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table of contents

6

			Articles	11
			JUAN CARLOS ACUÑA FARIÑA (University of Santiago de Compostela)	
			Language Processing, Linguistics and Constraints	
	35	51		69
	PILAR ALONSO RODRÍGUEZ (University of Salamanca)	LOURDES BURBANO ELIZONDO (University of Sheffield)	M.ª ISABEL GONZÁLEZ PUEYO AND ALICIA REDRADO LACARTA (University of Zaragoza)	
	Grammatical Conceptualization as a Poetic Strategy in E.E. Cummings's <i>yes is a pleasant country</i>	First Approaches to the Unexplored Dialect of Sunderland	A Pragmacognitive Approach to the Study of Some Internet Scientific Articles: Headline Titles	
	87	111		131
	GISELA GRAÑENA (University of Barcelona)	FLORENTINA MENA MARTÍNEZ Y PIEDAD FERNÁNDEZ TOLEDO (Universidad de Murcia)	A. JESÚS MOYA GUIJARRO (University of Castilla- La Mancha)	
	Appeals for Assistance and Incorporation of Feedback in Foreign Language Interaction: The Role of Age and Proficiency Level	Aspectos socioculturales en la fraseología de la lengua inglesa: Perspectivas de estudio	Thematic and Topical Structuring in Three Subgenres. A Contrastive Study	

<p style="text-align: center;">155</p> <p>MARÍA LOURDES NAFÁ WAASAF (Universidad de Granada)</p> <p>La variación acústica de los correlatos entonacionales en interpretación simultánea inglés-español</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">187</p> <p>EVA SAMANIEGO FERNÁNDEZ (UNED) Y MIGUEL ÁNGEL CAMPOS PARDILLOS (Universidad de Alicante)</p> <p>El papel del anclaje en la traducción de los textos periodísticos</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">209</p> <p>PATRICIA SALAZAR CAMPILLO (University Jaume I)</p> <p>An Analysis of Implicit and Explicit Feedback on Grammatical Accuracy</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">229</p> <p>MARÍA JESÚS SÁNCHEZ MANZANO (Universidad de Salamanca)</p> <p>Importancia de la composición de los campos semánticos en su aprendizaje</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">251</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Reviews</p> <p>MARÍA LUISA GARCÍA LECUMBERRI AND JOHN MAIDMENT</p> <p><i>English Transcription Course</i> (by Darío Barrera Pardo. University of Sevilla)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">255</p> <p>JEREMY MUNDAY</p> <p><i>Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications</i> (by M.^a Pilar Mur Dueñas. University of Zaragoza)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">259</p> <p>TERESA ÁLVAREZ GARCÍA Y CORDELIA LILLY (eds.)</p> <p><i>Collins Diccionario Inglés Español-Inglés-Inglés Español</i> (por Antonio Sánchez Merino. I.E.S. Manuel Alcántara, Málaga)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">265</p> <p>MONTSERRAT MARTÍNEZ VÁZQUEZ (ed.)</p> <p><i>Gramática de Construcciones. Contrastes entre el inglés y el español</i> (by Asunción Villamil Touriño, Universidad Complutense de Madrid)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">271</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Abstracts</p>

Notes for Contributors	Acknowledgements
281	287

Articles

LANGUAGE PROCESSING, LINGUISTICS AND CONSTRAINTS

JUAN CARLOS ACUÑA FARIÑA

University of de Compostela

11

1. Introduction¹

Over forty years after the advent of the so-called Chomskyan revolution and twenty-five plus years into a solid psycholinguistic research agenda, a crucial question to ask about the nature of language concerns the way one conceives of the initial spark that gets it started, at least as far as comprehension is concerned. Recently, Gibson and Pearlmutter (1998, 2000) and Lewis (2000a, 2000b) (but see also Tannenhaus and Trueswell 1995; Carreiras 1997; and Pearlmutter 2000) have debated whether that spark is deterministically created in the same narrow place, always, or, on the contrary, whether the ignition that the system needs to get started may come from a variety of different places, a broad base. It is customary to assume that if it starts always in the same place the system will subsequently opt for a serial route, and that, conversely, if multiple sources are initially considered it will prefer a parallel development. I will not be primarily concerned here with that subsequent development, but will rather concentrate on the state of knowledge that has recently accumulated about the initial spark itself. With that in mind, in the rest of this paper I would like to argue the following points. Firstly, after the initial disappointment with Chomsky's early generative grammar (Johnson-Laird 1970, 1974; see Tannenhaus 1988, for a review), recent advances in psycholinguistics have progressively drawn generative grammar nearer

to linguistics in the sense that, like this, the field now appears to have acquired on its own the kind of linguistic experience that allows it to become sensitive to an extremely complex set of interacting factors and perspectives whose integration from above is no longer felt to be (suspiciously) just around the corner. And secondly, in coming to terms with, and closer to, the complexity of linguistics itself through the realization that no magic facile answers to the puzzle of language are available, psycholinguistics is now navigating its way towards one of the two positions in the debate. In effect, more like linguistics, psycholinguistics is, perhaps still a little inadvertently, heading for a constraint-satisfaction type of approach to the nature of language, that is, to a broad base for ignition, as opposed to a deterministic narrow base.

Since the last twenty-five years have ultimately been all about that initial moment of processing, it seems to me that this is an interesting conclusion. In order to defend it, I will draw on two lines of evidence of the four I can think of as relevant to the debate. The first one concerns the development of psycholinguistic speech processing itself, and will constitute the bulk of this work. With a view to narrowing down the discussion, I will trace the evolution of the structure that has probably received the most attention in the literature, the Complex NP + Relative Clause construction (henceforth CNP + RC), and argue that the number and the quality of the factors which have been recently found to be operative in the processing of that structure point to a dynamically changing network of constraints. The second line of evidence will be used to illustrate in what ways a range of (obviously non-corresponding) linguistic constraints constitutes the norm in linguistics as well, and what that means for psycholinguistics. Making a quick reference to the grammar of control, I will argue that, given its typical complexity, no computational account is likely to be able to explain the processing of such complexity in a couple of magic processing strokes. In other words, I will contend that there are no grounds for assuming that the processing of linguistic reality must be any easier than the linguistic reality itself. This point makes sense in the context of a series of well-known formalist accounts of parsing which dominated psycholinguistic research in the 80s and early 90s by appealing, deterministically, to merely two or three kinds of syntactic geometry. In my view, such a reductionist way of approaching language processing is, given the nature of what is processed, extremely optimistic. For reasons of space, I will not be able to discuss here two other factors that I believe point in the same direction. One is the evolution of linguistic theory itself, which, even at its most formal, has moved from the strong autonomy of strict overgenerating syntactic rules in the 60s and 70s, to the lexicon, and principles and parameters in the 80s and early 90s, and from these even further away from a radically syntactocentric view of language to an emphasis on interface levels in the new millenium (Chomsky 1965, 1981, 1993, 1995). The second factor has to do

with a methodological issue that is becoming crucial to the whole experimental agenda in psycholinguistics, namely: how is initial processing exactly to be defined and distinguished from later reanalysis. Over the years, latencies which used to be considered early effects of processing have been progressively deemed late by formalist theoreticians every time (that is, *after*) non-structural forces were shown to operate in their range (see, for instance, van Berkum *et al.* 2000, for a recent criticism of Brysbaert and Mitchell 2000, apropos the later's prior accusation that the former's previous work could not be taken as evidence of early processing). There is a growing concern that the distinction between early and non-early processing has become too tenuous to form the basis of theorising as it now stands. Finally, it is as well to add at this point that I will be concerned with recent psycholinguistic research only in as much as it reflects properties of the nature of language. Even if, as I will be contending, the view of language that emerges from such research is coincident with that obtained with the tools of (at least a large part of) linguistics, such a coincidence is extremely revealing in itself, given both recent history and the by now very different agendas and methodologies that linguistics and psycholinguistics have. However, the battle between all the different processing models is, in principle, outside the scope of the present paper.

2. The Complex NP + Relative Clause construction

Consider the following sentence:

- (1) Someone shot the servant of the actress who was on the balcony

The pattern in (1) has received a great deal of attention in the syntactic processing literature. It instantiates a so-called adjunction ambiguity in the sense that the relative clause (RC) occurring after the complex noun phrase (CNP) can be legitimately adjoined to either one of the two nouns (*servant* or *actress*). Psycholinguists are particularly observant of such ambiguities (which, though generally unperceived by us, are pervasive in our language use) because they can shed light on the architecture of the linguistic mind. They force us to ask what option —of the two available in (1)— the mind favours, and why. In this respect, psycholinguists do not have the benefit of theoretical linguists, who can remain satisfied with a phrase-marker that shows the RC to be connected with, or simply inside, the previous NP as a whole. Since people do assign interpretations to (1), as well as to countless other examples with similar ambiguities, a psycholinguist needs to know how the ambiguity is resolved (that is, who was on the balcony in (1)). The attempt to do this is expected to reveal, something about the nature of language.

Frazier (1977) and later Frazier and Rayner (1982) proposed that the human parser subjects all linguistic inputs to an initial syntactic analysis. At this initial stage, information which may be derived from the meanings of the nodes in the tree, context adequacy, knowledge of the world, and other non-syntactic sources will simply not be consulted, even if conspicuously evident. It is assumed that at this initial stage there is simply no time to consult meanings, so what the parser should be doing is to build up a tree which is full of vacuous category labels, like NP, N or *Inflex*. This syntactocentric model, known widely as the Garden Path theory of speech processing (henceforth, also GP), bases its seriality (first is syntax, then all the rest) on the presumed need for the human sentence processor (henceforth HSP) to minimise memory costs. A crucial feature of the model is that the HSP will always prefer simple analysis to complex. Simplicity in its turn is defined by reference to two main principles that the HSP must obey: minimal attachment (MA, “Do not postulate any unnecessary nodes” (Frazier 1987: 562), actually a specific instruction for the processor to prefer interpretations which require fewer nodes in the tree over other interpretations which require more nodes), and Late Closure (LC, “If grammatically permissible attach new items into the clause or phrase currently being processed”, Frazier 1987: 562). LC, in particular, ensures that memory is not given an excessive workload by integrating each new bit of the tree with the material immediately preceding it. Another crucial feature of the model is that, since the sound logic of the computational economy that it is based upon will benefit all languages, its predictions are meant to apply universally.

14

So GP is a modular account of parsing in that it strongly defends informational encapsulation (Fodor 1983) and shallow output of each submodule working inside the big language module. Each submodule does its job as a mechanical reflex, blind to information (and/or interference) from other modules. Once the job is done, its output is handed over to the next in a markedly serial chain. Admittedly, GP theoreticians have never bothered to fully specify all the links in the chain. They have, however, made a point of emphasizing that the first link must be syntax. As far as (1) goes, the model predicts a preference for the second noun (*actress*) through the mandatory application of LC: based on the geometry of the tree, the lower noun is closer to the RC, so it should carry the adjunction.

But the model is wrong. In a questionnaire study Cuetos and Mitchell (1988) found out that in Spanish, readers preferred N1 as a host for the RC. More importantly, the Spanish preference for high-attachment was later confirmed on-line in self-paced reading tasks (Mitchell and Cuetos 1991; Mitchell *et al.* 1995). To the sentences in the previous questionnaire study were added continuations which forced disambiguation in either one of the two possible directions (for instance, ‘with her husband’ forces disambiguation towards N2 in (1)). Mitchell *et al.* found out that every time disambiguation was forced towards the N2 site the

disambiguating region took longer to read than when it was forced towards N1. This was taken as evidence that readers must have initially favoured the N1 site and were later forced to undertake time-consuming reanalysis.

The Spanish data have been subsequently confirmed abundantly. The English data, however, have shown a less reliable pattern of results, although a slight preference for the lower NP may be discerned, at least in British English. Most other languages examined tend to side with the Spanish results (e.g. Zagar *et al.* 1997, for French; Hemforth *et al.* 1998, for German; Brysbaert and Mitchell 1996, for Dutch; see also Cuetos *et al.* 1996 and Carreiras and Clifton 1999, for overviews of cross-linguistic findings, with special reference to Spanish and English). This means that, firstly, LC (or at least LC alone) cannot explain the facts of (1); and secondly, GP's presumption of universality is seriously undermined.

Mitchell *et al.* (1992) proposed a different account of parsing based on the frequency with which competing alternative structures occur in the language at large. They conducted a corpus study in both English and Spanish which showed a statistical prevalence of the N1 site for Spanish (60%) and a dispreference for this site in British English (38%). The match between the on-line measures and the corpus counts is exactly what the Tuning theory of speech processing would predict. Tuning does not rely on computational principles like LC or MA. It is, however, still a structural model in that it maintains that ambiguities are resolved by consulting vacuous trees (not meanings). It simply asserts that the tree which has proved more successful in the past will be the chosen one. Being an exposure-based theory, Tuning has naturally evolved to claim that subjects' initial syntactic preferences will be a direct reflection, not only of the general prevalence observed in their language at large, but also of their own individual exposure. Given such theoretical premises, experiments in which subjects (both young and adult) were immersed in N1- or N2-biassed regimens for specified periods of time have ensued, with the result that the recent manipulation of their exposure was shown to be enough to cause them to abandon the general tendency and favour that imposed by the regimen. Again, this is exactly what Tuning would predict (Corley 1996; Brysbaert and Mitchell 1996; García Orza 2001).

But, just like GP, Tuning is a universal theory of parsing, and it turns out that its universal pretensions constitute too strong a test for the model. Recently, corpora studies and on-line measures have been shown not to coincide in Dutch (Brysbaert and Mitchell 1996; but see also Brysbaert *et al.* 1999, and De Baecke *et al.* 2000, for some important qualifications to these findings). Additionally, Gibson *et al.* (1996), Gibson and Schutze (1999), and Pickering *et al.* (2000), for instance, have recently shown the model's predictions are wrong when applied to other syntactic patterns. The conclusion is that frequency may be a powerful determinant of

(initial) adjunction, but hardly the only one. Another relevant shortcoming of the model is that it is hard for its proponents to spell out what Mitchell (1994) has referred to as the problem of the ‘grain size’, that is, precisely what should count as a segment subject to frequency effects. In the case of (1), for instance, should we consider the frequency of the overall [CNP + RC], that of particular prepositions inside the CNP (more on prepositions below), that of the RC with particular nouns?, etc. Given such openness in the delimitation of the object of analysis, proponents of the model are often accused of being able to accommodate *any* finding.

The failure of universal models of parsing to accommodate different parsing strategies across languages has resulted in the appearance of parameterised theories (e.g. Konieczny *et al.* 1994; Hemforth *et al.* 2000; Gibson *et al.* 1996, 1997, 1999). Based on Chomsky’s theory of Universal Grammar (a grammar devised in part precisely in order to account for differences across languages), parameterised theories of parsing can explain cross-linguistic differences away by positing that a certain parameter is set to a stronger or a weaker value in a given language, but not in another. Notice that, just as an appeal to frequency is psychologically motivated given the well-known role of experience in molding cognition down to the level of lexical processing (Swinney 1979; Rayner and Duffy 1986), so an appeal to parameters is linguistically motivated, not only because it is based directly on a linguistic theory, but also because linguistic explanations often involve more than one or two explicative factors (see below). A well-known parameterised theory is Recency and Predicate Proximity (RPP; Gibson *et al.*, 1996). Predicate Proximity (PP) stipulates a bias to attach modifiers as closely as possible to the root of a predicate. This is a second way in which parameterised theories of parsing move in the direction of linguistics since the (also vacuous) trees their proponents have in mind do not assign the same role and potency to all the nodes in the tree. Indeed, most syntactic theories are premised on that fact that the predicate is the centre of the clause. In Gibson *et al.*’s model, PP interacts with another principle, recency, which is essentially the same as LC. According to Gibson *et al.*, the different results obtained for structures like (1) in Spanish and English can be easily explained if we assume that Spanish sets PP high, with the consequence that distant attachments are costly. English, a language with characteristic syntactic rigidity, would rather set on a stronger recency parameter. The model has received support from structures like (2):

- (2) a. The lamp near the paintings of the houses which was damaged in the flood.
 b. La lámpara cerca de los cuadros de las casas que fue dañada en la inundación.

in which CNPs with three NPs before the RC show its expected pattern of facilitation (first N3, then N1, then N2. See Gibson and Schutze 1999).

However, not even two principles instead of one appear to be enough to save this model either. Leaving aside its failure to explain other structures and the validity of the grammaticality judgement task that its authors used to obtain their results (Cuetos *et al.* 1996), it has recently become known that the pattern of adjunction for structures like (1) is sensitive to the kind of preposition intervening between the two nouns that make up the CNP (Gilboy *et al.* 1995; Frazier and Clifton 1996; Frenck-Mestre and Pynte, 2000a, 2000b). Since neither recency nor PP should be affected by the type of preposition, it is clear that RPP cannot capture all that is relevant for the processing of adjunction ties.

If parameterised theories like the RPP model meant a certain progress towards more linguistically tuned accounts of parsing, Construal theory, advocated by GP theoreticians in an attempt to cope with the failures of their original GP model, is even more likely to please linguists, while not discouraging psychologists (Frazier and Clifton 1996, 1997, Gilboy *et al.* 1995). Construal advocates still maintain that LC and MA are mandatory universal principles, but they now circumscribe their operation to primary syntactic relations. For non-primary relations they postulate a new principle that gives the model its name: *construal*. ‘Construed’ relations are not solid, automatic, phrase-structure adjunction ties, but merely ‘associations’ with some portion of a sentence which are “interpreted using both structural and nonstructural information” (Gilboy *et al.* 1995: 133), including a *referentiality principle* to the effect that *attachees* are more likely to prefer referential hosts (so nouns with determiners to nouns without determiners, a relatively uncontentious claim). Primary phrases include: (a) the subject and the main predicate of a clause; (b) their obligatory constituents (complements); and (c) the complements and obligatory constituents of primary phrases. Non-primary phrases include, among others, RCs, adjunct predicates and phrases related via conjunction. Once a substring is analysed as a non-primary the Construal principle enters the processing scene in a very specific way:

Construal principle: associate a phrase XP (which cannot be analysed as instantiating a primary relation) into the current thematic processing domain; interpret XP within the domain using structural (grammatical) and nonstructural (extragrammatical) interpretive principles.

Current thematic processing domain: the extended maximal projection of the last theta-assigner. (Gilboy *et al.* 1995: 134)

The specification of a current thematic processing domain cast in GB terms has interesting consequences for the way we analyse the structure in (1), for it turns out that one is now forced to look into the internal structure of the CNP for predictions regarding the ‘association’ of the RC. This is so because when the CNP contains a preposition which is capable of assigning a theta-role (basically a

preposition with semantic content), the current processing domain excludes N1, which means that the association of the RC with the first site is strongly dispreferred. This is the case of segments like ‘the book of the student that’ or ‘the steak with the sauce that’, where the prepositions assign ‘possessor’ and ‘accompaniment’ theta-roles respectively, and where the RC is predicted to prefer low attachment. By contrast, in ‘the sketch of the picture that’ the very same preposition *of* is not a theta-assigner but merely a case assigner, which means that the whole NP sequence constitutes the entire theta-domain. In this case, the RC is associated with the whole CNP and the final interpretation is determined by all kinds of late information sources, including communicative efficacy, context fit, and culturally-shared pragmatic knowledge.

