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**Articles**



# LA FUNCIÓN PRAGMÁTICA DE LOS ANGLICISMOS: ALGUNOS EJEMPLOS EN EL HABLA JUVENIL DE LAS PALMAS DE GRAN CANARIA<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introducción

El estudio de las influencias interlingüísticas, y del anglicismo en particular, ha acaparado un creciente interés en las últimas décadas entre los investigadores. Considerado un fenómeno complejo del contacto de lenguas y producto de la creciente globalización cultural, el anglicismo constituye un mecanismo de transculturación que, en el caso del español, “desborda con creces el estrecho cauce léxico del préstamo cultural e inunda todos los niveles lingüísticos (morfológico, semántico, sintáctico, fraseológico)”, dada la enorme influencia tecnológica, cultural y política del mundo anglosajón (Gómez Capuz 2004:24-25). Actualmente, la bibliografía sobre el anglicismo es relativamente extensa y en ella distintos autores han estudiado ampliamente la etiología de este complejo fenómeno, además de proponer diversas tipologías para su clasificación. No obstante, algunos especialistas como Rodríguez González (1999, 2002) o Turell (1986) han destacado la escasez de trabajos de tipo sociolingüístico que aporten algo de luz a la cuestión del uso, probablemente por las dificultades que entraña su estudio y la variedad de factores que intervienen. Como bien explica Rodríguez González, además de no existir reglas fijas en cuanto al uso de anglicismos frente a los términos españoles, el uso variable de anglicismos parece depender de muchos factores sociolingüísticos que tienen que ver con el estatus social del hablante, el canal de comunicación empleado, el tema, etc. Este autor distingue, por tanto,

dos tipos básicos de factores: los relacionados con el *uso* lingüístico o registro, y los ligados al *usuario*, que puede pertenecer a un determinado grupo de hablantes, lo que se reflejará en su sociolecto (edad, educación y estatus socioeconómico). Estos factores pueden favorecer un uso concreto, aunque las diferenciaciones de registro no siempre siguen la misma dirección y la casuística es muy variada. La que sí parece clara es la correlación entre el uso de anglicismos y la edad del usuario, sobre todo en ciertos campos, por lo que los jóvenes, con su tendencia a seguir todas las nuevas modas y todo lo que tenga visos de modernidad, son en gran medida responsables del creciente uso de anglicismos, especialmente en el habla coloquial.

Además, como ha señalado Lorenzo (1996:98) acertadamente, en la cuestión de los anglicismos, “independientemente de criterios intransigentes, [...] es el uso lingüístico, debidamente encauzado y moderado, el que decide en todo momento”. Igualmente, tanto Pratt (1986:367) como Rodríguez González (1997:9), en su Introducción al diccionario de Rodríguez y Lillo, han resaltado respectivamente la necesidad de la creación de un banco de datos y la falta de un registro periódico de todas esas voces anglicadas.

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Por su parte, Rodríguez Segura (1999:228) ya constató la utilización del anglicismo con una función “más bien expresiva o estética, para hacer juegos de palabras, construir alteraciones, deformarlos con algún propósito, o marcar el discurso de un hablante con rasgos generalmente humorísticos, irónicos o rítmicos”. Éste es, sin duda, uno de los usos lingüísticos más interesantes y al mismo tiempo uno de los menos estudiados (cf. Rodríguez Medina 2003, 2004). Por otro lado, es cierto que, aunque el influjo del inglés no se experimenta exclusivamente en el lenguaje juvenil, sí hay ciertos ámbitos de esa influencia (música, ordenadores, juegos electrónicos, publicidad, cine y televisión) a los que las generaciones jóvenes parecen estar bastante más expuestas.

Teniendo en cuenta todo ello, en este artículo perseguimos un doble objetivo: perfilar e ilustrar el concepto de función pragmática aplicado al campo de los anglicismos. Para ello empezaremos recopilando lo dicho al respecto por algunos autores. Luego explicaremos sucintamente el marco de nuestra investigación y, seguidamente, ilustraremos el concepto de función pragmática mediante algunos ejemplos tomados de una parte de los resultados de un trabajo empírico anterior (González Cruz et al. 2009) sobre el uso de anglicismos por parte de un grupo de jóvenes de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Finalmente, aportaremos algunas conclusiones.

## 2. La función pragmática

Aunque las publicaciones sobre los anglicismos son relativamente abundantes, hemos observado que los trabajos sobre su uso, y más concretamente sobre las

funciones –en especial sobre la función pragmática– que estos pueden desempeñar, son más bien escasos. Así, en su artículo pionero sobre las funciones de los anglicismos en el español contemporáneo, Rodríguez González (1996:109) señalaba la importancia que para su análisis adquirirían dos de los tres componentes funcionales identificados por Halliday dentro del sistema semántico del lenguaje: en concreto, se refería a la función interpersonal y a la textual, por considerar que éstas son de carácter más pragmático que la función ideacional o referencial. Según Halliday, la función interpersonal tiene que ver con el uso de unidades o estructuras lingüísticas que de alguna manera marcan las relaciones sociales o personales. Se trata de una función que es realizada por aquellas palabras o expresiones que están marcadas sintácticamente y tienen connotaciones emotivas. Con frecuencia sucede que los préstamos –sobre todo cuando no se han integrado completamente o no son reconocidos como tales– y debido a su naturaleza foránea, son muy proclives a desarrollar este significado emotivo, es decir, un significado que expresa ciertos sentimientos o actitudes por parte del hablante, tales como ironía, desprecio, esnobismo o algún tipo de afectación. Rodríguez González aporta como ejemplos claros de esta expresividad algunos términos que considera evaluativos, como es el caso de los anglicismos *gay*, para el significado ‘homosexual’, y *líder*, para ‘jefe, guía’. Como bien explica este autor, la particularidad de estos términos es que, frente a sus sinónimos o equivalentes españoles, los dos tienen ciertas connotaciones positivas y agradables que aquellos no poseen. En estos y otros muchos casos, lo que suele suceder es que el carácter foráneo del anglicismo contribuye a suavizar o a ocultar la crudeza de ciertos conceptos, realizando por tanto una especie de función eufemística o críptica, particularmente en el caso de términos relacionados con el mundo de la droga, la prostitución o la delincuencia en general. Por otra parte, más allá de las áreas estigmatizadas, está claro que las connotaciones de prestigio que suelen transmitir estos préstamos del inglés se pueden observar fácilmente en lenguajes especializados, como los de la informática o la publicidad. Por otro lado, dentro de la denominada función textual, (es decir, la de crear un texto y relacionarlo con el contexto, ya sea con la situación o con el texto precedente), la inclusión de anglicismos parece estar motivada por ciertas tendencias que tienen como finalidad obtener un mayor grado de información, claridad y precisión en la expresión. Así, en primer lugar vemos que a veces se da una tendencia hacia la simplificación, es decir, el anglicismo utilizado es un término corto que se adopta por dos razones principales:

- a) una tendencia hacia la economía de expresión y la ley del mínimo esfuerzo. Algunos ejemplos bien conocidos que apunta Rodríguez González son: *thriller*, frente a ‘película de suspense’; *duty free*, frente a ‘establecimiento de venta de productos libre(s) de impuestos’; *best-seller*, frente a ‘libro con gran

éxito de ventas’, o bien el uso de muchos términos monosilábicos del inglés como pueden ser *bluff, gay, pin, stand*, etc.

- b) la necesidad de precisión y claridad cuando no hay un equivalente español adecuado; es el caso de anglicismos como *box* (‘compartimento móvil en un hospital para niños o cuidado intensivo’) y *stand* (‘área o estructura para exhibición o venta de productos’). A veces también se usan para evitar la polisemia o la ambigüedad, o por cuestiones de énfasis, o incluso para dar variedad a la expresión, alternando el uso conjunto del anglicismo y del término español.

Otro trabajo muy reciente que también aplica el modelo funcional de Halliday al uso de los anglicismos es el estudio comparativo realizado por Danbolt Drange (2009) entre jóvenes chilenos y noruegos. Esta autora (2009:70-79) hace una distinción básica entre los préstamos que denominan una realidad nueva y los que ya tienen un referente en el idioma receptor. Los primeros desempeñan una función ideacional o referencial y se podrían subdividir en las cinco subcategorías siguientes:

- a) préstamos propios, que incluyen las palabras que denominan un objeto o una invención nueva que se introducen en un idioma junto al objeto o la invención. Son los préstamos tradicionales en los que predomina el vocabulario técnico relacionado con los nuevos inventos tecnológicos, como *CD, e-mail*, etc.
- b) préstamos que se refieren a costumbres, objetos o realidades pertenecientes a otra cultura, como *lord, lady, cricket, Halloween*, etc.
- c) nombres de marcas registradas anglosajonas. Al introducirse en otra lengua, los productos nuevos con frecuencia conservan sus nombres propios. Algunos ejemplos que aporta Danbolt Drange son el *Messenger* o *Scotch*.
- d) Títulos y frases de teleseries, películas y canciones, que son referencias directas a expresiones culturales globales: *star wars, fame, rocky*.
- e) Nombres propios de origen anglosajón, categoría en la que se incluyen dos tipos de nombres, los nombres de pila de origen inglés y los nombres “que se modifican con pronunciación inglesa o con la sustitución de un nombre o hipocorístico inglés correspondiente al nombre original”, fenómeno que también tiene relación con los denominados anglicismos fonéticos. Por ejemplo, llamar *Maicol* /maikl/ (de Michael) a alguien que se llame Miguel.

La función que cumplen estas cinco categorías es la ideacional, ya que, según esta autora, todos estos tipos de préstamos describen o hacen referencia al mundo, es decir, su uso “está motivado por la necesidad de describir o mencionar algo que antes no se había descrito o no se conocía”, por lo que están rellenando un vacío en el idioma receptor.

En cuanto al segundo tipo de préstamos, los que no denominan una realidad nueva, Danbolt Drange considera que pueden realizar la función interpersonal o bien



la textual. En su opinión, la función interpersonal es la que explica en muchos casos “el uso de préstamos jergales en el habla de los jóvenes” (2009:76), y señala cuatro factores principales que determinan el uso de anglicismos, a saber, el señalar prestigio, el atenuar el mensaje, el intensificarlo y el recurrir a expresiones humorísticas, que incluye el empleo de vocativos, apodos o sobrenombres. No obstante, también resalta esta autora la dificultad que supone el determinar con exactitud la motivación del hablante a la hora de elegir entre un préstamo (un anglicismo) y una palabra de su propia lengua. Será el contexto, junto con la actitud del emisor –el tono de voz, la entonación– el que nos ayude a interpretar correctamente los motivos y a decidir si hay ironía, parodia u otras razones en el uso del anglicismo. Danbolt Drange (2009:78) cita a Halliday para señalar la importancia de la función textual como motivación para el uso de préstamos; también hace referencia a la idea de Rodríguez González de que el anglicismo se puede usar para simplificar, economizar, precisar y variar el mensaje. Destaca igualmente cómo en algunos casos hay préstamos que pueden desempeñar la función interpersonal y la textual a la vez. Y concluye:

Un hablante puede emplear un préstamo para llamar la atención del interlocutor, así logra reforzar el mensaje, pero al mismo tiempo realza el texto. Por lo tanto las categorías no son absolutas, pero sirven para comprender mejor las diferentes funciones que cumplen los préstamos lingüísticos. (Danbolt Drange 2009:79).

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Por su parte, tal y como señalamos en la introducción, Rodríguez Segura (1999:228) ya constató la utilización del anglicismo con una función expresiva o estética. Esta autora demuestra que el empleo de los anglicismos siempre cubre una necesidad personal del usuario, es decir, se trata de un uso siempre motivado. En su trabajo, apuntaba algunas razones que explican el uso de anglicismos:

- a) La persona tiene en mente la expresión inglesa, buscar la equivalencia en español le supone pararse a pensar (y quizá está en el transcurso de un programa en directo).
- b) Usar extranjerismos va con su forma de ser y expresarse.
- c) Responde a la ‘deformación profesional’, es parte de su jerga.
- d) Se busca voluntariamente un toque de pedantería.
- e) Pretende hacer gracia.
- f) Los usa precisamente para condenar o burlarse de su uso (utiliza una pronunciación extremadamente cuidada o totalmente errónea y una entonación particular).
- g) Se quiere demostrar cultura, etc.

Otra utilidad de los anglicismos que puede englobarse dentro de la denominada función interpersonal es la de su uso con una intención irónica, paródica o

humorística, como bien ha observado Rodríguez Medina (2004) en un corpus de anglicismos tomado tanto de obras literarias como de conocidos programas radiofónicos y televisivos de humor. Así, por ejemplo, esta autora señala, entre otros fenómenos, el uso de los sufijos *-eibol* o bien *-ing* para crear palabras que producen un efecto humorístico como ‘insoporteibol’ o ‘acojonanting’. En su opinión, este uso expresivo de los anglicismos parece indicar que estos se encuentran ya en una fase de madurez en el discurso español y que se trata de una tendencia sociolingüística duradera, que permite que los hablantes

captan los matices –a veces muy sutiles– contenidos en deformaciones de formas inglesas y mezclas morfológicas de las dos lenguas: españolización de la ortografía del anglicismo (*chou*), creación de pseudoanglicismos con base española (*inaugurador*), utilización de prefijos y sufijos ingleses o adaptados al español (*insoporteibol*, *flipeibol*), explotación de formas en *-ing* (*spantosing*), aplicación de personajes de la cultura angloamericana a la cultura española (*Narcís Skywalker*) y deformación ‘a la inglesa’ de grafías españolas (*Zaplan’s*).

Debido a la fuerza expresiva de estos híbridos, que además gozan de difusión masiva en todo el país por la popularidad de los programas donde se crean y repiten –a veces con gran insistencia–, se empieza a apreciar ya su uso en el lenguaje coloquial, en especial en las conversaciones de los jóvenes, por lo que quizá se convierta con el tiempo en un nuevo recurso lexicogenésico del español.

(Rodríguez Medina, 2004: 117)

Este uso humorístico del anglicismo al que nos estamos refiriendo es mencionado también por Vígara (2002) en su estudio sobre el lenguaje pijo. Esta autora habla del anglicismo lúdico, que no es exclusivo de los jóvenes ni de los pijos, sino más bien “un auténtico signo de estos tiempos”. Consiste en la sustitución de palabras o expresiones españolas por sus equivalentes en inglés. En el caso de los ‘pijos’ jóvenes que suelen manejarse bien en inglés, la utilización de estos anglicismos no es siempre “propiamente práctica, sino con función sobre todo lúdica”. Vígara (2002: 231-2) aporta varios ejemplos de este anglicismo que, desde su punto de vista, podría llamarse también anglicismo *empático* porque se utiliza “solamente entre iguales.”

A quienes son capaces de saludar con un ‘Hello, niña...Kisses’, darles las gracias en inglés (*thank you*), decirles que llevan ‘más de diez minutos para *catchar* [*<to catch* españolizado] un taxi, ¡qué heavy!’, presentarlos/-as como *my friends* o piropearlos/-as diciéndoles que van *fashion* (‘a la moda, atractivos, molones’) o *well...* Este anglicismo puede aparecer por doquier y renovarse constantemente. En lugar de ir a bailar o a la disco[teca], puede aparecer (o no) ir *de dâncing*; en lugar de salir el ‘finde’ y beber, tomarse el *weekend* y *drinkar* (*<to drink*); estar de exámenes puede ser estar de *examinations...*, y así en el caso de muchas otras expresiones cotidianas.

Muchos de los usos o funciones que hemos mencionado en esta sección se podrían englobar dentro de lo que denominamos función pragmática de los anglicismos,

que, como vemos, cubre un espectro relativamente amplio de usos, ya sea aportando connotaciones emotivas o positivas, o realizando una intención irónica, paródica o humorística, que son los más destacables, pero también los ya mencionados de conseguir la concisión, el énfasis y la variedad en la expresión, o bien evitar la ambigüedad.

Por último, no podemos terminar este apartado sin hacer referencia a dos importantes aportaciones de Gómez Capuz muy relacionadas con nuestro estudio. La primera es un análisis léxico-semántico de un corpus de anglicismos utilizados en el registro coloquial del español por parte de una comunidad de habla del área metropolitana de Valencia, durante el período 1988-1996 y obtenidos en una serie de grabaciones secretas “que revelan con gran fidelidad los rasgos de la conversación cotidiana espontánea”. Su interés radica en que dicho análisis permite estudiar los procedimientos de los que se sirven “los hispanohablantes peninsulares para conseguir la asimilación fónica, morfosintáctica y semántica de estas voces foráneas” (Gómez Capuz 2000:9). De entre las muchas conclusiones de este trabajo, nos resultan de enorme interés las siguientes, relativas a los anglicismos con mayor frecuencia de uso, por tener en su caso 8 empleos o más. Corresponden a los siguientes grupos:

- a) Anglicismos antiguos, asimilados y difundidos: *güisqui, póquer, bar, mitin*.
- b) Anglicismos relativos al mundo del deporte, unos más antiguos (*fútbol, gol, tenis, penalty*) y otros más recientes (*squash, aerobic y basket*).
- c) Anglicismos relativamente antiguos, que verbalizan realidades domésticas y urbanas: *jersey, spray, suéter, grill, coca-cola, sándwich, parking, camping*.
- d) Anglicismos muy recientes, que verbalizan realidades básicas del modo de vida de los jóvenes: *pub, flipar, hippy, rocker, rock, junky, cómic, póster*.
- e) Algunos anglicismos técnicos, reveladores de la creciente ‘tecnificación’ del discurso oral coloquial: *PC, marketing, estrés, test*.

(Gómez Capuz 2000:261)

La segunda aportación de este mismo autor (Gómez Capuz, 2001) es un estudio de la introducción de anglicismos pragmáticos y culturales en España a través de la vía de los doblajes de películas y seriales estadounidenses, un ámbito en el que abundan las traducciones deficientes, por lo que se convierte en “la puerta de entrada de todo tipo de anglicismos no léxicos” que, en su opinión, son los más dañinos para la integridad del sistema lingüístico del español, y que clasifica en los siguientes tipos de anglicismos:

- semánticos (falsos amigos como *romance* ‘amoríos’)
- sintácticos (abuso de la pasiva y del posesivo, *estar siendo* + participio)
- fraseológicos (calcos de modismos como *jugar un papel* y *tener problemas*)
- pragmáticos (aunque formulados por... [algunos] autores como calcos sintácticos o fraseológicos, entre los que destacan *olvidalo, ¡seguro!*).

(Gómez Capuz 2001: 14)

Si bien Gómez Capuz señala la dificultad que entraña el diseñar una tipología exhaustiva de lo que denomina interferencia pragmática “debido a los escasos estudios monográficos sobre esta cuestión y a la propia dificultad –incluso en estudios sobre una sola lengua– de determinar qué fenómenos pertenecen al nivel pragmático”, no deja de resaltar el hecho de que

la interferencia pragmática se sirve de construcciones que en principio –desde un punto de vista formal o estructural– son calcos sintácticos o fraseológicos (o incluso léxico-semánticos), y así han sido catalogados por los estudiosos del préstamo y la interferencia; ahora bien, estos calcos van más allá de los niveles sintáctico y fraseológico y son capaces de afectar la organización discursiva del texto (en nuestro corpus de doblajes de películas y seriales, la ‘imitación’ de la conversación cotidiana): contribuyen, por ejemplo, a una cierta ordenación del discurso, a la expresión de matices semánticos entre oraciones, a la verbalización de ciertas rutinas discursivas y de la modalización del enunciado.

(Gómez Capuz 2001: 21)

De este modo, este autor consigue mostrar la naturaleza heterogénea del fenómeno al tiempo que aporta algunos ejemplos de lo que denomina *anglicismos pragmáticos*, entre los que cita los siguientes:

- *¡qué bueno que viniste!*, como calco de *How good of you to come!/How good that you came!*
- *¿cómo le gusta?*, en lugar de *¿le gusta?* o *¿qué le parece?*, como calco de *how do you like it?*
- *¡déjame solo!*, en lugar de *¡déjame en paz!*, como calco de *leave me alone!*
- *¡olvidalo!*, en lugar de *nada, despreocúpate*, como calco de *forget it.*
- *¡seguro!*, en lugar de *sí, claro*, como calco de *sure!* en afirmaciones enfáticas.
- *¿sí, John?*, en lugar de *¿qué pasa, John?* o *dime, John*, como calco de *Yes, John?*

(Gómez Capuz 2001: 15-16)

En definitiva, al igual que Rodríguez González (1996:125) podemos concluir que hoy en día es inevitable que los anglicismos formen parte de nuestro repertorio lingüístico, no sólo por su elevado número en una gran cantidad de ámbitos, sino también por la diversidad de funciones que pueden desempeñar, siendo la función pragmática una de las más interesantes y complejas. A ella puede añadirse la función, no menos importante, de marca de pertenencia al grupo (Edwards, 2009; Joseph, 2004) es decir, el uso de anglicismos parece erigirse también, en este caso, como una clara señal de identidad juvenil.

### 3. Nuestra investigación

El motivo principal del que surgió nuestra investigación (González Cruz et al. 2009) fue la constatación de la creciente influencia de la lengua y la

cultura anglófona en nuestra sociedad, algo que en absoluto es nuevo. Como señala Pirulli (2007: 202), dada la estrecha conexión de los fenómenos lingüísticos con “el contexto histórico, social, político, económico, cultural y material en el que se producen”, no es extraño que la influencia del inglés se haya incrementado en las últimas décadas, puesto que todos los factores extralingüísticos que han determinado su preponderancia en el mundo no han hecho más que intensificarse y consolidarse. Todos podemos observar cómo, en la actualidad, la presencia de anglicismos “sigue aumentando paralelamente al continuo desarrollo científico y tecnológico”, con la particularidad de que ahora casi todos esos términos pertenecen al habla común. En este sentido, las palabras de Pirulli (2007: 8) resultan bien elocuentes cuando señala cómo

a causa de la enorme difusión de aparatos y servicios como el ordenador, el móvil, el correo electrónico y la conexión a Internet, muchos de estos anglicismos han entrado en el lenguaje cotidiano, especialmente el de los jóvenes, que están familiarizados con las novedades tecnológicas y asimilan con rapidez y naturalidad el vocabulario que a ellas se refiere.

La proliferación de anglicismos no es sino el resultado de la difusión de modas, costumbres, técnicas y actitudes sociales procedentes de la cultura angloamericana. Como afirma Rodríguez Segura (1999:228), los anglicismos no sólo se pueden encontrar en todos los medios de difusión, sino que además se usan en todo tipo de situaciones comunicativas: conversaciones entre amigos, debates televisivos, disertaciones especializadas, tertulias radiofónicas, doblajes de las series estadounidenses, artículos de opinión en prensa, catálogos publicitarios, novela contemporánea, etc.

Igualmente, llama la atención el uso del inglés en la publicidad española, incluida la que se hace en Canarias, lo que, como explica Varey (2008:29), tiene mucho que ver con los jóvenes:

English tends to be used to reflect an essence of freshness, energy and vitality. English is used in this way because it is usually targeted at young people who are more likely to understand it than older generations.

Los propios medios –sobre todo la prensa periódica– suelen hacerse eco con cierta frecuencia de esta situación, alertando más o menos sutilmente de los peligros que subyacen para el idioma, especialmente con los vertiginosos cambios que propician las nuevas tecnologías (véase, por ejemplo, el artículo de Villena (2008)), o el amplio reportaje aparecido recientemente en la revista *Quo*, bajo el título de “El español de 2108”). Conviene advertir, no obstante, de la frecuente inclusión, dentro del amplio abanico de expresiones inglesas que se recopilan, de algunas que no son anglicismos propiamente dichos, en razón de su falta de arraigo, sino que más bien se podrían considerar casos espontáneos, poco o nada sistematizados, de cambio

de código, ya que, como bien señala Rodríguez González (2003:559), muchas veces en la prensa periódica, por ejemplo, se usan términos y expresiones inglesas “por un cierto esnobismo y poseen un carácter más o menos individual e idiolectal sin que tengan [...] un uso continuado en el idioma”. De ahí que resaltemos, como hace Rodríguez González, por un lado, la necesidad de emplear criterios restrictivos cuando se trata de elaborar un corpus de anglicismos y, por otro, la utilidad de las investigaciones en torno al uso real por parte de los hablantes de la lengua. En cualquier caso, todo parece indicar que la tendencia a la penetración y al uso cada vez más frecuente de anglicismos seguirá vigente mientras los Estados Unidos mantengan su hegemonía política, económica y cultural en el mundo.

