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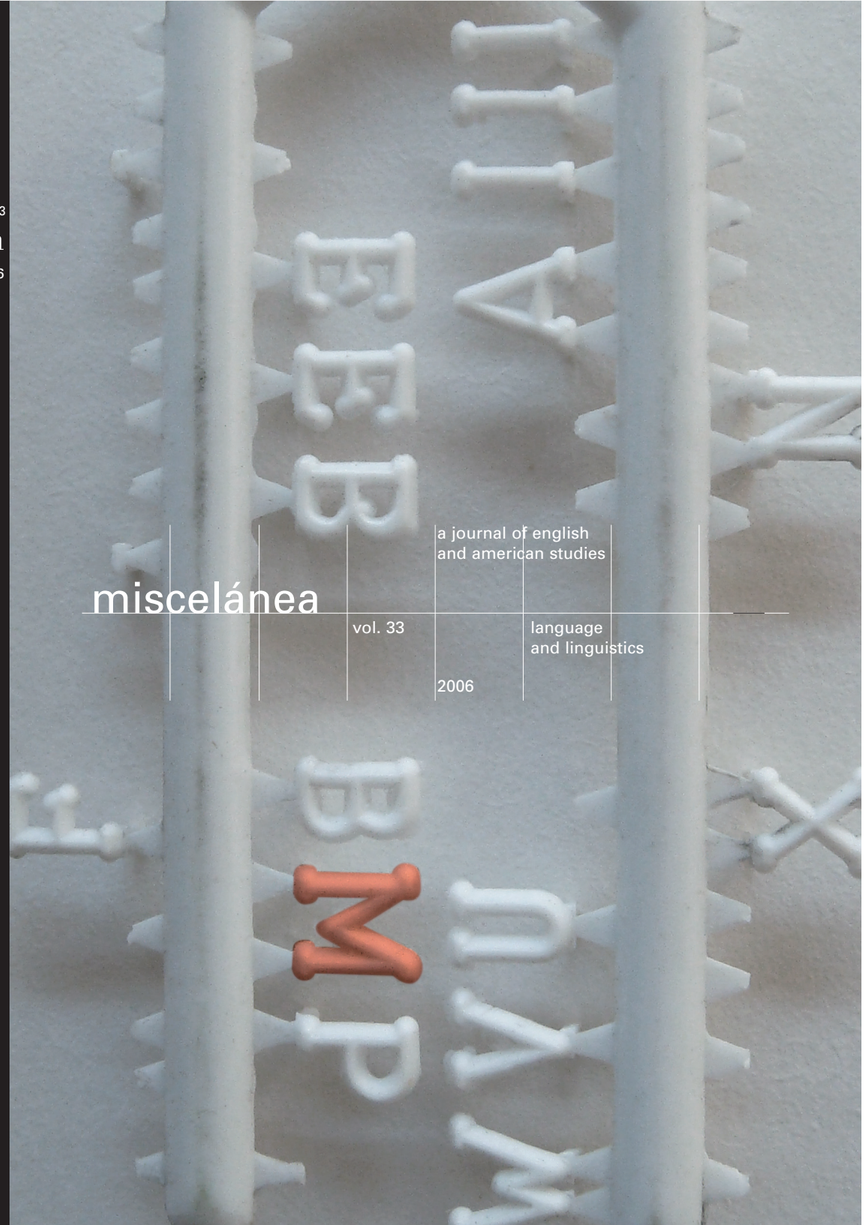

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In memory of RAFAEL BLASCO

Recently, I found an old photograph of you and I saw your smile. As I felt your presence anew, I was filled with warmth and happiness. I also read an old card sent many years ago during a time of turmoil and confusion. The soothing words written then still caress my spirit and bring me peace.

Born in Teruel, you left this world after devoting your life to your profession in your homeland. Conscious of your responsibility, you cared deeply for those you loved, your family, friends and colleagues. You were having fun when your heart sank. It was sudden and unexpected. We were all devastated and very sad. A lecturer, a teacher trainer and a trade unionist, you always accepted all responsibilities. We all miss you now for your sense of love and care, your sense of friendship and your sense of laughter.

Now I believe, as you did, that you have entered a higher state. God give you peace.

Ignacio Vázquez Orta
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SEXUALLY EXPLICIT EUPHEMISM IN MARTIN AMIS'S *YELLOW DOG*. MITIGATION OR OFFENCE?

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1. Introduction

Language users resort to euphemistic substitution to mitigate the potential dangers of certain taboo words or phrases considered too blunt or offensive for a given social situation. Hence, euphemism has traditionally provided a way to speak about the unspeakable, about those subjects banned from the public domain. Among these, sex has usually met the strongest interdiction, which is why constitutes a faithful indicator of the degree of tolerance (or repression) of societies throughout history. In fact, in those periods characterized by moral and social censorship, such as Victorian England, the taboo on sex proved to be more powerful than any verbal mitigation, and sexual concepts were thus commonly silenced in public discourse.[1]

However, nowadays the pubic use of terms referring to sexual organs and sexual play has become common, even in print where the greater degree of formality is supposed, at least in theory, to erect certain barriers against bawdy language. As Epstein (1985: 57) pointed out, in our era, Western permissive societies have abandoned the silence on sexual topics for an explicit reference to this taboo: "[...] silence on the subject of sex has been broken, and it is unlikely to be restored. Sex throughout history has been on most people's minds, but in this century it has increasingly been on almost everyone's tongue as well". Therefore, though the

sexual taboo still imposes certain restrictions in our time,[2] sex is by no means limited to implicit, vague or indirect references; indeed, an explicit treatment of this taboo coexists with implicit allusions to sexual issues in contemporary literary language.

The main aim of this paper is to provide an overview of a euphemistic modality that I shall call 'explicit euphemism', i.e. a means of dealing with the realm of sex while avoiding the coarse words, especially the so-called 'four-letter words' related to sex (*cunt*, *fuck*, etc.). This seems to be a worthy concern, because whilst there is a substantial body of literature on sexual euphemism (Epstein 1985; Allan and Burridge 1991: 75-116; Ham 2005), including recent studies on the metaphorical conceptualization of the taboo of sex (Chamizo Domínguez and Sánchez Benedito 2000; Crespo Fernández 2006a), not much scholarly ink has been spilled over specific modes of verbal mitigation. To the best of my knowledge, there have been no studies until now to cover the explicit treatment of sex as a euphemistic modality, and only Allan and Burridge (1991: 210-220) and Crespo Fernández (2006b) have dealt with artful euphemism as a specific category of connotative attenuation in literary texts. Consequently, the present paper intends to explore the patterns of explicit euphemism via examples excerpted from Martin Amis's *Yellow Dog*. With this purpose in mind, after first introducing the novel and its author, I will comment on previous research on euphemism and attempt to justify the existence of explicit euphemism as a specific modality of verbal mitigation in terms of its distinctive features. In order to give insight into the incidence of this category in the novel aforementioned, the second part of the study will analyse the presence of explicit euphemism in the novel and the final part will offer a glossary of the terms encountered.

2. Amis and sexual taboos

The range of ways of dealing with sex in contemporary fiction and, by extension, in today's communicative practice is undoubtedly great. One can approach sex ironically, tenderly, poetically or, as happens with certain authors, brutally and toughly. This seems to be the case with Martin Amis, who has been thought to embody the wildest side of British contemporary narrative since he made his appearance in the seventies with provocative and 'non-politically correct' novels such as *Dead Babies* (1975). His fiction is well known, apart from its black humour or amoral characters, for its explicit, violent and rough treatment of the taboo of sex.

Amis is an expert at violating sexual taboos; in fact, references to prostitution, pornography, incest and sexual excess are common in his fiction. In this respect, *Yellow Dog* (2003), the subject of the present paper, is not an exception. Indeed,

it constitutes a representative example of how sexual taboos are dealt with in Amis's narrative and, at the same time, provides an insight into sexual euphemistic reference in today's printed matter. The novel has the stamp of its author, which means, as Shilling (2003) argues, a sense of disquiet, the feeling that today's social and moral standards are on the verge of collapse:

> [T]he sensation of picking up *Yellow Dog* is like that of settling back into the driving seat of the first car you ever owned: everything is exactly where you expect it to be: fear-check. Loathing-check. People without moral spirit-levels doing unspeakable things to each other-check.

Yellow Dog has been considered a controversial novel and has given rise to different reactions among critics, who have either complimented or criticized it.[3] In any case, this novel provides the reader with a particular portrait of present-day British society through a combination of plots, each with its particular social and verbal register and with a common link: sex, much of which is accesible to the reader through a particular mode of euphemism, one which abandons implicitness and ambiguity in favour of a direct designation of the taboo, as will be seen in the following sections.

3. The framework of euphemism

Before attempting to formulate explicit euphemism as a specific category of verbal attenuation, it is advisable to provide an account of the approaches that the concept *euphemism* has received. Though relatively scarce (cf. Chamizo Domínguez forthcoming), research on linguistic interdiction has provided different, though complementary, insights into this subject. In traditional scholarship, euphemism was primarily considered to be a purely lexical phenomenon employed to replace words and phrases deemed unfit for polite linguistic usage with milder or indirect equivalents. In this sense, figures such as Ullmann (1962) and Leech (1974) tended to consider euphemism as a strictly lexical process which resorted to ambiguous, mild and polite-sounding words. That this was so can be gathered from Leech (1974: 53): "[euphemism] consists of replacing a word which has offensive connotations with another expression, which makes no overt reference to the unpleasant side of the subject, and may even be a positive misnomer".

From the 1980s onwards, scholars made an important step forward by claiming that to reduce euphemism to a one-for-one lexical substitution would be to lose sight of the discursive euphemistic maneuvers that largely influence the euphemistic process. In this respect, Montero Cartelle (1981) and Casas Gómez (1986) adopted a twofold perspective and focused both on the semantic aspects of

euphemism and on the contextual and pragmatic factors governing the euphemistic change. Especially noteworthy is the seminal work by Allan and Burridge (1991), in which the pragmatic dimension of euphemism receives special emphasis. In fact, these scholars considered euphemism in terms of face effects, as a phenomenon closely linked to the norms of politeness and style, and defined it as follows: "A euphemism is used as an alternative to a dispreferred expression, in order to avoid possible loss of face, either one's face or, through giving offence, that of the audience, or of some third party" (Allan and Burridge 1991: 23).

Euphemism is thus, from this standpoint, basically a pragmatic phenomenon, an approach followed by different studies looking at euphemism in a discourse frame, subject to the social conventions of the pragmatic context surrounding the participants in the communicative exchange. In this vein, Crespo Fernández (2005b) considers euphemism to be a form of verbal behaviour governed by conventions of politeness and face concerns. In connection with this, the study carried out by Abrantes (2005), is of particular interest. She views euphemism as a pragmatic strategy both speaker-oriented and hearer-oriented which reveals a particular attitude towards the taboo subject; euphemism is, from her viewpoint, a face-saving mechanism which supports co-operation in discourse and reflects the semantic collaboration between the parties involved.

Likewise, the discursive nature of euphemism is highlighted by recent studies (Chamizo Domínguez and Sánchez Benedito 2000; Crespo Fernández 2007) that paint a full portrait of euphemism in both its semantic and pragmatic dimensions. It must be said that these studies pay special attention to its semantic features, analysing euphemism in terms on the well-known model of the conceptual metaphor initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).[4] This cognitive approach has also been applied to euphemism from a more specific view in other studies related to different forbidden areas such as sex (Crespo Fernández 2006a) and death (Marín Arrese 1996; Bultnick 1998; Crespo Fernández 2006c).

Beyond the specific perspectives adopted in each case, it can be deduced from the above sources that euphemism resorts to indirect lexical alternatives which, thanks to the ambiguity established between the linguistic sign and the taboo, are capable of generating a contrast, effectively carried out via novel metaphors, that maintains the mitigating capacity in a given pragmatic and phraseological context. However, this view of euphemism does not always apply to actual communicative practice. It should be borne in mind that euphemism is, after all, a pragmatic phenomenon, and, as such, largely dependent on extra-linguistic issues. In fact, every historical period cultivates and develops its own euphemisms, which become revealing indicators of the habits and censorships of its society (cf. Crespo Fernández 2007: 133). Accordingly, the current more permissive attitude towards taboo words

concerning sex requires a new approach to euphemism as a result of the increasing acceptance of sexual topics in private and public discourse in our time. In this respect, though beyond the scope of this article, it must be noted that explicitness in euphemism is not restricted to sex, as nowadays social acceptance has been extended to other taboos traditionally subject to a high degree of interdiction, such as scatology. Indeed, in the novel in question, explicit euphemism also takes place in terms like *evacuation* (146)[5] or *micturation* (315), used to avoid 'four-letter words' related to scatological bodily functions.

Given the above-mentioned changing nature of taboos and euphemisms, it comes as no surprise that the concept of euphemism itself should also be subject to change and redefinition. Just as the escape from the vulgar word is by no means limited in todays' language to implicit, vague or indirect references, so the traditional concept of euphemism should be expanded to include those lexical substitutes dealing with former unmentionable taboos by means of items which, rather than a real mitigation of the concept, merely offer a way of avoiding the coarse word. For instance, *fellatio* and *vulva* are learned terms which refer to the taboos they represent ('oral sex' and 'female pudenda') in an explicit and unambiguous manner. Nonetheless, these terms fulfil the main function of euphemism insofar as they substitute words deemed unacceptable in social discourse, in this case *blow* and *cunt* respectively. From this perspective, the explicit treatment of the sexual subject does not necessarily imply an uneuphemistic approach to the taboo; rather, the lexical choice is a means of leaving out the coarse word which stands out as the real taboo. Hence, this type of alternative to the taboo has not lost its status as euphemism, which is why I label this particular mitigation of linguistic taboos as *explicit euphemism*. The following chapter will be devoted to exploring the most distinctive patterns of this euphemistic modality in comparison and contrast with the conventional features of euphemistic variation.

3. Patterns of explicit euphemism

As suggested above, for establishing explicit euphemism as a category of verbal attenuation, it is necessary to adopt a more comprehensive view than the one expressed in the study of linguistic interdiction. Since the standards of social acceptability of sexual issues have undergone considerable change in present-day society, euphemism in contemporary discourse should not be limited to indirect and vague substitutions. After all, explicit euphemism maintains the euphemistic function of replacing linguistic taboos, though it presents specific patterns which greatly differ from the orthodox euphemistic features and permits this mode of verbal mitigation to be accounted for as a euphemistic category *per se*, as will be discussed below.

3.1. Direct reference to the taboo without ambiguity

Ambiguity is a defining feature of euphemism as a linguistic phenomenon. Following Chamizo Domínguez and Sánchez Benedito (2000: 40-41), a term acts as a euphemism because, in a given context, it is capable of generating an ambiguity which suggests that there may be a distasteful concept beneath and thus it permits the mitigation of the taboo. The euphemistic item is ambiguous insofar as it can be understood both in terms of its literal meaning and in terms of its taboo meaning. Nevertheless, explicit euphemism is unambiguous by nature, since the substitute and the taboo referent are so closely connected that the reference to the taboo is quite evident; in fact, the literal meaning of the word usually coincides with its sexual meaning, as happens with *phallus* or *penis* which automatically evocate the male organ used to copulate. What is more, there is not an alternative meaning in the explicit euphemistic word or phrase which could ameliorate the concept, since there is not an intention on the part of the speaker or writer to veil or disguise the reality whatsoever.[6] Therefore, this modality of verbal mitigation is closely tied to the referent and, consequently, tends to present a very low degree of ambiguity.

3.2. No lexical neutralization of the taboo

In euphemistic substitution, the word or phrase chosen to tone down the concept shares certain conceptual traits with the linguistic taboo, though it moves away from its literal meaning with the purpose of reaching the lexical neutralization of the forbidden topic. This neutralization, as Montero Cartelle (1981: 41-42) suggests, enables the adoption of new ameliorative senses thanks to the temporal suspension of those conceptual traits considered inappropriate in a given communicative context. However, in explicit euphemism there is no such neutralization of the tabooed connotations which are easily recognizable in the lexical alternative to the coarse word. This happens with many of the explicit euphemistic substitutes found in the novel, such as *ejaculation*, *genitalia*, *masturbation*, etc., which are totally unable to neutralize the sexual connotations of their referents, as they do not have any emotionally positive connotations with regard to the taboo (cf. Chamizo Domínguez forthcoming). In fact, these terms are so close to the taboo referents they designate that they simply constitute a way of leaving out overtly dysphemistic terms.

3.3. Use of lexicalized metaphors

When explicit euphemism resorts to figurative language to carry out the substitution, it tends to employ a lexicalized metaphor, i.e. one in which the figurative sense is identified with its referent due to its intimate association with the distasteful thing that it names and thus loses its metaphorical status (Chamizo

Domínguez and Sánchez Benedito 2000: 68-70).[7] As a result, the lexical alternative to the taboo acquires the meaning that it was supposed to veil, picking up its offensive connotations (cf. Burridge 2004: 212-214; Crespo Fernández 2007: 86-87). This is the case of *intercourse*, which started as a metaphor (its original meaning was 'communication') but, over the course of time, it underwent a process of lexicalization of the tabooed connotations, which is why it undoubtedly refers now to the referent it stands for ('copulation'). Thus, rather than a real mitigation of the taboo, *intercourse* constitutes an alternative to a 'four-letter word' such as *fuck*.

As a result of the intimate association of the taboo and the supposedly mitigating lexical alternative, the latter does not allow for a real mitigation of the forbidden topic; in fact, at times it is difficult to know whether to label certain lexical alternatives to the taboo as euphemistic or dysphemistic, as mitigating or offensive. This also happens with the semi-lexicalized metaphor *sex weapon* 'penis', which responds to preexisting metaphorical associations deriving from the sex-as-violence conceptual metaphor which form part of the receiver's cognitive system (cf. Lakoff 1994: 210).

3.4. Low mitigating capacity

The patterns of explicit euphemism discussed in the preceding sections greatly affect the mitigating capacity of the items that fall under this euphemistic modality. In fact, explicit euphemism presents a very low mitigating effectiveness due to its intimate asociation (in some cases, identification) with the taboo. Clearly, in euphemistic manipulation the mitigating capacity primarily depends on the contrast between the euphemistic sign and its taboo referent, a contrast which, in turn, motivates the ambiguity of the word or phrase in its reference to the taboo topic. After all, as Burridge (2004: 224) argues, vagueness increases euphemistic force, as happens with a generic term like *business* 'pornography' (294), that fulfils their euphemistic function in a satisfactory way thanks to its intrinsic vagueness. Nonetheless, if there is no contrast between the taboo referent and the lexical option used to designate it, the substitute will tend to be identified with the taboo and will not be capable of toning down its unacceptable traits. Consider the example that follows:

> He there-after relied on escort girls, entertained in various London hotels; and even these encounters were far from frictionless. The truth was that when it came to love, to the old story, [...] Clint Smoker had a little problem. (29)

The explicit euphemistic items *escort girls* and *encounters*—fixed in the lexicon with a sexual sense— have been stripped of the mitigating capacity they once possessed

and present an undeviating reference to sexual taboos. The writer's intention here is by no means to hide the sexual issues, but merely to escape from the dysphemistic terms *whore* and *fuck* respectively. In so doing, Amis deliberately avoids shockingly coarse violations of the taboo which would not fit in the phraseological context because of its formal register and the presence of another euphemism like *love* 'sexual relationships'. After all, one of the functions of euphemism in literature — a function fulfilled by the explicit euphemisms in the above example— is to serve as a style marker and adjust the linguistic register employed by the characters or the narrative voice to the situation (Crespo Fernández 2006b: 77).

3.5. Contextually relevant

Taking into account the unambiguous nature of the phenomenon under research, many of the explicit euphemisms encountered in *Yellow Dog* can be virtually identified with the sexual taboos they substitute regardless of context. In fact, technical words used to refer to sexual organs (*organ*, *semen*, *vulva*) and learned words of a Latin origin (*cunnilingus*, *paedophilia*, *rectum*) automatically evocate a sexual referent without the help of any contextual clues. Though not so contextually-free, colloquial phrases lexicalized with a sexual meaning (*go to bed*, *have sex*, *sleep with*) or terms with undeviating sexual connotations (*arousal*, *stimulation*) are associated with the realm of sex at first glance. All this seems to contradict a defining feature of euphemism: its contextual dependence. Burridge (1996: 43) puts the matter in the following way:

> [T]here is an assumption that language is a kind of monolithic entity with some sort of fixed set of approved meanings and values. Yet no term is intrinsically dysphemistic, or for that matter euphemistic; [...]. Words aren't mathematical symbols. Normally the choice between alternative expressions depends entirely on context —it's a matter of style.

What emerges from these contextual issues, following the theory of relevance proposed by Sperber and Wilson (1995), is that explicit euphemism is contextually relevant, as it does not require a great processing effort to be comprehended in its context. In fact, given that explicit euphemisms are so transparent, the receiver immediately recognizes the sexual referent behind the word and thus stops processing at the first interpretation, satisfying his expectation of relevance. Thus, the explicit lexical alternative permits the reception of cognitive effects while minimizing the receiver's cognitive effort. A good case in point of this contextual relevance is the explicit euphemism *go to bed*, which no doubt refers to its taboo ('copulate') in the following example: "In those days, for a while, girls went to bed with you even when they didn't want to" (99).

3.6. Communicatively efficient

As the euphemistic process leaves out the direct reference to the taboo subject and replaces it by an indirect and vague lexical option, euphemism seems to contradict the principle of efficiency in communication, as pointed out by Abrantes (2005: 92-93). In fact, euphemism responds, rather than to the need for an effective communication, to the need for expressivity in discourse, as it provides an emotional response to the discomfort that taboos produce in the communicative exchange for the parties involved. From this perspective, Abrantes claims that euphemism is primarily a hearer-oriented strategy which allows the hearer to be aware of the speaker's dissatisfaction with the undeviating reference to the taboo and, by extension, with the taboo itself. However, by resorting to explicit euphemism, the speaker communicates the taboo subject more efficiently, reducing the linguistic effort in conveying a given sexual topic by means of direct lexical options. Thus, euphemistic explicitness responds to a speaker-oriented strategy which tends to disregard psychological motivations and merely favour the speaker's need to avoid a 'four-letter word'.

4. Sexually explicit euphemism in *Yellow Dog*

In *Yellow Dog* euphemism acts as a mode of dealing with sex in 334 cases, apart from 15 references to homosexuality as a way of avoiding personal offence (Crespo Fernández 2005: 301-302).[8] Of these instances of euphemistic naming, explicitness appears in 124 substitutions, that is, this category covers about 37% of the sexual vocabulary employed in the novel. As sexual euphemism is such a broad concept and so relevant in quantitative terms, in order to be more precise, in the table below the total number of euphemistic substitution is specified in each domain, followed by the number of explicit euphemisms recorded:

Coition	83	27	Prostitution	15	5
Bodily parts	60	31	Sexual dysfunctions	11	2
Sexual variants	32	8	General aspects[9]	10	4
Desire and excitation	25	12	Masturbation	8	3
Incest and paedophilia	25	4	Homosexual coition	6	4
Orgasm	16	9	Female underwear	6	2
Pornography	16	7	Others	21	6

TABLE 1: Areas of sexual euphemism and explicit euphemism in *Yellow Dog*

The first noticeable quality is the prominent role of sexual taboos in Amis's novel. This is a proof that in contemporary Western society sexual censorship has given way to permissiveness; in fact, the table above clearly shows that allusions to sexual areas with a high degree of interdiction (incest, masturbation, orgasm, etc.) are not banned in print. In references to these taboos, explicit euphemism undoubtedly plays a crucial role, given that, as indicated before, over one third of the sexual euphemism recorded falls under this euphemistic category. This seems to confirm that the author's prime aim is not to mitigate the taboo; rather, Amis tends to speak plainly about sex by means of a particular mode of euphemism which abandons ambiguity in favour of a direct designation of the taboo. Indeed, in *Yellow Dog* explicit euphemism facilitates a socially acceptable reference to tabooed body parts and sexual practices. In this regard, terms used to refer to masturbation (*onanistic*), genitalia (*male member*, *vulva*), sexual play (*anal sex*, *cunnilingus*, *touch*) or sexual excitation (*arousal*, *hard*, *stimulation*) are included in this euphemistic modality.

