism that may be common to certain languages, though somehow conditioned by the family to which they belong.

Given the few empirical studies available on the relation between sounds and colours in non-synaesthetes, further research seems necessary by expanding the range of languages studied. Therefore, the aim of the experiments described below is to gain a better understanding of such associations in the non-synesthete population. More specifically, the research questions to be answered in this paper are: a) Do non-synaesthetes associate sounds and colours significantly? and b) Are these associations cross-linguistic?

As far as the first research question is concerned, the results and conclusions derived from the studies of the general sound symbolism literature permit us to hypothesize that participants should be able to establish some degree of association between sounds and colours. With regard to the second research question, the literature on the universality of sound symbolism is extensive. However, based on the findings and conclusions derived from the studies on sound symbolism, the hypothesis proposed in this study is that there will be coincidences in the associations established, though these will be conditioned by linguistic and cultural factors.

In order to test these hypotheses, a free-forced-choice task was carried out, using two groups of language speakers, English and Arabic.

2.2. Method: Experiment 1 English

2.2.1. Participants

Fifty-six undergraduate students (ten male and 46 female) from the School of Psychology at the University of Birmingham (UK) were considered for this experiment. Most of them had little or no knowledge of other languages. Four of them were ruled out because they were bilinguals in English and one of the following languages: French, Gurajati, Punjabi or Turkish. Therefore, the data provided by 52 participants (nine male and 43 female; mean age 19.9 years, SD = 0.9) was taken into account. Mono-lingualism was considered relevant in the two experiments, since it has been well proved that it is very important to use monolingual participants in studies attempting to determine the relation between sound and any type of meaning in a given language (see Taylor and Taylor 1962: 354), since the perfect command of a non-native language may condition the results obtained.

Before participating in the experiment, subjects carried out a colour-blindness test. Only after passing this test could they have access to the experiment. All participants passed this test, which means that none of them were colour-blind and therefore they qualified as subjects for this experiment. They were also asked whether they suffered from auditory or visual problems. All of them answered *no* to these questions, and so they were considered apt subjects.

2.2.2. Stimuli and Materials

The stimuli used came from different sources. For the sound stimuli, cardinal vowels were taken from an Interactive CD containing a clickable cardinal vowel chart created by the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics at University College London.

Cardinal vowels are not language-specific. They are produced when the tongue occupies an extreme position within the mouth (either front, back, low or high). They represent reference points used by phoneticians in order to study and describe the vowels of the world's languages. The system was designed by Jones ([1918]1967), who defined two vowels, [i] and [ɑ], from an articulatory point of view. Then, the other vowels were located as auditorily equidistant between these three vowels, always taking into account four degrees of height: close, close-mid, open-mid and open (see Ladefoged 1971: 67). The different degrees of aperture together with the distinction established between front and back gave as a result the eight reference points that came from a set of articulatory and auditory criteria. The resulting vowel chart is shown in Figure 1.

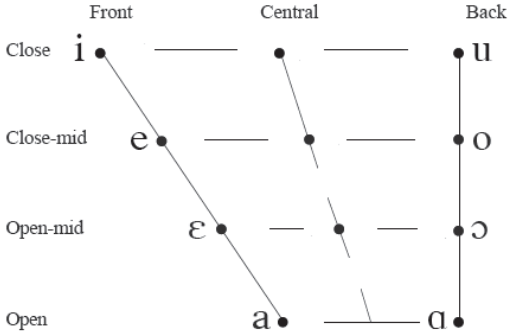

FIGURE 1: Primary Cardinal vowel chart.

From all the vowels available on the CD, only the eight primary cardinal vowels (/i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɑ/, /ɔ/, /o/, /u/) were used. All of them were 16-bit stereo files (sampling frequency 44,100 Hz and 65 dB).

As far as the colours are concerned, they were created by means of *Paint Brush*, a graphics painting program for creating different pictures and painting them in customized colours. In line with Berlin and Kay's (1969) findings, the colours used in this experiment were black, blue, brown, green, grey, yellow, orange, pink, red, white and purple. A twelfth option was provided so that participants could choose it whenever they felt that none of the colours provided matched the sound they had heard. Each colour was created following the additive system RGB, which combines the three colours —red, green and blue— in different measures in order to produce other colours. The coloured squares appeared against a soft silver background, so that the contrast between the colours and the background was not extreme. The silver background was also used with the intention of using white as one of the potential choices. The test was located on the Internet at http://www.lasnorias.es/pilar.

The experiment was carried out on a desktop computer with a 17-inch screen located at a laboratory of the School of Psychology (University of Birmingham). Headphones were also used in order to isolate the participant from the surrounding environment. The room was dimmed by means of curtains and no lights were turned on while the experiment was being carried out, so as to avoid potential light reflection on the screen.

2.2.3. Procedure

Participants were tested one by one and given a pre-experimental consent form. After that, the experimenter explained the procedure to the participant in their

native language. In the software designed for the purpose of this experiment, participants were first asked to choose their native language. After that, another screen appeared where the instructions were shown (see Figure 2).

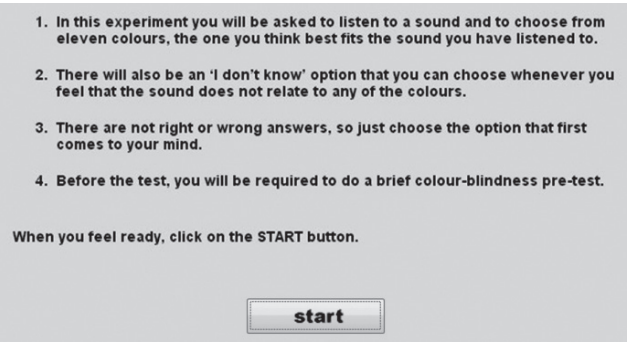

FIGURE 2: Instructions for the experiment.

After clicking on the START button, they were redirected to another screen, with questions about: age, gender, handedness, auditory problems and colour-blindness. Then, the program directed participants to a colour-blindness test in which the Ishihara plates 1, 13 and 23 (Ishihara 1917) were used (see Figure 3).

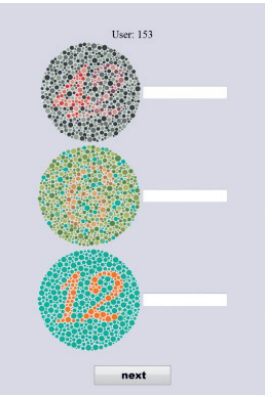

FIGURE 3: Colour-blindness test.

If they passed this test, the programme showed the first of the thirty-two slides the experiment consisted of. First, participants listened to a sound and then they saw 12 coloured squares on the screen (see Figure 4).

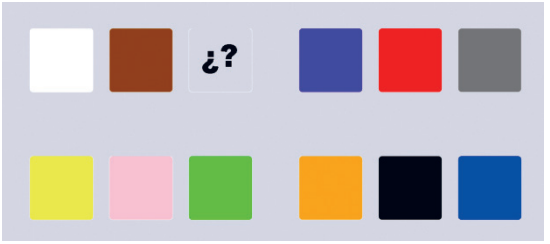

FIGURE 4: Example of experiment screen.

The images occupied the whole screen and only when participants had clicked on a given colour, did the next sound and image appear. Each of the eight sounds used were heard four times with colours varying in the position they appeared on the screen, so that potential results could not be attributed to the position of colours on the screen. Finally, participants proceeded to a post-experiment written questionnaire.

2.2.4. Results

The data collected from the English subjects were ordered and analysed by means of a Chi-square test in order to measure the deviation of the sample from expectation as well as the statistical significance of the associations in comparison with those established between the same sound and other colours. The data obtained as well as the Chi-square values showing significant associations are shown in Table 1.

VOWEL	ENGLISH
/i/	**GREEN** ($X^2(1)=25.18$, **p<0.005**)
/e/	**GREY** ($X^2(1)=7.67$, **p<0.01**)
/ɛ/	**ORANGE** ($X^2(1)=8.59$, **p<0.005**) **WHITE** ($X^2(1)=25.79$, **p<0.005**)
/a/	**RED** ($X^2(1)=8.76$, **p<0.005**)
/ɑ/	**RED** ($X^2(1)=28.39$, **p<0.005**)
/ɔ/	**ORANGE** ($X^2(1)=16.25$, **p<0.005**)
/o/	**ORANGE** ($X^2(1)=8.59$, **p<0.005**)
/u/	**BROWN** ($X^2(1)=19.49$, **p<0.005**)

TABLE 1: Chi-square results for English participants.

As observed in Table 1, participants significantly associated the sounds with one or even two colours. The deviation of the choice of the colours with respect to the association with other colours is statistically significant by $p<0.005$, except for that established between /e/ and grey ($p<0.01$). Specifically, the English participants chose: a) green for /i/, b) grey for /e/, c) orange and white for /ɛ/, d) red for /a/ and /ɑ/, e) orange for /ɔ/ and /o/, and f) brown for the vowel /u/. This implies that the first hypothesis that there would be some degree of association between sounds and colours is confirmed for the English participants.

Nonetheless, even though the data gathered support the hypothesis proposed, a within-group analysis reveals variability in terms of the choices made. These choices were of five different kinds: a) the same colour was chosen the four times the sound was listened to (4); b) two different colours were chosen the four times the sound was listened to (2+2); c) the same colour was chosen three times and a different colour was selected once (3+1); d) the same colour was chosen twice, whereas two other different colours were selected for the remaining two times in which the sound was listened to (2+1+1); and e) four different colours were selected each of the four times the sound was listened to (1+1+1+1). As observed from the data reported in Table 2, a low percentage of participants chose the same colour on all occasions. Most participants seem to have followed options *c*, *d* and *e*. This shows that within-group variability existed, even though it did not influence the general results obtained.

	4	2+2	3+1	2+1+1	1+1+1+1
/i/	5.7%	9.6%	**36.5%**	**21.1%**	**26.9%**
/e/	9.6%	3.8%	**21.5%**	**25 %**	**38.4%**
/ɛ/	17.3%	3.8%	**21.5%**	**36.5%**	**21.5%**
/a/	7.7%	5.7%	**26.9%**	**32.7%**	**26.9%**
/ɑ/	17.3%	11.5%	**19.2%**	**32.7%**	**19.2%**
/ɔ/	11.5%	7.7%	**15.3%**	**50 %**	**15.3%**
/o/	9.6%	3.8%	**17.3%**	**34.6%**	**36.5%**
/u/	7.7%	7.7%	**25 %**	**32.7%**	**26.9%**

TABLE 2: Within-group variability in terms of colours choice. English participants.

2.3. Method: Experiment 2 Arabic

2.3.1. Participants

For this experiment, 50 Arabic speakers were initially taken from different groups. These included Arabic speakers living in Tetuan and Dar Bouazza (Morocco), as well as other speakers living in the Region of Murcia (Spain).

All participants were native speakers of classic Arabic, Darija (the Moroccan dialect) or both. Two would-be participants were excluded, since they had spent more than ten years in Spain and Spanish had become their first language. The other 48 participants spoke other languages, especially Spanish, English and French, but were not considered bilingual, because all of them had learnt these languages later in life and they described their linguistic competence as basic. Even those living in Spain did not have a good command of Spanish and the experimenter took the trouble to create an Arabic-speaking environment, by providing instructions and questionnaires in Arabic and not speaking to them during the experiment. None of the participants had auditory or visual problems, and all of them passed the colour-blindness test. The educational level of the 48 participants (29 male and 19 female) ranged from secondary school to undergraduate students. Their mean age was 24.8 years (SD=2.3).

Arabic was chosen because, unlike English, all the colour words in Arabic, except the equivalent of *brown* and *orange*, contain predominantly the vowel /a/: أسود (aswad) black, أبيض (abyadh) white, أحمر (ahhmar) red, أصفر (assfar) yellow, أزرق (azraq) blue, أخضر (akh-dhar) green, بنّي (onniy) brown, وردي–زهريّ (wardiy/zahriy) pink, برتقالي (burtuqaaliy) orange, رمادي (ramaadiy) grey, بنفسجيّ (banafsajiy) purple. Using Arabic as the other language for this experiment made possible not only a study of the universality of the phenomenon —since Arabic belongs to a different language family— but also an analysis of the relevance of pronunciation and spelling in the process of establishing these associations.

2.3.2. Stimuli and Materials

The stimuli were exactly the same as the ones used in Experiment 1. There was variability regarding the computer used, for two reasons: first, it was not possible to take a desktop computer to the location where the experiments were taking place; second, even if such option were possible, the Internet could not be relied on to work everywhere; therefore, a wireless connection had to be used. This meant that for the groups living in Morocco, a laptop computer with a 10.1-inch screen was used. This, however, was not considered a problem, since the coloured-squares occupied the whole screen and the light silver background filled the spaces between them. Consequently, even if the size of the images was smaller, the quality was not diminished. For the other groups, a laptop computer with a 15-inch screen

was used. No colour problems were presented, since the colours occupied the whole screen and a colour test was run in order to make sure that the hue and saturation were the same as the ones appearing in the previous experiment. All the tests were performed in a quiet and dimmed environment, where participants could carry out the experiment without any external element interfering in their performance.

2.3.3. Procedure

The procedure was basically the same as the one followed in the previous experiment. In order to avoid language interference, the instructions were made available in the written format including details found relevant in the light of experience with the previous group. They were provided in Darija, so that no further explanation in a language different from the participants' native one was necessary.

2.3.4. Results

The data derived from the Chi-square test reveal that there was a certain pattern in the associations made between sounds and colours. However the level of significance is not as high as the one found for English speakers (see Table 3).

VOWEL	ARABIC
/i/	**GREY** ($X^2(1)=9.82$, **p<0.005**)
/e/	**GREEN** ($X^2(1)=4.88$, **p<0.05**) **PINK** ($X^2(1)=4.32$, **p<0.05**)
/ɛ/	**GREEN** ($X^2(1)=9.32$, **p<0.005**)
/a/	**BLUE** ($X^2(1)=4.04$, **p<0.05**) **GREEN** ($X^2(1)=4.00$, **p<0.05**)
/ɑ/	**RED** ($X^2(1)=8.87$, **p<0.005**)
/ɔ/	**BLACK** ($X^2(1)=4.04$, **p<0.05**)
/o/	**BROWN** ($X^2(1)=5.30$, **p<0.025**) **ORANGE** ($X^2(1)=5.87$, **p<0.025**)
/u/	**PINK** ($X^2(1)=4.32$, **p<0.05**) **RED** ($X^2(1)=6.35$, **p<0.025**)

TABLE 3: Chi-square results for Arabic participants.

As shown in Table 3, the Arabic participants did not establish such strong correspondences between vowel sounds and colours as the English speakers. In four out of eight cases, more than one colour was chosen for a single vowel. For example, green and pink were chosen for /e/ with the same degree of significance, and the same happened with blue and green chosen for /a/, with brown and orange chosen for /o/, and with pink and red chosen for /u/. For the other vowels, higher deviation from expectation was found. For instance, grey was associated with /i/ ($p < 0.005$), /ɛ/ with green ($p < 0.005$), /ɑ/ with red ($p < 0.005$), and /ɔ/ with black ($p < 0.05$). Nevertheless, even though the associations are not as strong as in English, they are still significant.

As was the case with the English participants, within-group variability was observed. Again, participants did not follow a single choice pattern but performed the same types of choices as the English participants: a) same colour (4); b) two different colours (2+2); c) same colour three times and a different colour once (3+1); d) same colour twice and two other different colours (2+1+1); and e) four different colours (1+1+1+1).

In this case, the three last modalities of colour selection seem to predominate, particularly type *d*, with values that reach almost 50% of the choices performed (see Table 4).

10	4	2+2	3+1	2+1+1	1+1+1+1
/i/	2.08%	0%	**22.90%**	**43.75%**	**31.25%**
/e/	2.08%	6.25%	**10.40%**	**41.67%**	**39.60%**
/ɛ/	2.08%	0.00%	**14.60%**	**45.80%**	**37.50%**
/a/	6.25%	2.08%	**10.40%**	**41.67%**	**39.60%**
/ɑ/	2.08%	2.08%	**25%**	**37.50%**	**35.40%**
/ɔ/	0.00%	2.08%	**10.40%**	**50%**	**37.50%**
/o/	0.00%	6.25%	**12.50%**	**50%**	**31.25%**
/u/	4.15%	2.08%	**6.25%**	**43.75%**	**43.75%**

TABLE 4: Within-group variability in terms of colours choice. Arabic participants.

2.4. General Discussion

The analyses of the results obtained for the two languages provide an answer to the first research question, that is, whether there would be some degree of association between sounds and colours or not. The data collected show that participants in both languages established statistically significant associations between the cardinal vowels presented and the colours available.

Compared with other studies carried out on the association between vowel sounds and colours by non-synaesthetes (see Miyahara *et al.* 2006; Wrembel 2007, 2009; Wrembel and Rataj 2008), these results seem to follow the general trend observed so far. As can be observed, general trends and commonalities are found between the vowels, with those belonging to the *front-open* spectrum connected with red, those located at the *front-mid* spectrum to green, those of the *front-close* spectrum with yellow, green and grey, those of the *back-mid* spectrum with brown, orange and black, and those situated at the *back-close* spectrum showing less agreement and related to blue, green, brown, black, purple or pink (see Table 5).

AUTHORS	Fr.-Open	Fr.-mid	Fr.-close	B.-mid	B.-close
Miyahara et al. (2006) JAPANESE	/a/ red	/e/ green	/i/ yellow	/o/ blue (green)	/u/ blue (green)
Wrembel (2007) POLISH	/a/ red	/e/ green (blue)	/i/ yellow (green)	/o/ blue/orange	/u/ black (blue)
			/ɨ/ grey		
Wrembel (2009) ENGLISH	/æ/ red	/e/ blue (green/red)	/iː/yellow (green)	/ɔː/ brown	/ʊ/ brown (black)
	/ɑː/ red (brown)		/ɪ/ blue (grey)	/ɒ/ orange	uː/ brown (grey)
Wrembel and Rataj (2008) ENGLISH	/æ/ red (yellow)	/e/ green (blue)	/iː/yellow (green)	/ɔː/ brown (black)	/ʊ/ orange (purple/grey)
	/ɑː/ red (black)		/ɪ/grey (green/yellow)	/ɒ/ black (blue)	/uː/ brown (blue)
Mompeán ENGLISH	/a/ red	/e/ grey	/i/ green	/o/ orange	/u/ brown
	/ɑ/ red	/ɛ/ orange (white)		/ɔ/ orange	
Mompeán ARABIC	/a/ blue (green)	/e/ green (pink)	/i/ grey	/o/ brown (orange)	/u/ pink (red)
	/ɑ/ red	/ɛ/ green		/ɔ/ black	

TABLE 5: Sound-colour associations in terms of the different vowel spectrums.

However, it is important to point out that the results of the two experiments also show considerable differences when the answers provided by the participants of the two languages are considered, which confirms the hypothesis proposed, that some common elements would be observed, though results would be determined by other factors. Comparing the results of the two-language experiments, it can be

observed that, with the exception of the pervasive and strong associations between /ɑ/ and red and between orange and /ɒ/, the two languages never coincide in the associations established. This shows that even if there are some common features, considerable variability can also be found which may be caused by linguistic, cultural or even idiosyncratic factors.

Factors of a linguistic nature that may have influenced the making of associations would include pronunciation and spelling. For example, English participants strongly associated vowel /i/ with colour *green*, probably influenced by the fact that the only vowel present in the name of the colour *green* is /iː/ very near cardinal vowel /i/, i.e. /griːn/. This type of factor could not be observed in the Arabic participants, since as outlined above (see section 2.3.1) most of the nouns used to name colours in Arabic contain almost exclusively the vowel /a/. In fact, during the experiment, two Arabic participants commented to the experimenter on their difficulty in finding a colour that matched the sounds they were listening to, since no pronunciation factor could help them in their choices. Consequently, they had to look for other clues in order to match the colours with the sounds. For example, even though none of the participants in this study was bilingual in Arabic and another language, they could have made use of their more rudimentary acquaintance with other languages in order to establish the associations. Although this is a feasible possibility, it was not explicitly stated by the participants in any of the post-experiment questionnaires nor was it commented on to the experimenter. Therefore a linguistic factor that may certainly have influenced Arabic participants' results is the language's vowel inventory. In this respect, the Arabic vowel inventory has only three vowels, which may be either short [a, i, u] or long [aː, iː, uː] (IPA 1999). The shorter repertoire of Arabic vowels —in comparison with the British English one— is present in Arabic may be the cause of the greater variability observed, and hence the weaker degree of association between sounds and colours.

A second type of factor that may have influenced the results is cultural. It is possible that the cultural environment influences not only participants' choices but also participants' preferences for certain colours. For example, in the Arabic culture, the colour *green* is of paramount importance, and it is in fact present in all the Arab flags and considered a pan-Arab colour. It implies fertility and strength and is considered a very positive colour (see Beam 2009). This may have prompted Arabic participants to choose *green* for 3 out of the 8 vowels listened to. Another example is the case of *black*, traditionally associated with notions of darkness, pain, sadness, dirtiness or the unknown (Morton 1997; Sherman and Clore 2009). When *black* was significantly associated with a given vowel, it was related to /ɔ/ in Arabic. The reason for this may be that just in the same way as the colour *black* is related to the aforementioned notions, so the vowel /ɔ/ is situated far back in the

mouth and so could somehow be perceived as being darker and less clear than the front vowels (Tsur 1992: 20). This could explain why, by the same token, colours such as *green*, *pink* or *yellow*, normally associated with happiness, hope or luck (Morton 1997), are related to front vowels, which may be perceived as clearer and brighter than their back counterparts (Tsur 1992: 20).

Idiosyncratic factors may have also influenced the variability in terms of results across languages. In fact, one of the characteristics attributed to synaesthesia is that it is highly idiosyncratic (Gage 2000: 265; Grossenbacher and Lovelace 2001: 38). Therefore, if those who automatically associate sounds and colour respond to a wide variety of personal characteristics, the least we might expect is that this would also be a feature of non-synaesthetes' sound-colour associations. The participants' experience with colours may have led them to choose certain ones and to avoid others. There were even participants who did not choose specific colours for any of the vowels. For example, the Arabic participant 143 never chose white for any of the eight vowels. This seems to be a constant in the choices made by the Arabic participants, who did not relate white to any of the 8 vowels proposed to them, probably because white in the Arab culture is in certain cases related to mourning (Wiegand and Waloszek 2007).

3. Conclusion

The present paper aimed at contributing to the field of sound symbolism and, more specifically, to provide evidence for the existence of synaesthetic sound symbolism in the general population. To this end, two experiments were made, designed to help provide answers to certain hitherto unanswered questions. Roughly speaking, the evidence obtained through these experiments shows that: a) participants drawn at random from the population are able to establish significant associations between vowel sounds and colours to a better than chance degree; b) the phenomenon is conditioned by linguistic, cultural and even idiosyncratic factors.

Even though the results obtained are limited, different fields could benefit from experimental research of the type presented in this paper. One of such fields is the development of devices that enable blind or deaf people to access information about the world. For example, a device called *the vOICe* is able to create artificial or virtual synaesthesia in such a way that blind people can replace the impaired sense by another one in working order by means of the neural joining of those two senses. Deaf people can also benefit from progress in this type of research. As a case in point, Zahorian (1988: 1539) developed a computer-based visual speech articulation training system that helped hearing-impaired people. Within

the teaching-learning process, the findings obtained in the research on sound-colour synaesthetic associations can also contribute to the better learning of the pronunciation of foreign languages. For example, Spanish learners of English find it very difficult to learn the pronunciation of certain English vowel sounds, due to the fact that the Spanish vowel repertoire contains far fewer vowels than the English one (Lado 1956). If, by means of research on synaesthetic associations, it is known that speakers relate a given sound with a certain meaning, teaching students the different phonetic symbols displayed in those colours may contribute to faster learning, better recall and more accurate pronunciation.

Of course, to achieve such objectives, the field needs to expand and incorporate more experimental research. As a case in point, only three language families have been considered so far. It is therefore desirable that the same method be employed with other different language groups, so that the cross-linguistic character of the phenomenon can be strongly supported or rejected. As far as the different types of participants are concerned, the possibilities are innumerable. The same or adapted experiment could be carried out with people suffering from mental disabilities or brain damage. For instance, it has been shown that participants with damage to the left hemisphere perform badly on the Farnsworth-Munsell colour discrimination test[2], and that this poor performance is related to aphasia or language disorders (Tzavaras and Goldblum 1972). This indicates that colour perception problems seem to be correlated with language deficits, since both result from damage in the same area of the brain. Future research could also consider how bilingual speakers of various languages behave when asked to choose a colour for a certain sound. This kind of experiment could be performed as well with children and the data could be compared to those obtained from adults to test the correlation between sound symbolism and age. Of course, other experimental methods and different stimuli could be used for the study of the relation between sounds and colours.

The field of sound symbolism is very extensive and many issues need further research in order to obtain stronger conclusions. Nonetheless, the revival this area of language research is enjoying nowadays guarantees that many of the controversies related to this field will be, if not solved, at least, thoroughly and deeply discussed.

Notes

1. See Baron-Cohen *et al.* (1993) for an opposite conclusion in this respect.

2. This test consists of four trays that contain 85 removable colour caps spanning the visible spectrum. In order to detect the subject's vision abnormalities, he is asked to place the colour caps in order of hue (see e.g. Rigby *et al.* 1991).

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EL TRATAMIENTO DE LOS VERBOS DE MANERA DE MOVIMIENTO Y DE LOS CAMINOS EN LA TRADUCCIÓN INGLÉS-ESPAÑOL DE TEXTOS NARRATIVOS[1]

PAULA CIFUENTES FÉREZ
Universidad de Murcia
paulacf@um.es

1. Introducción: Patrones de Lexicalización, Estilos Narrativos y Traducción

En la actualidad los estudios de traducción (cf. Munday 2001; Pym 2009; Samaniego 2007) consideran al traductor como un mediador intercultural entre el texto fuente y el texto meta. Tal y como apunta Snell-Hornby (1988, 1990), la traducción es un acto comunicativo y, por lo tanto, a la hora de traducir hay que centrarse en la función del texto meta en la cultura meta. Esta concepción de la traducción es la que defienden los enfoques descriptivos que, según Toury (1995) comienzan a surgir en la década de los setenta y empiezan a imponerse sobre las teorías de la traducción de naturaleza prescriptiva centradas en el texto fuente (p. ej., Vinay y Dalbernet 1958; Newman 1987; Vázquez Ayora 1977). Partiendo de un enfoque descriptivo, el presente trabajo explora los problemas que las diferencias en la expresión lingüística de eventos de movimiento le plantean al traductor que intenta verter un texto narrativo fuente en inglés a un texto meta en español, las estrategias que se emplean para solventar dichas dificultades con el fin de respetar el estilo narrativo característico de la lengua meta y las diferencias en el dinamismo de la narración entre el texto fuente y el texto meta.

Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000) propone una tipología binaria[2] que clasifica las lenguas según expresen normalmente el 'camino' (*Path* en inglés), que es el componente central del evento del movimiento, en el verbo ('lenguas de marco verbal' o *verb-*

framed languages) o en satélites[3] ('lenguas de marco satélite' o *satellite-framed languages)*. Esta tipología ha inspirado numerosas investigaciones, de las cuales nos interesa destacar una línea de investigación iniciada por Slobin (1991, 1996, 1997) y seguida por otros autores (p. ej., Cifuentes-Férez 2006; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2003; Tålig 2010) que explora las consecuencias de las diferencias en la lexicalización de camino por el que transcurre el movimiento y la 'manera' en la que lo hace en los estilos narrativos de esas lenguas y lo que ocurre cuando se traduce de una lengua dada a otra tipológicamente distinta, como es el caso del inglés al español. Las diferencias en la expresión lingüística de la misma realidad, es decir, el desplazamiento de una entidad de un lugar a otro resulta en dos estilos narrativos distintos en inglés y en español (Slobin 1991, 1996, 2004, 2005). En inglés la narración es muy dinámica, se centra en el proceso o transcurso de los eventos de movimiento, en describir qué es lo que ocurre y cómo. Esto se consigue gracias al empleo de verbos de movimiento que expresan la manera de moverse (*Manner* en inglés) y de descripciones de trayectorias muy detalladas; el inglés posee un léxico verbal referido a la manera de moverse muy variado y rico en detalles (Cifuentes-Férez 2009; Slobin 2006) y es muy común encontrar un único verbo de manera seguido de varias trayectorias (v. ejemplo (1)[4]). Slobin (1996: 214) argumenta que el estilo narrativo en español presenta una naturaleza más estática; no se suelen encontrar descripciones de caminos muy complejas, ya que se suele explicitar el resultado o estado final del movimiento.

(1) Harry walked quietly *down* the stairs, *past* the heads of Kreacher's ancestors, and *down into* the kitchen.

Harry andar.PST tranquilamente abajo las escaleras por.delante.de las cabezas de Kreacher.GEN antepasados y abajo en.a la cocina

En lo relativo al proceso traslativo, Slobin (1996) examina las traducciones de textos narrativos inglés-español y español-ingles con respecto a la fidelidad en las descripciones de la manera y del camino. En cuanto a la manera, Slobin (1996) señala que cuando se traduce del inglés al español esta información expresada en el verbo se omite el 49 % de las veces debido a las restricciones léxico-semánticas del español. Sucintamente, el léxico verbal de manera en español es mucho menos rico y específico semánticamente (Cifuentes-Férez 2009; Slobin 2006) y optar por el empleo continuado de complementos circunstanciales de modo en el texto meta para compensar el vacío léxico[5] entorpece el ritmo de la narración. Además, cuando hay un 'cruce de límites' (Aske 1989; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2004; Naigles y Terrazas 1998; Naigles et al 1998; Slobin 1996, 1997) en español no se pueden emplear verbos de manera, sino que han de utilizarse verbos de camino (v. ejemplo (2)). En general, se observa que el traductor opta por mantener la información sobre la manera cuando es necesaria o relevante para la traducción y la suele omitir cuando

es la habitual o la que cabría esperar (Kopecka y Pourcel 2005; Pourcel 2004a, 2004b) (v. ejemplo (3)). La presente investigación estudia, por primera vez en el caso del español, si cuando se emplean recursos morfosintácticos ajenos al verbo que expresan la manera de moverse, estos cumplen una función compensadora o aumentativa, es decir, si lo que hacen es compensar el vacío léxico de los verbos de manera o enriquecer aún más la descripción de la manera expresada por el verbo.