Toda esta coyuntura puede explicar el hecho de que nos hayamos centrado en el estudio del uso de anglicismos por parte de los jóvenes, por ser éstos –como ya dijimos– el grupo generacional que parece estar más expuesto al influjo del inglés, al estar en contacto con una gran mayoría de las vías habituales de entrada al español. Además, como señala con acierto Rodríguez González (2002:43-44) en su monográfico dedicado al lenguaje de los jóvenes, éste se caracteriza por la tendencia a crear “un antilenguaje provisto de especial expresividad”, para lo cual se acude no sólo a “viejas palabras a las que cambia el sentido”, sino también a los extranjerismos, que le proporcionan un cierto exotismo. Entre esos extranjerismos cobran especial relevancia los anglicismos, que producen lo que este autor denomina la ‘anglomanía juvenil’, debido a la irresistible influencia angloamericana, sobre todo de la cultura *underground*, “que se manifiesta a través de la droga, el rock y los cómics”, destacando también el papel desempeñado por las revistas marginales, que

se distinguen por un inglés descuidado en el que son abundantes los errores ortográficos [...] bien por desconocimiento del idioma, bien por una pose de despreocupación y sentido lúdico que no son raros de ver en los textos *underground* y libertarios. La intención jocosa y/o crítica queda de manifiesto particularmente en los casos de escritura fonética (*plis, comuniquéichon, guels*), un rasgo muy peculiar en los cómics. (Rodríguez González 2002:46)

Sin embargo, todos estos fenómenos tan característicos del lenguaje juvenil –en el que el léxico constituye “la marca identificadora más evidente”, si bien otros rasgos (pragmáticos, paralingüísticos y extralingüísticos) del plano interaccional cumplen un importante papel en su identificación– no son en absoluto nuevos (Briz 2003). De hecho, Rodríguez González, experto en los dos temas abordados en nuestro estudio, el lenguaje juvenil y los anglicismos, ha estado aportando datos sobre ellos en sucesivos estudios (cf. 1986, 1989, 2003), en los que ha ido aclarando muchos puntos teóricos, englobándolos dentro de todo un movimiento de transmisión de valores contraculturales entre la juventud española.

### 3.1. Metodología

En nuestra investigación sobre el uso de anglicismos en el habla juvenil de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, hemos elegido a jóvenes de entre 18 y 22 años y descartado a los de menor edad, pues estos viven una etapa caracterizada por las fluctuaciones lingüísticas (López Morales 1994:27). Ciertamente es que hay datos que demuestran que el uso de anglicismos es especialmente relevante entre los adolescentes. Ejemplo de ello es el amplio corpus de anglicismos empleados por los estudiantes de bachillerato de Madrid, y que han sido digitalizados dentro del proyecto COLA de la Universidad de Bergen.<sup>2</sup>

Habitualmente en los trabajos de investigación lingüística la variable edad se suele manejar de diversas maneras, realizándose cortes en el *continuum* de los diferentes grupos de edad de manera arbitraria. Salvo en los casos en que se trabaja específicamente con lenguaje adolescente (o infantil), en la mayoría de las investigaciones en las que se pretende estudiar una norma determinada, se suele elegir a los individuos de entre 21 y 35 años como pertenecientes a la primera generación, haciendo sucesivos cortes generacionales que abarcan todos los grupos de edad. Dado que nuestro estudio se centra en el lenguaje juvenil, hemos querido limitarnos a los hablantes más jóvenes, escogiendo las edades comprendidas entre los 18 y los 22 años, es decir, una vez que el hablante ha entrado plenamente en la denominada mayoría de edad.

Para obtener datos, en el marco de nuestro proyecto de investigación empezamos por diseñar una encuesta en la que se preguntara directamente a los informantes por sus preferencias y hábitos lingüísticos. La encuesta se pasó a una muestra de 50 informantes, incluyendo chicos y chicas de forma equitativa. Esta cifra surge de la propuesta del investigador William Labov (1966:170-1), para quien las investigaciones sociolingüísticas no necesitan de un gran número de informantes, dada la tendencia hacia la homogeneidad en los comportamientos lingüísticos. Sin embargo, tras aplicar en un principio el porcentaje del 0,025 a las cifras de población obtenidas en el padrón municipal, vimos que los números resultantes eran muy bajos e incluían decimales, por lo que decidimos aumentarlas y redondearlas para facilitar los cálculos, de manera que, finalmente, optamos por pasar la encuesta a esos 50 jóvenes.<sup>3</sup>

Dado que la cifra total de anglicismos en uso en las diversas áreas temáticas del lenguaje actual era inabarcable para el tipo de investigación con el que nos habíamos comprometido, decidimos centrarnos en primer lugar en aquellos conceptos para los que la lengua española disponía de términos equivalentes. Del amplio abanico de posibilidades se hizo una selección, procurando no alargar en exceso la encuesta para no abusar de la paciencia de los informantes. Aun así, la extensión final fue de trece folios.

De este modo, y con un total de 50 parejas de palabras (el anglicismo y su equivalente español) se confeccionó el apartado 2 de la encuesta (el primero solo indagaba en algunos datos personales). Los dos apartados siguientes, el 3 y el 4, fueron los que abordaban el uso de anglicismos con la función pragmática. Así, el apartado 3 ofrecía 19 términos y expresiones inglesas –seleccionados de manera intuitiva por nuestra experiencia como hablantes y oyentes– con ejemplos concretos de su uso, algunas con cierto sentido irónico, humorístico o expresivo en el registro coloquial. En esta misma línea, el cuarto apartado preguntaba por la frecuencia y contexto de uso de otros seis vocablos ingleses en el discurso en español, casi siempre también con cierta intención jocosa. De manera que los tres primeros apartados (2, 3 y 4) se centraban en el estudio de la incidencia de los anglicismos en el lenguaje juvenil, para medir la influencia del inglés en el uso del léxico. En cambio, las siguientes secciones de la encuesta, los apartados 5 y 6, analizaban esa influencia dentro del nivel cultural, intentando averiguar si nuestros informantes tenían ciertos hábitos directamente relacionados con lo que se denomina anglicismos culturales. Por su parte, el apartado 7 y último, solo pretendía conocer su nivel de conocimientos de la lengua inglesa y confirmar una posible relación entre el nivel de conocimientos de inglés y la frecuencia de uso de los anglicismos.

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#### 4. Algunos ejemplos de uso de anglicismos con una función pragmática

Para ilustrar el uso de anglicismos con la estudiada función pragmática, en esta sección utilizaremos los datos obtenidos en los dos apartados de nuestra encuesta (los ya mencionados 3 y 4) que se centraban en este asunto. Lo que pedimos a nuestros informantes fue que indicaran la frecuencia con que los usaban. La relación de anglicismos, junto con sus ejemplos de uso, era la siguiente:

<i>fashion</i>	<i>¡Qué fashion te veo!</i>
<i>light</i>	<i>El examen fue muy light.</i>
<i>heavy</i>	<i>¡Qué heavy! Me pareció muy heavy.</i>
<i>body</i>	<i>Una alegría para mi body. ¡Vaya body!</i>
<i>off the record</i>	<i>Me lo dijo off the record.</i>
<i>superstar</i>	<i>Va como si fuera una superstar.</i>
<i>superwoman</i>	<i>Va de superwoman por la vida.</i>
<i>flower-power</i>	<i>Esa chica es un poco flower-power.</i>
<i>happy</i>	<i>¡Qué happy! Se quedó todo happy.</i>
<i>number one</i>	<i>En eso es el number one.</i>
<i>Crack<sup>4</sup></i>	<i>Lo has conseguido, eres un crack!</i>
<i>fifty-fifty</i>	<i>Eso lo solucionamos fifty-fifty.</i>



## La función pragmática de los anglicismos: algunos ejemplos...

<i>groggy</i>	<i>Me levanté groggy total.</i>
<i>K.O.</i>	<i>Hoy no salgo, estoy K. O.</i>
<i>stand-by</i>	<i>Ese asunto está en stand-by.</i>
<i>overbooking</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>En la disco había overbooking.</i>
<i>off</i>	<i>Ahora mismo me coges en off.</i>
<i>business</i>	<i>El tío tiene un business que no veas.</i>
<i>show</i>	<i>Me montó un show delante de todos.</i>

En la Tabla 1 se recogen los resultados globales, es decir, las respuestas del conjunto de los 50 informantes para este apartado de la encuesta:

<b>Términos</b>	<b>Sí, con frecuencia (%)</b>	<b>Nunca (%)</b>	<b>A veces (%)</b>
1. <i>Fashion</i>	6 (12%)	20 (40%)	24 (48%)
2. <i>Light</i>	10 (20%)	12 (14%)	28 (56%)
3. <i>Heavy</i>	11 (22%)	20 (40%)	19 (38%)
4. <i>Body</i>		39 (78%)	11 (22%)
5. <i>Off the record</i>		48 (96%)	2 (4%)
6. <i>Superstar</i>	1 (2%)	29 (58%)	20 (40%)
7. <i>Superwoman</i>	3 (6%)	31 (62%)	16 (32%)
8. <i>Flower power</i>	1 (2%)	35 (70%)	14 (28%)
9. <i>Happy</i>	20 (40%)	6 (12%)	24 (48%)
10. <i>Number one</i>	5 (10%)	14 (28%)	31 (62%)
11. <i>Crack</i>	32 (64%)		18 (36%)
12. <i>Fifty-fifty</i>	14 (28%)	7 (14%)	29 (58%)
13. <i>Groggy</i>	9 (18%)	18 (36%)	23 (46%)
14. <i>K.O.</i>	19 (38%)	9 (18%)	22 (44%)
15. <i>Stand-by</i>	28 (56%)	5 (10%)	17 (34%)
16. <i>Overbooking</i>	17 (34%)	10 (20%)	23 (46%)
17. <i>Off</i>	7 (14%)	27 (54%)	16 (32%)
18. <i>Business</i>	11 (22%)	20 (40%)	19 (38%)
19. <i>Show</i>	20 (40%)	8 (16%)	22 (44%)

TABLA 1: Resultados globales del apartado 3 (uso de anglicismos con función pragmática)

Según los datos expuestos en la Tabla 1, parece que los anglicismos que nuestros informantes usan con mayor frecuencia son *crack* (64%), *stand-by* (56%), *happy* (40%), *show* (40%), seguidos de *K.O.* (38%) y *overbooking* (34%). Si sumamos las respuestas en las que los 50 informantes han confirmado que utilizan este corpus de 19 anglicismos ya sea ‘con frecuencia’ o ‘a veces’, podríamos ordenar el listado de mayor a menor frecuencia de uso de la siguiente manera:

*crack* (100%)  
*stand-by* (90%)  
*happy* (88%)  
*fifty-fifty* (86%)  
*show* (84%)  
*K.O.* (82%)  
*overbooking* (80%)  
*light* (76%)  
*number one* (72%)  
*groggy* (64%)  
*business* (60%)  
*fashion* (60%)  
*heavy* (60%)  
*off* (46%)  
*superstar* (42%)  
*superwoman* (38%)  
*flower power* 30%)  
*body* (22%)  
*off-the-record* (4%)

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#### 4.1. Resultados por sexo

En cuanto a la influencia de la variable sexo en los resultados –que se resumen en la Tabla 2– podemos decir que, en líneas generales, ésta no parece tener demasiada incidencia. De hecho, llama la atención que en algunos casos las respuestas de chicos y chicas parecen muy cercanas, puesto que las cifras presentan un grado alto de coincidencia. Es el caso de los anglicismos *heavy* (5 chicos y 6 chicas lo usan con frecuencia) y *number one* (usado con frecuencia por 2 chicos y 3 chicas, y sólo a veces por 16 chicos y 15 chicas); algo parecido sucede con *crack* y *fifty-fifty* y también se observa bastante coincidencia en el escaso uso de *off the record* (23 chicos y 25 chicas dicen que no lo usan nunca).

En general se puede afirmar que las diferencias en el uso de anglicismos entre chicos y chicas son mínimas. De hecho, sólo se aprecian algunas, como, por ejemplo, que los anglicismos *fashion*, *light*, *happy* y *superwoman* parecen gozar de mayor preferencia por parte de las chicas, y que *K.O.*, *heavy*, *groggy*, *business* tienden a ser más usados por los chicos, lo que resulta lógico dadas las diferentes tendencias en cuanto a gustos y aficiones.

Términos	Sí, con frecuencia		Nunca		A veces	
	H	M	H	M	H	M
1. <i>Fashion</i>	2	4	15	5	8	16
2. <i>Light</i>	4	6	8	4	13	15
3. <i>Heavy</i>	5	6	9	11	11	8
4. <i>Body</i>			21	18	4	7
5. <i>Off the record</i>			23	25	2	0
6. <i>Superstar</i>	0	1	16	13	9	11
7. <i>Superwoman</i>	1	2	18	13	6	10
8. <i>Flower power</i>	0	1	17	18	8	6
9. <i>Happy</i>	6	14	5	1	14	10
10. <i>Number one</i>	2	3	7	7	16	15
11. <i>Crack</i>	17	15			8	10
12. <i>Fifty-fifty</i>	7	7	4	3	14	15
13. <i>Groggy</i>	6	3	6	12	13	10
14. <i>K.O.</i>	12	7	4	5	9	13
15. <i>Stand-by</i>	13	15	3	2	9	8
16. <i>Overbooking</i>	6	11	6	4	13	10
17. <i>Off</i>	3	4	15	12	7	9
18. <i>Business</i>	8	3	8	12	9	10
19. <i>Show</i>	10	10	3	5	13	9

TABLA 2: Resultados globales por sexo del apartado 3 de la encuesta. (Uso de anglicismos con función pragmática; H = hombre; M = mujer)

#### 4.2. Otros ejemplos tomados de los resultados del apartado 4 de la encuesta

En el cuarto apartado de la encuesta se preguntaba por la frecuencia y contexto de uso de otros 6 vocablos con función pragmática en el discurso. Las preguntas fueron las siguientes:

- a) *¿Utilizas alguno de los siguientes términos en tus conversaciones en español?*
- b) *¿Te esfuerzas por pronunciar los anteriores términos a la inglesa?*

En concreto, en la primera pregunta, intentamos averiguar la frecuencia con que nuestros informantes introducen en su discurso en español ciertas expresiones inglesas como *please, hello, bye, sorry, no comment, darling*. Este fenómeno parece producirse mayormente en contextos informales con amigos y familiares, también con una función más bien jocosa, o como indicó un informante para el término *darling*, “cuando estoy de coña con mi novia”. La frecuencia de uso de estos anglicismos con una función claramente pragmática es, de mayor a menor, como sigue:

*please* (80%)  
*bye* (70%)  
*hello* (70%)  
*sorry* (70%)  
*no comment* (20%)  
*darling* (10%)

A continuación, la Tabla 3 resume las respuestas de nuestros informantes a esta primera pregunta, según la variable sexo:

Anglicismos	SÍ LOS USA		NO LOS USA		Observaciones
	H	M	H	M	
<i>Sorry</i>	16	17	9	8	
<i>Bye</i>	13	19	12	5	Una chica no contesta
<i>Hello</i>	13	15	12	10	
<i>Please</i>	15	20	10	5	
<i>No comment</i>	8	10	16	15	Un chico no contesta
<i>Darling</i>	6	5	18	20	Un chico no contesta

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TABLA 3: Uso global de anglicismos en el discurso (apartado 4) (H = hombre; M= mujer)

Como se muestra en la Tabla 3, son las chicas las que más emplean estas expresiones, siendo *please* (20), *bye* (19), *sorry* (17) y *hello* (15) –por este orden– las que más utilizan, mientras que *darling* y *no comment* son las menos usadas por ellas. En este punto hay coincidencia con los chicos, que usan muy poco estas dos últimas expresiones.

En cuanto a la segunda pregunta<sup>6</sup>, la tabla 4 sintetiza las respuestas obtenidas:

Grupo de edad	SÍ	NO	A VECES	Observaciones
18 años	4	4	2	
19 años	3	5	0	Sin datos de 2 informantes
20 años	1	2	4	Sin datos de 3 informantes
21 años	1	2	3	Sin datos de 4 informantes
22 años	3	1	2	Sin datos de 4 informantes
TOTAL	12	14	11	Sin datos de 13 informantes

Tabla 4: ¿Te esfuerzas por pronunciar los anteriores términos a la inglesa?

Esta pregunta sólo la contestaron 37 de los 50 informantes y vemos que si sumamos el número de respuestas afirmativas con las de ‘a veces’, obtenemos un total de 23 informantes que suelen esforzarse en pronunciar estas expresiones a la inglesa, cifra con la que casi se llega a la mitad de estos.

## 5. Conclusiones

En este trabajo hemos estudiado el concepto de función pragmática aplicado al campo de los anglicismos. Tras intentar definir esta función la hemos ilustrado recurriendo a ejemplos tomados de los resultados de una parte concreta de una investigación anterior más amplia sobre uso de anglicismos por parte de los jóvenes de la capital grancanaria. Como hemos visto en las páginas anteriores, parece confirmarse una cierta tendencia ente nuestros informantes al uso de anglicismos con la mencionada función pragmática. Se trata de una especie de mecanismo expresivo, casi siempre de corte irónico humorístico, que es relativamente recurrente en la interacción verbal de nuestros jóvenes, sobre todo en contextos informales. Destaca especialmente el uso frecuente (más del 60%) de anglicismos como *crack* (usado por el 100% de los informantes), *stand-by* (90%), *happy* (88%), *fifty-fifty* (86%), *show* (84%), *K.O.* (82%), *overbooking* (80%), *light* (76%), *number one* (72%), *groggy* (64%), *business* (60%), *fashion* (60%) y *heavy* (60%). Igualmente interesante es la inserción relativamente frecuente en el discurso en español de nuestros jóvenes de expresiones anglicadas como *please* (80%), *bye* (70%), *hello* (70%) y *sorry* (70%), siendo las chicas las que más tienden a usarlas. Además, como ya apuntamos, otro aspecto importante de todos estos usos lingüísticos es el de marcar la identidad de los jóvenes como grupo mediante la utilización y comprensión de determinados anglicismos.

Finalmente, hemos de resaltar la necesidad de llevar a cabo otros estudios prácticos con muestras más amplias que puedan corroborar la validez de las conclusiones a las que hemos llegado. Con esta pequeña aportación al estudio del fenómeno del anglicismo queremos, por un lado, llamar la atención acerca de la importancia ya comentada de las investigaciones empíricas del uso real, contribuyendo así al proceso del que ya habló Riquelme (1998:43) en los siguientes términos:

El trabajo del filólogo (del lexicógrafo o del gramático) debe concretarse en confeccionar, en primer lugar, un repertorio, un registro del uso lingüístico; después la Real Academia de la Lengua Española (RAE), con todas las cautelas pertinentes, incluirá y aceptará en su Diccionario (DRAE) el empleo de estos términos siempre y cuando se constate una suficiente extensión y documentación.

Por otro lado, y para finalizar, no debemos olvidar, como bien apuntó este mismo autor (Riquelme 1998:18), que el fenómeno del anglicismo

es la punta del iceberg de un proceso mucho más profundo y relevante: el de la transculturación; un transformador proceso de cambio de costumbres cotidianas, tan íntimas, unas, como colectivas y generalizadas, otras; transformaciones en nuestro vivir, en nuestro hacer, en nuestro pensar... y hasta en nuestro sentir.

## Notas

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<sup>2</sup>. El fin principal del proyecto COLA es el de constituir un corpus oral del lenguaje adolescente, recogiendo muestras del habla de los jóvenes comprendidos entre los 13 y 19 años de Madrid, así como de varias capitales latinoamericanas, (en concreto Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Guatemala y La Habana) para construir un corpus del habla juvenil para la investigación, accesible en Internet. Para más información, véase [http://www.colam.org/om\\_prosj-espanol.html](http://www.colam.org/om_prosj-espanol.html).

<sup>3</sup>. En concreto las cifras fueron 1,16 para los de 18 años; 1,15 para los de 19; 1,18 para los de 20; 1,24 para los de 21; y 1,29 para los de 22 años. Otros trabajos que han

partido de los supuestos de Labov, pero que han optado también al final por aumentar el porcentaje aplicado son, por ejemplo, los de Samper Padilla (1990) y Luján García (2003). Para mayor información acerca de la población y los informantes que participaron en nuestra investigación, véase González Cruz et al. (2009).

<sup>4</sup>. En términos técnicos, el término *crack* es un pseudoanglicismo, ya que no se utiliza en inglés con el mismo significado que en español.

<sup>5</sup>. El término *overbooking* es especialmente interesante, porque se usa metafóricamente en el español coloquial, algo que no ocurre en inglés.

<sup>6</sup>. Con esta pregunta, pretendíamos averiguar si los hablantes son conscientes de estar empleando términos extranjeros y cuál es el grado de importancia que conceden al hecho de ofrecer una pronunciación cuidada o no cuidada.

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# TRANSLATING IMAGES: THE IMPACT OF THE IMAGE ON THE TRANSLATION OF DISNEY'S *ALICE IN WONDERLAND* INTO SPANISH<sup>1</sup>

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Translating animated movies is a complex issue as attention has to be paid not only to the close relationship between the sign systems that compose the audiovisual text but also to the target-language audience. The importance of the confluence of different sign systems in audiovisual texts led Toury (1993: 17) to advocate the suitability of the polysystem approach for audiovisual translation since the focus of the study is not the audiovisual text as an entity in itself but rather what it can reveal with respect to the process which gave rise to it, in other words, the choices made by translators and the constraints under which these choices were made. The importance of visual elements in animated films is similar to that of picture-books when it comes to translation. Animated films like picture-books may be seen as illustrated stories where the relationship between the visual and the verbal is emphasised. In her study of picture-books and illustrated books, Oittinen (2003: 131) suggests that “sometimes it is the visual that takes on and tells the story; sometimes the verbal takes over” and the same is the case when dealing with animated films. It is the significant repercussion of the visual elements on the translation of the words that will be the focus of attention in this paper.

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 1, there is a brief introduction to Disney's film *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) and Carroll's novels *Alice in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871). Section 2 is a brief commentary on the characteristics of the film text together with the conceptualization of the

relationship between verbal and visual information in semiotics and translation studies for the subsequent analysis of the examples provided in Section 3. Section 3 is presented as a case study and the validity of the theoretical framework discussed in Section 2 is tested through an analysis of the strategies employed when the relationship between certain visual and verbal elements becomes a potential pitfall for the translator. Section 4 draws conclusions and discusses the findings.

## 1. *Alice in Wonderland*: an adaptation of Carroll's books

Disney's *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) belongs to Walt Disney Animated Classics series and is based largely on Lewis Carroll's book *Alice in Wonderland* (1865) and on some passages from the sequel *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871). Carroll's novels tell the story of a girl, Alice, who falls down a rabbit hole into a fantasy world. There, she meets incredible creatures with whom she lives nonsensical adventures. These nonsense tales, which come one after another at a dizzy pace, are characterised by a continuous defiance of logic and numerous intertextual references to Carroll's poems and popular nursery rhymes.

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Carroll's novels *Alice in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871) were also accompanied by John Tenniel's illustrations, which became so popular that they were used for numerous adaptations of the novels, including Disney's. Carroll and Tenniel's *Alice in Wonderland* inspired numerous versions for children. Disney's *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) remains one of the best known. Disney resorted to Tenniel's illustrations for the creation of their own fantasy for children. Each of Tenniel's drawings was displayed as a complete screen image. The resulting film text, on the whole, may therefore be considered an extended intertextual reference to the novel. In Disney's film, different episodes from Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass*, are presented one after the other as independent short stories, told by different characters. They frequently include nursery rhymes, riddles and nonsensical play on words, with Alice as the binding thread of the narrative.

## 2. Verbal and visual elements in translation

Unlike Carroll's books, Disney's *Alice in Wonderland* is a film text. Like any film text, it can be seen as a complex sign system where independent elements are inextricably linked to one another. Saussure (1983: 71) divides signs into two parts, signifier and signified. He proposes "to retain the word *sign* [signe] to designate the whole and to replace *concept* and *sound-image* respectively by *signified* [signifié]

and *signifier* [significant]”. Signs can be divided into three groups on the basis of the type of relationship between signifier and signified: icons, indexes and symbols (Peirce 1931-1958). There is physical similarity between signifier and signified in the case of icons (Hartley et al. 1994: 138), whereas indexes reflect a cause-effect relationship between signifier and signified (Fiske 1990:149). Symbols, in turn, do not involve any resemblance or cause-and-effect relationship between signifier and signified. The relationship between the two parts of the sign is established by convention and this arbitrariness of the sign leads to connotative systems (Fiske 1990:312).

The filmic sign system differs from other sign systems in that it combines these other systems (such as body language and verbal and visual communication) and makes them interact in a cohesive way in order to establish meaning in the text. This combination of meanings from different semiotic systems is what Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) call multimodality and Chaume (2004a:16) states that these sign systems conventionally adopted by a cultural community form the different codes which are transmitted by different channels of communication. On this basis, the audiovisual text is “a semiotic construct comprising several signifying codes that operate simultaneously in the production of meaning” (Chaume 2004b:16). Among those codes, the linguistic, which occupies a predominant role in any audiovisual text and refers to verbal information transmitted through the oral discourse (acoustic channel) (Chaume 2004a: 30) and the iconographic, which includes indexes, icons and symbols which are transmitted through the visual channel, take on special significance for an analysis of *Alice in Wonderland*.

In addition, audiovisual texts are characterised by the coexistence of different channels of communication: oral (voices) and visual (writing and pictures) (Delabastita 1989: 196, Lorenzo et al. 2003:271). For their translation the interaction between image and spoken word is crucial, as Chaume (2004c: 50) claims that “synchronization undeniably has a direct impact on the translation process”. According to Fodor (1976:9) the requirements for a satisfactory synchronization include a faithful and artistic rendering of the original dialogue –character synchrony–, the closest possible approximation of the new sounds to the visible lip movements –phonetic synchrony–, and bringing the style of delivery on the new version into optimal artistic harmony with the style of acting –content synchrony.