Euphemism relative to bodily parts is also worth mentioning. Out of the 60 euphemisms extracted from the novel (31 explicit euphemisms), 16 are related to female intimate parts (*breasts*, *nipples* or *the intima*) and 15 to masculine sexual organs (*organ*, *penis* or *phallus*). It is interesting to note that Amis employs learned words and, above all, technicisms to refer to genitalia, which constitutes an evident proof of his purpose to treat sex straight on regardless of the strength of the taboo. By so doing, Amis makes use of the two possible ways of dealing with the realm of sex, as pointed out by Epstein (1985: 57): to speak about it clinically (*genitalia*, *rectum*, *vulva*, etc.) as well as plainly and profanely (*doggy*, *fisting* and *handjob*, among others). Verbal disguise is also partially achieved by means of strategies which, rather than a concealment of the taboo word, call the sexual concepts to mind, such as graphological deletions (*c**t*, *f**k* and *f**king*) and alphanumeric formations (*fell8tio* 'fellatio', *oral 6* 'oral sex' and *4play* 'foreplay').[10]

The vocabulary used in the world of pornography constitutes a breeding ground for sexual explicit euphemism. Amis presents strongly tabooed concepts in an open way, for instance sexual variants usually found in prostitution and pornography like *double anal*, *doggy* and *fisting*. It must be noticed that people involved in pornography resort to explicit euphemism more frequently than those outside it. In fact, characters connected with pornographic movies give alternative denominations for their job such as *the industry*, as seen in the following speech of an actress in which she avoids a direct reference to her occupation:

> *Porn* is a disgusting little word, isn't it? It's the most disgusting single thing in the whole phenomenon. *Porno*'s nothing like so bad. In the industry, we call it the industry. That's what you call it when you are in it. (235)

Similarly, sexual variants related to pornography and prostitution are designated by means of explicit euphemisms like *do Gay*, *Facial*, *straight gay* and the already mentioned *double anal* and *fisting*. This preference for euphemistic alternatives can be seen in the following dialogue in which the dysphemistic terms used by the journalist Clint Smoker (*suck off*, *arse*, *shoot*, *tits*) differ from the explicit euphemistic options (*spend* 'ejaculate' and *breasts*) used by Dork Bogarde, an actor in pornographic films:

> 'She sucked you off underneath a pyramid and then you had her up the arse in an helium balloon. Then you landed on Everest and shot all over her tits'.
>
> 'I spent on her breasts? That's so —*passé*. You'd think I'd remember that'. (274)

However, not all sex-related euphemisms encountered in *Yellow Dog* are explicit. A good example is the euphemism used to allude to incest and paedophilia. As shown in Table 1, these taboos are only the source of four explicit euphemistic substitutes (*episode of incest*, *paedophile*, *paedophilia* and *sexualise one's relationship with one's daughter*), since Amis tends to use more indirect and vague lexical options, that is, more orthodox euphemistic alternatives with, at least in theory, a more effective mitigating power, to cope with them. Hence the periphrastic phrase *love of the wrong kind* (306) and the generic terms *stuff* (226), *sin* (242) and *taboo* (335). In any case, these euphemisms and others equally related to incestuous sexual practices like *do one's work* (216) and *mess with* (225) do not actually achieve a real mitigation of the taboo. On the contrary, Amis seems to emphasize the supposedly erotic overtones of this taboo with phrases such as *size zero* (242) and *preliminary form of her breasts* (248) concerning his five-year-old daughter. In this regard, euphemism is at the writer's disposal to take pleasure in incestuous desires, something considered by certain critics as "stomach-aching" (O'Connor 2003). From the above examples, it can be deduced that certain taboos are so distasteful that euphemistic disguise is totally unable to mitigate them.

5. Concluding remarks

The research carried out in this paper supports the idea that the traditional concept of euphemism should be extended to other modes of palliative substitutions, since nowadays the escape from the vulgar word is by no means limited to implicit, vague or indirect references, as the traditional concept of euphemism claimed. Indeed, taking as an example Martin Amis's *Yellow Dog*, I have argued that an unambiguous and undeviating reference to sexual topics stands out in today's fiction as a consequence of the relaxation of taboos against obscenity in Western societies. In fact, sexual taboos have lost much of their former interdictive strength, which obviously affects the nature of sexual euphemism in a significant way.

Consequently I have gone on to propose the category of explicit euphemism to account for a modality of euphemistic substitution which presents distinct patterns that greatly differ from the traditional view of euphemism: direct reference to the taboo without any suspension of its connotations, lexicalized metaphorical language, low mitigating capacity, contextual relevance and communicative efficiency. This particular euphemistic category meets the writer's need to avoid the coarse word rather than the taboo itself in approximately 37% of the total cases of sexual euphemism recorded in Amis's novel. In fact, with certain exceptions concerning the taboos of incest and paedophilia, an explicit reference to the taboo is given a free hand in the novel dealt with in the present paper.

In this sense, today's literary discourse could be thought to be uneuphemistic. Nothing further from the truth. Indirect and vague euphemistic substitutions[11] coexist with explicit euphemism, which maintains, despite its particular nature, the main euphemistic function, that of replacing linguistic taboos. Therefore, the treatment of sexual taboos in contemporary fiction does not imply, as Epstein (1985: 70) argues, the defeat of euphemism. The heart of the matter is that allusion to certain realities is nowadays acceptable in contexts where the coarse lexical equivalent, especially the so called 'four-letter words', may not be. And this is where Amis resorts to explicit euphemism as a kind of linguistic safeguard.

What emerges from this piece of research is that the euphemistic reference to certain topics contaminated by sexual taboos is, paradoxically, a proof of the writer's intention to trigger off the realities that euphemism is meant to tone down. Explicit euphemism is thus, from this viewpoint, two-dimensional and, in a sense, contradictory by nature. In this respect, there is a question which remains unanswered: does explicit euphemism involve offence? In answering this question, it must be noted that concerning explicit euphemism it is not easy to distinguish euphemism from dysphemism. Furthermore, not all explicit euphemistic alternatives for sexual issues obviously display the patterns mentioned above in the same degree; in fact, some of them present a greater degree of euphemistic power than others.[12] This seems hardly surprising, given that, after all, the discursive value of euphemism ultimately depends on pragmatic considerations which have not been dealt with in depth here (see Crespo Fernández 2007: 119-143 for details). Thus, it is necessary to focus on the communicative context and the participants involved in the pragmatic setting to check to what extent terms such as *anal*, *sodomy* or *touch* would be felt as offensive or simply as an acceptable way of avoiding taboo words deemed unfit for normal linguistic usage. In any case, I strongly believe that, uncertain as the category of explicit euphemism may seem, it constitutes a response to the current widespread practice of referring to sex-related taboo topics while evading startingly coarse violations of these taboos, and obviously reflects the profusion of bawdy language in modern times.

Glossary of explicit euphemism in *Yellow Dog*

The following glossary is a lexicographic appendix of the research presented in the preceding pages. This glossary lists the explicit euphemistic items mentioned in the paper and others also encountered in *Yellow Dog*. However, this glossary can make no claim to being complete or objective, given the unpredictable nature of a phenomenon found in actual language use and, as such, dependent on pragmatic variables and on the perspective adopted by the researcher, inevitably subjective. Despite this, I believe that the list below is representative enough of how the phenomenon takes place in contemporary literary language.

Each headword in bold type is followed, rather by its definition in standard English, by the sense that the euphemistic substitute acquires in its communicative context, together with the number of times that the substitute has been found in novel, which provides information regarding the lexical frequency of each explicit euphemistic alternative. In order to allow the reader to form an idea of how the word is used, each entry is supported with the phraseological context in which it appears in the novel.

act of love. Coition. (2)

> The act of love was becoming not distasteful, not unnecessary, but only one of a series of pleasures. (103)

anal. Anal coition. (3)

> One director said, "With anal, the actress's personality comes out." (269)

anal 6 (*anal sex*). Coition consisting in anal penetration. (1)

> [...] u have asked for my views on anal 6 and related?s (159)

arousal. Sexual excitation. (1)

> Some said that Potentium was bullshit too: it affronted the market forces having to do with the reality of arousal. (273)

arouse. To excite sexually. (4)

> The spectacle aroused him-but not as much as the sound of He's feet [...] all coming closer. (120)

bosoms. The female breasts. (1)

> They're very unhappy people and they look it. [...] Keep the bosoms within reasonable founds: forty-four triple-F would do as a benchmark. (24)

breasts. The female breasts. (8)

> Clint steadied his dark glasses and resumed his attempt to stare out at Karla's breasts. (269)

bust. The female breasts. (2)

> The bust. They seem fake. They seem fake because there's no asymmetry. (240)

carnal knowledge. Coition. (1)

> Both were exquisitely intimate; and both relied on carnal knowledge. (128)

chest. The female breasts. (1)

> He had been aiming for her chest (not her lower abdomen, as negotiated). (107)

concubine. A prostitute. (2)

> And in came He Zizhen, greatgrandaughter of concubines. Love bade her welcome. (21)

cunnilingus. Oral stimulation of female genitals. (2)

> as 4 cunnilingus, that's strictly verbo 10. (160)

cts.** *Cunts.* (1)

He's got the gall to tell us there was 'no provocation'.

When the bird was wearing *a school uniform.*

What are we, c**ts? (311)

doggy. Vaginal penetration from the rear. (1)

Xan was supposed to exchange some words with Charisma Trixxx and then watch her perform with Sir Dork Bogarde (as follows: 'Blow. Doggy. Cowgirl. Reverse Cowgirl. Facial'). (288)

do Gay. To coit anally. (1)

Dork turned to Hick (it was established earlier that Hick had been known to do Gay). (274)

double anal. A variant of anal sex. (1)

For instance, you'd have to be a bit gay to do a double anal. Don't you think? (304)

ejaculation. The ejection of semen. (3)

It was meant to increase the bulk of your ejaculations 'to porno proportions', according to the literature. (107)

ejection. The ejaculation of semen. (1)

And why was he torturing bullying Russia, why was he torturing her with the sex weapon? [...] to punish himself, himself, and bring about his own ejection? (142)

encounter. Coition. (1)

He there-after relied on escort girls, entertained in various London hotels; and even these encounters were far from frictionless. (29)

episode of incest. Incestuous sexual practice. (1)

Marriage is a sibling relationship-marked by occasional and rather regrettable, episodes of incest. (8)

erotic employment. A job as an actor or actress in pornographic movies. (1)

There were teenage passengers on board, male and female, who couldn't be possibly destined for erotic employment. (286)

erotic play. Sexual excitation before coition. (1)

The faculties of touch, taste, smell and sight [...] could be reasonably well served in erotic play. (120)

escort girl. Prostitute. (1)

He there-after relied on escort girls, entertained in various London hotels [...]. (29)

Facial. Sexual practice consisting in ejaculating on the face. (1)

The Facial is there, always, because the customer wants it to be there. What do men want? They want the Facial. (289)

fell8tio (*fellatio*). Oral stimulation of the penis. (1)

rule: never kiss your man after fell8tio. (160)

female underwear. Underclothing. (2)

Despite the unsettling discoveries in the vacated bedsitting-room (the stolen property, the forged passports and pension-books, the fantastic cache of the female underwear [...]). (127)

fisting. Sexual practice consisting in inserting the fist in the anus. (1)

Is there anything you wouldn't do? As an actress. Fisting and pissing and that? (271)

flux. Seminal fluid. (1)

And now there are hairs all over it, and some... disgusting flux or other. (82)

foreplay. Sexual excitation before coition. (2)

'Take your ring off for God's sake,' she said, after a full minute of foreplay. (168)

fornication. Coition. (2)

In these surroundings, he felt, languid and methodical fornication would not seem particularly daring. (233)

fk.** *Fuck*. (3)

You f**ked that one up. (189)

fking.** *Fucking*. (3)

I fu**king loved it! (267)

genitalia. Male sexual organs. (1)

You have 125 new messages. About 120 of them would be from commercial concerns: invitations to Clint to shower money on his genitalia. (159)

get someone into bed. To copulate. (1)

After a thirty-page chase the narrator finally gets Eve into bed. (234)

get warm. To stimulate sexually. (1)

The thing had a 'pleasure meter' on it, which showed you when you were getting warm. (207)

go to bed. To copulate. (1)

Xan wanted to go to bed with his wife for two good reasons: she was his ideal and she was there. (139)

handjob. A male masturbation. (1)

To say that, you have to say that masturbation has become respectable. And that's what they're saying. "Wanking's cool," I read the other day. "Handjobs are brilliant." (237)

hard. Erect (relative to penis). (1)

As she removed her clothes He caressed him with them, and then with what the clothes contained. He touched him. He touched He. He was hard. (22)

have sex. To copulate. (2)

For three years the only sex I had was the sex I had on camera. (235)

have 6 (*have sex*). To copulate. (1)

in bed, while we're having 6, he moans at me to scream. (75)

in bed. During coition. (2)

In bed, of course, the eternal battle was to make them feel it: to transform them with your strength. (248)

intimacy. Sexual encounter. (1)

Until you do that, and it *is* what you're going to do, you and I can have only one kind of intimacy. (209)

intimate. Sexually intimate. (1)

Both were exquisitely intimate; and both relied on carnal knowledge. (128)

male member. The penis. (1)

[...] the Lark had put together a playful piece about *the Guinness Book of Records* and the new category saluting the biggest ever, or longest ever, male member. (70)

male-potency. Erection of the penis. (1)

Sir, Potentium. A male-potency drug. Tested and patented and freely available. (84)

manly parts. Penis and testicles. (1)

He cannot speak, and as you see, his manly parts are right and comely, he cannot spend. (293)

masturbation. Self-stimulation of the genitals. (1)

[...] we are now faced with the legal question whether our photocaptions constitute a uh,... "an incitement to masturbation". (171)

menpleaser. A prostitute. (1)

He thought too of the menpleasers of twenty-five years ago, their stockings, garterbelts, cleavages, perfumes. (7)

nipples. Small prominences in which the woman's breasts terminate. (1)

This prompted a sexual thought, one unmoderated by the simultaneous reminder

that large nipples would facilitate the business of lactation. (63)

onanistic. Relative to masturbation. (1)

They came from the world of onanistic longing- and coarse sentimentality, and impotent sadism. (152)

one-night stand. A casual sexual encounter. (1)

[...] the rest consisted of girls [...] chronicling their one-night stands with famous footballers. (25)

oral 6 (*oral sex*). Oral stimulation of male or female genitals. (1)

I'm very happy to perform oral 6 any time. (160)

organ. The penis. (1)

Clint had found it a low moment, to be sure, when Dimity told him to regard his organ as a middle finger without the nail. (207)

orgasm. Sexual ecstasy. (3)

'What's that doing there?' [...] 'It helps me have an orgasm'... (7)

paedophile. A person addicted to sex with children. (1)

It's an interesting story. And it ties with our Death to Paedophiles Campaign. (26)

paedophilia. Addiction to sex with children. (1)

The essential self-policing has to do with two areas, male-female violence and paedophilia. (269)

passive male. A male homosexual who is sexually penetrated in coition. (1)

The fact remained that the bed he spent so much time trying not to think about had an occupant, and that occupant had a passive male. (84)

penis. The male sexual organ. (2)

The other half offered penis —enlargement strategies— and Clint had tried them all. (169)

phallus. The penis. (2)

When the strap-on phallus was conspiratorially produced [...] Brendan felt an abject stirring, a sick twitch, between his legs. (257)

rectum. The anus. (1)

'How's your father, love?'
'decim8ted. all the way from caecum 2 rectum.' (326)

semen. The sperm. (1)

What, may I ask, is lovepiss?
Semen, Chief.
Oh. Oh. I thought our style was "manjuice". (77)

6 (*sex*). Coition. (1)

he still wants 6 every nite, but i've got a new str@agem: not washing. (172)

sex-act. Coition. (1)

While he slept and turned he kept remembering the final minutes of the sex-act he had witnessed on Dolorosa Drive. (297)

sex-life. Physical capacity to copulate. (1)

The worst thing, they say, is what it does to your sex-life. (65)

sex weapon. Penis. (1)

And why was he torturing bullying Russia, why was he torturing her with the sex weapon? (142)

sexual intercourse. Coition. (1)

By the time he reached his twentieth year, the Prince of Wales, as he then was, showed no more interest in sexual intercourse than he showed in polo or parachuting. (79-80)

sexualise one's relationship with one's daughter. To commit incest. (1)

You know, if you wanted to sexualise your relationship with your daughter, she'd go along with it. What else can she do? (244)

sleep with. To copulate. (2)

> Though press and public assumed that he was sleeping with at least one or two of the young beauties he frequently squired, Henry was faithful for the next five years. (80)

sodomy. Anal sex. (1)

> Immediately there was an overwhelming emphasis on male-female sodomy. (269)

space between her legs. The female genitals. (1)

> [...] it was in the space between her legs, in this triangular absence (the shape of a capital *y*), that her gravity-centre lay... (66)

spend. To ejaculate. (2)

> I spent on her breasts? That's so *passé*. You'd think I'd remember that. (274)

spend the night. To copulate. (1)

> He even believed that he would be spending the night with Russia on this day: the day of the martyr Valentine. (333)

stimulation. Sexual excitation. (1)

> Dr. Gandhi had taken due note of Russia's appearance, and derived some doctorly stimulation from it. (62)

straight gay. Anal sex. (1)

> Uh, porno's quite gay. And we mean unacknowledged-gay, don't we. Not straight gay. (304)

stripclub. A night club where erotic shows are performed. (1)

> Was he the one that went to a strip-club? (161)

the intima. The female genitals. (1)

> Her subtle eyes pleadingly appraised him, then widened; [...] And so his daubed fingertip sought the intima. (248)

thing between his legs. The penis. (3)

> [...] the thing between his legs was a harsh concentration of gristle. (298)

touch. To fondle in order to get sexual pleasure. By extension, to copulate. (1)

> I made you, so I can touch you, your first child should be your dad's. (236)

verbal 4play (*verbal foreplay*). Verbal erotic stimulation. (1)

> I'd cheer u up with some verbal 4play. (159)

vulva. The female genitals. (2)

> He could now see the preliminary form of her breasts through her shirt; then the stomach still infantilely outthrust; and the vulva, like a long-hand *w*, but all abraded and enflamed [...]. (247)

Notes

1. In the Victorian novel *Hard Times* the presence of sex is indeed very limited: only 22 sexual references disguised under a very vague and indirect euphemistic mitigation despite the fact that affective matters play an important role in the novel (Crespo Fernández 2005: 385-386).

2. Burgen (1996: 20-21) mentions two cases from the 1990s which evocate Victorian times in sexual matters. First, an advertisement was surprisingly banned in the London underground for including the term *vagina*. Second, American Online, one of the most renowned sales companies on the

Internet, censored the word *breasts* in an attempt to eliminate obscene words from the web.

[3]. Martin Amis's web-page, maintained by James Diedrick, offers different reactions to and reviews of the novel that appeared in publications such as *The Guardian*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Telegraph* or *The Independent*.

[4]. From this perspective, cognitive conceptualization of abstract concepts ('sex' in our case) fulfils a euphemistic function insofar as a particular source domain (e.g. 'food') is used to mitigate the taboo target domain in cases like "I did enjoy a delicious meal". In this example, *meal* is figuratively interpreted in terms of the conceptual mapping TO COPULATE IS TO EAT.

[5]. Hereafter, terms and phrases not collected in the appendix and quotations excerpted from *Yellow Dog* will be followed by the page number in brackets.

[6]. Following Luchtenberg (cited in Abrantes 2005: 93-95), euphemism fulfils two main functions, that of *concealing* (the taboo topic is deliberately avoided) and that of *veiling* (the forbidden subject is manipulated in such a way that it only presents a distorted segment of it). I understand that explicit euphemisms only fulfil the function of concealing not the taboo concept, but the coarse word.

[7]. Apart from lexicalized euphemisms, Chamizo Domínguez and Sánchez Benedito (2000: 68-70) distinguish two more types: *semilexicalized* (the substitute is included in a conceptual domain traditionally tied to the taboo) and *creative euphemisms* (the euphemistic item is the result of a novel association with the taboo, only accessible in its phraseological context). For Abrantes (2005), lexicalized and creative euphemisms roughly correspond with *conventional* and *official* euphemisms. In the same vein, Crespo Fernández (2006a: 32-34) proposed a typology of metaphorical euphemism and established four types, namely *explicit*, *conventional*, *novel* and *artful* euphemisms.

[8]. Personal differences based on sex have been separated from the rest of the cases of sexual euphemism since in the phraseological context of the novel they arise as a mode of avoiding personal discrimination rather than as a direct mitigation of sexual realities.

[9]. In this domain I include euphemisms from three areas: sexual life (*erotic life*, 66), love encounters (*date*, 107) and sexual abstinence (*loss of love*, 69).

[10]. Though the morphology of these formations is not related to euphemistic factors, the sexual referents to which these lexical units undoubtedly refer reveal the explicit nature of sexual euphemism in *Yellow Dog*.

[11]. Amis employs two euphemistic substitutes for the taboo 'copulate' which are diametrically opposed to explicit euphemism: *submit to a body of moving water* (39) and *let the waves do it* (39). These are cases of *artful euphemism*, the modality of verbal mitigation which presents a connotative and poetic value. Concerning artful euphemism, see Allan and Burridge (1991: 210-220) and Crespo Fernández (2006b: 75-77).

[12]. As an anonymous referee correctly observes, there seem to exist degrees of euphemistic power in explicit euphemism. For instance, concerning the taboo of 'coition', *encounter* is more toned-down than *act of love*, which palliates the taboo more effectively than *carnal knowledge*, which is, in turn, less strong than *fornication*.

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SPEECH VERSUS WRITING IN THE DISCOURSE OF LINGUISTICS

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1. *Language under Description* versus *of Description*

Among the most memorable yet evidently unremembered aphorisms of the redoubtable J. R. Firth, Britain's founding 'university professor' of the field, was that "four-fifths of linguistics is invention rather than discovery": "just language turned back on itself" (1968 [originals 1952-1959]: 124; 1957 [originals 1934-1951]: 173). Well ahead of his time, he recommended "stating linguistic facts" whilst clearly distinguishing between '*language under description*' (exemplified by texts) versus '*language of description*' (technical terms, notation, etc.). He remarked that "linguists have always disagreed most about terminology and nomenclature in their own technical language" (1957: 71; 1968: 83), even though "linguists should be the first to control, direct, and specialize almost every word they write in linguistic analysis and should remain language-conscious at all levels" (1968: 34).

My own work has consistently sought to be 'exemplified by texts' in step with a clearly defined terminology (e.g. Beaugrande 1980, 1984, 1997, 2004, 2007). But only in the late 1980's, when I was undertaking a detailed analysis of the discourse of some prominent linguists, did I come to appreciate the implications when linguistics has not done the same. I was particularly struck by the discourse of the Danish linguist Louis Hjelmslev in his little-known *Resumé of a Theory of Language* (1975 [original 1941-42]). He later described himself as a 'linguistic theoretician',

a group he said "overwhelm their audience with definitions and with terminology" (1973: 103). And his *Resumé* was surely a case in point, postulating 454 terms — not one of them illustrated with linguistic facts— such as 'ambifundamental exponent' or 'heterosubtagmatic sum' (1975: 177, 198). There, the 'word' was obscurely designated as a "sign of the lowest power, defined by the permutation of the glossematies entering into it"; a noun as 'a pleremati c syntagmateme'; a verb as 'a nexus-conjunction'; an adjective as "a syntagmateme whose characteristic is a greatest-conglomerate of intense characters"; and so on.

