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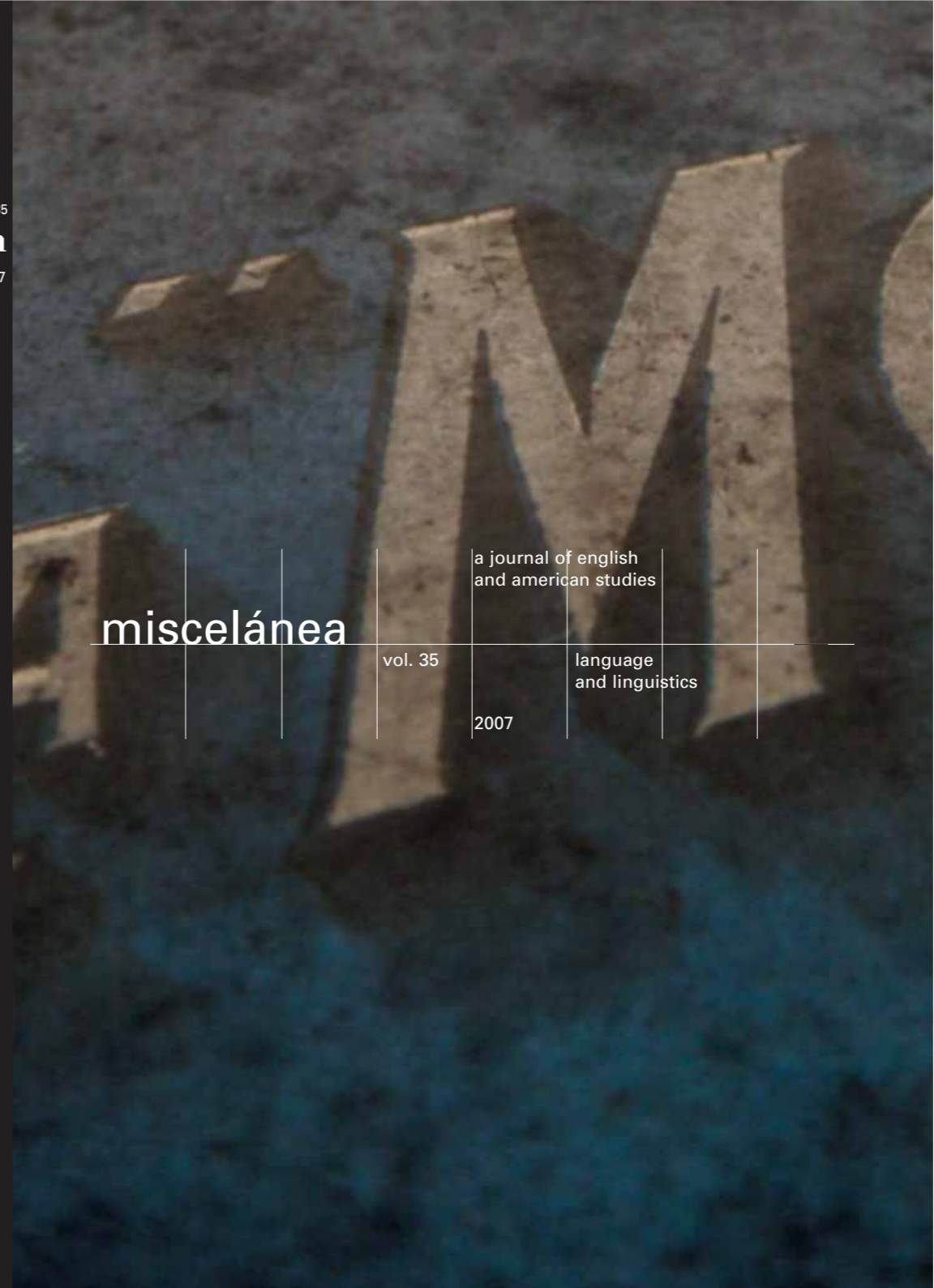
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Articles

LA TRADUCCIÓN DE LAS EXPRESIONES MILITARES ESTANDARIZADAS EN LAS PELÍCULAS DEL GÉNERO BÉLICO

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Introducción

Cuando un espectador (original o meta) asiste a la proyección de una película, obtiene una determinada información que es nueva para él, un conjunto de *efectos contextuales* que surgen como resultado de, al menos, tres factores: el texto que profiere el actor que aparece en pantalla, la información extralingüística (contexto perceptivo) que el espectador percibe simultáneamente, y por último los conocimientos enciclopédicos que este espectador aporte en el momento de ver la película; es decir, todos sus conocimientos previos acerca del tema específico de la película que conscientemente esté viendo. Este factor no se puede controlar, sólo suponer. En el caso que nos ocupa, tanto el espectador original como el espectador meta deberán aportar los conocimientos previos que tengan sobre el tema militar (batallas, organización del ejército, uso específico de determinado argot, armamento, jerarquías, etc) para de este modo, facilitar la labor de procesamiento de la información; cuanto mayores sean sus conocimientos, más rápidamente y con mayor exactitud procesará el espectador meta la información que le está llegando. Los efectos contextuales (*contextual effects*) que obtenga el espectador meta en el curso de la proyección de la película, deben ser similares a los que obtuvo la audiencia original, de otro modo no podríamos decir que el texto meta es el resultado de *una traducción para el doblaje* adecuada. De los tres factores nombrados

anteriormente, para nuestro estudio sólo es pertinente el texto cinematográfico, puesto que es el único sobre el que el traductor puede actuar (Agost 1999: 94-98, Chaume 2001:77-87).

Nuestro punto de partida será evaluar desde un punto de vista relevantista, si determinadas expresiones de contenido estrictamente militar, una vez traducidas y sometidas a un proceso de adaptación o ajuste producen unos efectos contextuales adecuados en la audiencia meta española, intentando determinar al mismo tiempo si el modo en el que el traductor presenta la información de contenido militar facilita a la audiencia meta el esfuerzo de procesamiento que tiene que realizar para identificar dicha información. Básicamente, la teoría de la relevancia se estructura en torno a los términos de efectos contextuales (*contextual effects*) y esfuerzo de procesamiento (*processing effort*), ambos con un componente psicológico¹. Los efectos contextuales representan el beneficio obtenido en el proceso de comunicación, mientras que el esfuerzo de procesamiento es un factor negativo puesto que supone un coste para la mente humana (Sperber y Wilson 1986, 1995; Wilson 1993).

Fue Gutt (2000:233) quien primero expuso la afirmación fundamental para entender la traducción bajo el marco general de la teoría de la relevancia: “the focus of relevance-theory based translation is on the comparison of interpretations, not on the reproduction of words, linguistic constructions or textual features”.

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1. La traducción bajo las hipótesis de la Teoría de la Relevancia

El programa de investigación que Gutt propone en su libro *Translation and Relevance. Cognition and Context*, tanto en la edición de 1991 como en la de 2000, es completamente distinto del tradicional enfoque descriptivo-clasificadorio. El paradigma de Gutt trata de explicar —partiendo de las teorías de Sperber y Wilson— el fenómeno de la traducción de acuerdo a un programa orientado hacia la competencia comunicativa; explora las facultades mentales que permiten al ser humano expresar en un idioma lo que antes se dijo en otro idioma. Si se consiguen entender estas facultades mentales, se podrán llegar a entender los *efectos comunicativos* que el texto original y el traducido tienen en la audiencia. La investigación de Gutt no sólo tiene en cuenta la mente humana, sino también los factores históricos y socio-culturales que influyen tanto a traductores como a sus audiencias.

La traducción no se puede definir únicamente basándose en una relación de correspondencia entre dos textos; más bien hay que considerar la traducción como una cita interlingual o, en palabras de Gutt (2000:210), “saying what someone else said” y no “saying the same thing as someone else”.

Gutt desarrolla la noción de traducción directa (*direct translation*), que es aquella traducción que permite preservar una serie de elementos estilísticos; preservar el estilo ha sido siempre una de las grandes preocupaciones de los traductores puesto que, aunque se pueda alcanzar un nivel aceptable respecto a la representación semántica entre dos textos pertenecientes a dos idiomas distintos, es muy difícil alcanzar una semejanza con respecto a las propiedades estilísticas. Las propiedades estilísticas no tienen un valor intrínseco, su característica es que proporcionan a la audiencia una serie de claves que le van a ayudar a alcanzar la interpretación que el comunicador deseaba. Gutt (1991:27) llama a estas propiedades estilísticas claves comunicativas (*communicative clues*). En una traducción directa las claves comunicativas deben mantenerse siempre. Así, según Gutt, una traducción directa, además de retener todas las implicaturas y explicaturas del original, debe asemejarse a éste en las propiedades estilísticas.

Las *claves comunicativas* son las características que posee un enunciado que el comunicador ha seleccionado por sus propiedades lingüísticas con la intención de que conduzcan a su audiencia a una determinada interpretación. Estas claves pueden surgir, entre otras, de las representaciones semánticas, las propiedades sintácticas, las propiedades fonéticas, los límites impuestos por la semántica, las expresiones estandarizadas, onomatopeyas, el valor estilístico de las palabras, y las propiedades fonéticas (Gutt 1991:129-159). De entre todas las claves comunicativas que presenta Gutt, para nuestro estudio son particularmente interesantes las que él llama *formulaic expressions*, en español *expresiones estandarizadas*. A esta categoría pertenecen los letreros que vemos por la calle, las fórmulas para escribir cartas, los proverbios, y ya en nuestro campo específico las expresiones estandarizadas usadas dentro del ejército tales como *voces de mando*², el *lenguaje radio*, las *expresiones de cortesía militar* o, simplemente, las *órdenes estandarizadas militares*.

La información que proporcionan las expresiones estandarizadas no está incluida en la representación semántica; estas expresiones no tienen entradas lógicas pero sí léxicas; su significado consiste básicamente en lo que cada uno de nosotros sabe acerca de una determinada expresión, es decir, si se trata de una orden (militar o no), o de una advertencia, un saludo, si se usa en ocasiones formales o informales, o por una persona jerárquicamente superior o inferior... Tomemos como ejemplo los siguientes enunciados. Los primeros (1a) y (1b) constituyen ejemplos de órdenes militares; corresponden respectivamente a las películas *Saving Private Ryan/Salvad al soldado Ryan* (1998), y *G.I. Jane/La teniente O'Neil* (1997). El segundo (2), tomado de la película *G.I. Jane/La teniente O'Neil* (1997), es un ejemplo de voces de mando. Ambos son una muestra de expresiones estandarizadas usadas dentro del ejército. En ambos ejemplos, a los conceptos que conforman cada enunciado no les asignamos ninguna representación semántica, sino que los reconocemos como una orden (1) o una voz de mando estandarizada (2) que se

usan comúnmente en determinadas situaciones (desde el punto de vista de la teoría de la relevancia, esta rápida identificación evita al receptor realizar un mayor esfuerzo de procesamiento).

- (1a) Captain: Grab some cover and put some fire on that crew!
(1b) Sergeant: Wait a minute! Take cover. Take cover and freeze!
(2) Instructor: Class halt! Right Face!... Fall out!

En una traducción directa, el traductor tendrá que buscar una expresión término que lleve asociada una información igual o similar, de este modo la audiencia podrá reconocer fácilmente si la expresión se refiere a un saludo (formal o informal), a una advertencia, o como en el caso que nos ocupa, a una orden de contenido militar (1a) (1b) o a una voz de mando militar (2).

- (1a) Capitán: ¡Pónganse a cubierto y batan el nido de ametralladoras!
(1b) Sargento: ¡Un momento! ¡A cubierto, a cubierto y quieta!
(2) Instructor: ¡Atención... alto! ¡Vista al frente! ¡A discreción!

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El traductor ha considerado estas expresiones como si fueran unidades, como conceptos únicos que llevan asociadas determinadas entradas enciclopédicas y su traducción se ha basado en la información compartida por las entradas enciclopédicas tanto del idioma origen como del idioma término.

Gutt afirma que la noción de traducción directa es un caso de uso interpretativo (Gutt: 1991:163): “A receptor language utterance is a direct translation of a source language utterance if and only if it purports to interpretively resemble the original completely in the context envisaged for the original”.

Por lo tanto, la noción de traducción directa de Gutt aspira a una semejanza interpretativa completa con el original: el traductor construirá los enunciados en la lengua meta de tal modo que conduzcan a las mismas explicaturas e implicaturas que produjo el enunciado original cuando se procesó en el contexto pensado originalmente. Así pues, el punto central del estudio de la traducción basado en la teoría de la relevancia es la afirmación de que la traducción se realiza a partir de la comparación de interpretaciones y no a partir de la reproducción de palabras, construcciones lingüísticas o características textuales. Esta idea implica que la traducción depende de lo que el traductor cree que es la interpretación deseada en el original; si el traductor se equivoca al interpretar el original, su traducción reflejará este malentendido.

El traductor siempre tendrá presente al destinatario de su traducción; transformará el texto según lo que él piense van a ser las expectativas de su audiencia. El texto resultante (Mateo Martínez 1998:175) deberá incluir no sólo el contenido del ori-

ginal, sino también cumplir con las expectativas de la audiencia meta desde una perspectiva cognitiva, lingüística y social.

¿Qué aporta la teoría de la relevancia a la práctica de la traducción? Se le critica a esta teoría que la explicación teórica que ofrece es excesivamente general y que no proporciona al traductor reglas específicas, principios que poder aplicar a determinados problemas. Es decir, que la teoría de la relevancia no se puede aplicar directamente cuando se está traduciendo; sin embargo, sí que ha habido estudiosos de la traducción que han sido capaces de aplicar dicha teoría en sus trabajos, como Navarro (1993, 1995) o el mismo Gutt (1992, 2000). El objetivo principal de la investigación de la traducción bajo el marco general de la teoría de la relevancia se basa en la comparación de interpretaciones. Estos autores consideran que esta teoría, gracias al componente cognitivo que contempla, permite al traductor aplicar cualquier regla o principio que considere necesaria. En lo que concierne al estudio que nos ocupa, cuando nos encontremos con expresiones militares estandarizadas cuyo contenido semántico difiera del de la expresión original, podremos considerar, gracias a los conceptos de la teoría de la relevancia, que dicha traducción será aceptable para una audiencia prototípica, no especializada, siempre que preserve la intención del texto original.

2. Expresiones estandarizadas en el Ejército Español

¿A qué denominamos expresiones militares estandarizadas? ¿qué tipos de expresiones cuyo significado está establecido de antemano podemos encontrar dentro del colectivo militar?³

Las expresiones militares estandarizadas son fórmulas específicas que los miembros del ejército usan para comunicarse entre ellos en el ámbito profesional. Hay varios tipos de expresiones militares estandarizadas. Describimos brevemente algunas de ellas:

- Expresiones de *cortesía militar*, es decir, aquellas expresiones que usan los miembros del ejército para dirigirse a un superior: “a sus órdenes, mi capitán/comandante”, “a la orden de Usía, mi coronel”, “a la orden de Vucencia, mi general”... (Reales Ordenanzas del Ejército de Tierra. Artículo 287).
- Fórmulas de *despedida*. La que pronuncia un subordinado: “ordena (tratamiento) alguna cosa mi (empleo del superior)” (Reales Ordenanzas del Ejército de Tierra. 1983: Artículo 287). O la que pronuncia un superior dando permiso para irse de un lugar: “puede retirarse”.
- Las *voces de mando*, que son fórmulas estandarizadas pronunciadas por un superior jerárquico e implican la realización de ciertos movimientos o acciones por

parte de los subordinados a los que va dirigida la orden. Voces de mando que mucha gente puede reconocer son: “¡Vista a la derecha!”, “¡De frente... mar!”, “¡Media vuelta... mar!”, “¡Sobre el hombro derecho... armas!” (Reglamento de Empleo. Orden Cerrado. 2005: 3-8, 3-1, 1-10, 2-62).

- El *lenguaje radio*, que es un claro ejemplo del uso de fórmulas con un significado pactado de antemano. El lenguaje radio lo constituyen ciertas expresiones que usa el colectivo militar para comunicarse entre ellos a través de radios militares. Voces radio (*prowords*) ampliamente conocidas son: “corto”, “cambio”, “alto y claro”, “recibido”.

También existe otro tipo de fórmulas que no hemos contemplado: la que usan los centinelas para dar el alto; la que pronuncia el profesor en un establecimiento militar para dar por finalizada la clase; la que se emplea para pedir permiso para entrar en la oficina del superior, etc.

Todas estas expresiones militares estandarizadas son ostensiblemente compartidas por el colectivo militar. Por su parte, el colectivo civil no tiene por qué conocerlas de un modo exhaustivo, sino reconocerlas de un modo general como expresiones pertenecientes al mundo de la milicia.

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3. La traducción de las fórmulas estandarizadas de contenido militar y la teoría de la Relevancia

Como hemos establecido anteriormente, una traducción directa no sólo debe mantener un equilibrio de todas las explicaturas e implicaturas del texto original, sino que además la traducción debe asemejarse al original en las propiedades estilísticas (Gutt 1991:126), lo cual es difícil de conseguir. Las fórmulas militares que contemplábamos anteriormente deben recibir en la traducción el mismo tratamiento que reclamaba Gutt (1991:148-149) para sus expresiones estandarizadas. Dichas expresiones son procesadas por el receptor gracias a las claves comunicativas que proporcionan, en vez de recuperarse mediante el significado de la forma proposicional completa en la que aparezca la expresión estandarizada.

El significado de expresiones militares estandarizadas tales como “a sus órdenes mi capitán”, “sobre el hombro... ar”; “recibido alto y claro”, etc, se encuentra en la entrada enciclopédica que tenga cada expresión. Gracias a esta información enciclopédica dichas expresiones proporcionan las claves comunicativas necesarias para alcanzar la interpretación que desea el comunicador.

Cada expresión estandarizada es elegida deliberadamente por el comunicador para que, gracias al significado que tiene cada una de ellas, provoque en la mente del espectador una reacción determinada. En nuestro caso concreto esta reacción va-

riará según la audiencia sea civil y con conocimientos básicos sobre el mundo de lo militar, o por el contrario se trate de una audiencia militar especializada. El traductor español, considerando el entorno cognitivo de su propia audiencia española, seleccionará aquella expresión equivalente en español que —en su opinión— produzca en la audiencia meta el mismo tipo de reacción que la expresión original produjo en la audiencia original. Este traductor no tendrá en cuenta el contenido semántico de las expresiones militares estandarizadas a la hora de trasladarlas al lenguaje meta; sin embargo, al tratarse de una traducción audiovisual (Mayoral 2001:34-46, Zabalbeascoa 2001:49-56), este profesional sí tiene que tener en cuenta otro tipo de condicionantes no meramente lingüísticos tales como los aspectos exteriores de la fonación, el ritmo de producción de sonidos (tempo), si hay o no restricciones visuales, etc.

El esfuerzo de procesamiento (Wilson 1993:347-348) que se necesita para identificar un enunciado depende de dos factores: por un lado, del esfuerzo de memoria e imaginación que se necesitan para construir un contexto adecuado; por otro, de la complejidad psicológica del propio enunciado; cuanto mayor sea la complejidad, mayor será el esfuerzo de procesamiento que tendrá que llevar a cabo una persona. Wilson especifica que la complejidad de un enunciado no siempre se debe a su estructura lingüística: el uso de palabras no muy frecuentes, o el uso de estructuras sintácticas que se salgan de lo que se considera habitual, pueden hacer que un enunciado sea psicológicamente complejo. Según la teoría de la relevancia, cuando un oyente procesa la información siempre lo hará de tal modo que obtendrá el mayor número de efectos contextuales con el menor esfuerzo posible de procesamiento. Por regla general, procesar enunciados que no sean estandarizados requiere más esfuerzo mental que procesar fórmulas cuyo significado ya está establecido de antemano, puesto que estas últimas son psicológicamente menos complicadas. Una de las características de las fórmulas militares estandarizadas es que, al estar memorizadas de antemano, ahorran tiempo de procesamiento tanto al emisor (superior jerárquico) de la orden o fórmula estandarizada como al receptor (inferior en rango) de la misma; y es precisamente esta característica, que implica un menor coste de procesamiento de la información, pero un gran número de efectos contextuales, la que debe preservarse en la traducción de estas fórmulas estandarizadas de contenido militar.

Analizaremos a continuación la traducción para el doblaje que han sufrido algunas fórmulas militares estandarizadas. Hemos contemplado cinco tipos de expresiones distintas. En el primer apartado se incluyen aquellas expresiones militares estandarizadas que han sido sustituidas por su equivalente militar en la lengua meta; el segundo apartado recoge ejemplos de creación de un texto nuevo: las que hemos denominado *expresiones estandarizadas pseudomilitares*. En el tercer apartado se tratan diversas fórmulas militares que han sido traducidas de un modo equivocado (in-

tencionadamente o no) respecto a su uso profesional. Contemplaremos también en el análisis, la traducción del denominado *lenguaje radio* y por último tendremos en cuenta la traducción de las llamadas *fórmulas de cortesía militar*. Para su análisis nos hemos ceñido a lo que especifican los siguientes reglamentos actualmente vigentes en las Fuerzas Armadas: *Reglamentos de Empleo. Orden Cerrado* (2005), *Reglamentos de Empleo. Orden Cerrado. Instrucción de Unidades* (1997), y las *Reales Ordenanzas del Ejército de Tierra*, vigentes desde 1983. Respecto al *lenguaje radio*, hemos utilizado el *Procedimiento Radiotelefónico ACP-125 (E)* (2001).

El objeto del análisis es comprobar si las implicaciones contextuales que contribuyen al resultado final del proceso de interpretación son las mismas tanto en la audiencia original como en la meta. En todo momento tendremos presente que se trata de una traducción para el doblaje, sujeta a los condicionamientos que imponen la imagen en pantalla y el ritmo de producción de sonidos.

3.1. Expresiones militares estandarizadas adecuadamente traducidas en cuanto a su uso profesional.

Las fórmulas militares estandarizadas que han sido traducidas exactamente por las fórmulas estandarizadas equivalentes en la lengua meta deberían, lógicamente, producir los mismos efectos contextuales en ambas audiencias. En este caso, el traductor, además de usar el mismo estímulo que el texto original (otra fórmula militar estandarizada), hace coincidir el contenido semántico de ambas fórmulas usando correctamente la expresión equivalente en español.

Analizaremos a continuación el siguiente ejemplo tomado de la película *Full Metal Jacket/La Chaqueta Metálica* (1987).

(3) hut... hut... hut... hut	ar... chen... ar... chen... ar...	(3a)
(4) to your left shoulder... hut!	sobre el hombro... ¡ar!	(4a)
(5) left... right... left... right...	ar... chen... ar... chen... ar...	(5a)
(6) port... hut!	tercien... ¡ar!	(6a)
(7) left shoulder... hut	sobre el hombro... ar	(7a)

La imagen que vemos en pantalla es la de una sección militar haciendo la instrucción básica, que consiste en una serie de ejercicios repetitivos para aprender a marcar el paso correctamente. Para ayudarles en esta tarea el sargento instructor usa una serie de sonidos que tienen una determinada cadencia. El primero de ellos es (3) “hut... hut... hut... hut...” que indica la velocidad con que los reclutas deben mover primero el pie izquierdo, después el derecho, otra vez el izquierdo, etc; estos sonidos estandarizados equivalen, como podemos apreciar en la siguiente orden, a la fórmula estandarizada (5) “left... right... left... right...”. El traductor interpreta correctamente que se trata de un sonido cadencial para marcar el paso y elige lo

que, a su juicio, podría ser en el contexto militar español una cadencia equivalente: (3a) (5a) “ar... chen... ar... chen... ar”. Es decir, el traductor ha interpretado correctamente no sólo el enunciado sino también las intenciones del texto original.

Los términos estandarizados profesionales que corresponderían a esta situación son “izquierda... derecha... izquierda... derecha...”; sin embargo, en los ejercicios de instrucción reales no se utilizan estos términos por considerarlos poco prácticos puesto que se invierte demasiado tiempo en su pronunciación, lo cual más que una ayuda resulta un inconveniente a la hora de hacer marcar el paso a todos a la vez. Los instructores de ambos ejércitos tienden a reducir estos vocablos o los convierten en secuencias de sonidos desprovistas de significado semántico, pero con una intención y efectos comunicativos claros; parece incluso que algunos de estos sonidos tengan un valor conceptual. En el ejército español, cada instructor usará aquellos sonidos que considere más adecuados o le sean más cómodos para desarrollar su trabajo, desde el muy profesional “uno... dos... uno... dos” hasta la articulación de sonidos que suelen ser ininteligibles para todos aquellos que no compartan un entorno cognitivo común, tales como “u... o... u... o” (Uno... dOs... Uno... dOs) o “ar”... “ar” (mARchen... mARchen).