However, Chaume (2004c) does not consider that content synchrony or the semantic relation between the translated words and the images and music are a type of synchronization. In this regard, the term synchrony may be misleading, since it refers to the functional-systemic term of coherence. As he (2004c:45) points out:

Translation must not only follow the source written text, but also the events on screen. In other words, it must be coherent with the communicative situation established on screen (context of situation). To achieve this, the translator has several cohesive links at his or her disposal (ellipsis, recurrence, substitution, conjunction, collocation, etc.), which help to produce a translation coherent with on-screen action, and which do not fall within the area of synchronization.

In a similar vein, Zabalbeascoa (2003: 314) suggests the importance of considering the types of relationships between words, pictures and other items that may have a bearing on the translating process, whether they appear simultaneously, contiguously, or even if they are separated by a considerable lapse of time. He (2003: 314-315) proposes some of the types of relationships by which any number of text constituents might relate to each other, regardless of whether they belong to the same or different channels and/or codes (verbal or non-verbal sign systems):

Complementarity	When the various elements (verbal, visual or whatever the combination happens to be) are interpreted interdependently, i.e. they depend on each other for a full grasp of their meaning potential and function(s).
Redundancy	Repetitions (total or partial) that are regarded as unnecessary, superfluous or dispensable.
Contradiction (or incongruity)	Defeated expectations, or some sort of surprising combination to create such effects as irony, paradox, parody, satire, humour, metaphor, symbolism.
Incoherence	Inability to combine elements meaningfully, or as intended (of the script), the subtitling (techniques, norms, display), or the sound (i.e. revoicing, mixing, editing, special effects, music)
Separability	Features displayed by elements of a channel or sign system whereby they manage to function (better or worse) autonomously or independently from the AV text, as when the soundtrack is made into a successful audio recording.
Aesthetic quality	Text author's intention to produce something of beauty by means of a certain combination of elements.

The degree of dependency between certain text items is relativized in the case of separability, whereas in complementarity, the semiotic and pragmatic value of an element may change and lead to certain puns depending on whether or not it is in the company of other elements (Zabalbeascoa 2003: 315). The analysis of complementarity and coherence in the dubbed version of *Alice in Wonderland* is the focus of attention of the following section.

### 3. Semiotic analysis of *Alice in Wonderland*

The present study concentrates on the dubbed translated version of *Alice in Wonderland*. In this film, coherence with the communicative situation established on screen is essential and, as will be seen, keeping it may be problematic for the translator in certain particular ways. The following examples of complementarity (1-7) illustrate the translator's difficulties in reconciling the source text with the target text:

#### Example 1

(00:31:25) Caterpillar: *A, e i o u, a e i o u, a e i o u, o, u e i o a, u e i a, a e i o u...* **Who are you?**  
Alice: I- I- I hardly know, sir! I changed so many times since this morning, you see...  
Caterpillar: **I do not see.** Explain yourself.  
Alice: Why, I'm afraid I can't explain myself, sir, because I'm not myself, you know...  
Caterpillar: **I do not know.**  
Alice: Well, I can't put it anymore clearly for it isn't clear to me!  
Caterpillar: You? Who are you?  
Alice: Well, don't you think you ought to tell me- cough-cough, cough-cough, who you are first?  
Caterpillar: **Why?**  
Alice: Oh dear. Everything is so confusing.  
Caterpillar: **It is not.**  
Alice: Well, it is to me.  
Caterpillar: **Why?**  
Alice: Well, I can't remember things as I used to, and...  
[...]  
Alice: Well I must say I've never heard it that way before...  
Caterpillar: I know. I have **improved** it.  
Alice: Well, cough-cough-cough, if you ask me...  
Caterpillar: You? Huh, who are you?  
Alice: Cough-cough, cough-cough, A-choo! Oh!  
Caterpillar: You there! Girl! Wait! Come back! I have something important to say!  
Alice: Oh dear. I wonder what he wants now. Well...?  
Caterpillar: Keep your temper!  
Alice: Is that all?  
Caterpillar: No. Exacitically, what is your problem?  
Alice: Well, it's exacitici-, exacitit-, well, it's precisely this: I should like to be a little larger, sir.  
Caterpillar: Why?

Oruga: ¿**Quién eres tú?**  
Alicia: Ya-ya-ya no lo sé señor. He cambiado tantas veces que ya no lo sé.  
Oruga: **Tampoco yo lo sé.** Explicáte.  
Alicia: Es que no podré explicarme, señor. Porque yo ya no soy yo.  
Oruga: **Te has enredado.**  
Alicia: No puedo explicarme con más claridad porque tampoco lo entiendo yo.  
Oruga: ¿Tú? ¿Quién eres tú?  
Alicia: Antes de decirle a usted quien soy yo, ¡aja, aja, oh, oh! Diga usted quién es.  
Oruga: ¿**Yo?**  
Alicia: Sí, porque todo está tan enredado.

Oruga: ¿Enredado? Y ¿qué?

Alicia: Que no puedo acordarme de las cosas como antes...

[...]

Alicia: Pues yo nunca lo he oído recitar en esa forma.

Oruga: Lo sé. La he **mejorado** mucho.

Alicia: Señor... ajé, ajé, ajé. Achús. Yo creo que...

Oruga: ¿Tú? ¿Quién eres tú?

Alicia: Ajé, ajé, ajé (tos). ¡Oh!

Oruga: ¡Oye, niña! ¡Niña, oye, ven acá! Tengo algo importante que decirte.

Alicia: ¡Qué lata! ¿Qué cosa quiere decirme? ¿Qué quiere?

Oruga: No te enojos.

Alicia: y ¿eso es todo?

Oruga: No. Exactamente, ¿qué es lo que te preocupa?

Alicia: Exactica, exactica oh... pues es precisamente esto, me gustaría crecer un poco más.

Oruga: ¿Por qué?

The scene, based on “Advice from a Caterpillar” (*Alice in Wonderland*, Ch. V), presents a caterpillar in babouche and smoking an Arabic pipe while singing a song with an Arab tune. The Caterpillar starts to talk to Alice while he blows smoke rings in the shapes of certain letters and figures.

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Firstly, there are three instances in which the Caterpillar asks Alice who she is and the question is always accompanied by smoke rings which form the letters: *U-R-U* (Picture 1). The letters function as pictographs since their names, when read out, more or less form the utterance “who are you?”. By contrast, the values of these letters are lost in Spanish since the letters *U-R-U* do not stand for anything in the target language. However, the presence of visual elements leads the translator to include the pronoun *tú* in the question *¿quién eres tú?* in order to achieve cohesion between the verbal message and the visual message. Even though the pronoun could be omitted in Spanish, the translator opts for its inclusion so that the number of letters shown in the picture coincides with the number of words spoken in the dialogue. In addition, the lengthening of the sound /u/ in *tú* in the verbal code allows the maintenance of the complementarity relationship with the smoke letter *U* found in the source text.

Picture 1



Similarly, in the case of the letter *Y* /wai/ which substitutes the adverb *why* /wai/ (Picture 2), the translator has to adapt the script, in order to maintain the coherent relationship between the verbal and the visual code in the source text. A double meaning of *y* is achieved as the adverb *why* is translated into Spanish, firstly, as the personal pronoun *yo* and, secondly, as the conjunction *y*, both words beginning with the letter *Y* in Spanish.

Picture 2



The translator, in turn, is not able to show the relationship of complementarity between the verbal and the visual elements in the case of *I have improved it* (Picture 3). The word *improved* is lengthened by the Caterpillar in the source text and this is reflected by the two smoke rings in the shape of an *o*. However, the Spanish version cannot lengthen the *o*-sound in *mejorado* since the stress falls on the *a*-vowel instead of the *o*-vowel.

Picture 3



Another example where the homophony embedded in the image of the letter is lost can be found in the use of the letter *C* (Picture 4). Homophony is one of the four types of wordplay proposed by Delabastita (1996) and it occurs when two words have identical sounds but are spelt differently. Delabastita (1996: 128) defines wordplay as “the general name for the various *textual* phenomena in which *structural features* of the language(s) used are exploited in order to bring about a *communicatively significant confrontation* of two (or more) linguistic structures with

*more or less similar forms and more or less different meanings*". As Yaguello and Harris (1998: 3) point out wordplay reveals an innate intuitive linguistics in speakers and:

presupposes that one knows the rules and how to bend them, how to exploit the ambiguity which characterizes natural languages, as well as the creativity which they allow. For children, language-learning is inseparable from word games, which thereby take on educational value (mainly self-educational as it turns out).

Whereas in the source text the pun comes from the acoustic similarity between the name of the letter *C* /si:/ and the pronunciation of the verb to *see* /si:/ in *I don't see* in the dubbed version there is no relationship between the translation, *tampoco yo lo sé*, and the picture of the letter C and consequently the play on the image is lost in the dubbed version.

Picture 4



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Furthermore, a case of homophony is also observed between the noun *knot* and the negative adverb *not* (Picture 5). The image of a knot, which appears twice, firstly accompanies Caterpillar's sentence "I do not know" and, secondly, "it is not". Both the original and the dubbed version have looked for a relationship between the script and the image. The source text plays on the ambiguity of /nɒt/ as found in the noun *knot*, and the adverb *not*. The dubbed version, in turn, cannot rely on the ambiguity of /nɒt/ and, consequently, the translator opts to show the indexical relationship between the two elements: the verbal, the word *enredado*, refers to the visual, the picture of a knot.

Picture 5





Likewise, the same scene presents another episode where the smoke rings tell a story by picturing units of meaning.

### Example 2

(00:33:32) Caterpillar: Hmm! *How doth the little crocodile improve his shining tail. **And pour the waters of the Nile, on every golden scale.** How cheer... how cheer... Ahem!*

Alice: Hihihihhi!

Caterpillar: *How cheerfully **he seems to grin, how neatly spreads his claws.** And welcomes little fishes in, with gently smiling jaws.*

Alice: Well I must say I've never heard it that way before...

Caterpillar: I know, I have improved it.

Alice: Well, cough-cough-cough, if you ask me...

Oruga: Dice: El pequeño cocodrilo para aprender sus cantares usa **las aguas del Nilo con sus notas musicales.** Con hipo..., con hipo...

Alicia: ¡Jijijiji! Uh

Oruga: **Con hipócrita modestia, sus garras pone a indicar** a los tiernos pececillos por donde deben entrar.

Here, the Caterpillar asks Alice to recite a poem and she starts Lewis Carroll's "How doth the little crocodile", which appeared in Carroll's novel *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. The translation of a poem inevitably involves difficulties for the translator since whenever a poem is translated into another language, any minimal change in its sequence may disturb its aesthetic realisation (Campos 1992: 32). Furthermore, in this case the poem is complemented by illustrations that, in certain cases, force the translator to choose between two meanings. The role and function of the illustrations in the source text is to make an interpretation based on the audible text and as Oittinen (2003: 131) suggests:

words and pictures may tell things simultaneously, side by side, or they may take turns. Whatever the relationship, the illustration of a story always adds to the narration by giving extra information, such as cannot be given by words: details about setting in time, place, culture, society as well as characters and their relationships.

The poem describes a cunning crocodile which captivates fish with a charming smile. The beginning of the poem, *how doth the little crocodile improve his shining tail*, is accompanied by the visual element of a smoke ring whose shape reminds the reader of a crocodile and its tail (Picture 6). The relationship between the linguistic and the iconographic code in the original and in the dubbed version is manifest as both texts refer to the figure of a crocodile.

Picture 6



Nevertheless, the smoke ring of a golden musical note conditions the translator's choice for the translation: *and pour the waters of the Nile, on every golden scale* (Picture 7). The original poem plays on the polysemy of the word *scale*, which may refer either to “one of the thin, flat horny plates forming the covering of certain animals, as snakes, lizards, and pangolins” (Webster's encyclopedic unabridged dictionary of the English language 1996: 1273) and which would be *escama* in Spanish; or to, “a succession of tones ascending or descending according to fixed intervals, esp. such a series beginning on a particular note” (Yerkes 1996: 1274), *escala de notas musicales* in Spanish. However, the visual element of a golden note in the audiovisual text leads the translator to opt for the musical meaning, *notas musicales*, instead of *escamas*, subordinating the linguistic code to the iconographic code.

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Picture 7



The rest of the poem is summarised by the image of the smoke forming a mischievous grin and the image of the claws of a predator calling three little fishes to come into its jaws. The source text reinforces the verbal code in the narrative through the visual representation of the keywords (*grin*, *claws* and *jaws*), whereas the dubbed version excludes some of these keywords to maintain the original rhyme and rhythm and instead relies on the visual channel to perform the action narrated in the poem (Pictures 8, 9 and 10).

Picture 8



Picture 9



Picture 10



The impact of images on translation and the complementary relationship between words and pictures can also be observed in:

### Example 3

(00:16:40) Dee and Dum: *But mother Oyster winked her eye and shook her heavy head. She knew too well this was no time to leave her oyster bed.*

Mother oyster: **The sea is nice, take my advice, and stay right here.**

Dee and Dum: La madre ostra sin tardar el peligro adivinó. Con la experiencia del herald a sus hijas advirtió.

Madre Ostra: **De gente hambrienta os debéis cuidar y por ningún motivo los vayáis a acompañar.**

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The scene unfolds with Dee and Dum telling the story of “The Walrus and the Carpenter” from Carroll’s *Through the Looking-Glass* (Chapter IV), where the story of a mother Oyster protecting her little babies is told. Dee and Dum claim that mother Oyster knew that *this was no time to leave her oyster bed* while the image shows a calendar with the word *March* and the letter R blinking in red (Picture 11). In this case, the translator cannot modify the image on screen, however, the Spanish audience may interpret *March* as referring to the month *Marzo* thanks to the visual element of a calendar sheet and the resemblance between the words *March* and *Marzo*.

Picture 11



Furthermore, in the example there does not seem to be any relationship between mother Oyster's words and the picture, as Baumgarten (2008: 12) points out:

The visual information is interpreted as contributing to the meaning of the utterances and vice versa because viewers will always involuntarily try to establish a meaningful relationship between the two layers of information they are presented with. This is not to say that all co-occurrences of visual and verbal information are cohesive, but rather that the link between the verbal and the visual information need not be linguistically explicit and still can be cohesive.

Thus, the source and the target audience have to rely on their general knowledge of the best months for eating seafood to be able to make sense of the visual and verbal information. Taking into account that the months with the letter R in their names, both in English and Spanish, are said to be the best for eating seafood, as they coincide with the time of the year when the quality of the seafood is at its best, the audience may understand mother Oyster's concern when her innocent newborn babies follow the walrus.

Another point in *Alice in Wonderland* where the relationship between verbal and visual elements plays a crucial role is found in example 4, in the scene of "Golden Afternoon" (*Alice in Wonderland*, Ch. I):

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#### Example 4

(00:25:30) Alice: Why curious butterflies!

Rose: You mean **bread-and-butterflies**.

[...]

Rose: Girls, girls! We shall sing: 'Golden afternoon'. That's about all of us! Sound your A, Lily!

Lily: *Laaaa...*

Pansies: *Mimimimi...*

Daisy: *Lalalala...*

Iris: *Hahahahahahaha...*

Dandelions: *Poem, poem poem, poem...*

All flowers: *Little bread-and-butterflies kiss the tulips, and the sun is like a toy balloon. There are get up in the morning glories, in the golden afternoon. There are dizzy daffodils on the hillside, strings of violets are all in tune, Tiger lilies love the dandelions, in the golden afternoon, the golden afternoon. There are **dog and caterpillars** and a copper centipede, where the lazy daisies love the very peaceful life they lead.*

Alicia: ¡Pero qué mariposas tan raras!

Rosa: ¿Te refieres a **las mariposas pancake?**

[...]

Rosa: ¡Niñas! Todas cantaremos *La Fiesta del Jardín*, es la que mejor nos sabemos. Danos el tono Lirio.

Lirio: Laaa

Pensamientos: Miiii

Margarita: Laaaa

Lirio: Hahahaha

Diente de león: Pompompom

Todas las flores: Es la fiesta del jardín por las tardes cuando el sol comienza a declinar y las flores que son perezosas no se pueden despertar. Los narcisos visten siempre de gala, las violetas vienen de postín, y los tigres y los dientes de león vienen juntos al jardín. **Las orugas y langostas** siempre vienen a reñir y las dulces margaritas sólo piensan en dormir.

The scene is based on an intertextual reference to Carroll's poem "All in the Golden Afternoon". In the example, the flowers recite the poem. The lyrics refer to the butterflies as *bread-and-butterflies* playing on the strong resemblance of their wings to a pair of slices of **bread** with **butter** (Picture 12). The translator opts for referring to them as *mariposas pancakes*, keeping the visual synchrony and giving his Latin American origin away. Whereas the Iberian Spanish translation would have opted for *mariposas de pan con mantequilla*, the Latin American Spanish version shows the North American influence by the introduction of the American term *pancake*.

Picture 12



Moreover, coherence is highly respected in the source text where the role played by the visual elements is to perform the poem. The rhythm of the song does not allow a literal translation of the poem and the relationship between visual and verbal elements is occasionally broken. In the source version the song's lyrics begin by narrating what can be seen on the screen, a group of butterflies flying over the tulips and kissing them. The dubbed version only mentions the organization of a party and avoids referring to what is shown through the visual channel.

Another example in which the textual cohesion between the elements of the narration is not achieved in the target text is the scene in which the flowers sing *dog and caterpillars*, which is translated into Spanish as *las orugas y langostas* (caterpillars and locusts). In the source text there is a play on words by the association of the word *caterpillar*, which is made up of CAT + PILLAR, with the image of a cat hissing in the shape of a caterpillar (Picture 13). In the dubbed version, there is no

possible play on words in the case of the word *oruga* and, in addition, there is no relationship between the iconic and linguistic code, as the images of a dog and a cat illustrated in the visual channel are not related to the animals (*caterpillars* and *locusts*) mentioned in the Spanish lyrics.

Picture 13



*Alice in Wonderland* is, as has been seen, characteristically full of episodes that display dazzling wit. Examples of the clever use of words are also shown in the scenes based on “The Cheshire Cat” (*Alice in Wonderland*, Ch. VI), “A Mad Tea-Party” (*Alice in Wonderland*, Ch. VII) and “Bill the Lizard” (*Alice in Wonderland*, Ch. IV) (examples 5 -7).

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The first episode presents Alice asking the Cheshire Cat to help her to find the way back home. The Cheshire Cat is an intertextual reference of Carroll’s to Pindar’s fictional character and to his distinguishing grin in *Pair of Lyric Epistles* (1792).

### Example 5

(00:54:40) Alice: Oh, Cheshire Cat, it’s you!  
Cheshire Cat: **Whom did you expect, the White Rabbit, perchance?**  
Alice: Oh, no, no. I- I- I’m through with rabbits. I want to go home! But I can’t find my way.  
Cheshire Cat: Naturally. That’s because you have no way. **All ways here you see, are the queen’s ways.**  
Alice: But I’ve never met any queen.  
Cheshire Cat: You haven’t? You haven’t? Oh, but you must! **She’ll be mad about you, simply mad!**  
Hahaha! *And the momeraths outgrabe...*  
Alice: Please, please! Uh... how can I find her?  
Cheshire Cat: Well, some go this way, some go that way. But as for me, myself, personally, I prefer the **shortcut.**

Alicia: ¡Gatito risón, si eres tú!  
Cheshire Cat: Mm, **¿a quién esperas, al Conejo Blanco, quizás?**  
Alicia: No, no. No quiero que me hables de él. Yo me quiero ir, pero no sé por dónde.  
Cheshire Cat: Claro que no sabes, porque aquí nadie sabe nada. **Sólo se puede saber lo que dispone la reina.**

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Alicia: Pero yo nunca he visto a una reina.  
Cheshire Cat: ¿Qué? ¡No, no es posible! ¡Oh, **le vas a gustar mucho, muchísimo**. Le vas a encantar! Y los momerats también...  
Alicia: ¡Oye, ven! ¿Por dónde está la reina?  
Cheshire Cat: Pues... a veces por aquí, y a veces **por acá**. Pero como yo soy gente importante siempre entro **por acullá**.

In example 5, Alice shows her surprise at bumping into the Cheshire Cat who asks her, “*whom did you expect, the White Rabbit, perchance?*” In this case, the verbal message is supported by the image of the tail of the Cheshire Cat forming a pair of rabbit’s ears over his head (Picture 14). The same strategy is used when the Cheshire Cat refers to “*the queen’s ways*” and he forms the queen’s hairstyle over his head with his legs (Picture 15).

Picture 14



Picture 15



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This case shows the importance of visual elements for the exchange of information and its puns are particularly witty. For example, the Cheshire Cat says that the queen “*will be mad about you*”. In the source text, the Cat plays on the polysemy of the word *mad*, which may refer both to the insanity of the queen or to her delight in meeting Alice. Although the Spanish version could have kept the play on words by translating it as *la vas a volver loca*, the dubbed version restricts the meaning to *le vas a gustar muchísimo* (she will really really like you).

Another example of a play on words can be found when the Cheshire Cat shows the way to go and see the queen, and says that he “*prefers the shortcut*”. A shortcut is a route to save time but if the word is divided into two, one gets: SHORT + CUT; and it is precisely a short cut that the Cheshire Cat makes when he cuts the trunk of the tree to open a door (Picture 16). This pun is not possible in Spanish so the translator opts for replacing it with the introduction of the poetic adverb *acullá* (yonder), which was used in the Spanish archaic expression: *aquí, allá y acullá* (here, there and everywhere).

Picture 16



Example 6 further illustrates the prevalence of nonsensical plays on words in *Alice in Wonderland*.

### Example 6

(00:44:50) Alice: Oh, yes. I was sitting on the riverbank with uh... with you know who...

Mad Hatter: I do, hehehe?

Alice: I mean my **C - A - T...**

Mad Hatter: **Tea?**

[...]

White Rabbit: Oh, my poor watch! Oh, my wheels! My springs! **But- but- but- but, but- but-but...**

Mad Hatter: **Butter!** Of course, we need some butter! Butter!

Alicia: ¡Ah, sí! Estaba yo sentada junto al arroyo con... usted sabe con quién...

Sombreroero: ¿Lo sé yo? He he

Alicia: Sí, estaba con mi **G-A-T...**

Sombreroero: ¿**Té?**

[...]

Conejo Blanco: ¡Oh, mi pobre reloj, mis rueditas, mis resortes! Pero, **man man man**

Sombreroero: ¡**Mantequilla!** Pero, claro, necesita mantequilla. ¡Mantequilla!

Liebre: Mantequilla.

The Mad Hatter and the March Hare are characters portrayed as crazy creatures whose discourse is full of nonsense as in this case. When the Mad Hatter does not understand whom Alice was sitting with on the riverbank, she points out that she was with her cat, spelling the word *cat*. Then, the Mad Hatter exploits the homophony of the letter *T* /ti:/ to ask for some tea /ti:/. The same strategy is applied in the dubbed version, since the pronunciation of the word tea in Spanish, *té* /te/, matches with the name of the letter *T* /te/.

The same strategy of using the ending of the previous speaker's discourse is used in this example when the White Rabbit complains about having his watch broken saying *but- but- but* and the Mad Hatter uses the word *but*, to form a



new word: *butter*. However, the translator cannot use literal translation in this case, as the translation of *but* in Spanish would be *pero* and it would not make sense in the context of the tea party. Consequently, the translator opts to use *pero* once to register the Rabbit's protest and substituting *man*, the beginning of the word butter in Spanish, *mantequilla*, for the subsequent repetitions of the conjunction *but*.

Similarly, Carroll's expertise in playing on words is also shown in the episode of "Bill the Lizard" (*Alice in Wonderland*, Ch. IV), where Alice comes into the White Rabbit's house and after drinking from a little bottle she finds her head up the chimney. Example 7 shows the White Rabbit and Dodo thinking of a way to pull Alice out of the house.

### Example 7

<p>(00:22:12) Dodo: Who? Me? Don't be ridiculous! What we need is eh... <b>a lizard with a ladder!</b>                  White Rabbit: Hmm? Oh! Bill! Bill! Eh, we need <b>a lazzerd with a lizard</b>, a lizard a bb...b... can you help us?                  Bill: At your service, governor!                  Dodo: Here, my lad? Have you ever been down a chimney?</p>
<p>Dodo: ¿Quién, yo? Eso es absurdo, eh. Lo que necesitamos es... <b>un lagartijo con escalera.</b>                  Conejo Blanco: ¿Un qué? ¡Bill, Bill!                  Lagarto: Voy, voy.                  Conejo Blanco: Necesitamos un <b>escortijo con lagartera</b>, digo un acertijo, ¿nos ayudas?</p>

In the source text, Carroll plays on the phrase *a lizard with a ladder* when the White Rabbit switches the word order beginning the phrase with the word *ladder*. Due to his agitation, he gets the two words, *lizard* and *ladder*, mixed up, creating a new word, *lazzerd*, which takes the consonants of the lizard and the vowels and the repetition of the consonant from ladder:

$$L+I+Z+A+RD + L+A+DD+E+R = L+A+ZZ+E+RD$$

Likewise, the translator reproduces a similar play on words between the animal, *lagartijo*, and his ladder, *escalera*, in the dubbing version. In this case, he uses the word pattern of *lagartijo* (lizzard) for the creation of the neologism *escortijo*, which combines the beginning of the second word (*escalera*) with the ending of the first word (*lagartijo*) in the following way:

$$LA+GAR+TI+JO + ES+CA+LE+RA = ES+COR+TI+JO$$

The translator emphasises the nonsense of the phrase by saying that it is an *acertijo* (riddle). The addition of this word in the Spanish version contributes to make up a rhyme, as in the English-language version, between the neologism, *escortijo*, and the word added, *acertijo*.