The 1960's ushered in a better-known proliferation of terminology. Yet now the terms were not so much technical in themselves, but rather than seemingly ordinary terms expediently endowed with technical meanings, viz.:

> [1] Using the term 'grammar' with a systematic ambiguity to refer, first, to the native speaker's internally represented 'theory of his language' and, second, to the linguist's account of this, we can say that the child has developed and internally represented a generative grammar in the sense described. [...] We are again using the term 'theory' [...] with a systematic ambiguity to refer both to the child's innate predisposition to learn a language of a certain type and to the linguist's account of this. (Chomsky 1965: 25)

These 'ambiguities' magisterially *equated* actual human capacities with 'the linguist's account'. Merely to use the 'terms' this way in effect confirmed the account and thus bypassed the demonstrations or proofs that other sciences demand.

2. Speech versus writing in 'linguistic descriptions'

The issue I wish to address here is the unsettled relations among 'descriptions' in respect to terminology between speech and writing, which to my mind has constituted a serious obstacle to progress. Already in the foundational discourse of Saussure, we were apprised that

> [2] Language and writing are two distinct systems of signs; the second exists for the sole purpose of representing the first. [...] The linguistic object is not both the written and the spoken forms of words; the spoken forms alone constitute the object (1966 [original 1916]: 23f)

This same discourse indicated some indignation about 'the tyranny' whereby "writing usurps the main role" (1966: 31, 24). Grammarians were chided for "drawing attention to the written form", and indeed "reversing the real, legitimate relationship between writing and language" (1966: 30).

> [3] Writing obscures language; it is not a guise for language but a disguise [*in French*, travestie] (1966: 30).

Perhaps the byzantine orthography of Saussure's native French, conditioned by the history of the language, encouraged him to decry 'spelling' for its 'inconsistencies', 'aberrations', 'irrational' or 'illegitimate' forms, and 'absurdities' (1966: 28f). "Visual images lead to wrong pronunciations", 'pathological' 'mistakes', 'monstrosities', and 'deformations' —fit for 'teratological' inquiry (i.e. 'the study of monsters').

I surmise that this hostility may be informally related to the commonplace reflex among traditional language purists and grammarians to regard language change as mere decay (see now Beaugrande 2007). I might adduce one segment of the same discourse [4].

> [4] By imposing itself upon the masses, spelling influences and modifies language. (1966: 31)

In still another turnabout, Saussure rejected "the notion that an idiom changes more rapidly when writing does not exist" yet granted that "spelling always lags behind pronunciation" (1966: 24, 28).

Further inconsistencies could be noted. He freely allowed for change in the 'privileged dialect' [5] without specifying just what that term designates. I would expect it at least to include 'literary language', defined as "any kind of cultivated language, official or otherwise, that serves the whole community" (1966: 195). However, it was associated with 'written language' and hence with 'stability' and 'preservation' [6], albeit this importance was decried as 'undeserved' [7]; and its influence was even diagnosed as a threat to 'linguistic unity' [8] (and all before *Finnegan's Wake*).

> [5] The privileged dialect, once it has been promoted to the rank of official or standard, seldom remains the same (1966: 195)
>
> [6] Literary language breaks away from spoken language [and] adds to the undeserved importance of writing (1966: 21)
>
> [7] Literary language, once it has been formed, generally remains fairly stable, and its dependency on writing gives it a special guarantee of preservation (1966:140)
>
> [8] When a natural idiom is influenced by literary language, linguistic unity may be destroyed (1966: 25)

Why any such threat should be worrisome would be unclear if in any event, "given free reign, a language has only dialects and habitually splinters" (1966:195f).

Despite these various claims and disclaimers, Saussure conceded that since 'the linguist' 'is often unable to observe speech directly, he must consider written texts' and 'pass' through 'the written form' 'to reach language' (1966: 6, 34). "The prop provided by writing, though deceptive, is still preferable" (1966: 32). Moreover, "far from discarding the distinctions sanctioned by spelling", Saussure would "carefully preserve them" (1966: 53, 62).

On the other side of the Atlantic, the equally influential would-be 'founder' Leonard Bloomfield even more roundly degraded written language, viz.:

> [9] Writing is not language, but merely a way of recording language by means of visible marks (1933: 21)
>
> [10] For the linguist, writing is merely an external device, like the use of a phonograph. (1933: 282).

The drastic consequence could be that we do not "need to know something about writing in order to study language" (1933: 282).

The equally byzantine orthography of Bloomfield's native English may have been responsible for the demurral that "the conventions of writing are a poor guide for representing phonemes", ostensibly because "alphabetic writing does not carry out the principle of a symbol for each phoneme", though 'a few languages' were commended as exceptions: Spanish, Bohemian (i.e. Czech), Polish, and Finnish (1933: 79, 85f, 89, 501). 'Philosophers' and 'amateurs' were chided for 'confusing' 'the sounds of speech', the 'phonemes', with the 'printed letters' of 'the alphabet' (1933: 8, 137). Bloomfield too seemed indignant, namely about the 'alterations' inflicted on speech by 'orthography', and quaintly counselled on 'aesthetic grounds', to 'eliminate' 'ugly spelling-pronunciations' (1933: 501) But in another passage, alphabetic writing was judged as working "sufficiently well for practical purposes", and its 'help' as instrumental in "listing phonemes" (1933: 128, 90).

In any event, Bloomfield felt reassured that "the effect of writing upon the forms and development of speech is very slight" (1933: 13). "In principle, a language is the same, whether written or not"; and "the conventions of writing develop independently of actual speech" (1933: 282, 486). Yet elsewhere he averred that "the written record exerts a tremendous effect upon the standard language, at least in syntax and vocabulary" (1933: 486). A lesser contradiction obtruded when 'writing' was said to display 'conservatism', albeit in a 'superficial' manner (1933: 292, 488).

In social terms, Bloomfield suggested that "all our writing is based on the standard forms and on the literary standard" in particular (1933: 48, 52). Moreover, the "native speakers of the standard forms are those born into homes of privilege" (1933: 48). And 'if 'writing' is 'the property of chosen few', it could serve as a tool for "the discrimination of elegant or 'correct' speech" (1933: 13, 22).

Still another objection was that 'written records' are 'misleading', providing "an imperfect and often distorted picture of past speech": besides, they "acquaint us with only an infinitesimal part of the speech-forms of the past" (1933: 60, 481, 293,60). Their use is 'a handicap'; "we should always prefer to have the audible word" (1933: 21). Elsewhere, however, Bloomfield inconsistently claimed that "written records give direct information about the speech-habits of the past" (1933: 21). Also, his own survey of 'languages of the world' (1933: 57-73) continually referred to 'written records', 'manuscripts', and 'inscriptions'.

A vigorous counterpoint between these European and American views was enunciated by J.R. Firth himself a founder of repute in British linguistics noted here at the outset. He vowed that "scientific priority cannot be given to spoken language as against written language" (1968 [originals 1952-59]: 30). Indeed, "in a sense, written words are more real than speech" in being "portable, tangible, material, permanent, and universal" (1964 [originals 1930-37]: 40, 146). Though 'written language' does entail "an abstraction from insistent surroundings", and its "context is entirely verbal", it is still "immersed in the immediacy of social intercourse and largely 'affective'"; and it "refers to an assumed common background of experience" (1968: 14; 1964: 174f). In any 'symbol' like a 'written form', "the general and particular meet", and "a high standard of literacy is the foundation of modern civilized society" (1964: 30, 40, 135).

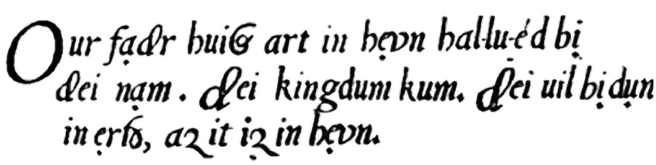
So "the actual forms of writing or spelling are a near concern for the linguist in dealing with his material" (1968: 31). 'Orthography' can "transcend the vagaries of individual utterance", being "grammatically and semantically representative as well as phonetically" (1964: 48). "Grammar must concern itself with letters and marks", because "spelling and writing present the first level of structural analysis in sorting out the grammatical meanings of texts" (1968: 116). Also, "explorations in sociological linguistics" use "the pedestrian techniques of the ABC as the principal means of linguistic description" (1959 [originals 1934-51]: 75).

Still even Firth conceded that "the linguistic 'economies' of speech are not those of writing", and "it is impossible to represent fully to the eye what is meant for the ear" (1964: 174, 146). "For the masses of people, too, the written language shows very little correlation with speech behaviour" (1964: 116). "Spoken and written languages are two distinct sets of habits": "ear language is intimate, social, local", "eye language is general and nowadays everybody's property" (1964: 198). Thus, "unwritten languages have a freedom of progressive economy" (1964: 174f), i.e., are more open to change —just the factor hedged by Saussure and Bloomfield.

3. Plausible motives

These implications of these convoluted discursive moves across the long-range evolution of linguistics might be traced back to several historical, social, and technological motives. For centuries, most descriptions were simply forced to be compiled and illustrated in written language. Even well after speech had been officially declared the 'object' of linguistics, 'formal linguistics' revived the tradition with spatial terms that would be meaningless except for written language, such as 'right-branching' and 'left-branching', or 'subject-raising'.

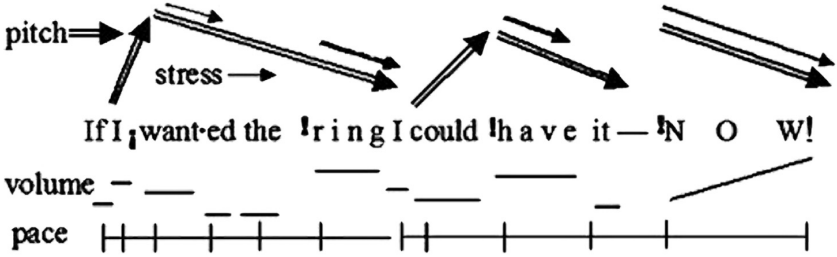
Though spoken language is of course historically antecedent to writing, the questions of how and how far generally defy any comprehensive demonstration for lack of sufficient evidence. Historical investigations have mainly drawn their scant data from occasional clues in written texts, such as rhymes, puns, onomatopoeia, and sporadic projects for spelling reform aimed at a better fit with speech, most of which failed. Already in 1569, John Hart's buoyant *Orthographie, conteyning the due order and reason, howe to write or paint th'image of mannes voice, most like to life or nature* proposed a code that nowhere prevailed:



Lord's Prayer in Hart's 'orthographie'

It does, however, tell us now that voiced and unvoiced 'th' were kept distinct; the vowel sounds in 'who' and 'thy' were pronounced as diphthongs; the past ending of verbs was assigned its own syllable; and so on.

Social investigations, in contrast, confront if anything far too plentiful data. The situation of fieldworkers on previously unrecorded languages is emblematic for the laborious problems of capturing the features of live speech: not just the 'phonemes', but the overall flow of prosody or intonation which signals such clines as stress, pitch, volume, and pace (Beaugrande 2004). The more precise the transcription, the harder it becomes for a wider interpretation beyond the transcribers themselves. Here is my own rendition of Strider's threat to the hobbits at Bree in *The Fellowship of the Ring* (Beaugrande 2007). I am assuming three tone groups with a short rising pitch on the opening unstressed syllables and then a longer falling pitch starting from the first point of stress and arriving at a strong stress for end weight. The first two tone groups move toward louder volume and slower pace; the final one is quite slow and unites falling pitch with increasing volume.



This is more staged than the way Viggo Mortensen speaks it in the cinematic masterpiece, but then his Aragorn —except in battle— is mostly a low-key, soft-spoken lord.

Technological resources have chiefly offered tardy and cranky remedies. The confidence placed by Firth (1964: 151, 159; 1957: 148-55, 173-76) in such heavy-handed 'machines' as the 'gramophone', the 'X-ray', the 'kymograph', and 'the palatograph' may strike a wistful note alongside today's computer programs for 'speech analysers' and 'voice recognition'. But all these are aimed primarily at the front end of spoken language, complementing and refitting the international phonetic alphabet in written language.

Meanwhile, swashbuckling attempts to build a general 'parser' or 'tagger' to capture the grammar or syntax of language in large data sets are still wrestling with the formal indecisiveness of a language like English, the preferred target. They are nearly all frankly dependent on writing rather than speech; they rely on quite conventional terms and categories; and they accordingly confront the stubborn perplexities inherent in the extent to which context rather than form determine the categories of many 'words', e.g., whether one counts as a modifier [11-12] or a verb [13-14].

[11] 'Pleasant little place, this, I think', he said with a *detached* air. 'Not much to do, I fear' (*Father Brown*)

[12] Sylvestra le Touzel has a face with an *arresting* aristocratic beauty (*Telegraph*)

[13] Metaphase kinetochores regain bright staining if they are *detached* from spindle microtubules and kept *detached* for 10 min. (*Journal of Cell Biology*)

[14] A day after *arresting* five Russian officers for spying, Georgia today demanded the handover of a sixth suspect, (*Now Public*)

In some data, this distinction may not be easy to draw even for a human native speaker:

[15] The commissioners found evidence of *staggering* brutality and systematic use of torture (*Keesings*)

[16] A few *staggering* drunks near the centre were the only people about (*Roads That Move*)

[17] Somehow the country looked more *rested*, fresher, cleaner to Cameron than when he had last looked upon it (*Corporal Cameron*)

[18] When you are *rested*, when you are restored, I pray that things may once again assume their proper aspect. (*Sea Hawk*)

In short, technology has yet to advance beyond labour-saving devices to reliable descriptions. Even the sound sequences of spoken language continue to remain open to more human and indeed personal interpretation than do the letter sequences of written language. All in all, the questions technology is best suited to explore are also those which stop far short of any complete description of a language.

4. Parallel terms and descriptions

What seems to me required are sets of terms for parallel descriptions which are acknowledged to be distinct in principle yet can occur 'mapped upon' each other in suitable contexts. For English, our table of terms might read like this:

Speech	Writing
discourse episode	paragraph sequence
conversational turn	paragraph
utterance	sentence
pause or hesitation	punctuation mark
stress	special type (bold, italics, underline, upper case, etc.)
tone group	clause
pitch contour	phrase, clause, sentence
spoken word	written word
spoken syllable	written syllable
phoneme	written letter

Obviously, the table is at best a sequence of plausible approximations which if carefully handled, might assist transcribing speech into writing, or, more obliquely, rendering speech in a written text like a novel. Yet texts intended as writing from the start implicate or enforce more definitive decisions, and generally present tidier data.

In this paper, I must be content with some concise demonstrations. The **utterance** is spoken as an integrated sequence which constitutes a contribution to a **discourse** as an interactive event, and which is intended and accepted as such. It most commonly occurs in a **conversational turn** subsuming what one speaker says at a given point to one or more others, which in turn commonly occurs in a discourse episode subsuming a sequence of turns relating to a shared topic. Here is an authentic sample from the British National Corpus (BNC) in an episode of the familiar scenario where Mumsy 'helps' her kid with homework; a slash indicates a short pause, and two a slashes a longer one, though this transcriber additionally marked them with punctuation.

[19] BRENDA: How long's the diary got to be?

LEE: I dunno /, page /, one page

BRENDA: Would you write it like an actual /, can you fit it in a diary or have you got to write it /, the date /, just /, just like a proper diary /?

LEE: I'm not sure /.

BRENDA: You should really do it like a /, like make a little folder thing up and then date it Monday /, you know //

Transcribed, the spontaneous qualities become readily evident, notably when a grammatical unit is incomplete ('page /, one page'), abandoned unfinished ('like a /, like make') or emended ('write it /, the date'). Each turn is fairly self-contained and relevant to the same topic. A new episode begins when Brenda turns to news of the day, asking "What 's the matter with Gary Lineker's baby?"

The contrast with fictional written episodes is instructive, e.g.:

[20] She set out the bottle of Scotch and the glasses. Bob declined.

'Tell you the truth, Jess', he said. 'I've cut out the drink. Help yourself, of course. If you don't mind I'll try some of the seltzer straight.'

'You've stopped drinking?' she said, looking at him steadily and unsmilingly. 'What for?'

'It wasn't doing me any good', said Bob. 'Don't you approve of the idea?'

Jessie raised her eyebrows and one shoulder slightly.

'Entirely', she said with a sculptured smile. [...] Jessie, with an unreadable countenance, brought back the bottle of Scotch and the glasses and a bowl of cracked ice and set them on the table.

'May I ask,' she said, with some of the ice in her tones, 'whether I am to be included in your sudden spasm of goodness? If not, I'll make one for myself. It's rather chilly this evening, for some reason.' (O. Henry, *The Rubaiyat of a Scotch Highball*)

Some authors, O. Henry among them, carefully specify the manner of speaking, including non-verbal but meaningful behaviour.

What might be an episode by its sequencing stands out if the topic is unstable or discontinuous, as in a note left by a hastily departed wife:

> [21] Dear John: I just had a telegram saying mother is very sick. I am going to take the 4.30 train. Brother Sam is going to meet me at the depot there. There is cold mutton in the ice box. I hope it isn't her quinzy again. Pay the milkman 50 cents. She had it bad last spring. Don't forget to write to the company about the gas meter, and your good socks are in the top drawer. I will write tomorrow. Hastily, KATY (O. Henry, *The Pendulum*)

The **utterance** seems to me best defined by as a speaker's intentional contribution rather than too narrowly as 'a natural unit of speech bounded by breaths or pauses' (*Summer Institute of Linguistics Glossary of Linguistic Terms*). As we see in sample [19], pauses can and do occur within a sequence that ought to count as a single utterance, as when Brenda was trying to clarify just how to 'write' that 'diary'as a silly school assignment. On the other hand, the stipulation, also from the *Institute's Glossary*, that 'in dialogue, each turn by a speaker may be considered an utterance' seems too me too broad, witness these data from the same London family:

> [22] LEE: I don't know if got Bob Marley one or not /.
>
> BRENDA: We can buy you that then /, if you want it /, we never know what to buy you //. Right now that's it /, we're now in the Argos [an 'Online Catalogue for Home Shopping' on the television just then] // So did you get your good work for /, your good sticker for work again or what? // or what?

Brenda's single turn evidently subsumes three utterances as contributions, whereas neither pauses nor turn boundaries would yield the same description.

I find the common practices counterproductive and misleading of either using 'utterance' as the simple production of a 'sentence' [23] or defining it as the result of some 'pragmatic supplementation' of a 'sentence' [24].

> [23] Semantics provides [...] specifies the truth conditions of the *sentences* of the language. Pragmatics provides an account of how *sentences* are used in *utterances* to convey information in context. (Ruth Kempson, *Grammar and Conversational Principles*)[www]
>
> [24] we must just acknowledge the fact that some *sentences* are semantically incomplete, [...] and that understanding *utterances* of them requires pragmatic supplementation. (Kent Bach, *The Semantics-Pragmatics Distinction: What It Is and Why It Matters*)[www]

The two are plainly units of different orders. The 'utterance' must indeed be 'used' if that means 'spoken', but if 'truth conditions' were antecedent, speakers would rarely be 'understood'. How should Lee understand the 'truth' (ostensibly unrelated to 'information in context') of Brenda's assertion that "we never know what to buy you" when she has just declared her intention to buy him Bob Marley? Or of her clueless question about "Gary Lineker's baby", who was reportedly battling against leukaemia?

Insofar as a 'pause' is relevant to writing, it is likely to be set off by a 'punctuation mark', although other motives readily apply as well, such as indicating the types of units before or after (see now Beaugrande 2007). In speech, the 'pause' is probably best defined as the initial and final demarcator of the **tone group** spoken as an integrated sequence, usually with at least one 'strong stress' mainly occurring near the end. If we mark tone group boundaries with ||, **strong stress**, articulated with the most force with a raised mark!, **weak stress** articulated with less force with a lowered and inverted mark ¡, and unstressed with no mark, plus a raised dot · to indicate the boundaries between 'syllables', then Brenda's turn in [22] might look like this:

> [22a] || We can ¡buy you! that ¡then ||, ¡if you ˡwant it ||, we ¡nev·er ˡknow ˡwhat to ¡buy you ||. ˡRight || ¡now ¡that's it || we're ¡now in the ˡAr·gos || [an 'Online Catalogue for Home Shopping' on the television just then] ¡So did you ˡget your ¡good ˡwork for /, your ¡good ˡstick·er for ˡwork a·¡gain or ¡what? || or ˡwhat? ||

To be sure, I would properly need to consult the actual recording, which the BNC doesn't provide. Here I can merely supply my own interpretation based on plausible assumptions, such as that 'know what' should hint at some motherly resentment; that the strong stress in 'good work' falls only on the second word unless some contrast is implied with other qualities of 'work': that a repeated 'or what' would carry more stress than the previous one; and so on.

Writing relies on special type, such as bold, italics, underline, and upper case. These can associated with stress [25], but are not definitely so [26].

> [25] after that there wasn't anything to do but *hang on* —[...] All of a sudden I was *sailing* (Tom Wolfe, *The Mild Ones*)
>
> [26] The Mississippi does not alter its locality by cut-offs alone: it is always changing its habitat BODILY – is always moving bodily SIDEWISE. (Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*).

By convention, published titles are set in italics. I myself use bold type to identify my major terms when they are being introduced and defined.

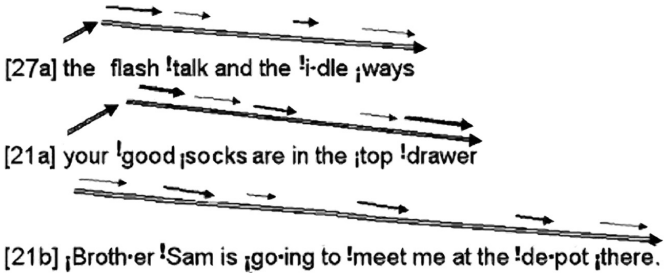
As we see in [22a], the tone group easily coincides with the clause. But such is by no means required, even in written English [27], especially when representing a conversation [28].

[27] Well, laughing or crying, this is what it has come to at last. All *the drinking and recklessness*; *the flash talk and the idle ways* (Rolf Boldrewood, *Robbery under Arms*)

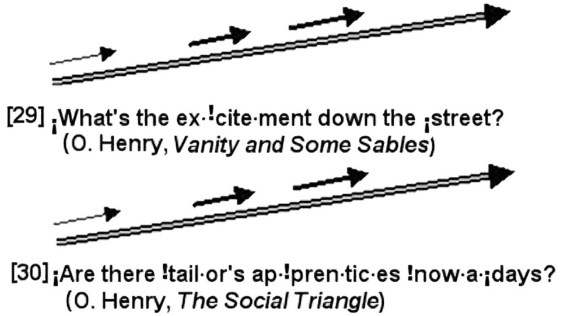
[28] 'Come up to the corner and I'll square up. *Glad to see you. Saves me a walk.*' (O. Henry, *The Assessor of Success*)

Evidently, non-clause patterns can be thought to indicate a causal style.

The **pitch contour** indicates the movement pf the pitch throughout a linguistic unit which may appear in writing as a phrase [27a], a clause [21a], or a sentence [21b]. The dominant pitch contour in English is a falling one from the first stress in the tone group down to the end, as is typical of the **declarative**, mainly used in **statements**:



The **pitch contour** of the **interrogative clause**, mainly used in **questions**, is typically a rising one, both for the **question-word question** [29] and the **yes-or-no question** [30].



I have indeed undertaken elsewhere to show that all four of the familiar clause or sentence types (imperative and exclamatory as well) are primarily determined by their prosody or intonation, and only secondarily by their grammatical form (Beaugrande 2007).