Las implicaciones contextuales que se desencadenan al escuchar este enunciado en español (al que acompaña una imagen muy explícita) son las mismas que produce el enunciado original: ambas audiencias van a reconocer que se trata de secuencias de sonidos cuya finalidad es ayudar a unos cuantos reclutas a marcar el paso todos a la vez. El traductor ha elegido unas voces que el espectador medio inmediatamente asocia con lo militar, y concretamente con los ejercicios de instrucción; es decir, que los efectos cognitivos que va a obtener este espectador español van a ser similares a los que obtuvo el espectador original.

Las órdenes estandarizadas (4), (7) “to your left shoulder... hut” en español “sobre el hombro... ar” y (6) “port... hut” en español “tercien... ar” están traducidas con gran precisión semántica y conocimientos militares. Respecto a la primera (4), (7), la expresión estandarizada española lleva implícita la idea de que el hombro al que se tiene que llevar el arma siempre es el izquierdo. En caso contrario hay que comunicar expresamente que hay que llevar el arma al hombro derecho mediante la orden “sobre el hombro derecho... ar” (*Reglamento de Empleo. Orden Cerrado* (2005:2-62). Respecto a la segunda (6), ambas órdenes militares tipificadas —origen y meta— implican los mismos movimientos, por lo tanto podemos considerar que en ambos casos se ha logrado una equivalencia exacta respecto a su traducción, máxime cuando texto oral e imagen no pueden contradecirse. Las claves comunicativas que proporcionan estas dos expresiones militares estandarizadas (tanto las originales como las meta) son las mismas: ambas audiencias infieren sin gran esfuerzo que la expresión que oyen se trata de una orden militar, emitida por un su-

perior jerárquico, que implica ciertos movimientos específicos que hay que realizar rápidamente, etc.

3.2. La construcción de un nuevo texto meta:

Las expresiones estandarizadas pseudomilitares

Aun sin haber realizado una entrevista personal a los diversos traductores de las películas del género bélico que hemos analizado, en vista de los resultados de su trabajo, estamos en condiciones de afirmar que en algunos casos la terminología militar que utilizan no se contempla en ninguno de los Reglamentos de Empleo (*Orden Cerrado* y *Orden Cerrado. Instrucción de Unidades*) y por lo tanto dichas expresiones no existen a nivel profesional. De este modo asistimos a una elección muy personal por parte del traductor.

Denominamos *expresiones estandarizadas pseudomilitares* a aquellas expresiones militares tipificadas en las que el traductor se ha limitado a trasladar la intención y el estilo, pero no el contenido semántico. El traductor construye un nuevo texto meta haciendo uso de un argot militar profesional o más bien *pseudoprofesional* usando términos cuyo contenido semántico el espectador inmediatamente asocia a un contexto militar y, concretamente, a un contexto de órdenes e instrucción militar. En otras palabras, estamos asistiendo a un uso de terminología convencional inventada por parte del traductor. Quiere esto decir que el traductor, al utilizar determinados términos léxicos que suenan inequívocamente militares consigue que estas expresiones *pseudomilitares* parezcan creíbles a la audiencia española. Generalmente esta audiencia no va a ser consciente del engaño, puesto que por un lado sus conocimientos sobre este tema no son muy precisos, y por otro, está recibiendo un estímulo visual muy explícito. El espectador español está recibiendo un estímulo ostensivo visual en forma de una serie de movimientos inequívocamente militares que asocia a las órdenes y expresiones militares (aparentemente correctas) que está oyendo. Podemos verlo en los siguientes ejemplos que pertenecen a las películas: (8) *A Few Good Men/Algunos hombres buenos* (1992), y (9) y (10) *Full Metal Jacket/La chaqueta metálica* (1987).

(8) Hold arms... ten... hut! Atención armas... ar... ¡derecha armas! (8a)

(9) Right soulder... hut! Atención ¡cambien... ar! (9a)

(10) Left shoulder... hut! ¡Sobre el hombro izquierdo... ar! (10a)

Vemos que el traductor ha entendido correctamente la intención comunicativa del texto original puesto que para traducir una fórmula estandarizada ha elegido un estímulo similar, es decir, otra fórmula estandarizada. Sin embargo, las expresiones que este profesional ha elegido no existen como tales en el ejército español. Se

trata en realidad de un texto de nueva creación, puesto que las equivalencias correctas que se enseñan en el ejército son:

- (8a) Al brazo armas
- (9a) Sobre el hombro derecho... ar,
- (10a) Sobre el hombro... ar.

Aunque las fórmulas tipificadas que aparecen en el guión español no existen en el argot militar, todas ellas tienen grandes connotaciones militares y, por esta razón, van a provocar en la audiencia española (no excesivamente especializada) los mismos efectos contextuales que si se hubiera usado la expresión estandarizada correcta, puesto que seguramente los conocimientos militares del gran público son superficiales y no le permiten distinguir entre cuál es correcta y cuál no. Por lo tanto podríamos decir que, aunque incorrectas, estas fórmulas estandarizadas producen los mismos beneficios cognitivos que los que obtuvo la audiencia original ya que las claves comunicativas son las mismas.

3.3. Expresiones militares estandarizadas inadecuadamente traducidas en cuanto a su uso profesional

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En este apartado analizamos las fórmulas militares tipificadas cuya traducción no corresponde a la fórmula militar que aparece en el texto filmico original. En su lugar se ha elegido otra fórmula militar que, aunque auténtica, puesto que aparece en los *Reglamentos de Empleo*, no tiene nada que ver con la original. La diferencia con el caso anterior es que la expresión estandarizada que se usaba en la versión española de la película no existía como tal en ningún *Reglamento de Empleo*, sino que era un texto de nueva creación.

Al estar las expresiones tipificadas mal traducidas en cuanto a su uso profesional, se produce una falta de concordancia entre la imagen que aparece en pantalla y el parlamento que oye el espectador meta. Sin embargo, dado que el espectador español prototípico no tiene un conocimiento enciclopédico muy preciso acerca del funcionamiento interno del ejército, cabe pensar que este espectador no habrá sido consciente de la disparidad que aparece en pantalla. En términos de la teoría de la relevancia podríamos decir que el traductor usa el mismo estímulo que el guión original —una fórmula militar muy estandarizada— pero con un contenido semántico diferente. En realidad el procesar la fórmula estandarizada que propone el traductor, le va a suponer al espectador de la película el mismo esfuerzo que procesar la que hubiera constituido una equivalencia exacta de la fórmula original puesto que, por un lado, este espectador no tiene que construir ningún contexto nuevo, y por otro, se trata de fórmulas estandarizadas cuya complejidad es mínima; por esta razón, en principio, el enunciado meta debe dar lugar a las mismas implica-

ciones que el original. Sin pretensiones de análisis estadístico, simplemente con una intención de descripción de los casos detectados, presentamos a continuación algunos ejemplos que hemos constatado. Los tres primeros (11), (12) y (13) pertenecen a la película *Full Metal Jacket/La chaqueta metálica* (1987), el último (14) a la película *G.I. Jane/La teniente O'Neil* (1997).

(11)	Port... hut! Prepare to mount... mount!... port hut!	¡Preparados para montar...! ¡monten! ¡presenten armas!
(12)	Right... shoulder... hut...! forward... hut!	¡Sobre el hombro... ar...! ¡presenten armas!
(13)	Forward... hut!	¡Firmes... ar!
(14)	Right face! fall out!	¡Vista al frente! ¡a discreción!

Las traducciones equivalentes que proponemos, según *el Reglamento de Empleo. Orden Cerrado*, son las siguientes:

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(11)	Port... hut! Prepare to mount... mount!... port hut!	¡Preparados para cargar... cargen! ¡tercien... ar!
(12)	Right... shoulder... hut! Forward... hut!	¡Sobre el hombro derecho... ar! ¡de frente... ar!
(13)	Forward... hut!	¡De frente... ar!
(14)	Right face! fall out!	¡Vista a la derecha! ¡rompan filas!

Sin embargo, volvemos a reiterar que a pesar de la evidente falta de sincronía de contenido, el espectador medio español no va a llegar a tener conocimiento de que ninguna de estas voces de mando estandarizadas está adecuadamente traducida respecto a su uso profesional, puesto que el contenido de todas ellas remite a un contexto militar que además se ve apoyado por la imagen, lo que ayuda a que su procesamiento por parte de la audiencia española sea rápido. Previsiblemente los efectos contextuales de ambas audiencias no van a diferir mucho: una audiencia meta tipo asociará cada orden que escuche en la pantalla de un modo vago y abstracto, con el movimiento correcto que paralelamente esté viendo en pantalla, puesto que además, el estímulo ostensivo de la imagen va a ayudar a entender lo que

no se consigue con la palabra. Hablando en términos relevantistas, lo que se está haciendo es utilizar un estímulo en inglés que se cambia por otro estímulo en español; dicho estímulo, aunque no conserve el mismo contenido semántico del original, busca unos efectos contextuales similares.

3.4. La traducción del *lenguaje radio*

Hemos mencionado anteriormente que el *lenguaje radio* constituye un interesante ejemplo del uso de fórmulas con un significado pactado de antemano. Este lenguaje se caracteriza necesariamente (debido a su uso profesional) por la concentración de su contenido semántico y la economía de palabras; constituye un paradigma de comunicación fuerte (*strong communication*): el contenido del enunciado es muy explícito, comunica una única proposición, es decir, el enunciado favorece una única posibilidad de ser interpretado por el oyente, de otro modo implicaría mayor esfuerzo de procesamiento, lo que iría en detrimento del propio acto comunicativo.

La traducción para el doblaje del *lenguaje radio* no presenta, en general, ningún tipo de dificultad de sincronización⁴ puesto que en muchos casos el espectador sólo oye las voces en *off* pero no ve a la persona que las profiere, por esta razón el traductor puede permitirse una mayor libertad a la hora de ajustar la fonética visual. Podemos advertir este fenómeno en los siguientes ejemplos tomados de la película *G.I. Jane/La teniente O'Neil* (1997), en los cuales la isocronía (el distinto número de sílabas entre la versión original y la traducida) no repercute en el resultado final, puesto que el personaje que pronuncia estas frases no aparece en pantalla:

(15) Advise your ETA. Over

Indiquen su tiempo estimado de llegada. Cambio

(16) Loud and clear

Recibido alto y claro

El traductor de la primera frase estandarizada (15) ha debido explicitar las siglas ETA (Estimated Time of Arrival); aunque el ejército español utiliza estas siglas para las mismas situaciones que el ejército americano y con el mismo significado, el traductor probablemente intuye que es un acrónimo con un significado demasiado técnico para el público al que va dirigida la película (o quizá debido a la coincidencia de siglas con el grupo terrorista). Lo mismo sucede con el ejemplo siguiente (16) donde el traductor, seguramente con el propósito de facilitar el esfuerzo de procesamiento de su audiencia, añade la información nueva “recibido”, palabra con fuertes connotaciones dentro del lenguaje militar usado para hablar por radio; el resultado es —en ambos casos— unas órdenes en español más largas que las originales, lo cual no interfiere a la hora de ‘encajar’ la frase traducida con los labios

de los actores, puesto que éstos no aparecen en pantalla. Sin embargo, desde el punto de vista de un uso profesional del *lenguaje radio*, reiteramos que éste —por razones tácticas obvias— debe caracterizarse por la concentración de significado en un mínimo de palabras⁵.

Al analizar distintos ejemplos de *lenguaje radio* se puede constatar que en su gran mayoría las expresiones elegidas por el traductor son el equivalente exacto de las frases estandarizadas que los miembros de las Fuerzas Armadas Españolas usan para comunicarse por radio. Este traductor o el adaptador de estas expresiones ha seguido el mismo tipo de procedimiento que veíamos anteriormente para la traducción de otro tipo de expresiones estandarizadas. En primer lugar identifica adecuadamente la intención comunicativa que subyace en cada expresión y seguidamente, respetando el estilo original, selecciona un estímulo similar para cada enunciado; de este modo, al seleccionar las expresiones en español según las implicaciones que éstas conllevan, la audiencia meta obtiene unos efectos cognitivos similares a los que obtuvo la audiencia original. Este tratamiento lo podemos ver en los siguientes ejemplos que presentamos sin ninguna pretensión de análisis estadístico: (17), (18) tomados de la película *G.I. Jane/La Teniente O'Neil* (1997), y (19) perteneciente a *Full Metal Jacket/La Chaqueta Metálica* (1987).

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(17)		
Radio A:	Copy, Las Vegas	Recibido, Las Vegas
Radio B:	I say again...	Repito...
(18)		
Radio A:	Do you read me?	¿Me recibe?
Radio B:	Stand by. Negative	Espere. Negativo
	Roger that	Recibido
(19)		
Radio A:	Roger. Understand	Roger. Entendido
	I'll see what I can do. Over	Veré qué puedo hacer. Cambio
Radio B:	Roger. Over and out	Roger. Cambio y corto

Ambas audiencias, original y meta, gracias al conocimiento enciclopédico que sobre este tema ya poseen, no reconocerán el significado semántico de cada orden en particular, sino que inferirán de un modo general si se trata de una fórmula que se usa para abrir o cerrar una comunicación por radio, si se está pidiendo confirmación de lo escuchado, se va a volver a repetir la información, etc. Al seleccionar los términos por las implicaciones que éstos conllevan, el traductor consigue que los efectos cognitivos de la audiencia meta sean los mismos que los de la audiencia original, todo ello además sin contradecir la imagen.

3.5. La traducción de algunas fórmulas de *cortesía militar*

Hemos comentado con anterioridad que en muchas ocasiones el lenguaje que usan los miembros del colectivo militar se vuelve tan formalizado que se convierte en una expresión estandarizada. Este aspecto queda sobre todo patente en el uso de las llamadas expresiones de *cortesía militar*. Estas expresiones estandarizadas se utilizan en momentos muy diversos de la vida cotidiana dentro de un cuartel e incluyen, por ejemplo, la forma correcta de dirigirse a una persona jerárquicamente superior o cómo pedir permiso o darlo para abandonar un determinado lugar, cómo presentarse a un superior (por ejemplo para un servicio, o porque ha sido llamado por éste), etc. Las reglas de cortesía militar constituyen un sistema de distanciamiento en las relaciones entre profesionales. La mayoría de estas fórmulas se aprenden mediante transmisión oral en los centros militares durante el periodo de Instrucción y Adiestramiento de los componentes de las Fuerzas Armadas.

Presentamos a continuación varios ejemplos de la traducción que han experimentado algunas de estas fórmulas de cortesía militar. La intención no es proceder a un análisis cuantitativo, sino describir algunos casos significativos detectados. Los ejemplos (20), (21) y (22) pertenecen a la película *A Few Good Men/Algunos Hombr*es Buenos (1992); el ejemplo (23) está tomado de la película *In Love and War/En el Amor y en la Guerra* (1997), mientras que los ejemplos (24) y (25) pertenecen respectivamente a las películas *Full Metal Jacket/La Chaqueta Metálica* (1987) y *G.I. Jane/La Teniente O'Neil* (1997):

(20)	You are dismissed	Puede retirarse
(21)	Dismissed Tom	Retírate Tom
(22)	Officer on deck! Ten... hut! Sir, Lance Corporal Harold Dawson, sir	¡Oficial en la sala! ¡Firmes! Señor, cabo interino Harold Dawson, señor
(23)	Sir, Lieutenant Hemingway reporting for duty	Señor, el teniente Hemingway presentándose para el servicio
(24)	Sir, permission to go with Jocker?	Señor, solicito permiso para ir con Bufón
(25)	Permission to get dressed, Master Chief	Permiso para vestirme, señor

Como en cualquier otra expresión estandarizada, el traductor, teniendo en cuenta el contexto en el que estos enunciados son emitidos, reconoce la intención comunicativa del emisor y busca en la lengua meta una expresión equivalente que pro-

voque en la mente del espectador español la misma reacción que tuvo la audiencia original.

Puesto que las características ‘superficiales’ de ambos enunciados (origen y meta) son similares, la audiencia meta va a obtener una interpretación que no difiere mucho de la que obtuvo la audiencia original. Tomemos como ejemplo la traducción de “sir”⁶ en los ejemplos (22) y (23); “señor” no es la forma normativa de dirigirse a un superior en el ejército español. La fórmula estandarizada que se utiliza para dirigirse a un superior es “a sus órdenes mi teniente/capitán/comandante”, etc. Desde el punto de vista del sincronismo fonético, no cabe duda de que ‘encajar’ labialmente “señor” es mucho más fácil que hacer coincidir la fórmula “a sus órdenes mi...”; además, la expresión española regulada crearía problemas de isocronía, puesto que contiene un mayor número de sílabas.

Del mismo modo la graduación de ‘cabo interino’ (*lance corporal*) tampoco existe en el ejército español, debiéndose traducir por “soldado de primera clase”. Nos enfrentamos otra vez aquí a los problemas que en la traducción audiovisual plantea la isocronía; traducir de un modo normativo la expresión (22) “Sir, Lance Corporal Harold Dawson, sir”, presenta un problema de difícil solución para el adaptador cinematográfico, puesto que la extensión de la frase en español es superior: “A sus órdenes mi teniente, soldado de primera clase Harold Dawson”.

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Tampoco la fórmula de cortesía (22) “¡oficial en la sala!”, existe en el ejército español. Debería sustituirse por “¡atención, el comandante/capitán/teniente, etc.”⁷ Apreciamos en este caso una falta de precisión semántica por parte del traductor, puesto que el número de sílabas de ambas expresiones es similar.

Sin embargo, cualquiera de las expresiones anteriores crea una impresión de que estamos escuchando un lenguaje militar regulado debido al alto grado de connotaciones militares que poseen las expresiones en español. Así, mediante el sustantivo “señor”, la audiencia infiere que el interlocutor se está dirigiendo a un superior jerárquico, mientras que la referencia “cabo” en la expresión “cabo interino”, remite inequívocamente a un tipo de graduación militar. Por último, la expresión “oficial en la sala” nos está indicando que un militar con categoría de oficial está entrando en la habitación y se espera de los allí presentes cierto comportamiento regulado.

Podríamos decir que todas estas fórmulas de cortesía militar, tanto las originales como las traducidas, generan en el espectador el mismo tipo de efectos cognitivos: ambas audiencias reconocerán que se está usando una determinada fórmula —de fuertes resonancias militares— con una intención muy específica, la de dirigirse a un superior o un inferior de una forma correcta a la vez que normativa. Este reconocimiento no tiene por qué ser exhaustivo, sino que puede hacerse de una manera muy genérica. De este modo, y con respecto a la traducción de la expresión,

una audiencia meta prototípica reconocerá la fórmula de cortesía militar que se ha elegido en español de un modo general y abstracto pero en ningún modo preciso. No interesa tanto que la fórmula estandarizada en la versión en español tenga un alto grado de equivalencia con la original, sino que provoque en la audiencia meta unos efectos contextuales próximos a los originales. Cualquiera de los ejemplos anteriores llevará a una audiencia española prototípica al convencimiento (erróneo en muchos casos, como hemos visto) de que la fórmula que está escuchando es precisamente la que requiere la ocasión que está contemplando en la pantalla.

4. Conclusión

La traducción de las expresiones estandarizadas en las películas de género bélico constituye un ejemplo muy preciso de lo que Gutt (1991:101) denomina *optimal resemblance* (semejanza óptima): el traductor quiere, por un lado, que la información que está comunicando se asemeje interpretativamente al original, y por otro, desea que esta comunicación tenga los efectos contextuales adecuados sin necesidad de exponer a su audiencia a un esfuerzo de procesamiento gratuito.

Tras el análisis que hemos realizado, comparando los textos legales que dictan el uso profesional de las expresiones estandarizadas militares (voces de mando, lenguaje radio, expresiones de cortesía militar, órdenes estandarizadas militares), con el resultado final que oír a la audiencia, constatamos que aunque algunas expresiones que aparecen en la lengua meta ofrezcan un contenido semántico distinto del texto original, éstas, en su mayoría, respetan los estímulos y las intenciones del enunciado original. La audiencia meta recibe un estímulo ostensivo visual muy explícito: diversos movimientos de unidades militares (con y sin armas), situaciones que se desarrollan en un ámbito exclusivamente castrense, uso de radios militares, gente de uniforme dando órdenes, etc.; inmediatamente, esta audiencia va a asociar los estímulos visuales con las expresiones específicas que está oyendo, estén éstas traducidas de un modo normativo o no.

Es decir, desde un punto de vista relevantista, podríamos decir que si los efectos cognitivos que obtiene la audiencia española son los que, de un modo general, deseaba el comunicador original para su propia audiencia, la traducción de estas fórmulas estandarizadas puede considerarse aceptable para una audiencia tipo. En estos casos, la audiencia meta inferirá, ayudada por la imagen en pantalla y por sus conocimientos previos sobre el tema, el tipo de información relevante que realmente deseaba transmitir el emisor original.

Concluimos resaltando que la audiencia española prototípica no es consciente de que muchas expresiones militares estandarizadas, o están mal traducidas respecto a su uso profesional, o simplemente no existen en el argot militar español; esta si-

tuación se mantendrá mientras las características superficiales de ambas fórmulas sean similares, y mientras las connotaciones militares de la frase en español sean lo suficientemente castrenses como para activar en la audiencia española sus conocimientos enciclopédicos sobre este tema.

Notes

¹. Extent condition 1: An assumption is relevant to an individual to the extent that the positive cognitive effects achieved when it is optimally processed are large. Extent condition 2: An assumption is relevant to an individual to the extent that the effort required to achieve these positive cognitive effects is small. (Sperber and Wilson 1995:265)

². Las voces de mando son expresiones militares estandarizadas formuladas por un superior jerárquico cuya finalidad es indicar a los subordinados que tiene delante los movimientos que tienen que realizar. Estas voces tienen dos partes consecutivas: primero se ordena la *voz preventiva* y en segundo lugar la *voz ejecutiva*. Con la *voz preventiva* se advierte al individuo de que se va a ordenar un movimiento, y le previene para que se prepare. Con la *voz ejecutiva* se le ordena que realice dicho movimiento. Cuanto más breve sea esta voz ejecutiva más sincrónicos serán los movimientos de los individuos que los estén realizando; de ahí que sea sólo la primera sílaba de la voz ejecutiva la que realmente se pronuncia.

³. Algunas de estas expresiones militares estandarizadas —concretamente las voces de mando— aparecen especificadas en el *Reglamento de Empleo. Orden Cerrado*; y en el *Reglamento de Empleo. Orden Cerrado. Instrucción de Unidades*. Estos reglamentos tienen como finalidad instruir a los componentes de las Fuerzas Armadas acerca de los diversos usos y costumbres militares, especificando los términos que deben usarse en determinadas situaciones. Por otro lado, existen las *Reales Ordenanzas*, ley española ordinaria cuyo contenido es el conjunto de principios y valores por

los que se rigen las Fuerzas Armadas, donde también podemos encontrar algunas expresiones estandarizadas tales como los tratamientos que deben recibir los miembros de las Fuerzas Armadas. Las *voces tipo* o *voces radio* que se utilizan para la comunicación por radio entre las unidades militares están especificadas en el *Procedimiento Radiotelefónico ACP-125* (E). Por otro lado, los miembros del colectivo militar aprenden el significado y uso de otras expresiones militares estandarizadas mediante la transmisión oral.

⁴. Fodor (1976: 21, 72-79) fue el primero en estudiar en profundidad el tema del sincronismo cinematográfico. Clasifica en tres los sincronismos que hay que tener en cuenta en el doblaje: *sincronismo de caracterización*: necesidad de que exista una armonía entre la voz del actor que dobla y el aspecto físico y los gestos característicos del actor que aparece en pantalla; *sincronismo de contenido*: congruencia entre la nueva versión —traducida y adaptada— del texto y el guión original de la película y *sincronismo fonético*: armonía entre los movimientos articulatorios del habla visibles y los nuevos sonidos que los reemplazan. Agost (1999: 65-68), por su parte, expone que para conseguir una sincronía visual, es decir, que el diálogo ya traducido y la imagen estén perfectamente sincronizados (tarea del adaptador de guiones), hay que tener tres aspectos en cuenta: *sincronía fonética o labial*: hacer coincidir, en la medida de lo posible, las vocales abiertas del texto con los movimientos labiales de la imagen, las vocales cerradas, las bilabiales, las pausas, etc. *Isocronía*: la extensión de las frases del texto original y el traducido son distintas, por lo tanto el ajustador o adaptador

tendrá que rehacer la frase (acortándola o alargándola) para hacer que encaje en los labios de los actores. *Sincronía quinésica*: cada lengua y cultura tiene sus propios gestos característicos. Este hecho puede repercutir en el doblaje y por eso algunos autores son partidarios de traducir los gestos a la lengua de llegada (por ejemplo, añadiendo una voz en *off* que ayude a comprender lo que dicen los gestos).