#### 4. Conclusions

This study has shown that in the translation of films it is essential to be aware of the fact that the visual and the verbal sign systems interact, most notably in the case of cartoons where images can be modified to interact with words and create puns, wordplay and visual plays. The choice of linguistic elements is inextricably linked with the choice of the visual elements in the audiovisual text. This relationship between the linguistic and the iconographic code should not be broken as a consequence of the process of translation, since, as Oittinen (2003: 129) points out, “translating is always a combination of a whole and its parts”.

Although in translation studies the focus primarily lies on the verbal dimension of any text, in the case of *Alice in Wonderland* the translator’s task becomes especially arduous due to the strong cohesion between different semiotic sign systems and modes of discourse. In Carroll’s novels, Tenniel’s illustrations play a fundamental role by illustrating the verbal textual elements by means of pictures and by emphasizing a specific narrative element. This interdependence between the verbal and iconic codes is reproduced in Disney’s audiovisual adaptation, which also resorts to Tenniel’s original pictures for the portrayal of the main characters. In addition, Disney opts for reinforcing the role of the visual elements, which frequently plays an essential role in the plays on words.

Seventeen cases of puns which interact with images have been observed in the seven examples presented. The following table shows the examples and the cases with the key words referring to the elements analysed according to the following factors.

- the original meaning is modified,
- the translation is modified according to the visual component,
- the complementary relationship is maintained.

Example (Episode)	Case	Elements analysed	Modification of the original meaning	Translation modified according to the visual component	Complementarity relationship maintained
1 (Advice from a Caterpillar)	1.1	URU/ who are you	No	Yes	Yes
	1.2	Y/ why	No	Yes	Yes
	1.3	ImprOOve	No	No	No
	1.4	C/ see	No	No	No
	1.5	Knot/not	Yes	Yes	Yes

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Example (Episode)	Case	Elements analysed	Modification of the original meaning	Translation modified according to the visual component	Complementarity relationship maintained
2 (How doth the little crocodile)	2.1	Scales	Yes	Yes	Partially
	2.2	Grin Claw Jaw	Yes	Yes	Partially
3 (The Walrus and the Carpenter)	3.1	The sea is nice, take my advice, and stay right here.	No	No	Yes
4 (Golden Afternoon)	4.1	bread-and-butterflies	No	Yes	Yes
	4.2	dog and caterpillars	Yes	No	No
5 (The Cheshire Cat)	5.1	whom did you expect, the White Rabbit, perchance?	No	No	Yes
	5.2	The queen's ways	No	Yes	Yes
	5.3	She will be mad about you	Yes	No	Yes
	5.4	the shortcut.	Yes	No	No
6 (A Mad Tea-Party)	6.1	C-A- T/Tea	No	Yes	Yes
	6.2	But/Butter	Yes	Yes	Yes
7 (Bill the Lizard)	7.1	lazzerd with a lizard	No	Yes	Yes

- In all cases except one (7.1), the translation maintains the rhyme.
- In 7 out of 17, the translation has modified the original meaning; and in 4 of them it has been modified according to the visual component.
- In 6 out of those 10 cases in which the original meaning is not modified, the translation is done according to the visual component.
- 10 out of 17 cases show modifications according to the visual components.
- In 11 out of 17 cases, the translations maintain coherence and the verbal message is a representation of what can be seen on screen. However, the complementarity relationship between words and pictures is partially maintained in 2.1 and 2.2, where polysemy has led the translator to opt for the meaning of the word represented on screen.

- 5 (cases: 1.1, 1.2, 1.4, 1.5 and 6.1) out of 17 cases belong to the wordplay category of homophony; and in two cases (1.2 and 6.2) the translator has been able to rely on homophony to make the wordplay effect in the target text.

Overall, the analysis shows how the translating process is strongly influenced by the complementarity relationship established by the network of meanings consisting of verbal and visual elements. However, on some occasions the translator has had to modify the source text breaking cohesion with the visual information in order to keep the rhyme or synchrony. Finally, the nonsense rhyme (example 7), is based on wordplay, where verbal elements are decisive. The translator has recreated the plays on words resorting to the same linguistic strategy as the source text, using phonetic similarity in the creation of nonsensical words.

## Notes

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# ASSESSING THE PRODUCTIVITY OF OLD ENGLISH *-læcan*<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

The derivational morphology of Old English has attracted considerable attention for a long time (see, for instance, all the references provided by Lindemann 1970), given the generalized character of this phenomenon in the lexicon, as well as its relative formal transparency and semantic analysability. Recently, this area of morphology has been studied from two main perspectives. Kastovsky (1986, 1989, 1990, 2005, 2006) has dealt with zero derivation, affixation and compounding from the point of view of the typological shift identifiable in Old English from variable base morphology to invariable morphology, to reach the conclusion that by the end of the Old English period morphophonological alternations do not play any role in the formation of new words. Kastovsky (1992) has also offered the most systematic and comprehensive account of Old English word-formation to date. In this study the author insists on the associative character of the lexicon, which is comprised, with very few exceptions, of Germanic lexical items, and on the numerous derivational families that result from the operation of word-formation processes. Martín Arista (2005, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, fc.-a, fc.-b, fc.-c), in a more theoretical approach, has proposed a model of functional morphology called *Layered Structure of the Word* and has applied it to Old English in order to explain not only the units and processes of

word-formation but also some current topics of debate in morphology such as recursivity, percolation, cumulation, paradigmatic organization, etc.

In spite of the breadth and depth of these works, the question of the productivity of affixes and processes at this stage of the evolution of English remains largely untouched. While productivity has been a constant in morphological debate (see the works by Aronoff 1976; Baayen 1989, 1992, 1993; Baayen and Lieber 1991; Baayen and Renouf 1996; and Bauer 2001, 2005, among others), very few advances have been made in Old English morphological productivity. Kastovsky (1992) and Lass (1994) stress the difficulty of assessing the productivity of the word-formation patterns of an historical language and note the coexistence of productive and unproductive formations in the lexicon of Old English. Kastovsky (1992: 356-358) points out three main problems found when dealing with Old English productivity. First, that there is no direct way of testing productivity, which implies that we have to rely on indirect evidence such as the number of occurrences in a text in a given period or the continuity of a given process of word-formation. Second, productivity and transparency can vary diachronically. In Kastovsky's (1992) words, when one has to deal with a linguistic period such as Old English, stretching over some 600 years, there are bound to have been many changes. Only the output of the patterns recorded in the later documents is available for study. This is in keeping with Lass's (1994: 193) remark that it is difficult to determine whether a given occurrence of a derived form represents an institutionalized lexical item or not, or whether it is a new formation. And third, when a given word-formation process loses its productivity, it may leave at least some of its output as part of the vocabulary. As Kastovsky (1992: 356) puts it, the loss of productivity usually increases the tendency towards lexicalisation, with which the notions of transparency and analysability are crucial for a diachronic study.

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Given this background, in this article I assess the productivity of the Old English verbal suffix *-lecan* and advance an explanation for the productivity of the affix based on a previous analysis of the class status of *lecan*/*-lecan* and the lexicalization of the derivatives to which it is attached. For the study of productivity, the possibility of deriving new words is not so central in a historical language as in a living language, the reason being the nature of the evidence that is available rather than the theoretical interest of the notion of productivity. Therefore I concentrate on frequency understood as the number of the existing derivatives and, in order to offer an accurate assessment of the frequency of the affix in question, I consider the lexicographical as well as the textual sources of evidence. In the discussion that follows I use lexicographical evidence to measure type frequency and evidence from a corpus to measure token frequency. The measure of frequency ultimately allows me to assess the productivity of the affix.



The article is organized as follows. In section 2, I discuss the class status of *læcan*/*-læcan* and the lexicalization of its derivatives. In section 3, I measure the productivity of *-læcan* through an analysis of the evidence gathered from lexicographical and textual sources and, to close the article, the main conclusions are summarized in section 4.

## 2. The grammaticalization and lexicalization of *-læcan*

Before discussing the questions of the grammaticalization and lexicalization of *-læcan*, a morphological and semantic analysis of the affix would clear the ground. The Old English suffix *-læcan* produces denominal, deadjectival and deverbal verbs (Jember *et al.* 1975; Kastovsky 1992; Quirk and Wrenn 1994) as can be seen in example (1), which offers a strictly synchronic description of the morphological relation holding between the lexical items:

(1)

- a. *winterlæcan* ‘to grow wintry’ (< *winter* ‘winter’)
- b. *gemetlæcan* ‘to moderate’ (< *gemet* ‘fit, proper, apt’)
- c. *limplæcan* ‘to fall down’ (< (*ge*)*limpan* ‘to happen’)

Kastovsky (1992: 391) remarks that “*læc(an)* forms deadjectival verbs with the meaning ‘be, become, make’ and denominal verbs with the meaning ‘produce, grow, become’.” Additionally, *limplæcan* ‘to fall down’ in (1c) is a deverbal derivative, from the strong verb (*ge*)*limpan* ‘to happen’ and there is another instance of a deadverbial derivative, namely *gesamodlæcan* ‘to bring together’ < *samod* I ‘simultaneously’. Kastovsky (1992: 356) refers to elements that represent borderline cases between compounding and affixation as affixoids, and includes *-dom*, *-lac* and *-reden*, but he does not include *-læcan*. Nevertheless, rather than relying on a discrete category such as an affixoid (as opposed, for instance, to an affix), I offer an explanation based on the notion of continuity, both between lexical and grammatical elements (grammaticalization) and between semantic compositionality and non-compositionality (lexicalization).

The affix *-læcan* coexists with the weak class I verb *læcan* ‘to spring up, rise, flare up’, a zero derivative of the class VIIa strong verb *læcan* ‘to move up and down, leap, jump, swing, fly; play (instrument); play upon, delude; fight, contend’. Semantically, the derivation of *læcan* from *læcan* is motivated by meaning specialization. The coexistence of the lexeme and the morpheme in the lexicon indicates that grammaticalization is under way. I use the term *grammaticalization* with the value of change from lexical status to grammatical status (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 18). According to Lehmann (2002: 15) “grammaticalization reduces the

autonomy of a unit, shifting it to a lower, more strictly regulated grammatical level". Put in another way, "grammaticalization involves desemanticization of lexical forms, which gain more abstract meanings" (Givón 2009: 301). Focusing on the affix under study, there is a change from a literal meaning of movement 'to spring' to figurative meaning 'to begin a state or an action'. There is also a change from a more specific lexical meaning to more general grammatical meaning, to code inchoative internal aspect (beginning of an action or state) and causative internal aspect (with a secondary predication as second argument). When the affix is attached to nouns, its function is usually to convey inchoative internal aspect, except in the causative formations *gewundorlācan* 'to make wonderful' < *wundor* 'wonder' and *gehīwlācan* 'to form' < *hīw* 1 'form':

(2)

*āfenlācan* 'to grow towards evening' < *āfen* 'evening'  
*fālācan* 'to be hostile to' < *fāh* 2 'enemy'  
*(ge)cȳðlācan* 'to become known' < *(ge)cȳðð* 'knowledge'  
*(ge)ðyrstlācan* 'to dare' < *gedyrst* 'tribulation'  
*gemetlācan* 'to moderate' < *(ge)met* 'moderation'  
*gewerodlācan* 'to make sweet or pleasant' < *werod* 2 'sweet'  
*gewistlācan* 'to feast, banquet' < *wist* 'feast'  
*limplācan* 'to unite, connect' < *gelimp* 'occurrence'  
*loflācan* 'to praise' < *lof* 'praise, glory'  
*sumorlācan* 'to draw on towards summer' < *sumor* 'summer'  
*swæðlācan* 'to search for' < *swæð* 1 'vestige'  
*winterlācan* 'to grow wintry' < *winter* 'winter'

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When the affix is attached to adjectives, its function is causative in a remarkable number of instances, including:

(3)

*(ge)cūðlācan* 'to make known' < *(ge)cūð* 'known'  
*(ge)cyrtenlācan* 'to make elegant' < *cyrten* 1 'fair'  
*(ge)efenlācan* 'to be like; make like' < *efen* 1 'even, equal, like'  
*(ge)rihtlācan* 'to make straight, put right' < *(ge)riht* 2 'straight; right'  
*(ge)swāslācan* 'to wheedle' < *(ge)swāes* 'benevolent'  
*fremedlācan* 'to alienate' < *fremde* 'alien'  
*gedrēoglācan* 'to put in order' < *gedrēog* 'fit'  
*geswētlācan* 'to batten' < *swēt* 'sweet'  
*gesyndlācan* 'to cause to prosper' < *gesund* 'prosperous'  
*gewerlācan* 'to warn' < *wær* 1 'aware of'  
*nāelācan* 'to come or draw near; to be near' < *nēah* 1 'near'  
*widerlācan* 'to deprive' < *wider* 2 'hostile'

Exceptions to the causative function of the affix in deadjectival formations include:

(4)

*(ge)ðrīstlæcan* ‘to dare’ < *ðrīst* I ‘daring’

*(ge)ðwærlæcan* ‘to agree’ < *(ge)ðwære* ‘agreeable’

*(ge)cneordlæcan* ‘to be diligent’ < *gecneord* ‘diligent’

*(ge)lōmlæcan* ‘to frequent; be frequent’ < *(ge)lōme* I ‘frequent’

*geonglæcan* ‘to grow up’ < *geong* I ‘young’

Notice that the attachment of the affix to an adverbial base also performs a causative function (*gesamodlæcan* ‘to bring together’ < *samod* I (adv.) ‘simultaneously’). More significantly, the exceptions to the inchoative and causative function suggest that there is a certain degree of semantic bleaching or *desemanticization of lexical forms* (Givón 2009: 301), which reinforces the explanation in terms of grammaticalization.

At the same time, lexicalization affects the derivatives of *-læcan* to some extent. Fischer (2008: 352) has proposed a criterion for distinguishing grammaticalization from lexicalization. Whereas lexicalization operates at token level, grammaticalization operates both at token level and type level. In the specific case of *-læcan*, the grammaticalization process affects the whole morphological process of affixation by means of this suffix, whereas lexicalization affects some of the derivatives obtained by attachment of this suffix. On this phenomenon, Kastovsky (1992: 356) points out that “the principle of transparency/motivation can be impaired by the process of lexicalisation: once formed, a lexeme may adopt additional semantic properties that are not predictable from the meanings of the constituents and the pattern underlying the combination”. In this line, I identify the lexicalization of a derived form when the meaning of the resulting form is not predictable from the meaning of its component parts. Moreover, in the same derived form may co-exist analyzable and non-analyzable or lexicalized meanings. Although for Norde (2009: 14) “all derived words are instances of lexicalization”, I draw on Kastovsky (1992: 356) with respect to the fact that “lexicalisation is not an all-or-nothing phenomenon, but a scale, and lexemes may move along this scale in the course of time”. At least the following verbs exhibit a certain degree of lexicalization:

(5)

*swædlæcan* ‘to search for, visit’ < *swæð* I ‘footprint, track; trace, vestige’

*limplæcan* ‘to unite, connect’ < *gelimpan* ‘to happen’

*(ge)ðrīstlæcan* ‘to presume, dare’ < *ðrīst* I ‘daring, rash, bold; audacious, shameless’

*gecyrtelæcan* ‘to beautify, make elegant; make sweet’ < *cyrten* I ‘fair, comely; intelligent’

*(ge)swāeslæcan* ‘to wheedle’ < *(ge)swāes* ‘intimate, special, favourite, dear, beloved; own; agreeable, gentle, benevolent; sweet, sugary’

*geonglæcan* ‘to pass one’s youth, grow up’ < *geong 1* ‘young, youthful; recent, new, fresh’

*nælæcan* ‘to come or draw near, approach; be near; be like; cling to’ < *nēah 1* ‘near, nigh, close; late’

*wīðerlæcan* ‘to deprive’ < *wīðer 2* ‘hostile’

Recapitulating, *-læcan* results from grammaticalization lexeme > derivational morpheme that can be identified on the grounds of a change from specific to general meaning and literal to figurative meaning. At the same time, some derivatives displaying this suffix undergo lexicalization, though in the process the meaning of the derivative is not predictable from the sum of the meanings of base of derivation and affix. Having accounted for the bound status of *-læcan*, I turn to the question of the productivity of the affix.

### 3. The productivity of *-læcan*

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In this section, I measure the productivity of Old English weak verbs suffixed with *-læcan* within a quantitative framework on the grounds of the formulae proposed by Baayen (1989, 1992, 1993). For the analysis of the productivity of *-læcan*, I have used two main sources: the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* and *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. The lexical database *Nerthus* ([www.nerthusproject.com](http://www.nerthusproject.com)) contains a total of ca. 30,000 entries, or headwords, taken primarily from Clark Hall’s *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1996), and secondarily from Bosworth and Toller’s *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1973) and Sweet’s *The Student’s Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon* (1976).<sup>2</sup> *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (diPaolo Healey et al. 2004) is an *online* text collection comprising ca. 3,060 different texts belonging to different categories, such as prose, poetry, glosses to Latin and inscriptions, with a total of approximately 3 million words. The analysis, therefore, is based on a combination of lexicographical sources, which provide lemmatised forms (types), and textual sources, containing unlemmatised forms (tokens).

For Plag (1999: 6), productivity is defined “as the possibility of coining new complex words according to the word formation rules of a given language, as these rules may predict the existence of forms which are unattested or whose status as well-formed derivatives is more than doubtful”. Bauer (2005) has distinguished two different approaches to the study of productivity: a qualitative approach that refers to the property of a given word-formation process or affix to be used to derive new words in a systematic way, and a quantitative approach, whereby the

productivity of an affix can be measured by counting the number of attested types with that affix. In the framework of a historical language, the morphological productivity of a word-formation process has to make reference to the number of attested types and tokens produced by the process in question. Baayen and Lieber (1991) define the global productivity of a word formation process in terms of the number of different *V* types and the probability of encountering new types. This can be seen in figure 1:

$$I = V/S$$

FIGURE 1: Index of productivity (Baayen and Lieber 1991)

To refine this approach, I have used Baayen's (1989, 1992, 1993) notions of productivity *P* and global productivity *P\**. For Baayen, productivity is defined as the quotient of the number of hapax legomena  $n_1$  with a given affix and the total number of tokens *N* of all words with that affix, as is shown by figure 2:

$$P = n_1/N$$

FIGURE 2: Productivity (Baayen 1989, 1992, 1993)

Concerning the role played by hapax legomena in measuring productivity, there is a certain degree of consensus among theoreticians on the importance of unique formations. For this reason I take hapax legomena into consideration, although I concur with Lass (1994) in the fact that it is not clear whether the existence of a hapax legomenon represents a piece of solid linguistic evidence or simply a question of language survival. The other concept required for the assessment of productivity in this approach is frequency. Frequency can be broken down into dictionary frequency and text frequency. In this respect, I follow Bauer's (2001, 2005) distinction between type and token-frequency. For Bauer (2001) the concept of type frequency refers to the number of items in a dictionary while token-frequency represents the number of occurrences of a particular affix in a corpus or a given text. According to Bauer (2004: 102) "token-frequency of a particular affix is calculated from the number of times that an affix appears in a text [...]. Lack of productivity of an affix is said to lead to a high token-frequency of that affix, but a low type frequency". Bauer (2004: 104) goes on to remark that "the type frequency of an affix in a given text is calculated from the number of different lexemes in which the affix occurs [...]. Increased productivity is said to lead to a rise in the type frequency of the productive affix, though each type (or lexeme) will have a relatively low token-frequency."

Summarizing, I draw on Bauer (2001, 2005) to measure the frequency of *-læcan* derivatives. I apply the formula given in figures 3 and 4 to calculate, respectively, type frequency and token frequency:

$$\text{Type frequency} = \frac{\text{Number of } -læcan \text{ derivatives}}{\text{Number of headwords}}$$

FIGURE 3: Type frequency (based on Bauer 2001, 2005)

$$\text{Token-frequency} = \frac{\text{Number of } -læcan \text{ derivatives token}}{\text{Number of words in corpus}}$$

FIGURE 4: Token-frequency (based on Bauer 2001, 2005)

To calculate the productivity of the affix, I have used the formula displayed in figure 5, which is based on Baayen (1991, 1993):

$$\text{Index of productivity} = \frac{\text{Number of hapax legomena of } -læcan}{\text{Number of } -læcan \text{ derivative tokens in the corpus}}$$

FIGURE 5: Index of productivity (based on Baayen 1991, 1993)

An assessment of frequency and productivity with lexicographical and textual evidence involves the following analytical steps: (i) measuring the type-frequency of derivatives in *Nerthus*; (ii) calculating the token-frequency and productivity in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*; (iii) counting the number of words in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, that is, in the categories of prose, poetry and gloss; and (iv) assessing the global productivity of *-læcan*, both in general and by text type. In the remainder of this section, I focus on the details of the analysis.

In the lexical database *Nerthus* there are 32 *-læcan* weak verbs, listed under (6):

(6)

*æfenlæcan* ‘to grow towards evening’, *fālæcan* ‘to be at enmity with, show hostility to’, *fremedlæcan* ‘to alienate’, *(ge)ðristlæcan* ‘to presume, dare’, *(ge)ðwærlæcan* ‘to agree, consent to; reconcile; suit, fit’, *(ge)cneordlæcan* ‘to be diligent, study’, *(ge)cūðlæcan* ‘to make known; make friends with’, *(ge)cýðlæcan* ‘to become known’, *(ge)cyrtenlæcan* ‘to beautify, make elegant; (+) make sweet’, *(ge)dyrstlæcan* ‘to presume, dare’, *(ge)efenlæcan* ‘to be like; make like, match, imitate’, *(ge)lōmlæcan* ‘to frequent; be frequent’, *(ge)rihtlæcan* ‘to make straight, put right, rectify, set in order; direct’, *(ge)smæslæcan* ‘to wheedle’, *gedrēoghlæcan* ‘to put in order, regulate, arrange, attend to’, *gehīwlæcan* ‘to form, shape,

fashion', *gemetlæcan* 'to moderate', *geonglæcan* 'to pass one's youth, grow up', *gesamodlæcan* 'to bring together', *geswētlæcan* 'to batten', *gesyndlæcan* 'to cause to prosper', *gewærllæcan* 'to warn', *gewerodlæcan* 'to make sweet or pleasant', *gewistlæcan* 'to feast, banquet', *gewundorlæcan* 'to make wonderful, magnify', *limplæcan* 'to unite, connect', *loflæcan* 'to praise', *nælæcan* 'to come or draw near, approach; be near; be like; cling to', *sumorlæcan* 'to draw on towards summer', *smædlæcan* 'to search for, visit', *widerlæcan* 'to deprive', *winterlæcan* 'to grow wintry'.

If we calculate the type-frequency of these verbs, we get the result in figure 6. The number of headwords in the lexical database *Nerthus* used for the calculation is 30,180.

$$\text{Type-frequency} = 32 / 30,180 = 0.001060$$

FIGURE 6: Type-frequency of *-læcan* in *Nerthus*

For calculating the token-frequency and productivity of *-læcan* in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, I have searched the corpus for all the inflectional forms of these weak verbs. The list of inflectional endings found in the texts can be seen in (7):

(7)

*-læcan*, *-lican*, *-licen*, *-lician*, *-læcean*, *-lecan*, *-læcen* (**infinitive**); *læcenne*, *-læcene*, *-læceanne* (**inflected infinitive**); *-læcende*, *-lecende* (**present participle**); *-læcat*, *-læcet*, *-licet*, *-leht*, *-lēhð*, *-lēchð*, *-leht* (**past participle**); *-lēhte*, *-lēchte*, *-lēcte*, *-lecte*, *-lēhta*, *-lēhta*, *-lēhte*, *-leahte*, *-leohte*, *-licige*, *-læcige*, *-læce*, *-leçe*, *-lece*, *-læce*, *-leche* (**1<sup>st</sup> person singular present**); *-lēhtest*, *-læcst*, *-læcest*, *-lēhst* (**2<sup>nd</sup> person singular present**); *-læcēð*, *-læccēð*, *-læced*, *-lecð*, *-leaceð*, *-leceð*, *-laced*, *-liced*, *-lac*, *læc*, *-lec* (**3<sup>rd</sup> person singular present**); *-lacð*, *-læcað*, *-lēcð*, *-licað*, *-leceað*, *-læceað*, *-lēð*, *-læcað*, *-lēciað*, *-lacað*, *-lecað*, *-laecað*, *-lecað*, *-licað* (**plural present**); *-lacde*, *-locade*, *-læcede*, *-lacede*, *-lēchede*, *-lecade*, *-lecde*, *-licde*, *-leoht* (**1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular past**); *-lacedon*, *-lecedon*, *-lecdon*, *-lecadon*, *-licadun*, *-lehton*, *-leton*, *-lehtun*, *-lehtan*, *-læcten*, *-læcton*, *-lehton*, *-lecton*, *lehtan*, *-lehtun*, *-læcon*, *-læcin*, *-læceon* (**plural past**).