(2) a. […] the three of them scrambled through it [the door] (original)
los tres de ellos moverse.desordenadamente.PST a.través.de ella [la puerta]
b. […] los tres se metieron por ella [la puerta] (traducción)

(3) a. […] they walked down a flight of stairs (original)
ellos andar.PST abajo un tramo de escaleras
b. […] bajaban un tramo de escalera (traducción)

En su análisis de la traducción de los caminos o las trayectorias, Slobin muestra que en las traducciones al español se opta por omitir y reducir segmentos del camino en un 24 % de los casos por dos motivos: uno, por restricciones léxico-sintácticas y, dos, para evitar la información que se pueda inferir del contexto[6]. En el primer caso, en español no es posible emplear un único verbo con una serie elaborada de trayectorias, mientras que sí lo es en inglés (v. ejemplo (1)). Por eso, en (4b) el traductor ha dividido la construcción en inglés (4a), *to go through X to Y* («ir a través de X hacia/a Y»), en dos mediante el uso de dos verbos: el primero, de camino (*pasar*) y el segundo, de camino de naturaleza deíctica (*ir*). En el segundo caso, en (5) vemos como el traductor ha optado por omitir *across the room* («a través de la habitación»), ya que no es relevante para la narración y se puede inferir del contexto:

(4) a. I went *through* the drawing-room *to* the morning-room (original en inglés)
yo ir.PST a.través.de el salón a el gabinete
b. *Pasando* por el salón, *fui* al gabinete (traducción al español)

(5) a. He strolled *across the room* to the door (original en inglés)
él pasear.de.manera.ociosa.PST a.través.de la habitación a la puerta
b. Se dirigió a la puerta (traducción al español)

A la hora de explorar la complejidad de las trayectorias, Slobin (1996, 1997) cuantifica los verbos que aparecen con 'base', esto es, con un elemento referencial o más (p. ej., *caer desde la ventana al jardín*) y los verbos que aparecen solos sin dicha inferencia (p. ej., *andar*, *entrar*). De este modo, una lengua será más rica en cuanto a la descripción de las trayectorias cuantos más verbos con base emplee. En el presente estudio, nos interesa ir más allá de este análisis y examinar el tipo de caminos y de bases que se pueden combinar con verbos de movimiento a fin de vislumbrar las diferencias y similitudes interlingüísticas, en otras palabras, pretendemos descubrir qué tipos de combinaciones de caminos se pueden traducir al español sin problemas y cuáles se suelen perder en el proceso traslativo, ya que

la literatura existente no ha prestado atención a ese aspecto. Para ello, consideramos los 4 elementos que, dentro de la trayectoria, identifican Talmy (2000: 53-56, 201-203) y Slobin (2008): vector, conformación, deixis y orientación con respecto a la Tierra.

Si nos centramos en la traducción de los eventos de movimiento entre idiomas, bien de distinto grupo tipológico o bien pertenecientes al mismo, Ibarretxe-Antuñano y Filipović (2013) ofrecen un resumen de las estrategias de traducción[7] identificadas por Slobin (1996), Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2003), Cifuentes-Férez (2006) y Jaka (2009):

a) estrategias para la traducción de verbos que expresan la manera de moverse: omitir toda la información al respecto; traducir toda esa información; traducir solo una parte de la información; traducir por otra manera distinta de moverse, etc.;
b) estrategias para la traducción de verbos de camino y trayectorias: omisión de algún elemento de camino, traducción de toda la información de camino, inclusión de caminos distintos, sustitución de un verbo de camino por otro de manera, etc.;
c) estrategias para la traducción de verbos que expresan el recorrido y la trayectoria: omitir algún elemento del recorrido; traducir toda la información al respecto; incluir recorridos distintos; sustituir el verbo por otro que exprese la manera de moverse, etc., y
d) estrategias para la traducción de eventos de movimiento: omitir el evento es la única propuesta.

El resultado de la utilización de estas estrategias es la inclusión total, parcial y hasta la omisión completa en el texto meta de la información que contiene el texto fuente acerca de la manera de moverse y de la trayectoria, así como en la omisión total del evento de movimiento.

A continuación, en el apartado 2, se detallan los objetivos, el corpus y la metodología empleada en este estudio. Seguidamente, en los apartados 3 y 4, analizamos la expresión lingüística de los componentes semánticos de la manera y el camino y su traducción del inglés al español. Para terminar, el apartado 5 expone las conclusiones más relevantes de esta investigación y propone nuevas líneas de investigación.

2. Objetivos, corpus y metodología

2.1. Objetivos

Los objetivos generales que forman la columna vertebral de este trabajo son tres. El primero es ilustrar los problemas que se presentan a la hora de traducir, del inglés al español, eventos de movimiento en textos narrativos del inglés al español.

El segundo, examinar las estrategias adoptadas considerando el grado de inclusión-omisión de la información sobre la manera y el camino. Por último, el tercero, determinar si el dinamismo de la narración en el texto meta español varía con respecto al del texto fuente en inglés.

Los objetivos específicos son: (a) identificar dónde (en el verbo o fuera de él) y cómo se expresa la información semántica de la manera y el camino; (b) cuantificar la información presente en cada lengua; (c) examinar el grado de granularidad semántica en cuanto a la manera de moverse y al recorrido del camino, y (d) examinar los problemas de traducción y las estrategias adoptadas.

2.2. Corpus

Con el propósito de compilar nuestro corpus para el análisis de la traducción de eventos de movimiento, elegimos una novela inglesa y su traducción al español: *Harry Potter and The Order of the Phoenix*, de J. K. Rowling, publicada en 2003 por la editorial Bloomsbury y *Harry Potter y la orden del Fénix*, traducida por Gemma Rovira Ortega y publicada en el mismo año por la editorial Salamandra.

Nuestro corpus de datos es un corpus paralelo inglés-español que está formado por 228 descripciones de eventos de movimiento. Para su compilación se abrió la novela inglesa al azar en una página y se extrajeron todas las descripciones de eventos de movimiento a partir de dicha página hasta alcanzar los 114 ejemplos. Seguidamente se buscó la traducción de dichas descripciones en la novela en español.

2.3. Metodología

La metodología seguida se fundamenta en Slobin (1996, 2005). Para examinar la expresión de la manera de moverse, en primer lugar, nos centramos en los verbos que la denotan. Para ello, cuantificamos en nuestro corpus el número total de apariciones de verbos y de locuciones verbales que expresan la manera, así como el número de verbos diferentes empleados. Era importante hacer esta distinción, ya que podíamos encontrar un número similar de casos de verbos de manera en ambas lenguas; sin embargo, podía darse el caso de que una de ellas emplease muchos más verbos diferentes, es decir, que tuviera más variedad léxica tal y como era de esperar en inglés. De este modo, podríamos reparar en la presencia de los verbos de manera con respecto a los otros usados y en la riqueza del lexicón verbal de manera *per se*. A continuación, examinamos el grado de especificidad de la manera, es decir, si solamente encontrábamos distinciones generales, como *andar, correr, saltar*, etc., o si, por el contrario, hallábamos rasgos semánticos más específicos, como las distintas maneras de andar. Con este paso investigamos si una lengua es más específica a la hora de expresar la manera de moverse que la otra y qué distinciones

se encuentran solo en una de las lenguas. Tras examinar los verbos de manera pasamos a los otros elementos fuera del sintagma verbal que también pueden lexicalizar el componente semántico de la manera, tales como las oraciones subordinadas de gerundio y los sintagmas adverbiales, entre otros. Finalmente examinamos las traducciones del inglés al español de los verbos de manera y cuantificamos la inclusión de esta información. Para indagar en la naturaleza semántica de cada verbo en la traducción consultamos un corpus de verbos de movimiento en inglés y en español (Cifuentes-Férez 2009), y para sistematizar el análisis de la traducción empleamos las estrategias compiladas en Ibarretxe-Antuñano y Filipović (*en prensa*) y agrupamos nuestros resultados según los distintos grados de inclusión-omisión de la información sobre la manera en el texto meta, ya que era más acertado hacerlo de este modo para los propósitos de este estudio (cuantificar el grado de inclusión-omisión de la información sobre la manera y el camino).

Con el fin de analizar el componente de camino en sí, cuantificamos el número de apariciones, así como la variedad léxica de verbos que expresan el recorrido en ambas lenguas. Por otro lado, cuantificamos el número de verbos que aparecen solos o sin base (*irse*) y los verbos que aparecen con una base o un elemento referencial (*pasear por el jardín*). Seguidamente, consideramos las combinaciones de caminos y de bases que aparecen en el corpus seleccionado. En el presente estudio analizamos los tipos de camino que se expresan (vector, conformación, deixis y orientación con respecto a la Tierra) y los tipos de bases (si se refieren al origen o al inicio del movimiento, al transcurso o hito, o al destino o punto final). Por último, examinamos la traducción de los 'caminos complejos' o descripciones complejas de las trayectorias seguidas por los personajes: el tipo de caminos que se suelen mantener y el de los que se suelen perder en la traducción, y cuantificamos la inclusión-omisión de dicha información.

3. Manera de moverse

Este apartado se centra en la expresión lingüística del componente semántico relativo a la manera de moverse en inglés y en español y en cómo se han traducido los eventos que contienen esta información. Para analizar dicha expresión lingüística, seguiremos la metodología descrita en la sección anterior.

3. 1. Verbos de manera

En nuestro corpus en inglés se encuentran un total de 160 casos de verbos[8] de movimiento y 74 verbos de movimiento distintos. En español las cifras son similares: 175 casos y 80 verbos distintos. No obstante, en el texto fuente inglés

encontramos una mayor variedad de verbos de manera de moverse, concretamente, 45 verbos distintos que se emplearon 96 veces en total en las descripciones de movimiento y que representan el 60 % del corpus. Estos son los verbos de manera listados por orden alfabético:

> *accelerate* «acelerar»; *circle* «rodear»; *climb* «trepar»; *drift* «flotar»; *flutter* «aletear, agitar las alas»; *fly* «volar»; *hover* «estar vacilante en el aire»; *hurry* «darse prisa»; *jog* «hacer footing»; *jump* «saltar»; *leap* «saltar»; *march* «desfilar»; *rattle* «traquetear»; *roll* «rodar»; (*break into a*) *run* «correr / echarse a correr»; *scramble* «moverse apresuradamente»; *slam* «cerrar de un portazo»; *slide* «deslizarse»; *slip* «resbalarse / escabullirse»; *slow* «ir más despacio»; slump «desplomarse»; *soar* «elevarse muy alto, rápidamente»; *speed* «acelerar», *stagger* «tambalearse»; *stalk* «acechar/ andar de modo orgulloso o mostrando enfado»; *stamp* «patear»; step «pisar, caminar»; *stomp* «andar pisando fuerte»; *storm* «andar, caminar de manera que muestra que se está enfadado»; *stride* «andar dando zancadas»; *stroll* «pasear / caminar de manera relajada»; *stumble* «tropezar»; *sway* «moverse de un lado a otro, de manera oscilante»; *swerve* «cambiar de dirección rápidamente»; *swing* «moverse hacia delante o hacia atrás o de manera oscilante»; *thrust* «empujar con fuerza»; *tiptoe* «andar de puntillas»; *trail* «moverse lentamente, especialmente detrás de alguien»; *traipse* «andar sin ganas (por cansancio o aburrimiento)»; *travel*[9] «viajar»; *trot* «ir al trote, andar trotando»; *uncoil* «desenroscarse»; *vault* «saltar apoyando las manos»; *walk* «caminar, andar»; *zoom* «moverse rápidamente».

En español se emplearon 25 verbos y locuciones verbales de manera, que representan el 27,43 % de los verbos de nuestro corpus:

> Abordar[10]; acelerar; agitar; apresurarse; balancearse; brincar; caminar / seguir caminando; correr / echar a correr; dar trompicones; dar zancadas; desfilar; deslizarse; echar a andar; hacer bruscos virajes; lanzarse; patear; pegar un brinco; pisar; reducir la velocidad; revolotear; saltar; tambalearse; traquetearse; tropezar; volar.

Entre todas las maneras de moverse descritas en inglés y en español podemos observar un mayor grado de granularidad semántica en la expresión de manera en el texto fuente inglés: encontramos un gran número de verbos que lexicalizan diferentes modos de *andar*, de *correr*, e incluso de *saltar*. A modo de ilustración considérense los siguientes verbos que especifican distintas formas de andar: *stride* «andar rápidamente, con pasos largos», *stroll* «andar de manera relajada, por placer o sin ningún objetivo», *traipse* «andar lentamente por el cansancio», *stumble* y *stagger* «andar de forma inestable», *stomp* «andar haciendo ruido con los pies», *tiptoe* y *stalk* «andar sigilosamente». Todas estas distinciones sobre la manera lexicalizadas en los verbos ingleses de nuestro corpus no suelen encontrar equivalentes en el léxico verbal empleado en el texto meta. Tal y como analizaremos a continuación, se recurre al uso de otros elementos fuera del verbo para compensar el vacío léxico y trasmitir detalles más específicos sobre los modos en los que los personajes se mueven o se desplazan.

3. 2. Otros recursos lingüísticos que expresan manera de moverse

Una vez examinada la expresión de la manera de moverse en el léxico verbal que aparece en nuestro corpus de datos, pasamos a estudiar las descripciones de manera fuera del verbo. Dentro de cada idioma encontramos diversos medios de expresión, la mayoría de ellos con la función de complemento circunstancial de modo: oraciones subordinadas (*traqueteando y balanceándose*; *rattling and swaying* «traqueteando y balanceando»), sintagmas adverbiales (*lentamente*; *quietly* «en silencio»), preposicionales (*con timidez*; *in convoy* «en convoy»), sintagmas adjetivales (*muy atolondrada; the terrified-looking boy* «el chico que parecía asustado»), locuciones adverbiales (*de un brinco*, *de puntillas*), oraciones de relativo (*que descansaba enroscado en una butaca*) y oraciones coordinadas (*se puso muy tiesa y se fue* […]).

En español observamos, en primer lugar, que se han empleado una mayor variedad de recursos lingüísticos para codificar la manera de moverse fuera del verbo principal de la oración y, en segundo lugar, que estos se han usado con mayor frecuencia que en inglés (42 casos frente a 27). Tras un análisis exhaustivo de estos recursos en español, nos percatamos de que el componente semántico de manera se codifica en esos recursos de carácter opcional, bien porque no existe un verbo de manera en el léxico verbal que exprese dicha información, o bien porque hay un cruce de límites y se debe emplear un verbo de camino. De ahí que podamos argumentar que en español la expresión de la manera fuera del verbo tiene una función compensatoria, mientras que en inglés parece que la función de esos complementos circunstanciales de modo es meramente aumentativa, es decir, enriquece aún más la descripción sobre la manera (cf. Özçaliskan y Slobin 2003).

Para investigar si los complementos varios que expresan la manera en inglés y en español fuera del verbo desempeñan una función compensatoria o aumentativa, cuantificamos el tipo de verbos que los acompañan. En nuestro corpus en español los complementos que expresan manera de moverse acompañan predominantemente a los verbos de camino (83,33 %), lo que respalda nuestra hipótesis de que esos complementos tienen una función compensatoria. En inglés se observa la predominancia de estos complementos con los verbos de manera (68,96 %); de ahí se podría concluir que esos complementos circunstanciales de modo en inglés desempeñan una función aumentativa.

3.3. Presencia del patrón de las lenguas de marco verbal en inglés

El análisis detallado de los recursos léxico-sintácticos utilizados para codificar la manera fuera del verbo y la comparación entre ambas lenguas nos ha revelado que en inglés también es posible encontrar el patrón de lexicalización propio de las lenguas de marco verbal, tal y como ya sugerían Talmy (2000) y Slobin (2004).

Más concretamente hemos encontrado el patrón: *verbo de movimiento neutro o de camino + gerundios que expresan manera* en los cinco casos siguientes:

(6) a. *Rattling and swaying*, the carriages *moved* in convoy up the road
traquetear.GER y balancear.GER los coches moverse.PAST en convoy arriba la carretera
b. Los coches, traqueteando y balanceándose, avanzaban en caravana por el camino

(7) a. He turned on his heel and *left* the room *slamming* the classroom door shut behind him
el dar.la.vuelta.PST en su talón y abandonar.PST la habitación dar.golpe.GER la clase puerta cerrado detrás.de el
b. Harry salió y cerró de un portazo

(8) a. Angelina *came striding* up to Harry
Angelina venir.PST andar.con.aire.resuelto.GER arriba a Harry
b. Angelina se le acercó con aire resuelto

(9) a. Filch, the caretaker, *came wheezing* into the room
Filch el conserje venir.PST resollar.GER en.a la habitación
b. Filch, el conserje, entró en la sala resollando

(10) a. Mrs. Norris *came trotting* at his heels
señora Norris venir.PST trotar.GER en sus talones
b. La Señora Norris entró pegada a sus talones

Es preciso señalar que no siempre se ha aprovechado la similitud del patrón a la hora de traducir los ejemplos (6a), (7a), (18a), (9a) y (10a) al español. La única excepción es el ejemplo (6) en el que la única modificación ha sido la traducción del verbo de movimiento neutro, *move* «mover, moverse», por uno de camino, *avanzar*, seguido por los dos gerundios que expresan la manera. En cambio, en el resto de los ejemplos la traducción presenta más cambios. Los ejemplos (8)—(10) presentan un verbo de camino de naturaleza deíctica (*come* «venir») seguido de gerundios que lexicalizan la manera. Este tipo de combinaciones de deixis y manera se encuentran en español también, pero normalmente cuando el elemento referencial es el hablante (p. ej. *Vino a casa*). Además, tampoco se puede emplear este patrón cuando hay un cruce de límites, pues entonces el camino prima sobre la manera y la deixis (p. ej. *Entró a casa* frente a *Vino hacia dentro de casa?*). Por todo ello, la traductora no se ha podido aprovechar de la similitud del patrón a la hora de aportar su traducción.

Siguiendo con el análisis de los ejemplos listados anteriormente, en (7) tampoco se ha aprovechado la similitud con el patrón en español; en otras palabras, no se ha optado por traducir *left the room slamming the classroom door shut behing him* por

una construcción prácticamente similar en español, *dejó/salió de la habitación cerrando la puerta de un golpe/dando un portazo*.

3.4. Estrategias de traducción

Puesto que uno de los objetivos específicos de este trabajo es cuantificar la información sobre la manera y el camino que se pierde cuando se traduce del inglés al español, consideramos que es más acertado organizar los resultados según el grado de inclusión-omisión de información y especificar dentro de cada bloque las estrategias adoptadas, en lugar de clasificarlos en torno a las distintas estrategias que se siguen para traducir los verbos de manera. La tabla 1 a continuación muestra los diferentes grados de inclusión-omisión de manera de moverse en el texto meta español, los cuales resultan de la traducción de los verbos de manera del texto fuente inglés.

Grado de inclusión-omisión de información sobre manera de moverse	**Porcentaje**
Omisión de toda manera	36,46 %
Traducción de toda manera	31,25 %
Traducción de una parte de la manera	12,50 %
Traducción por una manera distinta	9,37 %

TABLA 1: Diferentes grados de inclusión-omisión de información sobre manera de moverse en el texto meta español

En primer lugar observamos que ha habido una pérdida del 36,46 % de la información sobre la manera de moverse que expresan los verbos cuando se han traducido al español. Esto se debe a que se han empleado las siguientes estrategias:

— Empleo de verbos de camino

(11) a. He *walked* up the marble staircase two steps at a time, past the many students hurrying towards lunch
el andar.PST arriba la mármol escalera dos escalones a una vez por. delante.de los muchos estudiantes darse.prisa.GER hacia comida
b. *Subió* de dos los escalones de la escalinata de mármol, cruzándose con los alumnos que bajaban corriendo a comer.

(12) a. Crookshanks […] *trotted* to meet them
Crookshanks trotar.PAS para encontrarse.con ellos
b. Crookshanks […] *fue* a recibirlos

— Empleo de otros verbos

(13) a. Her portrait *swung* open toward them like a door
su retrato moverse.iterativamente.PST abierto hacia ellos como una puerta
b. Su retrato *se abrió* hacia ellos, como si fuera una puerta

(14) a. Ron […] *hovered* uncertainly for a moment or two
Ron rondar.PST con.aire.indeciso durante un momento o dos
b. Ron […] *se quedó a medio camino* unos segundos

En segundo lugar encontramos que se ha logrado traducir toda la información relativa a la manera de moverse en el 31,25 % de los casos gracias al uso de las siguientes estrategias:

— Empleo de verbos de camino acompañados de adjuntos de manera que capturan toda la especificidad semántica expresada en el verbo de manera inglés

(15) a. Harry *tiptoed* up the stairs
Harry subir.de.puntillas.PST arriba las escaleras
b. *Subió* la escalera *de puntillas*

(16) a. [T]he terrified-looking boy […] stumbled forwards and put the Hat on his head
el aterrado-parecer.GER chico andar.dando.traspiés.PST hacia.delante y ponerse.PST el sombrero en su cabeza
b. [E]l muchacho muerto de miedo [...] *se adelantó dando trompicones* y se puso el sombrero en la cabeza

— Empleo de verbos de manera de moverse y perífrasis verbales que expresan la misma manera de moverse

(17) a. [T]hey caught sight of Harry and *hurried* to form a tighter group
Ellos coger.PST vista de Harry y apresurarse.PST para formar.INF un más.compacto grupo
b. [A]l ver a Harry *se apresuraron* a apiñarse

(18) a. He *walked* very fast along the corridor
El andar.PST muy rápido a.lo.largo.de el pasillo
b. *Echó a andar* a buen ritmo por el pasillo

— Empleo de verbos que amalgaman camino y manera

(19) a. [He] *slipped* through the door and up the stairs before anyone could call him back
El escabullirse.PST a.través.de la puerta y arriba las escaleras antes alguien poder.PST llamar lo de.vuelta
b. [S]e *escabulló* por la puerta y subió la escalera antes de que alguien pudiera retenerlo.

(20) a. [It] *landed* perzlously close to the sugar bowl and held out a leg
ello aterrizar.PST peligrosamente cerca a el azúcar cuenco y sostener.PST fuera una pata
b. *[A]terrizó* peligrosamente cerca del azucarero y extendió una pata

En tercer lugar se observa que en el 12,50 % de los casos se ha traducido tan solo una parte de la información sobre la manera de moverse presente en el texto fuente inglés. Este es el resultado de emplear verbos de manera genéricos y verbos de camino acompañados por elementos indicadores de la manera que no logran capturar por completo la especificidad semántica que tienen los verbos de manera en el texto fuente.

— Empleo de verbos de manera genéricos

(21) a. [H]e turned to see Neville *jogging* towards him
el volverse.PST para ver.INF Neville corriendo.despacio.GER hacia el
b. Harry se dió la vuelta y vio que Neville *corría* hacia él

(22) a. It *soared* in a great circle
ello volar.rápidamente.PST en un gran círculo
b. *Voló* describiendo un amplio círculo

— Empleo de verbos de camino acompañados de elementos indicadores de la manera

(23) a. [H]e […] *vaulted* into bed
el saltar.con.apoyo.de.manos en.a cama
b. *[S]e metió* en la cama *de un brinco*

(24) a. She […] *stormed* away
ella ir.violentamente.PST lejos
b. *Se alejó a grandes zancadas*

A modo de ilustración, en (22a) el verbo *soar* que denota ascender en el aire de forma vertiginosa o volar a gran velocidad se ha sustituido en (22b) por el verbo de manera genérico *volar*. En (23b) se pierde la información del uso de las manos en el salto al traducirlo por *meterse de un brinco*. De modo muy similar, (24b) pierde la información sobre el enfado o el desplazamiento de forma violenta denotada en *storm*.

En cuarto y último lugar se encuentra que en el 9,37 % de los casos se ha optado por utilizar al traducirla una manera de moverse distinta a la expresada en los verbos de manera en el texto fuente inglés. Esto se ha conseguido al traducir los verbos de manera en inglés por verbos que expresan otra manera y por verbos de camino seguidos de adjuntos que codifican una manera distinta.

— Empleo de verbos de manera distintos

(25) a. A group of new students *walked* shyly up the gap between the Gryffindor and Hufflepuff tables
un grupo de nuevos alumnos andar.PST tímidamente arriba el espacio entre la Gryffindor y Hufflepuff mesas
b. Un grupo de alumnos *desfiló* con timidez por el espacio que había entre la mesa de Gryffindor y la de Hufflepuff

(26) a. [He] *walked* slap into Peeves the poltergeist
el andar.PST de.lleno en.a Peeves el postergeist
b. *[T]ropezó* con Peeves, el poltergeist

— Empleo de verbos de camino acompañados de adjuntos de manera distinta

(27) a. […] said Ron angrily and *stomped* off to the staircase
decir.PST Ron con.enfado y pisar.fuerte.PST lejos.de a la escalera
b. dijo Ron enfadado, y *se fue dando zancadas* hacia la escalera

A modo de ejemplo, en (27b) se ha perdido la información de andar dando pisotones y se ha sustituido por una manera distinta: caminar dando pasos muy largos.

En muchos de los ejemplos anteriores, podemos observar reiteradamente que el uso de información de manera adjunta al verbo principal de la frase tiene, en español, una función compensatoria al igual que Özçalişkan y Slobin (2003) documentan para el turco. Aunque el empleo de recursos que expresan la manera fuera del verbo ayuda a mantener toda la información acerca de la misma en algunas ocasiones, hemos visto que otras veces esa información incluye bien solamente una parte de la que está presente en el original, como en los ejemplos (23) y (24), o bien otra diferente a la del texto fuente en inglés, como en los ejemplos (25), (26) y (27).

En general, en la traducción de los 96 verbos de manera de moverse del texto fuente inglés ha habido una pérdida de información sobre la manera en un 36,46 % de los casos, que se debe principalmente a la traducción de verbos de manera por verbos de camino. Por otro lado, podemos observar que se ha incluido toda la información sobre la manera, bien en el verbo o fuera de él, en un 31,25 % de los casos. Otras veces se han empleado verbos genéricos de manera, como *volar*, *saltar*, *correr* en el texto meta español, por lo que solamente se ha incluido una parte de la información presente en el texto fuente inglés que ha empleado verbos de manera más específicos. Dentro del bloque de *Traducción de una parte de la manera* también observamos el uso de verbos de camino seguidos de complementos de manera que tampoco capturan la especificidad semántica de los verbos en inglés. A la postre, la estrategia menos usada ha sido la traducción por una manera diferente, que se observa en el 9,37 % del corpus.

4. Caminos

En este apartado nos centramos en la expresión lingüística del componente semántico que expresa el camino en inglés y en español, en la complejidad de las trayectorias que se pueden expresar en cada lengua y en la traducción de los eventos que contienen esta información.

4.1. Verbos de camino

En inglés encontramos un total de 160 apariciones de verbos de movimiento y, dentro de ellas, 50 casos de verbos de camino que representan el 31,25 % de todos los verbos. Entre esos casos de verbos que expresan el camino encontramos 21 verbos diferentes:

> *approach* «acercarse»; *arrive* «llegar»; *cross* «cruzar»; *depart* «partir/salir»; *descend* «descender/bajar»; *emerge* «salir»; *enter* «entrar»; *follow* «seguir»; *pass* «pasar»; *reach* «alcanzar»; *return* «volver»; *reverse* «ir al revés /marcha atrás»; *reverse-pass* «pasar atrás»; *rise* «levantar(se)»*; track* «seguir la pista de»; *turn* «girar/cambiar de dirección»*; vanish* «desaparecer/ marcharse»; *come* «venir»; *go* «ir»; *pull* «tirar(se)»; *take* «llevar».

En español encontramos 175 casos de verbos de movimiento, entre los cuales observamos 118 apariciones de verbos que expresan el camino y un total de 39 distintos. Las 118 apariciones representan el 67,43 % de los verbos empleados. A continuación se listan los 39 verbos de camino encontrados en nuestro corpus[11]:

> adelantarse; aparecer; apartarse; asomar; atravesar; avanzar; bajar; colarse; colgarse, cruzar; dar marcha atrás; darse la vuelta; dejar; desaparecer; descender; dirigirse; doblar la esquina; entrar; girar; ir; levantar; levantarse; llegar; marcharse; meterse; pasar; regresar; reunirse; rodear; salir; seguir; separarse; subir; tomar un camino; venir; volver; volverse.

Como era de esperar por ser el español una lengua de marco verbal, en nuestro corpus en español encontramos un mayor número de casos y una mayor variedad léxica de verbos de camino. Pero no solamente encontramos un mayor número, sino también que el número total de verbos empleados en el corpus español es notoriamente superior: 175 en español frente a 160 en inglés. Esto es el resultado de traducir de una lengua tipológicamente distinta a otra. Cuando se traduce del inglés al español se recurre al uso de varios verbos de camino para expresar esos caminos complejos lexicalizados en satélites y en sintagmas preposicionales en el texto fuente inglés (Cifuentes-Férez 2006; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2003; Slobin 1996). De ahí que el número global de verbos empleados, así como el número de verbos de camino en español sea mayor que en inglés.

4.2. Verbos-sin-base y verbos-con-base

El análisis de nuestro corpus se ajusta a las observaciones de Slobin (1996, 1997, 2004). Para ambas lenguas los verbos-con-base (77,63 % en inglés y 62,20 % en español) son más frecuentes que los verbos-sin-base (22,37 % en inglés y 37,80 % en español), pero cada lengua difiere ligeramente de la otra en cada tipo. En español se ha empleado un mayor porcentaje de verbos-sin-base que en inglés, es decir, de verbos solos sin ninguna entidad como punto referencial —como en el ejemplo (28), en el que en español solo encontramos el verbo *levantarse*, mientras que en inglés hallamos el verbo acompañado por un adjunto, *jump up* «saltar arriba». Llegados a este punto, es interesante comentar que, en nuestro corpus inglés, los verbos de manera de moverse sin base suelen ir acompañados de un satélite que lexicaliza bien (a) la orientación vertical con respecto a la Tierra (*up* «arriba» y *down* «abajo»), o bien (b) la deixis (p. ej., *away* «lejos de»). Además, en inglés observamos un mayor porcentaje de verbos-con-base, es decir, verbos acompañados de elementos referenciales que sitúan las trayectorias del movimiento como en el ejemplo (29), donde las bases son *the stairs in the hall* o *las escaleras* y *the stuffed elf-heads* o *cabezas de elfo*.