⁵. En 1988 el Jefe de Estado Mayor de la Defensa declaró reglamentaria en las Fuerzas Armadas la publicación aliada de Comunicaciones ACP-125 (E), (*Allied Communications Procedures*), de uso obligado en las comunicaciones interejércitos. Según el *Procedimiento Radiotelefónico ACP-125 (E)* (2001:

3-1), "las transmisiones radiotelefónicas deberán ser tan concisas como sea posible, sin sacrificar la claridad. La utilización de fraseología normalizada proporciona mayor brevedad".

⁶. En el ejército americano se emplea de un modo general el sustantivo "sir" para dirigirse a cualquier oficial que tenga, al menos, un grado superior al del hablante, debiéndose empezar y acabar cualquier parlamento dirigido a un superior con este sustantivo.

⁷. Esta fórmula no aparece reflejada en ningún reglamento. Se aprende por transmisión oral en los establecimientos militares durante el periodo de Instrucción y Adiestramiento.

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SOME LEXICAL COLLOCATIONAL PATTERNS IN LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH LEGAL TEXTS¹

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Introduction

The recurrent use in modern languages of lexical and grammatical clusters whose meaning is not to be interpreted on a word-by-word basis, has recently attracted the attention of many scholars. However, the study of these clusters (collocations) in the earlier periods of languages has inspired less interest as there are no clear applications in modern intercultural communication (natural language generation, machine translation, etc.). It is worth noting, however, that all these clusters were formed at a given moment of a language's history and developed for a specific function. The purpose of this study is to attempt to scrutinize the influence and force of collocations in legal late Middle English, and to show how they either specialized in this technical area or slipped into common speech.

The reasons why some words tend to associate with others in a given order and at a given time in the history of a language (e.g. *trusty and welbeloued, goods and chattels*) have not been satisfactorily explained. Whatever the state of mental organisation turns out to be for speakers to associate certain words, it must have eventually developed in a cultural framework. Thus most of the collocations are dependent on culture and domain (usually technical). Therefore they should not be simply analysed as arbitrary recurrent items characterised only by a statistical probability of co-occurrence. Furthermore, from a grammatical perspective it seems

necessary to redefine the syntactic and semantic rules which govern these associations of words. Certainly, some theories and approaches have been proposed to explain the factors and rationale which determine the use of lexical and grammatical clusters. Thus, the notion of collocation has been studied from a pragmatic perspective, emphasising the rhetorical function of the multi-word expression in discourse. This level of study is particularly interesting because the analyst is involved in the stylistic contrast between marked forms such as “take notice” and the unmarked “notice”. The difference is assessed by analysing rhetorical factors, as Moon (1994: 117) states: “fixed expressions represent meaningful choices on the part of the speaker/writer”. Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992:36) differentiate unmarked collocations (co-occurrences of lexical items) from lexical phrases or marked collocations (polywords, institutionalised phrases, phrasal constraints) as different choices of expression. Whereas collocations have a pragmatic function, the unmarked co-occurrence of lexical items are expressions “that have not been assigned particular pragmatic functions by pragmatic competence”. However, Gledhill (2000:16) maintains that a “normal text rarely moves in a clear-cut way from unmarked to marked expression [...] It is more realistic to picture a text as a sequence of different types of discourse signal”.

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Other scholars focus on the syntactic and semantic rules which govern the association of words. Thus, Grossmann and Tutin (2003) have examined collocations as pre-constructed syntactic units, Choueka (1988) has studied them as lexically determined elements of grammatical structures, and Gitsaki (1996:17) has emphasized the idea that word associations occur in patterns.

A different approach is proposed by those who analyse collocations from a lexical/textual point of view, emphasising the statistical probability of some co-occurring items. Following this method, Clear has studied collocations as a “recurrent co-occurrence of words” (1993: 277); Smadja, as a “recurrent combination of words that co-occur more often than expected” (1993: 143); Benson, as an “arbitrary and recurrent word combination” (1990: 23); Kjellmer, as “a sequence of words that occurs more than once in identical form” (1987: 133).

My analysis of the collocational framework in late Middle English legal texts tries to follow a lexical description based on the analysis of ‘collocation’ and ‘set’ as counterparts of ‘structure’ and ‘system’ in grammatical analysis, emphasizing the collocational structure rather than the rules that operate within the set. Thus, following Carter (1987: 50), I shall select items from lexical sets instead of choosing types of grammatical structures. For the purpose of this work, ‘collocation’ is understood as a “probable co-occurrence of items” (Malmkjaer, 1991: 302), whereas ‘set’, which envisages instances of one and the same syntagmatic relation, is not analysed. Thus I shall not consider in this study the

syntagmatic relation which, for example, Halliday, (1966: 151-157) proposes when he considers “a strong argument”, “he argued strongly”, “the strength of his argument” and “his argument was strengthened” as syntagmatically related units. In Halliday’s view “strong”, “strongly”, “strength” and “strengthened” collocate with “argue/argument”. My data analysis is much simpler as it is basically concentrated on combinations of words which ‘arbitrarily’ associate with each other more often than expected, and where such association is presumed to be domain (legal) dependent.

Another aspect that is beyond the scope of this study is determining whether the lexeme has its own independent meaning or whether such a meaning is only shaped by the set of its collocations, as Nattinger & DeCarrico (1992: 181-182) have stated. Sinclair (1991: 115-116) also maintains that the “relative frequency of node and collocate determines whether the collocational relation will contribute to the meaning of the node.” This seems to be clear in the case of composite predicates in which the support verb has been emptied of lexical meaning as the latter has been displaced to the deverbal noun (e.g. take notice, take care, take advantage, etc.). In broad terms, I have assumed in this study that the greater capacity a lexeme has to develop collocational patterns, the greater restrictions the node has.

Method and criteria for collocational patterns selection

The method used in this study to select collocational types is as follows:

- a) I have employed the *WordSmith Tools 4* programme to draft *word lists* of two corpora (the specific/legal corpus and the common/reference corpus). WordSmith also provides a catalogue of key/salient words by contrasting statistically the number of tokens in both corpora. Thus the programme allows us to view a record of words which are identified in the specific legal corpus more frequently than in the common corpus.
- b) Collocations were retrieved and filtered out applying Church and Hanks’s Mutual Information (MI) technique which can be conducted by the WordSmith programme. Mutual Information contrasts and balances the probability of two words occurring mutually joined with the probability of these words occurring independently.²
- c) The word lists which have been planned for the two corpora were sorted out through a process of lemmatization supplied by WordSmith. Thus I have accumulated under the same lemma the spelling variants and morphological forms of the same word.
- d) I have restricted my research to six categories of lexical collocations: i) $N^1 + N^2$

- (e.g. *market day*), ii) N and N (e.g. *wil and testament*), iii) Adj + N (e.g. *gracious lord*), iv) Adj and Adj + N (e.g. *trusti and wellbeloued lord*), v), V + N (e.g. *take profit*) and vi) V and V (e.g. *execute and perform*).
- e) The categorization of collocations in this study is based on the following determining factors: a) the degree of probability of a multi-word item is measured in relation with its degree of *institutionalization* (conventionalized multi-word item); b) the degree of fixedness of a lexical combination is also measured in relation to its grammatical restrictions; c) finally, as non-compositionality is the basis of a collocational pattern, it is essential to assess, whether the meaning of a multi-word item can or cannot be obtained from the meaning of its constituent parts.

Corpora and data analysis

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My first step was to design a body of non-technical English texts of late Middle English that could offer a **Non-Technical Corpus** (henceforward, **n-TC**) that might be activated as a corpus of reference. Secondly, I built up a minor body of the legal texts of the same period (**Legal Corpus**, henceforward **LC**). **n-TC** and **LC** were for the most part sketched according to two simple features: a) a “medium-oriented choice”: the texts were basically selected according to their electronic readability. For this purpose, The Humanities Text Initiative, a unit of the University of Michigan's Digital Library Production Service, offered me online access to full text resources of the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*; and b) a wide-ranging “topic-oriented choice”: **n-TC** texts were chosen according to their common (non-technical) character. Thus the type of text selected fits in a broad area of topics which might have embodied the common speech of the fifteenth century: fiction, drama and religious texts. Table 1 shows the texts of the reference corpus and the number of words in each:

LC³ has been pictured on the basis of its restricted legal technical character and it has also been apportioned into seven subgenres: a) Depositions, b) Lincoln Documents, c) Gylds, d) Indentures, e) Petitions, f) Signet and Privy Seals, and g) Wills.

Table 2 shows the data of **LC** including the words of subgenres.

In addition to these internal features of the corpora, **n-TC** and **LC** show different external contextual characteristics. **n-TC** embodies extensive linguistic functions (informative, instructional, persuasive, etc.), different styles or prototypical text categories (expository, narrative, imaginative, etc.), different non-technical settings (formal, informal, intimate equal/down/up, distant down/up, interactive, etc.),

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TEXTS OF N-TC	WORDS
<i>The Canterbury Tales</i>	206,734
<i>Everyman</i>	8,118
<i>Confessio Amantis</i>	241,707
<i>Orpheus and Eurydice</i>	27,703
<i>The minor Poems of Robert Henryson</i>	5,392
<i>The morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygian</i>	5,346
<i>The testament of Cresseid</i>	7,016
<i>The Vision of Piers Plowman</i>	79,767
<i>Octavian</i>	11,627
<i>Pearl</i>	8,418
<i>Sir Gawain and the Green Knight</i>	21,270
<i>The Alliterative Morte Arthure</i>	42,112
<i>The Siege of Jerusalem</i>	12,044
<i>The Towneley Plays</i>	99,943
<i>The York Plays</i>	99,736
<i>Troilus</i>	75,014
<i>Rewle</i>	15,736
<i>Merlin</i>	293,332
	1,261,015

TABLE 1: n-TC texts

SECTION/SUBGENRE	WORDS	%
Depositions	2,067	0.50
Documents	75,589	18.50
Gyls	209,483	51.29
Indentures	4,768	1.16
Petitions	47,630	11.66
Signet and Privy Seals	28,491	6.97
Wills	40,370	9.88
Total	408.398	100

TABLE 2: LC wordlists of subgenres

different types of text (drama, correspondence, fiction, history, romance, etc) and different topics (religion, fiction, etc.). However, **LC** external contextual features are more limiting. Thus, legal texts are functionally informative and exhibit both a statutory style and a formal/professional and distant down setting.

The Wordlist programme (Wordsmith) reckoned 1,261,015 tokens (running words) for the total word estimate of **n-TC**, whereas for **LC** the programme computed 408,398 instances. The wordlists include tokens and rates, but it was necessary to detect accurately “types” of tokens/words. For the sake of simplicity I have included under the same type both the spelling and morphological forms of a word. The programme has computed 67,155 types for **n-TC** and 26,032 for **LC**.

N¹ + N² collocational type

Now I will initiate the analysis of the collocational binary pattern **N¹ + N²** as in *lave day*. Functionally, such a structure is a collocation in which **N²** operates as head (node of collocation) and **N¹** as a premodifier or left-collocate rather than an Anglo-Saxon genitive, as no possession is implied. My analysis focuses on those salient lexical words which occur in **LC** as nodes (**N²**). I take for granted that the more salient a word is in **LC**, the more likely it is to form collocational patterns. To restrict my research, the present paper is confined only to the top 24 **LC** salient **N²** detected in the first 100 saliency rank scale and exhibited in Table 3.

It is important to point out that saliency is attained by comparing the frequency rates of both **LC** and **n-TC**. The more frequent a word is in **LC** and the less common in **n-TC**, the more salient it is in **LC**. Thus, the most frequent noun word in **LC** is *day* with 801 tokens, however the noun *year* is the most salient word in **LC** with 649 occurrences because by comparing the number of tokens of these two words in **n-TC** we observe that *day* appears 2,082 times, whereas *year* occurs only on 257 occasions. Thus the programme includes *year* in first position of saliency, whereas *day*, which is the most frequent noun in **LC**, occurs in the tenth position in the saliency rank scale. Although I assume that saliency should play an important role in a collocational framework, only the seven words displayed in bold in Table 3 show **N¹ + N²** collocational patterns.

The first salient **N²** in **LC** that exhibits the collocational pattern **N¹ + N²** is *chirche* (546 occ.). The search conducted for all concordances provides 64 examples of *chirche* as **N²**. Only 4 types of **N¹** collocate with the node *chirche* with 4 tokens or more: *parische* (**LC** 28 occ., **n-TC** 2), *cathedral* (**LC** 18 occ, **n-TC** 1), *moder* (**LC** 10 occ., **n-TC** 1) and *cryst(s)* (**LC** 4 occ., **n-TC** 1). Consider examples (1) and (2):

Some lexical collocational patterns in late middle english legal texts

LC RANK	NOUN WORD SALIENCY	LEXICAL WORD	FREQ.LC	%	FREQ. N-TC	%	KEYNESS	P-SCORE
24	1	YERE	649	0.49	257	0,02	2,269.1	0,000000
25	2	CHIRCHE	546	0.41	163	0,01	2,044.6	0,000000
30	3	ALDERMAN	356	0.27	3		1,779.6	0,000000
32	4	SOULE	402	0.31	58		1,709.2	0,000000
43	5	EXECUTOR	281	0.21	7		1,366.8	0,000000
44	6	FRATERNITE	266	0.20	2		1,331.9	0,000000
53	8	KYNG	216	0.16	10		1,020.0	0,000000
55	10	DAY	801	0.61	2.082	0,13	1,014.6	0,000000
60	11	PARTE	318	0.24	195	0,01	970.5	0,000000
63	12	LORD	203	0.15	13		937.9	0,000000
64	13	TYME	662	0.50	1.550	0,10	926.5	0,000000
65	14	CYTE	283	0.21	141		925.4	0,000000
70	15	TOWNE	263	0.20	119		885.3	0,000000
75	16	TERME	252	0.19	113		850.5	0,000000
76	17	TENEMENT	176	0.13	7		838.2	0,000000
80	18	TESTAMENT	201	0.15	41		810.4	0,000000
81	19	SUCCESSOUR	159	0.12	0		809.9	0,000000
86	20	HEIRES	190	0.14	45		745.6	0,000000
96	21	CLERC	174	0.13	45		671.2	0,000000
97	22	MANER	188	0.14	71		665.0	0,000000
98	23	BODY	222	0.17	144		663.7	0,000000
100	24	CHARGE	213	0.16	144		627.0	0,000000

TABLE 3: Salient noun words in LC

1. Also, I bequeth vnto the parishe chirche of Leylond to bye a grette bell to tenour those iiij. other belles (*Lincoln*)
2. Also, I bequeth to the mother chirche of Lincoln (*Lincoln*)

The next salient N² involved in a collocational pattern N¹ + N² in LC is *Kyng* (417 occ.) whose concordance search shows that only *lord* (LC 14 occ., n-TC 5) and

prince (LC 6 occ., n-TC 0) occur as left-collocates with *kyng* as in (3) and (4). Consider

3. Henry the fourthe youre Aiell And to the full nobill and gracious prince kyng Henry þe fifte your fader whos soules god assoile to graunte. (*Chancery*)
4. in the xxvth yere of the reigne off our said souereign lorde kyng henry the eight, (*Lincoln*)

The search carried out for all concordances of *day*, next in the saliency rank scale, shows 10 collocational subtypes of N¹ + N² with 4 tokens or more. Consider (5) and (6):

5. but the dedication day of the church was (*Lincoln*)
6. to holde their lawe day in the Guyldehall (*Gyllds*)

It is noteworthy that *day* as N² collocates with 21 different N¹ at least twice. Thus, *market* (12 occ., n-TC 0), *dedication* (7 occ., n-TC 0), *Gylde* (6 occ., n-TC 0), *esterne* (5 occ., n-TC 4), *lawe* (4 occ., n-TC 0), *eleccion* (4 occ., n-TC 0), *candilmesse* (4 occ., n-TC 3), *micheelmas* (4 occ., n-TC 3), *halowen* (4 occ., n-TC 5), *lammesse* (4 occ., n-TC 5), *hallomese* (3 occ., n-TC 3) *cristemas* (3 occ., n-TC 7), *festiuall* (3 occ., n-TC 0), *mydsomer* (3 occ., n-TC 2), *lady* (2 occ., n-TC 1), *weke* (2 occ., n-TC 1), *all saints* (2 occ., n-TC 3), *ascencion* (2 occ., n-TC 4).

The N², *tyme*, is the next in the saliency rank and shows that 9 types of N¹ collocate with it in left position: *seruice* (4 occ.), *market* (4 occ.), *cession* (2 occ.), *terme* (2 occ.), *easter* (2 occ.), *feyre* (2 occ.), *winter* (1 occ.), *harvest* (1 occ.), *night* (1 occ.) as in (7) and (8):

7. to brenne in seruice tyme eueriche festiuale (*Gyllds*)
8. all the markett tyme, in a whyte sheat (*Lincoln*).

The following salient node noun is *terme* and collocates with four types of N¹: *Easter* (6 occ.), *Trinity* (5 occ.), *Hillarie* (3 occ.), and *michaelmas* (3 occ.). Consider:

9. In Easter terme, vpon the ascencion day; In Trinite terme, vpon the natyuy (*Lincoln*)
10. In Trinite terme, vpon the natyuyte of sainte Iohn baptist; In Michaelmas terme, vpon Alholon day; In Hillarie terme, vpon Candelmas day; (*Lincoln*)

The next salient N² is *clerk* which collocates with three types of N¹: *towne* (12 occ), *churche* (3 occ) and *parish* (1) as in (11), (12) and (13):

11. Baillyfs, to holde their fferyng day, and therupon the seide Toune clerk (*Gyllds*)
12. I bequethe to þe Churche Clerk of Seynt Benet (*Wills*)
13. There were also the fees of the parish-priest, the parish-clerk (*Lincoln*)

Finally, in the saliency rank scale is *charge*, which includes as left-collocate the N¹ *rent* (3 occ.) as in (14):

14. Wife to have her Dower in his inherited Lands and a Rent-Charge of £20 a-year
(*Wills*)

N and N collocational pattern: types and tokens

Many twin collocations must have been formed when English made its way into the language of court proceedings, particularly after the *Statute of Pleading* (1362) when English was fostered as the language of local courts. In this transition process there was a great deal of hesitation about the exact meaning of the English words, so law experts tried to be self-confident by using the English and the French legal words together as in *landes and possessions, goods and chattels, will and testament, free and clear, right and interest, breaking and entering*, etc. In the course of time these *and*-nominal concordances were used to reinforce the meaning of a given form regardless of their provenance, as in *fourme and condition*.

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All N *and* N concordances found in LC and attested to as collocations were contrasted with the figures of these collocational patterns in n-TC, so we may infer the acceptance of these technical collocations in other common registers. It is worth noting, however, that only those N *and* N concordances authenticated at least 6 times are included in LC. However, all instances are counted in n-TC because when an N *and* N-concordance has been verified as a collocation in the legal corpus, a single appearance in the other non-technical register allows us to believe that a specialised collocation has gone through other non-technical domains.

I should remark that my investigation concentrates exclusively on N *and* N collocations (eg. *landes and tenementes*) as in (15).

15. then I will that all the foresaide landes and tenementes to be equally deuyded
emonges my children (*Lincoln*).

So no intervening elements are present either as determiners or as modifiers in the collocational structure. Thus the collocational type *þe Kynge and þe lords* (6 occ.) is not included in this category.

Table 4 includes 42 N *and* N collocational types and 791 tokens found in LC, and their distribution in the different subgenres and in n-TC. The data cover only those collocational patterns which include 6 occurrences or more in LC, although all instances are computed in the subcorpora.

Luis Iglesias-Rábade

RANK	COLLOCATION	TYPE	SUBGENRES OF LC							TOTAL LC	TOTAL N-TC
			IND	PET	WIL	SEAL	DEP	GYL	Doc		
1	Landes and tenements	N + N	1	15	23	3	1	12	52	117	0
2	Maister and wardens	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	80	0	80	0
3	Baillies and communes	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	60	0	60	0
4	Maner and fourme	N + N	0	10	9	2	0	22	17	60	0
5	Day and yere	N + N	2	3	6	0	1	3	19	35	0
6	Costes and charges	N + N	0	6	0	0	0	7	17	30	0
7	Testament and will	N + N	0	0	24	0	0	0	4	28	0
8	Fraternite and gyld	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	24	0	24	0
9	Maire and bailiffs	N + N	0	7	0	3	0	13	0	23	0
10	Executors and assignes	N + N	0	0	1	00	0	0	22	23	0
11	Issues and profites	N + N	0	3	6	0	0	1	11	21	0
12	Will and testament	N + N	0	0	2	0	0	0	17	19	0
13	Maister and brethern	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	16	0	16	0
14	Godes and catalles	N + N	0	3	4	1	0	5	2	15	0
15	Heiress and assignes	N + N	7	0	1	1	0	0	6	15	0
16	Rentes and profits	N + N	0	0	2	0	0	12	0	14	0
17	Alderman and maisters	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	13	0
18	Forme and condicions	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	12	0

Some lexical collocational patterns in late middle english legal texts

RANK	COLLOCATION	TYPE	SUBGENRES OF LC							TOTAL LC	TOTAL N-TC
			IND	PET	WIL	SEAL	DEP	GYL	DOC		
19	Maire and sheriff	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	12	0
20	Town and marches	N + N	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	12	0
21	Felowes and scolors	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	10	0
22	Prior and chanons	N + N	0	8	0	0	0	2	0	10	0
23	Fraternite and crafte	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	9	0
24	Liberte and franchises	N + N	0	5	0	3	0	1	0	9	0
25	Wevers and fullers	N + N	0	4	0	5	0	0	0	9	0
26	Dean and chapter	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	8	0
27	Ende and terme	N + N	1	0	0	0	0	0	7	8	0
28	Name and fame	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	7	1	8	0
29	Autorite and power	N + N	0	2	0	1	0	4	0	7	0
30	Maner and tenements	N + N	5	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	0
31	Proffites and comodities	N + N	0	4	0	0	0	0	3	7	0
32	Proffites and reuenues	N + N	0	5	1	0	0	1	0	7	0
33	Wardons and felowship	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	7	0
34	Rentes and seruices	N + N	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	7	0
35	Tenementes and rentes	N + N	0	1	3	0	0	3	0	7	0
36	Chaplain and keeper	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0

RANK	COLLOCATION	TYPE	SUBGENRES OF LC							TOTAL LC	TOTAL N-TC
			IND	PET	WIL	SEAL	DEP	GYL	DOC		
37	Heiress and executours	N + N	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	0
38	Maister and merchant	N + N	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	0
39	Priories and possessions	N + N	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	6	0
40	Rentes and fermes	N + N	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	6	0
41	Tenementes and heredyt	N + N	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0
42	Day and place	N + N	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	6	1
	Total tokens		19	85	85	40	2	323	226	791	1

(Subgenre abbreviations: Ind = Indenture; Pet = Petitions; Wil = Wills; Seal = Signet and Privy Seals; Dep = Depositions; Gyl = Gylds; Doc = Documents)

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TABLE 4: N and N collocational types and token

The examination of N and N-collocational types and tokens in the 7 subgenres (cf. Table 4) analysed in this research reveals an uneven distribution. Thus 14 out of 42 collocational types (33.3%) appear in a single subcorpus. For example, *maister and wardens*, which is the second most recurrent LC N and N-collocational type with 80 tokens, is detected only in the *Gyld* subcorpus (cf. Table 4). It is also important to note that 13 types (30.95%) are found only in 2 subgenres. Thus, for example, *testament and will*, occurs only in *Wills* (24 occ.) and *Lincoln Documents* (4 occ.) subgenres. 7 types occur in 3 subgenres such as *costes and charges* and only 3 types such as *issues and profites* are distributed in 4 subgenres. Similarly, only 3 patterns such as *maner and fourme* are detectable in 5 subgenres, and a single type, *day and yere*, is located in 6 subcorpora. *Landes and tenementes*, however, is detected in all subgenres and it is very recurrent as it accounts for 117 collocations.