In (8) I offer the queries I have launched on the corpus for each verb suffixed with *-læcan*. The results of queries (tokens) appear in italics, while the headwords (types) are rendered in bold face. The number of hits thrown by each query appears between brackets, both for token and type:

(8)

geæfenl-, 1 (*geæfenlæcan*), æfenl-, 4 (*æfenleoht*, *æfenlac*, *æfenlēhð*, *æfenlēcð*), geefenl-, 96 [*geefenlæcan* (9), *geefenlæce* (9), *geefenlæcað* (21), *geefenleçe* (2), *geefenlēcð* (4), *geefenleht* (2), *geefenlehton* (4), *geefenlæcon* (2), *geefenlēhte* (5), *geefenlæcenne*

(2), *geefenlācende* (9), *geefenlāc* (2), *geefenlācen* (2), *geefenlācēð* (2), *geefenlāccan* (5), *geefenlīcað* (3), *geefenlāccēð*, *geefenlīcige*, *geefenlāccēð* (4), *geefenlāhtest* (2), *geefenlēcað*, *geefenlāccað* (2), *geefenlēç*, *geefenlācin*], *efenl-*, 3 (*efenlāce*, *efenlīcige*, *efenlācað*), *efynl-*, 1 (*efynlāht*), *geeuēnl-*, 13 [*geeuēnlēcō*, *geeuēnlācan* (5), *geeuēnlācende*, *geeuēnlācō* (2), *geeuēnlāhton*, *geeuēnlāccenne*, *geeuēnlāc*, *geeuēnlāhte*] (*æfenlācan*, *(ge)æfenlācan*, 123); *fæl-*, 1 (*fēlāce*) (*fālācan*, 1); *fremēdl-*, 1 (*fremēdlācende*) (*fremēdlācan*, 1); *geðristl-*, 58 [*geðristlāhte* (10), *geðristlācan* (3), *geðristlācen*, *geðristlēce*, *geðristlēce* (24), *geðristlācst* (2), *geðristlāccan* (3), *geðristlācen*, *geðristlācað*, *geðristlācte*, *geðristlāccað* (2), *geðristlācō* (2), *geðristlāht* (3), *geðristlāc*, *geðristlāc*, *geðristlāceon*, *geðristlāð*, *geðristlācton*], *ðristl-*, 1 (*ðristlācað*) (*(ge)ðristlācan*, 59); *geðwārl-*, 32 [*geðwārlācan* (5), *geðwārlāhte*, *geðwārlāhō* (2), *geðwārlāce* (8), *geðwārlācað* (6), *geðwārlācō* (6), *geðwārlāhton*, *geðwārlāhton*, *geðwārlācst*, *geðwārlāc*], *ðwārl-*, 1 (*ðwārlāhte*) (*(ge)ðwārlācan*, 33); *gecneordl-*, 11 [*gecneordlācende*, *gecneordlāhte*, *gecneordlēce* (4), *gecneordlēcon*, *gecneordlēcen*, *gecneordlācað* (2), *gecneordlēcan*], *gecnyrdl-*, 4 (*gecnyrdlācað*, *gecnyrdlāce* (3)) (*(ge)cneordlācan*, 15); *gecuð-*, 2 (*gecuðlāhte* (2)), *cuð-*, 1 (*cuðlēcan*, 1) (*(ge)cuðlēcan*, 3); *gecyð-*, 3 (*gecyðlēce*, *gecyðlēhō*, *gecyðlēchte*), *cyð-*, 1 (*cyðlēce*) (*(ge)cyðlēcan*, 4); *cyrtenl-*, 1 (*cyrtenlēce*), *gecertenl-*, 2 (*gecertenlāhte* (2)) (*(ge)cyrtenlēcan*, 3); *gedyrstl-*, 120 [*gedyrstlāhte* (9), *gedyrstlēce* (63), *gedyrstlēhō*, *gedyrstlēcan* (12), *gedyrstlēcō* (15), *gedyrstlēht*, *gedyrstlēcende*, *gedyrstlēhtest* (2), *gedyrstlēccan* (2), *gedyrstlēc*, *gedyrstlēcat*, *gedyrstlēht* (2), *gedyrstlēcen* (2), *gedyrstlēcað*, *gedyrstlēce* (5), *gedyrstlēht*, *gedyrstlēcte*], *dyrstl-*, 10 [*dyrstlēcest*, *dyrstlēhtest*, *dyrstlēcen*, *dyrstlēce* (4), *dyrstlēce*, *dyrstlēce* (2)], *gedurstl-*, 1 (*gedurstlēce*), *durstl-*, 1 (*durstlēhte*) (*(ge)dyrstlēcan*, 132); *geloml-*, 19 [*gelomlēcað*, *gelomlēcende* (4), *gelomlīcan* (7), *gelomlīcen*, *gelomlēcan* (2), *gelomlīcian*, *gelomlēc*, *gelomlēceon*, *gelomlēcō*], *loml-*, 2 (*lomlēhtan* (2)) (*(ge)lōmlēcan*, 21); *gerihtl-*, 91 [*gerihtlēcan* (26), *gerihtlēcō* (6), *gerihtlēced* (5), *gerihtlēcað* (6), *gerihtlēhte* (16), *gerihtlēhton*, *gerihtlēce* (11), *gerihtlēcende*, *gerihtlēht* (6), *gerihtlēced*, *gerihtlēccan* (2), *gerihtlēce*, *gerihtlēhō*, *gerihtlēc* (6), *gerihtlēhte*, *gerihtlēcað*], *rihtl-*, 10 [*rihtlēcō* (2), *rihtlēced*, *rihtlēcan*, *rihtlēce* (3), *rihtlīcan* (3)] (*(ge)rihtlēcan*, 101); *geswāsl-*, 2 (*geswāslēce*, *geswāslēcō*), *swesl-*, 1 (*sweslēcō*) (*(ge)swāslēcan*, 3); *gedreogl-*, 1 (*gedreoglēcað*), *gedreohl-*, 2 (*gedreohlēcan* (2)) (*gedrēoglēcan*, 3); (*gehīwlēcan*, 0); *gemetl-*, 2 (*gemetlēcað*, *gemetlēcað*) (*gemetlēcan*, 2); *geongl-*, 1 (*geonglēce*), *gyngl-*, 1 (*gynglēhte*), *iungl-*, 2 (*iunglēhte* (2)) (*geonglēcan*, 4); *gesamodl-*, 1 (*gesamodlēced*) (*gesamodlēcan*, 1); *geswetl-*, 6 (*geswetlēhtan* (2), *geswetlēhta*, *geswetlēhte*, *geswetlēht*, *geswetlēhta*) (*geswetlēcan*, 6); *gesyntl-*, 3 (*gesyntlēcan* (3)) (*gesyndlēcan*, 3); *gewārl-*, 1 (*gewārlēht*) (*gewārlēcan*, 1); *geweredl-*, 1 (*geweredlēhō*) (*gewārlēcan*, 1); *gewistl-*, 1 (*gewistlēcan*) (*gewistlēcan*, 1); *gewundorl-*, 1 (*gewundorlēc*) (*gewundorlēcan*, 1); *gelimpl-*, 2 (*gelimplēcan* (2)) (*limplēcan*, 2); *lofl-*, 2 (*loflāc*, *loflācað*) (*loflēcan*, 2); *genealē-*, 353 [*genealēcō* (18), *genealēhte* (100), *genealēcan* (25),



*genealæccan* (15), *genealehton* (65), *genealæcð* (33), *genealæcað* (39), *genealæhð* (8), *genealæccende* (6), *genealæce* (16), *genealeht*, *genealæc* (2), *genealæchð*, *genealæccēð* (6), *genealæcte*, *genealæccað* (3), *genealeton*, *genealehtun*, *genealæchte*, *genealæcten*, *genealæcene*, *genealæccanne*, *genealæcen*, *genealæcenne*, *genealæcet*, *genealæhtan*, *genealæciað*, *genealæcton* (2), *genealæcige*], *geneala-*, 1 (*genealæcde*), *genealo-*, 1 (*genealocade*), *neal-*, 93 [*nealæhte* (27), *nealæcēð* (17), *nealæcte* (5), *nealæcð* (19), *nealehton* (2), *nealæce* (2), *nealæcan*, *nealæcen*, *nealehtan*, *nealæcte* (2), *nealecan* (2), *nealæccende* (2), *nealehton*, *nealehte* (4), *nealæcton* (2), *nealehtan*, *nealæcæð*, *nealæcað* (2), *nealehtun*], *geneahl-*, 5 (*geneahlæhton* (2), *geneahlæce*, *geneahlæhte*, *geneahlæccende*), *neahl-*, 17 [*neahlæcað* (3), *neahlæhtan*, *neahlæhte* (3), *neahlæcð* (2), *neahlæhton* (2), *neahlæccede*, *neahlæchede* (4), *neahlæccedon*], *næl-*, 1 (*næleakte*), *geneol-*, 88 [*geneolecte* (2), *geneolecton*, *geneolaecað*, *geneolaecēð* (2), *geneolacede* (2), *geneoleccedon*, *geneolecade*, *geneolecdon* (31), *geneolecde* (34), *geneolecadon*, *geneolecton* (2), *geneoleccende*, *geneolacæð*, *geneolecað* (3), *geneolecēð*, *geneolæcēð*, *geneolicadun*, *geneolæce*, *geneolicde*], *neol-*, 5 [*neolecan*, *neoliceð* (2), *neolicec*, *neolicad*] (*neolæcan*, 564); *sumorl-*, 1 (*sumorlæhð*) (*sumorlæcan*, 1); *swæðl-*, 1 (*swæðlæhte*) (*swæðlæcan*, 1); *wyðerl-*, 1 (*wyðerlæcað*) (*wiðerlæcan*, 1); *winterl-*, 8 [*winterlæcð*, *winterlican* (2), *winterlecan*, *winterleakte*, *winterlæhte* (2), *winterleohte*] (*winterlæcan*, 8).

Interestingly, no tokens of the verb *geþīwlæcan* have been found in the corpus. An illustration of the queries required for analysing a single verb is offered in Figure 7:

**gecneordl- (11 occurrences)**

ÆCHom I, 30 B1.1.32 [0002 (429.7)] To þysum twam wifmannum awrat se ylca hieronimus menigfealde trahtrbec. for þan ðe hi wæron haliges lifes menn & swiðe **gecneordlæccende** on boclicum smeagungum.

ÆCHom II, 9 B1.2.10 [0012 (73.24)] He **gecneordlæhte** æfter wisra lareowa gebysnungum. and næs forgyttol. ac gefæstnode his lare on fæsthafelum gemynde;

HomU 16 (Kluge) B3.4.16 [0036 (39)] Forþi wiðsac woruldþingum for godes ege and forhafa þe for gode fram worldcarum **gecneordlæce** þæt þu gode þeowige.

BenR B10.3.1.1 [0667 (64.121.10)] Hycge he and **gecneordlæce**, þæt hine mon lufian mæge swiþor, þonne ondrædan.

BenRWells B10.3.3 [0137 (64.120.11)] Hicge he and **gecneordlæce**, þæt hine man lufian mæge, swiðor þonne ondrædan.

BenRW B10.3.4 [0604 (64.133.11)] Wilnige heo & **gecneordlæce**, þæt me hi lufian mage swiðor þonne ondrædan.

ChrodR1 B10.4.1 [0618 (62.21)] And swylce hig sceolon beon þæt **gecneordlæcon** þæt hi hi sylfe an Godes bigencge geþeowien, þæt þonne hi æfter wisdomes gewitte deorfað, þæt hi eac þam folce magon wisdomes gife gelæstan.

Aldv I (Goossens) C31.1 [0342 (342)] *exercere studere gecneordlæcen*.

AldV 1 (Goossens) C31.1 [1138 (1138)] *scrutamini gecneordlæcaþ*.

AldV 13.1 (Nap) C31.13.1 [0241 (241)] *exercere, i. studere gecneordlæcan*.

AldV 13.1 (Nap) C31.13.1 [1087 (1086)] *scrutamini gecneordlæcaþ*.

**gecnyrdl- (4 occurrences)**

ÆCHom II, 4 B1.2.5 [0115 (38.273)] Untwylice on ðisum andgite us bið awend þæt fife wæterfæt to wynsumum wine. gif we **gecnyrdlæcað** hu we þa deofellican babilonian forfleon magon. and becuman to ðære heofenlican hierusalem;

ÆGram B1.9.1 [1003 (154.3)] Eallswa *tepeo* ic wlacige, *teþui*; *horreo* ic onðracige, *horru*; *candeo* ic scine, *candui*; *studeo* ic **gecnyrdlæce**, *studui*; *frondeo* ic growe, *frondui*; *splendeo* ic scine, *splendui*; *rubeo* ic <readige>, *rubui*; *palleo* ic blacige, *pallui*; *pareo* ic gehyrsumige, *parui*; *iaceo* ic lidge, *iacui*; *caneo* ic harige, *canui*; *floro* ic blowe, *florui*; *uideo* ic growe, *uirui*; *areo* ic forsearige, *arnui*; *calleo*, *ID EST*, *callidus fio* ic beo pætig, *callui*; *excelleo* ic oferstige, *excellui* þis word byð eac gecweden *excello*, *excellis*, þære ðriðdan; *stupro* ic wafige, *stupui*; *langueo* ic adlige, *langui*; *uideo* ic strangige oððe geðeo, *uigui*; *rigeo* ic stiðfige, *rigui*; *ego* ic wædlige, *egui*; *indigeo* ic bepearf, *indigui*.

CollGI 22 (Liebermann-Ker) D22 [0028 (28)] *studeo* ic **gecnyrdlæce**.

CollGI 22 (Liebermann-Ker) D22 [0090 (90)] *studeo* ic **gecnyrdlæce**.

FIGURE 7: (ge)cneordl can in The Dictionary of Old English Corpus (15 occurrences)

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For measuring the index of productivity it is necessary, first of all, to calculate the frequency of tokens and, secondly, to count the hapax legomena. All in all, I have found a total of 1,096 occurrences of the 32 verbs containing the suffix *-læcan*. Therefore, the token-frequency of the affix in the *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* is as shown in figure (8). The exact number of words in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* used for this calculation is 2,952,566 words.

$$\text{Token-frequency} = 1,096 / 2,952,566 = 0.000371$$

FIGURE 8: Token-frequency of *-læcan* in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*

Corpus searches have turned out a total of 10 unique formations or hapax legomena. They are listed under (9). It is important to bear in mind that the concept of hapax legomenon is used here with the sense of a single textual occurrence of a base of derivation to which the affix *-læcan* is attached. In (9) the infinitive of each verb is given between brackets.

(9)

*fælæce* (*fälæcan*), *fremedlæcende* (*fremedlæcan*), *gesamodlæced* (*gesamodlæcan*), *gewerleht* (*gewerlæcan*), *geweredleþ* (*gewerodlæcan*), *gewistlæcan* (*gewistlæcan*), *Gewundorlæc* (*gewundorlæcan*), *sumorleþ* (*sumorlæcan*), *swæðlehte* (*swæðlæcan*), *wyperlecað* (*widerlæcan*).

## Assessing the productivity of old english *-læcan*

Given the token-frequency and the figure of hapax legomena I have just presented, the index of productivity of the suffix *-læcan* is shown in Figure 9:

$$\text{Index of Productivity} = 10 / 1,096 = 0.009124$$

FIGURE 9: Index of productivity of *-læcan* based on *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*

Summarising, the measures of frequency and productivity obtained so far are displayed in (10):

(10)

- a. Type-frequency =  $32 / 30,180 = 0.001060$
- b. Token-frequency =  $1,096 / 2,952,566 = 0.000371$
- c. Index of productivity =  $10 / 1,096 = 0.009124$

The results in (10) call for some comments. To begin with, type-frequency is higher than token-frequency, that is, *-læcan* verbs are more frequent in the dictionary than in the corpus. In general, it can be held that the frequency of *-læcan* is significant, while the index of productivity is less relevant. Put in another way, a type-frequency higher than token-frequency is compatible with a rather unproductive affix. As I have pointed out by drawing on Bauer (2005), rather high frequencies coincide with unproductive word-formation processes. Given the relatively low frequency of token, therefore, the affix can hardly be said to be productive. For these reasons, I consider the affix *-læcan* relatively productive. This assessment of productivity is reinforced if compared with those proposed by Mateo Mendaza (fc.-a, fc.-b) for the Old English adjectival suffixes *-isc*, *-cund* and *-ful(l)* and the prefix *ful(l)-*, given, respectively, in Tables 1 and 2:

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Affix	N	n <sub>1</sub>	P
<i>-isc</i>	3,971	256	0.064
<i>-cund</i>	1,021	41	0.04
P = n <sub>1</sub> / N	—	—	1.00000

TABLE 1: index of productivity of *-isc* and *-cund* (Mateo Mendaza fc.-a)

Affix	N	n <sub>1</sub>	P
<i>-ful(l)</i>	3,887	01	0.05
<i>ful(l)-</i>	748	0	0
P = n <sub>1</sub> / N	—	—	1.00000

TABLE 2: index of productivity of *-ful(l)* and *ful(l)-* (Mateo Mendaza fc.-b)

As the comparison with the data in tables 1 and 2 evidences, *-lecan* is even less productive than *-isc*, *-cund* and *-ful(l)*, although it is more productive than the prefix *ful-*, which Mateo Mendaza (fc.-b) considers totally unproductive.

Secondly, it seems advisable to break down the measures of frequency and productivity by text category. Indeed, *-lecan* verbs appear in the corpus in prose, glosses and poetry. In prose there are 723 occurrences in 60 different texts, while in glosses there are 360 occurrences in 39 distinct texts and in poetry only 13 occurrences in 6 different texts. The total figure of different texts is 105. This results in a higher frequency of *-lecan* verbs in prose and glosses than in poetry. As has been pointed out before, in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* there are 2,952,566 words, and, by text category, 2,105,363 words in prose texts, 729,558 in glosses and 117,645 words in poetry. The token-frequency for text type in terms of these figures is displayed in Table 3:

Text type	Affix tokens	Word total	Token-frequency
Prose	723	2,105,363	0.000343
Glosses	360	729,558	0.000493
Poetry	13	117,645	0.000111

TABLE 3: Token-frequency by text type

As the results in Table 3 indicate, glosses have the highest token-frequency, followed by prose and poetry texts, the latter exhibiting the lowest rate of token-frequency. Productivity for text type can be obtained in the same way. In *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* there are 10 hapax legomena of *-lecan* verbs, including 4 in prose, 6 in glosses and none in poetry. Taking these figures into account I have calculated the index of productivity by text type. The results appear in Table 4:

Text type	Hapax legomena	Affix tokens	Index of productivity
Prose	4	723	0.005532
Glosses	6	360	0.016667
Poetry	0	13	0

TABLE 4: Index of productivity by text type

As is shown in Table 4, *-lecan* verbs are more productive in glosses than in prose, and not productive at all in poetry. As the index of productivity is relatively higher than token-frequency, glosses turn out to have the highest index of productivity and also the highest token-frequency. Figure 10 relates the types found in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (V) to the index of productivity by text type (P):

## Assessing the productivity of old english *-læcan*

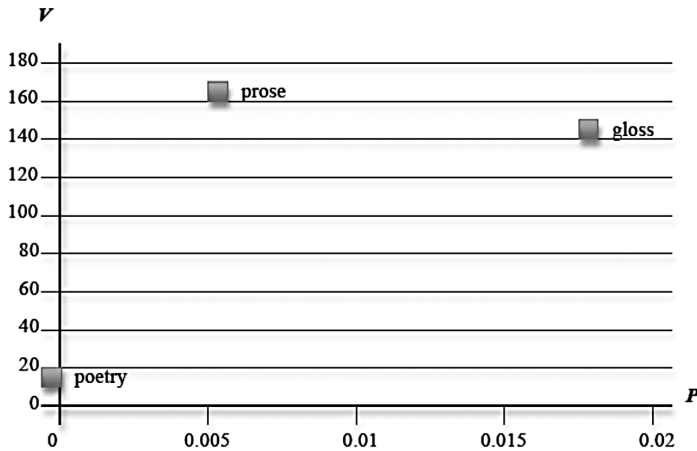


FIGURE 10: Global productivity of *-læcan* verbs by text type

In figure 10,  $V$  refers to types, that is, not the number of occurrences of each verb but the number of the different kind of tokens found for each verb. There are 163 types in prose, 145 in glosses and only 10 in poetry. It follows that prose texts have the highest index of  $V$ , whereas glosses have the highest index of  $P$ . In contrast, poetry texts have a very low index of  $V$  and no index of  $P$ .

### 4. Conclusion

To round off, I should like to draw some conclusions as well as to offer some tentative explanation for the measure of productivity resulting from the analysis just described.

The first conclusion of this article is methodological. This work contributes to devising a methodology for the assessment of the productivity of a morphological process in a historical language. Against Baayen and Renouf's (1996: 69) criticism of the combination of lexicographical and textual evidence for the assessment of productivity, both dictionary-based and text-based productivity measures have proved relevant and complementary. Indeed, in this approach, the variable of type-frequency is dictionary-based whereas the variables of token-frequency and hapax legomena are corpus-based. This combined approach may solve some of the problems identified by Fernández-Domínguez *et al.* (2007) in measuring low indexes of productivity.

With this methodology, the analysis has shown that type-frequency in *Nerthus* is higher than token-frequency in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* and that the index of productivity of the affix is very low (0.009124). Glosses are the text type that displays the highest rate of token-frequency and also the highest index of productivity, whereas poetry texts have the lowest token-frequency and zero index of productivity. In sum, the suffix *-lecan* in the formation of weak verbs seems to be practically unproductive.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup>. This research has been funded through the project FFI2008-04448/FILO.

<sup>2</sup>. I use numbered predicates, as in *Nerthus*, to account for categorial or morphological oppositions holding between homonymous predicates with the same or

similar meaning. For instance, *ābūtan* 1 'on, about, around, on the outside, round about' is an adposition and *ābūtan* 2 'about, nearly', an adverb; while *besēon* 1 'to see, look, look round', is a Class V strong verb, and *besēon* 2 'to suffuse' a Class I strong verb.

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# METAPHOR AND IDEOLOGY IN THE BUSINESS PRESS: THE CASE OF THE ENDESA TAKEOVER

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## 1. Introduction

The presence of metaphor in the language of economics has been vastly researched (Boers 1999; Herrera and White 2000, 2002; Koller 2008, to mention a few). The metaphorical conceptualization of economic facts has been explained by their abstract nature. In other words, the economy, being an abstract entity, relies heavily on metaphors to make economic facts and processes easier to grasp (Richardt 2003). Yet little attention has been paid to the ideological role of metaphor, with a few exceptions (Fairclough 1989, 1992; Dirven and Frank 2001; Mussolf 2004; Herrera and White 2005). This role is particularly relevant in journalism given the underlying ideology of journalistic discourse. As Richardt (2003: 281) points out, “[...] economic journalism does not only serve the purpose of informing about ongoing economic processes but also that of selling a particular world view [...] thus serving as a means of manipulation”.

In the following sections we intend to examine the ideology embedded in metaphor through a contrastive analysis of the British and Spanish press discourse relating to the Endesa –the largest Spanish electricity utility– takeover.

This is a suitable economic issue for analysis on account of the political and ideological implications of the takeover. The Endesa takeover was not in fact just a business battle involving Spanish and other European companies (Endesa,

Gas Natural, Acciona, E.ON and Enel), but also a political battle involving the Spanish government and the European Union, as the following extract from *El País* illustrates:

(1) *La pugna enfrenta, en una lucha multilateral, al Gobierno español, la Comisión Europea, GN, Endesa, E.ON y Acciona.*

(The fight will bring about a confrontation –in a multilateral struggle– between the Spanish government, the European Commission, GN, Endesa, E.ON and Acciona)<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. Background

The basis for this study is a bilingual corpus comprising the articles about the Endesa takeover published in two widely known newspapers between September 2005 and April 2007. The Spanish corpus contains 150 articles from *El País*, while the English corpus contains 120 articles from *Financial Times*.

The Endesa takeover was a long and complex process which lasted two years. Below we outline the stages in the process.

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In September 2005 the Spanish gas distributor and wholesaler Gas Natural (GN) launched a cash-and-share bid for its rival *Endesa*, Spain's biggest electricity group, which would reshape the Spanish energy sector. Although the Spanish government was sympathetic to the operation, *Endesa* rejected it. In February 2006 E.ON, the German energy giant, made a rival all-cash offer provided that the 10% cap on voting rights at *Endesa* was lifted. In September 2006 Acciona –a Spanish construction and energy group– bought a 10% stake at €3 a share in *Endesa*. In February 2010 Enel, the Italian electricity group, began buying shares in *Endesa*, eventually taking its stake to nearly 25%. Its ally Acciona held a further 21%, giving the two companies together enough to block E.ON bid. E.ON dropped one of the conditions in its offer – that voting restrictions on *Endesa*'s shares had to be removed. GN pulled out of the takeover process, leaving E.ON with the support of the *Endesa* board and the opposition of the Spanish government. By April 2010 E.ON had increased its offer to €10 a share. Yet on 2 April the German group agreed to withdraw its bid in return for a carve up of *Endesa*'s assets. On 1 April Enel and Acciona presented a €1.30-a-share bid for *Endesa*.