(28) a. Hermione *se levantó* muy atolondrada
b. Hermione *jumped up*, looking flustered
Hermione saltar.PST arriba parecer.GER atolondrada

(29) a. Subió *la escalera* de puntillas y pasó por delante de *las cabezas de elfo reducidas*
b. Harry tiptoed up *the stairs in the hall* past *the stuffed elf-heads*
Harry ir.de.puntillas.PST arriba las escaleras en el pasillo pasando las rellenas elfo-cabezas

4.3. Descripción y complejidad del camino

Debido a las limitaciones de nuestro corpus, en inglés, no hemos encontrado una expresión de camino tan compleja que incluya el punto de origen de la trayectoria junto con el trascurso, el hito y el destino. En general, el punto de origen de la trayectoria se puede inferir fácilmente del contexto narrativo, mientras que no ocurre lo mismo con el resto de los elementos de una trayectoria, en especial, con el destino o punto final. El destino que una figura alcanza desplazándose en el espacio físico es cognitivamente más prominente que el origen y también pragmáticamente más relevante. De ahí que las bases referidas al punto de origen del movimiento tiendan a omitirse frecuentemente, especialmente en español.

En este apartado vamos a contabilizar las bases que aparecen con cada verbo, así como los caminos. Hemos decidido utilizar esta metodología a raíz de haber observado que en nuestro corpus de datos el número de caminos y de bases no se

corresponden en todos los casos. En el corpus en español solo encontramos dos ejemplos en los que el número de trayectorias no se corresponde con el de las bases:

(30) Angelina se la pasó *hacia atrás a* Harry

(31) [...] pero no salió nada volando *de entre* las copas [...]

En el ejemplo (30), tenemos un sintagma adverbial, *hacia atrás*, seguido de la preposición *a*. Dicho sintagma codifica un camino de naturaleza deíctica, es decir, el camino se define en relación a la posición de la figura (*Angelina*); mientras que la preposición *a* codifica el vector (hacia el punto final). De este modo, encontramos dos elementos de camino y tan solo una base, *Harry*. En el ejemplo (31) el verbo *salir* codifica el componente de conformación, la preposición *de* lexicaliza el vector y *entre*, la conformación de la base, en este caso, unos árboles.

Al contrario que en español, donde el número de caminos y de bases coinciden en la inmensa mayoría de los casos —al menos en nuestro corpus—, en inglés encontramos un total de 32 ejemplos, en los que hay variación entre el número de caminos y el de bases. Encontramos 6 casos, ejemplificados en (32)-(37), en los que el número de caminos es mayor que el número de bases. En estos ejemplos el camino deíctico es *backwards* «hacia atrás» o *back* «atrás, de vuelta»: la trayectoria implica re-tornar a un lugar en el que antes se había estado y no va seguida de ninguna entidad referencial.

(32) Harry jumped *backwards* out of the way with a snarl
Harry saltar.PST hacia.atrás fuera de el camino con un gruñido

(33) You arrived *back* in the middle of the lawn clutching Cedric's dead body
Tu llegar.PST atrás en el medio de el césped agarrar.GER Cedric.GEN muerto cuerpo

(34) […] and she stalked *back* to her chair by the fire
y ella ir.con.paso.airado atrás a su silla al.lado.de el fuego

(35) He hurried *back* around the table to Ron and Hermione
el apresurarse.PST atrás alrededor la mesa a Ron y Hermione

(36) Angelina strolled *back* to Alicia Spinnet
Angelina andar.de.manera.ociosa atrás a Alicia Spinnet

(37) [...] then plunged *back* into the trees [no. 84]
entonces caer.de.forma.repentina.y.rápida atrás en.a los arbóles

En el resto de los casos, es decir, en 24 de los 32 que encontramos en nuestro corpus inglés, el número de caminos es también mayor que el de bases, bien cuando se emplean caminos que están vinculados a la orientación de la Tierra, tales como *up* «arriba» y *down* «abajo», como en el ejemplo (38), o bien cuando tenemos el satélite *off*, que denota dejar un lugar (entendido como una superficie), como en el ejemplo (39).

(38) He now had a distant view of the Gryffindor Quidditch team soaring *up* and *down* the pitch
el ahora tener.PST una distante vista de el Gryffindor Quidditch equipo volar.rápidamente.GER arriba y abajo el campo

(39) They hurried *off* to North Tower together
Ellos apresurarse.PST lejos.de a Norte Torre juntos

En inglés es muy común el empleo de satélites relacionados con la orientación respecto a la superficie terrestre, tales como *down* y *up*, así como otros satélites de naturaleza deíctica, como *back, round* y *off*. Este tipo de satélites no suelen ir seguidos de ninguna base y resultan ser los más problemáticos a la hora de traducirlos a lenguas de marco verbal, en las que esta información se suele omitir como veremos en el siguiente subapartado.

Una vez examinadas las diferencias en el número de caminos y bases, pasamos al análisis cualitativo del tipo de combinaciones de los mismos que encontramos en nuestro corpus inglés-español. Nótese que dichas combinaciones coinciden en el número de caminos y bases. La tabla 2 presenta de forma resumida el tipo de combinaciones que encontramos en nuestro corpus y especifica la lengua que emplea cada tipo de combinación.

Combinaciones de 1 camino + 1 base	**Inglés**	**Español**
1 conformación + 1 transcurso (o hito) along X «a lo largo de X»; around X «alrededor de X»; in X «en/dentro X»; over X «encima de X»; through X «a través de X»; round X «alrededor de X»; up/down X (stairs)[12] «arriba/abajo X»; entre X; junto a X; por X; por el lado de X; por delante de X;	SÍ	SÍ
1 conformación + 1 destino into X «hacia dentro X»; en X;	SÍ	SÍ
1 conformación + 1 medio into X «hacia dentro X»; in X «en/dentro X»; en X	SÍ	SÍ
1 vector + 1 origen away from X «lejos de X»; from X «de/desde X»; de X;	SÍ	SÍ
1 vector + 1 destino to X; towards X; toward X « a/hacia X»; a X; hacia X	SÍ	SÍ
1 deixis + 1 origen (leave) X behind «(dejar) X detrás»;	SÍ	NO
1 conformación + 1 origen out of X «fuera de X»;	SÍ	NO
1 orientación vertical + 1 transcurso up X «arriba X»;	SÍ	NO
1 deixis + 1 transcurso detrás de X;	NO	SÍ

Combinaciones de 2 caminos + 2 bases	Inglés	Español
1 conformación + 1 vector + 1 transcurso + 1 destino between X to Y «entre X y Y»; around X towards Y «alrededor de X hacia Y»; por X hacia Y	SÍ	SÍ
2 conformaciones + 2 transcursos through X and up Y «a través de X y arriba Y»; up X past Y «arriba X pasando Y»	SÍ	NO
2 conformaciones + 1 transcurso + 1 destino through X into Y «a través de X hacia dentro Y»	SÍ	NO
2 vectores + 1 origen + 1 destino away from X to Y «lejos de X hacia Y»; from X to Y «de/desde X a/hacia Y»;	SÍ	NO

TABLA 2: Combinaciones de caminos y bases en nuestro corpus.

En español observamos que la mayoría de los caminos descritos son muy sencillos; se suelen emplear verbos que los expresan seguidos de un único elemento de camino y una base. Es también importante añadir que, debido a las limitaciones de nuestro corpus, no hemos encontrado combinaciones de caminos que son posibles en español, p. ej., la combinación *de/desde X a/hasta Y*, que tiene dos caminos y dos bases. Por otro lado, en inglés, lengua que se muestra más flexible, encontramos un mayor número de combinaciones, pero estas no son de las muy complejas en las que el número de caminos y de bases coincidan. La tabla 3, a continuación, recoge las dos combinaciones más complejas que se hallan en nuestro corpus.

Combinaciones de 3 caminos + 2 bases	Inglés	Español
1 deixis + 1 conformación + 1 vector + 2 bases (1 transcurso + 1 destino) back around X to Y and Z «atrás alrededor de X a Y y Z»	SÍ	NO
Combinaciones de 4 caminos + 3 bases	**Inglés**	**Español**
2 conformaciones + 1 orientación vertical + 1 conformación + 3 bases (2 transcursos + 1 destino) down X, past Y, and down into Z «abajo X pasando Y y abajo hacia dentro Z»	SÍ	NO

TABLA 3: Combinaciones de tres o más caminos con diferente número de bases.

Recapitulando, las diferencias tipológicas entre el español y el inglés previstas en cuanto al componente de camino se verifican. En primer lugar, observamos que en español el camino se lexicaliza en el verbo con mayor frecuencia que en inglés y que se ha empleado un léxico más variado. En segundo lugar, las propuestas de

Slobin (1996) en cuanto a (a) que el inglés va a presentar un mayor número de verbos-con-base que el español y (b) que el español va a emplear un mayor número de verbos-sin-base que el inglés, también se validan en nuestro corpus. Finalmente, también hemos encontrado un mayor número de combinaciones de caminos y bases en inglés (cf. Slobin 2008). Estas combinaciones muestran el mayor grado de segmentación en la descripción de las trayectorias que una figura sigue, contribuyendo de una manera significativa al dinamismo de la acción que se describe en el texto narrativo inglés. No obstante, todas estas diferencias tipológicas se ven atenuadas hasta cierto punto porque nuestro corpus es paralelo, siendo el inglés la lengua fuente y el español, la lengua meta.

4.4. Estrategias de traducción

En este trabajo nos interesa determinar cuánta información sobre los caminos o las trayectorias está incluida u omitida en el texto fuente inglés. Al igual que hicimos a la hora de explorar la traducción de los verbos de manera en la sección 3.4, aparte de cuantificar cuánta información se mantiene y cuánta se pierde en el texto meta español, también se ha tenido en cuenta si se han incluido caminos distintos. Lo que no esperábamos encontrar era que hubiera una omisión total del camino por ser este el elemento central de cualquier evento de movimiento. Para ello seleccionamos ejemplos de nuestro corpus en inglés que tienen dos o más elementos de camino y al menos una base, ya que es allí donde esperábamos encontrar los problemas de traducción. La tabla 4 recoge los porcentajes observados para cada uno de los diferentes grados de inclusión-omisión de los caminos en el texto meta español.

Grado de inclusión-omisión de información sobre camino	Porcentaje
Inclusión de todos los caminos	53,33 %
Omisión de algún camino	43,33 %
Inclusión de caminos distintos	3,33 %

TABLA 4: Diferentes grados de inclusión-omisión de información sobre caminos en el texto meta español

En primer lugar observamos que se han mantenido todos los caminos en algo más de la mitad de nuestro corpus, concretamente, en el 53,33 %. Esto ha sido así porque se han empleado las siguientes estrategias:

— Inclusión de uno o más verbos junto con sintagmas preposicionales/nominales que codifican el camino

(40) a. [He] slipped *through the door* and *up the stairs* before anyone could call him back
pasar.desapercibido.PST a.través.de la puerta y arriba las escaleras antes alguien poder.PST llamar.INF el de.vuelta
b. [S]e escabulló por la puerta y subió la escalera antes de que alguien pudiera retenerlo

(41) a. Harry and Ron climbed *through the portrait hole into the Gryffindor common room*
Harry y Ron escalar.PST a.través.de el cuadro agujero hacia.dentro la Gryffindor común sala
b. Harry y Ron *entraron por la abertura del retrato en la sala común* de Gryffindor

— Inclusión de perífrasis verbales y sintagmas preposicionales que codifican el camino

(42) a. Angelina strolled *back to* Alicia Spinnet
Angelina pasear.PST de.vuelta a Alicia Spinnet
b. Angelina *volvió a reunirse con Alicia Spinnet*

En el ejemplo (42) observamos que se ha recurrido al empleo de una perífrasis verbal reiterativa (*volver + verbo en infinitivo*) para capturar dentro del sintagma verbal la información sobre el camino deíctico lexicalizado en el satélite *back* en inglés.

En segundo lugar, encontramos que en un 43,33 % de los ejemplos de nuestro corpus se ha sacrificado algún camino en la traducción del inglés al español. En esos casos observamos como muchos de esos caminos se han logrado mantener gracias al empleo de uno o más verbos que expresan camino y mediante el uso de sintagmas preposicionales que codifican el camino y la base.

(43) a. Harry walked quietly *down* the stairs, *past* the heads of Kreacher's ancestors, and *down into* the kitchen
Harry andar.PST tranquilamente abajo las escaleras por.delante.de las cabezas de Kreacher.GEN antepasados y abajo en.a la cocina
b. Harry bajó la escalera, pasó por delante de los antepasados de Kreacher y se dirigió a la cocina

(44) a. "Hi" he said, moving *across to his own trunk* and opening it
"Hola" él dijo, moverse.GER a.través.de a su propio baúl y abrir.GER ello
b. ¡Hola! los saludó, y después *se dirigió hacia su bául* y lo abrió

(45) a. Harry jumped *backwards out of the way* with a snarl
Harry saltar.PST hacia.atrás fuera de el camino con un gruñido
b. Harry *se apartó* de un brinco y le gruñó

(46) a. You arrived *back in the middle of the lawn* clutching Cedric's dead body
Tu llegar.PST de.vuelta en el medio de el césped agarrar.GER Cedric. GER muerto cuerpo
b. Apareciste *en medio del jardín* con el cadáver de Cedric en brazos

(47) a. Fred and George zoomed *off toward the castle* supporting Katie between them
Fred y George moverse.rápidamente.PAST lejos.de hacia el castillo sostener.GER Katie entre ellos
b. Fred y George volaban *hacia el castillo* llevando entre los dos a Katie

En el ejemplo (43) vemos como la compleja trayectoria en inglés, que combina un único verbo de manera de movimiento con distintos satélites y sintagmas preposicionales que expresan camino, se ha traducido mediante el empleo de tres verbos de camino: *bajar, pasar* y *dirigirse*. No obstante, la traductora no logra transmitir en el texto meta español la información del satélite *down* «abajo» que va delante de *into the kitchen* «hacia dentro de la cocina»; parece ser que Harry tiene que bajar otras escaleras para entrar en la cocina. En el ejemplo (44) observamos que la información sobre camino expresada por el satélite *across* «a través de» se ha sacrificado en la traducción. En dicho ejemplo, la traductora traduce el verbo neutro *move* «moverse» por un verbo de camino, *dirigirse*, y el sintagma preposicional, *to his own trunk* «hacia su propio baúl», que codifica camino y base por otro sintagma preposicional con la misma función. Seguidamente, en el ejemplo (45) la información sobre camino deíctico expresada en *backwards* «hacia atrás» se ha omitido, a pesar de que se ha incluido en el texto meta un verbo de camino que expresa que el personaje se separa o se aleja del lugar en el que se encontraba. El ejemplo (46) ilustra un proceder similar por parte de la traductora: ha omitido el camino deíctico *back* que expresa que el personaje vuelve a un sitio donde antes había estado. Por último, en el ejemplo (47) se ha perdido la información expresada por el satélite *off* «lejos de», que expresa que los personajes abandonan el lugar donde estaban previamente para dirigirse hacia el castillo.

En general, dentro del bloque *omisión de algún camino* hemos observado que se han sido objeto de dicha estrategia la mayoría de los satélites vinculados a la orientación vertical: *down* «abajo» y *up* «arriba»; *off* «lejos de», de modo que se pierde la referencia al lugar del que el personaje se aleja; *across* «a través de», infiere en la versión española que el personaje cruza una habitación para llegar a otro lugar; y finalmente, *back* «atrás, de vuelta» y *backwards* «hacia atrás», que describe caminos deícticos, el primero con respecto a otra entidad y el segundo con respecto a la entidad en sí misma.

En tercer y último lugar, encontramos que en un ejemplo del corpus se ha incluido un camino distinto al expresado en el texto fuente inglés. En (48b) el equipo

parece estar dando vueltas al campo en el aire, mientras que en (48a) está claro que los miembros del equipo están ascendiendo y descendiendo. De este modo, podemos observar como los caminos verticales de la versión inglesa, *up* y *down*, se han omitido en su totalidad optándose por la inclusión de una trayectoria completamente distinta, concretamente, un camino que indica conformación o transcurso con una orientación horizontal: *por el campo.*

(48) a. He now had a distant view of the Gryffindor Quidditch team soaring *up and down the pitch*
él ahora tener.PST una distante vista de el Gryffindor Quidditch equipo volar.rápidamente.GER arriba y abajo el campo
b. A lo lejos veía al equipo de quidditch de Gryffindor volando *por el campo*

5. Conclusiones

En general, las diferencias tipológicas observadas en la bibliografía existente en lo que respecta a la expresión lingüística de los eventos de movimiento en inglés y en español (p. ej., Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2004b; Naigles et al. 1998; Slobin 1996, 1997, 2004, 2006), así como en lo relativo al proceso traslativo (p. ej. Cifuentes-Férez 2006; Slobin 1996; Tålig 2010) se confirman en nuestro estudio. No obstante, éste va más allá y explora otros aspectos sobre los cuales no se ha investigado en profundidad, como la especificidad semántica del léxico de manera, el tipo de información de manera que se expresa fuera del sintagma verbal, la función que esta desempeña en inglés y en español, el tipo de combinaciones de caminos y bases que se pueden encontrar en ambas lenguas y el tipo de caminos que se suelen sacrificar en la traducción inglés-español. Dichas cuestiones tienen una importancia crucial para este campo de investigación y contribuyen de manera significativa a una mejor comprensión de las diferencias entre las citadas lenguas.

Con respecto a la manera de moverse, las diferencias interlingüísticas conciernen no solo al lugar donde se expresa (cf. Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000), a la especificidad que representa y a la función que desempeñan los adjuntos que la indican fuera del verbo. En línea con las aportaciones de Slobin (2006) y Cifuentes-Férez (2009), el presente trabajo muestra que el inglés expresa la manera de moverse mediante un léxico verbal más rico y variado que el español en cuanto a las formas de andar, de correr y de saltar. Asimismo, nuestro estudio respalda las observaciones de Özçalişkan y Slobin (2003) para el inglés y el turco, una lengua de marco verbal como el español, sobre la función compensatoria de los adjuntos que expresan manera en textos narrativos originales en turco frente a la función aumentativa de los mismos en textos narrativos originales en inglés, y muestra que en el caso de textos traducidos del inglés al español se emplean ese tipo de recursos con la misma

función. Queda pendiente para futuras investigaciones ver si en el caso de traducciones del inglés al español el empleo de otros recursos fuera del verbo que expresan manera de moverse es notoriamente superior que en textos narrativos originales, puesto que los textos narrativos ingleses están cargados de dicha información y el traductor puede verse más forzado a incluirla.

Cuando analizamos cómo se ha traducido la manera de moverse, descubrimos que ha habido una pérdida considerable en el texto meta español, pero menor que la apuntada por Slobin (1996), puesto que en este trabajo hemos tenido en cuenta el empleo de otros recursos que codifican esta información fuera del sintagma verbal. En nuestro corpus en español encontramos expresada la información que sobre la manera incluye el texto fuente en inglés en tres grados diferentes: total, parcial o genérica y diferente, al igual que Ibarrexte-Antuñano (2003) encuentra en las traducciones de Tolkien's *The Hobbit* al español y al euskara.

En cuanto a la expresión del componente de camino, se observan diferencias interlingüísticas en cuanto al elemento lingüístico en el que generalmente se expresa (cf. Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000), la variedad del léxico verbal empleado, la utilización de verbos-con-base y verbos-sin-base, así como en la capacidad combinatoria de camino y bases. En general, tal y como apuntaba Cifuentes-Férez (2009: 128) en su estudio de un amplio corpus de verbos de movimiento en inglés y en español, en inglés el léxico verbal de camino es menos variado que en español, además en línea con la literatura existente se observa que se suele lexicalizar el camino en satélites y sintagmas preposicionales. Este estudio muestra, asimismo, que se pueden combinar los 4 elementos de camino propuestos por Slobin (2008) con distintas bases. Por otro lado, en español, el camino se suele lexicalizar en el verbo y presenta, por ello, una mayor riqueza léxica (cf. Cifuentes-Férez 2009). Ahora bien, el español presenta combinaciones de camino y bases mucho menos elaboradas: el camino más complejo en nuestro corpus es el de dos caminos que expresan conformación y vector: *por X hacia Y*. Cuando investigamos las estrategias de traducción para caminos complejos, observamos que se han mantenido todos los caminos en un 53,33 % de los casos. La pérdida de información de camino ha sido menor que la de manera puesto que es el elemento central del evento y en ningún caso se esperaba la omisión de todas las trayectorias. La inclusión de la información sobre las trayectorias se ha conseguido normalmente mediante el uso de distintos verbos de camino en los eventos en los que el inglés empleaba un único verbo de manera seguido de una serie de satélites que expresan cada trayectoria. No obstante, en un 43,33 % de los casos se ha omitido algún elemento de camino, especialmente, los de orientación vertical y los deícticos que no van acompañados de bases. A diferencia de trabajos anteriores (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2003; Slobin 1996; Tålig 2010), el presente estudio muestra que dichas trayectorias son, sin duda alguna, las más problemáticas para el traductor.

Una vez recapitulados los resultados de nuestra investigación, concluimos con unas consideraciones generales sobre el estilo narrativo de las lenguas objeto de estudio que ya se han apuntado en trabajos anteriores. En general, observamos que el texto narrativo en inglés presenta un mayor grado de dinamismo que su traducción al español. Gracias a las descripciones de la manera de moverse, así como a la expresión de caminos complejos, el texto narrativo en inglés está más centrado en la acción, en cómo se ejecuta y en su progreso. La explicitación de las distintas trayectorias, así como de los distintos modos en los que se desplazan los personajes es la habitual y la que los hablantes esperan (aunque pueda parecerle redundante a un hablante de español) y cualquier desviación se consideraría una violación de su estilo narrativo característico. En cambio, el texto narrativo en español es menos dinámico, pues la fluidez y continuidad expresada normalmente por un único verbo de manera y varios satélites en inglés se rompe en español al emplearse verbos distintos para cada trayectoria y al recurrir a la expresión de la manera mediante otros recursos léxico-sintácticos.

Los resultados y las conclusiones de la presente investigación abren nuevas vías de investigación. Entre ellas cabe destacar la validación empírica de nuestras observaciones en cuanto a los distintos grados de dinamismo en las narraciones inglesas y españolas. Además, sería muy interesante llevar a cabo un estudio similar al de Cappelle (2012). Con el propósito de estudiar la riqueza del léxico verbal de manera, en dicho trabajo se examinan corpus de textos originales en inglés, francés, alemán y textos traducidos al inglés desde el francés y el alemán. Cappelle concluye que los textos ingleses traducidos del alemán (una lengua del mismo grupo tipológico) son más ricos en la expresión de la manera de moverse que aquellos que se traducen del francés (una lengua de marco verbal). En nuestro caso se emplearían textos narrativos originales en inglés, español, textos narrativos traducidos del inglés al español y viceversa y textos narrativos traducidos al inglés desde otra lengua de marco satélite con el fin de examinar no solo las diferencias en la riqueza léxica verbal de la manera de moverse cuando examinamos textos traducidos del español al inglés y textos traducidos al inglés desde otra lengua del mismo grupo tipológico, sino también el tipo de combinaciones de camino posibles en esas lenguas en textos originales frente a textos traducidos.

Notas

[1]. La investigación llevada a cabo en el presente trabajo ha sido financiada por el Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad, Gobierno de España (FFI2010-14903).

[2]. Aunque algunos lingüistas europeos como Tesnière (1959) y Wandruszka (1976), así como traductólogos españoles como Vázquez-Ayora (1977) y García Yebra (1982) también describen los diferentes patrones de lexicalización para la expresión del movimiento en las lenguas germánicas y románicas, ha sido Talmy el primero en ofrecer un estudio sistemático, detallado y bien documentado del fenómeno, además de una importante fundamentación teórica.

[3]. Según Talmy (2000: 102), un satélite es aquel constituyente que tiene una relación íntima con el verbo y cuya función semántica es la de expresar el camino o *Path*. La definición de satélite es bastante controvertida; según Beavers, Levin y Thamb (2010) y Croft et al. (2010), la diferencia entre satélites y preposiciones no está del todo clara, y existen lenguas que usan otros elementos morfosintácticos para expresar camino que no se han considerado satélites.

[4]. Para las glosas hemos utilizado la convención de las *Leipzig Glossing Rules* desarrolladas en el Instituto Max Planck de Antropología Evolutiva de Leipzig (Alemania).

[5]. Özçalişkan y Slobin (2003) observan que en las novelas originales en turco se emplean verbos que expresan el camino seguidos de complementos circunstanciales de modo para compensar el vacío léxico verbal relativo a la manera de moverse. Estos autores, no obstante, no examinan si este comportamiento se observa de igual forma cuando se traducen textos narrativos del inglés al turco.

[6]. Pourcel y Kopecka (2005) y Papafragou, Massey y Gleitman (2006) observan una conducta similar en el francés y en el griego.

[7]. Los términos 'estrategia' y 'técnica' son bastante problemáticos en la teoría de la traducción. No existe consenso entre los autores a la hora de denominar las técnicas de traducción: se usan distintas etiquetas que, a veces, se confunden con otros conceptos. Según Molina y Hurtado Albir (2002: 508), por estrategias de traducción se entienden aquellos procedimientos que el traductor emplea para solucionar los problemas que surgen cuando se está llevando a cabo una traducción. Este término se distingue de las técnicas de traducción en que las estrategias son parte del proceso de traducción y las técnicas afectan al resultado, en otras palabras, la solución a un problema de traducción se materializa por medio de una técnica de traducción. En este trabajo adoptamos la etiqueta 'estrategia', tal y como lo han hecho otros autores en esta área de investigación, para referirnos a 'estrategia' y a 'técnica' indistintamente, ya que en algunos casos es muy difícil establecer tal distinción.

[8]. Incluimos también locuciones y perífrasis verbales, como *echar a correr, echar a andar, seguir caminando*. Cada una de las locuciones verbales se cuantifican como un tipo de verbo, ya que lexicalizan diferente información sobre la manera de moverse. Sin embargo, las perífrasis verbales se contabilizan junto con los verbos principales que las forman, ya que solamente añaden información sobre el aspecto temporal y no sobre la manera de moverse.

[9]. Según Cifuentes-Férez (2009) *travel* «viajar» es un verbo de manera de moverse que implica el uso de algún vehículo.

[10]. *Abordar* es un caso controvertido, ya que denota «acercarse rápidamente o de modo violento a una persona»; en este trabajo se ha considerado como verbo de manera, pero también se podría haber considerado como verbo de camino únicamente porque no siempre se define como un tipo de desplazamiento violento o rápido (Cifuentes-Férez 2009: 172, 393).

[11]. Dentro de los verbos de camino en español hemos incluido una serie de locuciones verbales que también lexicalizan el camino.

[12]. Nótese que cuando las preposiciones *up* y *down* acompañan a *escaleras* (en inglés, *stairs*) se consideran caminos que expresan conformación, es decir, nos informan sobre la geometría de la base (orientación vertical). Hay otros casos en los que *up* y *down* no van seguidos de bases y se refieren a caminos relacionados con la orientación de la Tierra. Este último uso parece un rasgo propio del inglés, que también se observa en la lexicalización de caminos visuales (Cifuentes-Férez *aceptado*).

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THE MORPHOLOGICAL AND SEMANTIC TYPES OF LOST OLD ENGLISH ADJECTIVES

LUISA FIDALGO ALLO
Universidad de La Rioja
luisa.fidalgoa@unirioja.es>

1. Aims and Scope

While there is agreement among scholars on the fact that most Old English words have disappeared from the lexicon (85% according to Kastovsky 1992 and 60% according to Trask 1996) the characteristics of the lexical items that have not survived in the lexical stock have drawn less attention. For this reason, the aim of this journal article is to deal with lexical loss by focusing on the category of the adjective. More specifically, this research addresses two main questions: first, how to quantify the lexical losses of Old English adjectives and, second, how to classify such losses. While the former question is more descriptive, the latter can be explanatory if considered from two perspectives, namely the morphological aspect of word-formation and the concept of semantic fields and dimensions. Ultimately, the discussion that follows is geared towards finding points of contact between semantic taxonomy and derivational morphology on the one hand, and lexical loss on the other.[1]

Put in these terms, this piece of research is a contribution to the fields of Old English word-formation and lexical semantics, which, with the exception of Wang (2009), reviewed in more detail in the following section, have not raised the question of the nature of lexical losses, in spite of its relevance to the structure of the lexicon. With regard to word-formation, Kastovsky (1986, 1989, 1990, 1992,

2005, 2006) deals with the typological shift from variable bases to invariable bases of inflection and derivation, while Martín Arista (2011a, 2011b, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2013, fc.) explains the derivational processes of Old English within the framework of structural-functional morphology, by means of morphological templates displaying word positions and functions. Martín Arista and Cortés Rodríguez (fc.) also adopt a structural-functional perspective to explain the grammaticalisation of directionals in the complex verbs of a number of languages including Old English. Haselow (2011), in the wake of Kastovsky (2006), takes issue with the change from stem-formation to word-formation in English and describes the rise of some analytic tendencies. Finally, Trips (2009) is concerned with the productivity of word-formation processes and its impact on the overall structure of the lexicon. With regard to lexical semantics, Weman (1933) and Ogura (2002) focus their analysis on verbs of motion while Strite (1989) offers a simplified version of the type of lexical organisation based on fields and dimensions found in the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*. Other works, of a more semantic orientation, carry out an analysis of Old English semantic primes. Martín Arista and Martín de la Rosa (2006), de la Cruz Cabanillas (2007) and Guarddon Anelo (2009a, 2009b) belong in this group.

The relevance of the topic of lexical loss is related to the layout of the Old English lexicon, which is consistently Germanic in two respects. In the first place, it is comprised almost completely of Germanic lexical items, the number of loanwords representing, according to Kastovsky (1992: 294), about 3% only. In the second place, word-formation, which is preferred over borrowing for lexical expansion, inputs native bases to the processes of derivational morphology. Regarding this question, Kastovsky (1992: 308) finds the main reason for the small number of loanwords in Old English in "the astonishing versatility with which the native vocabulary could be used in order to render a foreign concept". A far-reaching consequence of the importance of word-formation in Old English is that the lexicon is characterized by the existence of large morphologically-related word families which hold formally-analysable and semantically-transparent relations (Kastovsky 1992; Lass 1994; Mugglestone 2006), as is the case with the set of derivatives of *(ge)springan* 'to jump, leap, spring, burst forth, rise; spread, be diffused, grow; want, lack', which includes *āspringan* 'to spring up or forth, break forth, spread; arise, originate, be born; dwindle, diminish, fail, cease', *ūpāspringan* 'to spring up, arise', *ūpspringan* 'to rise up', *tōspringan* 'to spring apart', *onspringan* 'to spring forth', *ætspringan* 'to rush forth', etc. These analysable and transparent morphological relationships, along with the lexical items that bear them, disappear to a large extent as a consequence of the massive lexical borrowing brought about by the Norman Conquest (Burnley 1992: 211), which eventually resulted in a dissociated lexicon (Kastovsky 1992: 293). In a dissociated lexicon, morphological

relationships are replaced by lexical relationships among words of different historical origin, as in *hand* (Germanic) ~ *manual* (Romance). Leaving aside the survival of a small part of the Old English lexical stock, the dissociation of the lexicon of Present-day English cannot be attributed to lexical borrowing only. It is also a consequence of lexical loss. Thus, in a pair like *father ~ paternal*, it is important to recognise that the presence of the Romance form *paternal* is mirrored by the absence of the Germanic *fæderen* 'paternal'.