The most outstanding feature is the absence of these N and N-collocational patterns in the common corpus as only a single instance of *day and place* is found in n-TC, which ascertains that they were restricted to legal English.

ADJ + N collocational type

A survey of adjectives either as nodes or collocates shows a significant feature worth mentioning: by checking the 1,000 most common words in LC I have only found 26 different ‘qualifying’ adjectives. The relatively infrequent use of adjectives is an expected feature of technical legal language. It is also assumed that when they occur they are likely to be recurrent. In fact, 22 out of the 26 adjectives found in the 1,000 most common words in LC occur at least 36 or more times.

The keyword programme shows, however, that 14 of these adjectives were even more frequent in non-technical corpus such as *gret*, *right*, *good*, etc. In fact, only the 8 adjectives displayed in Table 5 are salient in LC. Notwithstanding, their saliency is so great that it reveals that they were restrictedly used in technical legal structures forming collocational patterns with a quasi-formulaic connotation.

LC RANK	SALIENCY RANK	ADJECTIVE	FREQ.LC	%	FREQ. N-TC	%	KEYNESS	P-SCORE
226	49	souerain	184	0.05	2		526.0	0.000000
238	55	welbeloued	161	0.05	2		434.0	0.000000
241	69	trusty	145	0.05	15		277.0	0.000000
267	116	worshipful	132	0.04	8		207.3	0.000000
311	261	gracious	113	0.02	34		121.5	0.000000
215	282	holy	215	0.06	345	0.02	115.6	0.000000
835	309	discrete	41	0.01	7		106.0	0.000000
687	458	lauffull	72	0.01	12		78.5	0.000000

TABLE 5: LC salient adjectival types for the first more frequent 1,000 words

Now I proceed with a detailed account of LC salient adjectives, specifying their collocational patterns:

1. *Souerain* (LC rank 226; Salient word rank 49; Keyness = 526.0; $p = 0.000000$)

Souerain is the first LC salient adjective, though it appears in 49th position of all salient words. For the purpose of this work I have run the concord programme to catch a glimpse of collocational patterns with *souerain*. I have detected that it is recurrently used in expressions such as *the kynng oure souerain Lorde*. The programme has spotted 184 tokens of *souerain*, most of them functioning as right collocates of *kynng* and left-collocates of *lord*. Note that all instances were found in *Chancery*. Examples include:

16. To the kyng oure souerain lord Right mekely besecheth to your souerain lordship youre pore seruant William (*Chancery*).
17. Please it to the Kyng oure souerain Lord of youre Benigne grace to graunte to youre humble seruants (*Chancery*).

On the basis of the data provided by the programme we must conclude that *souerain* was associated with *kyng* which, in syntactical terms, must be considered and forming with *lord* a post-complementation of *kyng* or an appositive structure.

2. *Wellbeloued* (LC rank 238; Salient word rank 55; Keyness = 434.0; $p = 0.000000$)

Although *wellbeloued* appears with far from top saliency (55th position), it is the second most salient adjective in LC not only because it includes 161 tokens, but also because it is very infrequent in n-TC. Furthermore *wellbeloued* is a genre-dependent adjective as its usage is mainly restricted to *Chancery* with 159 out of 161 tokens (*Lincoln* 1, *Wills* 1). The concord programme has found the collocational type *oure right trusty and wellbeloued* 67 times as in (18) and (19):

18. Signet of Henry V By þe king Worshipful fader in god / right trusty and welbeloued / we grete yow wel / (*Chancery*).
19. Signet of Henry V By þe king Worshipful fader yn god. oure right trusty and welbeloued. We grete yow wel (*Chancery*).

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The cluster *oure trusty and wellbeloued* (*lord, kyng, brother, cousin, wife, cleric, squire*) is also found on 66 occasions as in (20) and (21):

20. Signet of Henry V By the king Trusty and welbeloued We grete you wel (*Chancery*).
21. We haue receyued a supplicacion put vn to vs be our trusty and welbeloued knyght henry Brounffete that is with vs in our seruice (*Chancery*).

Wellbeloued may be also pre-modified by *entirely* in these collocational patterns as in (22)

22. Right trusty & entierly welbeloued frende / I grete you often tymes wel / And thanke you wit (*Chancery*).

It is worth noting that 32 occurrences of *wellbeloued* are also found qualifying a personal noun (*wife, cleric, cousin*, etc.) without being clustered in a collocational pattern. Consider (23):

23. vnder oure signet contenyng certain articles aduised by oure welbeloued knyght Iohn Tiptoft Seneschal of oure duchie of guyenne (*Gylde*).

3. *Trusty* (LC rank 241; Salient word rank 69; Keyness = 277.0; $p = 0.000000$)

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Trusty appears in third position in the adjective saliency list and occupies the 69th place in LC rank with 145 tokens. It exhibits three collocational types:

i) *trusty and welbeloued* (*lord, kyng, frend, cousin, brother*, etc.), which includes 136 tokens and is mainly restricted to *Chancery* (134 occurrences, *Wills* 2). Consider (24):

24. Iohn Bisshop of Saint Asseph. William Bisshop of Salesbury and oure trusty and welbeloued Cousyn William Erl of Suffolk (*Chancery*).

Trusty is frequently premodified by *right* as in (25):

25. Signet of Henry V By þe kyng Worshipful fader in god right trusty and welbeloued / We grete yow wel (*Chancery*).

ii) *Dere and trusty* (two tokens, both in *Wills*) as in (26):

26. bot þe holy trinite kepe 3ow now, dere and trusty wyf? (*Wills*).

iii) *Effectuel and trusty* (two tokens, both in *Chancery*) as in (27):

27. Lady of wilton: in the whiche matire y prairie yow. that ye be effectuel and trusty frend (*Chancery*).

It is worth remarking that just a single instance out of 141 is found as a free qualifying adjective as in (28):

28. I ordeyn my trusty frendes, Iankyn? Miles, Thomas Knolles aforsaid?, Elizabet? Ioy (*Wills*)

4. *Worshipful* (LC rank 267; Salient word rank 116; Keyness = 207.3; $p = 0.000000$)
Worshipful continues as the 4th most LC-salient adjective and fills the slot 116 in the saliency rank. It includes 132 tokens. It is basically restricted to the collocational type *Worshipful fader* (131 instances) within the formulaic expression *Worshipful fader yn god ri3t trusty and welbeloued*, and it is also domain-dependent as 128 tokens appear in *Chancery*. The other 3 occur in *Lincoln*. Consider (29) and (30)

29. Signet of Henry V Worshipful fader yn god ri3t trusty and welbeloued / We grete yow wel / (*Chancery*).

30. To the worshipful and wyse syres and wyse Communes that to this present (*Chancery*).

This collocational framework in LC has only 8 instances in the common corpus.

5. *Gracious* (LC rank 311; Salient word rank 261; Keyness = 121.5; $p = 0.000000$)
The next LC-salient adjective is *gracious*, which appears in slot 261 with regard to LC rank with 113 occurrences. It shows various collocational types: *your gracious*

lordship (24 occ.), *your noble and gracious* + N (10 occ.), *your worthy and gracious* + N (7 occ.), *your gracious lettres patentes* (7 occ.) Consider (31) and (32):

31. Plese it to your gracious lordship to conside þe premisses and þer uppon to graunte (*Chancery*).

32. to aduertice that howe oure souerain lord by his gracious lettres patentes made vndir his grete seal of England (*Chancery*).

In most instances (61) *gracious* premodifies a head noun without forming a collocational pattern as in (33):

33. but we haue the sounere remedie by yourer most gracious socour and helpe at this present parlement (*Chancery*).

Gracious is mostly used in *Chancery* (97 tokens), but it also appears in the three other texts (*Lincoln* 9, *Gylde* 4, *Wills* 3)

6. *Holy* (LC rank 215; Salient word rank 282; Keyness = 155.6; $p = 0.000000$)

Holy comes next in the saliency rank scale for adjectives (6th position) and it is exhibited in 215th position in LC rank with 215 occurrences. It shows various collocational types: *holy chirche* (32 occ.), *holy company* (17 occ.), *holy gost* (16 occ.), *holy rood* (13 occ.), *holy cross* (13 occ.), *holy trinity* (12 occ.), *holy martyr* (11 occ.), *holy father* (8 occ.) and *holy days* (6 occ.) as in (34) and (35):

34. In þe worchep of God of heuen, and of his modir seynt mari, and alle þe holy Company of heuen, and souerengly of þe Noble confessor (*Gylde*).

35. In the name of the fadir and the sone and the holy goste, I, Isabelle Maryone, of your diocese, wydowe, behest (*Lincoln*).

Holy appears in all legal subgenres and is also frequent in the common corpus with 345 tokens.

7. *Discrete* (LC rank 835; Salient word rank 309; Keyness = 106.0; $p = 0.000000$)

Discrete appears in 7th place in the LC-salient adjective list and fills slot 835 in LC rank with 41 tokens. *Discrete* was only used in two legal subgenres (*Chancery* 28 occ. and *Gylde* 13 occ.). It shows two basic collocational patterns: *discrete* + N and Adj and *discrete* + N displayed in the following types: i) *discrete counsel* (23 occ.), *discrete comunes* (10), *discrete persones* (9 occ.); and ii) *wyse and discrete* + N (9 occ.), *high and discrete* + N (6 occ.), *sadd and discrete* + N (5 occ.), *worshipful and discrete* + N (4 occ.) as in (36) and (37):

36. Petition of James, Earl of Wiltshire To the full wyse and discrete Comons of this present parlement (*Chancery*).

37. to þe hygh and discrete councill of oure soueraign lord (*Chancery*).

8. *Laufull* (LC rank 687; Salient word rank 458; Keyness = 78.5; $p = 0.000000$)

The 8th most salient adjective, *laufull*, goes to 687th position in LC rank with 72 tokens, and there are 457 words which are more salient in LC. It is profusely employed in *Lincoln* subgenre with 51 occurrences, only 13 were detected in *Gylde*, 7 in *Chancery* and 1 in *Wills*. *Laufull* occurs basically in 2 different collocational patterns displayed as follows: *laufull* + (*English*) *money* (12 occ.), *laufull* + *impediment* (6 occ.) and *trewes, just, and laufull men* (5occ.) as in (38) and (39):

38. her be spent att my buryall and att my monethes daie fifty poundes of lafull money off Englund (*Lincoln*).

39. the soules aboue remembred, and for all christen soules, hauyng noo lafull impedymnt; (*Lincoln*).

To conclude this section we may affirm that salient adjectives are domain dependent as all of them, except *holy*, are predominantly restricted to a subgenre. Now I will proceed to analyse whether a salient noun is likely to be qualified, and if so, recurrently qualified by the same adjective so as to form a collocation. A review of the 24 salient nouns (see Table 3) which occur in the 100 salient words shows that only 10 are commonly modified by the same adjective, but it is also important to note that only 5 salient adjectives (*holy*, *souerain*, *worschipfull*, *trusty* and *wellbeloued*) combine with salient nouns. It is also frequently the case that the same adjective collocates with different nodes. Thus *holy* is a left-collocate of *yere*, *chirche* and *day*. *Souerain* is a left-collocate of *kyng* and *lord*. *Worschipful* also collocates in left position with *father*, *kyng*, *lord* and *town*. *Trusty* and *Wellbeloued* are right and left-collocates of *lord*, *kyng* and *clerc*.

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Adj and Adj + N collocational pattern: types and tokens

Similarly to twin *and*-nominal collocations I have also detected a large number of twin adjectival *and*-concordances such as *trusti and wellbeloued* which had great saliency in LC. Table 6 shows types and tokens through the subgenres:

The collocational pattern Adj *and* Adj + N contains 14 types and 262 tokens. The most frequent type is *trusti and wellbeloued*, which is found on 131 occasions in LC. It is worth mentioning that *trusty* appears as a salient word in LC in 61st rank position, but it turns up in first position when it is calculated as forming the collocation *trusti and wellbeloued*. It is also significant that all instances were registered within the sequence (*right*) *trusti and welbeloued* as in (40):

40. By þe king Worschipful fader yn god right trusty and welbeloued. We grete yow wel (*Chancery*).

RANK	COLLOCATION	TYPE	SUBGENRES OF LC							TOTAL LC	TOTAL N-TC
			IND	PET	WIL	SEAL	DEP	GYL	Doc		
1	Trusti & wellbeloued	Adj + Adj	0	0	0	131	0	0	0	131	0
2	Spiritual & temporel	Adj + Adj	0	31	0	3	0	3	2	41	0
3	God & lawful	Adj + Adj		0	0	0	0	7	7	14	0
4	Content & paid	Adj + Adj	1	0	0	0	0	0	12	13	0
5	Wise & discret	Adj + Adj	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	11	0
6	Gode & trewe	Adj + Adj	0	2	1	0	0	6	0	8	3
7	Ferme & stable	Adj + Adj	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	7	2
8	Compleat & ended	Adj + Adj	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0
9	Right & lawful	Adj + Adj	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6	0
10	Used & accustomed	Adj + Adj	0	0	0	2	0	4	0	6	0
11	Gode & effectuel	Adj + Adj	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
12	Grete & notable	Adj + Adj	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
13	Noble & gracious	Adj + Adj	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
14	Worthy & gracious	Adj + Adj	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
	Total tokens		1	62	1	137	0	33	27	262	5

TABLE 6: Adj *and* Adj + N collocational types and tokens

The examination of Adj *and* Adj collocational types and tokens in the 7 subgenres (cf. Table 6) surveyed in this research reveals an unequal distribution. Thus 8 out of 14 collocational types appear in a single subcorpus. For example, *trusti and wellbeloued*, which is the most recurrent LC Adj *and* Adj-collocational type with

131 tokens, is detected only in the *Seal* subcorpus. It is also important to note that 4 types are found only in 2 subgenres. Thus, for example, *god and lawful*, occurs only in *Gylds* and *Lincoln Documents* subgenres. Only 1 type is found in 3 subgenres, *gode and trewe*, and also a single type, *spiritual and temporal*, is distributed in 4 subgenres. No instances were detected in all subcorpora.

The most notable aspect is the absence of this Adj and Adj-collocational pattern in the common corpus as only two types *gode and trewe* (3 occ.) and *ferme and stable* (2 occ.), are found in n-TC, which indicates that they were predominantly restricted to legal English.

V + N collocational pattern

Collocational patterns such as *take charge*, usually known as composite predicates, have been profusely studied since Jespersen (1942: 117), who considers the support verb of the pattern as a “lexically empty verb”. Basically the structure includes two main features: on the one hand, a support verb with a very restrictive telic significance, but provided with all grammatical features, such as the inflections to mark tense, number and person (always animate), and on the other hand, a deverbal abstract noun which functions like a verb as it carries the action and the lexical meaning. Many authors have studied composite predicates in modern English (Live 1973; Björkman 1978; Gross: 1986; Pivaut 1994). There is also a specifically historical overview of composite predicates in the history of English in Brinton and Akimoto (1999).

Composite predicates come from OE, though they were restricted to the verbs *(ge)don*, *(ge)macian*, *sellan*, *giefan*, *niman* and *habban* (Brinton and Akimoto: 1999: 21-58). However, Matsumoto (1999:59-95) confirms that composite predicates were extensively used from the 13th century onwards. The widespread use of composite predicates in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries was probably reinforced by similar patterns in French (Iglesias-Rábade: 2000: 93-130).

A survey of collocational composite predicates in my corpora shows that the verbs *taken*, *giuen*, *hauen* and *beren* are often used as predicators with little telic significance as the meaning has been relocated to the following deverbal abstract noun as in (41):

41. the whiche I haue long taught, holden, and yeven faith & credence to theym, agayn many and diuers holy sacramente (*Lincoln*).

Table 7 shows V + N collocational patterns with the verbs *taken*, *giuen*, *hauen* and *beren* in LC and n-TC:

SUPPORT-VERB	DEVERBAL NOUN	LC-TOKENS	N-TC TOKENS
Take	charge	15	5
	advantage	4	2
	profit	3	7
	suit	3	0
	hede	3	61
	action	3	0
Geue	assent	6	0
	licence	4	0
	grace	4	3
	verdict	3	0
	evidence	3	0
	warning	3	0
	faith and credence	3	0
	notice	3	0
Haue	grace	23	9
	power	7	10
	mercy	7	8
	auctorite	4	0
	cause	4	12
	knowledge	3	59
Bere	charges	4	0
	office	4	0
	witness	3	36
	armes	3	0
	costes	3	0

TABLE 7: V + N collocational patterns

The n-TC includes many types of collocational composite predicates with *take*, apart from those found in LC. Thus I found the following types with five tokens or more: *take vengeance* (13 occ.), *take armes* (12 occ.), *take counseil* (12 occ.), *take rest* (8 occ.), *take evidence* (8 occ.), *take efect* (7 occ.), *take witness* (5 occ.), *take journey* (5 occ.), *take avis* (5 occ.), *take heart* (5 occ.), *take hold* (5 occ.), etc. I have not detected the types found in the LC in the n-TC with the support verb *geue*, except *geue grace*. With regard to *haue*, all types found in LC were also detected in n-TC, except *haue auctorite*. It is also worth noting that the n-TC includes many other types that have not been detected in the LC such as *haue pity* (13 occ.), *haue pees* (9 occ.), *haue doute* (8 occ.), *haue shame* (7 occ.), *haue succour* (7 occ.), *haue blame* (6 occ.), *haue honour* (5 occ.), etc. The support verb *beren* has no collocational support verb + deverbal noun in n-TC, except *beren witness*, which includes 36 instances, but almost all of them in *Piers Plowman* with a formulaic character as in (42):

42. Was that Sarsen saved, as Seint Gregorie bereth witnessse. Wel oughte ye lordes that lawes kepe this lesson (*Piers Plowman*: 11.156-157).

Collocational composite predicates are more common in n-TC than in LC with the support verbs *take* and *have*. Except *take suit*, *take action* and *have auctorite*, all types of composite predicates found in the legal corpus were also found in n-TC. Furthermore, these two support verbs were very productive, forming a varied range of types of composite predicates in non-technical English.

V and Vth collocational pattern

Likewise to twin *and*-nominal and adjectival collocations, my corpora also show an extensive use of twin verbal *and*-concordances such as *ordeyne and make* which exhibit practically an exclusive presence in LC. Table 8 shows types and tokens through subgenres.

As is shown in Table 8, the legal corpus exhibits 22 types with 6 or more occurrences that incorporate 279 tokens in the category V and V. *Couenaute and graunte* with 32 tokens is the most recurrent *and*-concordance in this class and it appears in 8th position in the collocation type rank as in (43):

43. Firste, the seid Thomas Tanfelde covenantes and grauntes, by thies presentes, for to cause a yer (*Gylds*).

An examination of V and V collocational types and tokens in the 7 subgenres (cf. Table 8) checked in the corpora exhibits an unequal distribution, although most collocational types are used in more than one subgenre. Only 4 types (*have and hold*, *liberate and allocate*, *yield and pay* and *occupy and inioye*) appear in a single subcorpus, although recursively used. For example, *have and hold* is detected only in the *Lincoln Documents* subcorpus, but it occurs 23 times. It is also important to note that 12 types are found only in 2 subgenres. Thus, for example, *ordeyne and dispose* occurs only in the *Wills* and *Lincoln Documents* subgenres. Similarly 3 types, including *geue and bequeth*, are found in 3 subgenres, whereas only two types, such as *ordeyne and assigne*, are exhibited in 4 subcorpora. Likewise, 2 types were extensively used in 5 subgenres, as in *make and ordeyne*, but no instances were detected in all subcorpora.

It is noticeable that no V and V-collocational pattern of those shown in Table 8 occurs in n-TC, except a single type, *pray and require*. Conclusively V and V concordances were also predominantly restricted to legal English.

Luis Iglesias-Rábade

RANK	COLLOCATION	TYPE	SUBGENRES OF LC							TOTAL LC	TOTAL N-TC
			IND	PET	WIL	SEAL	DEP	GYL	Doc		
1	couenaute and graunte	V + V	0	0	0	0	0	9	24	32	0
2	ordeyne and make	V + V	0	2	3	1	0	3	15	24	0
3	make and ordeyne	V + V	0	1	10	1	0	8	3	23	0
4	haue and hold	V + V	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	23	0
5	dirige and masse	V + V	0	0	0	0	0	8	12	22	0
6	geue and bequeth	V + V	0	0	1	0	0	1	15	17	0
7	liberate and allocate	V + V	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	12	0
8	yeld and pay	V + V	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	12	0
9	comen and offeren	V + V	0	0	0	0	0	9	2	11	0
10	ordeyne and establishe	V + V	0	6	0	0	0	4	2	11	0
11	entre and distraine	V + V	0	1	0	0	0	0	8	9	0
12	Obserue and kepe	V + V	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	9	0
13	ordeyne and dispose	V + V	0	0	4	0	0	0	5	9	0
14	singe and prey	V + V	0	0	6	0	0	2	1	9	0
15	haue and occupy	V + V	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	8	0
16	assent and consent	V + V	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	8	0
17	ordeyne and graunt	V + V	0	4	1	1	0	2	0	8	0
18	maintain and sustain	V + V	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	7	0
19	pray and require	V + V	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	7	5
20	couenaute and agree	V + V	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	6	0
21	occupy and inioye	V + V	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0
22	ordeyne and assigne	V + V	0	2	0	1	0	2	1	6	0
	Total tokens		0	24	26	18	0	58	155	279	5

TABLE 8: *V and V* collocational types and tokens

Conclusions

The collocational patterns which have been retrieved and filtered in this study were categorised according to the semantic criteria of non-compositionality (meaning is not interpreted on a word-by-word basis), institutionalization (multi-word items are assumed to have a conventionalized value) and fixedness (item usage is subjected to grammatical restrictions).

As for the first collocational type, $N^1 + N^2$, I have compared LC and n-TC wordlists to check word saliency in LC, as I started out from the hypothesis that the salient words of the legal corpus were presumed to be prone to forming collocational patterns. However, this assumption turned out to be partially true under this category, as a large number of LC salient words were also very frequent in n-TC (e.g. *yere, chirche, kyng, day, lord, city*). The second category, the N *and* N collocational pattern, shows on the one hand an uneven distribution through legal genres. Thus 14 (33.3%) out of 42 collocational types appear in a single subcorpus, whereas only one type, *landes and tenements*, is detected in all subgenres. On the other hand an important aspect is the absence of N *and* N-collocational patterns in the non-technical corpus. Only a single instance of *day and place* is found in n-TC. The third category, the ADJ + N collocational pattern, shows a small number of types because the survey of the 1,000 most frequent words in LC exhibits only 26 different ‘qualifying’ adjectives. However, those which occur are very recurrent. Thus, 22 out of the 26 adjectives found in the 1,000 most common words in LC occur 36 or more times. In the category Adj *and* Adj I have detected a large number of types, although unevenly distributed across genres. Thus 8 out of 14 collocational types appear in a single subcorpus and no instances were detected in all subgenres. It is, however, interesting to observe that these collocational types are scarcely found in n-TC, which confirms that they were mostly restricted to legal English. Study of the collocational pattern V + N shows that only the verbs *taken, giuen, hauen* and *beren* are significantly used with no telic significance. I have found that the support verbs *take* and *haue* were exceptionally productive for this category in n-TC forming a varied range of types. Finally, the category V *and* V displays an extensive use, mostly also restricted to legal language. Thus only 1 out of the 22 types found in LC is recorded in n-TC. Their allocation to subgenres is very unbalanced. For example, 4 types appear in a single subcorpus, although recurrently used, and no instances were detected in all subgenres.

In broad terms the most important conclusion is that most of the collocational types detected in the LC in the six categories covered by this study were predominantly restricted to legal English.

Notes

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². If two items x and y have probabilities of occurrence $p(x)$ and $p(y)$, their mutual information $MI(x,y)$ is formulated as

$$MI(x,y) = \log_2 \frac{p(x,y)}{p(x) / p(y)}$$

When $p(x,y) = p(x) / p(y)$ and the resulting value of $MI(x,y)$ is 0, we may assert that the concurrent appearance of x and y is not significantly recurrent to form a collocation. Whenever $MI(x,y)$ is < 0 , then we assume that the two terms (x, y) are mutually complementary and form a collocation.