## 3. Ideological implications of the metaphorical framing of the endesa takeover

The length and complexity of the Endesa takeover process may partly explain its metaphorical configuration, which would serve the function of making the process

understandable. In a cognitive linguistic view (Lakoff 1987, 2006; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner 1989), conceptual metaphors allow abstract concepts to be grasped in terms of more concrete concepts. The shift from the abstract to the concrete is done by the mapping (i.e. establishing a fixed set of correspondences) of conceptual domains.

The Spanish and British press coverage of the Endesa takeover is built upon the interplay of a number of specific metaphors (BUSINESS IS WAR, BUSINESS IS A SERIAL/PLAY, BUSINESS IS A CARD GAME, BUSINESS IS A SPORT, TAKEOVERS ARE MARRIAGES), which are subsumed under the superordinate metaphor COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE (Barcelona 2000: 6). Below we present some instantiations of these metaphors:

**BUSINESS IS**

**a. WAR:**

- (2) *Tras dos días de negociaciones, E.ON anunció el fin de la contienda.*  
(After two days of negotiations, E.ON announced the end of the battle).
- (3) Eon plunges into battle for Endesa.

**b. A SERIAL / PLAY:**

- (4) *El culebrón Endesa continúa con un nuevo capítulo.*  
(Endesa soap opera continues with a new episode).
- (5) Eon burst onto the scene.

**c. A CARD GAME:**

- (6) Mr. Pizarro also holds a trump card in the current game of poker being played out in the energy sector.
- (7) *Minutos después de que E.ON moviera pieza, Enel y Acciona revelaron sus cartas.*  
(A few minutes after E.ON moved, Enel and Acciona showed their cards).

**d. A SPORT:**

- (8) Other utilities considered joining in the race.
- (9) *Se reanudó la carrera sobre Endesa.*  
(The race for Endesa started again).

**e. TAKEOVERS ARE MARRIAGES:**

- (10) The bid for Endesa heated up with the arrival of a new suitor.
- (11) *Después de haber cortejado [E.ON] a Acciona, [...].*  
(After E.ON had courted Acciona, [...]).

These metaphors are not just mappings between the source domains of WAR, SPORT, GAME and LOVE, and the target domain of the ECONOMY, but play a role in the construction of a particular reading of Endesa's takeover. As Fairclough (1992: 194) points out, "When we signify things through one metaphor rather than another, we are constructing our reality in one way rather than another. Metaphors structure the way we think and the way we act, and our systems of knowledge and belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way".

In this article we go further and claim that the metaphorical representation of the takeover has a more relevant function, namely, that of unveiling covert ideology. Metaphors are not only used as devices to understand and structure a concept in terms of another concept, but are also carriers of ideological viewpoints. In this connexion, Cubo de Severino et al. (2001: 220) remark that "the use of metaphors in journalistic discourse is an ideological strategy that masks underlying intentions". The ideological import of metaphor is also signaled by Fairclough (1989: 114): "The metaphorical transfer of a word or expression from one domain of use to another is ideologically significant".

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In the case of the Endesa takeover, ideology operates in two ways. On the one hand, WAR, SPORT and GAME metaphors reveal the journalists' critical stance of the takeover. On the other hand, the LOVE and COURTSHIP metaphors illustrate how cultural values (gender roles) may be entrenched in metaphor.

The metaphorical understanding of the takeover through the domains of WAR, SPORT and GAME yields a view of the takeover in terms of confrontation, thus giving proof of the ideological load of metaphor.

In the following sections we analyse each of the metaphorical embeddings of Endesa's acquisition.

### **3.1. Business is war**

The war metaphor dominates the metaphorical configuration of the Endesa takeover in the English and Spanish samples. In the war scenario, the takeover is described as a battle in which rival companies are shown as antagonists fighting for control of Endesa. It is interesting to note that the war frame is highly elaborate, which confirms that it is firmly entrenched in business discourse (Koller 2008: 104). The prevalence of the war metaphor is hardly surprising, since war is a typical manifestation of conflict. It is manifested by the range of metaphorical mappings and the wealth of metaphorical patterns in both languages, as shown in Table 1:

Metaphorical mapping	English metaphorical expressions	Spanish metaphorical expressions
The takeover is a war	bidding war, trench war battle, bid battle, takeover battle  fight, bid fight, struggle  front, campaign	<i>guerra batalla, batalla energética/ financiera /eléctrica/ empresarial/campal larga/espectacular batalla lucha, pugna conflicto, cruzada, liza, combate ofensiva, asalto, desembarco incursión, acometida, contraataque contraatacar alianza, aliado, pacto, pactar</i>
The companies are opponents	rival armies	<i>rivales, combatiente, frente</i>
The rival companies attack the others' positions and defend their own	ambush, defence, to attack	<i>defenderse, alzarse, sitiar</i>
The companies use strategies to win	defence strategy, surprise counter-move, resistance	<i>línea de defensa, partida de alianzas y guerrillas, plan B, plan de rescate, maniobras nocturnas/defensivas</i>
The companies win or lose	withdrawal, withdraw, defeat, throw in the towel	<i>derrota, retirada, retirarse, arrojar/ tirar la toalla, firmar la capitulación</i>
The takeover process goes through different stages	initial moves  resistance counter-move truce to withdraw, to quit peace talks	<i>declaración de guerra asalto resistencia contraataque paz retirarse armisticio</i>

TABLE 1. Mappings and instantiations of the WAR metaphor for the Endesa takeover.

The WAR metaphor activates identical metaphorical mappings in the two languages, which we illustrate by means of the following examples:

- (12) E.ON prepares to fight a Spanish war of attrition.
- (13) It is surely time for the rival armies to end their hand-to-hand combat and come out of their Spanish trenches.

- (14) *Un nuevo combatiente, Enel, se incorporaba a la guerra de Endesa.*  
(A new combatant joined the war for Endesa).
- (15) E.ON could still face an ambush over Endesa.
- (16) Endesa draws up a defence strategy.
- (17) *E.ON firma la capitulación con Enel y Acciona.*  
(Eon works out its surrender with Enel and Acciona).
- (18) *GN lanzó el ataque.*  
(GN launched the attack).
- (19) Time to call truce in Spanish trench warfare.
- (20) E.ON withdrew.

Although the domain of WAR activates a complex metaphorical scenario in both contexts, the scenario is more highly elaborate in the Spanish corpus, where the WAR metaphor has a wider range of instantiations –forty-two in Spanish, twenty-four in English.

The elaboration of the warfare scenario enhances the strong ideologisation of WAR metaphors. Ideology is also implicit in the vocabulary manifesting war metaphors. In the Spanish press, the takeover is described as a battle and a fight; in the English press as a war, a battle, a fight and a struggle. The negative conceptualization of the takeover process is stressed in the English corpus by the number of adjectives used to refer to it: *torrid, costly, tortuous, bitter, fractious, messy, tense*. These are evaluative adjectives with a negative meaning, which contrast with the classifying adjectives used in the Spanish sample: (*batalla*) *energética, eléctrica, empresarial*.

The Spanish press enhances the figure of Pizarro, Endesa's CEO, who is implicitly shown as a strong-willed man deeply concerned about the company. His personality features make Endesa less of a loser:

- (21) *Pizarro se alza contra GN.*  
(Pizarro rises up against GN.)
- (22) *Esa batalla la ganó Pizarro, que se ha convertido en el verdadero triunfador.*  
(That battle was won by Pizarro, who has become the real winner).
- (23) *Pizarro se ha convertido en verdadero héroe.*  
(Pizarro has become a real hero).

In the British press coverage of the Endesa takeover, the war scenario focuses on the hostile nature of the process and the hostile attitude of the competitors, thus revealing the ideology embedded in metaphor. The following examples illustrate this point:

- (24) This has certainly been an epic struggle but one long in casualties and short on heroes.
- (25) The scramble for Endesa is not yet over, but already there are corpses strewn on the battlefield.

In contrast, the Spanish press highlights the rival companies' tactics. Consider the following examples:

- (26) [...] maniobras defensivas de Enel y Acciona.  
(defensive maneuvers of Enel and Acciona).
- (27) *E.ON podría pasar al contraataque en la pugna por Endesa mediante la compra de acciones de su rival Enel.*  
(Eon could counterattack in the fight for Endesa through the purchase of shares from its rival Enel).

The takeover is viewed in the British and Spanish press as a broad scope conflict involving three armies –Spanish (Endesa), German (E.ON) and Italian (Enel)– which contributes to reinforcing the negative axiologisation of the bid. Such a description reminds the Spanish reader of the wars the Spanish army fought against foreign invaders in the past centuries, as illustrated in the passages below, loaded with historical connotations:

- (28) [...] with big European corporate armies trampling all over Spanish soil and trying to acquire one of the country's biggest and most important companies.
- (29) [...] *enfrentamientos en que los ejércitos europeos entran en suelo español e intentan comprar Endesa.*  
([...] a fight in which the European armies trample over Spanish soil and try to acquire Endesa).

The latter examples show that the confrontation model underpinning the press discourse relating to Endesa's takeover carries a very strong ideological charge in the war frame, where fair competition develops into hostility.

### 3.2. Business is a sport

Sport is another prototypical frame for business issues. The metaphorical representation of the Endesa takeover in terms of a sport (a race, a boxing match or a football match) reveals differences in terms of frequency and range of metaphors. Sports metaphors prevail in Spanish –twenty expressions, including *pistoletazo de salida*, *acabar fuera de pista*, *árbitro*, *púgil*, *partido*, *recta final*, *meter presión*. In contrast, we only found two metaphorical patterns in the English corpus (*race* and *knockout*).

The idea of confrontation subsuming WAR metaphors still stands out in sport metaphors, as shown in the example below:

- (30) [E.ON] increased its all-cash offer in an attempt to deliver a knock-out blow.

The sport frame brings into play a further negative aspect of the takeover in the Spanish sample, namely the misbehaviour of the bidding companies. This reading is supported by the following examples:

- (31) *La CNMV ejerció ayer de árbitro en la pelea por Endesa y prohibió los golpes bajos.*

(Spanish regulators acted as umpires in the fight for Endesa and forbade punches below the belt).

- (32) *Como los púgiles experimentados, GN retrocederá golpeando.*

(Like the experienced boxers, GN will move back lashing out its opponent).

The metaphorical expressions above make reference to the wrong tactics used by the rival companies to gain control of Endesa.

### 3.3. Business is a card game

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This conceptual metaphor is less prominent in both corpora. The Spanish set of CARD GAME metaphors consists of eleven expressions, including *partida, jugada, envite, pedir cartas, mover ficha*. The English sample only contains four metaphorical expressions: *game of poker, hand of poker, move, trump card*.

The ideological relevance of the source domains of WAR, SPORT and GAME is corroborated by the fact that the instantiations of these metaphors profile the negative aspects of the takeover and neglect the positive ones (higher profitability, bigger market share, synergies, greater financial soundness, costs reduction). The linguistic metaphors in both corpora prioritise one feature of Endesa's takeover: the fierce competition between the rival companies.

### 3.4. Business is a play/serial

The metaphor BUSINESS IS A SERIAL is only activated in the Spanish corpus, and the metaphor BUSINESS IS A PLAY has few instantiations in both samples. We found seven linguistic metaphors in Spanish (*actor, protagonista, convidado de piedra, papel, escenario, hilo argumental, epílogo*) and four in English (*play, character, plot, burst into scene*).

Both metaphors carry an ideological component in that their instantiations convey a negative evaluation of the length of the takeover, as shown in the following examples:



- (33) [...] lengthy drama.  
(34) *El culebrón empresarial más largo de la historia de España.*  
(The longest business soap opera in the Spanish history).  
(35) *El culebrón de la OPA parece haber llegado a su fin.*  
(The takeover bid soap opera seems to have come to an end).

The Spanish examples show the stronger ideological implications of the metaphor BUSINESS IS A SERIAL. Its ideological charge is exposed by the choice of lexis. The equating of the takeover to a soap opera (*culebrón*) bears a strong negative connotation.

### 3.5. Takeovers are marriages

Other linguistic metaphors relative to the Endesa takeover in the Spanish and English press can be found in the domain of LOVE. The lexis from this domain includes words such as *pretendiente* and *cortejar* in Spanish, and their English counterparts (*suitor* and *woo*). Although the conceptual metaphor TAKEOVERS ARE MARRIAGES is not very relevant in terms of frequency, it has a very relevant ideological role. Unlike the metaphorical framing we have so far discussed, the metaphor reveals a more covert ideology. It is the most prototypical sub-metaphor of COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE for corporate alliances (Herrera and White 2000). By providing a gender reading of Endesa's takeover, the metaphor is the vehicle by which cultural values are presented, thus confirming that ideology is subsumed in metaphor.

- (36) Gas Natural starts wooing Endesa.  
(37) Another suitor eyes up Endesa.  
(38) *Acciona es el último pretendiente que le ha salido a Endesa.*  
(Acciona is Endesa's latest suitor).  
(39) *E.ON se ha lanzado a tumba abierta después de unos primeros acercamientos.*  
(E.ON has thrown itself into winning Endesa's heart after coming closer to her).

The examples bring to light a central feature of the metaphor, namely, the sexual roles assigned to the companies (Herrera and White 2000; Koller 2008). The major rivals that are in dispute for Endesa (Gas Natural, E.ON and Acciona) are assigned a male role while Endesa is female. The bidding companies are metaphorically viewed as male suitors (*pretendientes*) courting the same woman, Endesa. The use of this metaphor has a marked ideological value resulting from the institution of marriage and the roles traditionally assigned to each sex.

### 3.6. Analysis of the results

The discussion of the metaphorical structuring of the Endesa takeover and its ideological value in the Spanish and British press has yielded many correspondences. The takeover is conceptualized in terms of a war, a sport or game, a play/serial, a card game and a love relationship in both samples, the only differences being the frequency and range of metaphors. Although the WAR metaphor stands at the centre of this metaphor system in both languages, we encountered a higher proportion of the other metaphors in Spanish. Despite these quantitative differences, the metaphor construction of the takeover is ideologically marked in both corpora. As a matter of fact, the underlying ideology is so powerful that it shows in the effects of the press's construal of reality (Fairclough 1992: 196), which can be summarised as follows:

1. Metaphorical simplification of reality.

The Spanish and British press, through the way in which they choose, order and present information, reduce the complexity of the takeover process. As already explained, the metaphors found in the corpus focus on specific characteristics of the takeover. In line with this, Cubo de Severino and others (2001: 219) claim that "metaphors direct vision, focussing on certain aspects and concealing others". In this way, metaphor serves to manipulate reality.

2. The metaphorical framing of the takeover is then shown as a reality that the press simply reflects, thus concealing the way the press constructs reality. The account of Endesa's takeover given by *El País* illustrates this point:

(40) *Movimientos previos. Declaración de guerra.*

*El asalto. GN lanzó el ataque. La cúpula de Endesa se encastilló. Comenzó una cruzada. Fue uno de los primeros episodios de las hostilidades.*

*Diplomacia eléctrica. La irrupción de E.ON provocó un conflicto diplomático.*

*E.ON intentó alcanzar una solución pacífica. La alianza de Enel y Acciona desbarató los planes alemanes hasta que se firmó el armisticio.*

(Previous movements. Declaration of war.

The assault. GN attacked. The upper echelons of the company rose up. A crusade began. It was one of the first episodes of the battle.

Electrical diplomacy. When E.ON burst onto the scene, there was a diplomatic conflict.

Eon tried to settle the conflict by peaceful means. Enel and Acciona's alliance ruined the German plans until an armistice was signed).

3. Press coverage is eventually shaped by metaphor, so that all the information about the takeover fits one or more of the metaphorical frames activated by the conceptual metaphors. For example, *Financial Times* reports the news of E.ON's withdrawal as follows:

(41) E.ON has thrown in the towel after a twelve-month campaign.

Likewise, *El País* reports the appearance of other bidding companies by making use of the metaphor BUSINESS IS A PLAY:

(42) *La OPA sobre Endesa incorpora nuevos actores al escenario.*

(New actors burst onto the scene in Endesa's bid battle).

4. Finally, the rival companies' actions are consonant with the reporting of the takeover in the press. For instance, Pizarro expressed his opposition to the bid in the following terms:

(43) *No nos doblegarán.*

(We won't give in).

The statement portrays Endesa as an army resisting the bid offer and Pizarro as a hero fighting bravely against his competitors.

In conclusion, metaphor influences the coverage of the Endesa takeover and the takeover itself.

#### 4. Conclusion

The present contribution, which lies within the scope of recent research into the notable presence of metaphor in economic discourse, has given evidence of the ideological function of metaphor in this domain, as suggested by a number of authors (Mussolf 2004; Herrera and White 2005), through the analysis of the ideological implications of metaphor in the Spanish and English press coverage of the Endesa takeover documented in a bilingual corpus. The acquisition of Endesa, the largest utility in the Spanish electricity sector, was an economic issue with strong political and ideological implications, an ideal site for confirming our hypothesis that ideological values are embedded in metaphor. Our analysis of the metaphors in the corpus has shown that metaphor underlies the press coverage of business issues and that it conveys ideological values. The shift from the target domain of business to the source domains of WAR, SPORT, GAME and LOVE is ideologically significant in two ways. Firstly, the metaphorical construction of the Endesa takeover process is based upon a confrontational view of intercompany competition which points to the newspapers' critical attitude towards the takeover. The negative vision of the takeover promoted by the Spanish and British

newspapers is reinforced by the focus on negative aspects of the acquisition such as the hostility and the length of the process. Secondly, the metaphorical framing of the Endesa takeover conveys cultural values by highlighting traditional sexual roles through the metaphor TAKEOVERS ARE MARRIAGES. Last but not least, the ideological implications of the metaphorical configuration of the Endesa takeover influence the press's construal of reality.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup>. Translations of the examples in Spanish are provided throughout the article to facilitate comprehension.

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# DEFINITE ARTICLE USE IN THE IL OF SPANISH SPEAKERS: A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL PROBLEM

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## 1. Introduction: Transfer, fluctuation and article use in English

The articles “the” and “a” provide the most basic expression of definiteness and indefiniteness in the English language. We will focus on the marker of definiteness par excellence, “the”, in order to study what kind of processes might affect its appearance in the interlanguage of intermediate learners. The reason for restricting this study to the definite article is based on its wider variety of usage and its higher frequency of use than the indefinite article *a(n)*.

Article form and use differ quite a lot in Spanish and English, so that learners from both languages find it difficult to adjust their systems of thought to the new rules and contexts of application. Thus, the article use of a Spanish speaker of English will be greatly influenced by his or her linguistic background due to *transfer*. Language transfer gives rise to what has been labelled as *interlingual errors*, that is, errors that result from interference from the mother tongue, as Corder (1981: 207) acknowledges. The concept of transfer has developed significantly in the last few years and, as Odlin (1989:27) concedes, transfer becomes not simply a *matter of interference*, or a question of merely *falling back on the native tongue*. Following Kellerman’s *transfer to nowhere* principle, it might be said that transfer “can now come through similarity and difference” (Kellerman 1995:142).

In order to account for the differences in the utterances produced by non native speakers of a given L2 and the corresponding ones which would probably be produced by the native speakers of that language, Selinker (1972:214) poses the idea of *interlanguage* to refer to a separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a target language (henceforth, TL) norm. There are a number of principles at work within this latent psychological structure, the most relevant of which, as far as our study is concerned, are overgeneralization of TL rules and fossilization. Coulter (1968) presents convincing data suggesting that there exists a sort of strategy of communication among learners that dictates to them that they know enough of the TL in order to communicate and so they stop learning and fossilize.

In recent years, fossilization has been increasingly related to the phenomenon of empty categories, that is, those elements which are not present in the IL, even though they are required in the TL and, sometimes, even in the source language, as Cebreiros (2004:34) acknowledges. The predictable appearance of empty categories in the IL, or rather, the lack of the expected linguistic constructions, has been linked to the Multiple Effects Principle, which establishes that the simultaneous operation of two or more IL phenomena (one of them normally being transfer and in this case, the other being empty categories) will lead to their permanent stabilization. As far as article use is concerned, we may argue that the IL of Spanish speakers of English L2 will be characterized by the phenomenon that is opposite to empty categories, since they produce utterances where the article does not apply due to L1 similarity (i.e. they produce "full" categories), this being the phenomenon which is going to stabilize in their IL.

The actual extent of L1 influence is a controversial issue: whereas some studies have shown that L1 influence decreases with language proficiency (e.g. as the learner gains control over L2 conventions), others have revealed that it increases with IL development (e.g. as the learner acquires the L2 tools necessary for expressing his or her L1-based perspectives). Still other investigations have suggested that L1 influence neither increases nor decreases with proficiency, nor does it fluctuate substantially before taking a terminal direction. (Jarvis 2000:247). Another related contentious topic has to do with inter-L1-group heterogeneity, that is, the fact that comparable learners of a common L2 who speak different L1s diverge in their performance. Relevant to our study is the work of Ringbom (1987), who has proved that L1 Finnish learners of English are significantly more likely to omit English articles and prepositions than L1 Swedish learners are, thereby proving that the IL omission of function words (i.e. articles and prepositions) is not something that every learner does regardless



of L1 background. A number of studies (such as Andersen, 1992 and Stehle, 2009) have proved that not having an article system in the L1 constitutes a handicap when acquiring such a system in the L2.

## **2. Review of the literature**

Because of its high complexity and frequent use, the English article system is one of the most difficult structural elements for ESL learners, very difficult if not impossible to teach (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982). A survey conducted by Covitt (1976) ranked the teaching of English article usage first among difficult tasks for ESL instructors, something which was confirmed some years later by Parrish (1987) and, more recently, by Jarvis (2002).

Although some earlier studies (Christophersen, 1939; Jespersen, 1949) made significant contributions to our understanding of the issue, Bickerton's (1981) work is arguably the most important and enlightening, as it renders a new and unique systematic approach to the analysis of the use of the English article system.

According to Bickerton (1981), the use of the English articles —*a*, *the*, and zero— is governed by the semantic function of the noun phrase (henceforth, NP) in discourse. The classification of the semantic function of a NP is then determined, he argued, by two binary discourse features: (a) whether a noun is a specific referent ( $\pm$ SR), and (b) whether the hearer knows the referent ( $\pm$ HK). If the grasp of the use of the English article system entails a command of the discourse and referential constraints on NPs, the acquisition of the article system must in turn involve the learning of these constraints—a task that research has shown, directly or indirectly, to be especially challenging, albeit possible, for L2 learners.

In 1983, Huebner applied Bickerton's noun classification to the teaching of articles in ESL. Detaching himself from traditional research that considered the presence or absence of the article as depending on the context, Huebner's analysis tackled two more important issues: first, the various semantic functions or types of NPs and the article(s) used with each semantic type; and second, the development of ESL learners' grasp of the article + NP function relationship. Using the two binary features that Bickerton developed, Huebner classified his data according to the semantic functions of the NPs. Thanks to such a classification of nouns, one could understand the learner's use of articles in a semantic context by considering the article(s) that an ESL learner used with each type. Liu and Gleason (2002:4) have claimed that Huebner's method of analysis has allowed researchers to gain a deeper understanding of ESL article usage than the method of examining only the production of articles in obligatory contexts.

Following this line of thought, Thomas (1989) argues that some fruitful insight may be gained from comparing article production in child L1 learners to adult L2 learners. She claims that children's frequent use of the definite article in referential indefinite contexts, that is, with nouns appearing in the discourse for the first time, (a context where adults would use the indefinite article) may be mirrored in adult L2 learners. The results of research prove that adult L2 learners also overgeneralize the definite article, employing *the* in referential indefinite contexts at significantly higher rates than in non-referential contexts when such a strategy is possible in their native language, thus relating article use and transference.

More recently, scholars have suggested that variable production of morphological forms can be attributed to the difficulties learners experience in relating the abstract syntax of the L2 to their production of L2 target-like forms. The Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (henceforth, MSIH; Prévost and White, 2000) postulates that while morphological production in the L2 is variable, it is also largely marked and regular (i.e. not random). However, as White (2003) later recognises, the main weakness of this approach is that it is inherently *post hoc* and thus MSIH has recently been supplemented by a proposal that allows for representational problems to play a part, but restricting them to the phonological level. The Prosodic Transfer Hypothesis (as described by Goad and White, 2004) suggests that a transfer of L1 phonological representations might interfere with the production of L2 morphology.