In allowing for at least a two-step process of parsing, Construal has made sure that cross-linguistic variation may be provided that, firstly, it affects non-primary relations; and, secondly, it occurs at a later stage in processing. For instance, the difference between English and Spanish observed in (1) has been ingeniously explained by the operation of Gricean principles (‘avoid obscurity’, ‘be clear’, etc) that are allowed to influence processing at a second stage. Thus, since in English, but not in Spanish, the CNP structure (*the book of the student that*) co-exists with the Saxon Genitive (*the student’s book that*) and this latter precludes the RC from referring to ‘student’, ‘speakers’ and reader’s choice of the prepositional structure makes more sense when they mean the RC to refer to that noun. The slight N2 preference found in English may be explained in this way. In fact, Gilboy *et al.* found out in their questionnaires that most of the difference between the English and the Spanish data affects only two types of CNP: the ‘alienable possessive’ type (*the book of the student that*) and the ‘kinship relationship’ type (*the relative of the boy that*) only. Those are precisely the types where the Saxon Genitive is common in English (see also Brysbaert and Mitchell 1996, for initial partial evidence from Dutch).

Construal has made a startling contribution to a more finely-grained understanding of the factors involved in the processing of language. There is little doubt that its formal sophistication is a definitive step forward. Also, it is as well to notice that the primary vs non-primary distinction that it is based upon has a solid linguistic motivation for the model now claims that since complements and modifiers are linguistically different things they are probably treated differently by the HSP. That kind of isomorphism between basic tenets of linguistic theory and psycholinguistic thinking has always been a desired property of the form of collaboration between the two disciplines involved. That, together with the level of detail in the specification of the current processing domain are no doubt great assets of the theory.

Unfortunately, however, all that does not seem to be enough to capture the complexity underlying the processing of (1) either. Using an eye-tracker methodology, Zagar *et al.* (1997) found both a solid preference for the N1 site in French, as well as no effect of context whatsoever in first-pass measures, which they interpreted as evidence of a structural bias. If the high-attachment preference observed in most languages were due to late interpretative processes, such a pattern of facilitation should not be expected. Also, the strong preference for adjuncts like *yesterday* to obey locality (LC) in adjoining to the more recent clause in sentences like *John said he will come yesterday* is evidence that some adjuncts at least do not wait for ‘late interpretive processes’ to find a host, and that, therefore, the primary vs non-primary distinction is not all that counts in the processing of adjunction. Besides, how precisely adjunction remains in suspension (Deevy 2000) and is later resolved by a host of late-acting factors, and how these are to be ranked, has never been clear (Traxler *et al.* 1998). Nor is it clear how precisely the model can account for individual differences and habituation patterns reported in the recent literature (Corley 1996; Brysbaert and Mitchell 1996; García-Orza 2001). Finally, Mitchell *et al.* (2000) have recently questioned the Gricean explanation involving a choice of structures (the Saxon Genitive) on evidence from Dutch and Afrikaans, where the Saxon Genitive is also at work but no N2-bias has been observed.

In fact, the last four or five years have seen a revival of the [CNP + RC] debate just when Construal seemed to have explained it definitively. The revival in question manifests itself through the appearance of newer and newer factors or parameters bearing on the adjunction of the RC to the CNP. Although we cannot hope to go into the specifics of each new parameter here, it is important to form an idea of both their number and qualitative character. Apart from the four we have already mentioned, the following brief list includes more:

1. Prosody-segmentation. Gilboy and Sopena (1996) claim that differences between Spanish and English are caused by the different segmentation techniques used in experiments. These often include large segmentation (the whole CNP) and small segmentation (each NP is given a separate display). The differences in segmentation are almost negligible in the English results because English subjects, unlike Spanish ones, do not rely on a fixed intonative contour, as phrasal accent is more variable in English. In Spanish, however, large segmentation favours N1 because when the two NPs are shown together only the higher one has “relativised relevance” (Frazier 1990), being typically the main assertion of the sentence, as the head of the lower NP and closest to the VP head. Small segmentation results in increased N2 preference. It is assumed that segmentation maps onto pronunciation through subvocalization. Segmentation-related effects have been found for a variety of structures (Pynte and Prieur 1996; Schafer and Speer 1997; Carlson *et al.* 2001).

2. ‘Same-size-sister’. According to Fodor (1998), what differentiates results in the [CNP + RC] construction from results obtained for other structures where LC is typically shown to be right is the heaviness of the attachee relative to that of the host configuration. Assuming that a constituent “likes to have a sister of its own size” (p. 285), it follows that light constituents will prefer to attach low whereas heavy ones will opt for high heads. Notice that, as Fodor herself points out, this a peculiar antigravity law. That would explain why some studies (Fernández and Bradley 2000) have found size effects in the sense that a short RC like *who cried* is preferably linked to the lower site in a sentence like *Somebody shot the servant of the actress who cried*. A principle of *balance* would prevent the short RC from attaching to the long CNP. Fodor suggests, and this seems to be important, that the universal research programme advocated by formalists can be salvaged if one assumes that prosodic processing works in parallel with syntactic processing and has an impact on ambiguity resolution. Since languages differ in their prosodic packaging, cross-linguistic variation is in principle easily accounted for. This new proposal is in part a reformulation of Frazier and Fodor’s (1978) old Sausage Machine model in the light of the arguments put forward by Gilboy and Sopena (1996). (See also Thornton and MacDonald 1999, for other structures. On ‘prosodic visibility’ and the syntax-prosody mapping, see Schafer and Speer 1997; Pynte and Prieur 1996; Carlson *et al.* 2001).

3. The mixing of theta-marking and non-theta-marking prepositions affects processing. In particular, Frenck-Mestre and Pynte (2000a) have shown that having French readers initially read a series of NP1-*with*-NP2-RC sentences affects their subsequent processing of another series of NP1-*of*-NP2-RC sentences. The pattern of habituation they found is asymmetrical in that prior exposure to *of*-CNPs does not change the preference of *with*-CNPs for low-attachment. In part, this is to be expected given Construal premises (although such premises are not the only theoretical explanation of the facts): while the *of*-domain is open to two nouns, the theta-domain imposed by *with* affects only the second noun, which makes it impervious to modification of attachment preferences.

4. The lexical frequency of the nouns involved. Pynte and Colonna (2000) have shown that when N1 is of lower frequency than N2, French readers are more inclined to attach the RC high. By contrast, when N2 is less frequent than N1, N2 is the most likely host for the modifying clause. This is consonant with the functional role that RCs typically perform in language: to help narrow down the actual reference of a previous ‘undefined’ noun. Lexical frequency is different from the lexically-specified tendency that some nouns may have to take modifiers (MacDonald *et al.* 1994). As Corley (1996) has pointed out, in the case of [CNP + RC]s in particular, such lexical forces are not likely to have a major role in determining adjunction.

5. The restrictive/non-restrictive nature of the RC. This is not a dimension of analysis that has been subjected to experimental investigation directly, but rather a hidden variable that, according to Baccino *et al.* (2000), may have been at work in previous experiments. In particular, Baccino *et al.* point out that Frenck-Mestre and Pynte's (2000a, 2000b) solid N1 preference found in their French and Italian sentences is 'contaminated' by the restrictive/non-restrictive dimension of the RCs in them in that the French researchers used proper nouns in the N2 slot, thus promoting an N1 bias. Baccino *et al.* assume that readers will first try to interpret the RC as a restrictive modifier, rather than as a non-restrictive one, and since restrictives cannot modify proper nouns, the only possibility for these nouns to host the RC is via the (putatively reanalysed) non-restrictive interpretation of the clause. In the light of Frenck-Mestre and Pynte's counter claim that "Baccino *et al.* seemingly undercuts their own proposal that modifier attachment is governed by strictly syntactic considerations [because] (t)he interpretation of a relative clause as being restrictive rather than appositive is *most certainly* a referential process" (emphasis added), it seems evident that the psycholinguistic discussion can benefit from classic knowledge of the syntax of RCs (Ross 1967; Jackendoff 1977; Emonds 1979; Stuurman 1983). Given the well-known syntactic differences between the two types of clause, and the recent Frenck-Mestre and Pynte-Baccino *et al.* debate, psycholinguistic theories of the way they are processed should be (and surely are) under way.

6. Number. The Mismatch Asymmetry Effect first observed in production studies (Bock and Ebenhard 1993) captures the fact that a plural NP in a CNP domain increases processing of a singular verb. According to Deevy (1999, 2000), the plural feature is marked or specified by the processor whereas the singular is unmarked (also Pearlmutter 2000). In combination with Construal theory, which claims that the RC is not initially attached to the CNP but merely associated with it, the necessary checking of a plural agreement feature from the verb in the RC is momentarily blocked, thereby disrupting processing, as feature checking is delayed till the RC gets finally adjoined. The processing of a plural verb is fine because the potentially conflicting presence of a nearby singular noun is not even checked. It is assumed, besides, that overt agreement information on the singular is not available.

Deevy's research builds on previous findings that plural number has an impact on processing. This is an important discovery as plurality itself cannot be taken to affect the geometry of a tree. However, her theory that interference is explained if one assumes Construal postulates is not entirely clear. Deevy (2000) can in fact only show interference when the plural NP is the second NP in a CNP (*the niece of the actors who was*), but not when it is the first (*the nieces of the actor who was*). Since, as Deevy herself points out, Nicol *et al.* (1997), (also Pearlmutter 2000),

have shown that “disruption is not a function of mere linear proximity of the marked plural to the agreeing verb” (Deevy 2000: 70), this new asymmetry (the second plural NP, but not the first, affects processing), is totally unaccounted for. So is the fact that Deevy’s condition with [singular NP1 + singular NP2 + singular VP] (*the niece of the actor who was...*) behaves exactly like the mixed type [plural NP1 + singular NP2 + singular VP] (*the nieces of the actor who was...*) but unlike (faster than) the other mixed type ([singular NP1 + plural NP2 + singular VP]: *the niece of the actors who was*). Finally, plurals have also been shown to attract adjunction of the RC in corpus studies of Dutch (de Baecke *et al.* 2000) and Galician (García-Orza *et al.* 2000). All in all, checking of plural agreement appears to be yet another relevant parameter in the determination of adjunction in at least the [CNP + RC] construction, but still not quite *the* parameter, yet again. Incidentally, as far as gender (not number) agreement goes, Brown *et al.* (2000: 66) have recently obtained electrophysiological evidence that “discourse-semantic information can momentarily take precedence over lexical-syntactic information”.

22

7. Animacy. The same corpus studies in the preceding paragraph have found a marked animacy effect in the sense that a human NP inside a CNP domain is much more likely to attract the RC than NPs denoting non-human entities. In combination with plurality, animacy appears to act as an adjunction magnet. Brysbaert *et al.* (1999) have obtained similar results. It should be noted that the N2-biased ‘alienable possessive’ type referred to above (Gilboy *et al.* 1995), as in *the book of the student that...*, contains an animate second noun. Additionally, Barker *et al.* (2001) have found out, in production, that animacy interferes with agreement in other structures, “indicating that the mechanism involved in implementing agreement [an ostensibly grammatical process] cannot be blind to semantic information”. Prat-Sala and Branigan (2000) have reported that animacy plays a significant role in choosing among competing syntactic alternatives in Spanish and English, also in production.

Most of the aforementioned parameters are still being investigated and they of course do not exhaust the list of possible determinants of adjunction. Although we cannot afford to extend that list here at length, it is important to realise that there are likely to be many more. For instance, in exploratory questionnaires run at the University of Santiago, we have found a seemingly stable lexical priming effect in Galician, in the sense that for sentences like:

- (3) He entered the room of the museum which exhibits local art.

there is an increased probability of the N2 site carrying the adjunction due to the strong lexical and collocational ties existing between *museum* and *exhibit*. Hemforth *et al.* (2000) insist that [CNP + RC]s must also be seen as a process of

anaphor resolution, and that the anaphoric binding of the relative pronoun is open to manipulations of both focus and visibility (in English, but not in Spanish for instance, the (non-subject) pronoun can often be dropped). Moreover, no one has seriously investigated the role of syntactic function, as indeed all experimental sentences used in the now large literature on the [CNP + RC] construction contain CNPs which act only as DOs or as complements of prepositional verbs (Acuña, in press). And if we move outside the [CNP + RC] debate, even more recent proposals are coming to light which may very well end up affecting it. For instance, Pickering *et al.* (2000) have discussed a new processing parameter, which they have termed *informativity*, that amounts to an instruction to prefer testable analyses. Thus, a more frequent option (say, a *that*-complement clause after the verb *realise*) may be abandoned in favour of a less frequent one (say, an object NP) if the latter interpretation is easy to verify almost *ipso facto*, thus allowing the HSP to prevent a major (as opposed to a minor) reanalysis. All in all, although the time has not yet arrived to *definitively* preclude the possibility that all of the aforementioned parameters may fit nicely inside a deterministic, serialised chain consisting of a few ranked types, and although most of these recent parameters have not been subjected to thorough cross-linguistic investigation nevertheless, *cumulatively* the sheer number of factors currently being explored points to a view of ignition which is essentially broad and open in nature and implemented through the competition among different kinds of ranked constraints. Indeed, it is not only the number of parameters but also, and fundamentally, the qualitative nature of many of them. Animacy, plurality, pronunciation, lexical frequency, harmonic rhythmicity or syntactic weight, size (and maybe even indefiniteness, modifiability, anaphor resolution, and lexical priming) can hardly be taken to modify the geometry of a tree. Since, out of all that constitutes the form of grammar, formalist theories of speech processing like GP, Construal, RPP, or Tuning have chosen to rely only on geometrical determinism, it is unlikely that they can accommodate such factors in their models. It is equally unlikely that precisely *all* those factors —of all the factors— will be eventually shown to act late. Indeed, it is not clear why one would wish to confine the immensity of all sentence processing (a scientific area of quintessential difficulty), not just to the form of the message, but to the very restricted part of that form which can only be reducible to (one or two aspects of) the geometry of a tree. Even in Chomsky's current model of grammar (1993, 1995), the extremely reduced (indeed minimalist) syntactic component known as *bare phrase structure* is both: a. affected in its essence by “bare output conditions” (1995) or “legibility conditions” (1999) in the sense that linearisation, for instance, is removed from it and seen as the result of performance constraints (the sensorimotor interface); and b. yet considerably more sophisticated in its dependence on arboreal representations since such notions as asymmetric c-command, for instance, are said

to operate at certain levels of structure (like maximal or minimal projections), but not on others (like intermediate projections). This means that, at the very least, there must be something analogous to projections and levels and commands (not to mention islands, movement, bounding domains, grammatical case, discontinuous relations, feature checking—including number agreement, function, mood, aspect, scope, floating relations, etc.) in the way of processing. Whether we like it or not, nothing about the form of language is ever so simple as LC or PP.

3. Linguistic complexity

The conclusion that the only way to explain both individual and cross-linguistic differences in parsing is to allow for the competition of at least some of those forces to compete fits in well with linguists' accumulated knowledge of language. Indeed, a constraint-based approach to parsing that assumes that representations corresponding to alternative interpretations are activated in a graded and dynamically changing way as the bits of the sentence keep coming and constraints continue to apply is possibly the best way to capture—not isomorphically, as far as we can tell now—the very many different arguments that linguists themselves typically use to provide support for their syntactic analyses. There is hardly any linguistic object, even in the formal realm that syntax is meant to be, that can be described or explained by reference to one or two formal manipulations of a geometrical kind (the equivalent of one or two processing principles like LC or PP). This is no doubt a logical consequence of something that linguists know too well, namely, that language is too complex to be accounted for under such minimalist assumptions.

Consider briefly linguists' typical description and explanation of grammatical phenomena. Control theory is a good example. In Chomskyan-style grammars, Control Theory regulates the way that the missing subjects of infinitivals and gerunds are derived. Hornstein (1999) has recently departed from the standard theory of control as devised by GB linguists by collapsing certain cases of control with syntactic movement (a proposal first made by Bowers 1981). The consequence of a theory of this kind is that the standard distinction between raising predicates (like *seem*) and control predicates (like *try*), as in (4) and (5) below:

- (4) John seemed to (t) leave
- (5) John tried to PRO leave

is abandoned in favour of a raising view of both kinds of predicates. Thus, PRO disappears from the grammar and *trace* takes its place. Importantly, the theta-criterion, which stipulates that each argument bears only one theta-role and that

each theta-role is assigned to only one argument (Chomsky 1981), must be abandoned too, according to Hornstein, as John in (5) now acquires a second theta-role by virtue of moving to [Spec, VP], basically, the position of subject of *try*.

Consider now Culicover and Jackendoff's (2001) criticism of Hornstein's proposal. The essence of their critique is that "there is a long tradition in the literature to the effect that the position of the controller is determined at least in part by semantic constraints" (p. 493), and that, consequently, "a purely syntactic account—especially (but not only) one that involves movement—will not work" (notice the hedges "at least in part" and "[not] purely"). Of course we cannot hope to go into the details of control theory at any length here. Fortunately for our purposes, however, if we keep in mind the point made in the preceding section, a panoramic view of both the number and the quality of the arguments that surface in the discussion should be enough to reinforce that point. Among those points Culicover and Jackendoff (henceforth C and J) mention the following:

1. A distinction between obligatory vs non-obligatory control.
2. The treatment of the Minimal Distance Principle (MDP; Rosenbaum 1967).
3. VP-Ellipsis reconstruction and controlled VPs.
4. Control in Infinitival Indirect Questions (IIQs).
5. Control by nominals instead of verbs.
6. Control into nominals.
7. Control in adjunct clauses.
8. The *promise* and *order* classes.
9. The *say* and *ask* classes.

Each of the previous points naturally leads to a further set of ramifications which we cannot hope to even mention here. However, the network structure of both the linguistic phenomenon that is analysed (leading from obligatory and non-obligatory control to the MDP, VP-Ellipsis, IIQs, control by nominals, control into nominals, control in adjunct clauses, and the establishment of lexical classes, like the *promise* class, the *order* class, etc.) and of the analysis itself is evident even after such a summary description. In effect, even if one merely wishes to understand and explain (4) and (5), it is simply not possible to explain control by referring to those two structures in an encapsulated manner. Instead, in order to explain (4) and (5), a dense net of linguistic arguments and relations must be taken into account. Such relations may be formal at times (for instance, every time the adjunct in adjunct clauses lacks an overt subject, the surface subject of the main clause acts as the controller), but some times they are lexical, or conceptual (e.g. the *promise* class violating MDP in the sense that, unlike most verbs, with *promise* PRO is controlled by the distant matrix subject instead of the near matrix object: *Jane_i promised Josh_j*,

to *PRO_i come soon*), or they have to do with the way an account of the particular grammar of control fits into the grammar at large (like the need for Hornstein to abandon the theta-criterion, or the consequence that, in order to defend his theory, he must allow movement out of a *wh*-island, given the facts of control in IIQs). That in itself makes for a very complicated picture. All in all, it turns out that neither the raw facts of syntax, nor the raw facts of lexical specification, nor the raw facts of semantics can explain the range of structures that form the facts of control. This means that one is bound to conclude that control exists as a grammatical phenomenon only in as much as one recognises its inherently connectionist nature. This is the norm in linguistics because it is part of the nature of language.