³. LC texts include four subcorpora:

- a) *English Gylds. The Original Ordinances of more than 100 early English Gylds from 14th and 15th centuries.*
- b) *An Anthology of Chancery English.*
- c) *Lincoln Diocese Documents, 1450-1544.*
- d) *Fifty earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate.*

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TRANSLATING COLLOQUIAL IDIOMS/METAPHORS IN *THE CATCHER IN THE RYE*: A COMPARISON OF METAPHORICAL MEANING RETENTION IN THE SPANISH AND CATALAN TEXTS

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In spite of the novel's position among the American Library Association's list of the one hundred most frequently censored books, *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951), by J.D. Salinger, is widely considered to be one of the most significant literary works of the twentieth century, frequently found in high school literary curricula throughout Europe and North America. The controversy concerns its alleged profanity, vulgar language and treatment of sexual themes, elements that typify Holden's use of the English language, or his idiolect.

Idiolect refers to individual speech. It is based on grammar, word selection, phrases, idioms, and includes pronunciation. Of particular note is the author's use of italics to denote emphasis, or where accents fall when considering rhythm in, and among, certain words. It is possible that this practice was brought almost to perfection in *The Catcher in the Rye*, in replicating speech patterns in written language. Quite possibly, it has not been matched since. The author's ability to capture rhythm and colloquial speech is, indeed, quite remarkable. This is especially obvious for readers who are fluent in, or are native speakers of American English. Consider how the author stresses groups of words:

"Wuddaya mean *so what?*" (p. 41)

"You don't do *one damn thing* the way you're supposed to" (p. 41)

"She was blocking up the *whole goddam traffic* in the aisle" (p. 87)

Other times, certain words are stressed:

“What the hellja do *that* for?” (p. 41)

“Well, don't get *sore* about it...” (p.82)

“Which is something that gives me a royal pain in the ass. I mean if somebody *yawns* right while they're asking you to do them a goddam favor” (p.28)

Finally, and perhaps most characteristic, the author stresses parts of words:

“I mean I'm not going to be a goddam surgeon or a violinist or anything *anyway*” (p. 39)

“It's not *paradise* or anything...” (p. 55)

“For *Chrissake*, Holden. This is about a goddam *baseball* glove” (p.41)

58 Preserving the uniqueness of Holden Caulfield's idiolect has been a challenge for translators seeking to preserve the effect and the flavor of the discourse using the techniques that Salinger originally used, namely, stream of consciousness and dramatic monologue in which, directly and intimately, Holden tells his story in retrospect to the readers. This technique has the effect of reproducing the inner workings and thought processes of Holden —disjointed and random— and also provides dialogs that are remarkably fluid and natural. To represent Holden and his frustrations using the same register in another language is a daunting chore, indeed, especially since Holden attaches his own meanings to the language that he uses. Costello¹ reminds us that Holden appropriates common expressions from his period and makes them his own. For example, his free and loose use of "and all" to end thoughts along with the affirmative "I really did" or "It really was" are repeated throughout the novel, helping to forge Holden's own distinct personality. Other authors have commented upon the importance of Holden's speech in defining his character in relation to the readers: "... his language, his own idiolect, full of idioms and colloquialisms, is the main feature that will contribute to Holden's development as a character in his transition from adolescence to adulthood and his relationship with the reader"². Although translating Holden's idioms may present challenges, it may be one of the most important aspects of preserving the flavor of his idiolect and effect it has on readers.

Holden Caulfield's idioms

Like other languages, English is full of idioms such as "to break a leg" and "to pull someone's leg". An idiom is

a form of expression, grammatical construction, phrase, etc., peculiar to a language; a peculiarity of phraseology approved by the usage of a language, and often having a signification other than its grammatical or logical one.³

Idioms generally have three characteristics:

1. Their meaning cannot be deduced from their components or any arrangement thereof, and must be learned as a whole. If one were to interpret 'to break a leg' solely on the basis of its components it might be very difficult to realize that the actual meaning is positive, meaning to have a good time, not incur injury, especially when used in the imperative. Likewise, nowhere in the expression 'to pull someone's leg' there appears any element that would suggest joking, or specifically, having someone believe things that are not true.
2. None of their constituents may be substituted with words of similar meaning. For example, if one were to substitute the word 'fracture' for 'break' in to 'break a leg', the meaning would be lost. Likewise, upon being the object of joking one could not say that he or she had had his or her leg 'stretched'.
3. Finally, idioms cannot be syntactically modified. One would probably not be understood if one were to say 'I had my leg broken' meaning 'I had a good time'; it would be similarly confusing to say 'I had my leg pulled yesterday' if one were to communicate that they were joked with yesterday.

Without any contextual information a learner of English might have little idea what these expressions mean. Clearly, the meaning in these phrases is figurative, or "expressing one thing in terms normally denoting another"⁴ and metaphorical where "a figure of speech in which a word or phrase denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a similarity between them (as in the ship plows to sea)".⁵ For this reason, the idioms in question found in the book could be referred to as colloquial metaphors⁶ as some authors prefer: metaphors for the aforementioned semantic arguments and colloquial because they are metaphors which exist in the more informal registers, in this case, slang. But the term 'colloquial idiom' seems to be preferable in most research contexts⁷. For this reason I will refer to them as colloquial idioms/metaphors. This study focuses primarily on the pragmatic purpose of these metaphors since it is the idiolect of Holden Caulfield that is to be examined in its aesthetic effect and 'flavor'. Therefore, not all metaphors found in Holden's idiolect were chosen. In fact, some metaphors are so common that it has been forgotten that they are metaphors, having been accepted into standard use. Such is the case with the great majority of phrasal verbs in English: 'get up', 'get over', etc. Also, there are many examples of colloquial word combinations repeated with some frequency in the novel, but they have not been included in the study as their metaphorical qualities are more abstract⁸ and might rather, and more appropriately, be studied as collocations, or words that are found to occur together, to examine their restrictions of usage in relation to other components (prepositions, verbs, etc.). Here are some examples that use the word 'hell':

hell of it	29, 61, 73,210	
as hell	34,35, 37, 38, 94, 113	
The hell out	52, 179	
to bang hell (as a noun)	53, 115,	
The hell with it	69	
in hell	146	

TABLE 1: Common word combinations not included in the study and their page numbers

Theoretical framework

We are in agreement with Lorenzo, M. et al., in that the first step a translator must take is to clearly define his objective before producing a translation which is as true as possible to the original text. One of the aspects of Hans Vermeer's concept of *skopos* (1989:227) is the establishment of a clearly defined objective or purpose for translation:

Any form of translational action, including therefore translation itself, may be conceived as an action, as the name implies. Any action has an aim, a purpose. The word *skopos*, then, is a technical term for the aim or purpose of translation.

This said, we are in agreement with Lorenzo et. al (1999: 324) in the translators' role to "preserve the purpose of the ST (source text) without any gratuitous alteration. The main objective of any translation should be that of faithfulness to the original text with close attention to coherence. With this objective in mind, any translation of *The Catcher in the Rye* must consider the possible purposes the author had in using colloquial idioms/metaphors in the first place. Paul Newmark proposes that there are two purposes that metaphors serve: a referential purpose, which describes "a mental process or state, a concept, a person, an object, a quality or an action more comprehensively and concisely than is possible in literal or physical language"⁹ and a pragmatic purpose "which is simultaneous, is to appeal to the senses, to interest, to clarify "graphically", to please, to delight, to surprise. The first purpose is cognitive, the second aesthetic."¹⁰ Although Holden's colloquial metaphors/idioms do have referential significance, it is arguable that much of their significance in forming an integral part of his idiolect derives from their pragmatic or aesthetic purpose, their contribution to the flavor of Holden's discourse. Any translation of *The Catcher in the Rye* would have to be sensitive to the effect that they produce on readers, and try to produce the same effect in the

translation (Nida's Equivalent Effect). This would entail, whenever possible, locating in the target language a metaphor used in informal registers whose semantic content overlaps as closely as possible the meanings of the original metaphor. This would require a parallelism between form and meaning or a principle of identity as Lorenzo et al. (1999) describe where:

... any element in the ST [source text] should be translated and translatable into the TT [target text] by paying close attention not only to the content but also to the form. Accordingly, there should be a close structural and meaningful parallelism (=identity) between the source and the target language. The translator, then, should stick to the ST itself as the only base for the process of translation. The TT, therefore, will be the result of a close analysis of the ST by following the identity principle and an attempt at further interpretation or deviation should be discarded.¹¹

For the sake of simplicity in this research, I will be using López's (1997) definition¹² of lexicalized structures with a slight modification: her definition encompasses idioms and clichés which can be understood in a broader sense as 'word combinations', 'fixed expressions' and 'phrasal lexemes'. Although they are distinctive elements in the idiolect of Holden as well, I propose to exclude *routine formulae* (*you could tell, if you know what I mean*) and *non-canonical expressions*, understood by Lyons (1968: 178) in López as 'schemata' (*How about...?*), to focus the research specifically on Holden's colloquial idioms/metaphors and the methods that were used in their translation. These will be described according to López's model¹³, which was derived in part from Baker (1992), who describes four principal methods: **literal** translation, translation by **equivalence**, translation by **modification** and translation by **omission**.

Literal translation involves the use of a lexical structure in the target language that is similar in form and meaning. These correspondences are rarer, but they do occur. For example when Holden says "I damn near dropped dead" (p. 31) the colloquial idiom/metaphor "to drop dead" is translated using the literal translation method as there exists a correspondence in form and meaning in both Spanish "Casi me caigo muerto" (p. 46), and Catalan "Va anar de poc que no caigués a terra mort" (p. 51).

Translation by **equivalence** is a method that is often employed when there is no complete correspondence between structure and form between the source and target language. It involves the use of another lexical structure in the target language that is similar in meaning but different in form. "I wouldn't have the guts to do it" (p. 89) is translated into Spanish as "no habría tenido agallas para hacerlo" (p. 116) and into Catalan as "no tindria pebrots de fer-ho" (144). The structures themselves are practically identical; the difference resides in the fact that while the noun 'guts' can express courage idiomatically in English, the same is not true in

Spanish or in Catalan and is realized by different nouns, namely, 'agallas', literally 'gills' or 'tonsils' in Spanish and 'pebrots', or literally, 'peppers' in Catalan.

Translation by **modification** involves paraphrasing or explaining the metaphorical meaning of a lexicalized structure. The result is the loss of figurative meaning; the idea is no longer expressed in metaphorical terms. This method is usually employed when no equivalent or near equivalent structure can be found in the target language. Baker argues that this technique is also used when "it seems inappropriate to use idiomatic language in the target text because of differences in stylistic preferences of the source and target languages".¹⁴ For example, "Old Stradlater was one of his pets..." (p. 43) is translated in Spanish as "Stradlater era uno de sus favoritos..." (p. 60) and Catalan as "L'Stradlater era un dels seus preferits..." (p. 71). In English 'pet' has the following meanings: "1: a domesticated animal kept for pleasure rather than utility; 2a: a pampered and usually spoiled child; b: a person who is treated with unusual kindness or consideration: darling".¹⁵ The meanings of this word in Spanish (animal doméstico" or "mascota") and in Catalan ("animal domèstic") are not usually extended to describe people who are treated with "kindness and consideration". Here, a similar metaphor in meaning but not in form could be used, or, as is the case in this example, the metaphor might be paraphrased or explained.

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The last method, **omission**, is used when a metaphor in the source language is not translated since an equivalent cannot be found, or because it is not easy to explain, or for stylistic reasons is not deemed appropriate for inclusion. This last method introduces some interesting concerns: it is quite possible that there is no similar structure in the target language to explain the paraphrasing of a metaphor, but if such similar or equivalent structures were to exist, there might be other elements within the greater cultural context of the target language (elements absent in the greater cultural context of the source language) that could impact the appropriateness of their use. Perhaps, what should be considered is whether the possible connotations that the metaphor could have or produce outside its culture of origin might distract the reader from the original field of reference of the metaphor, or introduce secondary meanings that are not necessarily present in the circumstances of the original metaphor.

Source text colloquial metaphors and their target text representations: Description

	METAPHOR ST (P.)	SPANISH TT (P.)	CATALAN TT (P.)
1	... I got pretty run-down... (1)	... me quedara bastante hecho polvo... (9)	... d'acabar ben desinflat... (7)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
2	It killed me. (2)	Me dejó sin habla. (10)	En va deixar de pedra. (8)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
3	Strictly for the birds. (2)	Bobadas. (10)	Sense comentaris. (8)
		Modification	Modification
4	So I got the ax. They give guys the ax quite frequently at Pencey. (4)	Así que me expulsaron. En Pencey expulsan a los chicos con mucha frecuencia. (12)	O sigui que em van fotre al carrer. Foten la gent al carrer ben sovint, a Pencey. (11)
		Modification	Equivalence
5	I have no wind,... (5)	No tengo nada de fuele... (13)	No aguanto gens... (13)
		Equivalence	Modification
6	They got a bang out of things,... (6)	Pero se lo pasaban bomba con sus cosas,... (16)	S'ho passaven bé,... (15)
		Equivalence	Modification
7	... though – in a half-assed way, of course. (6)	... un poco a lo tonto, claro. (16)	... però a mig gas, és clar. (15)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
8	It gets on your nerves sometimes (7)	A veces te ponía nervioso. (17)	A vegades et posava nerviós. (16)
		Modification¹⁶	Modification
9	That knocked him out. (8)	Se hizo una gracia tremenda. (17)	Això el va fer petar de riure. (17)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
10	I mean he didn't hit the ceiling or anything. (8)	Vamos, que no se puso como una fiera ni nada. (18)	Vull dir que no va pujar per les parets ni res d'això. (18)
		Equivalence	Literal

	METAPHOR ST (P.)	SPANISH TT (P.)	CATALAN TT (P.)
11	So I shot the bull for a while (12)	... así que me enrollé un buen rato. (23)	Així que vaig xerrar una estona. (24)
		Modification	Modification
12	They were coming in the goddam window.(13)	Los había a patadas. (24)	Es ficaven pel coi de finestra i tot. (24)
		Equivalence	Literal
13	That story just about killed me. (18)	Esa historia por poco me deja sin habla. (31)	Aquesta història em va deixar ben de pedra. (32)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
14	... and I read a lot of war books and mysteries and all, but they don't knock me out too much. (18)	... y leo un montón de libros de guerra y de misterio y todo eso, pero no me vuelven loco. (31)	... i lleigeixo molts llibres de guerra i de misteri i etcètera, però no m'entusiasmen gaire. (33)
		Equivalence	Modification
15	"... I'll be up the creek..." (28)	"... me la cargo..." (43)	"Suaré sang..." (47)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
16	I get a bang imitating them. (29)	... lo paso bomba imitando a... (44)	... m'ho passo de por imitant-les. (49)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
17	I have hardly any wind at all (29)	Tengo muy poco fuelle. (44)	No aguanto res de res. (49)
		Equivalence	Modification
18	I damn near dropped dead. (31)	Casi me caigo muerto. (46)	Va anar de poc que no caigués a terra mort. (51)
		Literal	Literal
19	And they weren't just shooting the crap. (38)	Y no lo decían por decir. (54)	I no ho deien només per dir. (63)
		Modification	Modification
20	It drove him crazy... (41)	Le sacaba de quicio... (59)	El feia tornar boig... (69)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
21	Old Stradlater was one of his pets... (43)	Stradlater era uno de sus favoritos... (60)	L'Stradlater era un dels seus preferits... (71)
		Modification	Modification

Translating colloquial idioms/metaphors in *The Catcher in the Rye*

	METAPHOR ST (P.)	SPANISH TT (P.)	CATALAN TT (P.)
22	I'd been given the ax... (51)	... me habían expulsado... (71)	... m'havien fotut fora... (85)
		Modification	Equivalence
23	-and here I was getting the ax again. (52)	... mientras me estaban expulsando otra vez. (71)	... i jo estava aquí, expulsat una altra vegada. (85)
		Modification	Modification
24	She doesn't have all her marbles any more... (52)	Está un poco ida... (72)	No hi toca gaire... (86)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
25	That killed me. (55)	Me dejó sin habla. (76)	Això em va deixar clavat. (91)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
26	That killed me. (55)	Me dejó sin habla. (76)	Això em va matar. (91)
		Equivalence	Literal
27	Then I <i>really</i> started chucking the old crap around (56)	Entonces fue cuando <i>de verdad</i> empecé a meter bolas. (77)	Després vaig començar a deixar anar la llengua de debò. (92)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
28	... and it gave me a chance to quit shooting it. I'm glad I shot it for a while, though. (57)	... me dio la oportunidad de dejar de largar. Pero me alegré de haber largado un rato. (78)	... i vaig poder descansar la llengua. De totes , maneres no em sap greu haver-la fet anar una estona. (93)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
29	... after all the crap I shot, (57)	... después de todo el rollo que le largué... (78)	... després del que li vaig deixar anar... (94)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
30	Which was really a hot one... (58)	Ésa sí que era buena... (80)	Que n'era una de ben grossa... (95)
		Modification	Equivalence
31	I felt like giving somebody a buzz. (59)	Tenia ganas de llamar a alguien. (81)	Tenia ganas de trucar algú. (97)
		Modification	Modification
32	Then I thought of giving Jane Gallagher's mother a buzz,... (59)	Luego pensé en llamar a la madre de Jane Gallagher... (81)	Després vaig pensar de trucar a la mare de Jane Gallagher... (97)

	METAPHOR ST (P.)	SPANISH TT (P.)	CATALAN TT (P.)
		Modification	Modification
33	... you shouldn't horse around with her at all,... (62)	... no deberías hacer el indio con ella... (85)	... no hi hauries de fer el ximple... (102)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
34	I spent the whole night necking with a terrible phony... (63)	Me pasé toda la noche besándome y todo eso con una chica falsísima... (85)	Vaig passar-me tota la nit festejant amb una hipòcrita terrible... (103)
		Modification	Equivalence
35	I started toying with the idea,... , of giving old Jane a buzz... (63)	... empecé a jugar con la idea de llamar a Jane,... (86)	... vaig començar a jugar amb la idea de trucar a la Jane,... (103)
		Modification	Modification
36	Anyway, I went over to the phone and gave her a buzz. (63)	Bueno, pues fui al teléfono y la llamé. (86)	És igual, vaig agafar el telèfon i li vaig trucar. (104)
		Modification	Modification
37	... I damn near gave my kid sister Phoebe a buzz,... (66)	... estuve casi a punto de llamar a mi hermana Phoebe. (90)	... , va anar de ben poc que no truco a la Phoebe,... (110)
		Modification	Modification
38	But I couldn't take a chance on giving her a buzz,... (66)	Pero no podía arriesgarme a llamarla... (90)	Però no podia arriscar-me a fer-li una trucada,... (110)
		Modification	Equivalence
39	... I certainly wouldn't have minded shooting the crap... (67)	Pero no me habría importado pegar la hebra... (90)	... no m'hauria fet res xerrar una estona amb la Phoebe. (110)
		Equivalence	Modification
40	Allie had this sailboat he used to like to fool around with... (68)	Allie tenía un barquito de vela con el que le gustaba jugar... (92)	... L'Allie tenia en barco de vela i li agradava jugar-hi... (112)
		Modification	Modification
41	I knew she wouldn't let him get to first base with her,... (80)	Sabía que no le habría dejado llegar hasta el final con ella... (105) ¹⁷	Sabía que no el deixaria anar gaire lluny amb ella... (130)
		Modification	Modification

Translating colloquial idioms/metaphors in *The Catcher in the Rye*

	METAPHOR ST (P.)	SPANISH TT (P.)	CATALAN TT (P.)
42	... and a lot of other very tricky stuff that gives me a pain in the ass. (84)	... y un montón de florituras de esas que me dan cien patadas. (110)	... i tota una altra pila de filigranes que em fan venir mal d'estómac. (137)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
43	I'm one of these very yellow guys (88)	Soy un tío de lo más cobarde. (115)	Sóc un d'aquells tios força gallines. (143)
		Modification	Equivalence
44	I wouldn't have the guts to do it. (89)	... no habría tenido agallas para hacerlo. (116)	... no tindria pebrots de fer-ho. (144)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
45	It's no fun to be yellow. Maybe I'm not <i>all</i> yellow. I don't know. I think maybe I'm just partly yellow... I'm partly yellow... what you should be is not yellow at all. (89)	No tiene gracia ser cobarde. Aunque quizá no sea cobarde <i>del todo</i> . No sé. Creo que en parte soy cobarde... en parte cobarde... No se debe ser cobarde en absoluto; (117)	No és pas gens divertit ser gallina. Potser no sóc gallina del tot. No ho sé. Em sembla que potser sóc només una mica gallina... sóc una mica gallina... El que no s'hauria de ser és gallina. (145)
		Modification	Equivalence
46	It's a funny kind of yellowness... but it's yellowness, all right (90)	... es un tipo de cobardía bastante raro, pero aun así es cobardía. (117)	És ser gallina d'una manera molt curiosa... però és ser gallina, i tant. (146)
		Modification	Equivalence
47	He got stinking,... (90)	El acabó curda perdido... (118)	Ell va quedar ben torrat... (146)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
48	Innarested in a little tail t'night? (91)	¿Te interesa echar un polvo esta noche? (118)	Tens ganes de sucar aquesta nit? (147)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
49	I know I didn't have to get all dolled up for a prostitute or anything... (91)	... no tenía que ponerme de punto en blanco ni nada de eso para una prostituta... (119)	... no m'havia de mudar ni res per una prostituta... (149)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
50	After you neck them for a while,... (92)	Después de que te has besado y achuchado y todo eso con ellas,... (120)	Quan fa una estona que les petoneges,... (150)
		Modification	Modification

	METAPHOR ST (P.)	SPANISH TT (P.)	CATALAN TT (P.)
51	When I'm horsing around with a girl... (93)	... cuando estoy enrollándome con una chica... (121)	... quan estic amb una tia... (151)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
52	I thought of giving old Jabe a buzz,... (105)	Pensé en llamar a Jane... (136)	Vaig pensar de trucar a la Jane,... (169)
		Modification	Modification
53	... if we hadn't necked so damn much. (105)	... si no nos hubiéramos besado y achuchado tanto. (137)	... si no ens haguéssim petonejat tant i tant. (170)
		Modification	Modification
54	... whoever I'm necking... (105)	... la persona con la que me estoy besando y todo eso... (137)	... la persona que estic petonejant... (170)
		Modification	Modification
55	She gave me a pain in the ass... (106)	Me caía como una patada en el culo... (138)	Em tocava molt l'oremus... (171)
		Literal	Equivalence
56	I got the ax again (107)	... me habían expulsado otra vez. (139)	... m'havien tornat a fotre fora. (173)
		Modification	Equivalence
57	... I'd give old Jane a buzz... (116)	... podía llamar a Jane... (149)	... faria una trucada a la Jane... (186)
		Modification	Equivalence
58	He could take something very jazzy... and whistle it so nice... it could kill you. (124)	Podía coger una canción muy de jazz... y la silbaba tan bien y tan suavcito... que te podías morir. (158)	Podia agafar alguna cosa ben jazzy... i xiular-ho tan fàcil i bé... que et podia deixar de pedra. (198)
		Literal	Equivalence
59	We horsed around a little bit in the cab... (125)	En el taxi... nos besamos y nos achuchamos un poco. (159)	Vam fer una mica de comèdia al taxi. (200)
		Modification	Equivalence
60	You give me a royal pain in the ass... (133)	... me caes peor que una patada en el culo. (169)	Ets pitjor que un gra al cul... (212)
		Literal	Literal