Once the discussion has been set in its background, the article can be outlined as follows. Section 2 explains the methodology adopted in the remainder of the article, sections 3 and 4 describe the results of the morphological and semantic analyses respectively, and section 5 draws the conclusions of this research.

2. Research Methodology

In the previous section the point has been made that, in spite of the relevance of the phenomenon of lexical loss, the question of the morphological and semantic nature of lost lexical items remains largely untouched. A remarkable exception in this respect is the work by Wang (2009), who has identified a number of relationships between the old and the modern tongue: (i) an Old English compound disappears, although its components remain, as is the case with *wīn-berige* 'grape' ('wine-berry') and *hēafod-bān* 'skull' ('head-bone'); (ii) a Modern English compound contains a component that is no longer used independently, as in *werewolf*, the only word where Old English *wer* 'man' survives; (iii) an Old English word no longer survives, but either its derivative or base does, as is the case with *winsome,* derived from the Old English base *wynn* 'joy', or *wedding,* derived from *wedd* 'pledge'; (iv) an Old English word survives in form, but no longer in conjunction with a meaning it had during the Old English period, as can be seen in the form *gewēde*, 'clothing, raiment, dress, apparel' which, survives as weeds but with the more specific meaning 'mourning clothes'; (v) an Old English word survives only in a limited speech community like Scottish English, which keeps forms like *eith* 'easy' (Old English *ēaðe*) and *nesh* 'soft' (Old English *hnesce)*; and (vi) the process of reanalysis has brought an Old English word into Modern English in an unpredictable altered form, as is the case with *guma* 'man', which was reanalyzed as *groom* in *bridegroom*.

Since Wang (2009) does not focus on absolute losses, this journal article aims at analyzing lexical items that no longer remain in the lexicon. As Wang's methodology demonstrates, semantic analysis goes hand in hand with morphological analysis. Lost Old English adjectives are considered from two perspectives. On the morphological side, the category and inflectional class of the base of derivation as

well as the affixes and the type of derivational process are taken into account, while the semantic analysis yields a classification of these Old English adjectives.

For the reasons given above, the methodological steps of this research include the gathering of the inventory of lost adjectives and their morphological and semantic analysis. In order to identify lexical losses, two lexicographical sources are used: a lexical loss is identified whenever an adjective appears in the Old English lexicographical source but not in the Present-day English one. The Old English data has been retrieved from the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* (www.nerthusproject.com), which is based mainly on *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* and, to a lesser extent, on *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* and *The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*.[2] This online database provides meaning definitions and morphological information of a total of 29,992 Old English words, including 16,694 nouns, 5,788 adjectives, 5,618 verbs and 1,892 members of grammatical classes.[3]

The comparison of the two lexicographical sources yields a figure of 4,825 Old English adjectives listed by *Nerthus* that are not included in the *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Some instances of lost Old English adjectives follow in (1):

(1)

> *ācæglod* 'studded with pegs; locked with a key', *āgimmed* 'set with precious stones', *ānhyrned* 'having one horn', *æhtboren* 'born in bondage', *fēowertȳnenihte* 'fourteen nights old', *gesperod* 'armed with a spear', *mylenscearp* 'sharpened on a grindstone', *symbelwlonc* 'elated with feasting', *tæfle* 'given to dice-playing', *twihynde 1* 'having *wergild* of 200 shillings'.

The comparison of these lexicographical sources has also attested the survival of 963 out of the 5,788 Old English adjectives provided by the lexical database *Nerthus*. That is, 16.63% of Old English adjectives have survived without much change, in spite of the foreign influences and generalized lexical loss on which I have commented above. Conversely, a remarkable 83.36% (4,825) have been lost.

Several types of semantic relationship between Old English and Present-day English adjectives have been established, including (a) no meaning change, (b) addition of new senses, (c) loss of some senses, (d) simultaneous addition and loss of senses and (e) meaning change. These categories are illustrated in (2a)-(2e) below:

(2)

a. No meaning change: *oferfǣt* 'too fat', *unlǣred*, 'unlearned', *hyrnen* 'of horn', *gelāstful* 'helpful, serviceable'.
b. Some senses added: *gesweordod* 'provided with a sword' (added senses: 'having some part resembling a sword'), *behōflic* 'necessary' (added senses: 'of use; useful, profitable; needful'), *lætsum* 'backward' (added senses: 'slow, sluggish; late'), *ðolebyrde* 'patient' (added senses: 'bearing patiently; forbearing, submissive').

c. Some senses lost: *unforgifen* 'unforgiven; not given in marriage' (lost sense: 'not given in marriage'), *crumb* 'crooked, bent, stooping' (lost senses: 'bent, stooping'), *flǣscen* 'of flesh, like flesh' (lost sense: 'like flesh'), *glidder* 'slippery; lustful' (lost sense: 'lustful').

d. Some senses added and other senses lost: *drēorig* 'bloody, blood-stained; cruel, grievous; sad, sorrowful; headlong?' (added senses: 'full of sadness or melancholy; doleful, melancholy; dismal, gloomy; repulsively dull or uninteresting'; lost senses: 'bloody, blood-stained; cruel, grievous; sorrowful; headlong?'), *hlāfordlēas* 'without a lord, leaderless' (added sense: 'of a woman: husbandless'; lost sense: 'leaderless'), *fǣre* 'able to go, fit for (military) service' (added senses: 'in health; able, strong; sound, whole'; lost sense: 'fit for military service').

e. Meaning change: *cnihtlic* 'boyish, childish' (new meaning: 'having the rank or qualities of a knight; noble, chivalrous; of things, actions, etc.: of, belonging to, suitable, or appropriate to a knight; consisting or composed of knights'), *earmsceapen* 'unfortunate, miserable' (new meaning: 'having a shape of the kind specified by the qualifying word; furnished with a definite shape; fashioned, shaped'), *oferranc* 'too luxurious' (new meaning: 'too rank or vigorous in growth; too gross').

Table 1 provides a quantitative overview of the kinds of semantic relationship just distinguished.[4]

Semantic relationship	Number of adjectives
No meaning change	75
Some senses added	225
Some senses lost	58
Some senses added and other senses lost	359
Meaning change	170
Total	887

TABLE 1: Semantic relationships between Old English and Present-day English adjectives.

Table 1 shows that the most frequent semantic relationship in surviving Old English adjectives is the simultaneous addition of new senses and loss of other senses, followed by the one in which only new senses are added. Additionally, the instances of absolute stability are scarce, but the instances of loss of senses are even harder to find. Although more research is needed, these data indicate that the addition of new senses has contributed to the survival of the adjective in question

and that linguistic evolution entails meaning expansion. Regarding radical meaning changes, they are often the result of changes in the bases of derivation of the adjectives that convey new meanings, as in *cnihtlic* 'boyish, childish' and its Present-day English translation *knightly* (< *knight*).

Among all the possible relationships between Old English and Present-day English adjectives, this article concentrates on instances of absolute loss of adjectives and aims at providing a morphological and semantic analysis of such adjectives. On the morphological side, the category and inflectional class of the base of derivation as well as the affixes and the type of derivational process are taken into account, while the semantic analysis yields a classification of these Old English adjectives in terms of the categories of the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* and the additional ones discussed in section 4.

3. Morphological Analysis

By morphological process, lost adjectives can be broken down as follows in Table 2, which compares the figure of lost adjectives to the total of adjectives formed by means of each process of word-formation that applies in Old English, namely prefixation, suffixation, compounding and zero derivation. The result is called *rate of loss* and is based on the information provided by *Nerthus*. The term *basic* refers to adjectives without derivatives, while *primitive* types are those primary adjectives around which a derivational paradigm can be gathered. An instance of a primitive adjective would be *biter* 'bitter, sharp, cutting; stinging; exasperated, angry, embittered; painful, disastrous, virulent, cruel', with its derivatives *(ge)biterian* 'to be or become bitter; make bitter', *biternes* 'bitterness, grief', *biterlic* 'sad, bitter', *biterlīce* 'bitterly', *bitre* 'bitterly, sharply, painfully, severely; very', *bitrum* 'bitterly', *oferbiternes* 'excessive bitterness'.

Status	Losses	Total (type-frequency)	Rate of loss
Basic	172	197	87.3%
Primitive	12	276	4.3%
Prefixed	1,154	1,305	88.4%
Suffixed	1,711	2,081	82.2%
Compound	1,365	1,424	95.8%
Zero derived	411	479	85.8%

TABLE 2: Rate of loss by morphological process.

While all the other rates of loss in Table 2 are over 80%, primitive adjectives turn out a remarkably lower figure, for which two complementary explanations can be proposed. The first reason why primitive adjectives survive in the lexicon more than the other classes distinguished in Table 2 is to be found in the derivatives of these adjectives: the presence of derivatives anchors the primitive lexical item from which they derive. This is the case with the primitive adjective *ġrēat* 'great', which has been preserved together with its derivative *ġrēatnes* 'greatness', even though other members of the derivational paradigm like *ġrȳto* 'greatness', *ġrēatian* 'to become great' and *ġrȳtan* 'to flourish' have been lost. However, it can also be the case that the primitive adjective is preserved despite all its derivatives disappearing. A case in point is *atol* 'dire, terrible, ugly, deformed, repulsive, unchaste', which is found in the *OED*, although it is marked as obsolete, but all its derivatives, including *atol* 'terror, horror; evil, wretchedness' and *atolian* 'to deform, disfigure', have disappeared. It is interesting to note, at this stage, the affixed adjective *ǣmelle* 'insipid' which has disappeared together with its derivatives: *ǣmelnes* 'slackness, slackness, sloth, weariness, disgust', *ǣmellian* 'to become insipid and *ǣmellad* 'emptied out, brought to naught'. The second reason for the lower rate of loss of primitive adjectives is related to the nature of these adjectives and, more specifically, to their degree of atomicity and analysability and their formal and semantic contribution to hyponymy as shown by derivational paradigms. As regards analysability, primitive adjectives, such as *bær* 'bare' or *beald* 'bold', cannot be decomposed morphologically, which reflects their unanalysable meaning. An outstanding consequence of morphological and semantic atomicity is that the form and meaning of a primitive adjective are central to lexical organisation because they are kept, with the modifications resulting from subsequent word-formation processes, throughout the derivation. For example, consider the traits of formal and semantic inheritance in the derivational paradigm of *dēop 1* 'deep, profound; awful, mysterious; heinous; serious, solemn, earnest', which includes *bedīpan* 'to dip, immerse', *dēop 2* 'depth, abyss; the sea', *dēope* 'deeply, thoroughly, entirely, earnestly, solemnly, *dēoplic* 'deep, profound, thorough, fundamental; grievous', *dēoplīce* 'deeply; ingeniously', *dēopnes* 'depth, abyss; profundity, mystery; subtlety, cunning', *dȳpan* 'to make deeper', *(ġe)dēopian* 'to deepen', *(ġe)dȳpan* 'to dip; baptize', *indīpan* 'to dip in, immerse' and *undēop* 'shallow, low'. The existence of derivatives reinforces the primitive term, because its form and meaning are present, to different degrees, in all derivatives of the paradigm, with which the primitive is likely to survive in the lexicon even though some or all of its derivatives have been lost, as is the case with *dēop 1*.[5]

Turning to the relationship between affixation and lexical loss, Table 3 offers the rates of loss by affix. The most type-frequent affixes, according to the data provided by Nerthus, have been selected.

Affix	Losses	Total of derivatives (type-frequency)	Rate of loss
ge-	31	37	83.7%
ofer-	31	40	77.5%
twi-	35	36	97.2%
un-	691	819	84.3%
-bǣre	34	34	100.0%
-ed	43	48	89.5%
-en	99	132	75.0%
-fæst	56	62	90.3%
-ful	85	112	75.8%
-ig	169	231	73.1%
-iht	32	34	94.1%
-lēas	90	122	73.7%
-lic	782	884	88.4%
-ol	48	56	85.7%

TABLE 3: Rate of loss by affix.

As is shown in Table 3, the rates of loss by affix range from 73.1% (*-ig*) to 100% (*-bǣre*). In general, rates of loss under 85% are shown by affixes still used in Present-day English, including *un-, ofer-, -ful, -ig* and *-lēas*. However, the fact that an unproductive suffix like *-en* displays a low loss rate of 75% indicates that there is not a direct relationship between affix productivity and adjective survival. Regarding frequency, rates of loss over 90% occur with less frequent affixes such as the prefix *twi-*, and the suffixes *-fæst* and *-iht*. Again, the generalization cannot be pushed too far because the prefix *ge-*, with a low frequency of 36 derivatives has a rate of loss lower than that of the prefix *un-*, which stands out as the most type-frequent. Apart from the two exceptions just mentioned, a clear tendency can be identified in the relationship between lexical loss and affixation pattern: Old English affixation patterns surviving into Present-day English and type-frequent affixation patterns show lower rates of lexical loss than less type-frequent and lost affixation patterns.

To continue with the morphological part of the analysis, lost adjectives are analyzed with respect to their derivational paradigm. Most of them belong to strong verb paradigms: 2,115 lost Old English adjectives have strong verbs as direct or indirect bases of derivation, 43.8% of the total number lost. Table 4 displays the ten derivational paradigms of verbs with the highest rates of adjective loss (all of them belong to the strong class, although *witan* and *cunnan* are traditionally labelled *preterite-present*):

Verb	Losses	Adjectives in paradigm	Rate of loss
BERAN	102	123	82.9%
CUNNAN	28	28	100.0%
ĒADAN	26	35	74.2%
GANGAN	27	27	100.0%
HEALDAN	31	34	91.1%
*LĒOSAN	84	143	58.7%
METAN	27	34	79.4%
WEORÐAN	55	101	54.5%
WINDAN	28	86	32.5%
WITAN	50	65	83.3%

TABLE 4: Rate of loss by derivational paradigm (strong verbs).

2,526 lost Old English adjectives derive from categories other than the strong verb. That is, 52.35% of lost Old English adjectives select a non-verbal base of derivation. The ten derivational paradigms with the highest number of lost adjectives appear in Table 5, together with the corresponding rates of loss.

Other classes	Losses	Adjectives in paradigm	Rate of loss
CYNN 1	18	23	78.2%
EFEN 1	19	23	82.6%
FÆST 1	39	55	70.9%
FULL 1	77	99	77.7%
GOLD	15	24	62.5%
HYGE	27	58	46.5%
LĪC	581	640	90.7%
MŌD	54	59	91.5%
SWĪÐ	18	27	66.6%
WORD 1	16	18	88.8%

TABLE 5: Rate of loss by derivational paradigm (base different from strong verb).

Two aspects of Table 4 and Table 5 deserve some comment. In the first place, the derivative of a strong verb is less likely to be lost than one of another morphological class or lexical category. This fact can be explained in terms of the central role played by the strong verb in the derivational morphology of Old English, not only because it is the starting point of derivation (Hinderling 1967; Kastovsky 1992)

but also because it gives rise to larger derivational paradigms (Novo Urraca fc.), which eventually results in a higher rate of survival of paradigms based on strong verbs. In the second place, the average rates of loss shown by Table 4 and Table 5 are similar (76.2% in strong verbs and 75.6% in other classes). By paradigm, the only instances of total loss correspond to strong verb derivatives (although there are also rates of loss in the region of 90% in Table 4). That is to say, the rate of loss in the class of the adjective depends on the category of the base of the paradigm, but also has a strong idiosyncratic component as even the paradigms based on strong verbs can display rates of 100%.

4. Semantic Analysis

The semantic classification of adjectives follows basically that of *A Thesaurus of Old English* and the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*, which distinguishes the following semantic categories and subcategories:

The external world
The world
- 01.01 The Earth
- 01.02 Life
- 01.03 Physical sensibility
- 01.04 Matter
- 01.05 Existence in time and space
- 01.06 Relative properties
- 01.07 The supernatural

The mental world
The mind
- 02.01 Mental capacity
- 02.02 Emotion
- 02.03 Philosophy
- 02.04 Aesthetics
- 02.05 Will/ faculty of will
- 02.06 Refusal/ denial
- 02.07 Having/ possession
- 02.08 Language

The social world
Society
- 03.01 Society/ the community
- 03.02 Inhabiting/ dwelling
- 03.03 Armed hostility
- 03.04 Authority
- 03.05 Morality
- 03.06 Education

03.07 Faith
03.08 Communication
03.09 Travel/ travelling
03.10 Occupation/ work
03.11 Leisure

FIGURE 1: Semantic categories and subcategories from the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary.*

To the categories given in Figure 1, the following have been added from the taxonomy of semantic categories of *A Thesaurus of Old English*:

11. Action and utility
    11. Action, operation
        11.09 Peril, danger
        11.10 Safety, safeness
12. Social interaction
    12. Power, might
        12.06 A province, country, territory
13. Peace and war
14. Law and order
16. Religion

FIGURE 2: Additional semantic categories from *A Thesaurus of Old English.*

The inventory of semantic categories resulting from Figure 1 and Figure 2 has been adapted to the semantic characteristics of the class of the adjective by adding the categories Size, Auditory qualities, Shape, Tactile, Evaluative, States of living (Givon 1993) and Similarity (Dixon 2006). The category of States and conditions draws on Givon's (1993: 63) Transitory states. Finally, it has also been necessary, in order to be able to account for all shades of meaning involved by the inventory of adjectives of the corpus, to add the following categories: Accession and access, Blood, Cookery, External appearance, Opposition and concord, Pardon and condemnation, Payment and price, Production, Reward and compensation, Variation and change, Truth and falsehood, and Weapons.

Lost Old English adjectives can be classified semantically as shown in (3). The number of lost lexical items follows each class, within parentheses. In those instances in which the semantic category corresponds to that of the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*, the relevant category code is given after the figure of losses. For illustration, one or more lost adjectives are provided by class:[6]

(3)

A province, country, territory (66)
Africanisc 'African', *Alexandrinesc* 'Alexandrian', *Arabisc* 'Arabian'
Accession, access (14)
earfoðfēre 'difficult to pass through', *gefēre 3* 'accessible', *ðrihlidede* 'having three openings
Blood (11)
blōden 'bloody', *blōdfāg* 'blood-stained, bloody', *blōdgēotende* 'bloody'
Colour (126) 01 The world: 01.04 Matter: 01.04.09 Colour
Colour. Brightness (57)
æblǣce 'lustreless, pale, pallid', *ælhīwe* 'pallid; deformed', *ælfscīene* 'bright as an elf or fairy, beautiful, radiant'
Colour. Colour (69)
æscgrǣg 'ashy-gray', *assedun* 'dun-coloured like an ass', *basu* 'purple'
Cookery (26)
āfȳgen 'fried', *ascbacen* 'baked on ashes', *elebacen* 'cooked in oil'
Direction (37) 01 The world: 01.01 The earth: 01.01.03 Direction
āwegēade 'went away', *āwegweard* 'coming to a close', *andelbær* 'reversed'
Evaluative (610)
āðrotsum 'irksome', *āðwyrðe* 'worthy of credit', *āberendlic* 'bearable'
External appearance (57)
āscǣre 'unshorn, untrimmed', *æscære* 'unshorn, untrimmed', *andfeax* 'bald'
Festivity (6)
bodigendlic 'to be celebrated', *frēols 2* 'free, festive', *frēolslic 1* 'festive, festival'
Having/ possession (48) 02 The mind: 02.07 Having/ possession
āgenlic 'own; owed, due', *ætgenumen* 'taken away', *berōfon* 'despoiled'
Hearing, noise and auditory qualities (41) 01 The world: 01.03 Physical sensibility: 01.03.08 Hearing/noise
beorhtword 'clear-voiced', *clipol* 'sounding, vocal; vocalic, vowel', *healfclypigende* 'semi-vowel'
Inhabiting/ dwelling (27) 03 Society: 03.02 Inhabiting/ dwelling
ābūrod 'not inhabited', *ælǣte 2* 'desert; empty', *ælǣten* 'desert, empty'
Language, literature and communication (153) 02 The mind: 02.08 Language & 03 Society: 03.08 Communication
āhyldendlic 'enclitic', *ānsprǣce* 'speaking as one', *āsciendlic* 'interrogative'
Law and order (116)
ālīefedlic 'lawful, permissible', *āsēcendlic* 'to be sought', *āworpenlic* 'worthy of condemnation'
Leisure (3) 03 Society: 03.11 Leisure
flāniht 'relating to darts', *plegende* 'playing', *tæfle* 'given to dice-playing'
Matter (155) 01 The world: 01.04 Matter
Divisibility and indivisibility (19)
betwuxgangende 'separating', *feðorbyrste* 'split into four', *fīðerdæled* 'quadripartite, quartered'
Dryness and wetness (14)
ðān 1 'moist, irrigated', *dēawigfeðera* 'dewy-feathered', *drȳgscēod* 'dry-shod'

Fixation (11)
ācæglod 'studded with pegs; locked with a key', *ānægled* 'nailed down', *borhfæst* 'fast bound', *geðwinglod* 'bound up (of hair)'
Freshness and staleness (18)
forworen 'decrepit, decayed', *geæcnōsliende* 'degenerating', *gescrence* 'withered, dry'
Material (64)
æcen 2 'oaken', *æren 1* 'made of brass, brazen; twinkling', *bænen* 'made of bone'
Purity and impurity (11)
fullclæne 'very pure', *hēahhlūtor* 'very pure', *mērehwīt* 'pure, white, sterling (of silver)'
States of matter (11)
āmolten 'molten', *gēotenlic* 'molten, fluid', *geðyllic* 'densus'
Weight (7)
gehefed 'weighed down', *pīs* 'heavy', *pīslic* 'heavy'

Measurement, determination of quantity and amount (99) 01 The world: 01.06: Relative properties: 01.06.05 Measurement & 01.06.06 Quantity/amount
flēde 'in flood, full, overflowing', *fullmannod* 'fully peopled', *gehwæde* 'slight, scanty, small, young'

Navigation (23) 03 Society: 03.09 Travel/ travelling: 03.09.04 Navigation
ānbȳme 'made of one trunk, dug-out (ship)', *æren 2* 'oar-propelled', *brandstæfn* 'high-prowed'

Number (6) 01 The world: 01.06 Relative properties: 01.06.04 Number
æfterlic 'second', *endebyrdlic* 'ordinal', *(ge)tælsum* 'in numbers, rhythmic'

Opposition and concord (46)
bīsæc 'contested, disputed', *cēaslunger* 'contentious', *cēastful* 'contentious'

Pardon and condemnation (14)
belādiendlic 'apologetic, that can be excused', *bōtwyrðe* 'pardonable, that can be atoned for by', *gelīefen* 'excused'

Payment/ price (14)
gafolfrēo 'tax-free', *gafollic* 'fiscal', *gildfrēo* 'free of tax'

Peace and war (64)
æscrōf 'brave in battle', *beaducāf* 'bold in battle', *beaducræftig* 'warlike'

Peril/ danger (12)
bealu 2 'baleful, deadly, dangerous, wicked, evil', *cwildbære* 'deadly, dangerous, pestiferous; stormy', *cwildrōf* 'deadly, savage'

Production (6)
cræftlic 'artificial; skilful', *forðbære* 'productive', *handworht* 'made with hands'

Religion (160)
æbrucol 'sacrilegious', *æfremmende* 'pious, religious', *æswic 2* 'apostate'

Reward and compensation (8)
āngilde 2 'to be compensated for', *ægilde 'receiving* no wergild as compensation', *andergilde* 'in repayment, in compensation'

Safety/ safeness (9)
borhlēas 'without a pledge, without security', *gefriðsum* 'safe, fortified', *gehealdfæst* 'safe'

Shape (65)
āgrafenlic 'sculptured', *ānecge* 'having one edge', *ānhīwe* 'of one form or colour'
Sight (27) 01 The world: 01.03 Physical sensibility: 01.03.07 Sight
ānēage 'one-eyed, blind in one eye', *ānēagede* 'one-eyed, blind in one eye', *ansīene* 'visible'
Similarity (52)
āncorlic 'like a hermit', *allefne 1* 'quite equal', *besibb* 'related'
Size (53)
āclungen 'contracted', *āgrōwen* 'overgrown', *efenbrād* 'as broad as long'
Smell/ odour (11) 01 The world: 01.03 Physical sensibility: 01.03.06 Smell/ odour
fūlstincende 'foul-stinking', *ġestence* 'odoriferous', *runl* 'foul? running?; foul, stinking?'
Social interaction (106)
Friendship and other social relations, conditions and states (29)
cnihtlēas 'without an attendant', *frēondlīðe* 'kind to one's friends', *ġadrigendlic* 'collective'
Kinship, family relationship (23)
ānboren 'only-begotten', *bearnlēas* 'childless', *brōðorlēas* 'brotherless'
Marriage, state of marriage (19)
ānlegere 'consorting with one man', *beweddendlic* 'relating to marriage', *ceorlēs* 'unmarried (of women)'
Sexual relations, sexuality (35)
clǣngeorn 'yearning after purity, celibate; cleanly', *dyrneforlegen* 'adulterous', *dyrneleger* 'adulterous'
Space, order, arrangement and disposition (75) 01 The world: 01. 05 Existence in time and space: 01.05.07 Space & 01.06. Relative properties: 01.06.03 Order
āsynderlic 'remote', *æftanweard* 'behind, in the rear, following', *ælsyndriġ* 'quite apart, single'
States and conditions (1,228)
External activity (54)
ālīesendlic 'loosing, liberating', *āsolcen* 'sluggish, idle, indifferent, dissolute', *æswind* 'idle, slothful'
External condition (129)
āblered 'bare, uncovered, bald', *ādeliht* 'filthy', *āġimmed* 'set with precious stones'
Mental-internal (942)
āðegen 'distended (with food)', *āberd* 'crafty, cunning', *ācol* 'affrighted, dismayed'
Motion (54)
arodlic 'quick', *cwiccliende* 'moving rapidly?, tottering?' , *duniendlic* 'falling down, tottering'
Temperature (25)
ælceald 'altogether cold, very cold', *brandhāt* 'burning hot, ardent', *brimceald* 'ocean-cold'

Weather (24)

blāwende 'blowing hard (wind)', *ġewinde* 'blowing', *hærfestlic* 'autumnal; of harvest'

States of living (767)

Age (90)

ānhundwintre 'a hundred years old', *ānnihte* 'one day old', *ānwintre* 'one year old, yearling'

Animals (46)

ānhyrnende 'having one horn', *byccen* 'of a goat, goat's', *calcrond* 'shod (of horses)'

Body (39)

ānfēte 'one-footed', *æthȳd* 'evicerata, deprived of its sinews', *belcedswēora* 'having an inflated neck'

Death (44)

āsprungen 'dead', *æfterboren* 'afterborn, posthumous', *beliden* 'departed, dead'

Existence (7)

æfweard 'absent', *edwistlic* 'existing, substantive', *framwesende* 'absent'

Fertility (39)

bearnēaca 'pregnant', *berende* 'fruitful', *cildfēdende* 'nursing'

Health (151)

āblegned 'ulcerated', *ādlberende* 'disease-bearing', *ādliġ* 'sick, diseased'

Humankind, people (9)

mennisclic 'human; humane', *nāthwā* 'someone', *unmennisclic* 'inhuman'

Life (27)

ærboren 'earlier born, first born', *betstboren* 'best-born, eldest', *būrbyrde* 'of pleasant birth'

Plants (54)

ānstelede 'one-stalked, having one stem', *āsprindlad* 'ripped up', *ælren* 'of an alder tree'

Status, rank and power (180)

ārcræftiġ 'respected, honourable', *ārful* 'respected, venerable; favourable, kind, merciful; respectful', *ārlēas* 'dishonourable, base, impious, wicked; cruel'

Strength (29)

byrðenstrang 'strong at carrying burdens', *ceorlstrang* 'strong as a man', *earmstrang* 'strong of arm, muscular'

Wealth (52)

æhtspēdiġ 'rich', *æhtweliġ* 'wealthy, rich', *ælmeslic* 'charitable; depending on alms, poor'

Tactile (114)

Firmness (22)

būdfæst 'firm, forced to stand out', *cope* l 'unsteady, rocking?', *eorðfæst* 'earthfast, firm in the earth'

Inclination (19)

clifiġ 'steep', *forðheald* 'bent forward, stooping; inclined, steep', *ġēandele* 'steep'

Pointedness (14)
ecged 'edged', *ecghwæs* 'keen-edged', *fēowergæred* 'four-pointed'
Pressure (5)
gebered 'crushed, kneaded; harassed, oppressed', *onāslagen* 'beaten (of metal)', *ābȳgendlic* 'bending, flexible '
Resistance (25)
āhierding 'hardening', *āstrenged* '(made strong) malleable', *brēað* 'brittle'
Texture (14)
ānhealfrūh 'having one side rough', *anbrucol* 'rugged', *byrstiġ* 'broken, rugged'
Taste and flavour (15) 01 The world: 01. 03 Physical sensibility: 01.03.05 Taste/flavour
āfor 'bitter, acid, sour, sharp; dire', *æmelle* 'insipid', *ætlic* 'eatable'
Textiles (14) 01 The world: 01.02 Life: 01.02.09 Textiles
ġegierelic 'of clothes', *ġeglōfed* 'gloved', *ġoldgewefen* 'woven with gold'
The earth (105) 01 The world: 01.01 The earth
Air surrounding earth, atmosphere (8)
ðrosmiġ 'vaporous, smoky', *lyften* 'of the air, aerial', *lyftġeswenced* 'driven by the wind'
Fire (28)
āblǣst 'inspired, furious; blowing fiercely (of flame)', *brynig* 'fiery, burning', *fȳrbǣre* 'fire-bearing, fiery'
Firmament (14)
āstyrred 'starry', *eahtaniht̄e* 'eight days' old (moon)', *ġelēomod* 'having rays of light'
Planet (3)
eorðlic 'earthly, worldly', *middangearden* 'worldly', *middangeardlic* 'earthly'
Surface of the earth (24)
beorhtte 'mountainous', *dūnlendisc* 'mountainous', *dūnlic* 'of a mountain, mountain-dwelling'
Water (28)
ċwicwelle 'living (of water)', *dēawiġendlic* 'dewy', *ēalic 1* 'or a river'
The supernatural (15) 01 The world: 01.07 The supernatural
cicropisc 'cyclopean?; Cecropean', *drȳcræftiġ* 'skilled in magic', *drȳlic* 'magic, magical'
Time (123) 01 The world: 01.05 Existence in time and space: 01.05.06 Time
āndæġe 'for one day, lasting a day', *ātēorigendlic* 'transitory, perishable; failing; defective', *āwunigende* 'continual'
Transport (2) 03 Society: 03. 09 Travel/ travelling: 03.09.01 Transport
fēowerhwēolod 'four-wheeled', *twihwēole* 'two-wheeled'
Travel/ travelling (11) 03 Society: 03.09 Travel/ travelling
ēaðfēre 'easy for travelling over', *ellorfūs* 'ready to depart', *fēlaġeonge* 'much-travelled'
Truth and falsehood (11)
lēasferhð 'false', *lēaslic* 'false, deceitful, sham, empty', *lygen 2* 'lying, false '
Use of drugs, poison (8) 01 The world: 01.03 Physical sensibility: 01.03.03 Use of drugs, poison

ātorbǽre 'poisonous', *bewēled* 'poisoned, polluted', *ǧeolstriǧ* 'secreting poison, purulent'
Variation and change (27)
āwendedlic 1 'that can be changed, changeable', *āwendendlic* 'that can be changed, changeable', *fæsthȳdiǧ* 'constant, steadfast'
Weapons (37)
ǽrglæd 'bright in armour', *beaduscearp* 'keen in battle (sword)', *bordhæbbende* 'shield-bearing'
Work (5) 03 Society: 03.10 Occupation/ work: 03.10.01 Work
esnecund 'of a labourer', *(ge)swinclēas* 'without toil', *ǧeweorclic* 'pertaining to work'

As can be seen in (3), categories leak. For example, *heofonhēah* 'reaching to heaven' could have been included within Direction or Firmament and *ǽmyrce* 'excellent' within Evaluative or Status, rank and power. It seems to be the case that even well defined semantic categories are surrounded by areas of indeterminacy in such a way that overlapping and continuity among such categories are to a certain extent inevitable. Another issue arising from this semantic analysis has to do with the different senses conveyed by adjectives. For instance, *swīð* means 'strong, mighty, powerful', but also 'active', 'severe' and 'violent'. A special case of this phenomenon arises when literal and figurative meanings overlap in the definition of a lexical item. For example, *frēoriǧ* conveys the literal meaning of 'freezing, frozen, cold, chilly' and the figurative meaning 'blanched with fear, sad, mournful', thus being classifiable under Temperature as well as Peril and danger. The general solution that has been adopted is to classify adjectives under a single category according to the meaning that prevails above any other specific sense.