Now, Control theory is not simply a linguistic phenomenon like phonemes, inferences, or metaphors. It is something much more circumscribed in that it is studied within the formal realm of grammar. If even within such a circumscribed scenario our understanding of the structure of this notion involves such a polyfaceted, multidimensional, and often apparently contradictory array of radial features of analysis, it is not clear how our understanding of the way we process the very same structure (see Betancort *et al.*, submitted) can be thought likely to depend deterministically, only, on such crude principles of syntactic geometry as LC (or similar ones, like de Vincenzi's (1998) Minimal Chain Principle), or at most on the early or not so early operation of a vaguely-defined theta-domain (vague in the sense that the thematic properties of prepositions are by no means absolutely transparent; cf. Grimshaw 1990). Indeed, a very serious theoretical objection to any deterministic model of parsing that rests almost exclusively on two or three arboreal processing principles for all its predictions is that it is hopelessly arbitrary. In effect, if processing is to be seen as an X-centric process (*eg* a syntactocentric process), then it is not clear why the X-centrism must extinguish itself only after the first X. That is, if the process is serially ranked, what is the relevant ordering of the rank after, say, LC or PP? Are we to assume that all syntactic factors take precedence? If not, which syntactic factors are to be seen as non-initially central: c-command, function, category? And why? What is the rank position of, say, number, or prosody, or syntactic weight, or argument structure, or frequency? If we have ten different forces bearing on the adjunction arena, and granting that the very first one must be (a tiny fraction of) syntax, should we not expect that the very same principle that grants that (tiny fraction of) syntax its privileged status in the system should also apply to the remaining nine forces in order to determine their relative orderings?

It is possible to see things in a less arbitrary way, provided that one is ready to admit that what we see turns out to be much more complex than we used to assume. And if we keep in mind the by-now large list of factors which recent psycholinguistic research is finding relevant for the full determination of speech processing (like

[CNP + RC]s, in the preceding section), it now appears that psycholinguistics is finally becoming sensitive to the extreme complexity of language that linguists have recognised, and marvelled at, for so long. In as much as both explaining the structure of language, and the processing of that structure involves the accommodation to many interrelated constraints, the solution to the ignition problem is most likely to lie in frameworks that incorporate the dynamically graded (and most probably—but not necessarily—parallel) working of such constraints. Being dynamically graded, constraints may vary in the strength of their applicability (or ‘ignitability’), and that variation is precisely what is needed to explain a polymorphic linguistic structure. Thus, for instance, as has already been pointed out, it is very unlikely that RC adjunction in a CNP domain should rely primarily on lexical biases like the propensity of some nouns to be modified. But that does not mean that such a factor is meaningless: it simply means that, in that particular structure, it is bound to be a minor player. If we see processing as the satisfaction of many competing constraints, it is easy to account for the complex scenario where in *some* circumstances *some* nouns do show a strong propensity to ‘ignite’ an RC. For instance, in *you know, John’s the kind of guy...* we surely expect an RC (like *who is always happy*) more than in, say, *this is the end of the story...* (as in *which caused so much concern*). Notice that *guy* is not even a referential NP and *kind* is, yet surely the RC points to *guy* because *kind* is only formally referential and *guy* actually inherits its referentiality (just as in *an apple core* the formally indefinite *core* is actually definite, paraphrasable by *the core of an apple*). By contrast, in *this is the end of the story*, the segments *this*, *end* and (definite) *the story* indicate that the latter noun is anaphorically determined and thus unlikely to need any further major restrictive specification. In linguistic terms, the logic of those adjunction preferences would be analogous to the *promise* class of verbs breaking the structural logic of the MDP. Likewise, it is also possible to conceive of cases where the lexical tie *is* a major player. For instance, it has been shown that a passive interpretation is much more likely after *the evidence examined...* (as in *the evidence examined by the lawyer was conclusive*) than after *the witness examined...*, for obviously witnesses (but not evidence) can examine something (MaDonald *et al.* 1994; Trueswell 1996). That in turn would be the equivalent to, say, the strength of argument structure in determining that the nouns *order* / *instruction* / *encouragement* / *reminder* / *invitation* (but not *commitment* / *promise* / *offer* / *guarantee* / *obligation* / *pledge* / or *oath*) should obey the MDP. And the fact that every time that the adjunct in adjunct clauses lacks an overt subject the surface subject of the main clause acts as the controller points to a strength of purely syntactic factors that is tantamount to the strong propensity to obey locality (LC) in adjoining *again* to the second of the two clauses in *John said he would come again*. Proponents of constraint-satisfaction approaches recognise at least the

following types of constraints: 1. Phrase-and clause-formation constraints; 2. Lexical constraints; 3. Contextual constraints; 4. Prosodic constraints; 5. Word-and phrase-level contingent frequency constraints; and 6. Locality (recency) constraints (Bates and MacWhinney 1989; Macdonald *et al.* 1994; Spivey-Knowlton and Sedivy 1995; Tannenhaus *et al.* 2000; Gibson and Pearlmutter 2000). To be sure, not only syntactocentric approaches are deterministic and thus reductionist in nature, but so are extreme lexicalist accounts which ignore locality and similar formal forces (as recognised, for instance, by Trueswell *et al.* 1993. See also Grodner *et al.* 2002, for cases where syntactic complexity is more powerful than lexical biases in determining disambiguation preferences). Some of these constraints may actually work as modules (a module of grammar or of the lexicon, for instance), as long as its operations are not seen as a precondition on the operations of the others, that is, as long as parsing is not seen as deterministically syntactic, or deterministically lexical, deterministically semantic, or deterministically pragmatic. In fact, parsing may even be serial, as long as it is not deterministically serial, so that initial analysis may sometimes be syntactically driven, but also lexically or semantically or pragmatically so. The appeal of such notions as modularity and seriality given such premises remains to be seen. In any case, it is also important to recognise that the six kinds of constraints just mentioned are *kinds*, that is, they are already an extreme reduction of the whole linguistic reality and all the psycholinguistic reality one has to deal with. With hindsight, and in the light of the (necessarily abbreviated) previous account of the forces bearing on the processing of [CNP + RC]s, and of linguistic complexity, the attempt by principle-grounded theoreticians to explain the entirety of the human sentence processing mechanism by having recourse to two or three arboreal processing principles seems naive. What recent research is finding is that the entirety of the human sentence processing mechanism is, not unexpectedly, turning out to be vast.

28

4. Summary and conclusions

Research into language and language processing is inevitably informed and affected by the researchers' hypotheses about the 'ignition' moment of speech, that is, the precise nature of the spark that gets the whole system started. One can conceive of the two opposite views that aim to explain this moment as two very different kinds of pyramids (and two different views of the nature of language). One, the inverted pyramid, starts in an extremely narrow place, the tip of the pyramid, and grows broader and broader as the system moves progressively away from the initial spark. The other pyramid, the non-inverted type, is rooted in a very broad base and tapers off as the system operations unfold in time. The inverted pyramid is

deterministic in that processing always starts on the same small spot, usually assumed to be syntax. The non-inverted pyramid, conversely, allows the system to get started anywhere along its broad base, with the consequence that ignition is harder to detect as it keeps changing its launching platform with every new structure, and even with any new change to any new structure. In this paper I have tried to present a case for a non-deterministic, non-inverted-pyramid view of parsing (and, more generally, language) based on, firstly, the strength of recent psycholinguistic evidence, as exemplified through the extensively studied [Complex NP + Relative Clause] construction; and, secondly, the nature of language, as this emerges from the world of linguistics. None of the different pieces of evidence reviewed here is conclusive in itself, yet cumulatively they do clearly point in a particular direction, towards a broad base.

Proponents of syntax-based deterministic models of speech processing often accuse constraint-satisfaction theoreticians of not being able to determine where precisely initial syntactic processing takes place, and of being able to explain any finding *a posteriori*. Indeed, the accusation is entirely justified given the dense net of parameters that converge upon the processing system as seen by the latter. In stark contrast with models that claim that ignition may start almost anywhere, formal deterministic models of parsing offer one solace in claiming that it can always be predicted to start in the same small area. In this paper I have tried to show that such a complacent view of language processing is unfortunately too reductionist given the nature of what is processed. There are simply no grounds for assuming that language processing should be any easier than language itself, and —as we have seen— language is simply much more complex than proponents of deterministic models of parsing would appear to believe. In fact, even if *all* the non-formal parameters which are recently coming to light were eventually shown to act late (and there are simply no uncontroversial traces of that), formal models of parsing would need to go beyond their penchant for (a very reduced) geometry in order to account for effects caused by syntactic weight, or agreement checking, for instance. That is, even if ignition were only formally guided, the formal determination of that guidance would have to be considerably more sophisticated. In view of the accumulated knowledge of the past four or five years, deterministic parsing seems now much less appealing than it used to. This means that as researchers there may be no option but to become reconciled with the fact that language is systemic, networked and dynamic in nature. Which means that studying it may be considerably more demanding than one would like to admit. Also, considerably more challenging.

Notes

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GRAMMATICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION AS A POETIC STRATEGY IN E. E. CUMMINGS' *yes is a pleasant country*

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35

1. Introduction

Recent research in the fields of cognition and linguistics has shown the interconnectivity there is between the many facets of thought, language, and human interaction (Lakoff 1987, 1993, 1996; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Langacker 1987, 1991, 1998, 2001; Fauconnier and Turner 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001; Fauconnier and Sweetser 1996; Talmy 2000). All researchers have put the emphasis on the cognitive operations which underlie linguistic communication at either end of the production and reception processes, and have explained how domains of knowledge get linked and enriched through mapping, and how mental spaces containing new or modified information are created through blending. This appreciation of facts is based on empirical observation of real language phenomena, and therefore is not restricted to specific language constructions or to language uses of a certain type. It is a question of how ideas get projected on and through language and how all intervening components, whatever their nature, are mutually influential in the course of meaning creation.

In the following pages we will make use of this cognitive perspective to propose what may proved to be a novel investigation of E.E. Cummings' poem: *yes is a pleasant country*. The analysis will illustrate how this poem takes the meaning potential of grammatical structure to its highest expression through usage which

may not be exceptional but which produces remarkable effects when employed creatively, thus making true Langacker's assertion that "grammar (or syntax) does not constitute an autonomous formal level of representation. Instead, grammar is symbolic in nature, consisting in the conventional symbolization of semantic structure" (1987: 1-2). The analysis will at the same time confirm Lakoff's claim that the traditional assumption which maintains that "the concepts used in the grammar of a language are all literal; none are metaphorical" is false (1993: 204).

2. Theoretical foundations

The investigation will take as its point of departure some of the theoretical principles developed within the framework of cognitive linguistics mostly by conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff 1987, 1993, 1996; Lakoff and Turner 1989), blending theory (BT) (Fauconnier and Turner 1994, 1996; Fauconnier 1997; Fauconnier and Sweetser 1996; Coulson and Oakley 2000), and, more recently, by the conceptual integration network model (CIN) (Fauconnier and Turner 1998, 2000, 2001; Grady 2000). They all share the view, central to this analysis, that conceptual projections between knowledge domains and/or mental spaces are a fundamental feature of human mental processes.

CMT sustains that metaphorical thinking is an essential tool of our cognitive system, and sees the metaphorical mapping between conceptual domains as a basic straightforward operation which allows the structure and properties of a given area of knowledge (source domain) to be projected onto another, usually more complex and abstract area of knowledge (target domain). According to CMT, the target domain inherits the characteristics of the source domain including its cognitive structure and associated lexical elements, which are then integrated in the target domain both at the levels of concept and expression. BT and its more recent development CIN expand this view. BT and CIN contend that conceptual projection is not necessarily a direct one-way move between two areas of knowledge; they recognize metaphorical mappings as conceptual operations but have identified other types of cognitive operations involving non-metaphorical relations as well; these include analogical mappings, cross-space mappings of counter-part connections, fusion, etc. (Fauconnier and Turner 1998, 2001). The complexity of the panorama described has led them to develop a theory of conceptual integration where all these interactive connections find their place. For these reasons, they prefer to talk about mental spaces and input spaces instead of domains and claim that "conceptual projection from one space to another always

involves mapping to 'middle' spaces-abstract 'generic' middle spaces or richer 'blended' middle spaces" (Fauconnier and Turner 1994:1).

Blended mental spaces are a particular instantiation of a specific situation projected through language and, therefore, may be said to include the generic space. The generic space incorporates the cognitive structure of both input spaces relevant for the conceptual construction in hand, or those elements which are shared by both inputs. The blended space also contains information from the two input spaces, source and target, but here the elements acquire new specific characteristics inherited from the co-occurring conceptual projections. It is in the blended space where the new structure corresponding to the current situation encountered in discourse emerges, where inferences originate, and where a complete interpretation of the facts or events described may be obtained. Blending theory and the conceptual integration network are not in contradiction with CMT or other close approaches (construction grammar, frame semantics, analogical mappings, etc.). Their aim is to build a general framework based on analytical and empirical data which explains all aspects of the procedure undergone in the construction of meaning. Within this framework, blending is seen as primary to any language event, and as part of it there are some essential cognitive operations, such as integration, compression, composition, completion, elaboration... (Fauconnier and Turner 1998, 2000, 2001; Coulson and Oakley 2000; Grady 2000). The theory of conceptual integration shows that blending is active in many mental processes, such as conceptualization, categorization, inferencing, etc. It also contends that projection between structures of different types, linguistic, counterfactual, analogical, pragmatic, etc. is crucial to human cognition. As Fauconnier and Turner say, "blending can be detected in everyday language, idioms, creative thought in mathematics, evolution of socio-cultural models, jokes, advertising, and other aspects of linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour" (1996: 2).

Finally, there is a third research proposal which opts for a middle position and sustains the complementarity of the approaches discussed above. In their article "Blending and Metaphor", Grady *et al.* (1999) analyze the similarities and differences between CMT and BT and consider that these theories are not modified versions of the same cognitive phenomenon, as may have seemed to be the case when blending theory was initially developed as an extension of the theory of metaphorical mappings. They claim that conceptual domains and mental spaces are co-existing cognitive structures each with its specific function in our cognitive system. They distinguish between the concept of domain as a stable cognitive structure existing in long-term memory and available for any operation performed by our cognitive system, and that of mental space as a short-term cognitive construction created on the spot to characterize the specific requirements of a given communicative situation. Grady *et al.* consider metaphorical mappings and

conceptual blending as different cognitive operations which may be used separately or in combination with extremely productive results. A rather similar view is in fact supported by Fauconnier and Turner (1998, 2001) when they present metaphorical mappings as one of the various types of cognitive projections which may function in the construction of conceptual integration; along the same line, they distinguish between the more stable notion of conceptual domain and the specific situation-bound mental spaces.

The work proposed here will benefit from the coincidences and peculiarities of all these approaches, and will also take the notion of projection as central to the analysis. Following Grady *et al.*, we will use these frameworks, CMT and BT and CIN, in our analysis and their corresponding central notions “domain” and “mental space” in the senses mentioned above, as well as their corresponding analytical tools as they apply to our object of study. It is important to note, however, that our consideration of grammar as a source of metaphorical mappings and conceptual blending will not be concerned with the cognitive-semantic role that cognitive linguistics assigns to grammar and grammatical categories (Langacker 1987, 1991, 1998, 2001; Fauconnier and Turner 1994, 1996; Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Talmy 2000). Within this theoretical framework grammar and grammatical categories (including not only grammatical constructions but also overt-bound and overt-free grammatical forms such as inflections, derivations, determiners, prepositions, adverbs, particles, etc.) are considered essential for the process of conceptualization in language—they are seen as “the determinant of conceptual structure within our cognitive system”—in contrast with the lexical subsystem of the language which is seen as responsible for “the conceptual content” (Talmy 2000: 22, 33).

This investigation will not pursue this line of analysis; it will focus instead on the utilization of grammar in discourse as a conceptual area creatively exploited to endow matters of ordinary life with new forms of expression and new dimensions of meaning. As a side-effect, it will demonstrate from the data obtained that conceptual structure and conceptual content cannot always be easily isolated; they are also susceptible to mutual influences and shared roles and relations. The operations underlying Cumming’s poetic composition draw on the same cognitive strategies fundamental to all types of conceptual integration: There is a transfer of properties from a source domain to a target domain which triggers new, richer, interrelated spaces. The originality of this poetic composition lies in the nature of one of the domains that has been selected for its conceptual construction. A thorough understanding of the poem requires different degrees of linguistic consciousness, from the identification of the extremely elaborate grammatical combinations which have been integrated into the poem to the actual knowledge (theoretical and/or intuitive) required for its interpretation. Cumming’s *yes is a*

pleasant country provides an effective example of how grammar can be used to conceptualize general experience in a creative and highly aesthetic way.

3. The analysis of the poem

A superficial reading of E.E. Cummings' *yes is a pleasant country* evidences, at the very least, a series of unexpected grammatical choices, the most noticeable concerning the elements occupying the subject slot of the sentences around which the first two stanzas evolve. They seem to be the clue for much of the emotion conveyed, as well as being responsible for the originality of the poetic composition. Here they have been italicised:

yes is a pleasant country:
if's wintry
(my lovely)
let's open the year

both is the very weather
(not *either*)
my treasure,
when violets appear

It is obvious that none of these elements belong to the noun category primarily associated with the syntactic function of subject. Nor are they typical candidates for nominalization, e.g. adjectives or non-finite forms of verbs, if we take into consideration that "yes" is an adverb, "if" is a conjunction, "both" is a determiner, and so is "either". All forms belong to the closed category of grammatical words, they are not fully lexical elements, and although "both" and "either" may function as pronominal forms it is not the case here as verbal agreement indicates ("both is ..."). However, there seems to be no doubt about the essential communicative role the poet has selected for them. The reason why this is so may be sought in the cognitive operations which are automatically performed when the reading of the poem takes place. Through the creation of new mental spaces which combine grammatical and semantic pre-existing information, a more complex and less transparent sphere of meaning is constructed from which inferences and spreading activation processes are triggered (Fauconnier and Turner 1994, 1998, 2001).

Before we enter into a theoretical analysis of how this is accomplished, we wish to suggest that the complex conceptualization the poem presents becomes much easier to unfold if the emphasis is put on the subject function of the grammatical terms mentioned above and on the semantic content they bring into the composition. It is a fact that traditionally the elements belonging to the closed-class

of grammatical categories have been considered semantically empty, although recent research has demonstrated that this is far from being so (Langacker 1987, 1991; Lakoff 1987; Fauconnier and Sweetser 1996; Navarro 1999; Talmy 2000; Sánchez Palacios 2000). The reading of this poem brings new evidence to the meaning potential of this grammatical subset. When the first two verses of the first two stanzas are read with the syntactic values the poet has chosen for his selected words, the terms “yes” and “if” appear as full of meaning as their respective complements: “pleasant country” and “wintry”. The first may be said to stand for all that is positive, and the second for that which is hypothetical or counterfactual. Furthermore, the copulative status of the sentence situates both ends of the structure, subject and complement, at the same level hierarchically and semantically, to the point that “yes” and “if” acquire through analogical projection the semantic qualities of their complements (“pleasant country” and “wintry”). The same happens with “both” and “either” in the second stanza: “both” actualizes the meaning of “together [as a couple: speaker and hearer (“my lovely”, “my treasure”)]”, as opposed to “either” which stands for “each of them [alone, separate]”. In this case, the semantic content of the complement “the very weather ... when violets appear” also gives a hint of the positive meaning which, based on our own knowledge of the world, is attributed to “both” and denied to “either”. Given the semantic content of all the elements involved, the implicature is that these statements refer to a “love relationship”, all other elements associated and presented in square brackets are inferences drawn from the knowledge domains activated by the lexical items encountered. Thus, the [love relationship] acts as an organizing frame or frame network (Fauconnier and Turner 2001: 22), which gives significance to all elements in the mental spaces created specifically for the interpretation of the poem and serves to define the relations existing between them.