Translating colloquial idioms/metaphors in *The Catcher in the Rye*

	METAPHOR ST (P.)	SPANISH TT (P.)	CATALAN TT (P.)
61	<i>Boy, did she hit the ceiling when I said that.</i> (133)	<i>Jo, cómo se puso cuando le dije aquello.</i> (169)	<i>Hosti, si va tocar el sostre quan vaig dir això.</i> (212)
		Equivalence	Literal
62	<i>I gradually cut it out.</i> (141)	<i>Dejé de ir poco a poco.</i> (179)	<i>Ho vaig anar tallant gradualment.</i> (225).
		Modification	Equivalence
63	<i>... the phonies are coming in the window.</i> (141)	<i>... hay tíos falsos a patadas.</i> (179)	<i>... els hipòcrites hi entren per les finestres.</i> (225)
		Equivalence	Literal
64	<i>I was only horsing around.</i> (144)	<i>Sólo estaba haciendo el indio.</i> (182)	<i>Només feia comèdia, jo.</i> (229)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
65	<i>I have to tear...</i> (148)	<i>Tengo que largarme...</i> (187)	<i>Me n'he d'anar...</i> (235)
		Modification	Modification
66	<i>He was strictly a pain in the ass...</i> (149)	<i>Era igualito que una patada en el culo...</i> (187)	<i>Era estrictament pitjor que un gra al cul...</i> (236)
		Literal	Literal
67	<i>... she beat it out of the room...</i> (149)	<i>... se largó...</i> (188)	<i>... va fotre el camp de la sala...</i> (237)
		Modification	Equivalence
68	<i>I was only horsing around...</i> (153)	<i>... sólo estaba haciendo el indio...</i> (192)	<i>Només feia comèdia, és clar.</i> (243)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
69	<i>... just sort of chew the fat with her for a while.</i> (156)	<i>... pegar la hebra un rato con ella.</i> (196)	<i>... i xerraria una estona amb ella.</i> (248)
		Equivalence	Modification
70	<i>Phoebe always has some dress on that can kill you.</i> (160)	<i>Phoebe lleva siempre unos vestidos que te dejan sin habla.</i> (200)	<i>... la Phoebe sempre porta algun vestit que et deixa de pedra.</i> (253)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
71	<i>Kids' notebooks kill me.</i> (161)	<i>Los cuadernos de los críos me dejan sin habla.</i> (202)	<i>Els quaderns dels nanos fan pixar de riure.</i> (255)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
72	<i>I was plastered</i> (163)	<i>Estaba curda</i> (204)	<i>Anava torrat...</i> (259)

	METAPHOR ST (P.)	SPANISH TT (P.)	CATALAN TT (P.)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
73	She kills me. (164)	Me deja sin habla. (204)	Em va deixar de pedra. (259)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
74	She meant why did I get the ax again. (167)	Se refería a que hubieran vuelto a expulsarme. (209)	Volia dir per què m'havien fotut al carrer un altre cop. (264)
		Modification	Equivalence
75	She kills me. (175)	Me deja sin habla. (219)	Em feia pixar de riure. (276)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
76	We just horse around... (175)	Sólo hacemos el indio... (219)	Només fem una mica de comèdia a dins de casa. (277)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
77	That kills me. (175)	Me deja sin habla. (220)	Això em fa molta gràcia. (277)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
78	... I'd give her a buzz... (180)	... la llamaría... (225)	... li trucaria,... (283)
		Modification	Modification
79	... he was a little oiled up. (182)	... estaba un poco bebido... (227)	... anava una mica alegre. (287)
		Modification	Equivalence
80	... it gets on your nerves... (182)	... le pone a uno nervioso... (228)	... et posa nerviós... (287)
		Modification	Modification
81	He was pretty oiled up,... (188)	... estaba bastante curda. (234)	... anava força alegre. (296)
		Equivalence	Equivalence
82	I'm probably gonna give her a buzz... (191)	Probablemente la llamaré... (237)	Segurament li trucaré... (300)
		Modification	Modification
83	... but it killed old Phoebe. (197)	... pero a Phoebe le hizo muchísima gracia. (245)	... però la Phoebe es moria de riure. (310)

Translating colloquial idioms/metaphors in *The Catcher in the Rye*

	METAPHOR ST (P.)	SPANISH TT (P.)	CATALAN TT (P.)
		Modification	Equivalence
84	I'd go down to the Holland Tunnel and bum a ride... (198)	... iría al Túnel Holland, subiría a un coche... (246)	... aniria fins al túnel Holland i faria dit, fins que em carreguessin... (311)
		Modification	Equivalence
85	Like somebody'd just taken a leak on them. (200)	... como si alguien acabara de mear ahí. (248)	Com si algú hi acabés de fer un riu. (314)
		Modification	Equivalence
86	... some pervery bum that'd sneaked in the school late at night to take a leak or something... (201)	... un perverso que había entrado por la noche en el colegio a mear o algo así... (249) ¹⁸	... algun desgraciat perverso que es devia haver ficat a l'escola de nits per pixar o alguna cosa així... (315)
		Modification	Modification
87	... I shot the breeze for a while. (201)	... estuvimos de charla un rato. (249)	... la vam fer petar una estona. (316)
		Modification	Equivalence
88	He turned around and beat it. (204)	Se volvió y salió corriendo. (252)	Es va girar i va fotre el camp. (319)
		Modification	Equivalence
89	He's got a yella streak a mile wide (204)	Es de un cobarde que no vea... (252)	És més gallina que un plat de caldo... (319)
		Modification	Equivalence
90	... those little tunnels that always smell from somebody's taking a leak. (210)	... esos túneles que siempre huelen como si alguien hubiera estado allí meando. (258)	... un d'aquells túnels que sempre fan pudor de pixats. (328)
		Modification	Modification

Discussion of results

The purpose of this investigation was to determine which of the two translations, Spanish or Catalan, retains the greater degree of figurative/metaphorical meaning in their representations of the colloquial idioms/metaphors that Holden Caulfield uses, having said that the use of colloquial metaphors is one of the most unique and defining aspects of the idiolect of Holden Caulfield in *The Catcher in the Rye*. This is not an assessment of how diligently the translators strove or how successful they were in finding equivalents in the target languages and in no way implies a value judgement as to which translation is more 'accurate'. It is clear that translators work only with the tools that are available in their target languages and cultural contexts. Nevertheless, what this study attempts to provide is data that can help to clarify to what degree the metaphorical nature of ideas expressed using colloquial metaphors in the source text were preserved as such in the Spanish and Catalan translations.

Our results seem to suggest that the colloquial metaphors represented in the Catalan translation retain more of the original figurative meaning present in the source text. This translation employs on significantly more occasions the equivalence method of metaphor translation, used on 53 occasions in the Catalan translation and on 41 occasions in the Spanish version. These data are significant because when this method is used to translate an idea expressed as a metaphor in the source text, the idea retains its status as a metaphor in the target text, the only difference being in its form, or appearance. Since no two languages are alike, target languages cannot always provide correspondences in both form/structure and meaning. Our conclusion is also supported by the fact that the modification method of translation was used on significantly more occasions in the Spanish translation than in the Catalan version: it was used 44 times to produce the Spanish translation and 29 times in the production of the Catalan translation. In other words, the colloquial metaphors that Holden uses in the book are found to be explained or paraphrased significantly more in the Spanish translation than in the Catalan version, which represented these metaphors through either equivalence or the literal method. This last method, although to a lesser degree, supports our conclusion as well: it was found that the Catalan translation used a lexicalized structure similar in form and meaning on 8 occasions while it was found on 5 in the Spanish version. Put differently, although the difference is small (5-8), the Catalan translation uses the same or nearly the same metaphor on more occasions than the Spanish translation. Considered numerically, in the Spanish translation the most frequent method used was that of modification (44), followed by equivalence (41), literal translation (5) and finally omission (0); and in the Catalan translation the most frequent method used was equivalence (53), followed by modification (29), literal (8) and finally omission (0) as may be seen in Table 3:

Translating colloquial idioms/metaphors in *The Catcher in the Rye*

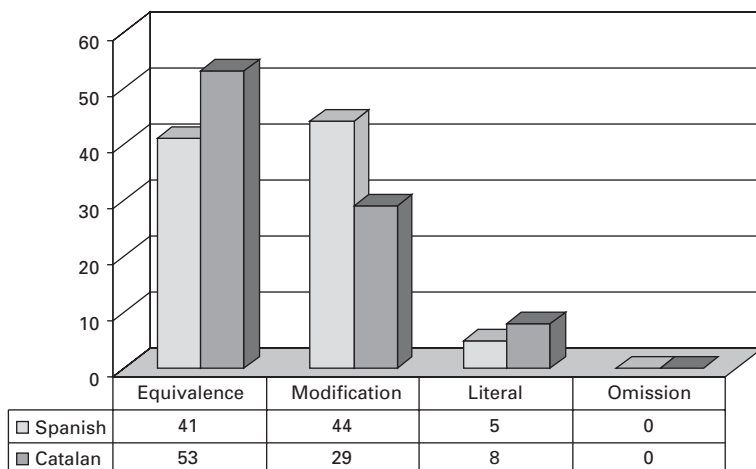


TABLE 2: Translation techniques: frequency

Our results can be compared to similar studies such as López Rua (1997) in “The translation of the idiolects in *The Catcher in the Rye*: An approach through lexicalized structures” and Lorenzo, M. et al., (1999): “Lack of meaning interaction between English, Galician and Spanish in Salinger’s *The Catcher in the Rye*”. Although the focus of neither study is the translation of colloquial idioms/metaphors, both studies discuss loss of meaning upon translation from English to Spanish and from English to Galician, and coincide in the need to maintain form and meaning between source text and target text. Specifically, López Rua found that the most marked similarity in both translations is the misuse and misapplication of the technique of modification or paraphrasing:

Most of the inadequacies detected in the Spanish and Galician versions are related to the translations by paraphrase and by omission. In my view, they are due to the fact that the translators have *failed to recognize* the defining features of the characters’ idiolect (for example, the systematic use of some lexicalized structures). Apparently, they are not aware of the fact that the writer is *deliberately* resorting to trite and monotonous vocabulary in order to define the characters and their speech habits. Both translations (but particularly the Spanish one) seem utterly unable to render the characters’ idiolects accurately. Instead of trying to convey those idiolects whenever possible (of course, adapting them to the peculiarities of the TL), in most cases the translators resort to the systematic omission of recurrent structures, and some other times they translate those recurrent structures in many different ways

without taking into account the context, the style, and the character who uses them. As a result, the translation becomes expressionless.¹⁹

The results of Lorenzo et. al. (1999), can be applied as well to our study, especially in terms of the importance of a strict adherence to the identity principle²⁰, from which the Spanish and Gallician versions could have benefited:

the majority of the possible errors just studied could have been avoided if the translators had taken into consideration the identity principle... In fact, the identity principle, since it is based on the parallelism between form and meaning in the ST and the TT, would have proved a more accurate mechanism when dealing with the process of translation from a given L1 to L2 and L3.²¹

Notes

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1. See Costello (1959:173).

2. See Lorenzo, M., et al. (1999: 324).

3. See the Oxford English Dictionary's entry for 'idiom': http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50111256?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=idiom&first=1&max_to_show=10.

4. Definition provided by *Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1994: 374).

5. Definition provided by *Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1994: 630).

6. The term 'colloquial metaphor' has been used before, especially in online sources: Answers.com, etc. It was found to be used in some non-linguistic academic contexts (legal) such as "Why originalism won't die – Common mistakes in competing theories of judicial interpretation", *Duke Journal of Constitutional Law and Public Policy*, Online Edition, 2007. Duke J. Con. Law & Pub. Pol'y 230, page 238.

7. In books that have been published on the subject the term 'Colloquial idioms' seems preferable: Ball, W.J. 1972. *A Practical Guide to Colloquial Idiom*, Wood, F.T. 1976. *English Colloquial Idioms*, etc.

8. Some of these word combinations have been the object of other studies. For example, see López Rúa (1997).

9. See Newmark (1988: 104).

10. *Ibid.* (1988:104).

11. See Lorenzo, M., et. al. (1999: 324).

12. See López Rúa (1997: 147).

13. *Ibid.* (1997: 148).

14. Baker, M. (1992:74) in López Rúa (1997: 148).

15. Definition provided by *Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1994: 752).

16. While it is true that both translations of "It gets on your nerves sometimes" retain figurative/metaphorical meaning, they can be better understood as collocations—"ponerse" (Spanish) and "posarse" (Catalan) collocate with "nervioso" (Spanish) and "nerviós" (Catalan)— and their accepted use in both standard Spanish and Catalan is fairly widespread. Here they serve to clarify the original metaphor which in English is generally considered more informal.

¹⁷. The translation of the colloquial metaphor "to get to first base" with someone here is somewhat inaccurate. The Catalan translation is closer in meaning to the ST, where the metaphor is used in relation to romantic intimacy: first base refers to initial contacts such as kissing; a "homerun" generally refers to sexual intercourse.

¹⁸. The absence of a translation for the word "bum" in the Spanish translation may be considered somewhat inaccurate: although the word "bum" does not form a part of the metaphor itself, it does contribute to the atmosphere in which the metaphor is presented.

In this case, the "pervery bum" was left just as "un pervertido" in the Spanish translation, omitting the vital bit of information that the person is a "bum" i.e. a homeless and/or poor person. The Catalan version translates it as a "desgraciad" or unfortunate, unlucky, or even wretched person. One might suggest that a "pervery bum" is more in keeping with the idiolect of Holden than just a "pervert".

¹⁹. See López Rúa (1997: 149).

²⁰. See Lorenzo, M. et al. (1999: 5).

²¹. Ibid. (1999:329).

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THERE IS MORE TO BEING A SCOTSMAN THAN PUTTING ON A KILT AND TRILLING YOUR /r/s. A STUDY OF LINGUISTIC CREDIBILITY IN THE HOLLYWOOD MOVIE *BRAVEHEART*

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1. Introduction

There seems to be a trend of caring for linguistic credibility in Hollywood. The World War II films that have been produced in the last decade or two include Germans speaking their native tongue. More impressively, in the 2004 film *Passion of the Christ*, not a word of English was spoken, making talk show host David Letterman compare it to a cab ride to a NYC airport. Such linguistic bigotry aside, it is gratifying to note that an effort is made to introduce linguistic variety even into commercial moviemaking, and one can only hope that this trend continues, thus giving the American audience much-needed exposure to other languages, and giving the rest of the world less reason for complaining about English influence on smaller languages. The question is, however, how sincere Hollywood is in its intentions and how deep its effort goes when it comes to promoting language variation and establishing linguistic credibility in its movies. In this article, an investigation of the film *Braveheart* from 1995 is carried out. The overall language situation in the film will be described and an analysis of the accent of the main character, the Scottish rebel leader William Wallace, played by Mel Gibson, will be made, with particular focus on the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR). The goal is to get an indication of the extent to which efforts have been made to create linguistic credibility.

2. The historic and linguistic context of *Braveheart*

The plot of the film *Braveheart* is based on the true story of William Wallace, a Scottish freedom fighter, rebel or terrorist, depending on your point of view, in late 13th century Scotland. Alongside Robert de Bruce (who is rather unflatteringly depicted as a wavering politician in the film), he led a rebellion against Edward I ‘Longshanks’ of England, to restore Scottish independence. He was executed before independence was won.

The language situation for the relevant people in Scotland at this period would have been more or less the following (based on Wells 1982: 393-395). The commoners would have spoken Gaelic, the court at Edinburgh, of which Robert de Bruce was the head, would have spoken an early variant of Scots. The British nobles would have been Anglo-French, and would have conversed with each other and the Scottish nobles in French. The same language would have been used at the English court. It is uncertain what language variety would have been William Wallace’s mother tongue. In the film, he is referred to as a commoner, and would thus have been speaking Gaelic. However, after the English had slain his father when William was very young, he was brought up by a wealthy uncle, who took him on the grand tour of Europe and taught him many languages. Clearly, this would hardly have been the case if he was just a commoner. Not much is known about the real William Wallace, so instead of getting lost in endless speculation here, the same assumptions will be made here as in the production of the film, and we will settle for his being of relatively humble origins and speaking Gaelic. It should be noted that Standard Scottish English (SSE) could not be heard in Scotland before the 19th century.

The producers of the film (of which Gibson is one, albeit not an executive) clearly made the decision that the original linguistic context would not aid the financial success of the film. Consequently, the linguistic context of the film was transposed to a simplified version of the language situation of the Great Britain of today. Thus, only one phrase was uttered in Gaelic in the film, the chanting of what sounds like “Mac Yolech” to celebrate that William Wallace was indeed his heroic father’s son. All Scotsmen in the film, nobles and commoners alike, speak SSE. Rather paradoxically, the only attempt at sociolinguistic variation has been made in the sociolects of the English. The king and the despised English nobles all speak with an RP accent, whereas the vile common soldiers speak Estuary English. Evidently, the producers must have thought that advantages of intelligibility outweighed the lack of credibility caused by this strategy. It is only proper to add at this point, that when Gibson finally got to finance, write and produce a film by himself, he took the ‘narrow path’ of linguistic credibility. In *Passion of the Christ*, 2004, not a word of English was spoken. Instead, Aramaic, Latin and Hebrew were used. It is

interesting to note that this has not prevented *Passion of the Christ* from becoming a highly successful, albeit controversial film. The same is true for Gibson's 2007 movie *Apocalypto*, which was all in Maya.

3. Design of the present study

The aim of this article is to get an indication of the lengths Hollywood are prepared to go in order to establish linguistic credibility. The notion of linguistic credibility can be used to mean slightly different things in different contexts. In the present article, it is meant simply as characters in a film being credible in their language use. This is particularly important when it comes to the portrayal of people who speak languages other than English, and varieties of English other than General American. A typical example of a half-hearted attempt at linguistic credibility is Germans speaking English with a German accent in *Hogan's Heroes* (1965-1971), whereas the usage of Lakota alongside English in *Dances with Wolves* (1990) is an example of an attempt at greater linguistic credibility. It could easily be established that the producers of the film *Braveheart* have not bothered to create credibility 'in the big picture', as they have created a context in which most characters speak modern SSE (and the film was largely shot in Ireland (www.imdb.com)). For a further discussion of this, see Section 2, above. Given this artificial context, the question of linguistic credibility can be raised anew. Most supporting actors in the film are native speakers of the accent they represent. Mel Gibson plays the part of the Scottish rebel leader William Wallace, and his accent is clearly supposed to be modern SSE. However, Gibson is not a native speaker of SSE (nor would William Wallace be one, but that is beside the point here). Gibson was born in 1956 in Peekskill, New York, USA, and even though Australia was his home for most of his early life (www.imdb.com), his accent can be described as General American (GA).

This analysis investigates Gibson's attempts at producing an SSE accent as part of his character in the film *Braveheart*. Even though most language traits will be surveyed, the focus will be on Gibson's success in adhering to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR), as this would be one of the more difficult features of SSE for a non-native speaker to acquire. The SVLR will be further discussed in section 3.1, below. The tools that will be used for the analysis of the vowels are J.C. Wells's standard lexical sets (1982: 127-168), which are very useful for describing differences in vowel pronunciation. The sets "enable one to refer concisely to large groups of words which share the same vowel, and to the vowel which they share" (Wells 1982: xviii). The vowel (and/or diphthong) in each set is represented by a prototypical keyword (in capitals) that includes the vowel in question, such as GOOSE or PRICE.

In order to carry out this investigation, three films were examined. The first was *Ransom*, 1996, starring Mel Gibson. In this film, Gibson uses his own accent, and as it is contemporary to *Braveheart*, it gives good insights into Gibson's own GA idiolect. The second film was *Trainspotting*, 1996, which gives a fine overview of various genuine SSE accents of the time. The third film was of course *Braveheart* itself. The film was scrutinized and Gibson's accent was analyzed with particular focus on the SVLR. The results of the analysis are found in section 4 below.

3.1. The Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR)

There has been a great deal of controversy about the SVLR, or 'Aitken's Law' as it is sometimes called after the man who 'discovered' it. It will however be referred to as SVLR here, to avoid any colonialist connotations. This is also the name Aitken himself gave the rule. According to most textbooks (e.g. Trudgill & Hannah 1982: 96 or Wells 1982: 400), which deal with SSE, the rule is as follows:

"All Scottish vowels are short, but they all (except for the BIT and BUT vowels) become long before voiced fricatives, /r/ and morpheme boundaries".

This simple description harks back to Aitken's own first description of the rule in the early seventies, which he later summarized (Aitken 1981). According to Aitken (1981: 154), the SVLR developed when vowels started to become uniformly short in duration in Scots, presumably after the Great Vowel Shift (i.e. post-15th century),

but this tendency to shortening was resisted in certain 'naturally long' environments, namely before the following: /v, ð, z, ʒ, r, #/ [...] in these environments [...], the vowels in question continued to be realized fully long, and SVLR was set up. One by one the remaining sets of vowels conformed to the new pattern of vowel duration thus established.

The reference to 'naturally long' environments no doubt has to do with the fact that vowel duration is longer before voiced consonants.

It is of course possible to describe the phenomenon from different angles, and say that instead of lengthening, vowels shorten everywhere, except in the environments mentioned above, but that does not entail any controversy. For instance, Lass described the vowels as shortening in (1976:54), but described them as lengthening in (1984:32). Controversies arise when more in-depth studies are made, but the more nuanced picture that then emerges seldom affects the environments that trigger SVLR, apart from the fact that the morpheme boundary (#) is sometimes described as word boundary, and that suffixation does not effect vowel length (Trudgill & Hannah 1982:96). Instead, the controversies concern what input vowels are affected by the SVLR. Instead of claiming this to be a general rule, affecting almost all vowels, it is claimed by Lass (1976: 54) that the phonemes

affected are the long vowels and diphthongs, and by Giegerich (1992: 230), that the tense vowels and /ai/ are affected. Perhaps most radically Scobbie et al (1999: 244) state that “morphologically conditioned quasi-phonemic contrasts in duration have been observed for the high bimoraic vowels /i/ and /u/ and the diphthong /ai/”, and consequently go on to conclude that the “morphological pattern of the SVLR affects only /i/, /u/ and /ai/”. It has been observed by most writers on the subject that the SVLR only affects the quantity and not the quality of the affected vowels, except when it comes to the diphthong /ai/. McMahon puts it like this: “For the majority of vowels affected, SVLR simply controls an alternation of length, but for the diphthong /ai/, there is a concomitant change of quality with [ai] in short and [a:i] in long environments.” (2000: 150).

There are further matters complicating the application of the SVLR, one being that it appears that the extent to which it is in operation differs depending on dialect. The speech situation in Scotland, with Scots on the one hand and SSE on the other, is highly complex, giving rise to differences in the influence exerted by SVLR. Also, the Scottish language situation is not a neat binary opposition. Scobbie has the following to say about a proposed scale of the influence of SVLR ranging from Scots to SSE: “Unfortunately, these end-points are rather nebulous. Scots comprises a range of dialects, and SSE encompasses a range of accents” (1999: 232). Other factors which are relevant for the influence of the SVLR are social class, age and education of speaker, the speech situation, and idiosyncrasies: “Each speaker might determine their own contrasts and inventory, in a statistical, gradient, nondeterministic way” (Scobbie 2002: 5).

It is not in the scope (nor in the power) of this article to solve the controversies about which input vowels are affected by the SVLR, or whether the rule even exists in its own right or should be viewed as a conjunction of several independent rules. Instead, the goal is to ascertain to what degree a non-native speaker of SSE can acquire it temporarily. In order to facilitate this, the decision has been made to follow the line of Scobbie et al (1999), and only regard the extent to which Gibson’s production of the phonemes /i/, /u/ and /ai/ follows the SVLR. A particular focus has been put on how well he has been able to manage the difference in quality of /ai/ in the various environments.

There are several difficulties involved in this. One is that vowel length is not only affected by phonemic rules such as the SVLR, but also by prosodic factors, such as sentence stress, contrastive stress and reduction. Another difficulty is that ‘sloppiness’ of everyday speech would make Gibson liable to variation in language use in a casual speech situation. This is probably not too problematic here, as there would have been a re-take (at least of the voice soundtrack), if Gibson pronounced something too sloppy or incorrectly. A third difficulty is that phonetic investigations

carried out by ear are always somewhat unreliable and subjective, especially in the present study, as the author is not a native speaker of SSE (nor of any E for that matter). These combined difficulties have led to an approach where Gibson has been given the benefit of the doubt whenever there were uncertainties about his speech, and only clear cases of pronunciation and mispronunciation will be discussed below.

4. Analysis

In this section, the results of our assesment of Gibson's attempts at SSE will be presented. In the literature, SSE is normally contrasted with RP, as this is generally considered to be the reference accent in the U.K. In this analysis, however, SSE will not be contrasted with RP, but with GA, for the rather obvious reason that this is Gibson's reference accent. The analysis will be based on word-level or segment-level pronunciation whenever possible, and will mostly focus on phonemes where SSE and GA differ, in order to ascertain whether Gibson has managed to leave his own idiolect and use a proper SSE accent. However, the analysis will also take hypercorrection into account.