In spite of the limits of the semantic analysis that has been carried out, some generalizations can be made. If we concentrate on those categories with one hundred or more adjectives, it turns out that lexical losses of the adjectival class often consist of adjectives denoting abstract qualities, thus: Mental-internal (942), Evaluative (610), Status, rank and power (180), Religion (160), Language, literature and communication (153), Time (123), Law and order (116), Social interaction (106). The importance of categories like States of living (587), Colour (126) and The Earth (105) notwithstanding, lost adjectives express abstract qualities rather than concrete ones. In other words, we are dealing with non-prototypical adjectives coding non-permanent, abstract properties such as *bedul* 'suppliant', *edlesendlic* 'relative, reciprocal', *ferhtlic* 'just, honest', *ǧecorenlic* 'elegant', *hīfend* 'threatening', *ofǧangende* 'derivative', *unwitod* 'uncertain', and the like. The higher rate of loss of abstract adjectives may have several causes. The first is to be found in textual frequency. Abstract adjectives are used less frequently than concrete ones and, consequently, they are less resistant to replacement than concrete adjectives. Secondly, abstract adjectives seldom convey nuclear meanings,

by means of which their evolution can be traced back to the more nuclear lexical items to which they are linked through relations of inheritance. This is the case with *edlesendlic* 'relative, reciprocal' with respect to the strong verb *lesan* 'to collect, pick, select', which has disappeared along with the strong verb. Thirdly, abstract adjectives are, as a general rule, more analysable than concrete adjectives, which often convey meanings that cannot be decomposed lexically. Adjectives of colour represent a paramount example of this aspect, but even in sets like *rēod 1/ wyrmbaso/wræterēad* 'red' the unanalysable *rēod 1* has been preserved while the analysable *wyrmbaso* and *wræterēad* count as losses.

Apart from the relevance of the type of adjective (concrete vs. abstract) for the rate of lexical loss, this analysis sheds new light on the evolution of the English lexicon. Histories of the English language link lexical loss to language contact and consider it as either random or based to a certain extent on textual frequency. The semantic analysis of adjectives shows that, at least in this lexical class, adjective type plays a role in survival or loss. Moreover, a point of contact has been found with morphological analysis, namely analysability. In a paradigmatic analysis of form and meaning that seeks paths of formal and semantic inheritance in lexical paradigms, nuclear meanings and unanalysable forms converge in adjectives more resistant to loss than semantically derived and formally analysable ones.

5. Conclusion

This article has analyzed 4,825 instances of lexical loss in the class of the adjective. Such lexical losses have been characterized from a morphological and semantic point of view in order to find points of contact between this phenomenon and derivational morphology as well as semantic taxonomy.

The data examined throughout the morphological analysis demonstrates that the presence of derivatives in the lexicon anchors the primitive lexical item from which they derive in such a way that the primitive lexical item often survives even though its derivatives do not. It has also been found that affixation patterns surviving into Present-day English and more type-frequent affixation patterns show lower rates of lexical loss than less type-frequent and lost affixation patterns.

The semantic analysis carried out has shown that lexical loss takes place mainly in the area of less prototypical adjectives with evaluative function or referring to transitory mental states. In general, more abstract adjectives than concrete ones are counted among the losses. Groups of abstract adjectives relating to time, language and communication, law and order and religion are the ones that have suffered more than one hundred losses. However, significant groups of concrete adjectives have also suffered loss: those of colour, tactile properties and states of matter.

Finally, this research has insisted on the importance of lexical primitives and semantic nuclei when it comes to accounting for lower rates of loss in the English lexicon. Moreover, it has been shown that inheritance, as reflected by word-formation and semantic organisation, can be linked to lexical loss and survival. Throughout linguistic evolution, more analysable forms (and therefore those resulting from more steps of formal inheritance) are more likely to be lost than less analysable forms. Conversely, adjectives with less nuclear meanings (those therefore resulting from more steps of semantic inheritance) are lost more easily than those with more nuclear meanings. All in all, analysability stands out as a fundamental notion for finding points of contact between the inheritance of form and meaning.

To conclude, it remains for future research to determine the extent to which the addition of new senses contributes to the survival of a given adjective.

Notes

[1]. This research has been funded through the project FFI2011-29532.

[2]. This article follows the convention of numbered predicates adopted by *Nerthus* in order to distinguish homonymous lexical entries. Thus, regarding lexical category, *ābūtan 1* 'on, about, around, on the outside, round about' may be considered an adposition and *ābūtan 2* 'about, nearly', an adverb. As for morphological class, *besēon 1* 'to see, look, look round', for example, is a Class V strong verb, whereas *besēon 2* 'to suffuse' qualifies as a Class I strong verb. Turning to the question of variants, two or more predicates are also numbered if they have different spellings, as is the case with *fōdder 1* 'fodder, food; darnel, tares' with variants *fōddor 1, fōddur 1, fōter* and *fōdor*; *fōdder 2* 'case, sheath' with variants *fōddor 2* and *fōddur 2*; and *fōdder 3* 'hatchet', with variants *fōddor 3* and *fōddur 3*.

[3]. Consulted on May 25, 2010.

[4]. The quantitative data exclude sets involving two or more Present-day English adjectives that can be traced back to the same Old English adjective. There are 76 instances of such sets.

[5]. It is hard to find instances of the loss of a lexical prime whose derivatives have been preserved. This has happened to *enge 1* 'narrow, close, straitened, constrained; vexed, troubled, anxious; oppressive, severe, painful, cruel', which has been lost together with its derivatives *enge 2* 'sadly, anxiously', *geencgd* 'anxious, careful', *engu* 'narrowness, confinement', etc., even though the *OED* has the obsolete *geng* (*geengan* 'to constrain, distress, vex, trouble').

[6]. Although the figure is nearly negligible, 12 out of the 4,825 lost Old English adjectives have not been classified because the only translation available is into Latin or because no translation is available in the major lexicographical sources. This is the case with *ǣreldo, ūt 2*, and *eftdrægend*.

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SPANISH SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS' ORAL COMPETENCE IN EFL: SELF-ASSESSMENT, TEACHER ASSESSMENT AND TASKS[1]

PILAR MUR-DUEÑAS
RAMÓN PLO
ANA HORNERO
Universidad de Zaragoza
pmur@unizar.es
plo@unizar.es
ahornero@unizar.es

1. Introduction

The European Union can be considered a multilingual area where English remains the most widely spoken L2 language for international communication. According to the report "Europeans and their languages" (2012: 19), 38% of EU citizens state that they have "sufficient skills in English to have a conversation". Regarding the methods Europeans have used to reach that level of competence, a large majority of respondents (46%) name language lessons at school, and in Secondary Education in particular, as the most effective way of learning a foreign language (ibid.: 106). This positive global outcome, however, does not reflect a clearly uneven distribution of those levels of competence across Europe. The results of recent surveys focused on individual countries (EF EPI 2012, EECL 2012) describe the overall proficiency in English in Spain as "moderate" and rank it as one of the lowest in the European Union. Regarding specific skills, the perceived level of competence is particularly low in spoken English (Vez and Martínez Piñeiro 2004) despite increasing efforts on the part of the Spanish academic authorities to introduce the study of English at earlier ages.

There have been previous studies on the learning and acquisition of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in general, and of oral skills in particular, carried out in

Spain. Most of them, however, come from bilingual regions, such as Galicia (e.g. Palacios 1995, 2002), the Basque Country (e.g. Cenoz 2009; García Mayo et al. 2005) and Catalonia (e.g. Tragant and Muñoz 2000; Muñoz 2003). As a consequence, these studies focus on multilingualism and the acquisition of English as a third language in their contexts of education.

Our study focuses on the monolingual northern region of Aragón and the overall purpose is to analyse the current linguistic needs of Spanish students of English as a Foreign Language in Secondary Education (1st year of *ESO*[2] —thirteen-year-old students—, 4th year of *ESO* —sixteen-year-old students— and 2nd year of *Bachillerato*, the year leading up to university entrance —eighteen year old students), as well as the pedagogical and training needs of the teachers of English responsible for imparting these courses.

In this paper we seek to find an answer to the following questions, regarding the assessment of oral skills in Secondary Education in our particular context:

— Does the students' (perceived) competence in oral skills in EFL improve throughout the six-year period of instruction?
— Is the students' perception of their own competence in line with that of their teachers?
— Can any differences in competence and perceived competence be discerned taking into account the type of school (big city vs. town, private vs. public, non-bilingual vs. bilingual)?
— Do teachers' methods of assessment influence the students' (perceived) competence in oral skills?
— What are students' and teachers' views on the inclusion of an oral component in the University Entrance Examination English test?

The following sections seek to give an answer to these questions. Section 2 will illustrate the method followed and will show the participants involved and the research instruments employed. Then a discussion of the results obtained will follow, together with the conclusions and teaching and learning implications and proposals for improvement.

2. Method

In this section we describe the sample of schools selected, the number of students and teachers who participated, and the survey on which this research is based. It was distributed with the help of some coordinators in the schools. Only those results referring to oral skills and their assessment by teachers and students will be the focus of the present paper.

2.1. Participants

A total of 15 Secondary Schools participated in the study. As the Table below indicates, a total of 2,010 students answered our survey and 63 of their teachers of English completed a parallel survey. The schools selected covered the following different categories:

Type of school: State-run/State-subsidised/Private
Location: 3 provinces in Aragón (Zaragoza/Huesca/Teruel)
Area: Urban/Rural
Methodological approach: Bilingual (CLIL)/Non-bilingual (EFL)[3]

	Province	Area	Type of school	Methodological approach	No. of teachers	No. of students
IES[4] Pedro de Luna (I) [5]	Zaragoza	Urban	State-run	Bilingual	8	127
IES Pedro de Luna (II)	Zaragoza	Urban	State-run	Non-bilingual	—	176
IES Miralbueno	Zaragoza	Urban	State-run	Non-bilingual	5	66
IES Tiempos Modernos[6]	Zaragoza	Urban	State-run	Bilingual/ Multilingual	2	74
Colegio[7] Santa María del Pilar	Zaragoza	Urban	State-subsidised	Non-bilingual	5	264
Colegio La Salle-Gran Vía	Zaragoza	Urban	State-subsidised	Non-bilingual	4	192
Colegio Británico de Aragón	Zaragoza	Urban	Private	Bilingual	2	75
Liceo Europa	Zaragoza	Urban	Private	Non-bilingual	2	115
IES Emilio Jimeno	Zaragoza (Calatayud)	Rural	State-run	Non-bilingual	6	204
Colegio Salesianos Laviaga Castillo	Zaragoza (La Almunia)	Rural	State-subsidised	Non-bilingual	2	40
IES Lucas Mallada	Huesca	Urban	State-run	Non-bilingual	5	107
IES La Llitera	Huesca (Tamarite)	Rural	State-run	Non-bilingual	3	90
IES Santa Emerenciana	Teruel	Urban	State-run	Non-bilingual	6	134
IES Segundo de Chomón	Teruel	Urban	State-run	Non-bilingual	6	187
Colegio Las Viñas	Teruel	Urban	State-subsidised	Non-bilingual	4	99
IES Salvador Victoria	Teruel (Monreal del Campo)	Rural	State-run	Non-bilingual	3	60
TOTAL: 15	**Zaragoza (9) Huesca (2) Teruel (4)**	**Urban (10) Rural (5)**	**State-run (9) State-subsidised (4) Private (2)**	**Multi/ Bilingual (3) Non-bilingual (12)**	**63**	**2,010**

TABLE 1: Secondary Schools participating in the study.

The sample in the survey was unevenly distributed geographically. More schools from Zaragoza, the capital, were selected as a reflection of the uneven demographic distribution in Aragón, with 50% of the total population of the region living in Zaragoza, the capital city.

All in all, as indicated in Table 1, 2,010 students and 63 teachers answered the questionnaire. The number of responding students at each of the educational levels was distributed as follows:

1st year *ESO* SS	4th year *ESO* SS	2nd year *Bachillerato* SS	Total
737	593	680	2,010

TABLE 2: Number of students participating in the study.

A high percentage of 1st year *ESO* students (70.3 %) were 12 years old at the time of answering the questionnaire in February 2012; some of them had already turned 13 or had repeated a previous year (23.7%) and a small percentage were 14 years old (4.76%). The number of boys was slightly above the number of girls (53.94% vs. 46.06%). Most of the 4th year *ESO* students (63.5%) were 15 years old at the time of answering the questionnaire; some of them had already turned 16 or had repeated a previous year (27.6%) and a small percentage were 17 or older (8.6%). The number of girls was slightly above the number of boys (52.0% vs. 48.0%). Finally, the 2nd year *Bachillerato* students answering the questionnaire were mainly (69.6%) 17 years old; 20.1% were 18 years old and 8.8% were older students. As in the previous level, girls outnumber boys (56.3% vs 43.7%).

A third of the teachers who answered the questionnaire were aged between 36 and 45, whereas another third was aged between 46 and 55. Most of them worked at state-run Secondary Schools (69.8%); the rest had a contract either in state-subsidised (23.8%) or private schools (6.3%). More female (76.7%) than male (23.3%) teachers answered our questionnaire. A high percentage (63.3%) had a consolidated teaching experience of more than 11 years.

2.2. Research instruments and procedure

Two different questionnaires —one addressed to students and another addressed to teachers— were designed and piloted before being finally distributed online through *Survey Monkey Plus* during the first week of February 2012.

The questionnaires for the three groups of students contained 25 questions and asked basically the same questions, except for two or three, which were adjusted to the particular level of the students. The questionnaire for the teachers contained 27 questions and some of the questions mirrored those directed to the students, so that comparisons could be made between students' and teachers' perceptions and views.

The focus in this paper was on the questions related to the assessment of oral skills, both in the students' and the teachers' survey (See Appendix).

3. Results and discussion

In this section we discuss the results obtained from the survey answered by students, which are then compared to the teachers' answers in parallel questions. Moreover, we look at differences in the three levels, throughout the Secondary Education, as well as differences in the answers provided by students and teachers in the various types of school in the sample. First, we report on the findings regarding the students' perceived competence in their oral skills and their achieved grade, which are compared to their teachers' views on their competence. Second, we focus on data obtained from students and teachers on the ways, methods and tasks employed to assess oral skills in their classes.

3.1. Students' competence in oral skills: general results

The following figure summarises the students' answers to question 2: Do you consider yourself able to communicate in English? It seems that there is a slight improvement in their self-assessment of oral communication competence from 1st to 4th year compulsory Secondary Education (*ESO*), as the percentage of those students who consider they can communicate in EFL "very well" and especially "adequately" increases and the number of students who consider they communicate "poorly" falls slightly. However, as can be seen from the figure, their self-reported competence in communicating orally in English drops in the 2nd year of their post-compulsory Secondary Education (*Bachillerato*).

This may be the effect of the aims pursued during the two *Bachillerato* years, namely, to prepare students for the University Entrance Examination, which does not include the assessment of oral skills. Students' answers may reveal a negative washback effect in EFL (Amengual Pizarro 2009, 2010), that is, that teaching and learning are greatly affected by testing methods (Hughes 1989; Alderson and Wall 1993).

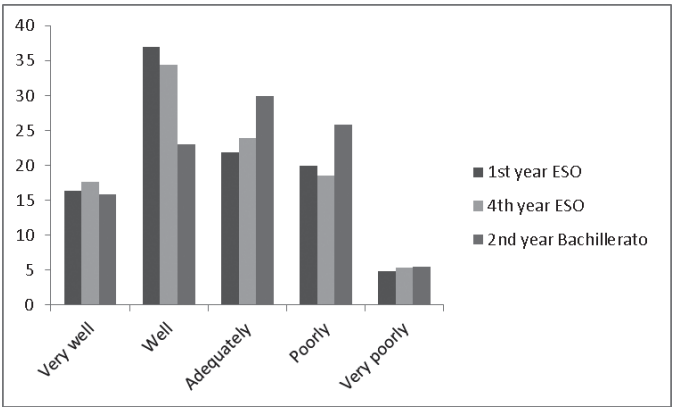


FIGURE 1: Students' self-perceived oral communication competence throughout Secondary Education.

Similar findings were obtained from students' answers when asked how competent they were at giving an oral presentation in English (Figure 2). Students feel less able in the last year of their Secondary Education. Again, possible lack of practice in class may explain these results, as the focus is rather on written skills (reading comprehension and written production) and grammar instruction and practice (Use of English). Here a factor to be taken into account is that in the compulsory Secondary Education stage four (50-minute) periods are devoted to EFL, whereas in the post-compulsory stage they are reduced to three. This may diminish the amount of time teachers can devote to the practice of oral skills in general and to oral presentations in particular.

A high percentage of students passed their end-of-year English assessment (Figure 3); 82.7% of 1st year *ESO* students, and 84.2% of 4th year *ESO* students got a grade between 50 and 100. This percentage is lower for the final year of Secondary School students, 70.2%. As can be seen in the figure, at this stage there are fewer high marks (70 and above) and more low marks. It seems then that, as their level of English increases, students find it harder to obtain good marks. It is interesting to note that 30% of the 4th year *ESO* students who answered the survey indicated that they did not feel well enough prepared to start the non-compulsory *Bachillerato* stage. This percentage significantly diminishes if only the answers from students at state-subsidised and private schools are considered (15%) and significantly increases if only the answers from students at state-run schools are considered (42%). Differences according to the type of school are further discussed in the next subsection 3.2.

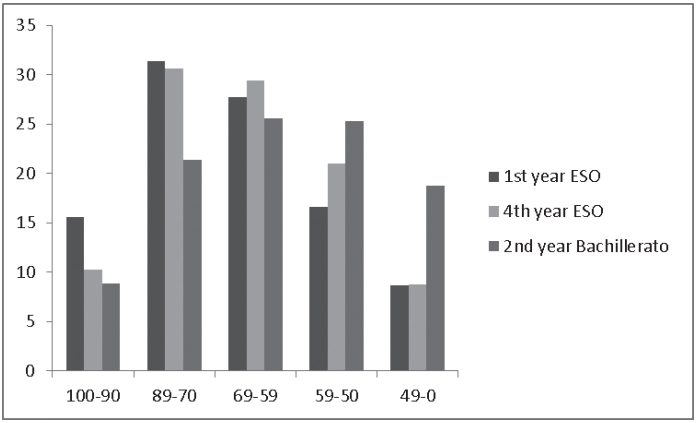


FIGURE 2. Students' self-perceived competence to give an oral presentation throughout Secondary Education (0-49 = low performance; 50-59 = fair performance; 59-69 = good performance; 70-89 = very good performance; 90-100 = excellent performance).

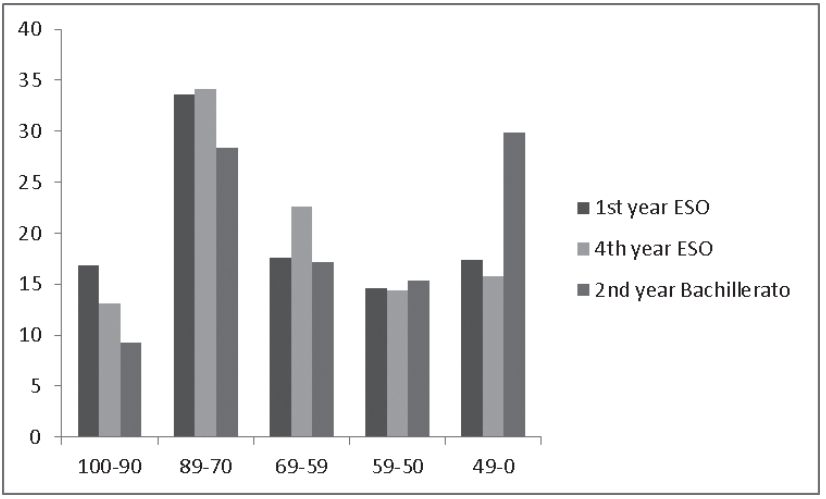


FIGURE 3: Students' grade in their last English assessment.

The students' answers regarding their assessment and self-assessment were compared to the teachers' views on their students' achieved competence and level. Following the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL), at the end of the four compulsory years in Secondary Education, Spanish students should achieve an A2 level, and at the end of the last two post-compulsory years they should achieve a B1 level.

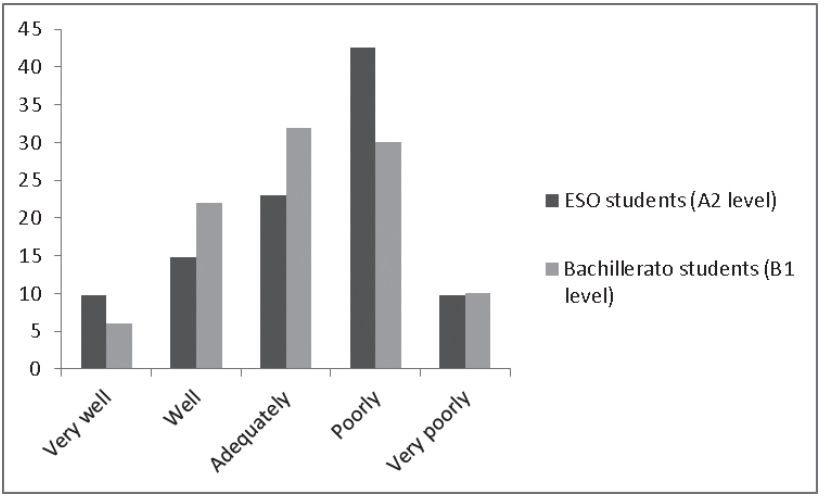


FIGURE 4: Teachers' views on the extent to which students achieve the required level in oral communication in English.

In general teachers do not seem to be positive regarding the level of English reached by their students, as both at the end of the compulsory stage (*ESO*) and at the end of the post-compulsory stage (*Bachillerato*) a high percentage of their answers indicate that their students' competence is poor. This is especially so in the first stage. This result is not in line with the generally acceptable grades obtained by students reported in Figure 3. Although students may pass the exams, their teachers still think that a high percentage of them do not achieve the level that they should. This may point to the need to reconsider the type of assessment used, so that students' marks will reflect their competence in terms of the CEFRL.

Teachers were further asked to assess specific aspects of their students' oral skills, namely, comprehension, use of vocabulary, pronunciation, fluency, grammatical

accuracy and interaction. In the two first levels (1st year *ESO* and 4th year *ESO*) teachers indicate that fluency and pronunciation[8] are the two aspects with which their students have greatest difficulties. According to their teachers, the students have some problems with interaction and grammatical accuracy[9] and fewer problems with understanding and vocabulary. The results are rather different for the final level (2nd year *Bachillerato*). Teachers indicate that the main problem is fluency, and also to a lower degree, interaction. It seems that the students' pronunciation improves and that they have fewer problems with it as well as with related aspects.

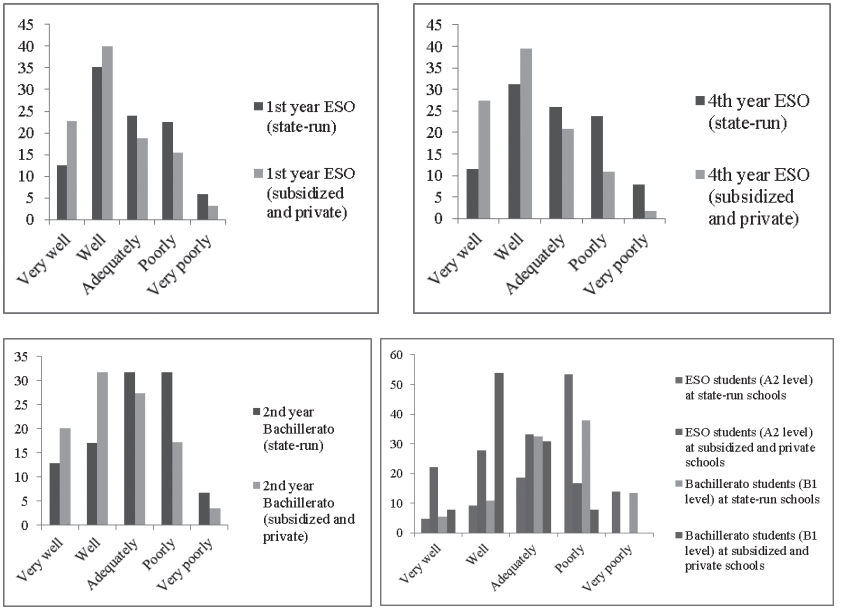
All in all, in the teachers' view, student competence in oral skills improves throughout the students' Secondary Education, but the students' perception is not the same. A high percentage of *Bachillerato* students feel that they communicate in English "poorly" or "very poorly" (Figure 1) and that they are not able to give an oral presentation adequately (Figure 2). Also, the percentage of students who fail is higher than in previous years (Figure 3). The students may feel that it gets more difficult as the level increases (from A2 to B1), making them feel less able to speak and communicate in English. The teachers, in turn, argue that they have crowded classes, few teaching hours and scarce resources to focus on oral skills in their lessons, even though they consider them important.

3.2. Student competence in oral skills: school variables

As indicated in the introduction, we were also interested in looking at the possible different answers depending on the type of school involved. Important differences arise when answers from students and teachers at state-run schools are compared to answers from students and teachers at state-subsidised and private schools, as can be seen in the following figures. The first three figures refer to students' answers (1st year *ESO*, 4th year *ESO* and 2nd year *Bachillerato*), whereas the fourth one refers to teachers' answers in the different schools regarding the compulsory and the non-compulsory stages of education.

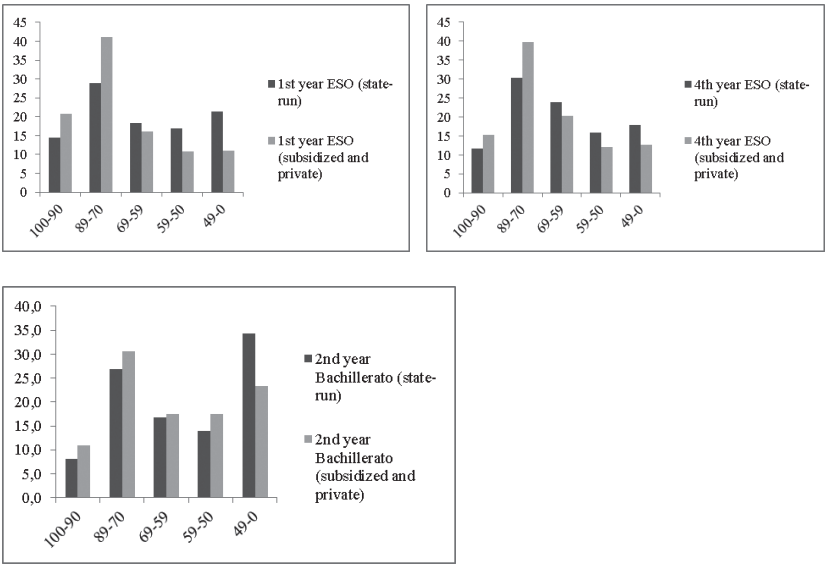
The percentage of students who self-report communicating "very well" and "well" in English as well as the percentage of teachers who report their students as attaining the established level at each educational stage is far higher in the state-subsidised and private schools than in state-run schools. In a similar vein, in the former the percentages for "poor" or "very poor" competence in oral skills are far lower than in the latter.

In line with the previous answers, more students report having failed this subject in the state-run schools than in the subsidised and private ones in the three educational stages (Figures 6). Also, the percentages of higher marks (70 and above) are systematically higher in the case of the subsidised and private schools.