The parallel between the **spoken word** and the **written word** is less secure than is widely taken for granted. The long-term struggles of 'voice recognition' attest to the considerable problems in just picking the words out of the raw stream of fluent speech when the analyser is a computer rather than a competent speaker of English. By comparison, much of the stir over what should or should not be written as one word and how, begin with data is pre-empted by envisioning as written forms throughout, e.g., ones ostensibly designating social 'classes' [31-33].

[31] For white *middleclass* males, however, pride and dignity has little resonance (Simon Reynolds, *Blissed Out*)

[32] *lower-class* juvenile delinquents find themselves confronting a legal system which has literally declared war against them (Steven Box, *Power, Crime, and Mystification*)

[33] There was never a consensus for them, as there was for *middle class* and *lower class* opinion. (Anthony Giddens, *The Third Way*)

The situation is similarly pre-empted for the parallel between the **spoken syllable** and the **written syllable**. Even the most basic 'rule', stipulating that a syllable must contain at least one vowel, is honoured more in writing than in speech. If analysis shows that the final syllables of, say, 'bitter' and 'bottle' is actually spoken only as the 'liquid' consonants 'r' and 'l', the written form (aside from typos) hardly occurs except where the writer is deliberately defying convention, e.g.:

[34] cherish dos moments bcoz u cn nvr b prson ur ryt now w/o dos sweet & *bittr* past. (*Friendster: Clobelle*)[www]

[35] ai bot **a** *bottl* av scotch wisky. (*Victorian Fortunecity*)[www]

The situation is most pre-empted for the parallel between the **phoneme** and the **written letter**. The 'distinctive features' that define the phoneme need not be accurately produced in speech because the phoneme is an abstract target shared by speaker and hearer (MacNeilage 1970, 1980). The 'features' can tell us the difference between 'word' and 'bird' but not between word' and 'whirred', which sound the same in British English yet (admittedly rare) juxtapositions like [36] and [37] are equally unlikely to cause mistakes in hearing.

[36] Bird after *bird whirred* up on buzzing wings (Ed Sandys, *A Day with the Quail*)

[37] In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was purred, and the purred Word was with God, and the Purred *Word Whirred* through a universe yet formless and unfurred. (*Unasked4 Magical Ever-Expanding Book of Things Unasked4*)[www]

The egregious mismatches of orthography in English and French have not prevented them from being touted at times as the world's master languages. Writing English in 'standard orthography' resembles excavating layers of buried civilisations, and French far more so. Either of these languages, if rewritten everywhere in a 'phonetic alphabet' might incur the danger of a new illiteracy among the general population unversed in history of languages. Quixotic respellings like those displayed in [34-35] are socially rather than linguistically motivated, and nobody expects them to attain 'standard' currency.

What seems needed now is a thorough investigation of how speakers and hearers actually navigate as they speak or listen versus when they write and read. Of particular interest is whether they actually covert back and forth, e.g., by generating a 'phonemic recoding' during 'visual word recognition' (Rubenstein, Spafford, and Rubenstein 1971; Hanley and McDonnell 1997; Liebenthal, Binder, Spitzer, Possing and Medler 2005). One prospective goal might be to uncover how typical problems or errors occur, e.g., among children or foreign learners of the language.

5. My last word

In this paper, I have essayed to outline the perplexities among past terms for speech versus writing, and have proposed suitable terms for parallel descriptions. The heavy but insufficiently acknowledged investment in written language in linguistics and indeed in popular conceptions of language has not been conducive to progress or insight in understanding or describing language in any comprehensive manner, but forced speech into terminologies aimed at writing. Yet what prospects such a proposal may have for reanimating the stagnant situation I cannot divine, even after a lengthy career of swimming against many currents.

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TASK EFFECTS ON EFL LEARNERS' PRODUCTION OF SUGGESTIONS: A FOCUS ON ELICITED PHONE MESSAGES AND EMAILS*

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1. Introduction

Pragmatic competence has been regarded as a fundamental element in different models analysing communicative competence (Canale and Swain, 1980; Bachman 1990; Celce-Murcia et al., 1995). Placing this component of pragmatic competence in the field of second language acquisition, increasing attention has been paid to studies about interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) over the last few years (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996; Kasper and Rose, 1999, 2002; Kasper and Roever, 2005). Within those studies, most researchers have examined learners' ability to produce different speech acts (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001). In order to conduct this type of research and analyse learners' speech act behaviour, insights into research methodology have been developed (Kasper and Dahl, 1991; Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Kasper, 2000; Kasper and Rose, 2002), although there is a need to further investigate this area by widening the types of data collection instruments created, as well as including learners from distinct linguistic backgrounds.

Within this framework, the aim of this paper is to examine the task effects on two production instruments specifically designed for this investigation (i.e. phone messages and email tasks) on learners' production of suggestions in a foreign language context. To this end, we will first provide a detailed theoretical background on data collection instruments employed in ILP by differentiating

between oral and written production data. Additionally, the studies that have been conducted with the aim of comparing both oral and written production data will also be described. Then, we will present our particular study with a focus on the explanation of how the two production tasks of phone messages and emails were elaborated. Finally, concluding remarks on the present study will be made, and pedagogical implications concerning the use of the tasks to collect learners' pragmatic data in the foreign language setting will be proposed.

2. Theoretical background on data production collection instruments in ILP

Kasper and Rose (2002) have examined the main methodological approaches that have been employed to analyse how target language pragmatics is learnt. The authors divide the data collection instruments used in ILP into three groups, namely those examining spoken discourse, those concerning different types of questionnaires, and those involving oral and written forms of self-report. For the purposes of this study, we focus on the most typical ones employed to collect learners' production data. A distinction has been made between oral and written data collection instruments.

2.1. Oral production data

Among the different methodologies that have been used to collect learners' oral production data in ILP research (i.e. examining authentic discourse, analysing elicited conversation, preparing role-plays), the use of the role-play has been widely employed to examine learners' use of a variety of pragmatic features. Role-play has been defined as a type of instrument that provides learners with a detailed description of a situation they are required to perform (Kasper and Dahl, 1991). Depending on the extent of the interaction (i.e. amount and variety of production involved), a distinction has been made between closed and open role-plays. In closed role-plays, learners have to respond to the description of a situation that involves specific instructions, and the interlocutors may also have suggestions with regard to the way they should respond. In contrast, learners engaged in open role-plays are only presented with the situation and asked to perform it without any further guidelines. Thus, open role-plays may involve as many turns and discourse phases as the interlocutors need in order to maintain their interaction. Furthermore, assigning different roles may allow researchers to observe how the sociopragmatic factors of power, distance and degree of imposition (Brown and Levinson, 1987) may influence learners' selection of particular pragmalinguistic forms to express the communicative act involved in the role-play performance.

In addition to all these positive characteristics, namely those of representing oral production, operating the turn-taking mechanism and the fact that they involve opportunities for interaction/negotiation, the use of role-plays to collect learners' oral production also entails certain limitations. As Golato (2003) points out, the roles learners may be asked to perform are often fictitious or imagined, and this fact may influence their production when they have to act roles they have never played in real life. In addition, this author also mentions that performing role-plays, in contrast to authentic conversations, does not imply any consequences for the learners and, therefore, not only *what* is said but *how* it is said may not reflect real speech. Another aspect that should also be taken into account is the number of participants that this oral task may involve: it may not be possible to arrange the appropriate conditions for a large number of pairs to perform the role-plays and the subsequent transcription of the long conversations may be very time-consuming for the researcher. In spite of these limitations, role-plays have still been regarded as more ethnographic and similar to authentic language use than written production techniques, which are described below.

2.2. Written production data

Regarding the collection of learners' written production data, the discourse completion test (DCT), which according to Kasper and Rose (2002) falls under the type of questionnaires, has been one of the most commonly used in ILP research. This instrument involves a written description of a situation followed by a short dialogue with a gap that has to be filled in by the learner. The context specified in the situation is designed in such a way that the particular pragmatic aspect under study is elicited (Kasper and Dahl, 1991). One of the advantages attributed to this instrument is that it allows control over the contextual variables that appear in the situational description and which may affect learners' choice of particular forms when writing their responses. Moreover, the use of DCTs allows the researcher to collect a large amount of data in a relatively short period of time (Houck and Gass, 1996). However, as noted by Kasper and Rose (2002), the fact that they can be administered faster than other data collection instruments does not mean that this is always the easiest instrument to employ. As these authors argue, designing the DCT is best suited to the goals of the study and the evaluation process that takes time to develop (see also Bardovi-Harlig, 1999 on this point).

In addition to this consideration, this research method has also been criticised for being too artificial, as it presents short written segments rather than real-life extracts (Rose, 1994) and, as a pen and paper instrument, it has also been claimed to resemble a test-like method (Sasaki, 1998). This is because, although responses are thought of as being oral, learners are asked to respond in a written mode what they

think they would say in a particular situation, which may not exactly correspond to what they would actually say in the same setting under real circumstances (Golato, 2003). Although using a DCT may involve all the previously mentioned limitations, Kasper and Rose (2002) point out that this instrument still indicates which particular forms and strategies learners choose to employ in a given situation. Thus, the authors claim that although not comparable to face-to-face interaction, it can provide pertinent information regarding learners' pragmalinguistic and metapragmatic knowledge on the specific pragmatic feature under study.

Given that the two most typical instruments used to collect learners' production data in ILP research (i.e. role-plays and DCTs) present advantages and limitations, research has been conducted to find out whether the use of one instrument rather than the other influences the results of the study. A review of this research is provided in the next subsection.

2.3. Studies comparing oral and written production data

One of the first studies comparing data from a written DCT with oral data from authentic interactions, in this case from telephone conversations between two native speakers (NSs), was conducted by Beebe and Cummings (1985, later published in 1996). By comparing the refusals employed by the NSs in these two types of production data, the authors observed that the amount of data obtained in the oral responses was not only greater but also more repetitive and elaborate than in the written one. Moreover, the telephone conversations also provided the participants with opportunities to cooperate and, consequently, negotiate their refusal exchanges. However, the authors also found that although the oral data showed a better representation of authentic talk, the DCT could still be validated, since the contents of semantic formulae were similar in the two instruments. Similar findings were observed in Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig's (1992) research, which also dealt with authentic production data. In particular, the authors contrasted the use of rejections by native and non-native speakers (NNSs) of English in a written DCT and in an authentic encounter, namely that of an academic advising session, and differences were observed in both the frequency and the type of rejection strategies employed. These authentic encounters revealed not only a narrower use of semantic formulae and downgraders in the production questionnaire than in the oral conversations, but also longer exchanges containing instances of turn-taking and negotiation strategies. This fact was also noted by Margalef-Boada's (1993) study on the speech act of refusals, which compared an open role-play and a written DCT. Although the results showed that the same content and range of semantic formulae for refusals appeared in both types of techniques, as occurred in Beebe and Cummings's (1985) study, the oral data revealed longer and more complex

interventions than the written data due to the interactive nature of the role-play. Similarly, Houck and Gass (1996) found that the data from the videotaped role-play employed in their study also implied longer responses and negotiation segments than the DCT. Finally, in the study conducted by Golato (2003) on compliment responses, the author also contrasted naturally occurring talk with a DCT. More specifically, the author compared data from a corpus of 6 hours of telephone and 25 hours of face-to-face conversations with a DCT consisting of seven situations that appeared frequently in the natural data. Results showed important differences between the two types of data, since none of the participants filling out the DCT chose to ignore a compliment in any of the situations and the way in which they claimed to agree with compliments was also different from real discourse.

In contrast to the findings observed in the studies described above, Rintell and Mitchell (1989) found no significant differences in the responses obtained from both a DCT and a closed role-play. The authors compared the use of requests and apologies by English as a Second Language (ESL) learners and English NSs in these two methods, claiming that the language elicited was very similar in both tasks. These results may have been due to the fact that the closed type of role-play did not involve any interaction between two or more participants, since only one turn was allowed. In a comparison of data-gathering methods (i.e. written DCTs, oral DCTs, field notes and natural conversations), Yuan (2001) examined the production of compliment and compliment responses and also observed that providing participants with only one turn in the oral and written DCTs did not generate the interaction that is observed in role-plays and natural conversations. Nevertheless, in terms of amount of data, results showed that responses from the oral DCT still included a higher number of features typical of natural speech.

As can be observed, a common characteristic shared by all previous studies concerns the fact that all were conducted in second language contexts. This fact is important, since as Sasaki (1998) argues, most of the situations described in the instruments designed to elicit participants' responses may not be appropriate in a foreign language setting because participants may not be familiar with them. Taking this consideration into account, Sasaki (1998) compared a written production questionnaire with role-plays specifically designed for a group of Japanese learners studying English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Results obtained from this comparison were in line with previous research, since responses from the role-plays were longer and showed a greater variety of strategies than those found in the written questionnaire. Also focusing on an EFL setting, Safont (2005) contrasted learners' production on requests in a DCT with role-play data and found that the oral task revealed longer responses, involving more than one turn, than the written questionnaire. However, its author reported that statistically the learners produced

more appropriate responses in the DCT than in the oral research method. Safont (2005) claimed that these results might have been due to the fact that the written task was carried out individually with no time constraints, whereas the oral role-play involved an interlocutor and it was tape-recorded.

After reviewing the previous studies comparing results from oral and written production data, several significant aspects emerge. Findings from most of the studies showed that, given the interactive nature of role-plays and authentic discourse, participants' responses in these oral tasks were longer and more elaborate than those elicited in written form. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind, as Sasaki (1998) noted, that the majority of these studies were conducted in second language contexts. This fact may have important implications when designing and administering different research methods, since the context in which a language is learnt affects the chances learners may have of developing their pragmatic competence (Safont, 2005). For this reason, the opportunities for being exposed to and being able to use the target language are likely to be more restricted in a foreign language context, where these chances are limited to the classroom. Thus, taking into account Safont's (2005) results quoted above into account, which showed that learners produced more requests in the DCT than in role-play, we believe that production data elicited by DCTs, when created in an accurate way, allows the researcher to examine how learners activate their pragmatic knowledge. Moreover, learners engaged in a written production task are allowed more time to think and reflect about different strategies for a particular situation, in contrast to oral production research, which makes greater cognitive demands on the learners. In spite of all these observations, a written questionnaire should never be regarded as a substitute for natural data, but in view of the limitations observed in a foreign language setting, the instruments that should be created and implemented are those best suited to the goals of the study in question and the participants involved in it (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Kasper and Rose, 2002).

Within the framework of the above mentioned assumptions regarding the strengths and weaknesses involved in typical oral and written types of data collection instruments on the one hand, and the importance of paying attention to the setting where the study takes place on the other, the purpose of the present study is to examine the task effects on two production instruments specifically designed for this research (i.e. phone messages and email tasks) on learners' production of suggestions in an EFL context. To that end, the following research question was posed:

- Does learners' production of suggestions vary depending on the task they are performing, that is, either an oral or a written production task (i.e. phone messages versus email responses)?

On the basis of this research question and findings from previous ILP research comparing oral and written production data, we formulated the following hypothesis:

> *The production task, that is, an oral (i.e. phone messages) or a written (i.e. email responses) task, will affect learners' production of suggestions.*

3. Methodology

3.1. Participants

Participants for the study consisted of 81 students (69 males and 12 females) who were enrolled in computer science degree courses at Universitat Jaume I (Castellón, Spain). Their ages ranged between 19 and 25, the average age being 20.69 years old. The length of time spent learning English varied as follows: from 7 to 10 years, 68%; from 2 to 6 years, 25%; more than 10 years, only 7%. Participants did not differ with regard to their ethnicity or academic background, and shared an intermediate proficiency level of English that was evaluated on the basis of their performance in the Department of English Studies placement test carried out prior to the study.

3.2. Pragmatic feature examined

The pragmatic feature addressed in this study was that of suggestions, a directive speech act which involves an utterance in which the speaker asks the hearer to do something that will benefit the hearer (Searle, 1976; Rintell, 1979). In order to deal with the wide range of suggestion expressions available in English, a taxonomy was designed on the basis of different theoretical frameworks (i.e. speech act theory and politeness theory), previous literature in the ILP field, and data concerning suggestions identified in NSs' oral and written production (see Martínez-Flor, 2005, for a detailed explanation of the making of such a taxonomy). However, among the different pragmalinguistic forms that were identified in this taxonomy and that can be employed to perform the head act of the speech act of suggestions, we just focused on a selection of twelve linguistic realisations as the target items. Moreover, the selected target forms were distributed into two groups depending on the sociopragmatic factor of status proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) in their politeness theory, as can be seen below:

a) *Equal status*: Why don't you...?; Have you tried...?; You can just...; You might want to...; Perhaps you should...; I think you need...

b) *Higher status*: I would probably suggest that...; Personally, I would recommend that...; Maybe you could...; It would be helpful if you...; I think it might be better to...; I'm not sure, but I think a good idea would be...

The reason for selecting these twelve pragmalinguistic forms in particular was made on the basis that they were the most frequently employed by the NSs that participated in our study at the stage of designing the instructional materials and the production tasks used to measure learners' use of such forms in different situations that varied according to the sociopragmatic factor of status. Specifically, we had to choose a limited number of pragmalinguistic forms for suggestions, since learners received different types of instruction (i.e. explicit versus implicit) on how to use this speech act appropriately depending on whether the situations involved an equal or a higher status relationship between the interlocutors (see Martínez-Flor, 2006, for a detailed explanation of the instructional treatment they received). However, in the present study we were only interested in examining whether appropriate learner production of these target realisations for suggestions depended on the production task they were involved in.

3.3. Data collection procedure

In order to collect our data, two particular instruments were created on the basis of Bardovi-Harlig's (1999) assumptions regarding methods of data collection. According to this author, the best research methods in ILP are the ones that fit the research questions of the particular study, so she suggests that the researcher should carefully create his/her tasks according to what is already known in the field (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999). Therefore, our participants were required to perform two different production tasks that involved making phone calls (i.e. oral production task) and sending emails (i.e. written production task). In order to design these production tasks, which consisted of eight different situations each, we took previous research in the field of ILP into account. First, all situations varied according to the sociopragmatic factor of status (Brown and Levinson, 1987) and, consequently, two levels of status were considered: equal (i.e. student to student) and higher (i.e. student to teacher). Second, given the fact that all our participants were University students, we followed the guidelines developed by Hudson et al. (1995) and set all the situations at the University, as a context familiar to our participants. In this way, the participants had to make suggestions playing the role of students, that is, they were asked to be themselves and perform as they thought they actually would actually under the same circumstances (Trosborg, 1995). Finally, another important aspect that we also considered was the fact that each situation was made in such a way that learners had to make only one suggestion, thus avoiding alternative suggestions for the same situation.

When it came to devising the oral production task, we decided to create one which only elicited the learners' production of suggestions. In other words, if we had made use of a role-play, we would have had to examine not only how to make a suggestion but also the response made by the interlocutor when either accepting or rejecting the suggestion made. In this sense, we should have considered the speech act of suggestion as a set that consists of an adjacency pair (Koester, 2002), but this went beyond the scope of the present study. Thus, the focus of attention was the learners' spontaneous oral responses to the situations presented when making the telephone call. In order to conduct this oral production task, the learners came individually to the teacher's office and after reading the eight situations, they had to make a telephone call and leave a message (see Appendix A for an example of one of the situations employed in the oral production task). For each situation the answering machine was activated and learners heard the person they were calling say that he/she was not at home. And then the learners had to leave a message (i.e. make a suggestion) on the answering machine. All phone calls were tape-recorded and transcribed.

When it came to setting up the written production task, we designed one which took into account some of the limitations attributed to the DCT, such as its artificiality in presenting short written segments rather than real-life extracts (Rose, 1994) or its resemblance to a test-like method in being a pen and paper instrument (Sasaki, 1998). Thus, we decided to collect participants' written data by using electronic messages, since the use of new technologies to collect learners' pragmatic output has increased over the last few years, a variety of techniques being available (Kinginger, 2000; Belz and Kinginger, 2002; Belz and Thorne, 2006). We considered the use of email responses to be an authentic and readily available task that allows written data collection. In order to conduct this written production task, the learners were brought to a computer lab where they were requested to read the eight situations and send an email to the email addresses provided (see Appendix B for an example of one of the situations employed in the written production task). All the emails were printed for subsequent analysis.

3.4. Coding and statistical analysis

In order to analyse the data, we counted all the suggestions employed by the learners in the two production tasks, which made a total of 1296 responses (81 students x 2 tasks x 16 situations). However, we only codified those twelve pragmalinguistic forms that had been selected as the target forms, since the learners had received instruction on their appropriate use depending on which situations they employed. Consequently, it was only when learners employed the target pragmatic forms to express the suggestions in appropriate contexts (i.e. equal or

higher status situations) that the response was considered pragmatically appropriate and assigned a score.

After codifying all the responses, we contrasted their use in both the oral and written production tasks to ascertain whether there was a greater number of appropriate responses in one of the tasks than in the other. In order to discern whether the differences in the two tasks were significant or not, we employed a Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks test. This nonparametric statistical procedure was chosen after applying a normality test to the data (i.e. the Kolmogorov-Smirnov **z**) and finding that the data were evenly distributed.

4. Results and discussion

The aim of the present study was to compare the two production tasks (i.e. phone and email tasks) in order to ascertain whether there are task effects on learners' use of suggestions. In order to examine this issue of task effects, and within the framework of findings from previous research on this aspect, we formulated our hypothesis, which predicted that the production task learners were engaged in would influence their use of appropriate suggestions. Thus, we analysed the effect of the oral production task and the written production task in the learners' use of suggestions. As can be seen in Figure 1 below, it seems that learners made almost the same use of suggestions in the phone task (44%) as in the email task (56%), their use being slightly higher in the latter, that is, in the written production task.

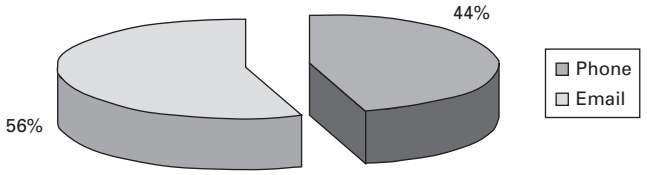

FIGURE 1: Overall use of the targeted forms for suggestions in the phone and email tasks

In order to examine whether this difference is statistically significant, we applied a Wilcoxon test that compared learners' performance in two different but related measures (i.e. phone and email tasks). The results from applying this test, which are illustrated in Table 1, reveal that the difference observed between learners' use of suggestions in the phone task and the email task is statistically significant ($p<0.01$).

TASK	DF	MEAN RANK	MEAN	MEDIAN	SIG.
Phone	81	35.40	2.27	2.50	.005*
Email		26.09	2.85	3.00	

* Sig. at p<0.01 level

TABLE 1: Differences as regards the overall use of target forms for suggestions in the phone and email tasks

In view of these results, we may therefore claim that the production task learners are engaged in exerts an influence on their use of suggestions. This fact supports previous research that highlighted significant task effects when comparing the oral and written production of different speech acts (Margalef-Boada, 1993; Beebe and Cummings, 1996; Houck and Gass, 1996; Sasaki, 1998). Findings from these studies illustrated that the oral tasks involved a greater amount of data than the written production tasks. Results from our study, in contrast, have shown that a greater number of pragmalinguistic forms for suggestions were found in the written production task, in line with Safont (2005). Possible explanations for these outcomes may be related to the fact that the instruments used to collect data were different, as we employed phone messages and email tasks instead of the methods employed in those studies (i.e. natural conversations or role-plays and written DCTs). Thus, the fact that learners were tape-recorded when leaving the oral message after hearing an answering machine may have exerted some pressure on them. Moreover, they were not engaged in a conversation in which they could interact with an interlocutor and, consequently, produce a wider amount of data. In fact, the oral task our learners participated in allowed them only one turn, which may have seemed to resemble more closely a type of closed role-play (Rintell and Mitchell, 1989) than an open role-play, which involves more than one turn. For these reasons, learners' performance in this type of oral task may have differed from the participants' behaviour in the above-quoted studies. The following is an example illustrating our learners' responses in one situation from the oral production task (i.e. phone).