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A note on notation. Examples from *Braveheart* will be presented in standard spelling with a few exceptions. The word that is supposed to illustrate the phoneme in question will be marked in *italics*. Long vowels will be marked by a colon (:), when relevant, and the absence of a colon will signal a short vowel. The figures given underneath each example locate the example in the film, by displaying hours, minutes and seconds.

4.1. Consonants

The consonant phonemes that are relevant in this study are the voiceless /w/ i.e. /m/, the 'dark' /l/ i.e. /ɫ/ and the trilled /r/. These consonants are relevant because they have a different distribution in GA as compared to SSE. The 'Scottish phoneme' /x/ as in *Loch*, is rare in SSE, except in loan words from Scots, and there was only one example of it in the film, and Gibson seemed to be able to produce it well, though the word he produced it in, the proper name *Lochlan*, was not emphasized, making it hard to judge the quality accurately.

SSE realization also tends to mean pronouncing middle or final /t/ as a glottal stop. Gibson turned out to be very good at this, which is interesting, as his GA does not include this sound.

4.1.1. The voiceless /w/

Some Americans use this phoneme (voiceless labial-velar fricative) in the appropriate contexts, roughly in words where the spelling suggests it. This is not true of Gibson, though, whose idiolect is more mainstream and he does not normally aspirate his /w/. SSE, however calls for aspiration of /w/ in these contexts, and Gibson seems to be able to deliver a /w/, whenever necessary, such as in example (1):

- (1) *What* would you do without freedom?
(*Braveheart* 1:14:52)

4.1.2. The dark /l/

This allophone of /l/ is rare in morpheme-initial position in GA and only used in morpheme-final position in RP, but quite common in SSE. Trudgill & Hannah claim that “/l/ may be dark in all positions” (1982: 96) in SSE. Again it is not something that Gibson seems to have any trouble producing. If anything, there is a slight risk of his overproducing it in a hypercorrective way, as he has a very dark /l/ in the following example:

- (2) Would you *like* to see him crush me *like* a worm?
(*Braveheart* 0:23:20)

4.1.3. The trilled /r/

This is perhaps the most stereotypical of all features of SSE; it is certainly the feature that is most often noticed by would-be imitators of SSE. In reality, most SSE speakers have a ‘flapped’ /r/ or a frictionless continuant as their realization of the /r/-phoneme (Trudgill & Hannah 1982: 96). Nevertheless, the most ‘Scottish’ /r/ sound is the trilled one, and Gibson does not seem to be able to resist using the trill, even when it is not appropriate. He often has the flapped variant, when speaking rapidly, but it is safe to say that he uses the trill to a hypercorrect degree, particularly in dramatically emphasized utterances, such as (3):

- (3) *Ride!*
(*Braveheart* 1:22:11)

4.2. Vowels

In this section, the main part of the analysis will be displayed, starting with the SVLR and then touching upon a few more observations on vowel quality.

4.2.1. SVLR

Following Scobbie et al (1999), this analysis will assume that only /i/, /u/ and /ai/ will be affected by the SVLR. The analysis will thus focus on how well Gibson has been able to produce these vowels with the correct duration in the appropriate environments, and also if he has been able to produce the correct vowel quality of /ai/. All other differences in vowel duration have been regarded as having prosodic origins and thus to be irrelevant to the present study.

4.2.1.1. GOOSE

This seems to be the vowel with which Gibson seems to have had the most success when it comes to following the SVLR. It is a very common vowel in the film, as it is the vowel of *you*, and personal pronouns are very common in dialogues, of which most of the screenplay consists. It could be argued that he does not produce the appropriate duration difference in sentences such as (4):

(4) *Could you* crush a man with that throw?
(*Braveheart* 0: 23:01)

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In (4) the SVLR ‘prescribes’ that the first word should have a short vowel and the second a long one. Gibson has the same vowel length (short) in both these words, and thus does not follow the SVLR. However, a comparison with *Trainspotting* shows that it is not very likely that a native speaker of SSE would have any real duration difference in this environment, as *you* is reduced. This is often the case with this word. However, when *you* is not reduced, Gibson produces a long version, as in (5)

(5) *You*: win.
(*Braveheart* 0:21:44)

This does not come as a surprise, though, as the vowel would also have been long in GA. On the whole, Gibson seems to be aware of the SVLR effect on /u/ in isolated words, but when he delivers longer stretches of speech, he seems to forget it. This is the case in (6), where he comments on the exaggerated rumours about his persona:

(6) Yes, I've heard. He kills men by the hundreds, and if he were here he'd *consume* the English with fireballs from his eyes and bolts of lightning from his arse.
(*Braveheart* 1:14:15)

The word *consume* in (6) is quite clearly pronounced with a long /u/, and according to the SVLR, it should not have been. It should be pointed out that this is more of an exception and that, as a rule, he gets this phoneme right.

4.2.1.2. FLEECE

Gibson has more difficulty in producing this vowel in accordance with the SVLR. His problem, not surprisingly, lies in getting the vowel short in the environments where his GA would require a long realization. I think that the secret for a successful rendering of SVLR is remembering when to make the vowels short, rather than remembering when to make them long. He often gets it right, as in (7) and (8):

(7) I will invade England and *defeat* the English on their own ground.
(*Braveheart* 1:31:34)

(8) *Meet me*: at the grove.
(*Braveheart* 0: 41:36)

(8) is most impressive, and proves that he has been made aware of the SVLR, as it would be very natural, perhaps even forgivable, to produce the two words with the same vowel duration. He is not very consistent though. This becomes apparent when one compares the two occasions of his production of the word *meet*. In (8) above, he made it short in accordance with the SVLR, but in (9) below, he did not achieve this:

(9) Take out their archers, and I'll *meet* you in the middle.
(*Braveheart* 1: 18: 53)

To sum up, he does not succeed as well with the duration of this vowel as with /u/.

4.2.1.3. PRICE

This diphthong is the phoneme which is most affected by the SVLR, as it does not only alter its quantity, but also its quality. In the 'short' environments of the SVLR, the first component is more central (very central if the speaker is working class) than in the long version, and the first component is also significantly longer and more stable in the long version (see e.g. Sundkvist 2004: 321ff for a further discussion and illustration of this phenomenon). It is clear that Gibson has been made aware of this difference (no doubt by dialect coach Julia Wilson Dixon), but he is not very successful in producing it. On most occasions, he produces the long variant, both quantitatively and qualitatively, resulting in utterances like (10).

(10) She was *my wife*.
(*Braveheart* 1: 14: 57)

There seems to be some lexical pattern to his realization. Two very common words in the film (which is, after all, a medieval war movie) are *fight* and *ride*. These

should both be pronounced as short according to the SVLR, but he does not once succeed in this. On the other hand, where he does succeed most of the time is in making an utterance, which includes the morpheme *right*, either in its own right, or as part of the compound *alright*. It will here be illustrated by the most common of all action movie phrases:

- (11) Are you *alright*?
(*Braveheart* 0: 41: 06)

This pronunciation is not part of his idiolect as one might expect from the results, because he pronounces the same phrase with the standard GA /ai/ in *Ransom*. This shows that he has made some effort to accommodate this important split of the PRICE vowel, which is very characteristic of SSE. However, on the whole it must be said that he does not succeed and that he is not consistent. *Kind* and *like* are two fairly frequent words in the film, which should both have been short according to the SVLR, but he gets them right in less than half the cases. He is clearly aware of the quality change, but he seems to have difficulties in using it in the right environments, as his pattern of usage often seems arbitrary, which could be based more on lexicality than on the SVLR. Apart from using the long version in short contexts, there is one occasion, which may be a case of hypercorrection, where he uses the short version in a long environment, namely in (12) below:

- (12) Longshanks *desires* peace?
(*Braveheart* 1: 44: 53)

4.2.2. More on vowels

There are other vowel features in addition to the effects of the SVLR in SSE that have been looked at in this analysis, and they will be surveyed briefly in this section.

4.2.2.1. GOAT and FACE

These sounds would be diphthongs in many of the world's varieties of English, but in SSE, they are monophthongs. It could be debated whether the vowel of GOAT would really be realized as a diphthong in GA, but there are many speakers of GA who have at least some diphthongization of the vowel, and Gibson is one of them, according to his pronunciation in *Ransom*. Nevertheless, he has managed splendidly to produce both /o/ and /e/ as monophthongs, which has the effect of making his speech sound very 'Scottish' to an outsider. Particularly his pronunciation of /e/ has this effect, as in (13), where he gets the FACE vowels right, but misses the short realization of the PRICE vowels.

(13) Oh, it's good Scottish weather, madam. The *rain* is falling
straight down, well *slightly* to the *side like*.
(*Braveheart* 0: 28: 02)

4.2.2.2. MOUTH

In (13) above, there is also an example of the MOUTH vowel, in the word *down*. In SSE this diphthong has “a higher and more central starting point than their RP [and GA] counterpart” (Giegerich 1992: 55), making it sound more like [ʌʊ], than [aʊ]. This is also a very striking feature of SSE. Gibson has managed to get this right. This, in combination with his success at the FACE vowel makes example (13) sound very ‘Scottish’, despite the fact that he mispronounces the PRICE vowel on three occasions in it.

4.2.2.3. BIT

BIT is produced as a more central vowel in SSE than in GA, and Gibson is successful in making the adjustment. However, it is possible that this is a relatively easy change for a GA speaker to make, as it only involves some more laxing, which is probably easier than a change involving tensing. A slightly reduced form of the vowel is the only change called for, and Gibson would have this in his GA inventory already, so he would be alright, provided that he remembers not to tense the vowel when emphasizing a word containing it.

4.2.2.4. GOOSE revisited

Apart from being subject to the SVLR, there is a difference in quality for the GOOSE vowel in GA and SSE, the SSE realization being more central. Also, the GOOSE vowel merges on most occasions with the FOOT vowel. Gibson manages to produce the more central vowel more often than not, although he does make some mistakes late in the film.

5. General discussion

In summary, it is probably safe to say that Gibson gets the SSE sounds right most of the time. He has some hypercorrection, notably using more trilled /r/s than would be expected of most native speakers. He has clearly been made aware of the SVLR and has made attempts to follow it, but only with limited success. In particular, the quality change in the PRICE vowel causes him trouble. He does not get the short realization right very often, and even uses the short realization in long environments on at least one occasion. He seems to have focused on the sounds

that sound most ‘Scottish’ to a non-native speaker, the trilled /r/, the dark /ɪ/, the voiceless /w/ and for vowels, the central /ʌʊ/ and /u/, and the monophthongal /e/ and /o/. He gets these right most of the time, and that may be because they are so distinctly ‘Scottish’ to the foreigner that they become central to his ‘acting a Scotsman’, so that they are easier to remember than the more subtle duration differences caused by the SVLR. His production of SSE is somewhat inconsistent, though, and becomes more so as the film progresses. The analysis has no access to information on the sequence in which the scenes were shot, but it seems that they were shot more or less chronologically, as there is a trend towards less perfect SSE pronunciation as the film moves on. It appears that Gibson focused on his accent more at the beginning of the film, in order to establish his credentials as a Scotsman, and once that has been done, he relaxes a little. He never reverts to speaking GA, but there are more GA features late in the film, such as a more back /u/. In his last line in the film, even most of his trills have been replaced by approximants in the realization of /r/.

Each of the GA-influenced features of Gibson’s SSE accents could be found in the dialects or idiolects of native speakers of SSE, so in that way they are not ‘un-Scottish’. The inconsistent use of SSE features, the mixture of GA and SSE forms, however, would be a give-away to any native speaker of SSE. Thus, it is not very likely that any native Scot would mistake Gibson for being a native speaker of his or her own variety of English. However, given Mel Gibson’s worldwide fame, this would hardly be likely even if he spoke impeccable SSE. The majority of cinema visitors in Scotland would know him to be an American putting on an SSE accent no matter how good he was, so fooling the native audience could hardly have been the objective to start with. Instead, he would probably focus his efforts on getting an accent that was appropriate for the international, and particularly the US, market. This would also explain the loss of accent as the film proceeds. Once accepted by a given audience as speaking SSE, he can relax his accent somewhat, provided that he keeps some strikingly distinct features, such as the monophthongal /e/, and the home audience would still consider him to be speaking SSE. His somewhat ‘light’ version of the SSE would probably also make the film more accessible to his home audience, and spare *Braveheart* the fate of being subtitled in the US, which is what happened to a genuine Scottish film, *Trainspotting*.

6. Conclusion

As for linguistic credibility on the large scale, the producers of *Braveheart* have failed utterly, as the language of the historical situation that the film supposedly depicts has been transposed to a modern language situation. No one could feel that

they are perceiving the language situation of 13th century Scotland. Having said that, it must be noted that some considerable effort has been made on the part of the main actor Mel Gibson, and no doubt by dialect coach Julia Wilson Dixon, to acquire an SSE accent for the occasion. Even though his accent would probably not convince a native speaker of SSE, it is the opinion of the author of this article that Gibson's SSE accent is adequate for the international market, provided that the audience watches the film from the beginning and does not start by watching the end. As for his acquisition of the SVLR, it could be said that Gibson is aware of SVLR, but has a lot of difficulty in following it. It is, however, commendable that he has made an effort to try to acquire it; he is thus aiming for a more nuanced accent than just a farcical stereotype of SSE. Mel Gibson must have found that there is more to being a Scotsman than putting on a kilt and trilling your /r/s.

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MONIKER: ETYMOLOGY AND LEXICOGRAPHICAL HISTORY

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Oxford English Dictionary defines *moniker* as “a name (esp. an assumed one); a nickname, epithet and under ‘Etymology’ notes that the origin is uncertain. Various possible sources have been suggested, the dictionary continues, such as that the word arises from back-slang for *eke-name* or represents a special use of *monarch* or of *monogram*¹. *Back-slang* is in turn defined as “a kind of slang in which every word is pronounced backwards; as *ymnep* for *penny*”.

Although no interest in recording slang, cant, the popular speech of what was then perceived as the lower, itinerant, vagrant, or criminal classes and groups is evident in the history of English lexicography—defined in its broadest terms—from the Elizabethan period onwards, as reflected in such writers as Robert Greene, and selective use of such popular vocabulary can be found as early as Chaucer (Blake 1999), *OED* has shown little interest in pursuing etymologies, and often seems content with a simple class affiliation. *Cove* is a good case in point. The dictionary speculates that it may be identical with Scottish *coffe* ‘chapman, pedlar’ (cf. *chap*) and relegates it to “a lower and more slangy stratum of speech”. Despite *OED*’s concluding judgment, “the origin of the word still remains obscure”, it has long been accepted that *cove* reflects the masculine singular demonstrative pronoun of Anglo-Romany, *kov* ‘that (man)’. *Shiv/chive* ‘knife’, which *OED* calls “thieves’ cant”, is another example. *Chiv* is the standard Anglo-Romani word for ‘knife’. As for the word *cant* itself, the dictionary, seemingly only reluctantly, lists Gaelic

cainnt ‘language’ as having fed into other linguistic strands, including derivatives of *chant*, religious services seen in derogatory fashion.²

In the case of *moniker*, just some 80 years after what the *OED* gives as the first written attestation (1851), R.A.S. Macalister, in *The Secret Languages of Ireland* (1937), suggested that the Shelta word *munika* (vars. *munik*, *munika*, *muniska*) ‘name’ might reflect Irish *ainm* ‘name’. He also called attention to the English cant word *moniker*.³ Other standard etymological dictionaries either reproduce Macalister’s speculation without comment or have no entry at all for *moniker*.⁴ In Shelta, the cryptolect also known as the Cant, Gammon, Sheldru or Pavee of the Irish travelers (often called ‘tinkers’, today less often ‘gypsies’), the resequencing of letters or syllables is common, e.g., *gored* < Irish *airgead* ‘silver’, *lakín* < *cailín* ‘girl’, to cite only some transparent instances.⁵ Since Irish *ainm* was pronounced with an epenthetic schwa vowel between the consonants, a cant form *mVnV* or **muni-* seems a plausible starting point. But how might the remainder of the word be accounted for, and the distinction (how great?) between Shelta *munik/munika* and English *moniker* be explained?

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In early Irish *ainmm* meant ‘reputation, repute, renown’ as well as simply ‘name’ (and also ‘noun’ in grammatical terminology). This would prepare the way for a derivative that referenced the social persona of another member of the community, what we might also call a byname, epithet, or nickname, occasionally assumed but usually assigned. Despite the superficial similarity of *moniker* and Irish *ainmmnigdir* ‘names’, the latter originates in the verbal noun *ainmmnigud* ‘naming’ and is unlikely to have generated the form we seek. In early Irish, diminutive and hypocoristic forms were assembled in a variety of ways, not only through the suffixing common to many languages, but also by prefixing nominal elements or personal pronouns. Thus we find *mael* and *ceile* ‘servant, companion, devotee’ and *gilla* ‘boy, servant’ incorporated in such names and terms as *Malachy*, *culdee*, and *Gillespie*. Hypocoristic names of early saints are particularly illustrative, although the diminutive may reflect perceived humility rather than familiarity. A common diminutive suffix was *-án*, attached to masculine and neuter nouns, and a long form *-ócán* is frequent with masculine personal names. Thus we find *Ciarocán* beside *Ciarán* (<*ciar* ‘dark’) and *Dubucán* (<*dub* ‘black’), even *Ísucán* ‘little Jesus’.⁶ Monastic names, often originating in vocative forms, are even more complex, incorporating *tu-*, later *do-* ‘thou’ and *mo-*, *m’* ‘my’, for example, *Tu-Medóc* and *Mo-Chíaróc*.

All kinds of wordplay, puzzles, secret alphabets and arcane lexical sets, rebuses, as well as complex etrics with parallels, metaphors, register shifts, are characteristic of early Irish letters.⁷ Among the supposed secret languages we find ‘parted language’ (*bérta etarsgartha*), ‘obscure language’, (*bérta fortchide*), ‘cryptic language’ (*iarm*

bérta), along with the more widely known *bearlagair na saor* ‘language of the craftsmen’. Early etymologizing (Irish *etarscarad* ‘cutting between, separation’) broke words down into syllables, then imaginatively redefined these. For example, *consain* ‘consonant’ (a Latin loan) is equated with *cainsuin* ‘beautiful sounds’ then further glossed *suin taitnemcha* ‘bright sounds’. In a nominally light-hearted quatrain, the poet Flann Mac Lonain warns his princely patron to have the table well set. Since his patronymic could be analyzed as ‘son of the blackbird’ he identifies himself in the poem with another blackbird word, *vergagán*, and works up a second avian pun (which echoes his own) for his lord Finnguine, also known as *cenn-gegain* ‘gosling head’⁸. We even have a learned tract, *Cóir Anmann*, devoted to the ‘Fitness of Names’⁹. In the relatively closed *miliieux* of the learned Irish *litterati*, where poetry was often a traditional family vocation, a term for a pen-name could have emerged. Later, perhaps in the course of the collapse of the old Gaelic order, such a word could have been preserved among a comparable, if less formally educated, community such as the travelers. This is not to subscribe to Kuno Meyer’s thesis that *Shelta* is directly traceable to the arcane jargons of the *litterati* of earlier ages but only to state that Ireland had a long tradition of cryptolects. *Shelta*, it should be emphasized, is basically English in its syntax and some of its morphology; only key terms of the vocabulary are borrowed from Irish (and in some few instances, from Romani).¹⁰ Informed speculation would put its origins as a cryptolect in the early seventeenth century, a period characterized by widespread Irish-English bilingualism, with the tide already turned in favor of the latter, paradoxically leaving Irish lexis open to appropriation by travelers as material for further encryption.

Thus, in the semi-playful context of lexical innovation among members of a partially self-selected outsider group, we could hypothesize a term for names that were public within the group and private beyond it, something like **m’ainmmucán* (‘my little name’) or, without recourse to the possessive adjective but taking into account letter and syllable reversals, **mainucán/munucán* (‘nickname’). (Parenthetically, it may be noted that *nickname* is itself traced to *eke-name* with the possible later affect of *nick*. Were this the case, I would see the *nick*, a notch in the ear of livestock as an identifier, as the likely active meaning). If this explanation is judged plausible, we would have to posit the replacement of the final Irish suffix by the more common English agent suffix *-er*: **manucan > moniker*.¹¹

OED’s first attestation of *moniker* from the mid-nineteenth century leaves a long period of semi-submerged use if we judge Irish *ainm*, in one or another form, at the origin, but this is not without parallels and seems particularly appropriate for a word that originated in an insider jargon. Unsurprisingly, *moniker* was rapidly adapted into North American and Australian slang (examples in *OED*), conceivably by Irish speakers of English, perhaps under conditions of itinerant life among

underemployed men, especially during the Depression, conditions not dissimilar to those of the Irish travelers.

From the combined contributions of community members, enthusiasts, and academics we are now in a position to quantify and explain the assumption into English of vocabulary from the other languages of Britain and can go some way toward explaining the social dynamics that prompted such borrowing, an area where *OED* has traditionally trodden very softly. The biases of earlier lexicographers will now have to be addressed. In particular, the contribution of Hiberno-English and Anglo-Romani to popular English, albeit in what *OED* continues to call the “lower and more slangy stratum of speech”, entails that a good many dictionary entries are badly in need of a thorough revision, a revision that one might hope would extend to the ethnic, social, and vocational identifiers employed there.¹²

Postscript

Many of the lexicographical issues alluded to above also inform the current investigation of Caló, the para-Romani dialects of the Iberian Gypsies. Apparently shortly after their arrival in Spain in the mid-fifteenth century the speech of the Gypsies, in a complex process of coincident language erosion and language encryption, became increasingly based on the lexis, morphology, and syntax of Andalusian Spanish, while also interacting with other cryptolalic speech such as the underclass cant called *germania*.¹³ Lexical encryption in Caló was intended to keep a central cultural vocabulary at a distance from non-Gypsies. The maintenance of numerous key words from Romani was complemented by various devices of lexical disguise applied to Andalusian words: sound arrangement and substitution, semantic transfer, the addition of suffixes, various kinds of word play. This tendency was continued when Caló lexis was adopted into underclass cant, as Gypsy styles of song, dance, and instrumental music were assumed by Spaniards of more privileged classes in the vogue of *flamenguismo*. While it is not claimed that the basic notion of ‘name’ is equivalent to *moniker*, with its distinctive affective value, it may be of interest to conclude with the Caló equivalents of Castilian *nombre*. These are the variants *acnao*, *asnao*, *nao*, all directly traceable to Common Romani *naw* ‘name’ and cognate with Indo-Aryan *nāman* (Wolf 1987:160-61). While the use of the Romani word precludes the need for further lexical disguise, the Caló forms bear a slight, rather playful resemblance —as if a fortuitous allusion— to *nombre*. Just as English lexicography has neglected the contributions of Irish traveler language and Anglo-Romani to English, the true nature of Spanish Caló is only now beginning to be recovered by scholars such as Ignasi-Xavier Adiego (1998, 2004, 2005), who has shown up the basic errors that inform a long

succession of Caló-Castilian dictionaries, largely derivative one from another and often incorporating spurious pseudo-Caló coinages. Nor should we think that Caló is irretrievably behind us: the popular Latin American terms, largely used as vocatives, *mano/mana* ‘buddy, pal’, despite their Romance inflection, descend in a straight line from Romani *manuš* ‘human being, person’ (Wolf 1987: 146, s.v. *manusch*; Sayers, forthcoming)

Notes

¹. OED Online 2002, s.v. *moniker* (19 July, 2007).

². *Dictionary of the Irish Language 1913-76* sees *cainnt* ‘speaking, conversation’ as a verbal noun derived from *canaid* ‘chants, recits’, with some possible influence from later English *cant*. But other Irish words such as *cáin* ‘law, regulation’ and *cáined* ‘reviles, satirizes’, illustrative of marked language, suggest that a demotion of *cainnt* from the *littérateurs* to travelers may have been a purely domestic development, sparked by socio-economic conditions.

³. Macalister (1937: 204); the title had earlier been used by the Celticist Kuno Meyer in *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (January, 1909). Macalister conducted no field work and relied on collections by Leland and Sampson of many decades earlier. His list of Shelta words is augmented by some 90 words (not all Shelta) collected from Irish travelers by an admitted amateur (see Cleve 1983). Birch (1983) offers, as far as Shelta is concerned, only a rehash of Macalister. For a more professional typological assessment, see Hancock (1974). A none-too-rigorous Shelta dictionary is in progress at <http://www.travellersrest.org/sheltanocant990418.htm>; access to many entries is restricted to the traveler community.