FIGURES 5: Comparison of students' and teachers' answers from different types of schools regarding student competence in oral skills.

Different factors could explain these results. Classes in state-subsidised and private schools tend to be more homogeneous, and students attending them are generally from stable socio-economic backgrounds. This would promote a better learning environment which makes for better academic performance in EFL in general and in their oral competence in English in particular. In line with European reports (2012: 105), those students who place themselves high on the social ladder show a stronger tendency to have used various methods of learning the language. Thus, as the students' answers to question 5 (see Appendix) show, a higher number of those at subsidised and private schools report having travelled abroad and used the language to meet and communicate with speakers from other countries. Whereas the percentage of students attending English lessons at Official Language Schools (*Escuelas Oficiales de Idiomas*) and at private schools and receiving one-to-one lessons is similar in both types of schools, the percentage of students who respond that they have learnt English by travelling and meeting people (32.2%) and by participating in summer camps (23.1%) is significantly higher in subsidized and private schools than in state-run schools (18.9% and 12.0%, respectively).



FIGURES 6: Comparison of students' answers from different types of schools regarding their last grade in English.

Differences according to other school variables were also looked into, namely, schools in the cities vs. schools in smaller towns and villages as well as bilingual vs. non-bilingual schools. In spite of the influence of socio-demographic factors found in the results of similar surveys at a European level (2012: 105), no remarkable differences were found in our study in relation to the first of these variables. That is, students self-report similar competence levels throughout their Secondary Education, in bigger and smaller areas alike; they also reach on average similar grades and the teachers' views on their achieved levels do not differ greatly.

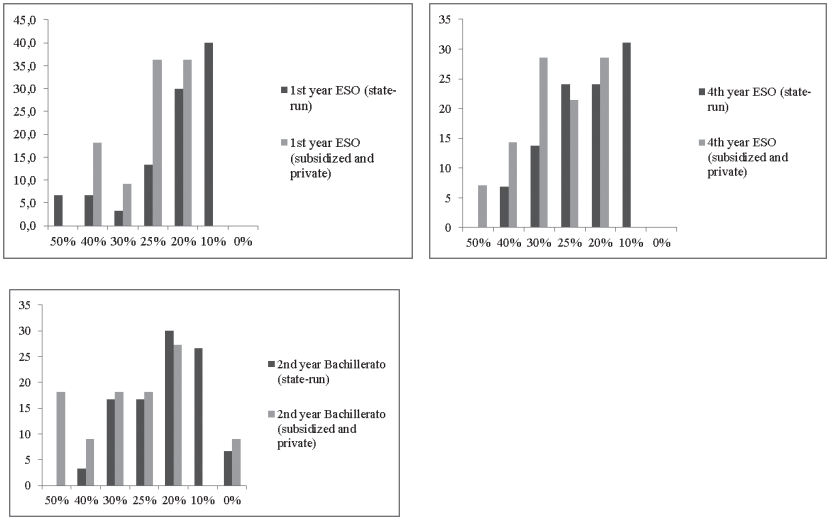
When answers from students and teachers at bilingual vs. non-bilingual schools are compared, differences are apparent in the self-reported competences of students across the three Secondary Education levels. Students attending bilingual schools reported to a greater extent that they could successfully communicate orally with others and make an oral presentation. In line with the results presented in section 3.1 self-reported competences are lower in both types of schools in the post-compulsory Secondary Education stage, *Bachillerato*. However, when analysing their reported grades and the teachers' perceptions on the extent to which their

students reach the set level in 4th year *ESO* (A2) and 2nd year *Bachillerato* (B1), answers were not too different and in certain cases those from non-bilingual students and teachers were more satisfactory.

3.3. Assessment of oral skills: methods and tasks

One of the research questions referred to the extent to which the assessment methods reportedly used by the teachers in their English lessons, especially regarding oral skills, could influence the perceived self-competence of students. In order to answer this research question, the students' replies in each school were correlated with those of their teachers regarding their assessment methods.

Overall, it seems that the higher the final grade as reported in the teachers' assessment of oral skills, the better the students' self-perceived competences. This is especially the case of students attending subsidised and private schools, in which —as can be seen in Figures 7— almost no teacher assigns less than 20% of the final mark to the oral skills and quite a few assign them more than 25% of the final mark. The tendency is somehow the reverse in state schools. It is also interesting to see that teachers assign lower percentages to the assessment of oral skills at the *Bachillerato* stage, possibly, as pointed out above, due to the washback effect of not including the assessment of oral skills in the University Entrance Examination English test.



FIGURES 7: Percentage of the final grade assigned to oral skills by teachers in each of the educational stages.

Regarding the specific oral assessment tasks, teachers' reported practices are rather uniform and no particularities can be discerned in terms of types of schools or stages of educational process. Most teachers report their oral tests as consisting of talking about an image or topic and/or having a conversation with the examiners; doing a role play with a classmate is also a common option as well as a combination of these three tasks.

The final point regarding the assessment of oral skills in Secondary Education to be presented in this paper is related to the students' and teachers' perspective on the advisability of including an oral exercise in the English test within the University Entrance Examination. Only post-compulsory Secondary Education (*Bachillerato*) students and teachers were asked this question. More than half the students in the sample (52.3%) are against including an oral part in such a test; 34.5% are in favour of it and the remaining 12.3% say that it depends. Their concerns are mainly that not enough emphasis can be given to oral skills in class, so students recurrently say that they would be in favour if they were better prepared for it in class throughout their secondary (and even primary) education and the oral skills were sufficiently developed. Many of them think that it could be optional, so that only those who do have a good level of oral English could take it and have an advantage over the rest. Students are also concerned about how it is to be carried out, where and by whom: that is, what activities are proposed, the logistics of it and whether it is done individually or in pairs in a competitive situation.

The percentage of students who indicate that are in favour of an oral test in the University Entrance examination is higher in the case of subsidised and private schools than in the case of state-run schools. Students in favour of such a test may feel better prepared for it (in line with the results shown in section 3.1) and may, therefore, consider that it is a good option and that it would also benefit them. No differences have been found when the answers by students at bilingual and non-bilingual schools are compared.

Overall, answers by teachers differ from those of students, as 62.9% consider that there should be an oral part in the English test within the University Entrance Examination and only 11.3% report that they are against it. Percentages in favour of such a test in bilingual schools (75.0%) and especially in subsidised or private schools (88.9%) are above average. This is in line with the students' answers and again their teachers may feel that their students are well prepared and could obtain a good result.

Students and teachers were further asked about what percentage of the final mark the oral part should represent and what were the most appropriate task(s) to be set. Students' answers to the former question are diverse ranging from 0% (16.4%) to 50% (10.3%), the most common answers being either 20% (19.7%) or 10%

(19.2%). More answers in favour of higher percentages for that oral test come from students at subsidised or private schools, whereas more answers in favour of lower percentages come from students at state-run schools.

The majority of teachers marked as most appropriate 25% of the final mark (23.4%) for the oral exercise, but answers ranged from 0% (10.6%) to 50% (10.6%), so there does not seem to be much agreement on this and again teachers at subsidised or private schools, and to a lesser extent, teachers at bilingual schools, wanted it to carry greater weight than teachers at state-run schools. This may be explained by taking into account different students in different schools. As indicated in section 3.2., students at subsidized and private schools report having travelled abroad and used the language to meet and communicate with speakers from other countries to a greater extent than students attending state-run schools. This may lead their teachers to conclude that their results will be satisfactory in such a competitive exam.

The task most frequently chosen by the students for that test was talking about a given picture or topic for a few minutes (53.9%), followed by conversing with the examiners (29.5%); listening comprehension of an audio file or video were only chosen by around 20%, which contrasts with the teachers' answers: half of them consider that listening comprehension should be included in the test, together with talking for a few minutes on a topic or picture (the most frequent student option).

In the light of the findings from the survey, we strongly believe that students should be encouraged to do extensive listening practice outside the classroom. Their freedom to choose from different sources (podcasts, CDs, radio broadcasts, TV programmes, films, etc.) following their teacher's guidance, would surely increase their motivation and would get them used to the authentic L2 sounds. Together with this, there is probably a need to work in the area of self-esteem when teaching an L2, in general, and in the area of oral skills, in particular. It has been proved that students learn best when they learn in a stimulating environment. Therefore, language classes could very well develop the five areas relevant to self-esteem (Security, Identity, Competence, Belonging and Purpose) *pari passu* with the teachers' work on the students' language skills (Arnold 2011: 16).

Conclusions

Overall, this paper has sought to look into the oral skills of Secondary Education EFL students in the Spanish region of Aragón, based on their own and their teachers' answers to a detailed questionnaire designed and implemented at the

beginning of 2012. More specifically, we intended to: (i) gain a deeper insight into the students' self-perceived and achieved competence as well as their teachers' perception of their competence, (ii) explore any significant differences across the six-year Secondary Education period, and across diverse schools (urban vs. rural, bilingual vs. non-bilingual and state-run vs. state-subsidised and private), and (iii) discover the extent to which assessment methods (including the presence of an oral part in the English test of the University Entrance Examination) could have an influence on students' (perceived) oral competences.

Students report a slight improvement in their oral skills from the 1st to the 4th year of the compulsory Secondary Education stage (*ESO*), but this is not sustained in the final post-compulsory stage (*Bachillerato*), when they report poorer performance in oral communication competence and when they also get lower final marks in the subject. The students' own perceptions are not in line with those of their teachers, who in general believe their students make constant progress throughout their Secondary Education. It is interesting to note, however, that despite the teachers' views and despite the overall general good marks achieved by students in the subject, teachers feel their students do not reach the level required by the CEFRL: A2 at the end of the compulsory stage (*ESO*) and B1 at the end of the post-compulsory stage (*Bachillerato*). Acknowledging the fact that speaking is the most difficult language skill to assess reliably it may be concluded that a different teaching-learning process, and especially different methods of assessment need to be implemented to ensure that students' academic results are in line with the official target and reflect their actual competence. There may be a need for teachers to develop clear and more homogeneous assessment plans, by defining the kind of speaking which is going to be tested in a given context, by developing tasks and rating criteria for the test and by telling their students in advance what they are going to be tested on (Luoma 2004). These plans may also entail introducing continuous and informal assessment (Harris and McCann 1994) by means of portfolios, projects, conferences, planned and systematic observation, etc. (Hedge 2000; McKay 2006). There may be an overreliance of teachers on testing, which may not give accurate information about the competence level of students; greater focus on assessment understood as "the general process of monitoring or keeping track of the learners' progress" (Hedge 2000: 376) may be needed, that is, formative, rather than summative assessment (Harmer 2007). There are examples of such good practices in some Secondary Schools in the region (Hornero 2011, 2013), but they seem to be the exception rather than the norm.

Major differences have been found in reported and achieved oral competence in EFL between students attending state-run schools and students attending state-

subsidised and private schools and also in the respective teachers' views on the extent to which their students achieve the required level in one or other type of school. No remarkable differences were found when other variables (rural vs. urban, bilingual vs. non-bilingual or location) were taken into account. At state-subsidised and private schools groups of students may be more homogeneous and a more relaxed classroom atmosphere may be created, which enhances learning and academic performance. Also, students attending these schools have greater opportunities to use the language outside the classroom as they more often travel abroad, go to summer camps, etc, which may have an incidence on their overall level of English and their competence in oral skills.

According to our results there seems to be a clear washback effect of the English exercise in the Spanish University Entrance Examination, which does not include the testing of oral skills, in line with the findings of Amengual Pizarro (2009, 2010). As a result, these skills seem not to be practiced enough in the final years of Secondary Education in the EFL classroom and students report a generally poor overall competence in them. Thus, the format of the University Entrance Examination conditions EFL lessons at post-compulsory Secondary Education level. This washback effect is reinforced, since it was seen how in those schools in which teachers reportedly gave more weight to the testing of oral skills, students felt more competent in orally communicating with others. After all, training to develop good exam skills may in itself be a stronger motivation when the tasks carried out in and/or outside the classroom offer them a clear sense of purpose. Training students in strategies for test types is positive as long as other activities are also included in their lessons, so that monotony, boredom or even tension do not take over. Thus, there seems to be a symbiosis between assessing and teaching and learning.

More than half the teachers who answered the questionnaire (and particularly those at state-subsidised and private schools) are in favour of introducing an oral exercise in the English test of the University Entrance Examination; teachers are surely aware of the importance of improving their students' oral communicative competence but feel they have to prepare them well for such an examination, which leads students to focus just on the type of activities it traditionally includes (rephrasing or transformation exercises, reading comprehension questions and writing a composition). Students (especially those attending state schools) are generally more reluctant than teachers to introduce an oral exercise in the English test of the University Entrance Examination, and a high percentage seem to be aware of and worried about its design or planning, operationalization or construction, and administration (Harris and McCann 1994; Bachman and Palmer 1996; McKay 2006).

Although the results of this piece of research need to be taken with caution, as the sample was restricted to a particular Spanish region, they may be taken into account by policy makers when making future informed decisions based on quantitative data. Barring other cultural and behavioural factors, the results may help to determine why only 48% of respondents in Spain think that English can be effectively learnt at school as opposed to more than 90% of respondents in Slovenia, Malta, the Netherlands and Scandinavia. The findings reported highlight a great diversity in assessment plans across different schools in the same region and it may be necessary to put forward and enforce more homogeneous guidelines and standards, especially in relation to oral skills. Among these, we believe that the University Entrance Exam should contain an oral test, given the strong influence of its tasks on the teaching and learning of EFL, especially in the non-compulsory Secondary Education stage, despite the administrative and practical difficulties it may entail.

Overall, the results of our research reveal a strong need to plan the assessment together with methods of practising oral skills in the EFL classroom. Such joint planning would enable students progressively to be at ease and feel more competent and confident in order to successfully communicate in the target language, which should be the overall aim in the teaching and learning of foreign languages according to current official curricula. This means that more time should be devoted to the practice of listening, speaking and interacting, trying to reproduce in the classroom authentic contexts of communication. It would also be desirable to reduce the number of students in class to get more student talk and provide more opportunities for practice. Finally, as is the case in many schools, the use of the language should also be encouraged outside the classroom, through various extracurricular activities, such as writing school journals and magazines, performing theatre plays, participating in exchanges or other programmes, such as eTwinning, among others. All these actions will hopefully lead Spanish EFL learners to improve their ranking in Europe with respect to their overall proficiency in English.

Notes

[1]. This research has been carried out within the frameworks of the Projects "Generic integrity in academic and professional communication: analysis of the genres and their correlation to discursive practices and disciplinary culture of different professional communities" (FFI 2009-09792), "English as a lingua franca across specialised discourses: a critical genre analysis of alternative spaces of linguistic and cultural production" (FFI2012-37346), and *Proyecto de Cooperación entre Departamentos Universitarios (UZ) y Departamentos de Institutos de Educación Secundaria* (Diputación General de Aragón) (245-188)

[2]. The acronym *ESO* stands for *Educación Secundaria Obligatoria*, which covers six years, the first four being compulsory and the last two only necessary for students who intend to study at University.

[3]. No private Secondary Schools exist either in Huesca or in Teruel.

[4]. *IES* stands for *Instituto de Educación Secundaria* (State Secondary School).

[5]. We found that one of the Secondary Schools, IES Pedro de Luna, ran both bilingual and non-bilingual (*normalizado*) programmes separately and so we thought it would be interesting to keep these two categories apart. Students in *Bilingüe* have five hours of English per week and follow the MEC-British Council syllabus. *Normalizado* means regular *ESO* (three hours of English per week in 1st and 3rd year and four in 2nd and 4th; everything else through Spanish).

[6]. "Multilingual" schools run a sort of integrated approach to language teaching whereby alternating languages are used as a means of instruction in specific subjects and in consecutive years. For practical purposes, they have been categorized as "bilingual" in our study.

[7]. *Colegio* refers to a private or state-subsidized school, ranging from infant school to university entrance.

[8]. It is worth pointing out here that comprehensibility goes beyond pronunciation accuracy, as it includes intonation, stress, speed and rhythm, which, in combination, may more readily determine comprehensibility of speech than the accuracy of individual sounds (Luoma 2004: 11).

[9]. There is some truth, however, in the fact that teachers tend to "focus narrowly on the development of grammatically accurate speech", which may conflict with the student's wish to interact and be understood, in line with the tenets of the Communicative Approach (Luoma 2004: ix).

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Appendix:

Questions in the survey specifically related to this study

Student questions (originally in Spanish):

Q1 — How well do you feel you are able to communicate orally in English?

Very well
Well
Adequately
Poorly
Very poorly

Q2 — What was your grade in the last assessment of English:

A (100-90)
B (89-70)
C (69-59)
D (59-50)
E (49-0)

Q3 — Where did you learn to speak English? You may tick more than one option:

At primary school and high school
At a private school or academy
Private tuition
Travelling and meeting people
Summer camps
Listening to songs and watching TV
Surfing the net

Q4 — Self-assess your competence to give an oral presentation. Which grade would you award yourself?

Specific question for 4th year *ESO* students:

Q5 — Do you think that your level of English at the end of the compulsory Secondary Education is adequate to start the post-compulsory stage (*Bachillerato*)?

Specific questions for 2nd year *Bachillerato* (final year) students:

Q6 — Do you think the University Entrance Examination should include an oral part in the EFL test?

Yes
No
It depends (justify your answer)

Q7 — If an oral task was to be included in the University Entrance Examination, what type of test do you consider would be most adequate? (You can tick more than one option)

Listening and understanding an audio file
Listening and understanding a video
Talking for a few minutes about a given image
Having a conversation with the examiners

Doing a role play with a classmate
A combination of some of the above options
Others (specify)

Q8 — What percentage of the final mark in the English University Entrance Examination should be given to the oral part?

50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Another percentage (specify)

Teachers' questions (originally in Spanish):

Q1 — How well do you think your students are able to communicate in English according to the level established at the end of the compulsory Secondary Education stage (*ESO*), A2, and at the end of the post-compulsory Secondary Education stage (*Bachillerato*), B1?

	Very well	Well	Adequately	Poorly	Very poorly
ESO (A2 Writing)					
ESO (A2 Oral)					
Bachillerato (B1) Writing					
Bachillerato (B1) Oral					

Q2 — As regards oral skills, assess your students' competence for each of the following aspects:

1st year *ESO* students	Very Good	Good	Poor	Very poor
Comprehension				
Use of vocabulary				
Pronunciation				
Fluency				
Grammatical accuracy				
Interaction				

4th year *ESO* students	Very Good	Good	Poor	Very poor
Comprehension				
Use of vocabulary				
Pronunciation				
Fluency				
Grammatical accuracy				
Interaction				

2nd year *Bachillerato* students	Very Good	Good	Poor	Very poor
Comprehension				
Use of vocabulary				
Pronunciation				
Fluency				
Grammatical accuracy				
Interaction				

Q3 — Do you think the University Entrance Examination should include an oral part in the EFL test?

Yes
No
It depends (justify your answer)

Q4 — What percentage of the global mark corresponds to the oral skills in your current assessment procedure? What percentage of the final mark in the English University Entrance Examination should be given to the oral part?

	1st year *ESO*	4th year *ESO*	2nd year *Bachillerato*
50%			
40%			
30%			
20%			
10%			
0%			

	University Entrance Examination
50%	
40%	
30%	
20%	
10%	
0%	

Q5 — What type of test do you use to assess the students' oral skills in the compulsory Secondary Education stage (*ESO*), and in the post-compulsory Secondary Education stage (*Bachillerato*)?

If an oral test were to be included in the University Entrance Examination (UEE), what type of task do you consider would be most adequate? (You can tick more than one option)

	ESO	*Bachillerato*	*UEE*
Listening to and understanding an audio file			
Listening to and understanding a video			
Talking for a few minutes about a given picture or topic			
Having a conversation with the examiners			
Doing a role play with a classmate			
A combination of some of the above options			
Others (specify)			

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CLIL INSTRUCTION AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGOTIATION STRATEGIES[1]

FRANCESCA MESQUIDA
MARIA JUAN-GARAU
Universidad de las Islas Baleares
maria.juan@uib.eu

1. Introduction: Characterizing CLIL

Content and Language Integrated Learning, generally known as CLIL, is a European educational approach by means of which a content or non-language subject is taught through a language other than the students' mother tongue. Even though CLIL instruction can be undertaken in any language, English is the most popular target language in the European context. It is precisely because of this that Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit (2010) wonder whether it would be more appropriate to use the acronym C*E*IL (Content and *English* Integrated Learning) rather than C*L*IL (Content and *Language* Integrated Learning). As Graddol (2001) and Juan-Garau (2008) point out, the English language serves an increasingly important role as a European –and international– lingua franca. The empowering preponderance of English in our global world is due to the fact that this language dominates many prestigious domains and functions (Baker 2006), which reflects the symbolic value attached to English as a major global language (Nikula 2007).

CLIL is usually characterized as a dual-focused educational approach since its ultimate goal is the balanced learning of both the content subject and the language used as a means of instruction. Thus, CLIL is in line with "the targets formulated by the European Commission with regard to fostering foreign language

competence in European citizens" (Hüttner and Rieder-Bünemann 2010: 66), since it is considered a useful means to promote and enhance multilingualism in the European Union.

2. Linguistic outcomes of CLIL instruction

As for the linguistic outcomes fostered through CLIL instruction, the empirical research carried out to date seems to reveal that "there is a positive relationship [or correlation] between the amount of exposure to English and the linguistic outcomes [achieved by CLIL students]" (Ruiz de Zarobe 2010: 206). However, research results also indicate that some areas of language competence are more developed than others under CLIL conditions (Dalton-Puffer 2008).

As emphasized in many studies dealing with CLIL outcomes, "one of the linguistic aspects that shows significant gains [under CLIL conditions] is the lexicon" (Ruiz de Zarobe 2010: 201), which is usually the only linguistic aspect that is explicitly treated in CLIL lessons. Thus, CLIL students show greater lexical richness than non-CLIL students.

Similarly, some studies have shown that CLIL students present significantly better results in the receptive skills (i.e. listening and reading) than in the productive skills (i.e. speaking and writing). With regard to speaking, "CLIL students show lower inhibition levels when actually speaking the foreign language [...] [and, as a result, they] seem to be more fluent and risk-taking [...] than non-CLIL students" (Ruiz de Zarobe 2010: 193). While oral fluency and risk-taking seem to be favourably affected by CLIL instruction, pronunciation is considered to be "the dimension least affected" (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit 2010: 280) under CLIL conditions as "the pronunciation of CLIL pupils does not seem different from that of their [mainstream] peers" (Dalton-Puffer 2008: 144). Rallo-Fabra and Juan-Garau's (2011) results in relation to CLIL learners' perceived oral intelligibility and foreign accent point in the same direction.

As for writing, it is one of the aspects of foreign language competence where the effects of CLIL instruction are not clearly defined. While some studies (e.g. Ackerl 2007; Juan-Garau, Salazar-Noguera and Gené-Gil in press) highlight the positive impact of CLIL instruction on this productive skill, "others suggest [that] there are deficiencies both in CLIL and non-CLIL classrooms in relation to writing" (Ruiz de Zarobe 2010: 193). As regards morphology and syntactic complexity, students seem to benefit from CLIL instruction. However, there are areas that seem to remain unaffected under CLIL conditions, such as "the dimensions that reach beyond the sentence level, i.e. cohesion and coherence, discourse structuring, paragraphing, register awareness, genre and style" (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit 2010: 281).

Finally, CLIL instruction is also claimed to have the potential for developing not only CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) but also BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills) (Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012). While BICS "concern everyday, straightforward communication skills that are helped by contextual supports, [...] CALP is the [abstract or decontextualized] language required to understand academically demanding subject matter in a classroom" (Baker 2006: 185).

3. Negotiation and interaction in CLIL

Negotiation plays an essential role in interaction as a guarantee of mutual understanding among the interlocutors. Such is the importance of negotiation while interacting that speakers tend to make use of different strategies in order to overcome the communicative obstacles or difficulties they encounter and avoid any possible communication breakdown or misunderstanding (Mariotti 2006, 2007). These negotiation strategies can be understood as those conversational tactics or processes that inevitably emerge when a communication failure, impasse or breakdown is encountered (Foster and Ohta 2005). Speakers can resort to clarification requests, confirmation and comprehension checks (Foster and Ohta 2005; Mariotti 2006; Lyster 2007) as well as to recasts, explicit corrections, repetitions of error(s), elicitations, and metalinguistic clues (Lyster 2007; Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012). Other negotiation strategies are self-repairs, collaborative turns (Foster and Ohta 2005) and reformulations.

Conversational interaction is considered to be a key element in CLIL lessons (Fuentes and Hernández 2011), not only because a communicative teaching methodology is adopted, but also because classroom talk is used as a tool for learning through which content knowledge is built (Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012). Consequently, negotiation work can also be expected to play a crucial role in CLIL contexts as it needs to be taken into account that "studying subject matter in L2 [or a foreign language] requires handling of both horizontal (everyday) and vertical (scientific, technical —and we would add abstract—) types of concepts" (Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012: 64), an endeavour which can obviously be facilitated by resorting to some of the aforementioned negotiation strategies. Overall, it can be hypothesized that CLIL students will enhance their use of some of the aforementioned negotiation strategies so as to negotiate for meaning, guarantee mutual understanding in the classroom, and allow content learning to take place (Guazzieri 2008).

While classroom discourse in CLIL contexts (i.e. teacher-student interaction) has been investigated by some researchers (i.e. Dalton-Puffer 2007; Mariotti 2007;

Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012), the perspective of learner-learner interaction was adopted in the present study. Our main aim is to see whether the development of negotiation strategies, also referred to throughout the paper as negotiation moves or negotiation sequences, can be considered an outcome of CLIL instruction along with the other linguistic outcomes acknowledged in section 2. However, unlike most of the previous researchers on CLIL classroom discourse, rather than examine spoken interactions that took place between teachers and learners, we focused our attention on the negotiation moves employed by students while working in dyads.

4. Methodology

4.1. Participants

Two groups of students (N=42), aged between 12 and 14, were involved in the present study: a group of CLIL participants (N=21) and a comparable non-CLIL control group (N=21). They attended five different state-run secondary schools distributed across the island of Majorca. These schools participated in the European Sections Programme, the name given to the CLIL scheme in the Balearic Islands. While non-CLIL students were exposed to the English language in their regular EFL lessons for three hours a week, CLIL students received higher exposure to the foreign language. In addition to having three hours per week of formal English instruction, they were taught a content subject through the medium of English, either natural or social sciences, which implied that they were exposed to the target language for three extra hours. None of the participants received private tuition or additional English classes in order to complement formal instruction and none of them had been to an English-speaking country or had an English-speaking parent.

4.2. Nature of the task and data collection procedures

All participants involved in the study were asked to perform a role-play in pairs. It is generally claimed that this kind of dyadic interaction task "facilitate[s] the production of more —and more elaborate— output from the pupils" (Gassner and Maillat 2006: 19) than the so-called Initiation-Response-Feedback/Evaluation sequence (IRF or IRE), which is typical of teacher-centred classrooms (Lyster 2007). Even though there is still a predominance of the IRF sequence in classroom discourse (Dalton-Puffer 2007; Mariotti 2007), as it proves to be quite effective when verifying students' comprehension of the subject matter, this interaction pattern has also been criticized because it often generates minimal responses from students (Lyster 2007). By contrast, role-plays are considered to allow "much

more opportunity for the subjects to display their conversational competence" (Maillat 2010: 49) as they usually imply less structured, more open and extended linguistic exchanges than those resulting from the IRF sequence.

All participants, CLIL or mainstream alike, were recorded performing the same role-play at three different data collection times: they were first recorded (T1) at the start of their second year of Compulsory Secondary Education (CSE), coinciding with the onset of the CLIL programme in their school; then, they were recorded (T2) towards the end of the same academic year; and, finally, they were recorded (T3) at the very end of their third year of CSE. Thus, the present study follows a longitudinal design encompassing a two-year span.

Hence, the present study analyses a corpus of audio-recorded and transcribed role-plays performed in dyads. The nature of these role-plays allowed us to analyse the development of negotiating strategies over time because they involved interaction between two students (student A and student B). Each pair of students was given around two minutes to prepare the role-play in a test situation and then they were asked to perform it for about five minutes. They had to imagine that they were going on holiday to the United Kingdom together. However, student A and student B were given different plans about the kind of activities they could do there and, as a result, they had to discuss the possible advantages and disadvantages of the different options suggested in order to reach an agreement. For instance, while student A (STA) wanted to buy maps in order to orient him/herself in the English-speaking country, student B (STB) had to give reasons to justify that s/he preferred a guidebook instead.

4.3. Negotiation strategies

Students can make use of different negotiation strategies while interacting in order to prevent communicative breakdowns and reach mutual understanding. In the present study we considered the following 11 measures identified by Lyster (2007):

Self-repairs or *self-initiated repairs* refer to those instances of self-correction of a given item in an utterance. While self-repairs may be induced, i.e. they may appear as a response to a previous signal (e.g. a repetition) by another interlocutor, self-initiated repairs do not emerge as a result of a previous prompt but rather from the speaker's personal initiative.

Reformulations or *false starts* are alternative utterances that immediately follow an initial non-target-like utterance within the same turn.

Clarification requests are phrases such as *Pardon?*, *Sorry?* or *What?* that are used in order to show that the previous utterance was misunderstood or that it

is incorrect in some way. They signal that a repetition or a reformulation of a given message is required.

Comprehension checks are aimed at checking comprehension and are normally conveyed by phrases such as *Do you understand?*

Confirmation checks are "intended to confirm or disconfirm the veracity of [...] [a given] message" (Lyster 2007: 96).

Recasts imply a reformulation of all or part of a learner's utterance minus the error(s). Thus, they have an implicit and unobtrusive corrective function.

Explicit corrections imply the provision of the correct form as well as a clear indication that what the learner had said was incorrect. E.g. *You should say...*

Repetition of error(s) involves the repetition of the erroneous utterance by the interlocutor, who adjusts the intonation so as to highlight the non-target form.

Elicitation refers to the techniques used by teachers in order to directly elicit correct forms from students. E.g. *How do we say X (word) in Y (language)?*

Metalinguistic clues contain comments, information, or questions related to the correctness of the learner's utterance but without explicitly providing him/her with the correct form. E.g. *Do we say X (word) in Y (language)?*, *We don't say X (word) in Y (language)*, or simply *No.*

Collaborative turns/talk imply that a student helps another learner by providing him/her with the word(s) or information s/he needs in order to successfully complete a given utterance.