Example (1) [1]

> *Phone:*
>
> One of the professors you know from the Business Administration Department asks you to help him to organise a summer course on the use of PowerPoint. As part of the course, he would like to invite a professor from your Computer Science Department for a practical presentation of this programme. When you arrive home, the names of some professors from your department who could participate in this course suddenly occur to you. Call the professor in charge of the course and suggest a good professor for this PowerPoint presentation:

> Hello... I'm Manolo... I call for suggest you... eh... one professor for the summer course of PowerPoint... I think a good idea would be... eh... to call Oscar Belmonte... because he is a good professor in the department of computer science...
>
> Hello... This is María... I heard that you need to know the name of a professor who might help you in organising a course on PowerPoint... eh... I have thought about Gloria because she uses PowerPoint a lot in her classes... so it would be helpful if you contact her and ask her... Bye.

As can be seen from the above example, learners were presented with the situation and asked to call the professor in order to make a suggestion. After they heard the answering machine, they were provided with one turn to make the suggestion, since we were interested in analysing learners' ability to produce this particular speech act spontaneously. However, the fact that they did not hold a conversation with their interlocutor may have prevented them from producing longer responses and, consequently, a greater number of realisations for suggestions. In fact, Safont's (2005) study, which also reported statistically significant differences between the oral (i.e. open role-play) and written (i.e. DCT) tasks employed in her study, demonstrated that participants' responses in the role-play were longer than in the DCT due to the fact that the oral task implied more than one turn. Moreover, the author also found that a greater amount of request linguistic strategies was found in the written task than in the oral activity. In this sense, our results are in line with Safont's (2005) study, in that our learners also produced a higher number of suggestions in the written production task than in the oral one.

Another possible explanation for obtaining more pragmatically appropriate responses in the written task is that, just as we employed a different oral production task (i.e. phone messages), so our written task was designed specifically for the present study (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Kasper and Rose, 2002). Thus, instead of employing a written DCT, we made use of emails, which seemed to obviate the shortcomings attributed to the typical DCT, namely those of being too artificial (Rose, 1994) or its resembling a test-like method (Sasaki, 1998). In this way, collecting learners' written production data through emails may have contributed to our results, since the task was carried out individually with no time constraints and it appears that learners had more time to think about the different strategies that could be employed to make their suggestions in a particular situation. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the learners' responses in the email tasks were long and elaborate —a finding that was observed in the oral production tasks rather than in the written DCTs employed in previous studies (Houck and Gass, 1996; Sasaki, 1998; Safont, 2005). The following examples illustrate learners' responses in a situation from the written production task (i.e. email) employed in our study.

Example (2)[2]

> ***Email:***
>
> While organising a workshop on the creation of websites for students of non-computer science degrees to be offered during the next academic year, the Director of the Computer Science Department is interested in students' ideas about it. In particular, he would like to know your opinion about the materials that could be employed. Send the director an email suggesting a good book on designing websites that could be employed during this workshop:
>
> Dear Mr.Director:
>
> In order to the course about the creation of websites I have been thinking some ideas. It would be helpful if you use a program called "dream weber". It is very easy to learn, and the participants will not have problems. Maybe you could buy a book that I used in some subjects last year. It is called "Web design for sillies". It describes in a general way the web design, without computer technical words. Besides contains a cd in which you could find a little program to designe a web, and many different examples about this.
>
> Yours fairfully.
>
> Dear director
>
> I would recommend that you use programs and handbooks to explain the students how make a website. There are more programs such as Front Page, Dreamweaver, Composer... I think it might be better to use Front Page because is the most easy. www.handbooks.com is the best page on internet about handbooks,it has good material.
>
> I hope that this information is good for you.
>
> Yours sincerely

As can be observed in Example 2, learners' responses were not written down with a single sentence, as has been found in studies employing a DCT (Sasaki, 1998; Safont, 2005). Instead, the answers were contextualised and followed a discourse-based structure in which further information and various details regarding the situation were provided. As a result we are convinced that employing an email task to collect learners' written production data seems to be a research method with a potential that deserves future research.

5. Conclusion and Pedagogical Implications

The aim of the present study was that of comparing learners' performance when making suggestions in two different tasks: an oral production task (i.e. phone messages) and a written production task (i.e. email). In order to examine this

aspect, our hypothesis predicted the influence of the production task to be performed on learners' use of appropriate suggestions. In testing this hypothesis we compared learners' use of suggestions in the phone messages task with their use in the email task. Results revealed statistically significant differences between learners' performance in the two tasks, which indicates that the production task in which learners are engaged influences their use of suggestions. Drawing on these results, we may claim that our hypothesis was demonstrated, which further confirmed previous studies concerning task effects (Houck and Gass, 1996; Sasaki, 1998). Moreover, our findings were also in line with Safont's (2005) study in that a higher number of appropriate suggestions were found in the written production task than in the oral task. A possible explanation for our findings may have been related to the written instrument we employed, that of emails, which seemed to be more authentic and elicited longer and more contextualised responses than the typical DCT used in other ILP studies.

In the light of this finding, there would seem to be certain pedagogical implications concerning the use of the tasks employed to collect learners' pragmatic data in the foreign language context. Drawing on previous studies related to research methodology (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Kasper and Rose, 2002), we specifically designed two production tasks for the present study. In so doing, we took into account our learners' field of studies (i.e. computer science), the setting where they were studying (i.e. University) as well as the people among whom they may interact (i.e. other classmates and professors). Bearing these aspects in mind, we created the contextualised settings that appeared in the tasks in an attempt to make learners feel identified with those situations. Thus, although the tasks designed for this study were employed in order to collect learners' pragmatic data regarding their production, they also have an important pedagogical value. In fact, they could be implemented as oral and written tasks in different ways with the aim of making learners reflect on their own production, and guiding them in their process of acquiring pragmatic knowledge in the foreign language setting. On the one hand, the oral production task we designed consisted of different situations in which learners had to make a telephone call and then suggest a particular aspect. After being tape-recorded, learners might listen to their own phone messages and discuss the appropriateness of their pragmatic use on the basis of politeness issues, such as the relationship between the participants, their status and the degree of imposition involved in the situation, as well as other contextual factors. On the other hand, the written production task created for this study, that is to say email, also involved a number of situations in which learners had to send an email with a particular suggestion. After the task had been completed, the teacher could bring learners' written emails to the class and make them work in pairs to compare the different pragmalinguistic forms employed when suggesting in each situation on the basis

of sociopragmatic aspects affecting the appropriate use of those suggestions. Specifically, we find that the use of this particular method has great potential in the foreign language classroom, since the teacher may organise activities and projects in which learners can interact with students from all over the world in a real way (Kasper, 2000). Hence, integrating this task, as well as others included in the area of computer-mediated communication, such as on-line discussions, telecollaboration or group journals, as part of the current curricula could provide learners with opportunities to practise pragmatic aspects of the target language in authentic situations. In the context of these issues, then, future research might fruitfully examine the extent to which the implementation of these tasks with a focus on their practical implications succeed in eliciting learners' pragmatic ability for appropriate language use.

Finally, we should also mention a limitation that may be attributed to the present study, since none of the instruments designed to collect our learners' pragmatic production elicited interactional data. Although it was not our purpose to analyse an interlocutor's possible reaction to learners' suggestions (ie. accepting or rejecting the suggestion being made), we think that it would be interesting to explore this kind of data in future investigations. In fact, by means of employing other research methods, such as the role-play, that involve the contribution of at least two participants, the speech act of suggestions could be examined in future studies as an adjacency pair (Koester, 2002; LoCastro, 2003). Moreover, it would also be advisable to incorporate other types of instruments that elicit learners' self-report data, such as introspective interviews. By employing this sort of methods, the researcher may examine the learners' pragmatic development by paying attention to their planning and thought processes when assessing or producing a particular pragmatic feature (Tateyama, 2001).

To sum up, and despite the above limitation, it is our belief that the present study has contributed to the field of ILP by offering a number of fresh insights into research methodology through the designing and use of different production data collection instruments. Thus, the results obtained in this study, although tentative, may expand the scope of enquiry in the ILP area as well as open several lines of investigation to be examined in future research.

Appendix A

Situation from the oral production task (i.e. phone)

> One of your new classmates in this course has told you that she is thinking about changing to another degree (from Technical Engineering in Computer Systems to Computer Science Engineering) that she thinks will be more interesting. You think about what this classmate has told you and, when you arrive home, you realise that Technical Engineering in Computer Systems has some more benefits. Call this classmate and suggest a good reason for not changing from Technical Engineering in Computer Systems to Computer Science Engineering:
> *Telephone number: 964-728542*

Appendix B

Situation from the written production task (i.e. email)

> Your brother has a friend (younger than you) who wants to study computer science, just like you. He would like to know which subjects to take the first year and something about their content. Send him an email and suggest that he take a particular subject that you found very interesting last year:
> *To: lasuperbestia@yahoo.es*

Notes

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[1]. Learners' responses have been transcribed verbatim, without alteration.

[2]. Learners' responses have been transcribed as originally written by them.

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HYPERTEXTUAL INFORMATION STRUCTURES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON READING COMPREHENSION: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

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1. The global structure of hypertexts: reading strategies for locating information

In traditional texts the inner system of logical relations is realised through a linear sequence of text elements. With the appearance of hypertexts and their non-linear structure the mediation of information has changed dramatically. The genre of hypertext offers different paths through the material. This change in the linguistic order of elements has also led to the transition from an *interpretative* to an *explorative reading process* (Aarseth 1997:64) a concept which basically refers to reading to obtain facts by following one's own path. What follows the two main types of linguistic ordering developed by hypertext designers will be described and related to corresponding reading strategies for locating information.

In hypertexts linguistic ordering is realised through the processes of *selection* and *chaining*. On the text level letters are chained to form words, words are chained to form sentences and finally, sentences are chained to form texts. At this level the rules for combining and chaining are the same as for paper-based writing and thus linear reading will meet with success. Textlinguistic requirements, such as continuity and wholeness still apply and are kept in mind by authors of hypertexts. Therefore readers will generally profit from linear reading. Even though they can choose from different paths, the path appearing when a text is read line by line will always be dominant.

However, when you take a closer look at the wide range of structural possibilities of hypertexts, you will soon become aware of the limits of linear linguistic ordering and reading. Due to the special characteristics of hypertexts a linguistic level above the text level is created. When texts are combined into hypertexts this combination of texts need not have the characteristics of chaining (Engebretsen 2000: 210). For this conversion three main types of structural combinations namely *linear, axial* and *networked hypertexts* are used.

The first type of text structure, the so-called *linear structure,* results from a simple conversion of a traditional linear text into hypertext. The second type, the so called *axial structure,* is hierarchical in nature. It is characterised by a sequence of central nodes which serve as a centering axis or 'trunk'. The nodes indicate a recommended reading strategy. The trunk has a number of 'branches' with additional information which readers may choose to click on. Usually the screen in axial hypertexts is divided into frames. The trunk is presented as a static frame and contains a summary of the core facts of the document. Within the trunk links are indicated through colouring and underlining. If the reader clicks on such a link, a supplementary node will appear in a separate frame leaving the main text in the trunk node unaffected. Within axial text structures, readers usually resort to a *systematic reading pattern* as defined by Balcytiene (1999:3), and open the links in the order they appear in the centering axis. In the third type of text structure, the *network structure,* nodes are linked together on the basis of semantic criteria. In *network structures* readers have a greater degree of navigational freedom. They find graphical representations of information elements on the screen which serve as a map. To view the various text files the readers must click on each of the graphical representations in the map. The map remains on the screen when the respective node is opened. The following figure serves to illustrate the three different types of text structures.

If readers want to access information in interconnected *axial* or *networked hypertexts,* they will have to resort to *explorative reading.* It is important for them to realise that the way in which texts are interconnected represents a meaning-creating context in itself. Thus, readers have to come to grips with content, organisational and presentational structures. Usually hypertext designers keep this in mind when selecting the text elements they want to interconnect by electronic links. So they often decide on a global structure for the system of nodes and links. This global structure determines how the hypertext can be read and limits the range of navigational choices for the reader.

In the interconnected axial and network structures, self-regulated learners who are to a higher degree capable of using metacognitive skills are at an advantage. In Balcytiene's terminology (1999:303), their reading strategy can be described as *exploration due to individual preferences.*

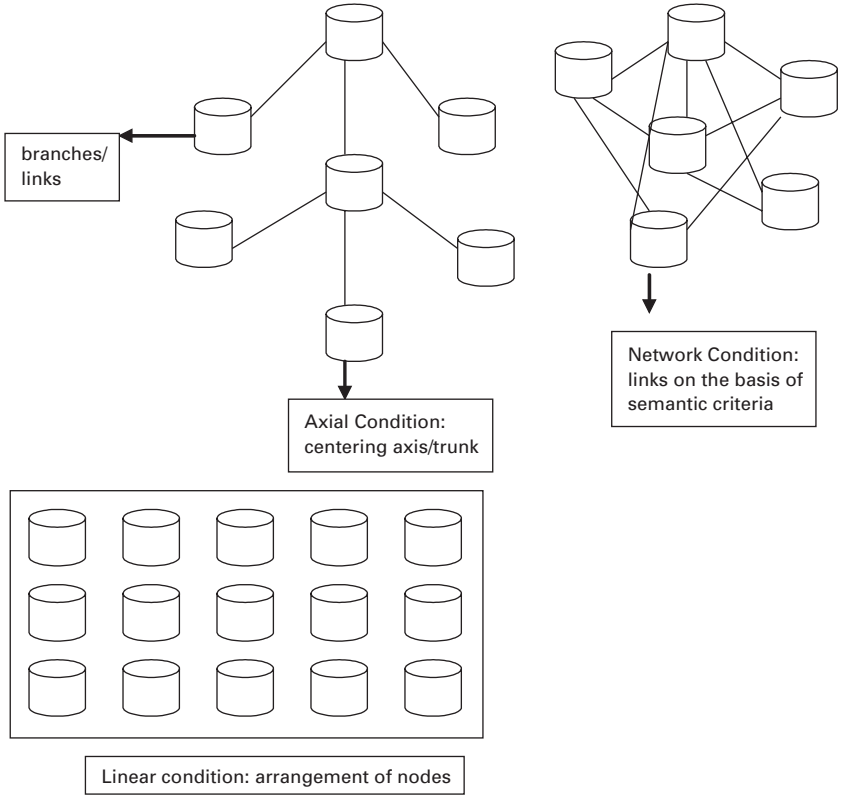

FIGURE 1: Text structures in hypertexts

Since interconnected structures are by nature less coherent, the information they contain can only be decoded if the reader possesses a certain amount of background knowledge. In an interesting study conducted by Salmeron (2005), it was found that low-knowledge participants learned more by following a high coherence order whereas high-knowledge participants learned more by reading hypertexts in a low-coherence order.

1.1. Supporting understanding: choosing the appropriate global structure

We can assume that the author's choice of global structure is influenced by his/her intention to support readers' understanding and memory of the content. Authors

aim at choosing appropriate mechanisms to make the collection of interconnected texts a logical unit. In hypertextual environments these mechanisms comprising implicit and explicit connective elements generally referred to as *coherence* can no longer be treated as a text-immanent feature only. It is impossible to assume that a text type which invites individual reading strategies has coherence as strong as it would have in a linear text.

But how can a hypertext author —who regards coherence as a result of mental work done by the reader— ensure that a reader actually assigns coherence to his/her text? This can only be done if s/he focuses on the inner activity of the readers as participants in the communication process. When they read his/her hypertext, they participate in the communicative process and search for *relevance*. According to *relevance theory* (Sperber and Wilson 1986), *relevance* is defined as a logical relation between the unit of meaning activated at the moment of reading and those units activated earlier in discourse. This entails that the relationship between the individual node being read and the global structure of the whole document has to be clearly indicated for the reader. Moreover, each individual node has to be a coherent unit in itself because the author does not know which units of the text the reader has read before or will read after having read the individual node. This kind of *internodal coherence* can be achieved through thematic homogeneity.

The author of a hypertext assigns certain tasks to the reader, such as deciding on the path. Consequently, it is necessary for him/her to view coherence as an interplay between textual and cognitive factors. Textual factors, such as the actual sequence of sentences within a node (cf. *cohesion* Halliday and Hasan 1978), can be realized within the framework of text grammar. In this area s/he can choose between three different forms of couplings. *Referent couplings,* that is, individual words with identical or related references in two subsequent sentences are very frequently used within nodes. In addition there are *sentence couplings* in which conjunction or adverbs show temporal or other relations between sentences. A third form of cohesive devices used are so-called *mixed couplings* in which individual words such as 'this' or 'that' summarize the content of a previous sentence in order to relate it to new information.

Cognitive factors start to play a role when the author works on coherence at a higher text level. Hypertext authors create large and small text units and arrange them in a global structure that constitutes a unit of meaning in itself. The logical relatedness between the text units must be made explicit to the reader. This can be done on the text surface by providing readers with maps or graphical representations of the text structure or it can be left to the reader's ability to make inferences where necessary. If the author provides a global superstructure, s/he might aid the decoding of *global*

coherence which according to Engebretsen (2002: 216) defines the place of individual nodes in the hierarchical structure of main themes and subthemes.

We have seen that hypertext authors do a lot to make the complex linguistic structure of hypertexts more accessible to readers and to ensure that they assign coherence to their texts. In most analyses, coherence occurs at three different levels. First, at the node level where it corresponds to the traditional textlinguistic notion of coherence. This is referred to as *intratextual coherence*. Next, we have to consider the relationship between two text nodes read in a sequence. This relationship is referred to as *intertextual coherence*. The third level, *hypertextual coherence*, denotes the logic that is reflected through the structure that governs the whole system of links and nodes (Engebretsen 2002: 217).

The three levels of coherence in hypertexts have led to the use of textual macro- and superstructures in hypertext design. These are semantic representations provided in the form of graphs or flow charts. They are meant to facilitate the integration of new information into the readers' interpretative framework or mental schemata. Textual macrostructures visualise the hierarchical system of propositions at various text levels. The macropropositions found in the graphical representations of texts are the result of the cognitive activity of reducing. Authors apply what van Dijk calls *macrorules* (1980: 32) to filter out the most important information. These macrorules are called *deletion*, *generalization*, and *construction*.

In addition to information about the semantic categories, readers need some information about structural relations at the syntactic level. For this purpose, it is necessary to include *superstructures* that indicate *how* the different types of macropropositions are arranged in the hyper document. Superstructures enable the reader to distinguish between themes and subthemes. They outline the propositions of the text at the various levels in the semantic hierarchy. According to Kintsch and van Dijk (1983), superstructures facilitate the comprehension of material because they enable readers to predict the likely ordering and grouping of elements in a text. In the following definition van Dijk (1980:108) refers to functional categories which, in my opinion, bridge the gap between semantic and syntactical information:

> [...] a superstructure is the schematic form that organises the global meaning of a text. We assume that such a superstructure consists of functional categories [...] and rules that specify which category may follow to combine with what other categories.

So far we have discussed the realization of coherence at different text levels and the author's means of visualising semantic and syntactic relations. The following section will show that these visualisations draw heavily on schema theory as an explanatory framework because they are meant to function as reproductions of cognitive maps.

2. Navigation and cognitive maps: the framework of schema theory

Navigation has become a subject of great interest in hypertext research. The so-called navigation problem also known as 'getting lost in hyperspace" (see e.g. Conklin 1987) has become a dominant theme in reading research. However, this problem is very difficult to address. The difficulties result from the traditional methodological problem of measuring the reading process as opposed to the reading outcome. Due to the lack of suitable measures of process activities, the impact of information structure on reading comprehension is often explained in terms of process difficulties such as navigation. This study also starts from this assumption.

In the present paper 'navigation difficulty' is used according to the definition of Elm and Woods (1985), who use the expression to speak about users not knowing how the information is organised or how to find the information they seek. Many studies such as that of Hammond and Allison (1989) point to the difficulties readers have with navigation in hypertext:

> Experience with using hypertext systems has revealed a number of problems for users [...]. First, users get lost [...]. Second, users may find it difficult to gain an overview of the material [...]. Third, even if users know specific information is present they may have difficulty finding it. (294)

Psychological models of navigation draw on the concept of cognitive maps. In Tolman's (1948) paper, frequently cited as seminal, he claims the existence of a cognitive map internalised in the human mind, which is more or less similar to the physical layout of the environment. According to Tolman (1948:192), information that is to be processed by the brain is: "worked over and elaborated [...] into a tentative cognitive-like map of the environment indicating routes and paths and environmental relationships." Empirical studies conducted ever since have taken the notion of some form of mental representation for granted. When navigation is conceptionalised in psychological terms, we find four levels of representation: *schemata*, *landmarks*, *routes* and *surveys*.

It is quite obvious that we must possess schemata of the physical environment we find ourselves in. Otherwise we would be swamped with every new sensory perception we encounter. We possess frames of references (see e.g. Downs and Stea 1977) or as Brewer (1987) calls them *global schemata*. They provide us with a basic orienting frame of reference and form the basic or raw knowledge structures. We produce *instantiated schemata* as soon as we add specific details to the schema. If we orient ourselves in new environments, we first call on global schemata like e.g. the schema for city and we then proceed by relating specific details of our new

environment to this schema. Thus, in the first stage we create schemata that are sufficiently complete to be models or maps for the situation we find ourselves in. Transferred to hypertexts this means that we approach the text type with our global schema of traditional linear text and add information provided by links and overview maps when we build our cognitive hypertext map.

While engaging in the activity of navigation, we build *instantiated schemata* by going through progressive stages. The second of these stages is closely related to our knowledge of *landmarks* which provides us with the skeletal framework on which we build our cognitive maps. The term *landmark* is used to describe features of the environment which are stable. We often identify our position in terms relative to *landmarks*, such as buildings, statues and so forth within hypertexts *landmarks* could be introductory nodes that remain stable on the screen while we are opening additional documents in separate frames.

In the third stage *route knowledge*, that is, the ability to navigate from point A to point B gains importance. Landmark knowledge that has been acquired is used to make decisions about when to turn left or right. *Route knowledge* helps us to find our way round and to provide others with effective route guidance. This ability is not necessarily advantageous because a person may possess *route knowledge* without knowing much about their environment. This implies that *route knowledge* may be non-optimal or even totally wasteful.

In the fourth and final stage of schema instantiation we apply *survey* or *map knowledge*. This kind of knowledge is based on our world frame of reference. It refers to our ability to give directions or plan journeys along routes which we have not directly travelled. Moreover, it enables us to describe relative locations of landmarks within an environment without actually being there. Transferred to the context of hypertexts, this means that we can draw on our knowledge about intertextuality derived from our experience with similar electronic documents and suggest useful paths to readers.

It may seem questionable to cut a complex process, such as navigation, into distinctive levels of representation. Current research is dominated by the view that development of knowledge structures happens on a continuum. Also the assumption that each stage represents a developmental progress is certainly subject to legitimate criticism. However, so far no satisfying alternative has been provided by researchers and thus I propose that a model based on schema theory describing instantiations of basic knowledge is of some utility both for hypertext authors and reading research since its findings can be applied in the design of electronic information spaces and in reading strategy programs.

3. Outline of the empirical study

3.1. Method

In this empirical study on the cognitive processing of hypertexts, a brief speed reading test developed by www.readingsoft.com was adapted and transformed into three different hypertext structures. ReadingSoft.com is a provider of software solutions for enhanced reading. The company was founded in 1998 by Charles Cousin and Michel C. Vinckenbosch. It applies recent discoveries in the field of neural and cognitive sciences to respond to information overload and to improve global literacy with an innovative computer based speed reading method to develop efficient reading.