⁴. Among the former are *American Heritage Dictionary* (2000): probably from Shelta *munik*, possibly from Old Irish *ainm*;

The Cassell Dictionary of Slang (1998), s.v. *monniker*, favoring derivation from *monarch* or *monogram*. Among the latter: *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1969), Klein (1966-67), *The Barnhart Concise Dictionary of Etymology* (1995). *The Random House Dictionary of American Slang* (1994) takes no position and states “origin unknown”. OED refers to the entry *monaker* in Partridge (1984: 747), but this is such a hotchpotch of diverse exemplifications and explanations as to be all but unreadable and no preferred origin is identified.

⁵. See Macalister (1937: 164-74) on Shelta word formation, supplemented by Hancock (1984a: 384-403). The name *Shelta* merits a brief pause. Meyer thought the variant form *Sheldru* was derived by Shelta’s own rules from Old Irish *béira* ‘speech’ (literally ‘mouth matters’; modern Irish *béarla* ‘English language’). More plausible is that Shelta is related to Irish *scaoilte*, variously ‘loose, unbound, scattered, undone, free, irregular’ or another related verb of separation. While these terms might seem to apply to the travelers themselves, they describe equally well word-formation in the jargon; cf. the *etarscarad* ‘cutting between’ of the earlier Irish etymologists. Despite present usage, Macalister sees *Sheldru/Shelthru* as a more original term for the jargon. On the above model one could hypothesize a reversal of *dluige* ‘splitting, cleaving’ as *g-l-d + ra > *geldru > sheldru*.

6. Cited from Thurneysen (1946: 173).
7. For alphabets and lexical sets, see Calder, G. (ed.) 1917. *Auraicept na n-Éces: The Scholar's Primer*. On pen and other names, see Herren (1996) and on metrics, from a comparative perspective, Tranter (1997) and McTurk (2005: 148-87).
8. Fuller discussion of these two and other examples in Sayers (2006).
9. Recently discussed in Arbuthnot (2001).
10. See Hancock (1974).
11. Among Shelta suffixes, *-ik* is not one of the most frequent, but could have been added directly to a recast *ainm* to yield *munik*; in this case the English agent suffix *-er* would
- be a further addition, with semantic value of 'that which designates'.
12. For Irish and Hiberno-English, among recently completed reference works that will aid in this task may be mentioned: *English-Irish Dictionary* (1987), *A Dictionary of Anglo-Irish: Words and Phrases from Gaelic in the English of Ireland* (2000), *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English: The Irish Use of English* (1998), *Slanguage: A Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial English in Ireland* (1997), and, as an example with a local focus, *A Concise Ulster Dictionary* (1996). As concerns Anglo-Romani, see the exemplary works of Hancock (1979, 1984a).
13. After Adiego (2005), Borrow (1841) and Usoz y Río (in Torrión (1987)) are recognized as the only trustworthy sources for nineteenth-century caló.

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Reviews

ENGLISH FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES: AN ADVANCED RESOURCE BOOK

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As is well known, the Routledge *Applied Linguistics* series is designed as a comprehensive guide. The pedagogic structure of each book ensures the readers the opportunity to think and reflect while he or she is introduced to key concepts and appropriate skills of a theme or discipline. This volume has been designed as an introductory university manual for graduate students and English teachers who are working in the field of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) for the first time. Hyland introduces this resource book with a summary of the beginnings and the state-of-the-art of this independent discipline worthy of academic research. He claims in this work that English for Academic Purposes has evolved rapidly over the last twenty years from a branch of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) in the 80's. The term EAP apparently coined by Tim Johns in 1974, made its first published appearances in a collection of papers edited by Cowie and Heaton in 1977 (Jordan 2002). By the time the journal *English for Specific Purposes* began in 1980, EAP was established as one of the two main branches of ESP together with EOP, English for Occupational Purposes. Today it is a major force in English Language Teaching and research around the world. At first sight EAP seems to be a practical response to the needs of particular group of students. However, EAP covers many areas of academic communicative practice: From classroom interaction to student writing and not forgetting research genres or administrative practices. These areas of academic communicative practice involve more than polishing

written style. In this volume it is shown how international research provides evidence for the heightened, complex and highly diversified nature of such demands. There is also a growing awareness of the needs of native English-speakers who have to engage with academic English when they enter university. Moreover, EAP has steadily reached the global market due to the growth of English as the leading language for the spread of academic knowledge. This situation has led teaching and researching in higher education to a new level of concern due to the huge growth in research into the genres and practices of different academic contexts. The result of this process has created what Hyland (2000) calls the “Academic English Discipline”. This has led to a change in teaching materials but also to a change in teacher training courses and Masters such as the internationally known MATESOL.

Above all, this work attempts (in three different sections) to aid those teachers who are trying to design a syllabus for an EAP university course or a postgraduate module. As a whole this book is an essential, interesting and comprehensible tool for novel researchers in the EAP field. Its symmetrical layout enables the reader to reach a full comprehension of both theory and practice. This work consists of three sections: A, B and C. Each section is divided into three themes and each theme is developed in four units.

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The first section, Section A, lays out the basic ideas concerning EAP and anticipates in summary form what is to come in sections B and C. These theoretical arguments are focused on the different existing approaches and perspectives that have already been developed despite the brevity of this *new-born* discipline. After each introduction of concepts, some direct questions are launched at the reader in order to make him or her reflect on the distinctive points of view, advantages or drawbacks that have just been expounded. In section B, extracts from a range of original and influential texts are provided. These core readings have been carefully selected, annotated and commented on. All the readings include pre-reading, while-reading and post reading tasks and questions, designed to help the reader to come to a better understanding of the text.

The units of the last section, C, allow the postgraduate student or teacher to engage actively with the subject matter of A and B sections. Their study is even taken further by participating in a range of desk and field research tasks. The exercises proposed may help teachers and graduate students concerned with EAP with their research and personal study.

As has been previously said, each section is broken down into three themes, each theme containing four units.

Theme number one deals with the nature of EAP. Its units are focused on different theories, critical pedagogy, study skills and the disciplinary specificity of teaching.

Theme number two explores key ideas and methods which inform EAP practice. Units in this theme deal with the influence of discourse, discipline and culture on academic communication. In addition, these units also deal with the use of genre analysis, corpus linguistics and ethnographic methods in understanding academic texts.

Theme number three is centred on the practical side of EAP as far as students' needs are concerned. In this topic the reader is introduced to tasks and teaching methods which should monitor the student's learning process.

Though already mentioned above, it is important to point out that the three sections —A, B and C—share the same layout and structure but a different approach to the same concept. For instance, Unit 1 from section A (A1) deals with the theoretical introduction to specific and general academic purposes. Unit 1 from section B (B1) gathers key published texts from the main scholars who have contributed to the former and present-day state of affairs—in this particular case of specific and general academic purposes—. Eventually, Unit 1 from section C (C1) suggests different tasks in order to work and explore with students the concepts proposed in each unit. Units 1, 2, 3, and 5 are collected in theme 1 and deal with conceptions and controversies of EAP. In Unit 5 to Unit 8, corresponding to theme 2, we are able to read about different literacies and practices of EAP today—such as corpus or genre analysis and academic texts. The last four units deal with design and delivery of activities related to EAP: needs analysis, methodologies, materials, feedback or assessment. The book also contains a glossary, a glossary index, a further reading section and an extensive bibliography section.

As a resource book, this work assists teachers or post-graduate students who want to know more about EAP, to get a clear picture of this apparently newborn discipline by means of a highly pedagogic formula. It is time, then, to turn our attention to the contents in detail.

In the First theme we are reminded that the applied nature of EAP and its emergence from ESP mainly responds to changes in higher education. Moreover, EAP has emerged as a sophisticated intersection of applied linguistics and education, following a more reflexive and research orientated perspective. This topic raises the main controversies which currently engage EAP teachers and emphasises some of the ways in which academic discourses are inextricably related to wider social, cultural and institutional issues.

Unit one deals mainly with the beginnings of the EAP discipline and the differences between, and implications, of ESAP (English for Specific Academic Purposes) and EGAP (English for General Academic Purposes). To this end, we are introduced to different approaches associated with Bhatia (2002:27) or Hutchinson and Waters (1987:165).

The second unit focuses on disciplinary expectations in practice. We read about the changing context of EAP along the recent history of Applied Linguistics and about two different approaches: Study Skills and Academic Literacies.

Unit three begins with one of the most frequently discussed topics, of particular relevance on account of globalization. The author remembers Swales's approach, among others, about how English has been adopted in higher education and research throughout the world. Thus, English could be conceived of as a *lingua franca*, efficiently facilitating the free exchange of knowledge or as a *Tyrannosaurus rex* "a powerful carnivore gobbling up the other denizens of the academic linguistic grazing grounds" (Swales 1997:374).

The last unit of this theme, Unit four, could be synthesized with the following question: is the role of EAP to help students to fit into roles in the disciplines and courses or to help students understand the power relations of those contexts? Scholars such as Widdowson (1990) claim that a pragmatic orientation to teaching ensures that action is informed by understanding, so that curricular decisions are underpinned by sensitivity to the context of teaching and to the most urgent needs of learners.

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Hyland acknowledges that EAP pedagogies help students to distinguish differences and provide them with a means of understanding their educational experiences in relation to their home experiences. Providing learners with ways of talking about language and how it works as communication in particular contexts can therefore assist them with the means of both communicating effectively in writing and of analysing texts critically.

As has been previously said, the second theme turns our attention to how language is used by individuals acting in social life. In the first theme, language is often presented, as it is in EGAP or in skills views of EAP as a transparent and autonomous system.

This theme highlights the way individuals participate in academic life and the theoretical and analytical tools we use to understand these forms of participation. Theme two focuses on the following key issues: the concepts of community and culture, the use of genre analysis and corpus linguistics in understanding spoken and written texts and the importance of understanding language in relation to its use in context.

Unit 5 deals with the ideas of discourse, communities, cultures or disciplinary variation. Generally speaking, learning a discipline implies, among other goals, learning to use language in a way approved by that discipline. The key concepts of a discipline, its methods of persuasion, its ways of negotiating interpretations and its practices of constructing knowledge are all defined through and by language. Thus, learning a discipline means learning to communicate as a member of a

community. Hence, the EAP teacher's job is to assist this process. Hyland also devotes this unit to an analysis of the concepts of discourse community, based on the theory of social constructivism, the role of culture or the rhetoric and its criticisms.

Units six, seven and eight tackle three different types of analysis when approaching academic texts. The three scopes of analysis have a close relation with Applied Linguistics and Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). For instance, due to internal linguistic criteria, texts which have similar formal features could be classified according to a particular gender.

The author selects from scholars such as Biber, examples and tables to illustrate the importance of corpus analysis. A *corpus* is a collection of naturally occurring texts used for linguistic study. While a corpus does not contain any new theories about language, it can offer insights on features of language use. The idea behind a corpus is that it represents a speaker's experience of language in some domains.

Ethnographically oriented analysis in EAP is obviously focused on the field of Ethnography. This approach is an interpretive and qualitative one that leads us to a research based on a study of behaviour in naturally occurring settings. Ethnographic studies take a wider view to consider the physical and experiential context in which language is used.

Having considered some key issues surrounding the nature of EAP and the methods it uses to understand its subject, this final theme, theme 3, pulls together some practical aspects of planning and teaching. Teachers therefore have to make a number of key decisions: about students' needs, about teaching approaches, and about the tasks, materials and assessment methods that will lead to the desired learning outcomes. Even though EAP is taught in a huge variety of settings all over the world, teachers have to be aware of the fact that any EAP course requires analysing the students' needs, developing a coherent course and sequence of learning, deciding on appropriate tasks and teaching methods, monitoring learner progress and providing effective intervention.

Unit 9 leads us little by little to the design and delivery of an EAP course. Therefore, the unit begins with an essential point of departure in language teaching since the arrival of ESP needs analysis (Dudley-Evans and St Johns 1998; Hutchinson and Waters 1987). It is indispensable for teachers who want to be effective to start where students are. As such, teachers have to get information about learners' current proficiencies and ambitions, strengths and weaknesses. Together with this, teachers should also consider students' learning context and their future linguistic roles.

Like the previous units, Unit ten offers the reader some outlines, tips or hints related to syllabus development and implementation. Teachers may not always have

freedom to choose what their courses will include and may find their syllabus handed to them by administrators or prescribed in set texts. Nevertheless, it is important to be aware of the fact that a key aspect of developing an EAP course is formulating goals and objectives from the data gathered by needs analysis. When getting to Unit 11 most readers will probably have the feeling that at some time they have been victims of methodologies and materials. Over the past twenty-five years, many have been the theories applied to language teaching. In EAP classrooms the framework differs from general language teaching in that the students bring both specialized knowledge and learning processes from their disciplines. In the last unit Hyland refers again to the importance of feedback and assessment. Assessment refers to the ways used to evaluate information about a learner's language ability or achievement. A formative assessment is closely linked with teaching and with issues of teacher response or feedback. Feedback is highly useful to EAP students who are aware of their learning process and who want to overcome their errors, mistakes or difficulties.

To conclude, it could be claimed that Hyland's novelty lies in the clarity with which he gathers key concepts of EAP, exposes the reader to the source texts of these concepts and makes him or her reflect on different processes and approaches. By way of ending his book, Ken Hyland assists novel teachers with a battery of activities about EAP designed not only to encourage reflection on the discipline but also to help them with their first steps as EAP teachers in EAP classrooms. This valuable contribution to EAP teaching is an important tool for those who want to work in this field with an indispensable resource book to have. Finally, a minor drawback could be that the reader might tire of the plethora of reflections which are suggested and launched after every approach.

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Abstracts

LA TRADUCCIÓN DE LAS EXPRESIONES MILITARES ESTANDARIZADAS EN LAS PELÍCULAS DEL GÉNERO BÉLICO

Rosario Gordo Peleato

When the average Spanish audience watches a dubbed war or military-content film, they are seldom aware of the lack of content synchrony often to be found in dubbed military jargon. This article focuses on the audiovisual translation of five different kinds of formulaic military expressions: standardized military expressions correctly translated according to their professional use, ‘pseudo-military’ standardized expressions, formulaic military expressions wrongly translated according to their professional use, the translation of ‘radio language’, and finally the translation of expressions of ‘military courtesy’. This research follows Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986, 1995) and specially Gutt’s (1991, 2000) investigation of translation phenomena from a relevance-theoretical perspective. Our findings are that although many military formulaic expressions have been incorrectly translated—with respect to their professional use—the audiovisual translation of formulaic military expressions can be considered valid as long as the surface characteristics of both expressions (source and target) are similar, and the military connotations of the Spanish dubbed expressions sound ‘military enough’ to activate in the Spanish audience their encyclopedic knowledge on this particular issue. In such cases the audiovisual translation is based on a comparison of interpretations and not on the classical reproduction of words.

Key words: contextual effects, processing effort, communicative clues, audiovisual translation, formulaic military expressions.

Cuando la audiencia española prototípica asiste a la proyección de una película del denominado género bélico o simplemente de contenido militar, raramente es consciente de la falta de sincronía de contenido que a menudo sufre la traducción audiovisual de la jerga militar. Este artículo se centra en el análisis de la traducción de cinco tipos distintos de expresiones militares estandarizadas: expresiones militares estandarizadas adecuadamente traducidas respecto a su uso profesional; construcción de un nuevo texto: expresiones estandarizadas ‘pseudomilitares’; expresiones militares estandarizadas traducidas de un modo equivocado respecto a su uso profesional; la traducción del ‘lenguaje radio’ y por último la traducción de algunas fórmulas de ‘cortesía militar’. Este estudio sigue la Teoría de la Relevancia (Sperber and Wilson 1986, 1995) y se basa especialmente en la investigación —desde una óptica relevantista— que lleva a cabo Gutt (1991, 2000), de algunos de los problemas que plantea la traducción. Concluimos el artículo exponiendo el hecho de que aunque muchas expresiones militares estandarizadas han sido traducidas de un modo equivocado (en cuanto a su uso profesional), la traducción audiovisual de este tipo de expresiones estandarizadas puede considerarse válida para una audiencia prototípica, siempre y cuando las características superficiales de ambas expresiones —original y traducida— sean similares, y las connotaciones militares de la expresión doblada al español suenen lo suficientemente ‘militares’ como para activar en la audiencia española su conocimiento enciclopédico sobre ese caso en particular. En estos casos, la traducción que se ha llevado a cabo se basa en la comparación de interpretaciones y no en la clásica reproducción de palabras.

Palabras clave: efectos contextuales, esfuerzo de procesamiento, claves comunicativas, traducción audiovisual, expresiones estandarizadas militares.

SOME LEXICAL COLLOCATIONAL PATTERNS IN LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH LEGAL TEXTS

Luis Iglesias-Rábade

The purpose of this study is to attempt to scrutinize the weight of collocations in legal late Middle English, and to show how they either specialized in this technical area or slipped into common speech. My analysis of the collocational framework in late Middle English legal texts tries to follow a lexical description based on the analysis of ‘collocation’ and ‘set’ as counterparts of ‘structure’ and ‘system’ in grammatical analysis, emphasizing the collocational structure rather than the rules that operate within the set.

Two corpora were designed: a non-Technical Corpus was drafted from a body of non-technical English texts of late Middle English which has been activated as a corpus of reference. In like manner, a minor body of the legal texts of the same

period has been built to compare it with the reference corpus. *Wordsmith Tools* have been used to draft word lists and keyword lists of the two corpora. Collocations have been retrieved and filtered out applying Church and Hanks's Mutual Information.

The most important conclusion is that most of the collocational types detected in the legal corpus in the six categories covered by this study hardly occur in the common corpus.

Key words: collocations, legal English, Late Middle English.

El objetivo de este estudio es el análisis de la influencia de las colocaciones en el inglés legal del Inglés Medio tardío. Se pretende comprobar si estas colocaciones son características de este dominio técnico y por lo tanto ajenas al dominio o uso común de la época. El marco teórico de este estudio léxico descriptivo se basa en el análisis de colocación y frasema en contraposición a estructura y sistema en el análisis gramatical. El estudio pretende centrarse en la estructura colocacional más que en las reglas que operan en el frasema.

Se ha diseñado un corpus de textos de lenguaje común de la época y otro de lenguaje legal con el fin de establecer las correspondientes comparaciones. Se han utilizado las herramientas de *Wordsmith* para realizar listados de frecuencia en cada corpus y listados de palabras significativamente más comunes en el lenguaje legal. Las colocaciones se han extraído y filtrado siguiendo la técnica "Mutual Information" de Church y Hanks.

La conclusión más relevante es que los tipos colocacionales que se analizan en este estudio apenas aparecen en el corpus del lenguaje común.

Palabras clave: Colocaciones, Inglés Legal, Inglés Medio tardío.

TRANSLATING COLLOQUIAL IDIOMS/METAPHORS IN THE CATCHER IN THE RYE: A COMPARISON OF METAPHORICAL MEANING RETENTION IN THE SPANISH AND CATALAN TEXTS

Michael O'Mara

The use of colloquial idioms is one of the most unique and defining aspects of the idiolect of Holden Caulfield in *The Catcher in the Rye*. This research attempts to determine which of the two translations, Spanish and Catalan, retains more figurative/metaphorical meaning in their representations of such idioms. Our results would seem to suggest that the Catalan translation retains more figurative meaning. This translation employs on significantly more occasions lexicalized structures expressing similar metaphorical meaning, though differing in form while

the Spanish translation, on significantly more occasions paraphrases or explains the idioms in question. This paper presents new findings as, to our knowledge, no studies have been carried out comparing the Spanish and Catalan texts in terms of figurative/metaphorical meaning retention in their representations of Holden Caulfield's colloquial idioms.

Keywords: translation, colloquial idioms/metaphors, *The Catcher in the Rye*, Spanish, Catalan.

El uso de los modismos coloquiales es uno de los aspectos más singulares y característicos del idiolecto de Holden Caulfield en *El guardián entre el centeno*, de J. D. Salinger. Esta investigación intenta comparar la retención de significado figurado/metafórico en las representaciones de estos modismos en los textos en español y catalán. Nuestros resultados sugieren que la traducción al catalán retiene más significado figurado/metafórico, pues representa con más frecuencia los modismos originales mediante estructuras lexicalizadas que comunican un sentido metafórico similar aunque con una estructura diferente. Por el contrario, la traducción al español, en considerablemente más ocasiones, representa el modismo mediante una paráfrasis/explicación de su significado. El artículo que presentamos resulta novedoso dado que, hasta donde sabemos, no existe ningún estudio que compare la retención de significado figurado/metafórico en las representaciones de los modismos coloquiales de Holden Caulfield en los textos en español y catalán.

Palabras clave: traducción, modismos coloquiales, *El guardián entre el centeno*, español, catalán.

THERE IS MORE TO BEING A SCOTSMAN THAN PUTTING ON A KILT AND TRILLING YOUR /r/s. A STUDY OF LINGUISTIC CREDIBILITY IN THE HOLLYWOOD MOVIE BRAVEHEART.

Jan Pedersen

This article investigates the linguistic credibility of the Hollywood movie *Braveheart* (1995). After first discussing the producers' choice of rejecting the reality of historically correct language use, in favour of transposing modern day sociolinguistic realities, a phonetic analysis of the leading actor's (Mel Gibson's) attempts at a Standard Scottish English accent (SSE) is carried out. The analysis is mainly carried out at a phonemic level, where some stereotypically Scottish consonants and vowel sounds are analyzed. However, the focus of the analysis is on how well the actor has managed to imitate the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (or Aitken's law). The result of the analysis is that Gibson has made quite an effort at

imitating an SSE accent, and even though he could perhaps not be mistaken for a Scotsman by a native SSE speaker, his efforts would probably be enough for the American (and international) viewers who are the primary audience of the film. It could be said that Mel Gibson is aiming for a more nuanced accent than just a farcical stereotype of SSE. Mel Gibson must have found that there is more to being a Scotsman than putting on a kilt and trilling your /r/s.

Keywords: Standard Scottish English, Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR), linguistic credibility, film studies, dialect coaching.

El presente artículo investiga la credibilidad lingüística de la película *Braveheart* (1995). Trata en primer lugar sobre la decisión de los productores de rechazar la realidad del uso lingüístico históricamente correcto para primar las realidades sociolingüísticas actuales. Posteriormente se lleva a cabo un análisis fonético del intento del protagonista (Mel Gibson) de reproducir el acento del Inglés Escocés estándar. El análisis se lleva a cabo principalmente a nivel fonémico, en el que se analizan algunas consonantes y vocales del estereotipo escocés. No obstante, el análisis se centra en la calidad de la imitación por parte del actor de la Regla de Longitud Vocálica Escocesa (o ley de Aitken). El resultado del análisis es que Gibson ha hecho un esfuerzo considerable en la imitación del acento del Inglés Escocés estándar, y aunque quizás no sería tomado por tal por un hablante nativo de tal acento, sus esfuerzos serían tal vez suficientes para los espectadores americanos e internacionales, la audiencia principal de la película. Podría decirse que Mel Gibson intenta conseguir un acento más matizado, antes que una imitación del Inglés Escocés estándar. Mel Gibson debió llegar a la conclusión de que ser escocés es algo más que llevar una falda escocesa y hacer vibrar las erres.

Palabras clave: Inglés Escocés Estándar, Regla de Longitud Vocálica Escocesa, credibilidad lingüística, estudios fílmicos, enseñanza de dialectos.

MONIKER: ETYMOLOGY AND LEXICOGRAPHICAL HISTORY

William Sayers

Popular language presents special difficulties for the lexicographer and etymologist, professional and amateur. *Moniker* 'nickname, alias' has found numerous explanations, none convincing. The term is traced to Old Irish *ainm* 'name', subsequently adopted, through well established patterns for encryption, into Shelta, the language of the Irish travelers. Its spread in North America and Australia may have been furthered by the itinerant life-styles of men seeking employment.

Keywords: *moniker*, Irish travelers, Shelta, popular language

Abstracts

El lenguaje popular presenta dificultades especiales al lexicógrafo y al etimólogo, tanto profesional como aficionado. *Moniker* ‘apodo, alias’ ha recibido numerosas explicaciones, si bien ninguna convincente. El término aparece en Irlandés Antiguo como *ainm* ‘nombre’, adoptado posteriormente por el Shelta, la lengua de los viajeros irlandeses. Su difusión en Norteamérica y Australia pudo verse favorecida por las migraciones de gentes en busca de un empleo.

Palabras clave: *moniker*, viajeros irlandeses, Shelta, lenguaje popular

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