The most evident appreciation that results from the almost physical displacement of functions, meanings, and forms found in this poem is aesthetic: it is in fact a highly creative way of putting into words an invitation to love [and life] together as a pleasant experience. The originality of the wording of the poem, however, should not be interpreted exclusively as the individualistic work of a unique mind; the strategies used for the making of the poem are based on a set of cognitive operations which have been identified (Fauconnier and Turner 1998, 2001; Grady 2000) as basic constituents of our cognitive system and a common tool in our ordinary mental processes. These operations are composition, completion and elaboration. By means of composition, elements from the source and target domains and from the general middle space are brought together in the blended space where they acquire new meaning. Through completion these elements interact with previous background knowledge stored in the minds of the participants and their semantic potential is in that way increased. All these

operations are accomplished through fusion, integration, compression, etc. of the elements involved, and as a consequence new meanings are elaborated and new ways to express that meaning are obtained from the blend. However unusual the description of this process may sound, blending is in no way a phenomenon absent from everyday language; even the finding of a term such as “yes” acting as subject in a sentence is not that exceptional. We have, for example, a parallel case in the idiomatic sentence: “I will not take *no* for an answer”, where “no” (here italicized) functions as a direct object and implicates a given amount of contextual meaning which is not explicitly stated. Lakoff and Turner (1989) demonstrated in their work *More than Cool Reason* that poetic metaphor is rooted in the same metaphorical mappings which are a part of our everyday language, and Fauconnier and Turner (1994, 1998, 2001) have shown that conceptual projections among different mental spaces pervade all types of human actions and expressions, including poetic work. E.E. Cummings’ poem confirms these statements as it makes use of a highly intricate net of conceptual projections of various kinds, which we are able to interpret because they are not different from our own mental configuration.

To start the analysis we should consider the conceptual domains activated by the words in the poem: firstly, we have the grammatical domain discussed above, and related to it the love domain activated by the expressions “my lovely”, “my treasure”, and even more explicitly actualized in the third and last stanza where the term “love” appears, and also the expression “my sweet one”. Secondly, we have the physical domains of nature: “pleasant country”, “wintry”, “weather ... when violets appear”, and time: “open the year”, in the first stanza, and in the third, “season”, “April”.

The way in which the poem is syntactically distributed by means of a copulative structure establishes, at the same time, two differentiated, and highly involved, mental spaces (Fauconnier 1997) which become interconnected as the poem advances:

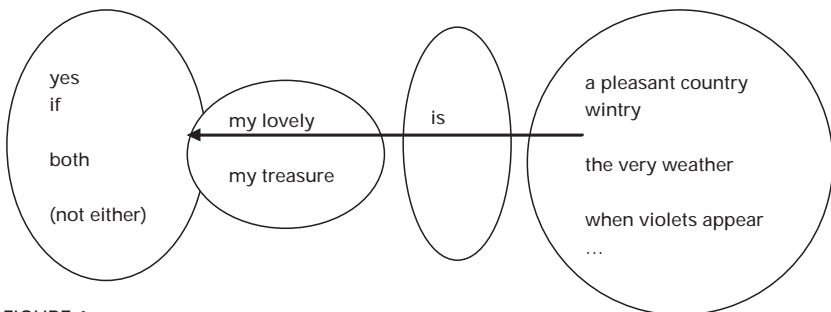


FIGURE 1

On the left hand side of the analogical construction the conceptual structure of the first two stanzas includes a blended mental space. There elements from the domain of grammatical words are made to represent unusual syntactic functions so as to produce information symbolizing a [love relationship]. This interpretation is supported at discourse level by the explicit presence in the poem of lexical elements from the specific domain of love (see fig. 2). The extremely complex and elaborate conceptual projections required to obtain these blended results become effective by means of two sets of cognitive operations which produce formal and semantic transformations. On the one hand, there is a metonymic correspondence (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Ruiz de Mendoza 1999; Barcelona 2000) acting between the grammatical and the love domains, the PART FOR THE WHOLE relation it establishes allows “yes” to stand for “acceptance of [life] together”, “if” for “hypothetical [life] together”, “both” for “[life] together”, “either” for “[life] separate”. This metonymic mapping is based not only on the coexistence of the grammatical terms and the love elements in the wording of the poem, but it is also founded on the conceptual structure which the readers bring into the poem through completion, using their presupposed knowledge of the world, more specifically their knowledge about love relationships, to assign lexical meaning to the grammatical terms through a set of necessary inferences. (Here, as above and elsewhere in this paper, inferences are presented in square brackets.) As part of this cognitive operation established between both domains, we have to identify the interaction of a generic middle space where the concepts of words and love relationship are fused, again through metonymy (words are in fact a part of a love relationship), and a blended mental space where the selected words are made to stand for that specific love relationship as can be seen in the following figure 2.

42

Parallel to the metonymic connection between the love and grammar domains, the domain of grammatical words also undergoes a series of transformations which require the on-line creation of specific mental spaces (generic and blended). Through a complex network of conceptual projections the sub-domains of subject-function lexical words and non-subject-function grammatical words are fused so as to allow for the conversion of the selected grammatical terms into subject category words (and what they represent from a semantic point of view). In that operation there are, once again, an abstract generic middle space and a richer blended middle space, besides the regular source and target domains traditionally considered. In the generic middle space differences are neutralized and the structures “grammatical subject function” and “closed category of grammatical words” belonging to the two interacting domains are integrated. Thus, in the generic space created for the purpose any word in a language is treated as a potential subject, while in the blended middle space, and through selective projection, the grammatical words encountered in the poem acquire a new, less

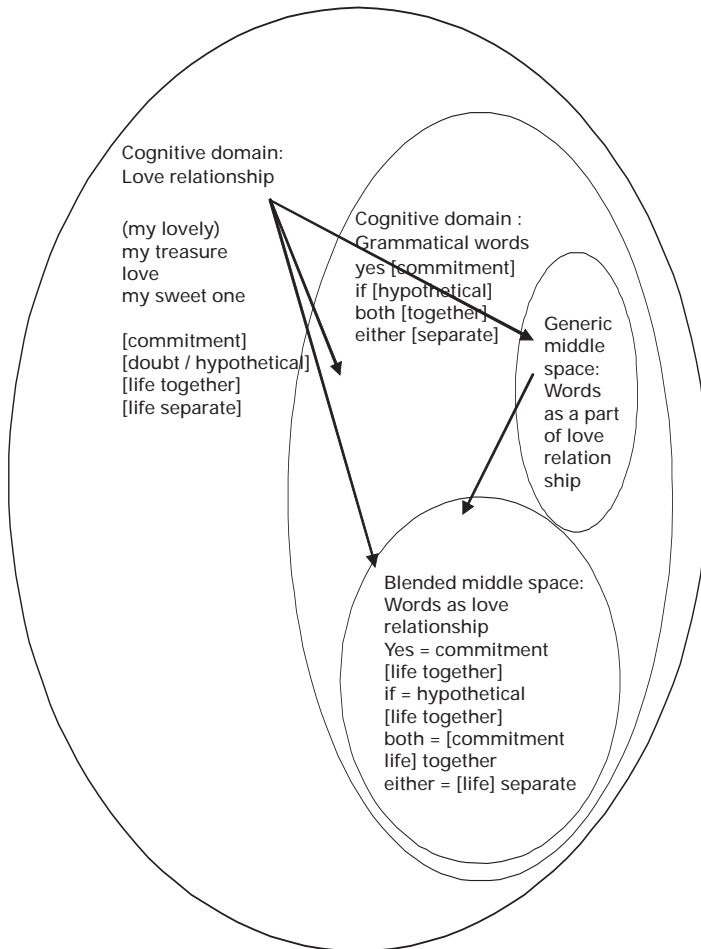
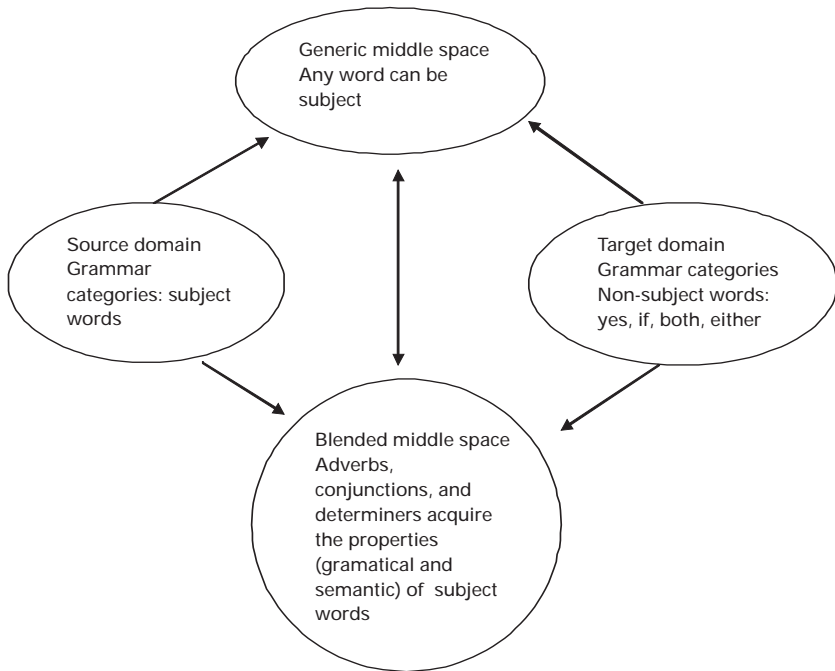


FIGURE 2

restrictive conceptual structure which includes the attributions characteristic of subject words including the abstract semantic structure associated with them. Therefore, the blended space integrates selected traits from the source domain, from the generic middle space, and from the target domain. The on-going projections existing among both domains and spaces allow members of the target

category, i.e. the specific terms which appear in the poem: “yes”, “if”, “both”, and “either”, to inherit the grammatical and conceptual structure of members from the source domain:



44

FIGURE 3

As has been repeatedly said (Fauconnier and Turner 1994, 1998, 2001), it is in the blended space where all the inferences built in the interpretation process originate; from there they are projected onto the target domain thus making it possible for the non-subject words encountered in the poem to acquire the qualities proper to subject words, i.e. nouns or other nominalized forms. This elaborate conceptual operation turns these words into semantically full-content words capable of provoking different emotional responses. At the same time, and of equal importance, their acquired role as subjects of the sentences converts them into arguments susceptible of being predicated on. This fact leads us to consider the type of relation which is established between the left-hand part of the poem

pictured in Fig.1, which we have just analyzed, and the right-hand part whose conceptual structure we will consider next.

If we concentrate on the elements which carry full lexical meaning in this poetic composition, the majority of them playing the role of complements of the subjects creatively built through blending, we are also able to identify a set of cognitive operations which produce a certain number of specific conceptualizations, this time based on more conventional transactions which are classic in, though not exclusive to, literary writing (Lakoff and Turner 1989). For example, the first verse “yes is a pleasant country” activates through analogy a universe of meaning which sets the path for the rest of the poem. We have already analyzed the new conceptual dimension acquired by the subject “yes” as positive [attitude/commitment towards love/life together], we will now consider the operation of meaning composition emerging from the selection of the phrase “a pleasant country” with which it is made to correspond. The fact that it is in no sense possible to interpret the totality of the verse literally, makes us investigate the cognitive move which lies behind the structure. The clue is found in the term “country”.

There is a basic metaphorical mapping within the EVENT-STRUCTURE METAPHOR (Lakoff and Turner 1989; Lakoff 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1999), which is described in the literature as STATES ARE LOCATIONS. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 180) represent the directionality of the mapping as follows:

Locations → States

If we analyze the statement “yes is a pleasant country” from that perspective, the inference is that the semantic and pragmatic qualities associated in the mind of all participants with the local concept of “pleasant country” get mapped onto the concept embodied by the term “yes”. Thus the [love relationship] is presented as a pleasant [emotional] state. The cognitive operation is a metaphorical mapping from the source domain, a physical location “country” characterized as “pleasant”, to the target domain, the abstract state of [love] represented by the richly blended mental space built for the interpretation of the grammatical word “yes”. The fusion of both cognitive processes—one more original, the other utterly traditional—is a first proof of the assumption maintained by Grady *et al.* (1999) that metaphorical mapping and blending are different and combinable mental operations. The coexistence of both in one single composition is at the same time a confirmation that all these complex projections constitute a highly intricate conceptual network (Fauconnier and Turner 1998, 2001).

The rest of the conceptual connections established in the other verses make use of the same combinatorial procedure. There is a set of direct metaphorical mappings at work in the poem: The terms “wintry”, “(let’s open the) year”, “the very

weather ... when violets appear”, “deeper season”, and “April” activate the conceptual domain of time and the changes implied in their progressive appearance refer more precisely to the different stages associated with the passing of time. Another basic metaphorical mapping widely used in literary works is A LIFETIME IS A YEAR where the properties of spring are mapped onto the concept of youth, those of summer onto maturity, and those of winter onto death (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 18). The representation of that mapping would be:

Year → Lifetime

In E.E. Cummings’ poem the different possibilities which open up for the two lovers are described in terms of this metaphor: “if’s wintry”, i.e. [hypothetical, non-positive attitude is death of love], “both is the very weather (not either) ... when violets appear”, i.e. [being together is full blooming youth], “(and April’s where we are)” which adapts the preceding generic metaphor to the specific situation of the lovers. As in the analysis of the first verse, the metaphorical construction profits from the blending operations performed on the grammatical words which act as subjects of the sentences (“if”, “both”, “not either”). The complex information they have incorporated into their own semantics serves to establish a network of inferential connections which are understood by the reader because they are tied to a set of metaphorical projections which are a part of our cultural tradition and one of the many options used to conceptualize this life experience.

46

From the analysis of this poem, we are in a position to confirm the distinction established by Grady *et al.* (1999) concerning the different temporality and function of mental domains and mental spaces in human cognition. Conventional metaphorical mappings between a source and a target domain are settled cognitive transactions which are deeply rooted in our cognitive system and therefore are effortlessly activated by language users when required (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff 1987, 1993; Lakoff and Turner 1989). They can be analyzed into mental spaces: input, output and middle, both generic and blended; but the fact that they are systematized and recognized as such by all participants in the communicative interaction, literary or non-literary, makes this practice unnecessary. Blended mental spaces and their construction processes are, however, a necessary step when conceptual networks are analyzed and the meaning they convey is bound to specific situations described through conventional and/or unconventional associations. Blending is primary in on-line meaning development (Fauconnier and Turner 1994, 1998, 2001; Coulson and Oakley 2000), and precisely because of that it may subsume other types of projections between domains when they become systematic. The role of blending analysis becomes essential when new resources are introduced or old resources are combined differently in the

conceptualization of a particular language event. In that sense it is right to associate blending with short term memory, instantaneous on-line mental representation and complex conceptual integration networks.

4. Conclusion

In *yes is a pleasant country*, Cummings makes use of grammatical conceptualization to create meaning in distant areas of knowledge and experience. The novelty and poetic effectiveness of this composition as well as its communicative efficiency does not reside in the expressions selected but in the type of conceptual projections they activate, which allows a common subject to be treated in an extraordinary, unexpected way. The case we have seen could be cited as a good example of how involved conceptual integration networks may become, if we consider the number of conceptual relations established between semantically unrelated domains and their complexity, as well as the number of elements brought together to create new routes for the construction and formulation of an alternative mental reality.

Evidently, the main purpose behind the utilization of these resources in this essentially artistic work is aesthetic, but the cognitive operations required both for the presentation of ideas in a unique way and for the elaborate process of assignment of meaning to the expressions are not exclusive to poetic creations, as may be proved by the fact that in our analysis we have used exactly the same tools as have been applied elsewhere to all sorts of text types (see for example Fauconnier and Turner 1994, 1998, 2001; Coulson 1995), and have identified in the course of our investigation a series of conceptual strategies similar to those they describe: blending, metaphoric and metonymic mappings, organizing frames, cognitive operations such as composition, completion, fusion, elaboration, integration, etc. The poem analyzed provides good evidence of the intensive way in which conceptual projections are rooted in our thinking processes, as we set them in motion instinctively as part of our understanding and interpretation routines. It also shows, and this is one of the specific contributions of this paper to this research area, the productivity of a theoretical field like grammar in the construction of [poetic] meaning, reinforcing the idea that meaning is pervasive and that grammar is symbolic; it is not only a system of elements, rules and formal relations. Another contribution is the compatibility we have found between close theoretical approaches such as CMT, BT, and CIN. Finally, we should also like to emphasize the important role played by the network model in the analysis of highly complex discourse as it sheds light on the unconscious and intricate mental processes which govern the numerous conceptual projections taking part in the course of meaning development; one of its main advantages is the usefulness of the model, as the

description of the elements and operations it integrates may activate the actual on-line reproduction of a given discourse in the participants' minds.

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FIRST APPROACHES TO THE UNEXPLORED DIALECT OF SUNDERLAND

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51

1. Sunderland city, its people and dialect: Issues of local identity

Sunderland, located in the north-east of England, is one of the two conurbations that constitute the metropolitan county of Tyne and Wear. It is a young city: it attained its status of “city” only in 1992.¹ It used to belong to the Old County Durham; however, with the re-organisation of county boundaries in 1974, it passed to form part of the then newly created county of Tyne and Wear together with Newcastle upon Tyne, which Robinson defines as the “unofficial ‘capital’ of North-East England” as having the best public facilities in the county (e.g. roads, transport, shopping centres, university) (Robinson 1988: 4). Because of this, Sunderland has been overshadowed by the proximity of Newcastle, the main urban centre in the North-east. It can be said that it is the ‘poor sister’ of the two cities that constitute this metropolitan county; or, at least, the less favoured one, since there is a feeling that Newcastle always gets all the latest improvements. This was clearly reflected in an article published in *The Guardian* in September 1979. In it, the author spoke from a clearly Mackem² perspective in the following terms

The problem was it [Sunderland] always suffered from Newcastle. [...] Why, they’ll tell you, Newcastle has even pinched the design of their wonderful bridge — a beautiful orange and white iron bow, once reckoned the biggest in the world. The

feeling that somehow they always deserved better than they got is still strong in Sunderland today, and who can say it is wrong?

From the opposite point of view, i.e. the Geordie one, Mark Jensen explained in *The Independent* that

The Mackems have always had a chip on their shoulder because Tyneside—at least in local terms—has the superior facilities, such as the Metro underground railway and huge shopping centres. (*The Independent*, 19-8-1992: p. 26)

This is only one of the reasons that explains the rivalry that exists between the inhabitants of the two cities. The rivalry between the supporters of the two regional football teams, Newcastle United and Sunderland F.C. (both in the English Premier League), is certainly another reason. The rivalry between the two groups of fans becomes evident in the regional derbies.

Thus, although we can speak of a strong regional identity that brings together all north-easterners, within the North-east we can definitely identify subdivisions that distinguish Newcastle, Sunderland and Middlesbrough people, somehow setting them apart. Driven by their local pride Sunderland and Middlesbrough people seem to struggle for their own independence. North-eastern people are often classified by outsiders as “Geordies”, at which Mackems and Middlesbrough people take offence since they do not consider themselves Geordies, hence the strong feelings of identity that emerge in each of these localities.

In this context of strongly contrasting local identities, local dialects play an important role. They emerge as symbols of local identity. Through them, the inhabitants of the three conurbations emphasise their tight bond with their respective localities, and distinguish themselves from one another. On the one hand, Middlesbrough English distinguishes its speakers’ speech from the Yorkshire varieties to the south of Teeside (Llamas 2000) and from those to the north of the city (e.g. Durham, Sunderland and Tyneside English). On the other hand, Sunderland English, the English which concerns us in this paper and on which we will concentrate from now on, seems to be an essential resource for Sunderland people, firstly, to differentiate themselves from Geordies and, secondly, to emphasise by linguistic means their own local identity, thus reasserting themselves as Mackems, as opposed to Geordies. This identity was probably strengthened when Sunderland itself became a city. Since then, as Beal (2000: 369) points out, “Mackems are increasingly aware, and proud, of their separate status as citizens of Britain’s newest city”, and, consequently, they have adopted some dialect markers as “shibboleths” of their identity.