4.4. Data analysis

All of the digitized speech was transcribed and converted into text following CLAN conventions. Then, a process of identification and codification of negotiation strategies followed in order to assign the examples of the different negotiation moves employed by participants while performing their role-plays at T1, T2 and T3 to one of the aforementioned categories (see section 4.3.). Mean scores were first calculated for the sum of all the different strategies considered (i.e. repair strategies and other negotiation moves) and then separately for repair strategies and for the remaining negotiation strategies at the three data collection times. These mean scores were first submitted to a repeated-measures ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) with time as the independent variable and subsequently post-hoc comparisons were carried out using the Tukey technique.

5. Results

The findings of the present study are presented next. In section 5.1, the results obtained for the use of repair strategies, which include self-repairs, on the one hand (5.1.1), and reformulations or false starts, on the other (5.1.2), are shown. Then, the use of the remaining negotiation strategies under consideration (i.e. recasts, explicit corrections, clarification requests, collaborative turns, confirmation and comprehension checks, repetitions of error(s), metalinguistic clues, and elicitations) is presented in section 5.2.

Overall, the results of the present study point towards a tendency for CLIL students to make use of a higher number of instances and of a wider repertoire of negotiation strategies than their non-CLIL counterparts at all three data collection times. None of the ANOVA and post-hoc comparisons carried out produced statistically significant differences between data collection times or groups (CLIL and non-CLIL), although two of them, the mean scores obtained at T1 for the sum of all measures considered ($p=0.052$) and for the remaining negotiation strategies ($p=0.077$), were quite close to significance.

5.1. Repair strategies

Most students made use of repair strategies without having previously received any prompt by the interviewer or the other interlocutor involved in the role-play. In other words, "the producer of the talk containing the trouble source [was] also the person who [indicated] that trouble [was] being experienced" (Buckwalter 2001: 385) and who tried to solve it by making use of a repair sequence. Thus, self-initiated repairs and reformulations were the most frequent negotiation strategies found in the data analysed. However, self-initiated repairs were even more common than reformulations at all three data collection times.

5.1.1. Self-repair

This strategy was employed both by CLIL and non-CLIL participants. As illustrated in Table 1, both groups self-corrected on different levels (i.e. grammar, vocabulary and phonology) in order to make themselves understood. The total average number of self-repair sequences uttered by CLIL students was slightly higher than that produced by their non-CLIL counterparts at each data collection time. Nevertheless, if we consider these results longitudinally, it can be seen that while non-CLIL students showed a little increase in the number of self-repairs used at T3 with respect to T1, CLIL students did not show such a clear development as they uttered exactly the same number of instances of self-repairs at these two data collection times.

SELF-REPAIR						
		Pronunciation	Content words	Function words	Grammar	**Total average**
T1	CLIL	0.238	0.190	0.380	0.238	**1.047**
	NON-CLIL	0.142	0.095	0.571	0.000	**0.809**
T2	CLIL	0.190	0.238	0.380	0.285	**1.095**
	NON-CLIL	0.095	0.238	0.523	0.142	**1.000**
T3	CLIL	0.000	0.428	0.380	0.238	**1.047**
	NON-CLIL	0.142	0.142	0.571	0.047	**0.904**

TABLE 1: Total average of self-repair sequences employed both by CLIL and non-CLIL students at each data collection time and linguistic categories on which self-repair operated.

As shown in Table 1 above, more than half of CLIL and non-CLIL students' self-repairs at T1, T2 and T3 involved the lexicon, both content and function words. It was found that both CLIL and mainstream English learners made use of self-repair sequences when they realized that they had used either the wrong content or function word. Even though content words are the ones that carry the central meaning in a sentence or utterance, self-repair of function words (specifically, numbers and pronouns) was even more common than self-repair of content words for students in both groups and at all three data collection times except for CLIL students at T3.

It was found that CLIL and non-CLIL students resorted to self-initiated repairs when using numerals to talk of the price of transport they wanted to take or the cost of accommodation. In particular, they had difficulties when using numbers that sound similar but not identical. This is clearly illustrated in examples 1 and 2 below in the pairs *eighteen/eighty* and *eight/eighteen*, respectively:

> Example 1. MARU (STA): By bus; I want to go by train because is more speed and I think is better eh@i aunque@fp {although} we pay eighteen, **eighty** euros. (CLIL, T3)[2]
> Example 2. AISE (STB): Eh@i, és@fp millor@fp {is better} the train because eh@i is quickly eh@i and his price is eight, **eighteen** euros. (CLIL, T3)

Apart from numbers, self-repairs of function words also involved personal pronouns. As illustrated in example 3 below, STA self-repaired her utterance in order to replace the erroneous personal pronoun, *it*, with the appropriate one, *we*:

> Example 3. SANI (STA): I think we can sleep in a hotel because it, **we** can sleep better [...]. (CLIL, T2)

As for self-repairs involving content words, they were employed both by CLIL and non-CLIL students. However, as illustrated in Table 1 above, they were more

frequent in the CLIL data than in the non-CLIL data at T1 and T3. In example 4 below, for instance, the CLIL student resorted to self-repair in order to replace the incorrect noun, *hours*, with the correct one, *euros*. By doing this she was able to convey the right information:

> Example 4. AIRO (STA): Well, we can go to the hotel that cost fifteen hours, **euros**. (CLIL, T3)

In examples 5 and 6 below, however, both the non-CLIL and the CLIL student had difficulties with word formation processes that they could not quite overcome. More specifically, they used the self-repair strategy to reformulate their utterances unsuccessfully, which evidenced their problems with comparative forms. In example 5, the non-CLIL student dropped the derivational morpheme *-ly* from the adverb *slowly*, which was not appropriate in this context, and was thus left with the adjective *slow* instead of the comparative form *slower* that was required. In example 6, the CLIL participant added the same derivational morpheme (i.e. *-ly*) to the adjective *quiet* and hence turned it into the adverb *quietly*, again failing to provide the comparative form needed, *quieter*. The fact that both students hesitated about the word category (i.e. adverb vs. adjective) to be used in each specific context was reflected in their use of repair sequences.

> Example 5. TODU (STA): [...] but bus is more slowly, **slow** than train. (non-CLIL, T3)
> Example 6. AIRO (STA): Yeah, but in the bus is more quiet, **quietly**. (CLIL, T2)

Even though more than half of the self-repair sequences identified concerned the lexical choices made by both CLIL and non-CLIL students, self-repair of grammar and pronunciation was also found in the data set. As shown in Table 1 above, CLIL students self-repaired grammar slightly more frequently than their non-CLIL counterparts. Students were found to resort to self-initiated repair when they realized that they had used the wrong verbal form or tense. Thus, while in example 7 below the non-CLIL student, TODU, self-corrected his utterance after noticing that he should have used the affirmative form *could* rather than the negative form *couldn't*, in example 8 the CLIL student, MAVA, resorted to self-initiated repair so as to correct the verbal tense of his utterance:

> Example 7. TODU (STB): Eh@i, no because we couldn't, **could** buy guidebooks. (non-CLIL, T2)
> Example 8. MAVA (STA): Eh@i, I go, I **will go** to the Tower of London and the London Eye. (CLIL, T2)

Students in both groups were also found to self-correct pronunciation mistakes. While at T1 and T2 the average number of self-repairs of pronunciation was higher for CLIL students than for mainstream English learners, at T3 non-CLIL students

were the only ones who made use of this type of self-repair sequence (see Table 1). The pronunciation of the word *guidebook*, which appeared in the task they were given, was found to pose difficulties for non-CLIL students not only at T1 but also at T3. Although non-CLIL students did not always manage to self-correct their pronunciation mistakes successfully, in the instance provided below it can be seen that STB satisfactorily self-repaired the pronunciation mistake uttered previously:

> Example 9. ARRI (STB): Ok, we need a guide /g**ɪ**d/, guidebook /'g**aɪ**db**ʊ**k/ for think about the eh@i most popular cities and. (non-CLIL, T3)

Similarly, the pronunciation of the words *expensive*, *buy* and *souvenirs* was also found to be problematic or confusing for CLIL students at T1 and T2. However, they were able to self-correct in all the examples found in the data:

> Example 10. JOCA (STB): Eh@i, I prefer eh@i go shopping souvenirs /'sa**ʊ**vən**ɪ**rz/, souvenirs /'s**u:**vən**ɪ**rz/. (CLIL, T1)
> Example 11. ANCA (STA): Eh@i we're going to go to England, I think we could buy /b**ʊɪ**/, buy /b**aɪ**/ a map. (CLIL, T2)

Even though in all previous instances both CLIL and non-CLIL students attempted to self-correct their utterances in the target language, sometimes students from both groups (CLIL and non-CLIL) made use of their mother tongue when self-correcting. Thus, in example 12 below, TODU code-switched to Spanish/Catalan as he did not know how to say *barato* in English. By so doing, he was able to express what he wanted to, but only in the mother tongue:

> Example 12. TODU (STB): Eh@i, we we go eh@i bed and breakfast because is more expensive, is more **barato**@fp {cheap}. (non-CLIL, T2)

5.1.2. Reformulations or false starts

As in the case of self-initiated repair sequences, reformulations were employed by students in both groups at T1, T2 and T3. The average number of reformulations uttered by CLIL students at all three data collection times was found to be higher than that produced by their non-CLIL counterparts. However, if we look at these results longitudinally, it can be seen that students in both groups decreased their use of reformulations at T3 with respect to T1 (see Table 2).

	REFORMULATIONS		
	T1	T2	T3
CLIL	0.619	0.476	0.476
NON-CLIL	0.190	0.190	0.142

TABLE 2: Average number of reformulations uttered by CLIL and non-CLIL students at T1, T2 and T3.

There was a tendency for students in both groups to reformulate their sentences by using the target language rather than resorting to their mother tongue. In example 13, MABO anticipated the use of a repair sequence, in this case a reformulation, through the use of the word *no*, indicating that she was not content with her previous utterance, before the reformulation took place. By contrast, in example 14, it was the repetition of *I'm not* and *in* that anticipated the use of SANI's reformulation, as it clearly indicated that this learner was unable to successfully complete the utterance without starting it again:

> Example 13. MABO (STB): Bueno@fp {well} eh@i because um@i go bé@fp {well} um@i a hotel very, no@fp {no}, **because why go hotel twenty-five dollars?** (CLIL, T1)
> Example 14. SANI (STA): I'm not I'm not eh@i in in, **I don't think the same** [...]. (CLIL, T3)

5.2. Other negotiation strategies

Apart from self-initiated repairs and reformulations, which are two different repair strategies, CLIL and non-CLIL students employed other negotiation moves only very occasionally: recasts, explicit corrections, clarification requests, confirmation checks and collaborative turns (see Table 3). We were not able to find many instances of them in our data because these negotiation strategies tend to be used by teachers rather than learners in second language classrooms (Lyster 2007; Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012). Interviewers did not generally intervene while participants were performing their respective role-plays. On those occasions when they did intervene, they resorted to some of these negotiation moves. However, these examples have not been taken into consideration since our study focuses on learner-learner interaction rather than on teacher-student discourse. No instances of comprehension checks, repetitions of error(s), metalinguistic clues and elicitations were found in the data analysed.

In spite of their low occurrence in our data, it is important to note that, whenever these strategies were employed, CLIL students resorted to them more frequently than their non-CLIL counterparts. As illustrated in Table 3 above, and unlike self-repair sequences and reformulations, which were produced at T1, T2 and T3, these other negotiation moves were not distributed over the three data collection times. Most of the instances were produced at T1 and others at T3.

			T1	T2	T3
OTHER NEGOTIATION MOVES	RECASTS	CLIL NON-CLIL	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000	0.047 0.000
	EXPLICIT S CORRECTION	CLIL NON-CLIL	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000	0.047 0.000
	CLARIFICATION REQUESTS	CLIL NON-CLIL	0.190 0.047	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.047
	COLLABORATIVE TURNS	CLIL NON-CLIL	0.047 0.000	0.000 0.000	0.095 0.000
	CONFIRMATION CHECKS	CLIL NON-CLIL	0.047 0.000	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000
	COMPREHENSION CHECKS	CLIL NON-CLIL	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000
	REPETITION OF ERROR(S)	CLIL NON-CLIL	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000
	METALINGUISTIC CLUES	CLIL NON-CLIL	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000
	ELICITATIONS	CLIL NON-CLIL	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000	0.000 0.000
	TOTAL AVERAGE	CLIL NON-CLIL	0.285 0.047	0.000 0.000	0.190 0.047

TABLE 3: Average number of other negotiation moves considered and the total average at T1, T2, T3.

5.2.1. Recasts and explicit corrections

The following linguistic exchange between ISGR and MARU (example 15) includes an example of recast as STB implicitly and unobtrusively provides STA with the preposition that must precede the noun *bus*. In other words, MARU is the one who noticed STA's trouble source and also the one who carried out the repair. Thus, we have here an other-initiated other-completed repair trajectory as MARU both initiated and provided or completed the repair (Mariotti 2007: 50). As the recast was immediately followed by a topic continuation move, we were not able to check whether ISGR incorporated the recast (*by bus*) in her uptake:

Example 15. ISGR (STA): I go a@fp {to} Edinburgh eh@i bus.
MARU (STB): **By bus;** I want to go by train because is more speed and I think is better eh@i aunque@fp {although} we pay eighteen, eighty euros.
(CLIL, T3)

Example 16 below may be considered a kind of explicit correction in spite of the fact that STB's intervention did not include any clear indication that what STA had uttered was incorrect. Instead, STB only provided STA with the correct noun

phrase (*The bus*) by repeating it twice. Thus, apparently it was STB's repetition that led to STA's induced repair:

Example 16. MARA (STA): No, eh@i the train is.
ERME (STB): **The bus, the bus.**
MARA (STA): The bus is més@fp {more} barato@fp {cheap}.
(CLIL, T3)

5.2.2. Clarification requests

CLIL and non-CLIL students also resorted to clarification requests when they needed their partner to repeat a previous utterance which was not fully understood. As illustrated in example 17 below, the clarification request uttered by STA led to STB's reformulation of her previous utterance. Thus, we are in front of an other-initiated self-repair sequence (Buckwalter 2001) as "repair [was] carried out by the speaker who produce[d] the trouble source [(AICU)] but it [was] initiated by the recipient [(ANCA)]" (Mariotti 2007: 48) by means of a clarification request:

Example 17. AICU (STB): Eh@i, we go to a souvenir?
ANCA (STA): **What?**
AICU (STB): We go to buy souvenirs?
(CLIL, T1)

5.2.3. Collaborative talk

The linguistic exchange reproduced below (example 18) includes an example of collaborative talk. Following Mariotti's (2007) and Buckwalter's (2001) terminology, this would be an example of a self-initiated other-repair sequence as the speaker who provided the repair proper (STA) was not the one who signalled the problem (STB). In other words, STA assisted STB by providing her with the irregular comparative form *better* and, as a result, STB was able to complete the utterance successfully:

Example 18. AIRO (STA): Ok and we have to buy maps.
MABO (STB): Maps, but eh@i but guidebook is is com@fp es@fp diu@fp? {how do you say?}.
AIRO (STA): **Better.**
MABO (STB): Is better.
(CLIL, T3)

5.2.4. Confirmation check

The only instance of confirmation check found in the data is reported in example 19. The CLIL student asked a yes-no question (*To bus?*) with the aim of eliciting confirmation that he had understood STA's utterance correctly:

Example 19. JOTO (STA): Eighty, eh@i, yes, yes eh@i but I think we are going to bus too.
JOBL (STB): **To bus?**
JOTO (STA): Yes.
(CLIL, T1)

6. Discussion

Going back to our initial research question, which aimed to investigate whether CLIL instruction had positive effects on the development of negotiation strategies, the results of the present study seem to indicate that, when compared to formal or conventional language instruction, this educational approach has the potential to affect the development of negotiation moves favourably. In spite of the fact that no statistically significant differences were reported, when the CLIL students' performance was compared to that of non-CLIL students, it was found that they made use of a higher number of instances and of a wider variety of negotiation moves than their non-CLIL counterparts at each data collection time. This seems to suggest that, even though negotiation strategies are developed in formal language teaching as they may attenuate the linguistic obstacles students may encounter (Stohler 2006), they seem to be more satisfactorily developed in CLIL scenarios, where they play an essential role.

As Buckwalter (2001: 382) emphasizes, "[w]hen SLA [Second Language Acquisition] researchers have examined dialogic discourse in an L2 context, it has often been discourse produced between a learner and an expert [or teacher]" (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007; Mariotti 2007; Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012). However, in the present study a different perspective was adopted as we examined the negotiation moves that were employed in spoken interactions that took place between learners rather than between teachers and learners. Moreover, it can be claimed that the dialogic discourse analysed in our study is more similar to ordinary or natural conversation than to classroom or institutional talk in the sense that the power relationship between the conversational participants involved in the task was symmetrical. As highlighted by Mariotti (2007: 41), while one of the features of classroom speech is asymmetry between participants as teachers are in a higher position since they have "the right to evaluate the students' spoken production", ordinary conversation differs from classroom discourse because in this type of interaction "all participants have the equal right to engage in a wide range of discourse acts" (Mariotti 2007: 42). As we will see, it is important to take these aspects into consideration while reflecting on our results, but especially when dealing with those negotiation strategies that are aimed at promoting attention to form.

Eleven negotiation strategies were considered in the present study: self-repairs, reformulations, explicit corrections, clarification requests, confirmation and comprehension checks, collaborative turns, repetition of error(s), metalinguistic clues and elicitations (Lyster 2007). According to Buckwalter (2001) and Mariotti (2007), self-repairs, reformulations and collaborative turns would be examples of self-initiated negotiation moves as they are repair sequences in which the speaker who produces the trouble is also the one who acknowledges that a communication problem is being experienced. By contrast, the remaining eight negotiation moves considered would be instances of other-initiated negotiation moves as the listener or the recipient is the one who identifies the trouble source and also the person who initiates the repair trajectory (Buckwalter 2001; Mariotti 2007).

Thus, while most of the other-initiated negotiation moves analysed have a pedagogic or evaluative function (Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012) and are almost exclusive of educational contexts (Mariotti 2007), self-initiated negotiation strategies are considered to have an interactional or conversational function as they reflect "the type of repair that happens in everyday conversation" (Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012: 90). Once again, it is important to bear this in mind when reflecting on our findings because, as previously mentioned, the task students were asked to perform led to a kind of dialogic discourse that was more similar to ordinary conversation than to classroom talk.

The results of the present study have shown that at all three data collection times students in both groups resorted to repair strategies (i.e. self-repairs and reformulations) more frequently than to the other remaining negotiation moves in order to negotiate for meaning and solve comprehension problems. These findings are in line with the ones reported by Buckwalter (2001) and Foster and Ohta (2005) since in the present study there was also a preference for self-initiated repair sequences over other-initiated repair sequences and for self-correction over other-correction. This interactional behaviour is quite predictable if we take into account Llinares, Morton and Whittaker's (2012) assertion that self-initiated repair trajectories are the ones that predominate in natural conversation.

As reported in section 5, even though students in both groups self-repaired on different levels (i.e. grammar, vocabulary and phonology), more often than not those self-corrections involved the lexicon, which comprised both content and function words. Although mainstream English learners might be expected to self-correct problems that have to do with accuracy and formal precision due to the fact that conventional language teaching focuses on form or on language itself (Lasagabaster and Sierra 2009), the interactional behaviour reported here is not surprising given that the role-play was a meaning-oriented activity. As Foster and Ohta (2005: 48) emphasize, "communication breakdowns are more likely to be

due to problems with lexis than with morphosyntax [...] [In fact, m]issing, incorrect or unrecognized morphemes marking tense, case, or gender do not necessarily lead to communication failure in the way that missing, incorrect, or unknown words do". However, the fact that CLIL students were found to self-repair grammar more frequently than their non-CLIL counterparts seems to support the assumption that "negotiation of meaning can promote *focus on form* [...] during a generally meaning-oriented activity" (Mariotti 2007: 62).

Although students in both groups resorted to repair strategies (i.e. self-repairs and reformulations) at all three data collection times, CLIL students were reported to outperform non-CLIL students with respect to the total number of instances of repair strategies produced at each data collection time. One reason for this phenomenon is that CLIL students' turns were often longer than the ones by non-CLIL students. While CLIL students normally justified their respective choices by means of subordinate clauses introduced by *because*, non-CLIL students sometimes simply uttered statements without providing any justification for their alternatives. Moreover, on some occasions non-CLIL students' turns were simply formed by approval markers, such as *Ok* or *Yes*, or by a single content word, such as *Go* or *Bus*.

Students are unlikely to have to repair a given utterance when it simply involves a single word or an approval marker (Mariotti 2007), but they are more likely to resort to self-initiated repair moves when uttering longer and more complex utterances syntactically speaking.

Regarding the remaining negotiation moves considered (i.e. recasts, explicit corrections, clarification requests, confirmation and comprehension checks, collaborative turns, repetition of errors(s), metalinguistic clues and elicitations), we were not able to find many instances of them in the data analysed. In fact, no instances of comprehension checks, repetition of error(s), metalinguistic clues and elicitations were found. Two reasons may explain this. To start with, all of these negotiation sequences except for collaborative turns are examples of other-initiated repair moves and two of them (i.e. recasts and explicit corrections) not only involve other-initiated repair but also other-completed repair. Thus, these findings are quite predictable if we take into account the already mentioned fact that natural talk is more commonly characterized by self-initiated repair than by other-initiated repair (Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012). Moreover, as emphasized by Mariotti (2007: 50), other-initiated other-completed repair, as in the case of recasts and explicit corrections, "is a dispreferred activity in natural conversation because it is considered a face threatening act and, in general, can be embarrassing for both participants". In fact, Lyster (2007) and Llinares, Morton and Whittaker (2012) claim that recasts, explicit corrections, clarification requests, confirmation and comprehension checks, repetition of error(s), metalinguistic clues and

elicitations tend to be used by teachers rather than learners in second language classrooms as they have a pedagogic, didactic or corrective function.

Thus, taking into account the evaluative function, probably implying asymmetry of power between participants, of other-initiated and other-completed negotiation moves, it can be inferred that both CLIL and non-CLIL students tended to avoid using these moves because, when employing them, one of the students was 'forced' to take the role of the teacher as s/he had to evaluate the spoken production of his or her partner in the role-play. We assume that this interactional behaviour is not very frequent in interactions where there is symmetry of power between its conversational participants, as was the case in the task they were asked to carry out.

The other main reason for the scarce occurrence of these negotiation moves (i.e. recasts, explicit corrections, clarification requests, repetition of error(s), metalinguistic clues and elicitations) in the data analysed is that, while the role-play was basically a meaning-oriented activity, almost all of these strategies are defined as negotiation moves aimed at negotiating form (i.e. accuracy and formal precision) rather than meaning or message comprehensibility (Lyster 2007; Mariotti 2007; Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012). Moreover, the absence of instances of repetition of error(s), metalinguistic clues and elicitations in the CLIL data may also be strengthened by the fact that CLIL students are not usually exposed to these types of corrective feedback as they are reported to be not very frequent in CLIL classroom discourse (Llinares, Morton and Whittaker 2012).

CLIL students were found to produce more instances of these other negotiation moves than their non-CLIL counterparts at T1 and T3. This suggests that they were actively involved in the role-play. It needs to be pointed out that, while the use of self-repairs and reformulations does not necessarily imply interaction as a student may self-correct him/herself while uttering a given utterance without acknowledging his/her partner, the other negotiation strategies observed in the data can only emerge as a result of interaction between two or more students as all of them are either other-initiated or other-completed repair trajectories. However, it is important to notice that when CLIL students resorted to some of these other negotiation strategies they tended to opt for those that allowed them to negotiate for meaning rather than form. Thus, the ones that were most frequently used were collaborative turns and clarification requests.

To conclude, even though CLIL students were reported to employ fewer negotiation strategies at T3 with respect to T1, which might have been conditioned by the fact that at T3 they had increased their L2 competence and were quite familiarized with the task, the overall findings showed a clear tendency, albeit non-significant, for them to produce a higher number of instances and to use a wider variety of negotiation moves than their non-CLIL counterparts. Although these

results might be partially due to the claims that CLIL students are reported to be more motivated (Lasagabaster 2011) and to hold "significantly more positive attitudes towards English as a FL than those in EFL classes" (Lasagabaster and Sierra 2009: 13), they might be more directly related to the fact that, while mainstream English students are language learners, CLIL students are mainly language users (Nikula 2007). Compared to mainstream learners, CLIL students generally adopt a more active role as questioners and commentators, possibly reflecting the fact that CLIL teachers opt for a more dialogic style when teaching in the foreign language, hence providing students with more opportunities to participate verbally in the construction of classroom discourse (Mariotti 2007; Nikula 2010). Thus, by resorting to these different negotiation strategies, CLIL students are able to understand and make sense of the content of the non-language subject matter they are taught through a language other than their mother tongue.

7. Conclusion

The results of the present study appear to indicate that the development of negotiation strategies can be considered another positive outcome of CLIL instruction together with the ones that were mentioned in section 2. Although differences between groups did not reach statistical significance, students involved in the CLIL programme were not only found to make use of a higher number of instances of negotiation strategies but also to display a wider range of negotiation sequences than their non-CLIL counterparts. Thus, CLIL instruction appears to complement formal language teaching as far as the development of negotiation strategies is concerned.

Notes

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[2]. Transcription conventions: all examples are introduced by a code consisting of four capital letters which allow researchers to identify students while preserving their anonymity; @i has been used to indicate that the speaker resorts to a non-lexical filler such as *eh* or *um,* while @fp has been employed when students make use of either a Catalan or Spanish word.

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Reviews

THE USE OF PSYCHOMOTOR ACTIVITIES IN TEACHING CHILDREN ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: EMPIRICAL RESEARCH INTO THE PEPA METHOD OF LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

Elaine Hewitt
Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011

(por Marta Gómez Moreno)
martaggomezmoreno@gmail.com

Como sugiere el titulo de este libro, la investigación que se recoge en él es totalmente empírica y está destinada a desarrollar un método para la enseñanza del inglés como lengua extranjera (ILE). Se trata de una exploración relacionada con las actividades psicomotrices cuyo resultado desembocó en un nuevo método conocido por sus siglas en inglés como PEPA (*Programme of English through Psychomotor Activities* o Programa de Inglés con Actividades Psicomotrices). El método se expone a través de las 62 actividades psicomotrices diseñadas por la autora de forma sistemática.

El estado de la cuestión parte de un estudio comparativo con alumnos de primaria, en el que se examina el efecto de la metodología anteriormente mencionada mediante actividades psicomotrices (en el grupo experimental) frente una metodología habitual (en el grupo de control). Previamente, los sujetos se sometieron a tests de inteligencia, de personalidad, de nivel de inglés, así como otra amplia variedad de tests realizados antes y después del experimento para medir su desarrollo psicomotor. A través de este estudio empírico, se pretende mostrar las distintas estrategias y claves que pueden llegar a convertirse en herramientas fundamentales para ayudar al docente y, en consecuencia, al alumnado.

Podemos considerar que los estudios empíricos suponen una base necesaria para los métodos de enseñanza, y son dignos de tenerse en cuenta. Stern (1983: 491) comenta sobre la disciplina empírica en esta área de métodos de enseñanza que se

trata de "un elemento bienvenido de interrogación en donde tanto la especulación como la opinión habían sido dominantes". Con estas palabras Stern destaca la carencia empírica anterior a la puesta en marcha de cualquier método de enseñanza en su día. Varios métodos se habían implementado y descrito, pero, según Stern, no habían sido puestos a prueba ni se habían sometido a ningún tipo de observación científica o analítica que demostrase sus ventajas. Sin embargo, de forma positiva, en este libro se demuestra cómo el método PEPA se expone de forma empírica y no especulativa. Otro aspecto fundamental de la investigación del método PEPA descrito en este libro es la utilización de instrumentos fiables para probar científicamente su eficacia, tal como el uso del test de psicomotricidad de Linares (1993).

El libro se compone de cinco partes, con un total de veinticinco capítulos. La primera parte revisa la literatura y describe aquellas publicaciones relacionadas con el campo. La segunda comienza con el estudio empírico de la investigación sobre la metodología PEPA para la enseñanza del idioma. La tercera recoge los resultados. Finalmente, la cuarta se centra en la discusión de los resultados y en el método de enseñanza PEPA abordando por último la conclusión final.

Para adentrarnos en la hipótesis y su posterior desarrollo, el libro nos ofrece un correcto y documentado marco teórico. Durante la revisión de la literatura es evidente el concienzudo proceso previo de investigación y reflexión. La primera parte se apoya en una amplia compilación de más de 2.000 textos sobre estudios de índole empírica que ha llevado a cabo E. Hewitt y cuyo resultado es un escrutinio bibliográfico considerable. Así pues, la primera parte de este libro arranca en el capítulo primero con la introducción de los aspectos generales, así como de los métodos y enfoques relacionados con la enseñanza de la lengua extranjera, para acabar en el capítulo séptimo, dedicado a revisar ampliamente el papel que juega la psicomotricidad en el aprendizaje.

La revisión de la literatura aborda fundamentalmente estudios empíricos y es, por lo tanto, interesante por mérito propio. Estas publicaciones han sido descritas y seleccionadas concienzudamente por la autora, quien incluye además descripciones ilustrativas de psicomotricidad relacionadas con los campos de aprendizaje del inglés, la psicología y psicología del ejercicio, como los juegos en el aprendizaje. Vienen precedidas en el capítulo primero por un glosario de terminología.

La revisión de la literatura sirve a un doble propósito. Además de guiar al lector a lo largo de la descripción del experimento posteriormente descrito, cita extensamente los hallazgos más recientes con relación a la teoría de la adquisición de la segunda lengua, y de la lengua materna.

A lo largo del documento se hace referencia a la literatura educativa que hay en la actualidad. La autora pretende así crear una línea de razonamiento que permita al

lector comprobar el argumento en el que se basa su idea de que el PEPA es una metodología para la enseñanza del inglés y una técnica ya probada de forma científica para promocionar habilidades psicomotrices mediante el aprendizaje del inglés como segunda lengua. La autora explica su metodología y la presenta de forma detallada y exhaustiva. Adicionalmente, como en la primera parte del libro, la autora cita muchos estudios empíricos; estos le permiten al lector evaluar el experimento en la segunda parte mediante la comparación y el contraste con la tradición en la investigación educativa.