The purpose was to find out if and how the three different structures would facilitate text comprehension. A text consisting of 597 words and a follow-up multiple choice test were presented to 60 subjects. First, in its original linear version, then in the adapted axial structure and finally, in the form of a network structure. The participants were randomly assigned to one of the three groups. The 20 participants in each group were instructed to read the text as quickly as possible with the intention of taking the comprehension test afterwards. The same follow-up multiple choice test comprising 11 comprehension questions was used in all three conditions. Two one-way analyses of variance were conducted to compare the different text types with reading time and comprehension level as the 2 dependent variables.

The subjects were 60 university students of English philology in their second year of study. They had all passed two language courses which according to the European framework of reference correspond to level C1. They took the test in my presence. As the investigator I observed scrolling behaviour and also interviewed each subject. In the oral interviews after the comprehension test three items were controlled for: reading strategies, that is, the path readers had taken through the document, problematic text passages and the presentation format itself. First, subjects were provided with screen dumps on which they had to draw the path and to number the links in the order they had opened them. They then had to comment on how they performed four tasks namely specifying target information, making a decision on which structural features would be relevant, extracting the appropriate details and integrating these details. Third, they had to circle difficult text passages and to evaluate the presentation format naming advantages and drawbacks.

In order to get a clear picture of the test design some screen dumps depicting the three conditions will be included in the following section. The first figure illustrates the linear condition in which the subjects had to read the text more or less as they would on paper. There were no links and after pressing the start button they simply

had to scroll down, read the text in the traditional narrative structure and finally press a stop button. After that their reading time was displayed.

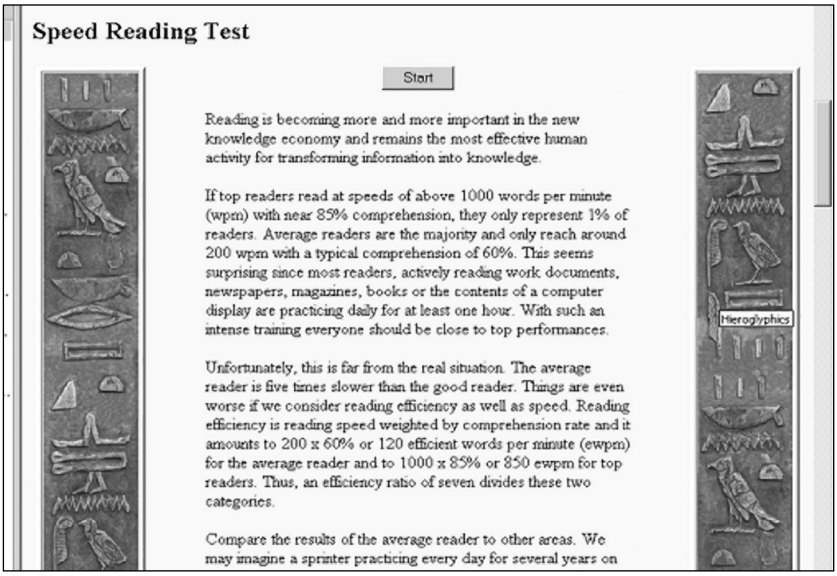

FIGURE 2: Linear condition

In the axial condition students were provided with a text with a trunk or main node. There three links were inserted by means of text-internal markings which take the subject to the branches with additional information. If you click on a link (as can be seen in figure 3), the trunk node remains on the page and the branch node appears on the right hand side. The colour of the link changes as soon as it has been activated.

In the network condition (see Fig.4) nodes were linked together criss-cross on the basis of semantic criteria. There is no apparent hierarchical structure. In fact, this is the most open presentational structure and gives the reader a greater degree of navigational control. As far as the organisational structure is concerned, the text is divided into smaller chunks which are represented by squares in the map on the left hand side. When students activate these text-external markings the introductory node giving general information about the speed reading, the test remains on the page at the top of the right hand side. The colours of the links do not change once

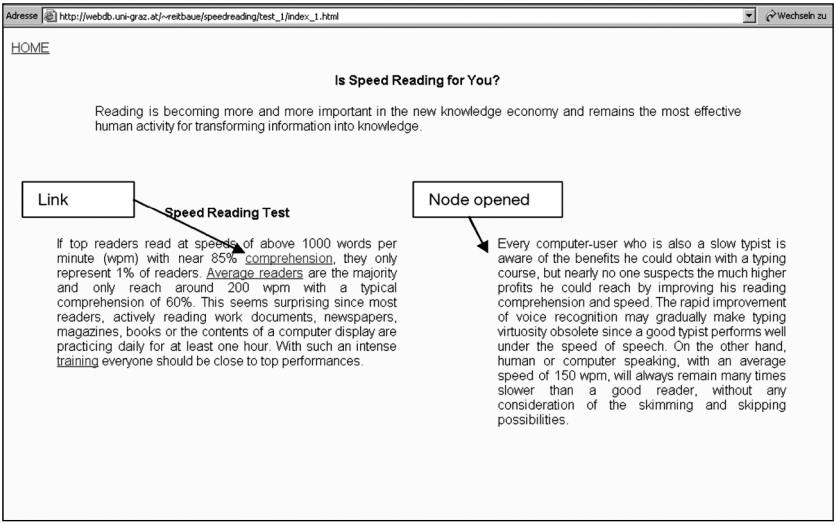

FIGURE 3: Axial condition

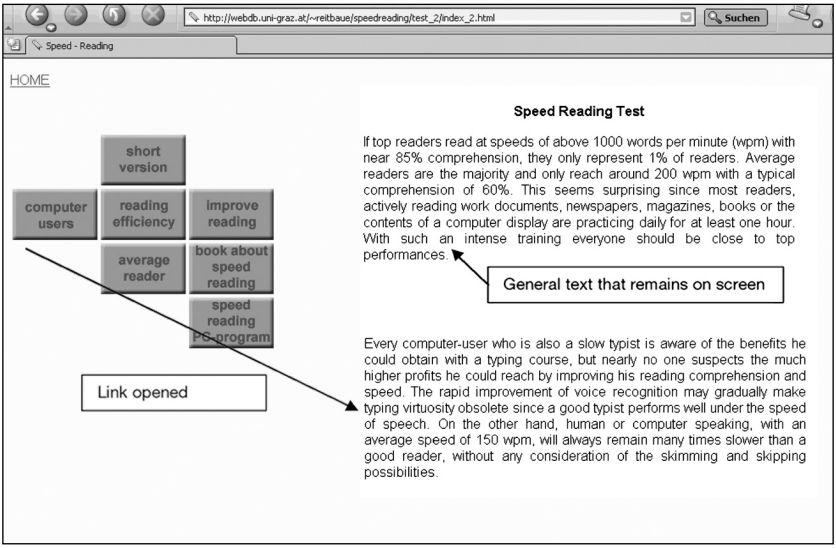

FIGURE 4: Network condition

they have been activated. Since these links are text-external they can be categorized as implicit. This also implies that they suggest co-ordinating and additive relations rather than subordinating ones.

The following section on findings will try to illuminate how axial and networked structures strengthened or weakened textual coherence and were thus beneficial or harmful to the mental work required for establishing relevance between certain units of meaning.

3.2. Results

There were substantial differences in reading achievement across the three different conditions. Consistent evidence for the advantage of the axial and networked over the linear presentation format was found. In the following section I will first describe the differences in reading comprehension rate and the average reading time required from a statistical point of view, then I will analyse the results of the individual comprehension questions in more detail and finally, I will relate them to the presentation format.

3.2.1. Statistical analysis of the data

The results of the one-way analysis of variance show that there is a highly significant effect of the independent variable condition (axial, linear, network) on the dependent variable comprehension score (p= ,005 as established by the Duncan Post Hoc tests). This significance is mainly due to the higher scores for condition axial. There is, however, no significant effect of the independent variable condition on the dependent variable time (p=,125). From a purely descriptive point of view we do find differences in reading time when we compare the mean values. In the axial condition, the average reading time required was 6.2 minutes, in the linear condition 6.9 minutes while in the network condition it was 7.1 minutes.

3.2.2. Analysis and discussion of results

In the linear condition the percentage of correct answers was the lowest. As can be seen in Fig. 5, students performed rather poorly with 63.8% of correct answers compared to the two other conditions (79.9 in condition axial and 68.6 in condition network). The interviews revealed that although students had more experience with reading linear text, they felt that in the electronic medium this text was lacking some kind of orientation guide. The text was considered too long to be read in a linear mode and scrolling was experienced as being tedious. Especially when subjects wanted to go back to certain passages in order to revise the main propositions, they complained about the time they had to spend searching for key

terminology. They also argued that cohesion between the topic sentences of the individual paragraphs was more difficult to establish because of the spatial limitations imposed by the screen. Nevertheless, the average reading time needed was only 6:09 minutes. This was less than the time it took students to read the networked version, 7:01 minutes.

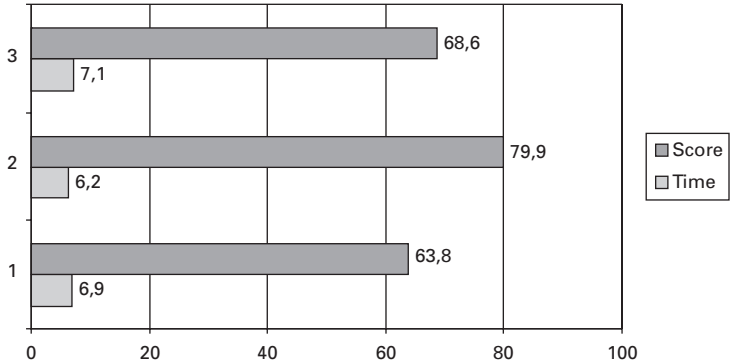

FIGURE 5: Results: comparison of different text types

In the axial condition students performed best. With 79.9% of correct answers the comprehension rate was the highest. The average reading time required was 6:02 minutes and thus lower than in the other two conditions (see Fig. 5).

In the follow up interviews students argued that they favour this text-internal linking system within the main node because it indicates the hierarchical information structure of the text. The links in axial hypertexts serve as an implicit form of hierarchical clustering. Students felt able to obtain a controlled view of the content of the document and saw the links as a list of concepts that would be discussed in the text.

None of the students diverted from the original order of the links in condition axial. The recognition of lexical cohesion was facilitated by the links denoting key terms and this in turn eased requirements for the identification of inter- and intranodal coherence. This phenomenon can be traced back to the fact that the connections between the links and their corresponding nodes is mainly established through the use of lexical repetition of key terms. Moreover, students argued that the textual discourse markers signalling sequence in the node 'training' were very helpful as far as memorising the information is concerned. Students claimed that '*There are three possible ways*', '*one*', '*second*', and '*finally*' which occurred in this

node served as *frame markers*. According to Hyland (1999: 7), frame markers refer to metadiscoursive elements that explicitly refer to discourse shifts or stages and are mainly used in three different functions: first, to sequence material (*first, next, 1,2,3,..)*, second, to label text stages (*to conclude, in sum*) and third, to indicate topic changes (*well, now*). The first two functions were identified by participants, however, only in the axial and networked condition. Its seems as if the effect of *frame markers* is also dependent on the topographical layout and is weakened if the limitations of the screen force the user to scroll in order to see all of them.

In the network condition the comprehension rate was 68.6%, which means that students performed significantly better than in the linear condition (63.18%). However, compared to the axial condition with a rate of 79.9% this is still a considerably low performance. The average reading time needed for this document structure was 7:01 minutes and exceeded those in the other two conditions (cf. Fig. 5).

We may find a lucid explanation for the highest score in reading time in this type of document structure itself which forces the reader to flick backwards and forwards between small sub-sections of text. This is likely to disrupt concentration and expository flow. The paragraphs which were the natural units of text in the original, linear version were used to create natural section breaks. By splitting the text up into short independent sections without altering a single word of the original text, part of coherence and reinforcement created through the flow of arguments between the paragraphs might have been lost. Whalley (1993:11) expresses his concerns about serving up linear, cohesive texts as small chunks and argues that "the fragmentation effect in hypertext [...] is likely to make it more difficult for the learner to perceive the author's intended argument structure."

Conversely, if you look at comprehension results it appears that the splitting of the page into seven small nodes had no such detrimental effects. The varying performance data are initially puzzling but the follow-up interviews on difficulties encountered when navigating through this networked hypertext revealed possible explanations. First, most students argued that the link system lacks some indication of hierarchy. Although it appealed to them that the arrangement of links in the form of a network allowed them to choose their path freely and to follow their interests, they would have preferred annotated links that indicate whether they lead to a note with additional information or to a node containing key propositions. Second, all subjects stated that the pre-chunking into smaller units acted as a mnemonic device and had a beneficial effect for those questions in the comprehension test that dealt with key propositions labelled by corresponding links. Finally, participants claimed that they repeatedly reread the main node because they wanted to take it as a kind of starting point for planning their path through the text. Since it did not contain any hints in this regard, this venture only increased reading time.

Moreover, follow-up interviews showed that successful readers with a high comprehension score were more efficient as far as node traversal is concerned. They focused on nodes they considered important and re-inspected their responses. Gillingham (1993), who conducted a study on reader strategies and adults' hypertext comprehension, also found out that readers who used this kind of depth-first search strategy were more successful.

These results clearly show that that the structure of a hypertext does have an effect on reading time and the amount of information comprehended by the reader. It is now necessary to take a closer look at textual features which make it difficult for the reader to perceive the author's message. For this purpose a detailed analysis of the eleven multiple choice questions of the comprehension test used will be included. As can be seen in Fig. 6, which gives a survey of wrongly answered questions, the scores for the three document types differ widely. While in the axial condition only 46 out of 220 questions were answered wrongly, the score in the network condition is 69 and in the linear condition 81. There is evidence to suggest that document structure affected the comprehension rate.

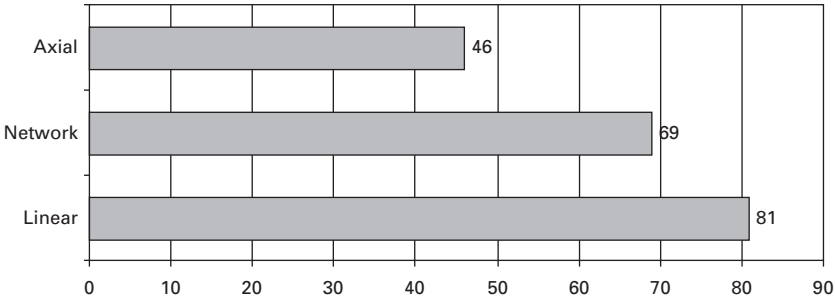

FIGURE 6: Wrongly answered questions (out of 220 in each condition)

In the evaluation of the individual questions of the comprehension test I will try to take location of the information in question and linking system into account. Since the text was copied verbatim in all three conditions, the differences found may be related to the fragmentation effect produced by the textual presentation. Isolation of adjacent topics and subsections modify the context and the interpretation of cohesive devices both on the inter- and intranodal level of coherence. By means of the five most problematic questions it will be illustrated how this fragmentation effect affected reading comprehension.

Question number 1 (see below) refers to the first two sentences of the main node which remained on the screen in all three conditions. As can be seen in Fig. 7 it was the second most difficult question in the test.

Q1. Compared to average reader, the accomplished reader reads with?

A ○ higher speed and worse reading comprehension

B ○ higher speed and better reading comprehension

C ○ higher speed and same reading comprehension

B, well done!

The answer to this question is embedded in a paragraph in which a lot of figures are given. In the linear condition and in the axial condition, the answer is preceded by a general topic sentence. However, 15 students of group linear, 12 of group network and 8 of group axial could not answer question 1. There were two links in condition axial highlighting *comprehension* and *average reader* on the left hand side of the page which obviously helped subjects to recall the propositions of this paragraph better than in the other two conditions. The two links marked two hotspots in the paragraph indicating that there are differences between average and accomplished readers. However, the follow up interviews revealed that the difficulties with this question were not only a consequence of missing links but mainly induced by the lexical problems, since many test takers were not familiar with the meaning of the adjective *accomplished*.

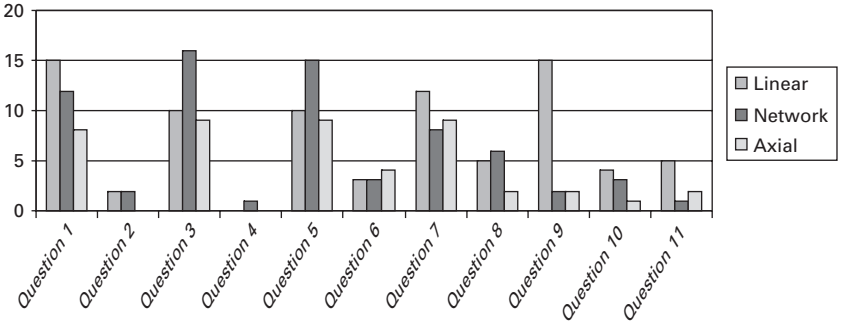

FIGURE 7: Wrongly answered questions: comparison

Question 3 proved to be the most difficult question especially for subjects of group network. Like question 1 it also referred to the main node and asked for the average reading speed.(see below)

Q3. The average reading speed is around?

A ○ 120 wpm

B ○ 150 wpm

C ○ 200 wpm

C, well done!

With this question the fragmentation effect became operative. In both condition network and condition axial, there was a separate link saying *average reader* but in condition network this link was outside the main node. In addition, the expository flow was interrupted by an inserted paragraph and this had a detrimental effect on information retrieval. Participants argued that a link outside the main node distracted their attention from the figure that was asked for and given in the main node. They interpreted the separate link as a sign of elaboration on the topic. The reading of the inserted paragraph increased their cognitive effort and somehow drew their attention away from the main node. As can be seen in Fig. 7, subjects of the group axial in which the link *average reader* was in the immediate vicinity of the reply in demand achieved the best results. The figures in the linear condition were also better than those in the network condition. Here readers argued that the follow-up paragraph dealing with reading efficiency contained a formula which repeated the figure for average reading speed and thus enhanced recall. Internodal coherence established through repetition seems to have had a positive effect on recall.

Question 5 (see below) turned out to be very problematic in the network condition. Fifteen out of twenty students did not answer it correctly. In the axial condition only 9 were not able to answer question 5 correctly and in the network condition 10 students answered this question wrongly.

Q5. A sprinter running as the average reader reads, runs 100m in?

A ○ 10 seconds (near record time)

B ○ 35 seconds (jogging)

C ○ 70 seconds (walking speed)

C, well done!

If you take a closer look at the corresponding links and the topographical presentation format, you might come to the conclusion that again a lack of

internodal coherence in condition network is responsible for the differences in performance. In both the axial condition and the linear condition the node containing the answer is preceded by an introductory node which further elaborates the huge differences that exist in reading efficiency between average and poor readers. Readers do expect a type of local coherence between two nodes that are linked together or otherwise allowed by the system to be read in a sequence. In addition, the separate link *average reader* in the axial condition functioned as an ostensive signal of mutual relevance (Engebretsen 2000). Statements given by subjects in the follow-up interviews corroborate this. Students argued that the second sentence of the preceding note was helpful in answering question 5.

The results of Question 9 (see below) show the most striking variations in performance. With this question the clearest evidence for the advantage of the axial and networked over the linear presentation format was found. While in condition linear 15 out of 20 students did not answer it correctly, only 2 students in the axial condition and 2 students in the network condition failed to answer the question correctly.

Q9. What will lessen the importance of fast typing?

A ○ Spelling-checkers

B ○ More ergonomic keyboards

C ○ Progress in voice recognition

C, well done!

In the linked conditions axial and network the links *comprehension* and *computer users* provided an additional associative context. Especially in condition network participants stated that the link *computer users* enhanced navigation. The new node which was opened through the link established a coherence and semantic relationship which in turn seemed to have been helpful in building a mental representation. There is some corroboration for Horney's (1993) view that links in hypermedia mainly serve two purposes namely to indicate that a relationship exists between two nodes and to provide a path between them. Obviously in this case the links had also helped to reduce the fragmentation effect caused by the division of the content into hypertext nodes.

3.2.3. Conclusions

Summing up, it has been demonstrated that comprehension can be aided by the use of links. One and the same text presented in three different forms —two of

them supported by links— produced different comprehension results. Readers benefited from the two conditions in which the large text was parsed into self-contained paragraphs. In the axial condition hierarchical links signalled by highlighted text, which took up the basic structure of the text were used. In the network condition links functioned as cross references and were signalled by buttons outside the main node. In both cases the positive effect on information retrieval has been evidenced by the comprehension results.

In addition, the analysis of reading strategies in the follow-up interviews attempted to reveal the strategies people use when confronted with different hypertext systems. The answers showed that readers engage in a variety of subtasks when trying to comprehend and memorize textual information. Parallels to Guthrie's model (1988: 178-199), which specifies five tasks readers engage in when retrieving information from a text, were found.

The first task of *specifying the target information* was performed by all subjects in all three conditions. Students of the linear condition suggested that drawbacks resulted from the presentation format which made scrolling necessary and failed to provide marked hotspots within the text. Thus, the specifying of key terminology which students named as being most important when reading for information was difficult. In the axial condition and the network condition target information was equated with the links provided in the document.

The second task *deciding which structural features e.g. sections of the text will be relevant as search destinations* for the target information was carried out differently. In the linear condition in which the only structural device used was the division into paragraphs, students' decisions were influenced by their expectations concerning questions that might be asked in the follow-up multiple choice test. Two thirds of the subjects in this group stated that they only skimmed through the sections containing figures since they were convinced that they would not be able to store them in their short-term memory and they also believed that they would be of minor importance. The topic sentences of the individual paragraphs were named as being decisive, helpful features when making decisions about relevant chunks of information. Moreover, students in the linear condition attached special importance to discourse markers and summarising statements.

Subjects of the linked conditions used the links as their main frame of reference when initiating their search for target information. This was possible because links create signification themselves and are not simply a medium of passing from one point to another (Burbules 1996). Links were considered key elements and also seen as "associative relations that change, redefine and enhance or restrict access to the information they comprise" (Burbules 1998:103). Subjects argued that the pinning down of information was enhanced in the linked conditions, particularly

when they were able to detect lexical cohesion relations. Lexical cohesion, which can take the form of synonymy, hyponymy and metaphor, is used in the main node and also appears in the links that take readers to different subtexts. Participants stated that through the recognition of synonyms, repetition and hyponyms it became easier for them to make rapid judgements about whether it was desirable to read a certain block of text or not. In addition, links were regarded as a kind of summary of the relevant propositions of the text. Since participants expected to find questions concerning each link in the test they considered all of the corresponding nodes equally relevant search destinations. In the network condition they followed their interests when deciding on the sequence in which they opened the links while almost 90% of the subjects in the axial condition opened the links in the order given in the main node.

The third task *extracting the appropriate details from each relevant destination* was also considered easier in the linked conditions. In the linear condition it is difficult to differentiate relevant facts from unimportant details because no means of accentuation are used. In the axial condition look-up time for details can be minimized because the online document design provides a definite text-based outline of nodes which enables the user to build up a mental map of the document quickly. In terms of schema theory you could see the links in the main node as a set of related place-holders or slots which can be filled in by details provided in the corresponding node. Links in the network condition also function as elemental structures but in this arrangement they represent the hypertext as a semic web of meaningful relations. These links define a fixed set of relations among which the reader can choose. Extracting details in a system with even more links and short corresponding nodes turned out to be easier.

The fourth task *the integration of details* was also more difficult in condition linear in which no links were used. In contrast, linked conditions which show a similarity to the internal mental models we build up when processing information, made this task easier. If we assume that readers use their schematic representations of text to help them interpret the information in the text and if we further consider schema theory as a valid explanation for how learners process information, we might arrive at an explanation for the better performance of subjects in the linked conditions. According to schema theory, readers posses a network of context-specific bodies of knowledge which they apply to specific situations. Hypertext structures can be regarded as such bodies. Schemata are used for interpreting textual information but are also important in decoding how that information is presented. Readers possess schematic representations of linked texts as well as traditional linear text such as narrative, compare/contrast, cause/effect, etc. (Driscoll, 1994; Halliday & Hasan, 1989). It is easier to integrate information into schematic representations in linked hypertexts if links are typed, that is, make their attribute clear to the user. When

readers can make use of referential or associative links, or semantically or argumentatively specified link types reasoning processes and the integration of details are facilitated (Kuhlen 1991: 34).