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Influenced by these hypotheses, scholars like Trenkic (2007) have related article-use in the IL of L2 speakers of English to transference from their L1 and the influence of its morphological structure. More specifically, there have been several studies which focus on the acquisition of the English article system by Spanish learners, taking transfer into consideration, such as that by Ionin, Zubizarreta and Maldonado (2008). They state that the main problem in the acquisition of the English article system lies in the difference between English having definite plurals with only specific reference (The lions are dangerous → specific group of lions) and Spanish having definite plurals which stand for generic as well as specific reference (leones son peligrosos → *los* can be referring to lions in general or to a specific group of them). Their claim that Spanish L1 speakers will allow for a generic interpretation of bare plurals due to influence from their mother tongue is expanded in Cebreiros (2004), who relates transfer from the L1 with the creation of empty categories. This author argues that the appearance of these categories stems from the speaker's natural tendency to regularize the rules of the L2 in the IL using strategies such as simplification and overextension of analogy. Going a step further, Andersen (1992) examines the differences in article acquisition between Spanish and Japanese learners and maintains that:

A well-known characteristic of both first and second language acquisition is that grammatical morphemes are absent in early stages of interlanguage. The natural processes of acquisition that produce a simplified interlanguage without articles in early stages is thus reinforced by negative transfer from a language that does not have articles (Japanese). It appears that this early simplification in interlanguage is overridden by positive transfer in the case of the acquisition of English articles by Spanish speakers. (Andersen 1992:184)

Other studies, such as Robertson (2000), Lu (2001), Ionin et al. (2004) and, more recently, Zdorenko and Paradis (2008) have focused on fluctuation. In the course of article acquisition, L2 learners of English have been documented as omitting articles in both definite and indefinite contexts, and as misusing them, that is, substituting one in the context of another. Bearing this in mind Ionin *et al.* (2004) developed an explanation for the inappropriate use of articles in L2 English. On the basis of a given set of restrictions, Ionin *et al.* (2004:16) put forward a parameter-setting account to explain the variability in L2 learners' productions of articles: the Fluctuation Hypothesis (henceforth, FH). It states that:

- L2 learners have full access to Universal Grammar (UG) principles and parameter-settings.
- L2 learners fluctuate between different parameter-settings until the input leads them to set the parameter to the appropriate value.

Under the FH, L2 English learners will predictably fluctuate between the two settings of the Article Choice Parameter until they are exposed to sufficient input to set the parameter correctly. This first study of fluctuation was carried out on subjects whose L1 did not have article systems of their own. Thus, a follow-up study with subjects whose L1 did have such a system was carried out in 2006.

Ionin, Zubizarreta and Maldonado (2008), compared L2 learners whose L1 has articles (Spanish) with L2 learners from an article-less L1 (Russian) background. Two competing hypotheses regarding the role of fluctuation and L1 transfer in the acquisition of articles were posed:

- a) Possibility 1: Fluctuation overrides transfer: all L2 learners should fluctuate between definiteness and specificity in their article choice. In other words, both Spanish and Russian learners are expected to misuse articles.
- b) Possibility 2: Transfer overrides fluctuation: L2 learners whose L1s have articles should transfer article semantics from their L1 to their L2. The [- article] L1 learners should fluctuate, since they have no parameter setting to transfer.

The aforementioned authors found evidence supporting Possibility 2. The results of a written elicitation test indicated that the Spanish learners of English transferred article semantics from their L1 to their L2, because they did not fluctuate between

definiteness and specificity and distinguished between *the* and *a* on the basis of definiteness. The Russian speakers, in the absence of L1 transfer, were less accurate than the Spanish speakers, as they fluctuated between distinguishing *the* and *a* on the basis of definiteness and on the basis of specificity, similar to the Russian speakers in Ionin et al. (2004).

### 3. Article Usage in English as compared to Spanish

English has three so-called articles, *the*, *a* and  $\emptyset$  (zero). They appear to have different, yet overlapping distributions. It is generally accepted that the use of *the* first falls into two major categories: generic and non-generic use (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1999; Hawkins, 2001; Quirk et al., 1985). The definite article *the* can be potentially used with all types of nouns: count singular, count plural and non-count, as Huddleston and Pullum (2002:368) postulate. The definite article is used before singular and plural nouns when the noun is particular or specific. *The* signals that the noun is definite, that it refers to a *particular* member of a group. *The* is not used with non-countable nouns referring to something in a general sense. Following Butt and Benjamin (1988), this is what we will refer to as general reference:

[no article] *Coffee is a popular drink.*

[no article] *Japanese was his native language.*

[no article] *Intelligence is difficult to quantify.*

*The* is used with non-countable nouns that are made more specific by a limiting modifying phrase or clause:

*The coffee in my cup is too hot to drink.*

*The Japanese he speaks is often heard in the countryside.*

Liu and Gleason (2002:7) propose to divide the types of definite article above into four main types:

- a) CULTURAL, where *the* is used with a noun that is a unique and well-known referent in a speech community.  
*We went hiking in the Lake District last autumn.*
- b) SITUATIONAL, where *the* is used when the referent of a first-mention noun can be sensed directly or indirectly by the interlocutors or the referent is known by the members in a local community, such as the only dog in a family or the only bookstore in a town.  
*A woman, with her hands full, says to a man standing in front of the office, "Open the door for me, would you?"*
- c) STRUCTURAL, where *the* is used with a first-mention noun that has a modifier.  
*The movies that are shown here now are all rated R.*

- d) TEXTUAL, where *the* is used with a noun that has been previously referred to or is related to a previously mentioned noun.

*We rented a boat last summer at a lake.*

*Unfortunately, the boat hit another boat and sank.*

The indefinite article *a* can be used with singular count nouns and abstract (non-count) nouns, but not with plural count nouns and not usually with count nouns. For instance:

*I saw a rabbit.*

*They reached an understanding.*

The  $\emptyset$  article can be used with plural nouns, mass nouns and abstract nouns, but not usually with singular count nouns (unless they can be interpreted as mass nouns: e.g. *She doesn't eat rabbit*). For instance:

*I saw ( $\emptyset$ ) rabbits in the garden.*

*She presented ( $\emptyset$ ) evidence for her claim.*

The following table illustrates the range of co-occurrence of English articles depending on the type of noun being used:

Article	Noun Types	Examples
The	N[+count, + singular] [+count, - singular] [-count, + mass] [-count, - mass]	the rabbit the rabbits the porridge the truth
A	N[+count, + singular] [-count, - mass]	a rabbit a (home) truth
$\emptyset$	N[+count, - singular] [-count, + mass] [-count, - mass]	$\emptyset$ rabbits $\emptyset$ porridge $\emptyset$ truth

(Hawkins, 2001: 233)

TABLE 1: Co-occurrence possibilities of the articles *the*, *a*,  $\emptyset$  and types of noun

Once the use of the articles in English has been clarified, let us now turn to Spanish:

	Definite article (the)		Indefinite article (a, an)	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
Singular	El	la	un	una
Plural	los	las	unos	unas

TABLE 2: Forms of the articles

Article usage in Spanish seems especially elusive for English-speaking learners. Perhaps the most striking difference between both languages as far as article use is concerned is the use of the definite article with nouns alluding to:

- a) Mass nouns which refer to an idea of substance in general:  
*la informalidad* → *informality*      *la naturaleza* → *nature*
- b) Count nouns which denote all the members in their class:  
*Los belgas beben mucha cerveza* → *Belgians drink lots of beer*  
*Los tigres son animales peligrosos* → *Tigers are dangerous animals*

Unlike English, the definite article is used in Spanish:

- a) Before certain nouns, such as church, school, etc...which refer not to the actual physical place but to the institution they represent:  
En **la** escuela → at school      en **el** trabajo → at work  
En **la** iglesia → at church      en **la** cárcel → in jail
- b) Instead of the possessive, when this is inferred or expressed in the direct object:  
Bajé **la** cabeza → I lowered my head  
Levanté **la** mano → I raised my hand
- c) With street names and geographical places:  
Visitamos **el** lago Ness → We visited Lake Ness  
Vivo en **la** calle Urzáiz → I live in Urzáiz Street

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#### 4. Hypotheses

1. L1-Spanish learners of English will transfer the properties of generic reference from their L1 to their L2, hence allowing the generic reading of English definite plurals.
2. Due to this generic reading of English definite plurals, *the* will be overused by Spanish speakers of English as L2 through processes of simplification and overextension of analogy, and perhaps transfer of training.
3. Recovery from L1-transfer may be possible: following the Fluctuation Hypothesis, we may argue that more advanced L1-Spanish L2-English learners may with time interpret definite plurals in a target-like manner, as specific rather than generic.

## 5. Method

### a. The subjects

In order to analyze article production, a set of three different exercises were carried out with four groups of ten students each. Thirty were fourth-year ESO students (Compulsory Secondary Education), and ten first-year Bachillerato students. All of them were enrolled in the same state high school in Vigo (Pontevedra). Twenty-one were girls and nineteen were boys, and some had recently immigrated to Spain from different countries in Latin America. They had been studying English for an average of five years. It is worth mentioning that the inclusion of a control group was not thought necessary since we felt it would be irrelevant due to the high degree of markedness as far as article use is concerned in English. The higher level group, the one corresponding to 1<sup>st</sup> year of Bachillerato, was included in an attempt to obtain data regarding article use in more advanced contexts. Regarding this higher-level group, it is important to mention that their results will be presented in a separate chart so as not to mix linguistic performances that may corrupt the data.

### b. Materials

The set of exercises consisted of three different tasks, each focused on a different aspect of article use. The first was a 12-sentence fill-in the gap exercise, where the options were *the* or  $\emptyset$  article.<sup>1</sup> The sentences were made as simple and straightforward as possible to make the students feel confident and to avoid stress that might lead them to give the first answer that came into their heads. The second task was a 6-sentence translation exercise devised to examine the students' active production of language. The third task was an 8-sentence either/or exercise where students had to circle whichever option (*the* or  $\emptyset$  article) they thought more suitable. The operating principle was very much the same as in the first assignment, but the difficulty of the sentences was increased.

### c. Procedure

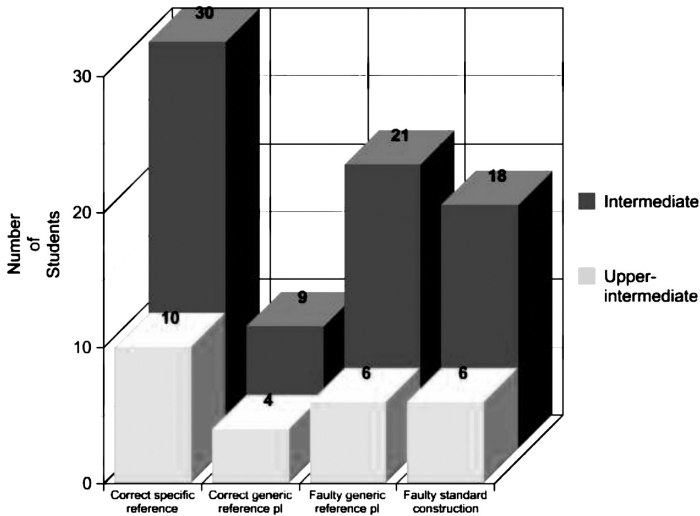
Firstly, the level of the fourth-year ESO students was ascertained through the Oxford Placement Test 2 (Allen 1992), whereby they were labeled as intermediate. The same test was carried out on the first-year Bachillerato students, and they were tagged as upper-intermediate. After the test, all students were given fifty minutes to finish the tasks. All three exercises were done during class hours. The students had the option of asking whatever vocabulary items they were not familiar with in the hope that answers would not be left blank simply because a vocabulary item was unknown..

### d. Data analysis

In the first task for the intermediate group, as might be expected since Spanish and English follow the same rules for specific reference in the singular, a not

surprising 100% of the students employed the article correctly. This is shown in Bar number 1, which is labeled as “Correct generic reference”. This fact shows that although their competence in English may not be very high, they are able to apply the rules of the L1 to the L2 successfully. On the other hand, bars 2 (correct specific reference pl) and 3 (faulty specific reference pl) clearly attest that the vast majority of students fail to use the Ø article with general reference in the plural, thus showing interference from their L1 background, since Spanish lacks that kind of referential use without the article. An interesting case is bar number 4, which reads “faulty standard construction”. This refers to sentence nº 11 in the appendix, (See you on.....Wednesday), which we may take as a standard construction in the TL that we expected the learners to have interiorized at this level of proficiency. Nonetheless, the data shows that this is not the case and that they still apply L1 rules to such a construction. Table 1 illustrates the data obtained from the first task:

First Task



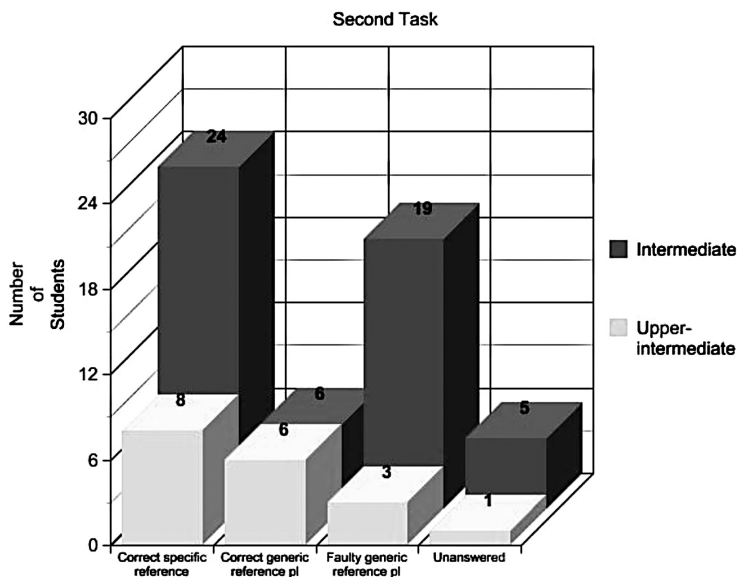
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As we can see in the table, the overall results of the more advanced group seem to support the figures obtained for the intermediate group. Once again, 100% of the students successfully employed the definite article correctly in the first situation (i.e. specific reference). As we can see from the results presented in bars 3 and 4, despite their higher level, almost all of them present the same problem with the use of the Ø article for general reference in the plural, thus reinforcing our hypothesis



regarding interference from their L1 background due to the previously mentioned lack of referential use without the article in Spanish.

The second task was devised to examine the students' active production of language. Translating requires a more active application of the TL rules and exposes the student more openly to the influence of his/her L1 than the closed exercises of the first-task might. Consequently, the results were quite similar to those obtained in task 1, the only difference being the higher number of unanswered sentences (bar number 4), hinting at inadequate language skills resulting in unanswered sentences. The good results obtained in Bar number 1, corresponding to specific reference, support our claim regarding the non-difficulty of Spanish speakers in this grammatical usage due to similarity between L1 and L2 in this matter. At the same time, bars 2 and 3, corresponding to either correct or faulty usage of generic reference in the plural, present results consistent with the results of the previous task, hence giving us ground to believe that this is the most problematic area of article use due to the students' applying rules of overextension of analogy from their Spanish grammatical background. Let us see the results more graphically:



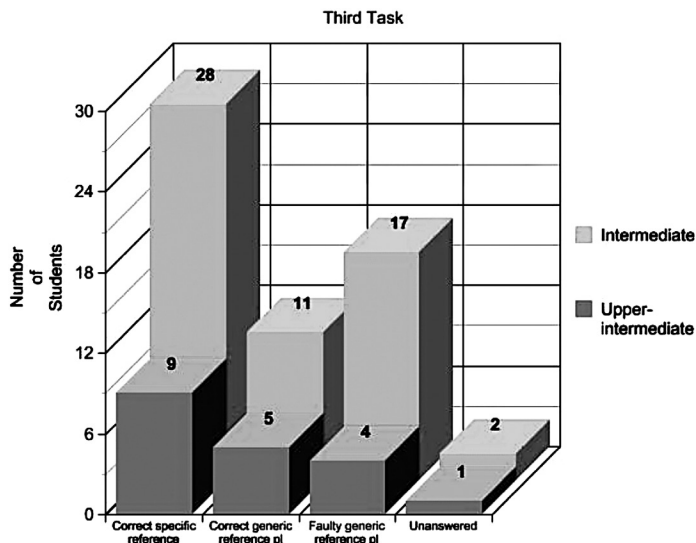
The results obtained in this second task from the upper-intermediate level group are consistent with a higher level of training in English. Hence, the only remarkable

finding is the lower figure related to unanswered sentences (bar number 4), suggesting a greater ability to translate the required sentences into English.

Although one might have expected to get far worse results than in Task 3 than in Task 1, the reverse was the case. The reason for their good performance in Task 3 may be that the students exercised greater concentration during the exercise, or perhaps they simply paid more attention to article use after the two previous tasks. The results obtained in bar number 1 (correct specific reference) are consistent with those of the two previous tasks, as are those in bar number 2 (correct generic reference pl) and 3 (faulty generic reference pl), thus proving that students of English as L2 with a Spanish L1 background do present interference from this L1 in their application of article use rules. What is clear is that the overall results obtained show a higher degree of correct article use when dealing with generic reference in the plural (see bars 2 and 3 for correct and faulty usages in each case), the students' weakest point so far.

The following table illustrates the aforementioned point:

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The overall improvement perceived in intermediate pupils can also be seen in the results for 1<sup>st</sup> year Bachillerato students. However, since the upper-intermediate group's results in the second task were slightly better in relation to their intermediate counterparts, the fact that they have obtained better results in this

third task is not as surprising as the intermediate group's good performance in the same task. Still, it may be worth mentioning that the results obtained prove that generic reference with plurals (see bars 2 and 3 for the number of correct and faulty uses in each case) is the most problematic area for all students tested, regardless of their linguistic proficiency.

## **6. Discussion**

As the three exercises illustrate, the IL of Spanish speakers of L2 English at intermediate level is consistently affected, at least as far as definite article use is concerned, by their L1. We need to be aware of the fact that, as Odlin (1989:33) acknowledges, "researchers have long used the terms 'cross linguistic influence' and 'language transfer' interchangeably", a practice which assumes that some kind of influence is essential to the phenomenon of transfer.

As the data analysis has shown, a very high percentage of the students, both intermediate and upper-intermediate, do present instances of interference as far as generic reference in the plural is concerned. This influence constitutes an instance of Andersen's principle of *transfer to somewhere*. Transfer is a phenomenon that very seldom occurs in isolation, and in this specific case we may take the students' tendency to use the article at all times, even in contexts where it does not apply, as a case of overextension of analogy from their L1. In other words, they overuse the definite article because they apply their L1 article conventions to the TL, henceforth overextending the Spanish generic use in the plural of *the* to their IL. To support this evidence, this deviant performance is accompanied by a consistently target-like use of *the* in the singular for specific reference, due to similarity with Spanish. In fact, most research since the mid-1970s has stressed the notion that transfer is the result of learners selectively exploiting their knowledge of the first language while grappling with the complexity of the L2 input, see Kellerman (1995:126) for instance.

Although the present study has taken a primarily generativist standpoint, it is worth mentioning that the abovementioned scholar relates transfer to the Competition Model (Kellerman 1995:127). For him, the Competition Model is a functionalist account of performance often resorted to when dealing with child acquisition of notions such as Agent, Subject, etc... as well as their use of notions such as animacy, word order, case marking and verb agreement, to name a few. What emerges from studies built upon this model is that the assignment of certain functions to form utterances may largely follow the pattern dictated by the L1, especially when the learner is not very advanced, as is the case with our students.

In relation to our study, the notion of competition model may help us understand certain surprising results, as in the case of *Susan loves (Ø) cake more than anything else in the world*: the subjects will consistently use *the* in most cases, a tendency which is prompted by the Spanish use of the definite article when the reference is to a generic, universal singular.

My reference to empty categories and transfer in the review of the literature section one might lead the reader to think I consider these instances of overuse of the article as transfer to nowhere, but it should be remembered that this principle “does not so much refer to differences in grammatical form (as is the case in our study) but to the differences in the way languages predispose their speakers to conceptualize experience”, as Kellerman (1995:136) himself states. The mechanism at work here, as indicated above, is that something which is the opposite to empty categories (what I have defined as “full categories”) appears. These “full categories” may very well be considered a linguistic phenomenon motivated by language contact and similarity that causes articles to be overused in the L2 of Spanish speakers.

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From the intermediate’s consistent failure to recognize the generic uses of the article in English and from the upper-intermediate’s slightly better results, we could argue that this deviant performance might be motivated by insufficient exposure to the English article system. In fact, numerous studies have proved that although this is true of speakers whose L2 does not have an article system, as far as Spanish is concerned, the case is different. Odlin (1989:34) explains how “errors of article omission in the English of Spanish speakers appear to correspond closely—though not entirely—to areas of contrast between English and Spanish”. Such an acknowledgement supports our thesis regarding the possible appearance of incorrect applications of article use rules in the subjects’ IL.

A final remark on the high incidence of incorrect article use due to Spanish influence might be a reflection on the transfer involved in a particular type of language training, such as when teachers encourage their students to translate directly from their mother tongue. This should make us reflect on the types of methodologies currently applied to language lessons in Spain: Students have proved more able to produce correct articles in closed contexts, such as the first exercise, than in open, more active ones, like the translation exercise. It is not difficult to infer from the results obtained that students perform better in closed contexts, not only due to the transfer of training, but due to the fact that they are not sufficiently familiarized with the more creative language skills ( ), since these are the two which are usually given less attention in the classroom. Although not relevant to the present study, it might be worth bearing in mind that there is a need for a change in language teaching methodologies at intermediate levels which would endow students with

the resources necessary to enable them to actively produce language rather than simply apply rules in closed contexts.

As a brief summary, we can state that the English rules for article use are simplified by the majority of the participants in the study in a clear instance of oversimplification and overextension of analogy from *the* when specific reference in the singular is intended. Empty categories, though persistently associated with IL and transfer, are not relevant to our study.

From these considerations we may conclude that our first and second hypotheses were met, having obtained consistent data that support our theory about Spanish speakers transferring the properties of generic reference from their L1 to their L2 and consequently overusing *the* in non-target like contexts. However, it would be interesting to carry on further explorations with more groups of different levels to further test the sustainability of our two hypotheses. As far as our third hypothesis is concerned, we have already argued that it would take a little more time than was available to prove, although our own preliminary data regarding the more advanced group and many other studies seem to support our thesis.

## **7. Conclusion**

The findings of the three tasks carried out by intermediate Spanish L1 English L2 students demonstrate that influence from the L1 is a reality operating at this level and that this triggers transfer of the operative principles of Spanish articles to their English counterparts, consistently producing non-target like uses of *the*, the most common of which results in the generic reading of English definite plurals.

One might be tempted to guess that these anomalous forms of the definite article will disappear as proficiency in the language increases with a heightened awareness of the L2's constraints and contexts of use, but this would have to be tested after some time had elapsed in the same group, and falls outside the scope of this paper. We need to be aware, nonetheless, that the various factors operating here (overgeneralization, simplification, and overuse) may reinforce each other leading to fossilization in the IL as formulated in the Multiple Effects Principle proposed by Selinker and Lakshmanan (1992).

Little attention has been paid to interlingual influence on the IL. It is significant that prior knowledge of nonnative languages may lead to some meaningful differences in learners' TL knowledge. The focus on the use of function words in L3 or L4 language written production is motivated by prior research findings reported in the literature on multilingualism (Ringbom, 1987; Vildomec, 1963; Williams & Hammarberg, 1998), which suggest that multilinguals seem to favor

the use of function words from their nonnative languages rather than their native language in production, provided that the source and the target language are typologically close to each other, as De Angelis (2005:381) recognizes. A research project on multilingual students to see whether their deviant practices are similar to those of their monolingual counterparts or are actually more target-like would be of great interest, but that has to be left for the future.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup>. For the complete exercises, please see the appendices at the end.

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## Appendices

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### 1. FIRST TASK:

FILL IN THE GAPS *with* the or no article:

1. .... giraffes tend to live in small communities.
2. Look! ..... tree is losing its leaves.
3. My grandmother likes..... flowers very much.
4. I received.....book for my birthday.
5. My brother loves .....brand of T-shirts.
6. Jimmy forgot his keys in ..... car.
7. .... lion is a very dangerous animal.
8. Andrea loves ..... cake more than anything else.
9. .... horses are useful animals in a farm.
10. Your garden is so beautiful! And ..... flower is blooming so fast!
11. I saw Peter walking down..... street the other day.
12. See you on .....Wednesday.

### 2. SECOND TASK:

TRANSLATION:

1. Yo no bebo cerveza pero me gustan el té y el café.
2. La sociedad debería preocuparse más por los problemas medioambientales.
3. Mi madre tiene 52 años y vive en Munich.
4. La nueva película de Brad Pitt es un éxito.
5. A Julio le encantan los animales, especialmente los perros.
6. No deberías llegar tarde a la escuela.

### 3. THIRD TASK:

COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING SENTENCES

1. Shop wisely! You could end up choosing \_\_\_ wrong club and losing more money than pounds.  
a) The      b) no article
2. You may find out too late that \_\_\_ health clubs aren't for you.  
a) The      b) no article



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3. \_\_\_ San Diego fitness experts recommend thoroughly checking out several health clubs before you join one.  
a) The        b) no article
4. You may be in \_\_\_ market for a full-service health club; then, make sure it offers lots of activities.  
a) The        b) no article
5. Look for a place near your house, and check out \_\_\_ exercise instructors and personal trainers.  
a) The        b) no article
6. Certified instructors have at least some knowledge of anatomy, exercise physiology, injury prevention and \_\_\_ cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR).  
a) The        b) no article
7. Look in \_\_\_ locker room, workout room, and shower--everywhere should be clean.  
a) The        b) no article
8. \_\_\_ locker room sanitation is usually a good indication of how clean other areas are.  
a) The        b) no article

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Reviews



## **LA ESCRITURA CIENTÍFICO-TÉCNICA EN LENGUA INGLESA. CLAVES PARA ESCRIBIR CON SOLTURA Y EFICACIA**

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Madrid: Cátedra, 2010

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Tal como indica el profesor Enrique Bernárdez en el prólogo de este libro, existe en la actualidad una auténtica necesidad de conocer la lengua inglesa. Pero no sólo se trata de saber hablar y escribir en inglés, la exigencia actual es mucho mayor puesto que hay que saber usar el idioma en diversos contextos específicos.