Still, Sunderland English is often mistakenly referred to as Geordie because people who are not from the North-east often think that Newcastle English is the dialect

that is spoken in the whole region. However, there is nothing worse for someone from Sunderland than being told that s/he speaks Geordie or that s/he is a Geordie. Indeed, there are similarities between these two neighbouring varieties, but also differences (you may ask someone from the area whether Geordies and Mackems speak the same). In a way it is as if the boundary that formerly separated the Old County Durham from Northumberland (henceforth Du and Nb, respectively) still existed as the line that delimits Geordie and Mackem territories as well as their dialects. Of these two dialects, Tyneside or Newcastle English has generally attracted the attention of most of the dialectologists that have shown an interest in the varieties of this region probably because Newcastle is the main city in the North-east, while not much attention has been paid to Sunderland English.

2. Previous dialect studies carried out in the area: Aiming at filling the gap

From the second half of the 19th century, traditional dialect studies like the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED, Orton and Dieth 1962-1971), carried out in the 1950s and 1960s, focused on the rural varieties spoken in Nb and County Du. They sought to record and study traditional dialects. This means that until the new urban sociolinguistic approach emerged in the 1960s out of necessity, urban varieties had barely been studied at all. The circumstances of the moment made it necessary to turn to urban dialects since there had been a population movement towards the cities and a considerable increase in communications. Cities had become a melting pot of people and dialect features from very different places. Consequently, “the invention of capturing the traditional dialect of a region was itself less relevant in the context of complex, heterogeneous cities” (Coupland 1992: 8). This largely explains why most of the dialect research into north-eastern English carried out since then has concentrated mainly on the Newcastle variety. This was already the main city in the region; so its dialect probably came to be seen as the stereotypical north-eastern one. Besides, Sunderland, did not obtain the status of city until 1992, as mentioned before; perhaps its dialect did not attract so much attention, then, on the grounds that, being so close to Newcastle, its dialect was bound to be the same or at least extremely similar.

Among the major sociolinguistic studies that have been carried out on Tyneside English (TE) in the last few decades, it is worth mentioning the *Tyneside Linguistic Survey* (TLS) carried out in 1969 at the University of Newcastle to “determine the ecology of varieties of spoken English in urban areas”, that is, “having identified the speech varieties themselves, to determine commonness or rarity of each and define their distribution across social attributes” (Pellowe *et al.* 1972: 1). After the

TLS other studies followed, like McDonald's study of the modal verb system (1981), which would lay the ground for later publications on TE grammar: e.g. Beal and McDonald joint paper on the "Modal verbs in Tyneside English" (1987), or Beal's "Grammar of Tyneside and Northumbrian English" (1993a), and her "Geordie accent and grammar" (1993b). Also, Milroy and others developed in 1994 the survey of *Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken British English* (PVC), a sociolinguistic study of the phonological changes that TE was undergoing. From the data recorded in the PVC, Watt and Milroy went on to focus on the issue of dialect levelling (1999).

In addition to this, some research has focused on the strong Geordie identity as a determining factor that helps to preserve some of the most stereotypical features of this urban dialect: e.g. unshifted ME /v:/ in words like *toon* for *town* or ME /t:/, as in *neet* for *night*.³

Currently, a project is being developed in the School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne to create a single corpus of data out of the TLS and PVC collections, and eventually make it available to the research community in various formats (digitised sound, phonetic transcription, standard orthographic transcription and so on). This project is known as NECTE (*Linguistic Time-Capsule: The Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English*).⁴

In contrast, the amount of research that has been done into Sunderland English is scarce, not to say non-existent. This is what has led me to concentrate on the urban dialect of Sunderland, which is so close to Newcastle. Despite their proximity and their belonging to the same county, there are differences between these two varieties which are easily recognisable and more or less familiar to any north-eastern speaker: e.g. /ŋ/-dropping and the pronunciation /ɛɪ/ in words like *beer*, *here* (both found in Sunderland English), the pronunciations /μακ/, /τακ/ and /μεκ/, /τεκ/ for *make* and *take* in Sunderland and Newcastle respectively, or the use of *dinnet* in the former and *divent* in the latter for StE *do not*, to mention a few differences. The emergence of these differences between Wearside and Tyneside English are very likely to have been favoured not only by the rivalry existing between Geordies and Mackems, but also partly by the fact that until 1974 Newcastle and Sunderland belonged to different counties, i.e. County Du and Nb. Another factor that may play an important role in this is the geographical situation of both cities. Although the two of them are outside the area that felt the effects of Scandinavian settlement most heavily, historically Sunderland may have received a stronger influence being closer to the Scandinavian-speaking areas. On the other hand, the Scottish influence will be more heavily felt in Tyneside than in Sunderland. Finally, it should not be forgotten that Sunderland English descends from the traditional "pitmatic", which also characterises this variety. All this means

that Sunderland English is a linguistic variety that is well worth looking at in order to determine

- (a) to what extent it actually differs from TE,
- (b) what its main features are and,
- (c) to what extent its speakers' strong sense of local identity helps model this dialect and preserve it as distinct from TE.

Finding answers to these questions would allow us to locate Sunderland English within the linguistic continuum of the North-east and its resemblance to TE or, on the other hand, to Du English, as Sunderland once belonged to County Du. The purpose of my current PhD research is to answer precisely these and related questions. The groundwork was done in my earlier MLitt research, a comparative sociolinguistic study of the dialectal lexicon of Newcastle and Sunderland English, whose most relevant findings I will report in the following section.

3. Lexical Erosion and Lexical Innovation in Tyne and Wear: Reporting some evidence of dialect differences between Sunderland and Newcastle English

55

3.1. Objectives

To date *Lexical Erosion and Lexical Innovation in Tyne and Wear* (Burbano 2001) is the only study that has focused closely and specifically on the dialect of Sunderland. The aim of this lexical study was

to find out the extent to which traditional dialect words are still alive in the speech of secondary-school children in the Tyne and Wear area. To do this I took the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED) as a starting reference study and aimed at determining whether some of the dialect words that were in use in the 50s (when the survey was carried out) have died out or are currently dying out and, consequently, are not frequent in the speech of my informants. (Burbano 2001: 1)

Thus, taking a group of traditional dialect words characteristic of the traditional dialects of the region,

I intended to check how far Tyne and Wear teenagers' knowledge of dialect goes and whether or not they still use the same dialect words as their grandparents. If they do not, I aimed at discovering what words have replaced the traditional dialectal words in their speech: new dialect forms, dialect forms that have spread from other counties, standard English words, or simply colloquial ones. (Burbano 2001: 2)

3.2. Methodology

The informants were a total of 80 secondary-school students from two schools: *Castle View* in Sunderland and *Gosforth High* in Newcastle. There were 40 students from each school: 20 thirteen-year-olds and 20 sixteen-year-olds. The sample of informants would enable us to record any vocabulary differences between the two groups and ultimately between Newcastle and Sunderland English.

Data was collected by means of a questionnaire which was especially designed for this study and which the students had to complete in my presence.⁵ It focused only upon 21 traditional dialect words, all of which were selected bearing in mind that the subjects were adolescents living in urban areas. Consequently, words whose referent was not likely to be familiar to urban adolescents had to be discarded: e.g. words related to agriculture, which had been the basis of traditional studies like the SED. Nearly all the 21-word sample had been previously recorded in County Du and Nb by the SED and Simmelbauer's study (2000). In both surveys, they had proved to be fairly common, as can be observed in Table 1, below. Due to this attested popularity, there were more chances that these words could be recognised by my informants.

56

3.3. Results

The global conclusion that was drawn from the analysis of the data recorded was that in general the traditional dialect words whose survival was being tested were not as widespread among my informants as they had been in earlier studies. As can be seen in Figure 1, the APA (Average Positive Answers)⁶ added up to less than 50% in each school, which suggests that nowadays other words must have replaced these traditional ones both in Newcastle and Sunderland English.

As shown in Figure 2, below, there were no intermediate positive scores. The number of positive answers for every word tended to be either in the upper part of the table, above 25, or in the lower one, below 15: i.e. the dialect words surveyed were either very common or very uncommon among my informants. In this figure three different distribution patterns emerged:

(a) Firstly, those words which scored more than 25 both in Sunderland and Newcastle. This group included *lug*, *gob*, *chuck*, *hoy*, *tattie*, *gadgie*, *bairn* and *netty*. Traditionally, the first three were considered words in general dialect use, whereas the rest of them were defined as general northern dialect words (cf. SED and EDD). The high level of occurrence in both schools in the survey might well mean that these words have acquired the status of colloquial or slang vocabulary, losing some of their dialectal or regional character.

First approaches to the unexplored dialect of sunderland

SAMPLE OF WORDS AND THEIR MEANING	POSITIVE ANSWERS IN SIMMELBAUER'S 10+-GROUP	SED: POSITIVE ANSWERS IN Nb	SED: POSITIVE ANSWERS IN Du
1. Gowk ('cuckoo')	0/9	n.i	n.i
2. Cuddy ('donkey')	0/9	9/9	5/6
3. Paddock ('frog or toad')	0/9	6/9 ('frog') 0/9 ('toad')	2/6 ('frog') 0/6 ('toad')
4. Burn ('small river')	5/9	9/9	4/6
5. Lugs ('ears')	9/9	9/9	6/6
6. Gob ('mouth')	9/9	2/9	5/6
7. Neb ('nose')	n.i	<i>Neb</i> was elicited in the <i>SED</i> with the meaning of 'beak'	
8. Brambles ('blackberries')	9/9	6/9	4/6
9. Tatties ('potatoes')	9/9	9/9	6/6
10. Hoy ('throw')	8/9	1/9	2/6
11. Chuck ('throw')	4/9	3/9	1/6
12. Loup ('jump')	0/9	7/9	6/6
13. Wag ('play truant')	9/9	n.i.	n.i.
14. Bullets ('sweets')	6/9	8/9	6/6
15. Paste egg ('easter egg')	1/9	9/9	6/6
16. Gadgie ('a bloke or old man')	8/9	n.i.	n.i.
17. Bairns ('children')	n.i.	9/9	6/6
18. Glaky ('thick, stupid')	5/9	0/9	0/6
19. Cuddy/car handed (left-handed)	n.i.	3/9 (car-handed)	2/6 (cuddy-handed)
20. Skinch ('truce')	n.i.	n.i.	n.i.
21. Netty ('toilet')	n.i.	9/9	6/6

TABLE 1: Words selected for the questionnaire and rates of positive answers recorded for each of them in both the SED and Simmelbauer's survey

Lourdes Burbano Elizondo

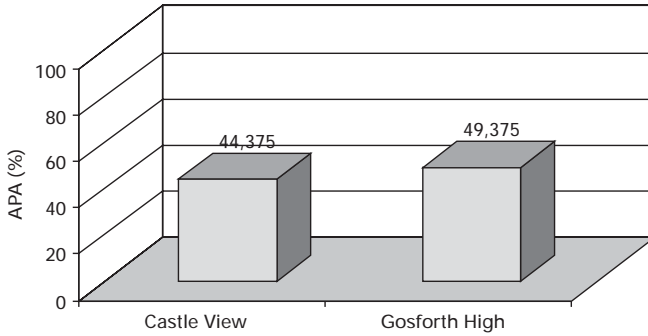


FIGURE 1: APA recorded in each school.

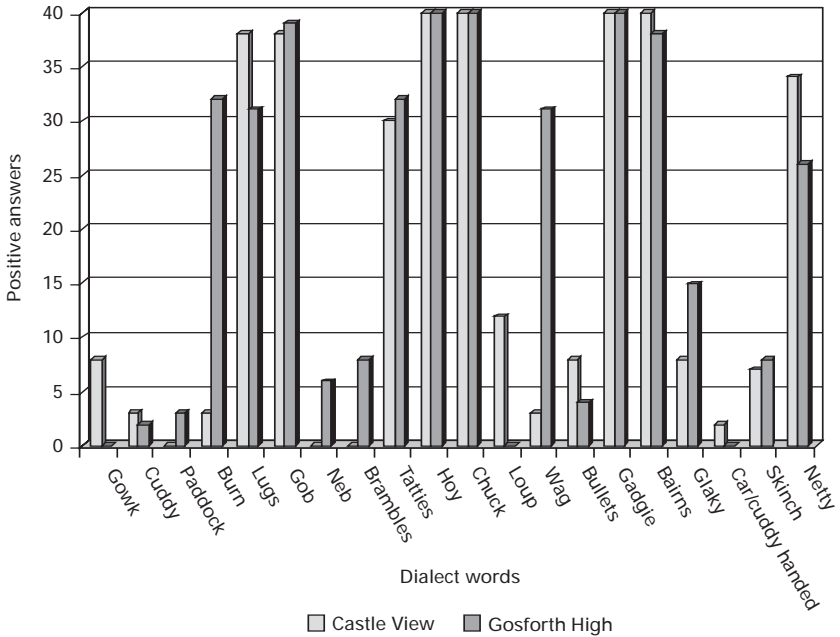


FIGURE 2: Positive answers elicited for each target dialect word in each school

(b) The second pattern to emerge from Figure 2, above, was of those words whose score was remarkably low in Newcastle and Sunderland, generally lower than 10. This group of traditional dialect words consisted of *gowk*, *cuddy*, *paddock*, *neb*, *bramble*, *bullets*, *car- /cuddy-handed* and *skinch*. All of them were northern words, with the only exception of *neb*, a word commonly found in general dialect use. The most frequently elicited counterparts for these words were the equivalent StE terms. The words *gowk*, *cuddy* and *paddock*, surveyed by means of multiple-choice translation questions (Francis 1983: 62-63), proved to be unknown to most informants. It was interesting, however, to observe that for the notions ‘sweets’ and ‘nose’ the range of words collected was fairly varied, *bullets* and *neb* being less frequent than expected. The StE terms were almost unanimously elicited, but, apart from them, other alternatives were preferred to *bullets* and *neb*, as shown in Figures 3 and 4:

(i) For ‘sweets’ Newcastle informants did not seem to have a preferred word: *kets*, *mix-up*, *jellies*, *sweeties*, *bullets* and so on were all recorded; yet none of them was elicited from more than 20 informants, not even *bullets*, which was expected to be more popular since the SED defined Nb and Du as its relic area. In Sunderland, the scores were even lower for all these alternatives except for *kets*, which clearly arose as an indisputably local word. It had been elicited from almost 95% of the informants in this city.

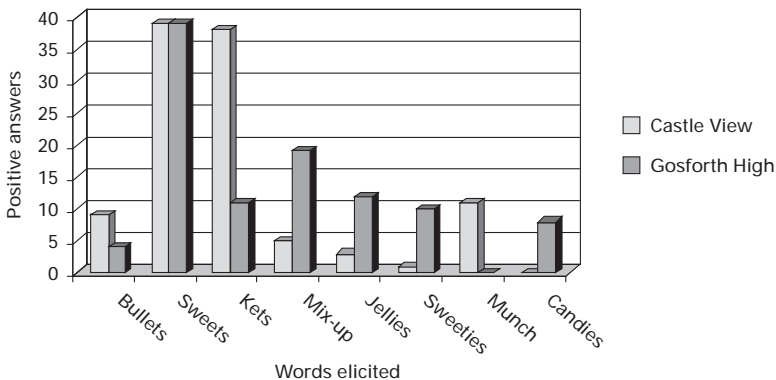


FIGURE 3: Main answers elicited in the question for ‘sweets’

(ii) For the notion ‘nose’, the StE word was the most popular answer. Other more informal words were recorded, but neither of them seemed to predominate over the others, as we can see in Figure 4.

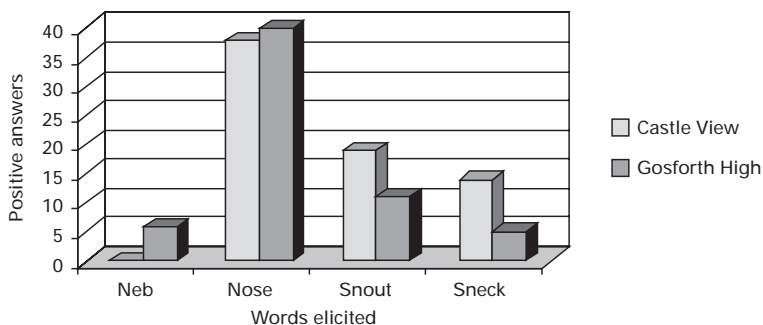


FIGURE 4: Main answers elicited in the question for 'nose'

(c) Finally, the third pattern revealed in Figure 2, above, is that of the words which showed a remarkably different score in Newcastle and Sunderland. Thus, whereas *wag*, *burn* and *glaky* turned out to be more popular in Newcastle, *loup* was more popular in Sunderland. The SED established Nb as a relic area for the former three, which would explain these regional differences between Newcastle and Sunderland, as Sunderland was part of County Du at the time. However, the level of occurrence of *loup* both in Nb and County Du had been quite high in the SED (cf. Table 1, above). Therefore, the word may well have receded in the last few decades because, despite the fact that it was more frequently recorded in Sunderland in my survey, it was not so popular among teenagers.

Of the four words included in this pattern, *burn* (a 'small river, stream') and *wag* ('play truant') were the ones that revealed the most interesting data:

(i) Newcastle teenagers were far more familiar with *burn* than those from Sunderland, which confirms that this traditional dialect word is still widespread in Tyneside. The distribution recorded for *burn* in my study agrees with that established by the SED data, according to which *burn* was a Nb word. This explained its exclusive presence in Newcastle. Nevertheless, it was surprising not to find *beck* as the most frequently recorded word in Sunderland as I would have expected, since this had been the most frequent word for 'small river' in Du in the SED.

(ii) For 'play truant', a number of non-standard expressions were recorded apart from *wag* and StE *play truant*: e.g. *skive (off)*, *bunk (off)*, *doll off*, *skip*, *knock off* (cf. Figure 5, below). The scores recorded for some of them make them fit within the third distribution pattern: such is the case of *skive (off)* and *doll off*, as well as *wag*. Thus, whereas *wag* was exclusively elicited in Newcastle (although not as frequently as *skive*), *doll off* was exclusively and unanimously elicited in Sunderland.

First approaches to the unexplored dialect of sunderland

As this last expression was completely new to me, I tried, without success, to find some evidence of it in previous dialect studies and in the OED. Further inquiries revealed that this item was not spelt *dole*, as many of the informants had spelt it, but *doll*. According to the informants’ English language teacher, the expression did not come from *to be on the dole*, as I first thought, but from *to play the doll*. She also confirmed that she had never heard this expression anywhere else outside Sunderland, which suggested that probably we were in the presence of a genuine Sunderland dialect word. Finally, *skive* was also almost unanimously elicited in Newcastle: 97.5% of the informants reported it, against 77.5% that reported *wag*. Nonetheless, this expression seems to be in more general dialect use as it is also used in other areas: for instance, it is used in other northern areas like Sheffield and the Opies (1959: 372) located it in Staffordshire and Cheshire.

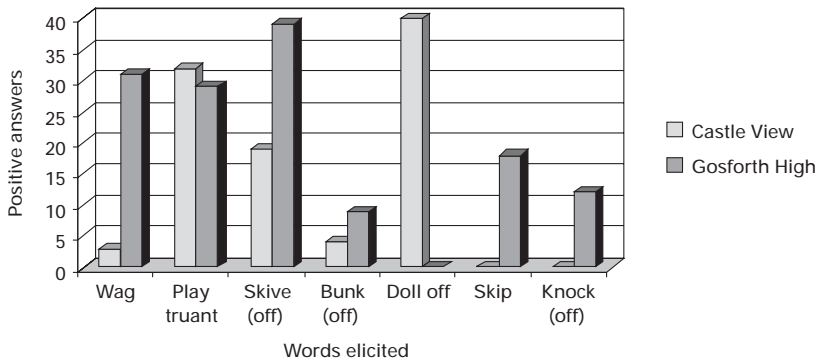


FIGURE 5: Main answers elicited in the question for ‘playing truant’

Apart from all these words, another two that were recorded in my study also fitted in this 3rd pattern due to their noticeably different scores in the two schools: they are *kets* (already mentioned in the 2nd pattern as a variant of *sweets*) and *chatties* for ‘potatoes’.