The fifth task *recycling* if the information provided in the node does not meet the target specification set earlier in the first task can also be addressed more easily with the help of links. In the linked conditions of this test series recycling mainly involves going back to the main node that remains on the screen while in condition linear readers have to scroll up and down due to the lack of any kind of orientation guide. In the ensembles with links the structure of the network of nodes is laid down and arranged in either hierarchical or multi-thematical structures. In the hierarchical condition axial the path readers choose is usually a route that never crosses any node twice, even if the node does not fulfil the reading expectations raised by a link. In condition network readers often move in cycles that bring them back to the exact point of departure when they are not satisfied with the content of the node. The network is seen as a modular structure which encourages recycling and navigating by following free associations.

In concluding, we can say that the results of this test series have shown that non-linear hypertext is obviously a good way to package information and to enhance reading comprehension. Logically several instructional strategies should follow from these results. They will be discussed in the following section.

4. Implications for language teaching

The development of literacy skills in new online media is crucial to success in almost all areas of life. Teachers can help students to develop computer-based literacy skills by focussing on reading strategies as well as on searching and evaluation skills. In their approaches to the enhancement of literacy they must start from the assumption that critical evaluation is central to hyperreading. Their teaching materials should be based on an interactive learning paradigm with an emphasis on autonomous learning (Lemke 1998). To promote autonomous learning students need to be taught how to use search engines effectively, how to skim and scan and how to make judgements about the validity, reliability and accuracy of electronic sources. Moreover, they have to be trained to make judgements about whether to continue reading a Web page, go to other links from the same page or go back to the search engine.

All these goals can be achieved by activating the learners' hypertextual schemata. This will enable them to process the information that they are reading better. Thus, we should advocate the teaching of meta-cognitive strategies for hyperreading. Learners who are provided with teaching materials facilitating the recognition of the type of

network structure will be able to make predictions based on their textual analysis. The use of graphical representations of hypertext patterns, of semantic concept maps depicting the relationship between links and corresponding nodes and exercises focusing on the recognition of lexical cohesion might stimulate the recall of valuable prior knowledge and encourage the use of analogies and comparisons.

When designing reading comprehension materials, two additional cognitive processing mechanisms need to be taken into consideration for the efficient decoding of hypertexts: *bricolage* and *juxtaposition*. *Bricolage* (Burbules 1998: 107) is the ability to assemble texts from pieces that are represented in multiple relations to one another. It can be practiced through exercises in which the sequence of nodes and links has been jumbled. *Juxtaposition* (Burbules 1998: 107) is the skill of noticing how the various pieces of a Web page are related to each other through their position on the screen. It can be taught by using screen dumps with blanks that have to be matched with nodes or images.

We have seen that the teaching of hyperreading skills draws on a set of distinctive processing mechanisms which are closely related to those used for linear printed texts, but extend beyond them. Suggestions for further research on these mechanisms that supplement linear processing will be discussed in the final section of this paper.

5. Suggestions for further research

Further research will rely on what is gleaned from research into understanding reader and system variables that impact reading online. A close cooperation between linguists and designers of Web sites would be desirable. We need approaches that take into account the findings of usability studies, research on eye tracking and think-aloud protocols. With regard to the present study it would be interesting to clarify if and how the path a reader takes is related to the comprehension rate. The protocols of the oral interviews that were conducted after the comprehension test suggest that the network structure frequently overwhelms the user and can became a source of disorientation. Sites with complex networks of links mostly lack elementary categorization attempts and cause the user to visit many nodes twice. They do not indicate hierarchies and are therefore difficult to process.

These findings have important implications for the design of Web pages. Displays that combine a record of the user's path through the document with a map of currently available links may be the key to successful navigation. Many designers of Web pages have already started to include scope lines that summarize the number of documents and links in the network and thus provide valuable orientation guides for readers. Future research will show whether they are on the right path.

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PRIORITIES AND HIERARCHICAL ACCOUNTS OF TRANSLATION

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1. Hierarchical v. non-hierarchical accounts

Before we go into a detailed study of hierarchical accounts of translation it could be useful to stop and think for a minute what is implied in a non-hierarchical approach. First of all, in the light of the results of descriptive studies, it seems quite safe to say that a non-hierarchical account of translation is necessarily aprioristic or prescriptive. This does not mean that all aprioristic and prescriptive accounts of translation are also non-hierarchical, as we shall see below. One example of this kind of attitude is that of an ideal notion of translation as a full, objective representation of the source text, such that there is only one correct way of rendering a text from a translational point of view. A non-hierarchical view is also involved when only one condition is proposed as the necessary requirement (e.g. the translator must render the same message). In this case, the single condition may be universal (all translations must meet the same condition) for some scholars, variable for others (as in a theory that proposed two or three different types of translations, each one characterised by the condition to be met), but in any case there would only be one condition for each translation. A third possibility is the case where the theorist propounds that more than one condition must be met, but all conditions, whatever they may be, must be met to the same degree of satisfaction, i.e. they are of the same rank, hence there is no sense of hierarchy. As the number of conditions grows

this case becomes more and more similar to the first one, where practically 'everything' must be rendered, and nothing can be left out or changed. Finally, a refined version of this view has no sense of priorities (because all conditions must be met) but there is a sense of restrictions that vary in their degree of force. From this point of view, certain gaps, omissions, additions and changes may be explained in terms of the difficulties involved, but these 'differences' are seen negatively as veering away from the ideal fulfilment of all the necessary conditions. Following this logic translation can be seen as impossible, at times, or frequently imperfect, meaning defective.

Non-hierarchical accounts tend to view translation as either 'ideally' impossible or 'ideally' unproblematic, i.e. either (i) everything is relevant and since everything cannot be rendered to the same degree of satisfaction the whole exercise is either impossible or some form of cheating (betrayal, manipulation, impersonation, etc.); (ii) only one thing really matters, e.g. information, and there is no fundamental problem in conveying information or concepts (i.e. the universalist view of language). In-between varieties of these two extremes would tell you that translation is not about rendering one thing or everything, but several things (exactly which things or how many will vary depending on the author), all equally important.

A hierarchical account of translation recognises the relative importance of rendering certain aspects. The scholar admits that not everything can realistically be expected to be rendered to the same degree, sometimes not even two conditions can be equally represented in the target text. From this point of view, lower-ranking items are not undesirable but will simply have to "wait and see" whether or not they can be included in a translation only after (i.e. as long as) the higher-ranking elements have been taken care of first (i.e. are rendered). Prescriptively inclined theoreticians feel that it is their duty to point out what the ranking order is for a text to be regarded as a proper translation. From a descriptive angle it is a question of discovering hierarchies as norms (strong and weak), whereas the speculator would like to present us with all sorts of possible hierarchical arrangements.

What we have below (table 1) is Theodore Savory's much-quoted collection of 12 prescriptions, which can be read in many ways and for many purposes. For instance, it may be read as a list of independent non-hierarchical statements about translation, many of which are pairwise mutually exclusive of each other, becoming a matter of either or. But several pairs may be read as sets of priorities, e.g. "A translation should reflect the style of the original much more than the style of the translator". Some statements may be defended because they are thought to entail the others in certain situations, e.g. "A translation must give the words of the original as a means of guaranteeing that the style of the original is reflected and/or the ideas are kept".

1	A translation must give the words of the original.
2	A translation must give the ideas of the original.
3	A translation should read like an original work.
4	A translation should read like a translation.
5	A translation should reflect the style of the original.
6	A translation should possess the style of the translator.
7	A translation should read as a contemporary of the original.
8	A translation should read as a contemporary of the translator.
9	A translation may add to or omit from the original.
10	A translation may never add to or omit from the original.
11	A translation of verse should be in prose.
12	A translation of verse should be in verse.

TABLE 1: Savory's insight of the contradictions of translation experts.

What is more important: words, ideas, style? This is one question that some of these statements seem to want to answer, but one also wonders how any of these statements can claim to be universal. The problem seems to be twofold. They are all completely decontextualised, and they use strong modals. Of course, it is also possible to recycle these statements by providing meaningful contexts and changing their modality, e.g. "In certain circumstances a translator may wish [or be obliged] to reflect an author's intention rather than [mechanically] reproduce a rendering for each word as it appears in the source text".

2. Hierarchical approaches: prescriptive and descriptive

We have already said that non-hierarchical accounts are prescriptive or aprioristic, but there can be prescriptive hierarchical models, too. Among these we can distinguish between implied hierarchies and explicit hierarchies. When they are implied, there is an obvious danger of misinterpretation and we must rely on a global interpretation of the theorist's writings. Let us see an example of an implied hierarchy, where certain conditions might be said to entail others. In the literalist approach, the condition is that "the words of the original must be rendered". If this is seen as a single condition we are in a non-hierarchical paradigm. Alternatively, we might assume that what is actually implied is that lexical equivalence is given priority, but other conditions are not excluded; rather, they are entailed in lexical equivalence, meaning that translating the word guarantees that meaning, authorial intention, style and other aspects are also accounted for. Either this, or aspects such as appropriateness to register or communicability are implied lower priorities, meaning that if and when there is a choice within the lexical level (a choice between two or more synonyms), then the lower priorities may act as criteria for preferring one solution over the rest.

2.1. Levý's insight

What follows is Gutt's (1991: 106-121) account of Levý's (1969) awareness of the need for the notion of priorities, in his discussion of how Christian Morgenstern's poem "The aesthetic weasel" could or should be translated into English.

Ein Wiesel Sass auf einem Kiesel Inmitten Bachgeriesel (Christian Morgenstern)	A weasel sat on a pebble in the midst of a ripple / of a brook (Levý)	A weasel perched on an easel within a patch of teasel (Max Knight)

The playful rhyme is more essential than the zoological and topographical exactness, for Morgenstern himself says so in the next stanza. This can be seen in Max Knight's version. He adds in the preface that other translations would be equally possible:

(1) A ferret nibbling a carrot in a garret	(3) A mink sipping a drink in a kitchen sink
(2) A hyena playing a concertina in an arena	(4) A lizard shaking its gizzard in a blizzard

TABLE 2: alternative translations for Morgenstern's poem.

More important than the individual meanings in detail is here, says Gutt, the preservation of the play on words. The example is presented by Levý as an illustration of one of the most basic problems of translation: what the translator should [can] do when he cannot possibly preserve *all* the features of the original (I would be tempted to say that this is the very nature of translation).

In translation there are situations which do not allow one to capture all values of the original. Then the translator has to decide which qualities of the original are the most important and which ones he/she could miss out. The problem of reliability in translation consists partly in being able to recognise the relative importance of the values in a piece of literature (Levý 1969).

The 'values' among which the translator has to choose are described by Levý in terms of 'semantic functions': ... in Morgenstern's text some words have two semantic functions: 1. Their own denotative meaning; 2. A function in a structure of a higher order (and just this was retained in the translation).

Levý proposes that this choice follows from a 'functional hierarchy' that determines the relative ranking of importance of various aspects of word meaning.

The particular hierarchy Levý proposes for this example looks as follows:

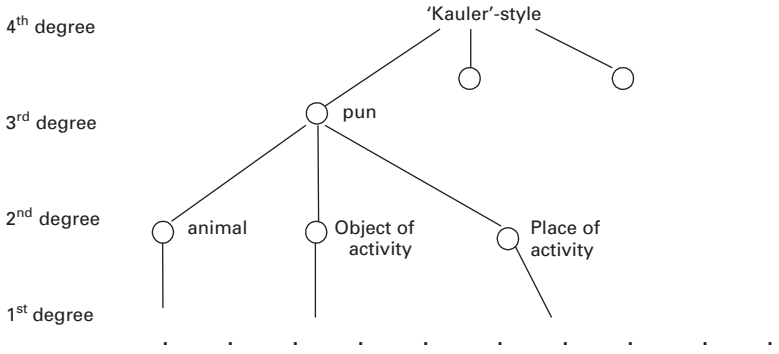

FIGURE 1: Levý's priorities

My personal comment on this diagram is that it is not really a hierarchy of priorities as much as a diagram of various degrees of abstraction. And this is what seems to baffle Gutt in his analysis of Levý, especially if we consider that it is probably equally —if not more— intuitive to consider punning as a more abstract —or general— category than 'Kauler' style (especially if we think of it as Kauler's style of punning). There need not be an inescapable correlation between degree of abstraction/generalization and degree of importance. In other words, a hierarchy of abstraction is not the same as a hierarchy of importance. Some priorities on a hierarchy of importance may be abstract (e.g. a certain feeling or tone for the text), and others may be very concrete (maximum number of words, rhyme scheme, etc.).

2.2. Christiane Nord and the translator's commission

In Christiane Nord (1997:60-65), we find a more recent example of how a translator's commission can be formulated as a hierarchy of priorities, even though it is a little imprecise regarding the ranking position of some of the priorities with respect to some of the others. The text is a brochure to inform on the Sixth Centenary of Heidelberg University.

The brochure is intended to inform any visitors or interested persons (also possible German sponsors and future students) about the anniversary events and further academic projects. The University Press and Information Office produces a German text for a folder with coloured photographs and attractive layout. The text will be translated into English, French, Spanish and Japanese; layout and photographs will be the same for all versions.
• Intended text functions: information about anniversary events; image promotion
• Medium: monolingual brochure with coloured photographs and short texts in a given layout
• Reason for text production: 600th anniversary of Heidelberg University
Following general requirements for the translations
• Conform to text-type and general style conventions and a rather formal register
• Spacial and temporal deixis will refer mainly to Heidelberg and the year of the anniversary
• The text must fit into the space provided by the layout
• The information on anniversary events will have priority over other data.

TABLE 3: Nord's priorities for Heidelberg University brochure.

In this kind of situation it could be useful, at some point, to distinguish (for solutions on the linguistic level) between restrictions such as layout, photographs and amount of space provided, on the one hand, and priorities such as intended text functions, conventions and informativity on the other.

3. Prescriptive hierarchies

Newmark (1981, 1988) says that one of the theoretician's responsibilities is to propose a translation method. Immediately, it becomes apparent that most of the methods that Newmark reports or proposes are different hierarchical arrangements of relatively small sets of priorities (i.e. render lexical meaning, render sentence meaning, render contextual meaning, render intention, render effect, plus, be grammatical, strive for some degree of aesthetic effect, be easy to understand, be faithful to the author's intentions). It takes a little more time to see that the relation between the various methods also implies a much larger set of priorities for each individual method. This is so because Newmark is too quick to comment the 'negative' consequences of not fulfilling these implied priorities, thus giving the impression that he is taking for granted that they cannot be satisfied. This skipping of intermediate steps is surprising in a book addressed primarily at students. It is obvious to anyone that ungrammatical sentences are a common feature of literal translation, yet this does not mean that in translating literally one is not attempting in some way to be grammatical. In a more hierarchically-aware account of the same phenomenon the result of ungrammaticality can be explained by stating that the

desire to be grammatical is a much lower priority than the desire to produce a one-word rendering for each source-text word. In other cases of literal translation, however, the desire is precisely to illustrate the grammatical structure of a foreign language as distinct from that of the target language, which automatically explains why the text looks foreign (this brings to mind Venuti's (1995) label of *foreignizing* as opposed to *domesticating*).

3.1. Nida and Taber's system of priorities

Nida and Taber (1969: 14), make the following claim, "As a basis for judging what should be done in specific instances of translating, it is essential to establish certain fundamental sets of priorities". Nida defends a system of four priorities; but more precisely, they are actually four pairs of norms (as we now say in the light of Toury's norm theory) where one norm for each pair is given priority over the other.

1. Contextual consistency has priority over verbal consistency (or word-for-word concordance). This is their linguistic perspective. A ST word need not be translated in exactly the same way throughout.
2. Dynamic equivalence has priority over formal correspondence. This takes into account the reactions of the receptors, and is the basis of the popular equivalent effect principle, which should probably go back to its original name and be called the priority of equivalent effect.
3. The aural (heard) form of language has priority over the written form: especially applicable to Bible translation (but also an interesting priority for screen translation and interpreting, for instance).
4. Forms that are used by and acceptable to the audience for which the translation is intended have priority over forms that may be traditionally more prestigious: types of audience.

At close inspection we can see that the priorities of the first two pairs can almost be read as one, and are probably meant that way, merely separated by Nida for the sake of driving the point home more clearly, although it is also interesting to note that Nida's first 'context' refers to verbal context, or cotext, whereas dynamic equivalence can be said to be a function of context of communication, or setting. Dynamic equivalence is the main objective, which would thus justify not always translating a repeated word in the source text by the same word in the translation. Nida's fourth priority is also an aspect of the second one, which takes into account the reactions of the receptors, and number four simply supposes what kind of audience the target text (for Nida supposedly the Bible) is going to have in its majority. So, Nida does not view his four priorities as clashing (not even potentially) but, rather, as being complementary aspects of some other more general priority, which he is careful not to spell out as an evangelical, missionary purpose since he

is interested in giving his proposal a much wider range of validity than Bible translation.

3.2. Newmark's 'tensions'

Newmark's account of 'tensions' justifies his proposal of (at least) two different methods). This approach has provided much fruitful thought on translation. However, it must be said that the graphic representation is a little misleading. The metaphor of different tensions 'pulling' in opposite directions would lead to the conclusion that items on opposite extremes are mutually incompatible, which cannot be postulated before studying each pair of languages, cultures, norms, etc. i.e. before studying each individual case.

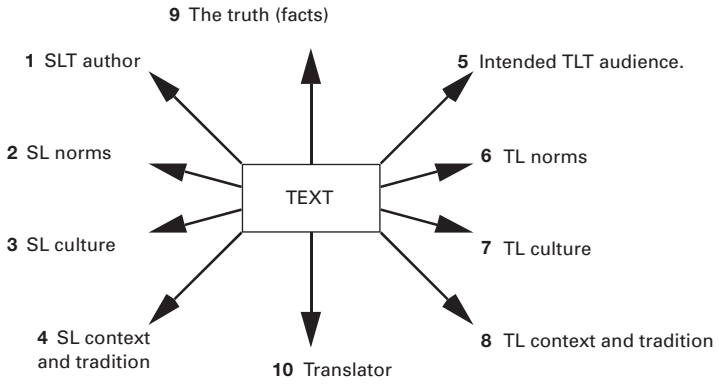

FIGURE 2: The tensions of translation according to Peter Newmark (1988: 4)

4. Discovering hierarchies, or the descriptive account

4.1. Toury's account of a translator 'subjecting himself' to constraints

From the mainstream of descriptive translation studies, mostly under the influence of Toury, descriptions have been embarked upon with the aim of discovering norms. Although considerable effort has been made to explain how norms can be seen in positive terms, the argument does seem a little forced at times. The fact is that norm theory is one of the most powerful research tools that we have nowadays. The danger, then, could well be that norm theory will be abused, i.e. used to explain all phenomena, turning everything into a norm, thus

rendering norm meaningless or vague and/or ambiguous. The sister concept to norm is that of constraint. Let us now go on to look at an example, precisely from Toury (1995: 193-205), of a hierarchical account of translation, where the terms used seem a little forced or unnatural. In this example Toury sets out to discover the following translating process.

Avraham Shlonsky's Hebrew translation of Hamlet's monologue "To Be or Not To Be" (*Hamlet* III:1) made in 1946, first and foremost for staging at the Habimah theatre (...). "An attempt will be made to uncover the *constraints* to which that translator subjected himself as he went along and the way he manoeuvred among them. This will include a glimpse at the *interdependencies* of the various constraints and the *relative force* of different ones." (...) Six major constraints to which Shlonsky subjected himself in his translation and which account not only for the final version of the monologue but also for his interim decisions and his successive revisions:

1. To operate within one verse unit
2. which would eventually constitute a Hebrew iambic hexameter (rigid prosodic constraint)
3. tending to fall into two preferably symmetrical parts (application of the same principle to verses where the original entails no division... consequently, the few cases where this strategy is in keeping with the original may be considered a happy coincidence).
4. To establish a script suitable for declamation in a theatrical performance rather than a text for silent reading.
5. To demonstrate richness and stylistic elevation in his linguistic choices
6. as well as in their organization into higher-level segments, especially in terms of orchestration.

There can hardly be any doubt that what all these constraints have in common is the fact that they reflect first and foremost the interests and needs of the *recipient* culture at that particular time (...). A certain aspiration for adequacy should therefore be added to our list of constraints. This aspiration, however, would rank hierarchically *lower* than most of the constraints listed above. This means that out of a list of options which are reasonably adequate as translational replacements of a certain source-text segment, the one which tended to be preferred was the one which would have satisfied the greatest number of the remaining criteria (...) —even if this involved bypassing more adequate alternatives. Be that as it may, the result is a translation whose *general* character (rather than this or that detail in it) differs from the source text's —and in a direction which indeed contributes to its acceptability into the target culture. (...) Finally, a similar account of the constraints which Shlonsky seems to have adopted in his translation of Hamlet's monologue could have been arrived at on the basis of the *finalized* version alone (as indeed it was).

TABLE 4: The translator's constraints as seen by Toury (1995: 193-205)

Using Toury's criteria, but rephrasing them in terms of priorities, going down the hierarchy, we get the following:

1. Hebrew iambic hexameter ("whatever alternatives were considered and whatever changes were made were in line with this constraint" p. 196)
2. Demonstrate richness and stylistic elevation
3. Two symmetrical parts for each line of verse

4. Suitable for declamation
5. Organization into higher-level segments
6. Content in each line of verse determined by ST ("second global constraint to which Shlonsky subjected himself")
7. Observance of the rules of Hebrew normative grammar ("not always... interim between written varieties and speakability/declaimability" p. 197)

When Toury speaks of Shlonsky "restricting himself", it seems more natural to regard the translator as setting out certain priorities (goals for the translation) which can be traced to the translator himself and not any other source, although we might consider the theatre and society's expectancy norms as indirect sources for these priorities.

The sources of priorities are the commission and/or factors to do with the initiator, text users (expectancy and accountability norms). An interesting distinction is to be made between formal and functional priorities. Drawing from Toury's example, we have the following:

- FORMAL priorities 1. *Iambic hexameter*; 3. *each line in two parts;* 5. *orchestration*

- FUNCTIONAL, 6. *Content* (FORM of FUNCTION: ST line/TT line)
- FUNCTION of FORM: iambic pentameter for poetic function, norm-fulfilling (regarding expectancy norm of loyalty to prestigious text)

2. Stylistic excellence; 4. declamability; 7. grammaticality.

- AMBITION is proposed here as a term for referring to a greater or lesser number and nature (including ranking position) of the priorities; i.e. the greater the number and importance of the priorities, the greater the "ambition" a translation can be said to have. Thus, RICHNESS can be used to refer to the degree to which ambition is fulfilled, and the event that other elements are noted even if they were not originally intended. So, we might say that Shlonsky shows greater ambition than a (hypothetical) translator who had not wished his/her translation to be declaimable, but coincided in all of the other goals for the target text; if the translation coincidentally turned out to be highly declaimable it could be said to be as rich as Shlonsky's, assuming that all the other factors remained unaltered. Such a model of Priorities and Restrictions can therefore distinguish between intentions for the target text (ambition/problems) and the resulting translated text (richness/solutions).
- SUBJECTIVITY is a measure of priorities that are heedless of, or contrary to, aspects of the source text. Certain priorities might be clear candidates for bringing about a greater likelihood of subjectivity. For example, those which can be formulated with no reference to the source text, such as: a desire to conform

to target cultural/linguistic norms, a desire to promote one's (i.e. the translator's) creativity, a desire to promote the target text language. It is important to note that ambition, richness and subjectivity do not entail value judgements (i.e. a richer translation is not necessarily a better or worse translation), although it is obvious that they can be used as evaluative criteria if one so wishes.