En la segunda parte —dedicada a la sección empírica— un experimento basado en el método de enseñanza PEPA es el foco de interés. El libro centra su atención en el estudio llevado a cabo durante un curso escolar con alumnado de enseñanza primaria. E. Hewitt analiza dos metodologías: la primera destinada al grupo experimental, y la segunda, al grupo de control. A continuación, revela la relación entre dichos métodos, así como la muestra del análisis obtenido tras la observación de lo que han aprendido los sujetos a través de cada una de la metodologías aplicadas. La segunda parte del libro incluye un capítulo dedicado a una descripción detallada de las actividades que comprenden el programa PEPA.

La autora desarrolla una teoría basada en la hipótesis de que un programa de estudios de inglés para niños que se lleve a cabo utilizando actividades psicomotrices proporciona mejores resultados que los obtenidos por medio de la metodología tradicional, con los que se ha comparado.

Nunan (1987: 136) sostiene: "Mientras que se ha escrito mucho sobre la teoría y práctica de la enseñanza, ha habido comparativamente pocos estudios" de tipo científico que englobasen grupos experimentales y de control. Esto quiere decir que un planteamiento comparativo es más eficiente que el estudio de una sola metodología, pero es algo que en el campo de EILE (la enseñanza de inglés como lengua extranjera) casi no se encuentra, como tampoco muchos estudios empíricos de los varios métodos de enseñanza del inglés. La investigación que contiene el libro de Hewitt sobre el método de enseñanza PEPA demuestra que se trate de un estudio elaborado de acuerdo con lo expuesto por Nunan y que se desarrolla dentro del marco de un estudio científico que además incluye la comparación, también comentada, entre métodos de enseñanza.

Los resultados son de peso e intrigantes. La autora analiza como los sujetos del grupo experimental, que utilizan las actividades psicomotrices, obtienen mejores resultados académicos que los del grupo de control.

Adicionalmente, el capitulo décimo nos ofrece una amplia y detallada explicación de cada actividad de los programas y explica sus objetivos en relación con el inglés, la mejora psicomotriz, los materiales requeridos y la descripción de las instrucciones y sus posteriores observaciones. El capitulo undécimo suministra las definiciones

operativas y describe los conceptos técnicos de una forma clara, para así proporcionar una mejor comprensión del experimento.

En el capitulo duodécimo se facilita una exhaustiva descripción de los sujetos y su entorno, mientras que en el decimotercero se detallan las herramientas empleadas para llevar a cabo el experimento. Asimismo, encontramos una impecable exposición de cada prueba y cuestionario, así como de los procedimientos que han de tenerse en cuenta, incluyendo su organización y posterior aplicación.

Los tests utilizados por E. Hewitt para evaluar el nivel de inglés han sido, por un lado, aquellos que medían la comprensión auditiva de los estudiantes y, por otro lado, aquellos dedicados a medir su nivel de lectura y escritura de la lengua extranjera (LE), así como la gramática y el vocabulario. Respecto a la organización y a las instrucciones de cada test, los que medían el nivel de lectura y escritura de la lengua extranjera (LE), la gramática y el vocabulario se consideraron y se explicaron de forma exhaustiva: a cada grupo se le dieron las mismas instrucciones y condiciones —excepto para la variable principal—, el método de aprendizaje PEPA. Además, todos los participantes fueron sometidos a un examen psicomotor, así como a un test de inteligencia y personalidad. Estos tres cuestionarios se exponen en el capítulo decimotercero.

El capítulo decimocuarto describe la organización del estudio y el capítulo decimoquinto presenta los métodos usados por la autora en detalle. Los dos programas empleados incluyen el programa de inglés con actividad psicomotriz (PEPA), investigado y diseñado por E. Hewitt, que queda reflejado al detalle —actividad por actividad— en el capítulo decimosexto. Del programa seguido por el grupo de control se proporciona, en la obra que nos ocupa, una descripción en la que se incluye el material adicional, así como el trabajo suplementario. Para el programa de inglés con actividad psicomotriz (PEPA) se diseñaron 62 juegos de acuerdo con el objetivo motor general que se quería alcanzar. Estos están clasificados en una de las nueve subcategorías motoras. Este programa psicomotor se realizó en 24 sesiones, con tres o cuatro actividades psicomotrices por sesión. Estas se llevaron a la práctica durante el horario escolar de los niños, dentro de sus clases habituales de inglés y del ambiente/entorno de clase acostumbrado. Además, en la exposición de cada uno de los juegos podemos encontrar los siguientes datos: el objetivo psicomotor, el objetivo del inglés, el nombre del juego, los materiales necesarios para llevarlo a cabo, las instrucciones que deben seguirse y las reglas que han de aplicarse, así como otras observaciones igualmente útiles.

Un ejemplo de las actividades psicomotrices que dan prueba de la calidad con la que la autora llevó a cabo su investigación es la denominada "Clapping Word-Stress on Shapes" (el ritmo de las formas geométricas), creado también por ella misma. El objetivo psicomotor de esta actividad consiste en la mejora de la

organización espacio-temporal del alumno a través del desarrollo del sentido del ritmo mediante los gestos. Los objetivos del inglés son la presentación y pronunciación del vocabulario de las formas geométricas: cuadrado, círculo, triángulo y estrella. Esta actividad también sirve para introducir el concepto de acentuación en su aprendizaje del inglés. De forma adicional, con esta actividad a través del juego, se alcanzan otros objetivos, como fomentar la sensibilidad respecto a la acentuación en inglés, el repaso de los colores en inglés y la introducción del concepto del orden de las palabras (la colocación de los adjetivos antes que el sustantivo) que, como es sabido, no se corresponde con el del español, la lengua materna de los participantes de este estudio.

En su libro, E. Hewitt hace una cuidada descripción de los 62 juegos aplicados en su experimento de forma que el lector pueda conocer fácilmente la investigación y enterarse de lo que ocurrió antes, durante y después de la misma. Por otro lado, el lector también podrá acceder al análisis estadístico de los resultados del estudio. Además, dadas las aclaratorias explicaciones, los profesores de idiomas podrán usar las actividades durante sus clases.

La parte más original de la obra de E. Hewitt es la descripción meticulosa del diseño de su experimento y de los análisis estadísticos de sus resultados. Estos vienen descritos en los capítulos decimoséptimo, decimoctavo y decimonoveno. Fundamentalmente, los hallazgos derivados del método PEPA no solo mostraron evidentes ventajas para el aprendizaje del inglés, sino que, además, revelaron una clara mejora en el desarrollo psicomotor de los niños. Los resultados se exponen en la tercera parte del libro. Siempre ha existido una relación entre el control segmentario del cuerpo y la reducción de la ansiedad en los niños y, por lo tanto, la posterior mejora en la escritura y en el rendimiento académico. Como resultado, se indica que la metodología PEPA ofrece, entre otras cosas, un ejercicio indirecto de manos y dedos que influye en el rendimiento académico, así como en los resultados de las pruebas de escritura. Además, los resultados elaborados por el control segmentario pueden demostrar que el posterior desarrollo sensomotor puede ser un factor fundamental en el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera en esta etapa del desarrollo infantil. Si la variable de relajación es similar a la del control segmentario, podemos ver que una mejora en esta habilidad concreta proporcionaría muchas más ventajas y ayudaría a reducir la ansiedad.

Los resultados se ilustran mediante estadísticas descriptivas e inferenciales, además de gráficos, que se muestran en los capítulos vigésimo y vigesimoprimero. Los resultados obtenidos a partir del gran número de variables analizadas en este estudio confirman la hipótesis establecida por la autora. Revelan además que el método PEPA es beneficioso no solo porque comporta la mejora y el desarrollo psicomotor del alumnado, sino porque además contribuye a estimular a los niños,

lo que sin duda fomenta la motivación del aprendizaje. Esto es debido a que el cien por cien de los alumnos señaló que preferían el método PEPA frente a otro método más tradicional. Tal como dice Dornyei (2001: 26): "La mejor intervención motivadora es simplemente mejorar la calidad de nuestra enseñanza". De acuerdo con nuestra investigación, los niños acogieron muy bien el método PEPA, que incrementó su motivación, lo que supone un avance en la calidad de la enseñanza. El grado de estimulo que el método les proporciona a los niños lo corroboran, aún más si cabe, las respuestas positivas de quienes participaron en las clases con actividades de psicomotricidad a las encuestas del estudio, lo cual se ajusta a las palabras anteriormente mencionadas de Dornyei.

La cuarta parte de *The Use of Psychomotor Activities in Teaching Children English as a Foreign Language: Empirical research into the PEPA method of language instruction* recoge la discusión y las conclusiones. Las implicaciones adicionales para la investigación incluyen la necesidad de más estudios de naturaleza empírica en el campo de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje del inglés. Es necesario que se investigue y se experimente con la psicomotricidad dentro de diversos campos de la educación primaria. La obtención de constantes progresos en estudios empíricos semejantes brindaría a los docentes, así como al personal del ámbito educativo, datos fidedignos y substanciales, siendo este un aspecto esencial para la mejora en la calidad de la enseñanza del idioma extranjero.

Sin duda, como resultado de una profunda y bien documentada investigación, se trata de un manual aconsejable y de referencia para todos aquellos docentes e investigadores, entre otros académicos, que estén interesados en el área de la lingüística aplicada y la psicología relacionada con el campo que nos ocupa. Así pues, estamos ante uno de los pocos estudios sistemáticos y empíricos dentro del área.

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LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DISCURSIVA DE LA MASCULINIDAD: UN ESTUDIO DE CONSULTORIOS EN REVISTAS PARA HOMBRES DEL REINO UNIDO

Eduardo de Gregorio-Godeo
Saarbrücken, Alemania: VDM, 2009.
(by Esther Bautista Naranjo)
estherbn83@hotmail.com

Desde su incipiente aparición en los años setenta, diversas disciplinas de las ciencias sociales, tales como la sociología, la psicología o la antropología, irían conformando el campo de los Estudios sobre la Condición Masculina o Estudios sobre la Masculinidad, hoy plenamente consolidado y conocido en el ámbito anglosajón como *Men's Studies* (Brod y Kaufman 1994; Adams y Savran 2002; Kimmel, Hearn y Connell 2004; Seidler 2005; Reeser 2010). Sin embargo, en el ámbito de las humanidades, la lingüística no demostró durante mucho tiempo ningún interés por el estudio de lo masculino *per se*. No sería hasta finales de los años noventa cuando, dentro de la amplia tradición de los estudios de Lengua y Género, la evolución de la lingüística feminista pondría de manifiesto la necesidad de profundizar en las relaciones entre lo masculino y el lenguaje, marcando un hito la influyente obra de Johnson y Meinhof (1997) *Language and Masculinity* —coetánea de trabajos como el de Labwoski (1996)— al que seguirían obras posteriores como la de Coates (2003).

La reciente obra de Eduardo de Gregorio-Godeo, *La construcción discursiva de la masculinidad: un estudio de consultorios en revistas para hombres del Reino Unido*, da continuidad a esta línea de investigación al acercarse al ámbito de los estudios de Lengua y Género —y, más en concreto, sobre masculinidad y lenguaje— desde la perspectiva del análisis del discurso. Se trata de un amplio volumen de contenido profundo dedicado al estudio de la construcción discursiva de la masculinidad

desde el soporte de las consultas efectuadas por hombres en las revistas británicas de estilo de vida dirigidas a este sector. La metodología escogida es el Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD), y más en concreto, el método crítico de Norman Fairclough expuesto en su obra seminal *Language and Power* (1989), una aproximación que le permite al autor ahondar en la construcción, en la prensa británica, de la imagen hegemónica y patriarcal del *new lad* frente al *new man* o la nueva masculinidad, impregnada, en cierto modo, de la sensibilidad de lo femenino. En especial, el volumen incide en el papel fundamental del lenguaje en la articulación de estos constructos ideológicos sobre lo masculino.

El libro consta de siete capítulos y un apéndice final donde se consignan los textos sometidos a análisis a lo largo de la monografía. El primer capítulo es una introducción en la que se presentan las motivaciones esenciales, las hipótesis de trabajo y la metodología empleada. Esta última resulta especialmente sólida y consistente a lo largo del estudio. Aquí también se incluye una breve justificación y se describe la estructura del presente volumen que anticipa debidamente el interés y el contenido del mismo.

En un volumen que se acerca a la construcción de la masculinidad en el discurso, el segundo capítulo se consagra a presentar un cumplido informe de la cuestión referido a los estudios sobre Lengua y Género en el mundo anglófono resaltando especialmente aquellos que abordan las relaciones entre lenguaje y masculinidad. El foco de interés por parte del autor, aparte de una somera atención a los niveles de análisis no discursivo (fonética y fonología, morfosintaxis y léxico-semántica), es, precisamente, el análisis de lo discursivo, que engloba en especial aspectos como el uso de actos de habla, la cortesía lingüística o las modalidades conversacionales.

El tercer capítulo ubica la presente obra en el ámbito específico de los Estudios sobre la Masculinidad atendiendo con empeño al significado de la noción misma de masculinidad y los debates sobre su estado de crisis en la actualidad. Este capítulo se detiene en la aparición de las nuevas imágenes sobre lo masculino en el ámbito anglosajón, como son el *new man* y el *new lad*, y su difusión en los medios de comunicación del contexto británico.

El cuarto capítulo se centra en la metodología del Análisis Crítico del Discurso, y en concreto el modelo de Norman Fairclough (1989) para el "análisis del cambio socio-cultural y cambio discursivo" (Fairclough y Wodak 1997), instrumento que posteriormente le sirve al autor para analizar las relaciones entre lenguaje y sociedad en los textos de consultorios de las principales revistas masculinas. Comienza con unas interesantes precisiones preliminares sobre las nociones mismas de identidad y discurso. También teoriza el proceso de construcción discursiva del género y las formas en que el discurso periodístico las articula no de forma directa sino mediatizada por la ideología social imperante.

A continuación se presenta con gran detalle el método de Fairclough y los tres niveles que, desde su perspectiva analítica, componen todo discurso: (a) el propio texto, (b) la interacción o práctica discursiva y (c) la práctica o acción socio-cultural, niveles que dan lugar a un modelo de análisis tripartito: descripción de lo textual, interpretación de lo interaccional y explicación de lo socio-cultural. A diferencia de otros modelos de análisis, la metodología de Fairclough resulta especialmente adecuada para destacar los cambios socio-culturales en relación con los cambios discursivos que pueden iluminar la cuestión de la crisis actual de las identidades masculinas tradicionales.

El quinto capítulo presenta el corpus de los datos que se han sometido al análisis, comenzando por las propias revistas dirigidas a un público heterosexual masculino en el Reino Unido (*Arena, Boys' Toys, Esquire, FHM, GQ, Maxim*, *Men's Health*, etc.), y la sección de consultorios que centra el interés del autor. Seguidamente se consignan los criterios de selección de los textos que forman el corpus.

El sexto capítulo ofrece al lector de manera pormenorizada los resultados de la investigación y el análisis empírico de los veinte casos examinados. El séptimo y último presenta las conclusiones del trabajo. Partiendo del ejemplo concreto de las muestras discursivas analizadas, el autor consigue extrapolar sus conclusiones hacia una lectura más amplia desde la perspectiva de los Estudios Culturales. Estas observaciones inciden en el modo en que los lectores de este tipo de publicaciones vienen a posicionarse, bien identificándose, o bien rechazando los modelos de masculinidad que en ellas se construyen, activándose así en el acto de lectura individual un proceso de negociación de la identidad de género individual con las posiciones de sujeto fruto del discurso sobre lo masculino generado en las revistas. Mediante esta aproximación, De Gregorio-Godeo sitúa su trabajo en la línea de otras investigaciones sobre la construcción de posiciones de sujeto y las negociaciones implícitas en las construcciones identitarias de género (Baxter 2003).

Por su aplicación del Análisis Crítico del Discurso para el análisis de la construcción discursiva de lo masculino, la obra posee un valor pedagógico añadido que puede inspirar metodológicamente estudios posteriores que aborden la construcción discursiva de las identidades de género. Con todo, cabe admitir que hay quien quizás pueda tildar el estudio de excesivamente específico porque solo examina la sección de consulta de las revistas masculinas; sin embargo, los resultados tienen un valor incontestable en sí mismos, mismos, aportando también datos para un mejor conocimiento de este tipo de publicaciones para hombres.

En su conjunto, la presente obra ofrece una aproximación valiosa al estudio lingüístico de la masculinidad, terreno que no ha recibido quizás toda la atención crítica que mereciera, mostrando además que la lingüística en general y el análisis del discurso en particular pueden resultar instrumentos metodológicos eficaces

para los Estudios Culturales y, en definitiva, para el estudio de lo social, tal y como apunta el propio Fairclough en sus trabajos más recientes (2001, 2003). El estudio de De Gregorio-Godeo pone de relieve la relación constitutiva entre opciones lingüísticas concretas (léxico, procesos verbales, agencialidad, modalidad, negaciones, marcadores discursivos, macroestructuras textuales, etc.) y la ideología que impregna las imágenes sobre lo masculino que cobran cuerpo en el discurso de las revistas. La obra es así reveladora de cómo determinadas opciones de uso del lenguaje no sólo vienen determinadas por la matriz social imperante (por las cambiantes relaciones de poder entre hombres y mujeres o por el impacto del consumismo sobre los varones), sino que dicho uso del lenguaje contribuye precisamente a conformar la dimensión ideológica misma que emerge en contextos interaccionales como el que se activa en el acto de lectura de estas publicaciones para varones.

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Abstracts

FRAMENET AND ITS LIMITATIONS. THE CASE OF ENTITY-SPECIFIC CHANGE-OF-STATE VERBS

Andreea Rosca

This article examines the proposals made by the FrameNet project (Atkins, Fillmore and Johnson 2003; Fillmore, Johnson and Petruck 2003) with regard to Levin's (1993) entity-specific change-of-state verbs. We have identified several limitations in this database: (i) only a small number of entity-specific change-of-state verbs were listed in FrameNet (eight out of twenty-one verbs); (ii) there is a separation of the causative and inchoative uses of a verb into two different frames; (iii) in some cases no examples are provided for the Frame Elements of a particular verb (e.g. there are no examples for the verb swell in the 'expansion' and 'change of position on a scale' frames); (iv) usually FrameNet includes literal instantiations of the predicates under consideration and when figurative uses are listed no cognitive motivation is given for these metaphorical expressions; (v) often frames are incomplete owing to the use of a small size corpus (i.e. the British National Corpus), which offers a limited number of examples for a given verb. It will also be shown that metaphor and metonymy play a crucial role in regulating the subsumption processes between predicates and constructions.

Key words: Old FrameNet, entity-specific change-of-state verbs, frame elements, metaphor, metonymy.

Este artículo examina las propuestas de la base de datos llamada FrameNet (Atkins, Fillmore y Johnson 2003; Fillmore, Johnson y Petruck 2003) con respecto a los verbos de cambio de estado específico (Levin 1993). En nuestro estudio, se han

identificado los siguientes inconvenientes: (i) en la base de datos figura un número limitado de verbos de cambio de estado específico (sólo ocho de veintiún predicados); (ii) los usos causativos e incoativos están divididos en dos marcos semánticos diferentes; (iii) en algunos casos no se proporcionan ejemplos para los elementos de marco de un verbo determinado (por ej. el verbo swell 'hinchar(se)' carece de ejemplos en los marcos de 'expansión' y 'cambio de posición en una escala'); (iv) por lo general, FrameNet incluye ejemplos literales, y para los usos figurados no se facilitan motivaciones cognitivas; (v) en más de una ocasión los marcos tienden a ser incompletos debido al uso de un corpus de tamaño pequeño (el Corpus Nacional Británico; BNC) que ofrece un número reducido de ejemplos para un verbo dado. Asimismo, se demostrará el papel crucial de la metáfora y la metonimia en los procesos de subsunción entre los predicados y las construcciones.

Palabras clave: FrameNet, verbos de cambio de estado específico, elementos de marco, metáfora, metonimia.

VOWEL-COLOUR SYMBOLISM IN ENGLISH AND ARABIC: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Pilar Mompeán Guillamón

Sound symbolism, or the non-arbitrary relationship between the formal and the semantic components of language, has traditionally been a neglected area, mostly due to the strong influence of Saussure's structuralism during the 20th century. However, it is nowadays receiving close attention and being subjected to relevant experimental work. The present paper aims at contributing to the field of sound symbolism by means of two experiments with English and Arabic participants designed to analyse the connection between vowel sounds and colours. The data gathered suggest that participants strongly associate sounds and colours at a better than chance degree, and that although coincidences between the two languages studied exist, the association seems to be strongly influenced by linguistic, cultural and idiosyncratic factors.

Key words: sound symbolism, cardinal vowels, colours, synaesthesia, universality.

El simbolismo fónico, o la relación motivada entre los componentes semántico y formal del lenguaje, ha sido un área tradicionalmente desatendida por parte de la lingüística tradicional, particularmente debido a la fuerte influencia del estructuralismo de Saussure durante el siglo XX. Sin embargo, en la actualidad está recibiendo una fuerte atención y está siendo sometida a importante trabajo experimental. El presente artículo tiene como objetivo contribuir al campo del simbolismo fónico a través de dos experimentos con participantes ingleses y árabes que analizan la conexión entre sonidos vocálicos y colores. Los datos obtenidos

sugieren que los participantes asocian significativamente sonidos y colores y que, aunque existen coincidencias entre ambos idiomas, la asociación parece deberse en gran medida a factores lingüísticos, culturales e idiosincráticos.

Palabras clave: simbolismo fónico, vocales cardinales, colores, sinestesia, universalidad.

EL TRATAMIENTO DE LOS VERBOS DE MANERA DE MOVIMIENTO Y DE LOS CAMINOS EN LA TRADUCCIÓN INGLÉS-ESPAÑOL DE TEXTOS NARRATIVOS

Paula Cifuentes Férez

Las diferencias en la lexicalización de eventos de movimiento (Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000) en inglés y en español resultan en dos estilos narrativos distintos (Slobin 1991, 1996, 2004); en inglés las narraciones son mucho más dinámicas, vienen cargadas de detalles sobre las trayectorias y el modo de desplazamiento del personaje, mientras que en español predominan las descripciones estáticas, que se fijan más en el punto de llegada (el final del recorrido) y contienen mucha menos información sobre cómo se mueve y hacia dónde va. Partiendo de un corpus paralelo inglés-español, la presente investigación explora (a) los problemas que las diferencias en la expresión de los eventos de movimiento le plantean al traductor de un texto narrativo fuente en inglés a un texto narrativo meta en español, (b) las estrategias adoptadas para solucionar esas trabas con el propósito de adaptar el estilo narrativo al propio de la lengua meta y (c) las diferencias en el dinamismo narrativo entre ambos textos. Además de confirmar las diferencias tipológicas y de estilo narrativo documentadas en la bibliografía existente, nuestro estudio muestra que en español la expresión de la manera de moverse fuera del sintagma verbal cumple una función compensatoria y que hay determinados tipos de recorridos cuya traducción al español suele omitirse.

Key words: problemas traductológicos, inglés, español, recorrido, manera, dinamismo.

Differences in lexicalisation patterns for motion events (Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000) in English and Spanish have been said to result in two distinct narrative styles (Slobin 1991, 1996, 2004). On the one hand, English narratives provide dynamic descriptions loaded with manner-of-motion details and rich trajectories; on the other, in Spanish novels we find less dynamic descriptions which mainly focus on the endpoint of the trajectory and which contain less manner-of-motion information. By using a parallel corpus English-Spanish, in this study we explore (a) the translation problems in a narrative text caused by the different lexicalization patterns for motion events, (b) the strategies the translator uses in order to overcome those problems while trying to be faithful to the narrative style of the target language, and (c) the differences between the English source text and the

Spanish target text in terms of dynamicity. Apart from supporting previous findings from the existing literature, this investigation shows that in Spanish the encoding of manner information beyond the verb phrase serves a compensatory function, and some types of paths are prone candidates to be lost in translation.

Palabras clave: translation problems, English, Spanish, manner of motion, path of motion, dynamicity.

THE MORPHOLOGICAL AND SEMANTIC TYPES OF LOST OLD ENGLISH ADJECTIVES

Luisa Fidalgo Allo

The aim of this article is to provide a morphological and semantic analysis of the 4,825 Old English adjectives that, having been lost throughout linguistic evolution, are not included in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. On the morphological side, the category and inflectional class of the base of derivation as well as the affixes and the type of derivational process are taken into account, while the semantic analysis yields a classification of these Old English adjectives based on the categories proposed by the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*. The conclusion of the morphological analysis is that affixation patterns surviving into Present-day English and more type-frequent affixation patterns show lower rates of lexical loss than less type-frequent and lost affixation patterns. The main conclusion of the semantic analysis is that lexical losses of the adjectival class often consist of adjectives denoting abstract qualities.

Key words: Old English, adjective, word-formation, semantics, historical linguistics.

El propósito de este artículo es proporcionar un análisis morfológico y semántico de los 4.825 adjetivos de inglés antiguo que, habiendo desaparecido del léxico a causa de la evolución lingüística, no están incluidos en el *Oxford English Dictionary*. En el aspecto morfológico, la categoría y forma flexiva de la base de derivación, así como los afijos y el tipo de proceso derivativo son tenidos en cuenta; por otra parte, el análisis semántico aporta una clasificación de estos adjetivos desaparecidos en base a las categorías propuestas por el *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*. El análisis morfológico refleja que los patrones de afijación que sobreviven en inglés actual, así como los que presentan una mayor frecuencia de tipo, muestran menores índices de pérdida léxica que los patrones de afijación desaparecidos o que presentan una menor frecuencia de tipo. La principal conclusión del análisis semántico evidencia que las pérdidas léxicas en la clase adjetival frecuentemente comprenden adjetivos que denotan cualidades abstractas.

Palabras clave: inglés antiguo, adjetivo, formación de palabras, semántica, lingüística histórica.

SPANISH SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS' ORAL COMPETENCE IN EFL: SELF-ASSESSMENT, TEACHER ASSESSMENT AND TASKS

Pilar Mur-Dueñas, Ramón Plo and Ana Hornero

Although Spanish students start EFL lessons at a very early age, several studies at a national and European level highlight the low competence of Spanish speakers in general and of Spanish students in particular in spoken English. In this context, we set out to design a comprehensive questionnaire on the process of teaching and learning oral skills in Secondary Education, which was administered to both teachers and students of English in a representative sample of Secondary Schools in the region of Aragón (Spain), the total number of answers being 2,073 (2,010 from students and 63 from teachers).

Our aim was to ascertain whether students perceive themselves as progressively more skilled in speaking and interacting as they advance through the 6-year Secondary Education period. We crossed our findings with the different type of school attended: rural or urban, private, state-run or state-subsidised, and non-bilingual or bilingual. In addition, we explored the possible effect of the teachers' methods of assessment of oral skills on the students' perceived and achieved competence. The results derived from this survey can provide a good diagnosis of the current situation of the teaching and learning of oral skills in Spanish EFL Secondary School classrooms.

Key words: oral skills, competence, Secondary Education, assessment, EFL.

Aunque los estudiantes españoles se inician en el aprendizaje del inglés como lengua extranjera en la infancia, diversos estudios a nivel nacional y europeo señalan la escasa competencia de los hablantes españoles, en general, y de los estudiantes españoles, en particular, en inglés hablado. En este contexto planteamos el diseño de un amplio cuestionario sobre el proceso de enseñanza/aprendizaje de las destrezas orales en Educación Secundaria, que distribuimos a una muestra representativa de docentes y estudiantes de inglés en centros de Enseñanza Secundaria en Aragón. El número total de respuestas fue de 2073 (2010 de estudiantes y 63 de profesores).

Nuestro objetivo era comprobar si los estudiantes perciben una mejora en sus habilidades orales a lo largo de la Educación Secundaria. Se tuvieron en consideración posibles diferencias atendiendo al tipo de centro de enseñanza: rural o urbano, público o privado/concertado y bilingüe o no bilingüe. Por otra parte, se exploraron los posibles efectos de los métodos de evaluación de las destrezas orales en la percepción y obtención de dicha competencia por parte de los alumnos. Los resultados de este estudio pueden servir de diagnóstico de la actual situación de la enseñanza/aprendizaje de las destrezas orales del inglés en las aulas españolas de Educación Secundaria.

Palabras clave: destrezas orales, competencia, Educación Secundaria, evaluación, Inglés como Lengua Extranjera.

CLIL INSTRUCTION AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGOTIATION STRATEGIES

Francesca Mesquida and Maria Juan-Garau

The current study proposes to analyze the positive effects that Content-and-Language-Integrated-Learning (CLIL) instruction can have on the development of negotiation strategies, which are an essential part of interaction. Thus, in order to see whether CLIL instruction furthers any linguistic development in this respect, we are going to examine which negotiation moves (e.g. clarification requests, confirmation and comprehension checks, among others) are employed both by CLIL and mainstream (or non-CLIL students) while performing an extemporaneous role-play in pairs. The results indicate that CLIL students make use of a higher number of instances and of a wider range of negotiation moves (e.g. self-repairs, reformulations, and clarification requests) while interacting than their non-CLIL counterparts.

Key words: CLIL, negotiation strategies, interaction, mainstream English learners, and role-play.

El presente estudio tiene como objetivo analizar los efectos positivos que el aprendizaje integrado de contenidos y lengua extranjera (AICLE) puede tener sobre el desarrollo de estrategias de negociación, las cuales son un componente básico en toda interacción. Así, y con el objetivo de ver si AICLE promueve algún desarrollo lingüístico en este sentido, examinaremos que estrategias de negociación (ej. solicitudes de aclaración, verificaciones de confirmación y comprensión, entre otras) son utilizadas tanto por estudiantes AICLE como por estudiantes convencionales mientras llevan a cabo un juego de roles espontáneo en parejas. Los resultados indican que los estudiantes AICLE cuando interactúan utilizan más estrategias de negociación (ej. autocorrecciones, reformulaciones, y solicitudes de aclaración) y más variadas que los estudiantes convencionales.

Palabras clave: AICLE, estrategias de negociación, interacción, estudiantes convencionales de inglés, y juego de roles.

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Revista *Miscelánea*
Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
C/ Pedro Cerbuna, 12
Universidad de Zaragoza
50009 Zaragoza
SPAIN

mjluzon@unizar.es / baelo@unizar.es
editors@miscelaneajournal.net

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- Current (CG Times or Times New Roman) typefaces should be used, and special symbols should be avoided as much as possible.
- "&" should be avoided whenever possible.
- Generally speaking, punctuation and orthography should be coherent (British or American style) all through the article. For example: "emphasise/ recognise" rather than "emphasize/ recognise"; "colour/ colour" rather than "colour/ color".

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