Kets (cf. Figure 3, above) was far more frequent in Sunderland. This dialect word was elicited in the SED in Durham, Yorkshire, Westmorland and Cumbria. According to the EDD *kets* was an eDu word for ‘rubbish’, although it was also often applied to ‘sweetmeats’. Consequently, *kets* could have eventually taken on the meaning ‘sweets’ as a result of the metaphor ‘sweets’ = *rubbish*.

Chatties was exclusively recorded in Sunderland to refer to ‘potatoes’. Interestingly enough, this word was elicited from 82.5% of my Sunderland informants. It was slightly more usual than *tatties*, elicited from 75% of them.

	POTATO	TATTIE	CHATTIE	SPUD
Castle View	40	30	33	23
Gosforth High	40	32	—	33

TABLE 2: Number of answers recorded for each variant of potato and for the StE word itself in each school.

In search of earlier evidence of *chatties*, I found that the SED had recorded *chitties* in Somerset and Wiltshire. Yet the geographical distance between these counties and Sunderland made it unlikely that there were any connection between the two variants. The students’ English teacher explained that

chattie is a very common word in Sunderland and stems from *tattie*. [...] She explained that changing [t] for [tʃ] is a characteristic feature of the dialect of Durham, and suggested *chable* (from *table*) as an example. (Burbano 2001: 91)

62

This pointed at *chattie* as a phonological variant, different from *tattie*, which with time has acquired a semi-phonetic spelling in Sunderland. Nevertheless, neither the teacher’s explanation nor that of the possible link with *chitties* were really conclusive. *Tatties* is a “dial[ect] variant of potato”, according to the OED, so we could say that *chattie* is itself simply a variant of *tattie*.

This classification of the words into three groups based on the frequency with which they were elicited shows that since the 1960s, when the SED was carried out, changes have occurred in the traditional vocabulary of the region. Some traditional dialect words like *gowk*, *cuddy*, *paddock*, *car-/cuddy-handed*, *skinch* do not seem to exist in teenagers’ vocabulary or are rarely known. Instead, their StE counterparts have usually taken their place. Other words are still very popular, such as *lug*, *gob*, *chuck*, *hoy*, *tattie*, *gadgie*, *burn*, and *netty*. However, the high level of popularity of these words among teenagers suggests that these words have acquired a colloquial status and teenagers tend to use them in their peer-group conversations. Finally, other words that used to have a more local character, as is the case of *wag*, *burn* and *glaky* in Nb, and *loup* in Du, are still locally known and/or used. Obviously, new words have also appeared such as *doll off*; others have acquired new meanings, e.g. *kets* was elicited as referring to ‘sweets’ by my Sunderland informants; and others have been modified, e.g. *chatties* (from *tatties*).

4. Conclusion: Discussion and current state of affairs with respect to the Sunderland dialect

The sample of words on which I focused in my MLitt research was probably too small to allow many new words or differences between Newcastle and Sunderland English to come out. Nevertheless, it was big enough to prove that there are differences between these two urban dialects, and therefore further research needs to be done, especially into the dialect of Sunderland. The absence of any previous research into this variety made it necessary to explain some of the findings on the basis of, firstly, the data collected from Du and Nb rural localities by traditional studies like the SED or the EDD, and secondly, of the more recent research on urban TE. This sometimes involved assuming that Sunderland English was likely to be similar to all those surrounding dialects. This is a good reference point but we need to be careful not to be misled looking for similarities with TE or to over-generalise from it because this could let important dialect features of Sunderland go unnoticed. Sunderland English needs to be studied as an unexplored field, starting basically from scratch, yet it should be seen within the linguistic continuum of the North-east as this can give clues to explain some of the local features.

A more thorough study of Sunderland English will probably reveal that this variety has features in common with TE and others that distinguish the former from the latter. Moreover, it would probably also reveal to what extent Sunderland English bears a resemblance to Du English as a result of its formerly belonging to County Du. This, however, would entail gathering a considerably larger amount of data to provide enough information to study this north-eastern variety in some detail. This is precisely the next phase in my PhD research: in it I intend to look at the phonological, grammatical and lexical dimensions of this dialect and how it might vary according to gender, age or social class. Moreover, as the North-east is an area with very strong local identities and the rivalry between Geordies and Mackems is well-known, I will also be focusing on

- (a) the influence the Mackem identity may have upon Sunderland English providing them with a means of differentiating themselves from Geordies.
- (b) popular perceptions about where the Geordie-Mackem boundary lies.

In order to get all the data I need about the Sunderland dialect and the local identity, in my fieldwork, which I am about to start, I am going to use the SuRE methodology. The Survey of Regional English, known as SuRE, is a joint project of the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield whose purpose is to create a computerised database of data which will reflect present-day dialect variation around the British Isles (Llamas 1999: 96). The SuRE methodology, therefore, aims at eliciting informal speech which will provide researchers with enough phonological,

grammatical and lexical data that is comparable both socially and regionally. Moreover, since modern dialect studies are interested in studying linguistic variation in correlation with social variables, a higher number of informants will have to be interviewed than in traditional dialect studies, which means that this methodology has to ensure that data is elicited as quickly and easily as possible (Llamas 1999: 97-98).

Although the original version of the methodology was designed by C. Llamas, over the last year two PhDs from the University of Leeds (Esther Asprey and Kate Wallace) and myself have been working together under the supervision of Dr. J. Beal and Dr. C. Upton (from the Universities of Sheffield and Leeds respectively) in order to refine the original design before setting the project in motion by implementing this new methodology ourselves in our respective research areas.

Appendix. Questionnaire

64

Full name: _____
Age: _____
Male <input type="checkbox"/> / Female <input type="checkbox"/>
Place of birth: _____

INSTRUCTIONS:

- Before beginning to answer the questionnaire, do not forget to complete the section above with your personal details.
- When completing the questionnaire, bear in mind that you are dealing with dialect words, that is, words that are typical of your area.
- Read each question carefully before answering it.
- Write down as many answers as you can think of whenever it is required.
- If you do not know the answer of a question, just mark the “I don’t know”-option represented by (???)

Let’s see if you know these dialect words!

1. What is *a gowk*?
 - a. A hamster
 - b. A cuckoo
 - c. A pigeon
 - d. ???

First approaches to the unexplored dialect of sunderland

2. What is a *cuddy*?
a. A small bird b. A donkey c. A hug d. ???
3. What is a *paddock*?
a. A frog or toad b. A narrow path c. A parrot d. ???
4. What do you call a small river?
a. Burn b. Beck c. Pond d. ???
5. What do you call these parts of the body? (Write all the words you can think of for each one)
a. _____
b. _____
c. _____
6. What can you see in these flashcards? (Write as many words as you can think of)
a. _____
b. _____
7. What are you doing if you *hoy* a ball?
a. bounce it b. blow it up c. throw it d. ???
And if you *chuck* it?
a. bounce it b. blow it up c. throw it d. ???
8. If a dog is *louping*, what is it doing?
a. Turning around and around happily
b. Jumping
c. Digging a hole to hide a bone
d. ???
9. What are your words for staying away from school without your parents or teachers' authorisation? (Give your own answers)

10. What do you call the things you are going to see? (Give as many answers as you can for each of them)
a. _____
b. _____
11. What do you think *gadgie* means?
a. An old car b. A hook c. A bloke or an old man d. ???

And *bairn*?

- a. Garage b. Child c. An old horse d. ???

12. If someone tells you that you are quite *glaky*, what is he calling you?

- a. Thick, stupid b. Cheeky c. Clown d. ???

13. What do you call someone who writes with his left hand? (Give as many answers as possible).

14. What do you say to your friends in the middle of a game if you want to take some time out?

- a. I need a barley
b. I need some overtime
c. I need a skinch
d. Others _____

15. What is a *netty*?

- a. A toilet b. A laundry room c. A small fishing net d. ???

16 Can you think of any other words that you, your friends or people of your family use that are characteristic of the speech of the area where you live? Make a list with them and try to explain their meaning or give examples of situations where you would use them. You can discuss them with a partner.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

Notes

1. <http://www.sunderland.gov.uk/public/editable/themes/theCity/CityHeritage.asp>
2. The term 'Mackem' refers to anyone who is originally from Sunderland, as opposed to 'Geordie' which refers to Newcastle people.
3. cf. Beal (2000 and forthcoming).
4. <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/elll/research/language/npecte.htm>
5. See the questionnaire in appendix 1.
6. "APA only includes those answers which evidenced that the informant was familiar with the target dialect words of the questionnaire" (Burbano 2001: 95).

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A PRAGMACOGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF SOME INTERNET SCIENTIFIC ARTICLES: HEADLINE TITLES

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69

1. Introduction

Nowadays, genre theory is increasingly seeping into the electronic media, notably as far as internet discourse is concerned (e.g. Agre 1998a, 1998b; Beghtol 2001; Crowston and Williams 2000; Kwasnik 2001; Kwasnik *et al.* 2001; Toms 2001). With the proliferation of new media and electronics modes of communication in public life, and the recent increase in the interdisciplinary nature of academic and professional discourse, there has been an increasing appropriation of lexicogrammatical resources and rhetorical strategies across discourse communities and genres (Bhatia, 2002), thus giving rise to new hybrid forms of *cybergenres* (Yus 2001). In fact, one of the main concerns of scholarship focuses upon whether the internet has already created some sort of ontological basis for its own discourse (see Agre 2000), and hence, a set of standardised constraints upon the genres that suit the medium. These web genres may be shaping people's subjectivities, or what is the same, the set of expectations users arise when accessing online documents. As a result, existing generic patterns (i.e. structural schemata and register choices) such as those forwarded by technoscientific research papers (see Swales 1990; Trimble 1985; and Zappen 1983) undergo an accommodation process in response to the medium and the assumed tenets of the internet audience. As Swales comments on "existing genres can be accommodated" (Swales 1990: 58), their constraints being

loosened or tightened in response to the new rhetorical dimension and kind of audiences.

Fairclough (1992, 1993, 1995) and Bathia (1993, 1995, 1998) among others, have studied this aspect of discourse manipulation by expert members of professional communities in different fields such as “fundraising discourse” (Bhatia 1998); “academic job and course advertisements” (Fairclough 1993); “book introductions and book blurbs” (Bhatia 1997); “memoranda of understanding” (Bhatia 2000) and “joint declarations” (Bhatia 2000). They also recognise to have found some instances of mixed or hybrid forms of genres in political documents, brochures, leaflets and, occasionally, research articles introductions. We put forward elsewhere that research articles published in the web personal homepages have also been manipulated in their linguistic structures by the technoscientists so as to catch the attention of different audiences and to conform to the Internet standards (González and Redrado 2003a); as a result, they present some form of hybridity, i.e. while they are built according to the schematic structural framework of purely scientific texts, they are characterised by what Hatim (1990: 51) regards as fuzziness of registers. As these modifications can be best embodied in the titles, which display significant pragmalinguistic and generic information, this paper will focus on analysing some of the titles encountered at a random choice in the personal homepages to observe, first, how the blurring of alien genres begins at this outstanding discursive space.

70

The papers have been chosen at random from different scientific and technical domains; they, therefore, vary in their purposes and audiences and present different degrees of technicality. It is not the purpose of this paper, however, to establish comparison among domains or to draw conclusions for specific groups of knowledge. We are concerned here with how writers and web creators alike approach textual and linguistic matters in this new medium, and the set of assumptions they implicitly take to choose certain patterns. We assume that titles shall provide the analyst with significant insights into the angle of telling, and hence the traits technoscientists are eager to reveal about themselves.

The methodology and discussion of this paper follows the present interdisciplinary—mainly pragmacognitive—approach of genre theory (Berkentotter and Huckin 1988; Bhatia 1997, 2002; Carrell 1983, 1988; Zappen 1983; Martin 1992; Swales 1990; Yus 2001), encompassing it with some approaches of text typology and standards of textuality (Beaugrande and Dressler 1981; Hatim 1990) and of systemic functional analysis, a variety of structural analysis particularly suited to interpreting meanings that are socially construed (Halliday 1976, 1985; Halliday and Martin 1993). Rather than discarding any of these analytical focuses, they can all ally, in our view, to reveal salient features, and, more particularly, the rhetorical

intention of the writer. In fact, current research on genre theory lies upon an interdisciplinary pragmaticognitive approach which also welcomes common tenets of critical discourse (Bathia 2002).

Both tenets ought to embrace each other as they are inextricably linked. This means that the aim of text analysis is to discuss how given meanings and interpretations arise in a text by means of the observation of linguistic choices and their recursion in a piece of discourse, which enhance an ideologically motivated dominant reading. In its turn, this also entails recovering the roots of systemic-functional linguistics, politeness theories and basic pragmatic principles, and cognitive stylistics (as in the case of metaphor) and pursuing interdisciplinary dialogue in the analysis of textual and contextual materials. To understand the social meaning of a text one should explore the stratified threefold layer of language, i.e. view the interplay of genre, register and language choices which directly point out to the general framework of culture and ideology.

Our hypothesis is that Web designers imaginatively realise an audience that just consumes the sort of genres normally fitting the conventions of the most popular mass-media. This bias has arisen despite the explicit intentions to the contrary of the internet and computers in general which are often advertised as instruments of knowledge and icons of professional mastery. It is argued that this is the result of marketing criteria, which attempting to enhance the writer's self-advertisement and the digital medium, often give undue representation to the needs and interests of web users. In this way, the internet not only reflects bias but also helps to perpetuate it.

2. The technoscient and the Internet discourse

This chapter approaches the technoscientist character as inscribed within the ever increasingly standardized internet discourse. Scientific and Technological discourse (ST discourse henceforth) loosens its generic and register constraints when submitted to the layout, format and probably ready conventions of the less audience-selective digital medium; and so does the technoscientist, who undergoes a metamorphic process to fit the assumed demands and expectations of the general lay audience.

Our continuing research on the malleability of ST genres in the internet presents some evidence to support the view that writers, re-drafters and web creators alike colonize the patterns of the mass media discourse to appeal to the pre-supposed cognitive processes of the general audience. In doing so, they uncover a systematic bias to internet users, who are conceived of as customary consumers of specific genres. It is often the case that the strategic choice of linguistic variables underlines

the attractive personal image of the technoscientist which comes foregrounded on the textual surface, whereas professional research which is depicted either at the central core of papers or reproduced at a separate clickable page —nearly always obscured under the formal conventions of ST discourse— is left at the background. This all promotes two sorts of reading and assumes two sorts of audiences who should filter the materials in a differing way.

The structural distribution of textual samples may entail that lay audiences are supposed to trim ST research in a manner similar to the reading of newspapers since formal nomenclature and procedures are left unexplained. Trained audiences, however, may still benefit from the reported content as they can supplement their own knowledge to establish coherence.

Accordingly, the technoscientist is stripped of the clothing that mediates self-expression in formal research papers in order to magnet the vast majority of untrained readers. These readers, or better scanners, as web theorists would rather call them, are positioned before a gallery of recognizable, popular characters, all being subtly conducted within the imagery of Hollywood revisions of myth, legend, romantic traits as well as science fiction models. These intertextual references often overlap with tenets of up-to-date modernity such as the present conception of professional prestige and success as embodied by the young tycoon and the TV superstar. Among the tools resorted to in the camouflaging process outstand the force of striking metaphors, the choice of informal tenor and conversational style to approach the reader on an equal social footing to the writer's, and self-disclosure mechanisms (e.g. personal information, feelings and family background or tragedy) which tend to enhance intimacy and inject emotional nuance into the audience's consciousness. Interestingly enough, many of these conventions begin to be ubiquitous in other forms of computer-mediated communication (Aycock 1995; Murphy and Collins 1998), so that they could be contributing to create the ontological basis of internet discourse.

It is argued that there are three converging parameters that are dictating the negotiation of self-expression in online ST genres, namely, the present popular conception of technoscience, the mythology surrounding the internet, and the assumed cultural values of the web users. On the one hand, ST discourse must enforce the serious, reliable, and fact-oriented character of both the disciplines and their practitioners. On the other hand, ST discourse must address the lay audience enthusiastically in order not to lose its present status as modern myth. This is often the tension analysts can encounter in more popular-oriented publications as well as the one we have detected on homepage research papers (González and Redrado. 2003a and 2003b), a tension stemming from the need to simultaneously reflect the pragmatic usefulness and near-magical nature of ST breakthroughs. Inevitably,

these conflicting purposes reach the ways in which technoscientists negotiate self-expression when addressing outsiders, so that they can render an image of themselves that fits the demands of the vast majority of addressees.

3. Assumptions upon lay audiences

Apart from assessing the manoeuvres ST discourse must undertake to favour the desired effect, practitioners must forcefully consider the medium which serves as a vehicle of encounter between themselves, their research, and the target audience. This entails realizing the standpoint and standards of the audiences which access internet, or what is the same, the guidelines imposed to digital publishers to satisfy the market demands. In other words, online publications must fulfil a number of requirements that may not only affect format, but also the sort of linguistic choices, structural or otherwise, which communes with the expectations addressees shelter concerning the medium. One of the most fruitful approaches to the internet focuses upon the increasing strive to make the digital genres more communitarian, i.e. to face the challenge of reaching the largest segments of web users (see Agre 1998a; Wynn 2000). This challenging process leads us again to our main questions, namely, how to turn ST genres into more communitarian archetypes in accord with the medium wherein they will be eventually consumed. That is to say, how existing ST genres can be accommodated (Swales 1990: 58) in response to the new rhetorical dimension and the new audience, the one who is outside the community where these genres originally evolved. It is obvious that some shifts in the existing patterns must be introduced in ST discourse to attract outsiders, while still maintaining features that can magnet professional audiences.

The personal homepage faces the challenge of an unpredictable audience (see Wynn 2000) far more strongly than other digital genres such as electronic mail, journals, chats, or even commercial homepages. Encountering certain personal homepages is often a matter of random clicking, whereas approaching those other genres nearly always comes as a result of a more deliberate choice or clear purpose; therefore, we can deduce that many curious viewers will have a good chance of being outside the community in which the genre originated and evolved.

These two main groups that ST homepages must face —professional and outsiders— belong to fairly different sociocultural backgrounds. It stands to reason that text producers and homepage creators alike strive to appeal to, and keep these two audiences simultaneously, which may turn these documents into a new genre with “conflicting purposes” (Bhatia 1997, 1998; Swales 1990). On the one hand, authors wish to advertise themselves amid the scientific community, gain or fortify prestige by reporting on newsworthy scientific materials or research. On the other

hand, out of the marketing pressures to reap benefits, these pages must also seek the consumption and approval of lay audiences.

Consequently, though ST text producers, as members of the former group perfectly know and manage the genre conventions of their own community, they must also assess the set of cultural, social and ideological standards which could appeal to less selective circles, those which are in principle unfamiliar with the conventions of the former group. In other words, these sort of texts will convey a series of “implicit assumptions” (Fairclough 1989: 20), namely, assumptions about the general cultural standards of common people, the routine genres they consume, and the usefulness the Internet may report to them. However, at least as far as Science and Technology are concerned, homepages creators and their text producers, tacitly shelter the belief that general audiences conform to a pattern of what Glynn (2000) calls “tabloid culture”, that just consumes the persuasive, manipulative, amusement-oriented genres of TV news stories, tabloids and screaming commercials.