What we have hoped to show here is that so far in translation and translation studies alike there has only been a vague awareness of the presence and importance of priorities, and because it is vague Toury (among may others) has used other, related, terms instead. To be true to the metaphorical language used we can look at restrictions as being strong or weak, obstacles as large or small, so it is possible to rank restrictions in order of strength and size, but they are not necessarily interdependent. What this means is that restrictions are non-hierarchical, when conceived of as obstacles or constraints. Rather, restrictions can have a compounded effect. On the other hand, constraints that *can* be ranked in order of importance are surely more clearly seen as priorities; they form a hierarchy of more important and less important factors, bringing out the idea of relative importance, of interdependence between factors. Priorities of a higher order are obstacles that are in the way of lower-ranking priorities, but not vice-versa. So, priorities act as restrictive forces, too. But they also provide directionality much more clearly than the notion of self-inflicted restrictions, or even norms. Priorities may be norm-abiding, norm-challenging, norm-breaking, or even norm-creating. Norms tell you what you can and/or cannot do, what is done or tends to be done. Priorities tell you (and let you tell others) what you want to do. Thus, priorities are less deterministic than norms.

4.2. Quotes from Chesterman show the need for greater awareness of priorities

An example of a non-systematic awareness of translational priorities and hierarchies can be found also in Chesterman (1997). Direct references to priorities —and paraphrases— are scattered all over the book, but the dominating concept of norm obscures the potential use of devoting more space to an explicit treatment of the concept of priority and hierarchy. Below I provide several illustrative examples, with my underlining:

1. [on Luther]... Clarity, intelligibility, readability, fluency —these were *the things that mattered* (p. 25)
2. [German Romantic Period] the translation of literature should aim at a style that is deliberately marked, strange, foreign, so that the reader feels the translation to be unfamiliar... the rhetoric stage *prioritized stylistic equivalence above semantic and formal*. But in the Logos stage equivalence of effect is *essentially denied*, inasmuch as target readers are *deliberately exposed to a textual strangeness*... Formal equivalence, however, is *given more weight*... a closer adherence to word order (p. 26)
3. ...different translation tasks may require balancing acts between *different priorities*, a point that I overlook here (p. 68)
4. One translation task might require a translation which *gave priority to* a close formal similarity to the original...*Another might prioritize stylistic similarity*... Yet another might *highlight* the importance of semantic closeness... and another might *value* similarity of effect above all these. *Every translation task sets its own profile of "equivalence priorities*" (p 69)
5. [on Steiner] His approach is as follows: any human activity has a *hierarchical structure*... Applied to translation, such a view allows us to see translating *as multilevel hierarchical process* [at different levels] (p 88)
6. Strategy is *goal-oriented*. (p 89)
7. At the more general level, where the problem to be solved is something like "how to translate this text or this kind of text", we have "global strategies"... an obvious example of a global strategy... what kinds of intertextual resemblance should be given *priority*. Another example might be the general issue of dialect choice... at a more specific level... we have local strategies (p. 90)
8. [On motivation]
   Why did you use that strategy here, why did you write X? Possible answers:
   - Desire to conform to the expectancy norms
   - Desire to conform to the accountability norm
   - Desire to conform to the communication norm
   - Desire to conform to the relation norm (p. 113)
9. *Stage three*: [towards full translator] competence... It thus becomes *necessary to develop a sense of priorities*, and this is the crucial aspect of this phase. People learn "a hierarchical procedure of decision-making". This entails the ability to see the situation more as a whole, to formulate a plan, and select the set of factors which are most important for the realization of the plan. (p. 148)

TABLE 5A: Excerpts from Chesterman.

Chesterman seems to have an intuition that, indeed, priorities are variable, and it is this variability that makes translation so complex and diverse. What I find particularly interesting is how priorities can explain a desire to break a norm much more clearly than a norm that is created to go against another norm, which is rather twisted logic. There may be conflicts between norms, which can be difficult for many people to grasp, but this conflict disappears by simply stating that in certain circumstances the translator, or some translation authority may desire (give priority) to challenge a norm, to break it or to create a new one. In quote number 8, we should presumably allow for the event that a translator would desire not to conform to norm such- and- such. This can be seen below.

10.	...expectancy norms are broken because of some *higher priority* (p. 66)
11.	A translator may also have reasons *to disregard these norms or to set up particular priorities between them*; such translators will feel they 'ought' to translate in some different way (p. 68)
12.	If translators then decide *not* to follow the perhaps clumsy style in which such texts are often written in the target language, this shows that *they have given priority to other norms* than expectancy ones... In other words there is a conflict of norms (p. 142)

TABLE 5B: Excerpts from Chesterman.

5. Prototypical translations and hierarchies

If we see translating as working according to different arrangements of an array of priorities, we can come up with a hypothesis for a prototypical translation (following Lakoff and Johnson's idea of prototypicality and Lefevere's idea of refracted texts), rather than a clear-cut definitive definition, even if that meant going against the theoretical tide of the moment. An account of a prototypical translation includes both its priorities and its circumstances, since certain priorities only make sense in specific contexts. Here is an idea of what kinds of things might be said about a prototypical translation.

A **prototypical translation** (TT) is a text/message that has a clearly identifiable source text/message (ST) which has its own readership (at some point in time). Both ST and TT contain the same meaning(s)/information(s), convey the same intention(s), fulfil the same functions and belong to the same genre and text-type. The TT audience will have basically the same experience in receiving the translation as the ST audience had, i.e. ST and TT will be of the same difficulty and will produce the same effect, such that the communication acts can be said to be the same. The original message is in one language and the translation is in another; the translation is exactly what the ST author would have written if s/he had been able to, which means that the translator's presence is only felt to the degree that s/he deviates from this hypothetical text written by the ST author.

5.1. Fake guns and pseudotranslations

George Lakoff (1980: 115-125) develops the categories listed below, by taking prototypicality as a starting point. I have made a rough attempt at adapting it to translation given the difficulty in establishing the boundary between what is and what is not translation. Even if one does not agree with the examples given here I hope the usefulness of Lakoff's insight can be appreciated anyway.

- ***Par Excellence***: picks out the prototypical members of a category (e.g. a robin is a bird par excellence, because it is small, colourful, flies and sings). This label,

par excellence, could be used to refer to the translation of denotational, informational texts with no metalinguistic components; unambiguous texts regarding their propositional and referential meaning, where there are only small intercultural differences. For example, the translation of certain weather (business, academic, etc.) reports. Bible and legal translation might also fall into this category, since the Bible is the Bible (in the case of official versions) in any language, just as an international law or contract might be granted the same validity or status in any of its official versions.

- **Strictly speaking**: picks out the nonprototypical cases that ordinarily fall within the category (e.g. penguins as birds, since they don't fly or tweet). Applied to our domain, a translation 'strictly speaking' would be one that has a source text and has undergone a process that one can call translating; e.g. literal translation (despite ungrammaticality and obscurity), simultaneous interpreting (despite numerous omissions).
- **Loosely speaking**: not ordinarily in the category because they lack some central property but which share enough properties so that for certain purposes it could make sense to consider them category members, (whales are fish, loosely speaking as they live in the sea). Most forms of adaptations; refracted translations (e.g. interlingual communication which involves a change of genre, mode or channel of communication). An interesting case might be translations of the Quran, since they might be regarded 'strictly speaking' (since there is a source text and a translating process) as translations, but they do not 'fly' the way official versions of the Bible do in any language, since only the Arabic version is the officially recognised one. But by this reasoning, for Muslims, they would have to talk of Quran translation as 'translation loosely speaking', if they cannot grant it 'proper translation' status. This case also illustrates what some authors point out about translation as being a culture-bound concept, which cannot be defined outside a cultural context, since varying cultures have different perceptions of what is and what is not translation.
- **Technically speaking**: circumscribes a category relative to some technical purpose (e.g. a moped is technically a motorcycle for purposes of bridge tolls, but technically not a motorcycle for the purpose of insurance). Applied to our domain, situations like pseudotranslation, intralingual translation, and intersemiotic translation come to mind.

A fake gun is not a giraffe, says Lakoff. Following this reasoning a pseudotranslation is a fake translation rather than a parking ticket, i.e. it is a phenomenon that has to do with translation and needs to be accounted for within Translation Studies. For Lakoff, a fake gun is not a giraffe because it shares properties of category membership: perceptual properties (looks like a gun), motor-activity properties

(hold it in a certain way), purposive (threaten, display on wall, etc.), functional properties (shoot), history of function (originally made to shoot). This helps to understand why some originals can be passed for translations (referred to as pseudotranslations) and vice versa (referred to as hidden or invisible translations, otherwise plagiarism plain and simple).

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Reviews

DICCIONARIO CONCEPTUAL DE VERBOS PARA LA DONACIÓN EN INGLÉS ANTIGUO

Juan Gabriel Vázquez González
Universidad de Huelva Publicaciones, 2005.
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Uno de los trabajos más recientes realizados en nuestro país dentro de una corriente lexicográfica que integra aspectos paradigmáticos y sintagmáticos de forma sistemática y complementaria en lingüística histórica es el recientemente publicado *Diccionario conceptual de verbos para la donación en inglés antiguo*, cuyo autor es Juan Gabriel Vázquez González de la Universidad de Huelva.

En este trabajo, el autor parte de los significados de los lexemas aportados en los diccionarios disponibles y aspira a una sistematización de sus definiciones en dominios léxicos. Participa de una filosofía relacional y cree que incluso con los datos recopilados de los deficientes diccionarios existentes puede alcanzar una descripción satisfactoria de los dominios del lexicón mental anglosajón (18). Las cuatro herramientas básicas que utiliza son: Diccionario de *Hall* y *Oxford English Dictionary*, amplía datos con *Bosworth*, contrasta con A *Thesaurus of Old English* y amplía con la base textual de *Microfiche Concordance to Old English.*

La macroestructura de este diccionario se compone de jerarquías léxicas que van en una escala de arriba abajo, es decir, de mayor a menor prototipicidad. En el dominio conceptual está presente el principio metodológico de *descomposición léxica gradual* (Dik 1978) y describe el *principio de iconicidad léxica (*Faber & Mairal 1999): a mayor posición en la escala jerárquica, mayor grado de variación sintáctica que el lexema tiene, y, por tanto, mayor es el número de unidades más marginales incluidas en su significación (21). La localización conceptual se lleva a

cabo mediante la etimología, el significado previo, las glosas latinas, así como la familia léxica, el número de derivados verbales asociados al vocablo primario y la implementación diacrónica.

En cuanto a la microestructura, cada entrada léxica consta de:

- definición
- localización
- Parámetros sintáctico-semánticos
- Citas
- Glosa
- Etimología
- Familia léxica
- Comentario discursivo.

Cada unidad se define mediante la base común o *genus* y rasgos propios o *differentiae,* con lo que cada unidad hipónima se compone de su hiperónimo más los rasgos idiosincrásicos propios evitando así la definición circular. Los rasgos sémicos de cada definición se encuentran ordenados, yendo desde la generalidad hacia la especificidad. La sección etimológica sirve para distinguir si el concepto es exclusivamente una metaforización anglosajona o bien proviene del germánico occidental, del protogermánico o incluso del indoeuropeo y, por tanto, pertenece al nivel básico de categorización del subdominio. Ayuda así a determinar el grado de centralidad de los lexemas y su aspectualización temporal. El análisis de los compuestos y derivados del verbo (familia léxica) permite reconstruir la realidad institucional mostrando un sugerente mapa de metaforizaciones que permite entender la creación léxica anglosajona de modo general y la creación de los conceptos estudiados y nociones afines de forma más general. En la sección discursiva se incorpora el análisis diacrónico de la unidad. Como consecuencia se distingue entre el vocabulario heredado y los términos incorporados más tarde.

El trabajo está realizado desde una perspectiva sociolingüística. Es un estudio de carácter léxico y de orientación cognitivo-conceptual, es decir, parte de un intento de comprensión de la organización del lexicón mental del hablante anglosajón cuyo objetivo es demostrar la importancia de lo social en el sistema lingüístico. De hecho, el subsistema estudiado en este caso, *SELLAN* es presentado como un ejemplo de "discontinuidad lingüística" (33) debido a la jerarquización social existente.

En general la metodología y los resultados de este trabajo son impecables y aporta una perspectiva nueva a la tendencia sincronicista de estudios lingüísticos anteriores, permitiendo al lector conocer, al mismo tiempo, la lengua anglosajona y su sociedad, el contexto en el que se empleaba. Sin embargo, resulta difícil utilizarlo como herramienta de trabajo al carecer de índice de términos, con lo que pierde la función que el propio título le otorga.

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Abstracts

SEXUALLY EXPLICIT EUPHEMISM IN MARTÍN AMIS'S *YELLOW DOG.* MITIGATION OR OFFENCE?

Eliecer Crespo Fernández

It is the purpose of this paper to provide an overview of the euphemistic modality that I shall call 'explicit euphemism' by means of an insight into the taboo of sex in *Yellow Dog* (2003) by Martin Amis. I argue that in today's literary language euphemism moves away from the traditional approach to the phenomenon. Indeed, explicit and plain-spoken allusions to sexual issues fulfil the main function of euphemism insofar as they avoid linguistic items deemed unacceptable in social discourse, especially the so-called 'four-letter words' related to sex. In this respect, Amis's novel constitutes a representative example of the treatment that the realm of sex receives nowadays, in which it is difficult to draw the line between euphemism and dysphemism, between mitigation and offence. In order to give insight into the incidence of this euphemistic modality in today's literary language, the final part of the article offers a glossary of the cases of sexually explicit euphemisms encountered in the novel aforementioned.

Key words: euphemism, explicit euphemism, sexual interdiction, Martin Amis, *Yellow Dog*.

El objetivo del presente artículo es ofrecer una perspectiva general de la modalidad eufemística que denomino 'eufemismo explícito' mediante el análisis del tabú sexual en la novela de Martin Amis *Yellow Dog* (2003). Mantengo que en el lenguaje literario actual el eufemismo no se ajusta al concepto tradicional del fenómeno. De hecho, alusiones explícitas a realidades sexuales desempeñan la principal finalidad eufemística en tanto sirven para evitar palabras y expresiones

consideradas inadecuadas en la interacción social, en especial las voces malsonantes de naturaleza sexual (*cunt*, *fuck*, etc.). En este sentido, la novela de Amis constituye un ejemplo representativo del tratamiento que el ámbito sexual recibe en la actualidad, integrado en un discurso en el que suele ser difícil distinguir el eufemismo del disfemismo, la atenuación de la ofensa verbal. A fin de dar cuenta de la incidencia de esta modalidad eufemística en la narrativa actual, la última parte del artículo presenta un glosario con los casos de eufemismo explícito hallados en la novela apuntada.

Palabras clave: eufemismo, eufemismo explícito, interdicción sexual, Martin Amis, *Yellow Dog*.

SPEECH VERSUS WRITING IN THE DISCOURSE OF LINGUISTICS

Robert de Beaugrande

The relation between spoken language and written language has long remained a clouded and delicate issue. Apart from the classical rhetoric of the ancient Greeks, traditional studies generally just assumed that written language was the obvious field of inquiry. As if in defiance of tradition, "modern linguistics" declared itself to be solely devoted to spoken language, especially to build upon the foundation all successes of phonetics and phonology, but found this principle impractical to sustain. The result has been a rather narrow and incomplete picture of language, deprived of due concern for intonation and prosody. The present paper proposes and briefly demonstrates a more constructive dualism.

Key words: spoken language, written language, prosody, corpus, authentic data.

La relación entre la lengua hablada y la escrita ha sido durante mucho tiempo una cuestión confusa y delicada. Aparte de la retórica clásica de los antiguos griegos, los estudios tradicionales por lo general han dado por hecho que la lengua escrita era claramente el campo sujeto a observación. Como desafiando la tradición, la lingüística "moderna" se confesó devota exclusivamente de la lengua hablada, especialmente para construir sobre esos cimientos todos los logros de la fonética y la fonología, pero descubrió que este principio no era sostenible en la práctica. El resultado ha sido una visión bastante limitada e incompleta de la lengua, desprovista del interés que requieren la entonación y la prosodia. Este artículo propone y muestra brevemente un dualidad más constructiva.

Palabras clave: lengua hablada, lengua escrita, prosodia, corpus, datos reales.

TASK EFFECTS ON EFL LEARNERS' PRODUCTION OF SUGGESTIONS: A FOCUS ON ELICITED PHONE MESSAGES AND EMAILS

Alicia Martinez-Flor

Scholars in the field of interlanguage pragmatics have examined second language learners' development of pragmatics by means of employing different data collection instruments. Findings from this research have showed the existence of task effects, although the need to further investigate this area has been claimed by widening the types of instruments being employed as well as the context in which they are used. Accordingly, the present study aims at examining the task effects of two production instruments (phone messages and email tasks) on the learners' use of suggestions in a foreign language setting. The participants included 81 Spanish university learners who were required to make suggestions in the oral and written production tasks. These tasks were elaborated on purpose for this study, and all situations i) varied according to the sociopragmatic factor of status; ii) were set at the University setting, as a familiar context to the participants; and iii) asked learners to perform suggestions in the role of students. Learners' performance when making suggestions in the phone messages and email tasks was compared. The results revealed statistically significant differences, which support the fact that the production task in which learners are engaged in influences their use of suggestions. Moreover, the findings also showed that participants employed a higher number of appropriate suggestions in the written task than in the oral task. These findings are discussed and pedagogical implications highlighted.

Key words: task effects, phone messages, emails, suggestions, FL setting.

Investigadores en el campo de la pragmática del interlenguaje han examinado el desarrollo de la competencia pragmática de los estudiantes en contextos de segundas lenguas por medio del uso de diferentes instrumentos de recogida de datos. Los resultados han mostrado la existencia de efectos producidos por el tipo de tarea a realizar y se ha apuntado la necesidad de realizar más estudios que amplíen el tipo de instrumento utilizado, así como el contexto en el que se realiza la investigación. En este sentido, el propósito de este análisis es el de examinar el efecto de las tareas que los estudiantes, en un contexto de lenguas extranjeras, deben realizar al utilizar sugerencias en dos tipos de instrumentos: mensajes telefónicos y correos electrónicos. Un total de 81 estudiantes españoles universitarios participaron en el estudio y realizaron sugerencias en tareas de producción oral y escrita. Dichas tareas fueron específicamente creadas para este estudio considerando que: i) todas variaban según el factor sociopragmático de estatus social; ii) se situaban en contextos universitarios, familiares a los participantes; y iii) creaban situaciones en las que

los participantes debían realizar el rol de estudiantes. Tras comparar la producción de sugerencias en ambas tareas, los resultados mostraron diferencias estadísticamente significativas, lo que demuestra que el tipo de tarea a realizar influye en el uso de sugerencias empleado. Además, también se demostró que los estudiantes emplearon un mayor número de sugerencias apropiadas en la tarea de producción escrita que en la oral. Tras el análisis de dichos resultados, se presentan implicaciones pedagógicas.

Palabras clave: efectos de la tarea, mensajes telefónicos, correos electrónicos, sugerencias, contexto de lenguas extranjeras.

HYPERTEXTUAL STRUCTURES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON READING COMPREHENSION: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

Margit Reitbauer

The aim of this empirical study is to evaluate information structures in hypertexts and their effect on reading comprehension. This comparison of how well students comprehend three different structures of hypertext offers new insights into the comprehension process and has the potential to inform the design of websites. In the first section of this paper, the global structure of hypertexts is discussed. In the second section, the subject of navigation within hypertext is related to the theoretical framework of schema theory. The third section describes the empirical study, in which linear, axial and networked hypertexts are used in a series of tests focusing on reading comprehension. The comprehension results are correlated to textual structure and reading time. The results indicate that axial structures are more beneficial to comprehension than networked or linearly arranged hypertext and support the readers' understanding and memory of content better. The fourth section is devoted to implications for language teaching and outlines several activities for activating learners' hypertextual schemata. Finally, suggestions for further research and the design of Web pages are made, pleading for displays that combine a record of the user's path through the document with a map of currently available links.

Key words: hypertextual information structures —reading comprehension— speed reading —teaching reading— web page design.

El objetivo de este estudio empírico es evaluar las estructuras informativas en los hipertextos y su efecto en la comprensión lectora. La comparación del nivel de comprensión de las tres estructuras diferentes de hipertexto ofrece claves para el proceso de comprensión y tiene el potencial de informar acerca del diseño de sitios web. En la primera parte, el presente artículo trata de la estructura global de

los hipertextos. En la segunda parte se establece una relación entre la navegación dentro del hipertexto y el marco teórico de la teoría de los esquemas.

La tercera parte describe el estudio empírico, en el que se utilizan hipertextos lineales, axiales y dispuestos en red en una serie de pruebas centradas en la comprensión lectora. Se establece una correlación entre los resultados de la comprensión y la estructura textual y el tiempo de lectura. Los resultados indican que las estructuras axiales resultan más beneficiosas para la comprensión que el hipertexto dispuesto en red o linealmente y favorecen la comprensión y la memorización del contenido por parte de los lectores. La cuarta parte se centra en las implicaciones para la enseñanza de la lengua y perfila diversas actividades para activar los esquemas hipertextuales del estudiante. Por último, se hacen sugerencias para estudios posteriores y para el diseño de páginas web, así como la petición de exposiciones que combinen el registro del itinerario del usuario a través del documento con un mapa de los enlaces disponibles.

Palabras clave: estructuras informativas hipertextuales, comprensión lectora, velocidad de lectura, enseñanza de la lectura, diseño de páginas web.

PRIORITIES AND HIERARCHICAL ACCOUNTS ON TRANSLATION

Patrick Zabalbeascoa

This paper is a study of the concept of *priority* and its use together with the notion of *hierarchy* in academic writing and theoretical models of translation. Hierarchies and priorities can be implicit or explicit, prescribed, suggested or described. The paper starts, chronologically, with Nida and Levý's hierarchical accounts of translation and follows their legacy in scholars as different as Newmark and Gutt. The concept of priorities is hinted at also in didactic models (Nord) as well as in norm-theoretical and accounts of translation (Toury and Chesterman) within Descriptive Translation Studies. All of these authors are analyzed and commented. The paper calls for a more systematic and straightforward account of translational priorities, and proposes a few conceptual tools that stem from this research model, including the concepts of *ambition* and *richness* of a translation. Finally, the paper concludes with an adaptation of Lakoff and Johnson's view of prototypicality and its potential usefulness in research into and the understanding of translation.

Key words: translation, priorities, hierarchy, prototype, subjectivity.

Este artículo es un estudio del concepto de prioridad y su utilización combinada con la noción de jerarquía, tal como aparecen en publicaciones teóricas y especializadas sobre la traducción. Las jerarquías y las prioridades pueden ser implícitas o

explícitas, prescritas, sugeridas o descritas. El presente estudio comienza con un repaso en orden cronológico de los enfoques jerarquizados de la traducción de Nida y Levý, y sigue la evolución de su legado en autores tan dispares como Newmark y Gutt. Asimismo, se apunta el concepto de prioridades en modelos didácticos, como el de Nord, y en enfoques descriptivos de la traductología (Toury y Chesterman). El artículo incluye análisis y comentarios de todos ellos. Entre las conclusiones se reclama abordar las prioridades traductológicas de una manera más sistemática y clara. Además, se incluyen algunas herramientas conceptuales que se derivan de un modelo de prioridades jerarquizadas y restricciones, como por ejemplo la ambición y la riqueza de una traducción. Finalmente, el artículo concluye con una adaptación de la propuesta de Lakoff y Johnson sobre la prototipicalidad y su utilidad potencial en la investigación traductológica y un mejor entendimiento de lo que supone traducir.

Palabras clave: traducción, prioridades, jerarquía, prototipos, subjetividad.

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