No en vano, ya en los años 70 la UNESCO (1970: 3) indicó que dos tercios de los textos para ingenieros se publicaban en inglés y dicha proporción, evidentemente, ha ido en aumento. Esto significa que no sólo los graduados en ingeniería de todo el mundo se ven obligados a leer textos y manuales en inglés, sino que gran parte de su éxito profesional depende cada vez más de los conocimientos que posean del idioma. Esta situación es extrapolable al resto de los profesionales del mundo científico y tecnológico.

Partiendo de esta base la autora se centra en la importancia del inglés en las disciplinas técnico-científicas y del reto que supone para los profesionales (y futuros profesionales) llegar a conocerlo y manejarlo con eficacia. Por otra parte, se plantea la necesidad de que los profesores de inglés sean capaces de enseñar este registro específico. Como indicaba McDonough (1984: 131): *“what distinguishes the ESP teacher is the additional crucial need to understand –and be willing to accommodate– the requirements of other professionals, be they in academic or occupational spheres”*. Los profesores que imparten docencia de LFE parten de una formación lingüística pero se ven obligados a familiarizarse con los contenidos de otras asignaturas, además de tener que conocer las necesidades de sus alumnos y su futuro campo de trabajo.

Para lograrlo nos presenta un libro en el que se combina una aproximación teórica con un buen número de ejemplos prácticos. La autora cuenta con su propia experiencia con estudiantes y profesionales del mundo de la ingeniería, tanto en niveles de grado como en niveles de postgrado.

Basándose en los conocimientos adquiridos en su tarea como docente de inglés para fines específicos desarrollada durante los últimos 10 años, la autora decide centrarse en la destreza de la escritura, puesto que considera que es parte esencial en el trabajo de los profesionales científico-técnicos. No en vano, un estudio llevado a cabo en el año 1983 por la Universidad Politécnica de Ingeniería de Leicester señalaba: “62% of engineers and 67% of their colleagues thought engineers’ ability to express and communicate both verbally and in writing was a problem” (Warren & Mars, 1983: 20).

La autora pretende poner al alcance del lector una serie de herramientas que le puedan servir tanto para enunciar una definición como para elaborar un informe. Para ello divide el libro en cuatro capítulos que completa con cuatro apéndices. Cada capítulo presenta un enfoque diferente del tema, completando y ampliando lo expuesto en el anterior.

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En el primer capítulo incide en el problema que la autora se encuentra a diario en las aulas: los estudiantes y profesionales de ciencia y tecnología tienen dificultades para expresar sus ideas y conocimientos de manera eficaz. Por ello se propone apoyar el desarrollo de las destrezas comunicativas específicas en inglés, imprescindibles para que los estudiantes logren culminar con éxito su formación y para que posteriormente puedan triunfar en el mercado laboral. Dentro del mundo de la comunicación decide centrarse en la escritura como herramienta fundamental.

En el segundo capítulo orienta al lector acerca de la importancia del propósito y la audiencia, dos elementos fundamentales que se deben tener en cuenta antes de empezar a redactar cualquier texto. Son muchos, de hecho, los estudios que hablan del papel que juega la persuasión en la escritura científica. No se trata solo de informar, en muchos casos el autor intenta dirigirse a su audiencia con una finalidad persuasiva, quiere convencer de que sus hallazgos son válidos y novedosos: “... recent research has demonstrated that scientific writing is purposely persuasive” (González Pueyo, 1997: 384).

Las características del discurso científico, necesarias para redactar los documentos de una forma eficaz, son el tema en el que se centra el capítulo tercero. En él se alude a la claridad, la neutralidad, el uso de palabras sencillas y la necesidad de simplificar las estructuras sintácticas. Cada una de las secciones se ilustra con abundantes ejemplos procedentes de las actividades que realizan los alumnos de la autora, en muchos casos nos ofrece a continuación una versión revisada. Sin duda un apartado especialmente importante es el que se dedica a los conectores discursivos por el papel que desempeñan a la hora de lograr un texto coherente.

En el último capítulo nos habla del proceso de la escritura y recomienda seguir tres fases: escribir un borrador, realizar una selección de ideas y realizar la escritura como tal. En este momento entran en juego los distintos géneros y las convenciones formales y estilísticas. Se enumeran brevemente las técnicas retóricas, apoyándose en el modelo definido por Trimble y se procede a recordar la importancia de las políticas editoriales y la revisión final del texto.

Para ilustrarlo la autora escoge un macrogénero muy común: el ensayo, y explica paso a paso cómo se debe redactar. La elaboración de un párrafo tan solo se nombra y se da por hecho que el alumno sabe cómo hacerlo. Probablemente una mayor profundización en este aspecto habría sido necesaria si el lector es alguien que realmente se inicia en el mundo de la escritura científico-técnica. El párrafo es la unidad fundamental y difícilmente podremos redactar correctamente cualquiera de los géneros si no sabemos escribir un párrafo de manera adecuada.

Por otra parte, el hecho de centrarse exclusivamente en un macrogénero resulta algo restrictivo. Sin duda el ensayo es importante, pero sería necesario haber analizado varios géneros para que la presentación del tema resultara completa y aclarara las dudas que se le pueden presentar al lector.

Ya en el año 1946 W. Paul Jones publicaba su obra "Writing scientific papers and reports", un libro básico para todos los especialistas del inglés científico y desde entonces son muchos los autores que han presentado libros en los que se trata el tema desde diversas perspectivas. Por ello podemos afirmar que el texto objeto de nuestro análisis no destaca por su originalidad, aunque sí se diferencia por el hecho de estar escrito en español. Este detalle puede ser importante para aquellos alumnos hispano hablantes que se inicien en el campo de la escritura científica.

Se trata de una obra de fácil comprensión y lectura, lo que unido a su brevedad permite leerlo sin problemas. Claramente dirigido a aquellas personas que nunca han tenido contacto con el mundo de la escritura científico-técnica, sean estos docentes o estudiantes. Puede resultar un manual complementario de utilidad.

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**NEW TRENDS AND METHODOLOGIES IN APPLIED ENGLISH  
LANGUAGE RESEARCH. DIACHRONIC, DIATOPIC AND  
CONTRASTIVE STUDIES**

Prado-Alonso, C. *et al.*

Bern: Peter Lang (Linguistic Insights. Studies in Language and Communication Series), 2009

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Investigators in English Linguistics will certainly welcome this volume, which compiles a selection of some of the best and most representative papers presented at the *First ELC International Postgraduate Conference on English Linguistics (ELCI)* by young researchers (practically all of them had recently read their doctoral dissertations, or were on the point of doing so, according to the information supplied in the volume), held at the University of Santiago de Compostela in 2008. The work was then published just a year afterwards, so that the topics dealt with are still hotly-debated and within the main trends of scientific research in the areas covered. The work, therefore, offers its readership a stimulating panorama of what will certainly become some of the orientations within this field in forthcoming works and research tendencies.

Language does not exist in a vacuum, and cannot be understood independently of its speakers, of its users. The work reviewed addresses one of the keystone notions within linguistics, as is *variation* –the focus of attention in authors such as Chambers (1995/ 2003), Labov (1972), Gumperz and Hymes (1972), Hymes (1962), or Gumperz (1955)– with a view to introducing its readership to some of the most recent and influential perspectives of analysis and research in applied linguistics.

Three main perspectives of analysis are addressed, namely, diachronic, diatopic and a combination of comparative and contrastive approaches. Accordingly, the

volume is structured into three different major sections, –namely, Part I, which focuses upon Diachronic Studies; Part II, upon Diatopic Studies; and finally, Part III, upon Contrastive Studies.

Part I, therefore, embraces five different studies, which share a diachronic orientation. Thus, the paper that opens the volume, by Faya-Cerqueiro, draws on the historically verbal origin of the use of *please* as a courtesy marker, and also analyses its status in the nineteenth century. The corpora used for the study have been the electronic data bases of *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* and *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* of the *Chadwyck-Healey Literature Collections*.

Teo Juvonen takes the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC)* to analyse the persistence of the S-Genitive in Late Middle and Early Modern English in the correspondence genre. As is well known, this type of material has been widely used by authors such as Nevalainen, Taavitsainen or Rissanen, mainly because private letters reflect the state of the actual realisations of the language at a concrete period, better than their literary counterparts.

Rodríguez-Puente's essay brings the reader to the twenty-first century, and studies the effects of lexicalisation, grammaticalisation and idiomatisation upon phrasal verbs with *get*. The definitions of these processes and also of phrasal verbs themselves are critically examined, with a view to establishing a proper relationship between the two. The study focuses upon a selection of phrasal verbs formed with *get* as a lexeme. It is emphasised that an adequate coverage of phrasal verbs in English must take into account their morphological, syntactic and semantic features. Three different types of phrasal verbs come to be distinguished, on the basis of their level of lexicalisation.

Chao-Castro analyses the uses of the dual-form adverb *short/shortly* in the eighteenth-century. An initial diachronic survey of the word formation processes of dual form adverbs leads her to conclude that the Late Modern English period has tended to be overlooked. The evidence provided by the *Century of Prose Corpus (COPC)* points to the combination of two different processes of word-formation being involved in the origin of this dual form: conversion and derivation.

The paper that closes this first part, by Ruano-García, dwells upon English regional dialect variation during the Early Modern English period, an aspect that has been overlooked so far. Concretely, his main focus of interest is the Yorkshire lexicon. He aims to determine which words were peculiar of this area and other northern counties, and so to distinguish between regionalisms proper, on the one hand, as contrasted to other words of more widespread usage but which were equally non-standard, on the other hand. This database consists of non-literary texts, such as wills and other probate documents.

Part II (*Diatopic Studies*) focuses upon the analysis of several morphological and phonological features in the following geographic varieties of English: Standard English, Modern Scottish English, Galwegian English, and Black South-African English. Corresponding to the first aspect, Dahak's contribution, "Vowels in Inter-tonic Syllables: A Corpus-based Study" shows that the presence of full vowels in unstressed syllables in Standard English is constrained by certain morphological, phonological and isomorphic traits. These constraints are most effective if combined. Her study is carried out on the basis of a computerised corpus extracted from several pronunciation dictionaries (most importantly, Jones et al., 2006; Wells 1990/2000; Merriam Webster; and also *The Online Etymology Dictionary*).

Ole Schützler's paper, "Unstable Close-mid Vowels in Modern Scottish English", analyses processes affecting the phonemes of the lexical sets FACE and GOAT (Wells, 1982; Cruttenden 2001; Jones, Roach, Hartman and Setter 2006), which have undergone changes in their realisation from Early Modern English onwards. Concretely, the author addresses the phonemes /e/ and /o/ as more or less diphthongal monophthongs. Those relevant aspects concerning both the extent of variation of these phonemes in Scottish English, and also the impact of sociolinguistic and phonological factors on that variation, are dealt with.

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In turn, it is the vowels of the lexical sets CHOICE, LOT and THOUGHT that are analysed by Katrin Sell, and this time in the diatopic variety of Galwegian English. The starting point of her discussion is the assumption that Hiberno-English has become increasingly influenced by both British and American English, particularly among young speakers, as was suggested by Van Ryckegem (1997), and also by Trudgill (1995). In what has been termed as 'the Dublin vowel shift', (Hickey, 2004) these vowels tend to have a lower, unrounded realisation if compared to British English. The author seeks to find out whether the Dublin vowel shift has spread as far as the West of Ireland, concretely, Galway City.

The last paper of this section, by Lize Terblanche, deals instead with the extent of morphological productivity in Black South-African English, concretely, of certain suffixes involved in nominalisations or grammatical metaphors (such as *-tion*, *-ment*, *-ity*, *-er*, and *-(e/a)nce*). Three different forms are discussed, namely, realised productivity, expanding productivity, and potential productivity. Two corpora of South African Black English have been used for the study, namely, the *Tswana Learner Corpus* (Van Rooy and Schäfer 2002) and the *Xhosa Spoken Corpus* (De Klerk 2002).

Part III is devoted to the field of Contrastive Studies, in the context of which a number of aspects of morphology and syntax are analysed in a variety of languages. It may be emphasised that some of these languages are not commonly found

in general studies of this kind, such as Bulgarian, Swedish or Italian. Particular problems that native speakers of these languages, and also of German, may have to face when learning English are studied in detail. Therefore, the general orientation of all four papers in this section is of a very practical nature, which will certainly help and be of interest not only for researchers but also for teachers.

The first paper in this part, by Viktoria Börjesson, “Reinforcing and Attenuating Modifiers of Adjectives in Swedish Advanced Learners’ English: A Comparison with Native Speakers”, addresses the use of adjective modification in corpora of both native speakers and non-native speakers of English in both oral and written texts. It shows how the use of these corpora, particularly those of advanced non-native learners of English, may contribute to substantial improvements in materials as well as in teaching-learning methodologies. Four different corpora have been used, including the *International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE)* and the *Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LINDSEI)*, as well as corpora of native conversational Swedish.

Svetla Rogatcheva dwells upon the problems that German and Bulgarian learners of English as a second language have to face when learning the past and the present perfect, as these tenses reflect aspectual traits basically unknown in the mother tongues of these speakers. The ICLE corpus and the Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LOCNESS) have been used. The author concludes that the differences in the use of these tenses observed, on the one hand, between British and American native language users, and, on the other hand, between those native speakers and learners of either variety whose mother tongues lack such aspectual distinction, do not only rely on the influence of each respective L1 but also upon exposure to the target language.

In our view, the main theoretical interest of Susanne Schneider’s paper, which has an overall cognitive orientation, and which is entitled “Progressivity in English and Italian: A Typologically Guided Comparative Study”, has to do with the notion of *meta-category*, introduced by the author in a previous work (Schneider, 2006). Here such a notion is applied to cover a comparison of the expression of categories of tense and aspect in English and Italian. The notion of metacategory is shown to make possible parallel descriptions of the various ways in which definite prototypical meanings are encoded in different languages.

The paper that closes both this section and also the volume under review, Beatriz Tizón-Couto’s “Complement Clauses in a University Learner Spoken English Corpus: Issues Behind Compilation and Analysis”, sets out to compile a database of conversational English spoken by degree students of English and Translation Studies at the University of Vigo, Galicia. The questions that she seeks to answer in her paper concern essential aspects of language acquisition, such as the underuse,

overuse, misuse or avoidance of certain types of verbal complementation. For the author, such a compilation will certainly become a useful means to improve the teaching and learning of English as a second language, in so far as its use will help learners assimilate those features and come as close as possible to the realizations of native speakers. Her research is based upon the Vigo Corpus of Learner Spoken English (VICOLSE) as well as the British National Corpus (BNC).

Because of the heterogeneity and large range of topics dealt with, the work will certainly be of interest to a vast number of researchers in linguistics. This is shown not just by the three different parts that complete and structure its contents. In our view, an important merit of the work is that it succeeds in offering interesting contributions both in contents as well as in methods of analysis and research.

Though the contents of the book are diverse, we should like to emphasise that a recurrent methodological trend underlying practically all the papers of the volume under review has to do with *corpus analysis*. This is, indeed, a useful and powerful tool and has its function in many branches of linguistic research, supplying the researcher, as it does, with representative samples of authentic data. There is one more sense, in which this insistence on corpus linguistics places this work within the mainstream tendencies in present-day linguistics. Many of the papers presented in the volume testify to the importance acquired by this relatively recent discipline. Thus, the research described in these articles has been based on great compilations of texts of diverse types and genres, a tendency that has become paramount in Spanish and international forums of investigation in linguistics (Hornero *et al.*, 2008) such as the American Association for Corpus Linguistics (AACL), the American Association of Applied Corpus Linguistics (AAACL), or, within our frontiers, the Spanish Association of Corpus Linguistics (AELINCO). This procedure allows the contextualisation and application of the hypotheses entertained to actual representative manifestations of language use (Biber, 1998; Sinclair, 1996). The work under review, then, is welcome both for its in-depth theoretical contributions and for its successful application of up-to-date empirical methods of research.

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**Abstracts**



**LA FUNCIÓN PRAGMÁTICA DE LOS ANGLICISMOS:  
ALGUNOS EJEMPLOS EN EL HABLA JUVENIL  
DE LAS PALMAS DE GRAN CANARIA**

M<sup>ª</sup> Isabel González Cruz

M<sup>ª</sup> Jesús Rodríguez Medina

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Anglicisms constitute a complex phenomenon resulting from language contact and the increasing cultural globalization. They are greatly encouraged by the technological and cultural influence exerted by the Anglo-Saxon world. Little has been said so far about usage as a factor. Besides, there is a type of Anglicism of a pragmatic nature which remains almost unexplored. They are used in some communicative situations with a sort of expressive or aesthetic function, which some authors have called ludic or emphatic since they tend to mark oral discourse with humorous or ironic features.

In this article we will approach the concept of pragmatic function within this field of anglicisms. To illustrate it, we will provide some examples taken from research previously carried out in the city of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Spain) with a group of youngsters, undoubtedly the social group most overtly exposed to the influence of anglicisms.

**Key words:** anglicisms, usage, youngsters speech, Canarian Spanish, society and culture.

El anglicismo es un fenómeno complejo del contacto de lenguas y producto también de la creciente globalización cultural. Constituye un mecanismo de transculturación, propiciado por la fuerte influencia tecnológica y cultural del mundo anglosajón. Dentro de este campo, el factor uso continúa siendo el menos

estudiado. Además, uno de los tipos de anglicismos menos explorados es el de carácter pragmático, que se usa con una función que algunos han denominado expresiva o estética, y otros lúdica o empática, y que normalmente contribuye a marcar el discurso con rasgos humorísticos o irónicos en algunas situaciones comunicativas.

En este artículo abordaremos el concepto de función pragmática aplicado a este campo de los anglicismos, ilustrándolo con ejemplos tomados de una investigación previa realizada en la ciudad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (España) entre un grupo de jóvenes, sin duda el sector poblacional más expuesto a los ámbitos de mayor influjo del anglicismo.

**Palabras clave:** anglicismos, uso, habla juvenil, Español de Canarias, sociedad y cultura

### TRANSLATING IMAGES: THE IMPACT OF THE IMAGE ON THE TRANSLATION OF DISNEY'S *ALICE IN WONDERLAND* INTO SPANISH

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M.<sup>a</sup> Pilar González Vera

The aim of this paper is to analyse the Spanish dubbed version of the 1951 Disney animated film *Alice in Wonderland*, based largely on Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and on some passages from *Through the Looking-Glass*. The paper analyses the relationship between the visual and the verbal elements found throughout this film. Through an analysis of some examples taken from the Spanish dubbed version of the film, this article shows how the visual becomes a crucial issue in the translation of this film where visual elements merge into the verbal discourse.

**Key words:** Audiovisual translation, *Alice in Wonderland*, semiotics and visual elements.

El propósito del artículo es analizar la versión doblada al castellano de la película de animación de Disney *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas*, basada en gran medida en las obras de Carroll *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas* y *A Través del Espejo*. El artículo analiza la relación entre los elementos visuales y verbales encontrados a lo largo de la película. A través del estudio de ejemplos tomados de la versión doblada de la película al castellano, el artículo muestra cómo la imagen cobra crucial importancia en este film donde los elementos visuales se funden en el discurso verbal.

**Palabras clave:** Traducción audiovisual, *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas*, semiótica, elementos visuales.

**ASSESSING THE PRODUCTIVITY OF OLD ENGLISH *-læcan***

Gema Maíz Villalta

The aim of this paper is to analyse the productivity of the Old English weak verbs suffixed with *-læcan*. The main sources for this research are the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* and *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. The assessment of productivity is based on the distinction between type-frequency (dictionary-based) and token-frequency (corpus-based). This work contributes to a methodology for assessing the productivity of a morphological process in a historical language as well as for dealing with very low indexes of productivity. The conclusion is reached that the type-frequency of *-læcan* is relatively high, whereas its productivity is considerably low. It may be affirmed then that a type-frequency higher than token-frequency is compatible with a rather unproductive affix. Finally, the analysis evidences that *-læcan* suffixed verbs are much more frequent in prose and glosses than in poetry.

**Key words:** Old English, frequency, productivity, dictionary, corpus.

El objetivo de este artículo es establecer la productividad de los verbos débiles del inglés antiguo sufijados en *-læcan* mediante la comparación de una fuente lexicográfica y otra textual. Para el análisis lexicográfico se usa la base de datos léxica del inglés antiguo *Nerthus* y para el análisis textual el corpus *online* del *Dictionary of Old English*. La valoración de la productividad se basa en la distinción entre la frecuencia de clase (basada en el diccionario) y la frecuencia de tipo u ocurrencia (basada en el corpus). Esta investigación contribuye al desarrollo de una metodología para evaluar la productividad de un proceso morfológico de una lengua histórica, al igual que para tratar índices de productividad bajos. Se llega a la conclusión de que la frecuencia de clase de *-læcan* es relativamente alta, mientras que el índice de productividad es considerablemente bajo. En este caso, se puede afirmar que una frecuencia de clase mayor que una frecuencia de tipo es compatible con un afijo no productivo. Finalmente, se desprende del análisis que los verbos sufijados en *-læcan* son más frecuentes en prosa y glosas que en los textos poéticos.

**Palabras clave:** inglés antiguo, frecuencia, productividad, diccionario, corpus.

**METAPHOR AND IDEOLOGY IN THE BUSINESS PRESS:  
THE CASE OF THE ENDESA TAKEOVER**

Isabel Negro Alousque

Ideology is present in language (Fairclough 1989) and is embodied in a range of linguistic devices. Metaphor is one of such devices, as has been shown in recent

research (Fairclough 1992; Dirven and Frank 2001). In this article we explore the metaphorical base of the Spanish and British journalistic discourse on a specific business issue —the Endesa takeover— and the way ideology operates. The empirical data for our survey have been drawn from two newspapers (*El País*, *Financial Times*) published over a period running from September 2005 to April 2007. Our main assumption is that metaphor has an ideological value which is manifested through the positive or negative axiologisation of the takeover.

**Key words:** metaphor, ideology, conceptual domain, mapping, evaluation.

La ideología está presente en el lenguaje (Fairclough 1989) y se transmite mediante una serie de mecanismos lingüísticos. Uno de estos mecanismos es la metáfora, como lo demuestran investigaciones recientes (Fairclough 1992; Dirven y Frank 2001). En este artículo estudiamos la base metafórica del discurso de la prensa española y británica sobre una noticia económica ~~€~~ la adquisición de Endesa ~~€~~ y el modo en que opera la ideología en la transmisión de la información. Los datos del estudio proceden de artículos de dos periódicos (*El País*, *Financial Times*) publicados entre septiembre de 2005 y abril de 2007. La idea que sustenta nuestro análisis es que la metáfora posee un valor ideológico que se manifiesta a través de la valoración positiva o negativa de la adquisición de Endesa.

**Palabras clave:** metáfora, ideología, dominio conceptual, proyección, valoración.

## DEFINITE ARTICLE USE IN THE INTERLANGUAGE OF SPANISH SPEAKERS: A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL PROBLEM

Laura Torrado Mariñas

This paper aims to study the relationship between the different forms of definite article use in Spanish and English and its inherent influence on the acquisitional process of Spanish learners of English. A study was carried out with three groups of ten intermediate-level students of English, plus one advanced-level group, all of whom were native speakers of Spanish. The study consisted of three different types of exercise comprising translation, filling-in the gaps and one either/or task. The results showed that transfer from the mother tongue was the major cause of interference in the learners' interlanguage. Due to the grammatical differences between the two languages, overgeneralization, omission and overuse appear so as to compensate for the lack of knowledge in the second language, suggesting that the Multiple Effects Principle might be at work as well. As a consequence of all the aforementioned processes, the Interlanguage (henceforth, IL) will tend to fossilize into non-standard constructions where the definite article in English should not be used.

## Abstracts

**Key words:** Transfer, interlanguage, fossilization, overgeneralization and omission.

Este artículo pretende explorar la relación entre los diferentes usos del artículo definido en español y en inglés en lo que se refiere a su influencia en los procesos de adquisición del inglés por parte de hablantes nativos de español. Para ello, se ha llevado a cabo un estudio con tres grupos de diez alumnos de nivel intermedio y un grupo de nivel avanzado, consistente en tres tipos de ejercicios diferentes: el primero, rellenar huecos; el segundo, traducir y el último, elegir una opción de dos dadas en el enunciado. El resultado ha demostrado que la transferencia de la lengua materna es el principal motivo de interferencia en la interlengua de los estudiantes. Debido a las divergencias gramaticales existentes entre ambas lenguas, la sobregeneralización, la omisión y el abuso de un elemento gramatical aparecen para compensar la falta de conocimiento de la segunda lengua. Esto sugiere que el Principio de Efectos Múltiples puede también influir en la interlengua. Como consecuencia de todos los procesos anteriormente mencionados, dicha interlengua tenderá a fosilizarse en construcciones sub-estándar, en las que no debería aparecer el artículo definido en inglés normativo.

**Palabras clave:** Transferencia, interlengua, fosilización, sobregeneralización y omisión.

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