The meeting of these two groups in the homepage creates the conditions for the emergence of a new genre, one which must support the collective cognitive processes of these two audiences at a time to succeed in actual practice.

74

In order to come to terms with how internet discourse strengthens these tacit social assumptions, we propose a return to the very roots of systemic functional linguistics as still a valid model of critical discourse analysis, as it enables us to integrate more recent adjacent tenets. Since this paper is concerned with how scientific writers manipulate the structure of written language to create socially-constructed systems of meaning, we will give in what follows a brief review of Halliday’s interpretation of meaning.

4. Systemics Interpretation of Meaning

Halliday assumes that all languages express the potential for three kinds of meaning: ideational, or experiential meaning, interpersonal meaning and textual meaning. *Ideational meaning*, which is related to the field in the context of situation, refers to the way language represents our experience of the world —people, places, things and activities that make up our physical and psychological environment (*what is going on*. Halliday 1985: 26). Halliday asserts that certain components of the sentence “can be thought of as representing the real world as it is apprehended in our experience” (1985: 19). This is realised in language through the grammar of transitivity system, being the key elements Processes (events or goings on in the world), Participants (people, places and things involved in processes) and Circumstances (places, time, manner, causes associated with processes). For

example, words or grammatical markers can be classified as expressing actions that are performed or received or that represent mental or physical processes. Likewise, linguistic features naming persons can be said to identify doers, sayers, recipients of action, or some other participant roles in human experience, as well as attributes associated with these participants. In addition, logical relationships between experiences so expressed can be identified through linguistic features expressing co-ordination, subordination, equivalence and other kind of connectors.

Interpersonal meaning refers to the tenor of discourse (*who is taking part*). Language is described in terms of interactional properties. Through the interpersonal function “social groups are delimited, and the individual is identified and reinforced” (Halliday 1985: 143). Each choice for interpersonal meaning is realised through a choice in the mood system in English, modality (yes or not, positive or negative) and modulation (probability, usuality). These grammatical features express potential for meaning about the tenor of discourse in a particular situation. Tenor, which has been roughly compared to attitudinal meaning, also admits pragmatic considerations such as the degrees of content-proximity and audience-response (Martin 1992). Into the common heading other questions can also be inserted such as discourses of power and solidarity, and the concept of “face” (Brown and Levinson 1978). These matters have been dealt with in the literature on internet discourse as “self-presentation” (Wynn 2000), or “self-advertisement” (Aycock 1995).

Finally, *textual meaning* is expressed through those features of language by which it makes “links with itself and with features of the situation in which it is used” (Halliday 1985:143). Textual theme, and cohesion are among the grammatical features that express potential for meaning about the mode of discourse or the role assigned to language in a particular communication event (Halliday 1985: 26). In other words, cohesive texts should constitute an internal linguistic whole while fitting the context of occurrence semantically (coherence) (Halliday and Hasan 1976).

Cohesion concerns the ways in which the elements of the surface text are mutually connected within a sequence. Halliday stated that cohesion partially depended on grammatical dependencies such as reference, ellipsis and substitution, conjunction and lexical organisation. Other scholars would rather include here further variables like the schematic strategies followed by genres and text types (Bhatia 1997; Hatim and Mason 1990; Swales 1990; Van Dijk and Kintsch 1983), or paragraph cohesion achieved mainly by rhetorical techniques like parallelism, time order, contrast and comparison, etc (Trimble 1985).

5. **Headline titles: Attention-catching mechanisms.**

Apparently following the guidelines defended by web theorists, i.e. inserting an informal, conversational style to make homepages more likeable and communitarian, the process to convert research papers into the patterns of the internet starts out with the titles. In this chapter we shall analyse some of their recurrent features that signal the set of motivations of authors. As defended below, titles accommodate criteria that can well suit news headlines to seek the attention and applause of lay audiences. On their way to reach outsiders, titles tend to commune with popular conceptions of technoscience, its practitioners, and the medium where they are advertised.

The sort of titles heading ST homepages work as attention-catching devices that seek the interest and applause of the common audience in a manner similar to news-breaking headlines or adverts. Following the threefold model of discourse (textual form, discursive practice and social practice) proposed by Fairclough (1992), we can put forward that titles construct that ideal receiver in advance, take into account his/her presumed knowledge, attitudes, values and beliefs and attempt to confirm them as valid. In accord with these parameters, writers loosen the conventions of their referential ST discourse to construct an image of themselves that communes with receivers for purposes of self-advertisement, using advertising techniques like that of presenting the common audience as “a potential friend in distress” (Vestergaard, and SchrØder, 1985). As for the linguistic variables, titles democratise discourse by undoing noun phrase stacks, avoiding highly specialized register choices, and stating intention clearly often in an attempt to present themselves on an equal footing to less trained readers.

The articles we encountered seek the audience’s complicity by exploiting the conventions of simple, informal, and conversational speech. With these tools, writers or re-drafters attempt to attach a feeling of dynamism that escapes traditional research papers. In its turn, such dynamism would reward technoscience and its practitioners as much as it feeds and confirms the expectations users shelter concerning the internet. As the next sections underline, these conventions apply to the use of questions, dynamic grammatical choices, suggestions and the strategic deployment of modality.

5.1. Questions

Dynamism, nearness to the audience, directness, and the rhythm of face-to-face encounters are often enhanced by questions: *Can Eyedrops Replace Glasses?*; *Can Microbes Sequester Carbon?*; *How Now Mad Cow?*; *How Should We Farm?*; *How Do You Feel Today? Asking a Fish*. At the same time, basic questions, especially those

articulated into clear-cut yes/no patterns perfectly serve the purposes of readers who seek straightforward information. In fact, it is the audience that detests the waste of time and money in mystifying complications the one that web designers bear in mind when designing web sites and re-drafting articles.

In these terms, the first two titles —*Can Eyedrops Replace Glasses?*; *Can Microbes Sequester Carbon?*— promise an immediate yes/no response, and then a clarifying answer brought immediately to the reader. Notice that the first one perfectly suits either a curious reader or the potential customer to whom the article can also benefit economically. As a matter of fact, the article addresses the ideal receiver as the parent who spends a large amount of the family salary in the children's eyesight care and treatment.

Together with the promise of an immediate response, the second heading approaches scientific research by personifying the work of what the author names as “amazing microbes”. The technological use of the term *sequester* conveys the metaphorical image of a judge who officially takes some property. This turns the somehow boring or harmful idea we may originally have on microbes to that of playful, optimistic guardians of the environment. To add in the effect, the article devises similar analogies that simultaneously bridge the gap with the audience and portray the scientist as good-humoured genius. This is the case of “These bacteria respire iron” or “just as humans get rid of electrons, these bacteria dump electrons on iron”.

The third in the afore-mentioned list —*How Now Mad Cow?*— directly points to the general interest of the reader by electing the popular coinage of the CJB-disease. Then, the everyday register and the question tone come implemented with the echo provided by the rhyme link (i.e. *how-now-cow*), a technique highly exploited in adverts and commercials.

In *How Should We Farm?* the writer plays with deontic modality (or of duty) in an attempt to encourage serious reflection upon the unconscious, harmful use of chemicals in agriculture. Then, the inclusive pronoun *we* lets the author ally himself with the reader as members of the same group, thus promoting a discourse of partisan solidarity with the target audience which could attenuate or soften the impact of a near imposition —use of modal *should* instead of *must*— upon the receivers.

Finally, the last title —*How Do You Feel Today? Asking a Fish*— devises a simulated conversation with a fish, and hence personifies the object of the research. This can captivate the reader who is immediately introduced into the universe and conventions of fabliaux or children's stories. Thus, the reader can feel from the beginning that s/he will not only benefit from the scientific information, but also from a sort of moral, ethical lesson. As far as the author is concerned, the title

promotes for him an image of warmth, tenderness, and cheerfulness that can enhance the pleasure and subjective satisfaction of the assumed standard reader.

5.2. Avoidance of nominalisations or grammatical metaphors

Also to favour the eagerness to show themselves as dynamic lab professionals, writers avoid presenting too theoretical papers by resorting to the gerund and participle forms of verbal processes, as was the case with the second half of the latter article *Asking a Fish*. Even though gerunds and participles are non-personal verbal forms, they still maintain the dynamic character of their verbal counterparts as in their capacity to receive objects and adverb modifications. In the decoding process, receivers can easily imagine the action as linked to some sort of personal agency, which escapes the grammatical possibilities of a purely nominal counterpart. Thus, their semi-verbal status allows writers to introduce themselves dynamically, as if still at work, or still devoted to their eager research. This is at least the first impression one can get after encountering these titles: *Painting Clearer Seismic Portraits of the Foothills*; *Repairing Damaged Spinal Cords: Hopes for the Future*; *Measuring the Usability of Reading on the Web*; *Giving Computers Eyes*; and *Growing New Organs*. Notice that apart from bringing scientific contents to the familiar angle of lay audiences, the referential register of most linguistic choices turns the authors' research drastically into fields of action that escape the scientific constraints, so that they can be conceived in metaphorical terms.

78

The first title —*Painting Clearer Seismic Portraits of the Foothills*— raises the status of Computer Technology to the paradigms of a fine art. While computers turn into brushes, the technoscientist becomes the genial artist-painter who is able to reflect nature in all its clear brightness. It is worth noticing that the true object of the research has been encapsulated at an unmarked syntactic location, shunted to a simple adjective —*seismic*, whereas the terms suggesting artistry occupy both thematic location (i.e. *Painting*) and rhematic focus (i.e. *portraits of the foothills*). This initial effect clashes with the rest of the article which is articulated in terms of the economical interests of target-drilling for energy companies. Then, this suggests that the article plays with the attractive ambivalence of ST discourse mentioned above, between the need to simultaneously reflect pragmatic usefulness and enthusiastic, incredible deeds.

The second article —*Repairing Damaged Spinal Cords: Hopes for the Future*— also abandons medical nomenclature to bring traces of metaphorical meaning. The title suggests that in short damaged spinal cords will be treated as easily as everyday household appliances or cars. Throughout the article, the writer will develop the same metaphorical register with unremitting insistence as in “In a damaged spinal cord there is a telephone exchange of wires”. Then, metaphorising the medical

science in terms of registers lay users are familiar with, brings the latter as potential readers while promoting the success of the discipline. Also in an attempt to magnet non-professionals, the article reminds the case of Christopher Reeve (Superman) at the introduction in the same manner as news readers would do on TV, for which it also offers a link that reads as follows “For more information visit The Christopher Reeve Foundation”. Finally, the remainder of the title (*Hopes for the Future*) puts forward the actual result of the research always measured and reworded in terms of the audience’s interests and plain language. This seems to point out cataphorically to the conclusion that ends as follows: “If research continues with the success it has enjoyed in recent years, both scientists and sufferers have reasons to be optimistic”.

Interestingly enough, the next title *Measuring the Usability of Reading on the Web* heads a shorter summarised version of a long paper that originally read as follows, *Report from a 1994 Web Usability Study*. The procedures to turn a formal report into what is considered to be a more suitable text for the medium are those listed above by the author Jakob Nielsen, including bold text and headings that scan results. As can likewise be seen, the changes start out in the title, which initiates theme by introducing a far more dynamic and suggestive term via nominalisation and grammatical metaphor. And the same as in his other paper cited above, a sort of apology is added to the long, full version three years later in the introduction which reads in these terms: “The report was originally written for the distribution to the rest of the Web team on paper since we were not heavy intranet users in 1994”.

Giving Computers Eyes goes to extremes to depict the work of programmers in Computer Vision. More than anything in the text, it is the title that deserves some comment in terms of the string of associations it seeks to awaken in the reader’s mind. The insistent analogy between humans and computers brings the echoes of science fiction intertextual references that common readers may extract from popular novels and films. The comparison is later clearly and explicitly stated when reporting on the newsworthy details in these terms “as good as the human eye”. But associations do not end here since they may lead us to conceive the figure of the technoscientist in a particular manner. The title appears to categorise programmers into the rank of semi-gods, those who can manipulate inert matter to make it alive. Again this is the sort of utopian, futuristic imagery that some professionals are fond of spreading and perpetuating in the lay target audience. And once more, this type of stylistic features are balanced with the practical, serious benefits that the field is achieving in actual applications such as biological research, car technology or text archaeology.

Finally, *Growing New Organs* is particularly interesting, judging from the way the article develops afterwards. It is apparent that such a complex field like transplants, or tissue engineering is angled from a familiar, informal tenor. While the title *prima facie* points to the actual activity of the writer, namely the creation of transplantable organs in laboratories, other analogies later devised in the text come to our minds. The title appears to equate the labour of scientists to those of farmers, who cultivate, or *grow* crops, and in order to support what seems to be the writer's argument, the same analogy repeats in the conclusion: "Ten millennia ago the development of agriculture freed humanity [...] The development of tissue engineering should provide an analogous freedom to the limitations of the human body". Thus, the mixture of registers or even genres that takes place later in the article is advanced by the title in an attempt to impress, amaze or leave the reader agape from the start. It suggests that the writer is here advertising the astonishing advance of science in general and more particularly, the one achieved in his own laboratory.

As the two later articles reveal, the personal homepage can be linked to the commercial one, since both can work as a subtype of the business genre. Wynn (2000) reports that there is an interesting discussion of how commercial web sites need to become more communitarian in nature in order to reap a benefit. As she argues, commercial homepages form a business genre with their own impact, with perhaps more scrutiny and accountability than some printed business publicity. In our case, the articles draw upon images borrowed from science fiction, which in its turn perfectly suits the popular mythology of the internet, to fit the presupposed demands of the lay audience and in an attempt to sell the product to the audience better. And this is also a case of "genre colonization" (Leitch and Roper 1998), as the register of one field is used to rationalize and legitimate the changes in another.

5.3. Suggestions

Next in our analysis we could observe that amid the set of resources that proliferate in the titles to present the papers as personal encounters with the target reader, are those of imperative structures which exploit the directive, appellative function to work as face-to-face suggestions. This is the case of *Don't Forget to Write* and *Let the Sunshine In*.

The former article —*Don't Forget to Write*— complains against the excessive fondness of graphics and images displayed by web sites to later praise the benefits that "good writers" can reap for them. However, even though such complaint appeals to the current conventions of webpages, the writer himself takes advantage of them to fit the assumed demands of the user. In other words, rather than

employing stylistic features proper to written research, the author seeks the attention of the audience through what seems to be an informal, epistolary set expression.

The latter title —*Let the Sunshine in*— focuses upon the benefits of environmentally-friendly architectural design and new glass technology. As is ubiquitous in technological internet texts, especially when some company is involved, benefits are assessed in terms of “saving money” and “environmental care”. The article, however, also introduces more intimate human-oriented factors and this ingredient is first mirrored in the title, which could perfectly suit the title of a song, brings reminiscences of the metaphorical projection of inward feelings as displayed by a songwriter or a poet.

5.4. Strategic use of modality

Finally, we detected that writers often deploy modalised statements under different guises. As in the case of the title *How Should We Farm?* analysed above, modal verbs accompany degrees of modalisation (probability) and modulation (obligation) in the following titles: *Mobile Phones Must Die*; *Materials Advance May Help the Semiconductor Industry*; *Graphics May Get Attention but Good Writing Rewards it*; and *Spam May Be Meaty to Others: Its Cost Gives a Sour Taste to Many*

81

Modalisation (*may*) offers the writers here the chance to sound less imposing, thus conveying an objective discourse of neutral, democratic tone which can gain the approval of a large majority of web users as the afore-mentioned studies reported. This is especially true of the second article on materials advance where the avoidance of a categorical assertion may imply some signs of polite distance to the respected alters or target readers.

The other two titles, though, make use of modalisation (*may*) in a far more productive manner. They both combine the modalised statement with straightforward categorical assertions which succeed the former in contrastive rhetorical sequences. The contrasting game, accentuated in the first of these titles —*Graphics May Get Attention but Good Writing Rewards it*— by the textual adversative adjunct (*but*) also allows presenting the rhetorical technique that later will articulate the whole texts, namely that of contrast and comparison (Trimble 1985). Conclusion and results of the research are also highlighted by placing them at rhematic location, i.e. *Good Writing Rewards Webpages* and *Spam is unpleasant and costly to e-mail users*.

It is also worth commenting how the latter writer translates us to the domain of food properties —*Spam May Be Meaty to Others: Its Cost Gives a Sour Taste to Many*— so that we can appreciate the effect in direct, sensing terms. Again, this is

another case in which metaphorical meanings enable writers to narrow distances and intimate with the reader.

Finally, modulation (of obligation modality) strengthens the force that the title *Mobile Phones Must Die* exerts upon the reader, who is left somehow astonished from the beginning. Judging from the social impact of mobile phones, and the present suspicion on the genotoxic effect they may have on health, any reader would immediately click the present paper. It is only later that one realises the actual content of the article which exclusively concentrates upon the inadequacy of mobile phones to the internet.

6. Conclusion

These titles, as the ones we usually encounter in the internet homepages, already show some significant differences when contrasted with those belonging to more typical scientific genres such as reports, procedural recounts, or explanations. Notice, for instance, the stylistic differences of these titles published by the magazine *Mathematica* which is also available online: “*Dispersive and Nonlinear Propagation of Dual-Frequency Pulses in Optical Fiber*”, “*Study on Lie Algebraic Deflection Aberration Theory for Combined Magnetic Focusing-Deflection Systems*”.

Comparing these later titles with the ones examined in this paper, we can establish important distinctions, being the first one related to the registers involved, always in relation to the audience they address, in terms of the context of culture (*genre*) and the context of situation (*register* itself in more specific terms). As can be noticed at a glance, the titles mentioned above consist of nominalisations or noun phrase stacks and complex technical terms without verbs, whereas in the internet articles writers avoid highly specialised nomenclature, thus making them available and accessible to non-professionals. From this angle, they can be inscribed within what we usually regard as popular science. They all lack abundant nominalisation and the compressed style of more ST counterparts. But apart from the lexical choices selected to reflect the field, there are significant efforts to undo the mode and tenor variables that feature formal research papers.

As has been shown above, language is no longer used to monitor or construct a highly specialized topic, instead, it is used to act upon the lay reader, seek attention and consequent consumption, and approval. Efforts to raise the level of addressee-proximity range from dynamic forms that avoid static nominal terms, suggestions, metaphors, playful personifications and near set expressions. In-group appeals and modality have also been exploited to reflect interpersonal meaning rather than experiential or referential usage. In short, authors seek to democratise discourse and encourage the audience to take part in the encounter. This means

that they negotiate self-expression to present themselves on an equal status to readers, or else to confirm the common expectations they are supposed to have about the technoscientist figure. All this goes, despite the fact that articles often admit a far more formal focus and reading approach. Thus, two conflicting discourses are often sustained which reflect the tension between the useful, pragmatic values and more popular-oriented myths of ST discourse.

In sum, the kind of titles characterising internet genres ooze interpersonal and, to a less degree, textual meanings far more openly than those devoted to more restricted professional circles. They embody the writer's stance in a didactic manner and often facilitates the task of non-experts by putting forward the structural, rhetorical scaffolding of the texts. In the professional realm, writers have their audiences granted in advance and show no apparent concern to trap other readers, whereas internet writers have to gain the attention of the common public to maintain them in the page as long as possible.

Since the titles incorporate borrowings from alien genres, they can be conceived as cases of genre colonization which are supposed to legitimate the changes required for the new medium. When introducing conventions proper to journalistic genres, even the extremes of screaming tabloids, writers seem to conceive of the reader as a customary user of these genres.

Therefore, more formal ST conventions have been somehow subverted in response to the assumed audience, which now consumes science through the channels of a new medium. According to Toms (2001), creating web documents is a cookie-cutter affair as documents of differing types are formatted with essentially the same structure, eliminating or disguising those visual cues that help people to make sense of the content and requiring additional effort to interpret the document. In our view, the same could apply to the titles that head ST articles published in this new medium.

Notes

¹. This paper has been written with the financial help of the DGA, research project n.º 245-94. We would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers of this article for their very useful comments.

². All the internet addresses mentioned here were available at the moment the article was written. We apologise if some of them have already changed or disappeared.

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<http://www.plantfloor.com/ar/eastman-boothinc.htm>

3. Giving computers eyes
<http://www.ucalgary.ca/unicomm/Research/Parker.html>

4. Growing new organs
<http://www.sciam.com/1999/o499issue/o499mooney.htm>

5. Awareness of sudden death syndrome
<http://etoh.homepage.com/awarenessofsd/bao.html>

6. Livingwater
<http://www.vibrationalbeing.com/Sacredwater.htm>

7. It's a musical universe.
<http://www.svpril.com>

8. Mobile phones are not the future
<http://www.useit.com/alertbox/2001107.html>">
<http://www.useit.com/alertbox/>

9. Cloning pioneer
<http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/specials/cloning/cloner.html>

10. The benefits of growing grapes organically
<http://www.isgnet.com/ogwa>

11. Western medicine
<http://www.meditopia.com/ewms.htm>

APPEALS FOR ASSISTANCE AND INCORPORATION OF FEEDBACK IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE INTERACTION: THE ROLE OF AGE AND PROFICIENCY LEVEL

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87

1. Introduction

In their approach to the learning of a second language (L2), learners make use of a range of strategies that help them in that process. Some of those strategies aim primarily at internalizing and automatizing new L2 knowledge (i.e., learning strategies), whereas others aim at using the L2 in communication (i.e. L2-use strategies). Communication strategies (CSs) can be defined as a subset of L2-use strategies that L2 learners employ when confronted with problematic items and/or rules which are not part of their linguistic knowledge or which are temporarily inaccessible or unretrievable (Manchón 1998).

One of the CSs that L2 learners may resort to is the *appeal for assistance*, defined by Faerch and Kasper (1983) as a cooperative compensatory strategy which typically involves turning to an external source (e.g., speech partner, dictionary) to look for a solution. Learners may appeal for assistance when they experience a problem in production or in comprehension. *Appeals for assistance* are usually regarded as a type of CS when they involve problems in L2 production. When they involve problems in L2 comprehension, they are studied within the field of interactional modifications (e.g., Long 1983).

Although *appeals for assistance* are considered as one of the least risk-taking strategies of all (Corder 1983) and even though they do not involve an

autonomous solution by the learner, they are seen as beneficial from the point of view of acquisition for their learning potential by making items available for incorporation when there is a need for them (Faerch and Kasper 1980). Willey (2002) argues that this particular CS serves several purposes in vocabulary acquisition. By means of *appeals for assistance*, learners may recall known words, elicit unknown ones, and test hypotheses about word usage (Willey 2002). *Appeals for assistance* also help acquisition indirectly by sustaining discourse and providing further opportunities for output and, as Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) claim, input. Finally, from a social point of view, as Corder (1983) argues, saying something in face-to-face interaction is usually as important as saying what one would like to say.

The learning potential of *appeals for assistance* is closely linked to the concept of attention, a crucial mechanism in the learning process (Schmidt and Frota's 1986 "notice-the-gap" hypothesis). Awareness, distinguished by Schmidt (2001) from metalinguistic awareness on the assumption that awareness refers to instances of language at a surface level rather than to abstract rules or principles, involves noticing gaps in one's interlanguage (IL) abilities as a prior step to attempting a solution. According to Schmidt (2001), the role of consciousness, which he studies through the theoretical construct of attention, is essential for learning from input to take place and for becoming aware of mismatches between ends and means in language production. Swain further distinguished three levels of noticing depending on whether the L2 learner noticed *a form* in the target language (TL), "noticing the form", *an IL/TL difference*, "noticing the gap", or *an IL deficiency*, "noticing the hole". (1998:66-67). *Appeals for assistance* preempt attention to *an IL deficiency* and elicit a response move on the part of the interlocutor, conditions that may facilitate acquisition, especially if the learner incorporates the help provided by the interlocutor in subsequent moves.

Research on CSs claims that proficiency level plays a role in strategy use by determining the frequency of use of achievement strategies (vs. avoidance strategies) and of L2-based (vs. L1-based) strategies (e.g., Fernández Dobao 2001). However, situational and individual factors may interact with proficiency level (Faerch 1984). Whereas Liang and Llobera (1999) found that Chinese learners in a naturalistic context did not use strategies based on their L1, both Celaya (1992) and Bou (1993) observed that the most frequent strategies used by foreign language (FL) learners were *language switch* and *appeal for assistance*. This shows the influence of the interactional context, particularly the fact that the interlocutor shares the learners' L1, in strategy choice. Apart from that overall tendency, Celaya (1992) also found differences in the use of CSs by learners of different proficiency levels. Low-proficiency learners often remained silent, thus leaving all responsibility for sustaining conversation to their interlocutor. The

greater the language proficiency of the learners, the greater their proficiency in their use of strategies, among them *appeals for assistance*. According to Celaya (1992), this made communication flow more fluently and naturally.

Piazza (1998) also found that the FL beginners in her study were not always determined to find a solution to their production/comprehension problems by appealing to their interlocutor. She reports a higher frequency of hesitation phenomena in the beginners' interaction and a greater determination to negotiate meaning in the intermediate and advanced learners. These learners were also observed to work actively on the responses provided to their *appeals for assistance* by interpreting and using them autonomously.

Apart from situational variables interacting with proficiency level, individual variables such as age may also have an effect on the use of CSs. In the field of interactional modifications, Scarcella and Higa (1982) report that the adolescent learners in their study were more actively involved in conversation. They hypothesized that it was that greater involvement, manifest in how they sought for explanations when they did not understand and in the extra work they did to sustain discourse, which contributed to their faster development. Muñoz (2003) examined the interaction of learners of different ages and proficiency levels performing an interview in the L3 and concluded that the frequency of interactional modifications in each group was in part an effect of the interactional skills of the participants. She observed that older learners avoided silences to a greater extent than their younger counterparts when they ran into comprehension problems.

In view of the role that age and proficiency level may play in the nature of FL interaction, this study sets out to explore how EFL learners of different ages and proficiency levels negotiate meaning by appealing for assistance when they run into production problems. It specifically asks whether there are any quantitative differences in the amount of help that learners of different ages and proficiency levels appeal for, whether there are any qualitative differences in how that help is appealed for and, finally, whether there are any differences in the learners' reaction to the help provided by their interlocutor.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

The oral performance of three groups of 30 EFL learners each was examined for this study (N=90). These learners came from two different school curricula: one of the groups, Group B-12, from a former school curriculum and the other two

groups, Group A-12 and C-10, from the present school curriculum. At the moment of data collection they had received a different amount of instruction calculated in hours, as shown in Table 1. The learners were randomly selected from a larger research project on the age factor in the acquisition of English as a foreign language (*BAF Project*) currently in progress at the University of Barcelona.¹

Time 1 200 hours	Group C-10 10.9 years N=30	Group B-12 12.9 years N=30
Time 2 416 hours	Group A-12 12.9 years N=30	

TABLE 1: Participants

The labels for each group (A, B and C) correspond to their mean scores on a series of written tests² and they are ordered in decreasing level of performance (see Table 2):

90

GROUP	AGE	N	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
A (416hrs)	12.9	30	14.35	3.58
B (200hrs)	12.9	30	9.09	3.34
C (200hrs)	10.9	30	6.68	2.00

TABLE 2: Proficiency level

The difference in performance across the three groups yielded statistical significance in a one-way analysis of variance (*ANOVA*), $F=48.32 (2, 86)$, $p<.001$, and the *Scheffé post-hoc test* showed that the means of the three groups differed significantly from one another ($p<.05$). This difference in performance allows us to explore the role of proficiency level in the use of *appeals for assistance*. On the other hand, the fact that Groups A-12 and B-12 have different proficiency levels but share the same age provides an interesting intersection that can be used to explore the role of age.

2.2. Task and procedure

The participants carried out a narration task in which they were asked to tell the story depicted in a set of six pictures to an interviewer (researcher) with both participants having visual access to the pictures being described. Seven female researchers took part in administering and audiorecording the task.

2.2.1. *The picture story narration as task*

The picture story narration, according to Long's (1990) classification of tasks, is a closed task in which learners are required to produce a predetermined right solution. According to Long (1990), this type of task produces more negotiation work than open tasks in which production is free, because participants feel constrained to keep on with a topic even when trouble arises. The fact that participants cannot drop a topic so easily may foster the use of CSs, among them *appeals for assistance*. In fact, studies on CSs rely largely on closed tasks (e.g., Hyde 1982; Chen 1990).

However, the narration is typically a one-way task with a structure in which exchange of information is not required for successful completion. It is a task intended to elicit a monologue from the student. Long (1990) claims that from the point of view of negotiation work this structure is not as effective as that of two-way tasks. Nevertheless, the presence of an expert participant and certain participant-related factors such as age and proficiency level may have an influence on the nature of interaction. In an analysis of the role of the interviewer in the narratives of learners of different ages and proficiency levels, Álvarez (2002) observed a co-construction of meaning that made the narration turn into a somewhat different task. This suggests that the narration task, as a result of participant-related factors, may share features of two-way tasks with the interviewer actively involved in the interaction. The interviewer can be seen as having access to information that the learner may require at some point to complete the task, especially linguistic information as a result of her near-native-like L2 competence. In this sense, although the learner has no exclusive access to information, s/he may turn to his or her interlocutor to ask for help. The learner will do so on a cooperative basis triggering learner-initiated negotiation episodes as a consequence of communication breakdowns due to problems in production. The interviewer may also participate in interviewer-initiated episodes prompting and focusing the learner's attention to relevant pieces of information in plot development to carry out the task successfully. This in turn may lead to potential communication breakdowns due to problems in comprehension.

2.3. Categories of analysis

2.3.1. *Interviewees' appeals for assistance*

The different categories of *appeals for assistance* are based on Faerch and Kasper's (1984) distinction between *direct appeals*, on the one hand, and *implicit* and *explicit signals of uncertainty*, on the other, all of which, they argue, can be interpreted as *appeals for assistance* from the interlocutor's point of view.

a) **Direct appeals**

This is asking the interlocutor directly for help to either through an explicit question or through rising intonation.

E.g. (Group A-12): S1: boy and a girl i com es diu “menjar”? (Catalan: how do you say “to eat”?)

E.g. (Group B-12): S2: is a drink hmm “nens” “nens”? (Cat.: “children”)

b) **Indirect appeals**

This is asking for help indirectly. Two types of *indirect appeals* are distinguished depending on their explicitness and the degree of obligation they impose on the interlocutor to assist:

Explicit indirect appeals correspond to Beneke’s (1975) *handicap signals* or Palmberg’s (1979) *admission of ignorance*. They express lack of a needed L2 item in a verbal way.

E.g. (Group B-12): S3: the children “preparan” no sé com es diu (Cat.: “prepare” I don’t know how to say that).

92

Implicit indirect appeals correspond to different types of hesitation phenomena (e.g. pauses, repeats, draws) which function as nonverbal problem indicators that may be interpreted as *appeals for assistance* by the interlocutor.³ This category has been extended in this study to include learner silences, which may have the same effect on the interlocutor as the different types of hesitation phenomena.

E.g. (Group C-10): S4: looking looking at... (unfinished utterance)
Interviewer: what’s this?

E.g. (Group B-12): S5: the cows eating hmm...
Interviewer: what are they eating? What is this?
S5: (silence)
Interviewer: grass grass plants yeah?

2.3.2. *Interviewers’ responses to appeals for assistance*

The interviewer categories are data-based and respond to the two alternatives open to the interviewers when faced with learners’ problem indicators, either to attempt to supply the L2 item/s needed by the learner or avoid supplying them.

The interviewers’ response moves are understood as being triggered by learner self-initiation as opposed to interviewer-initiation (e.g., provision of corrective feedback), that is, the learner is the one who first indicates the presence of a problem.

a) Direct response

The interlocutor provides the L2 items/s that the learner is having trouble with.

- E.g. (Group C-10): S6: hmm “menjant” com has dit que era? (Cat.: “eating” how did you say that was?)
Interviewer: eat.
S6: eat the dog s’ha menjat el sandwich. (Cat.: has eaten the)

b) Avoidance of direct response

The interlocutor avoids supplying the L2 item/s that the learner is having trouble with but attempts to elicit further learner performance. Three main types of avoidance of a direct response to the learners’ problem indicators have been identified in the data. All of them can be seen as indirect ways of assisting the learner. Two of them leave the source of trouble intact and the third ignores it.

Question elicitation involves leaving unaddressed the sources of the trouble that triggered the learner’s *appeal* while attempting to reach a solution from the learner by means of eliciting questions.

- E.g. (Group A-12): S7: the cows eating hmm...
Interviewer: what are they eating? What is this?

Encouraging involves leaving unaddressed the sources of the trouble that triggered the learner’s *appeal* while encouraging the learner to reach a solution by means of acknowledging, by repeating the last words of the learner’s previous utterance or by explicitly asking the learner to try (either in the target language or by means of language switch).

- E.g. (Group B-12): S8: això no sé com explicar-ho. (Cat.: I don’t know how to explain this)
Interviewer: ok say something.
S8: the children and mother look the map.
E.g. (Group B-12): S9: y hmm no sé “una montaña”? (Spanish: and hmm I don’t know “a mountain”?)
Interviewer: say it in Spanish if you don’t know.
S9: es una montaña is hmm dog and cesta. (Sp.: this is a mountain is hmm dog and basket)
E.g. (Group A-12): S10: hmm the the mother in the chil the children “preparar” no sé com es diu. (Cat.: “prepare” I don’t know how to say that)
Interviewer: mmhm. (acknowledges)
S10: the lunch.

Interviewer: eat.
 S14: eat the dog.

c) **Incorporation following an implicit indirect appeal**

This means incorporating the help provided by the interlocutor in response to an *implicit indirect appeal for assistance*.

E.g. (Group A-12): S15: and the dog are eat the the...
 Interviewer: the food the sandwich.
 S15: the sandwich.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Interviewees' use of appeals for assistance

The group whose performance is proportionally less dependent on the interlocutor's help is the most proficient group (Group A-12), followed by Group B-12, and the least proficient group, Group C-10, respectively. Table 3 displays the raw frequency counts of utterances containing an *appeal for assistance* together with the total number of utterances produced by each of the groups during the task.⁴

GROUP	UTTERANCES N	APPEALS FOR ASSISTANCE N
A-12	526	103
B-12	615	177
C-10	479	166

TABLE 3: Frequency of learner utterances and appeals for assistance

Figure 1 shows a distribution of the proportional amount of help required by each group with respect to their total amount of talk as measured by the total number of utterances produced.

The observed differences in the proportion of *appeals for assistance* were statistically significant across the groups, $F=3.15 (2, 87), p=.048$, particularly between the most proficient group, Group A-12, and the least proficient group, Group C-10, $p<.05$. This significant difference together with the decrease that can also be observed in Group B-12, the in-between group as far as proficiency level is concerned, shows that the learners can perform the narration task better and better without engaging the interviewer so often and this suggests a gradual shift from other —to self-

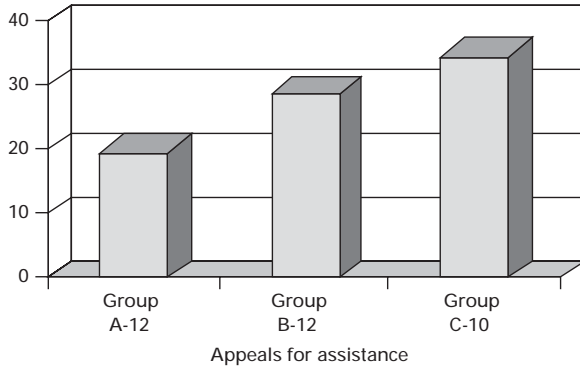


FIGURE 1: Percentage of appeals for assistance

regulated behaviour as proficiency level increases (Vygotsky 1986). In spite of the observed tendency to decline that can be observed in Figure 1, the amount of help the learners required to carry out the task was considerable in the three groups studied. This should be taken into account when assessing L2 learners' performance by means of this type of tasks in the same way as Ross (1992) suggests considering the type and quantity of interviewer adaptation in the assessment of oral interviews.

96

3.2. Interviewees' proportional use of types of appeals for assistance

Whereas Figure 1 reveals a tendency to decline in the amount of help required to carry out the narration task as proficiency level increases, a qualitative analysis of how the learners appeal for help shows similarities between the two 12-year-old groups, A-12 and B-12, and differences between those two groups and Group C-10, the youngest and least proficient group. Table 4 shows the frequencies of the different types of *appeals for assistance* in each of the groups.

GROUP	DIRECT APPEALS N	EXPLICIT INDIRECT APPEALS N	IMPLICIT INDIRECT APPEALS N
A-12	27	25	51
B-12	54	23	100
C-10	11	15	140

TABLE 4: Frequency of types of appeals for assistance

In Figure 2, the frequencies for the different categories of *appeals for assistance* with respect to the total number of *appeals* can be observed.

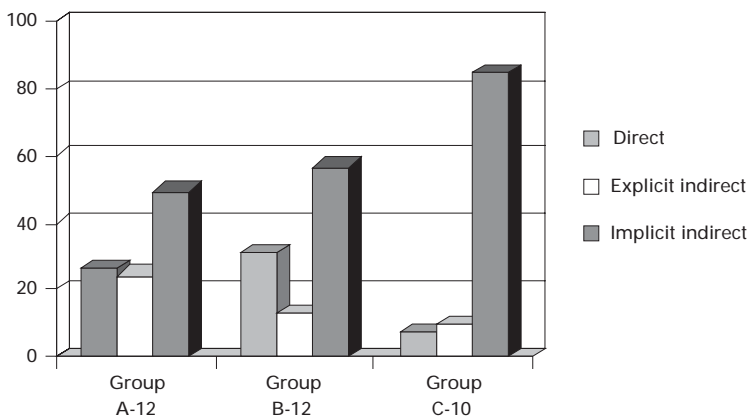


FIGURE 2: Percentages of types of appeals for assistance

Whereas *implicit indirect appeals* follow a clear pattern of decrease down to Group A-12, the most proficient group, the inverse pattern can be observed as far as *explicit indirect appeals* are concerned. As regards *direct appeals*, an increase can be observed from Group C-10, the least proficient group, to Group B-12 and then a decrease from Group B-12 to Group A-12. This pattern suggests that the most proficient group, Group A-12, compensates for the decrease in *direct appeals* by means of *explicit indirect appeals*, which, from a pragmatic perspective, would indicate a preference for more indirect behaviour (i.e., using a declarative to make a request).

Although the highest percentage in the three groups analysed corresponds to the category of *implicit indirect appeals* (see Figure 2), an interesting pattern can be observed if *direct* and *explicit indirect appeals* are merged (see Figure 3). There are several reasons that may justify merging the two categories. *Direct* and *explicit indirect appeals* have in common their explicit and verbal nature. A trouble source has been identified and verbalized. They also impose a clear obligation on the interlocutor to assist by means of a direct response.

In Figure 3, the two groups with the same age, A-12 and B-12, can be seen to follow a very similar pattern with a more balanced distribution of the two categories of *appeals*, whereas Group C-10 shows a preference for *implicit indirect appeals*.

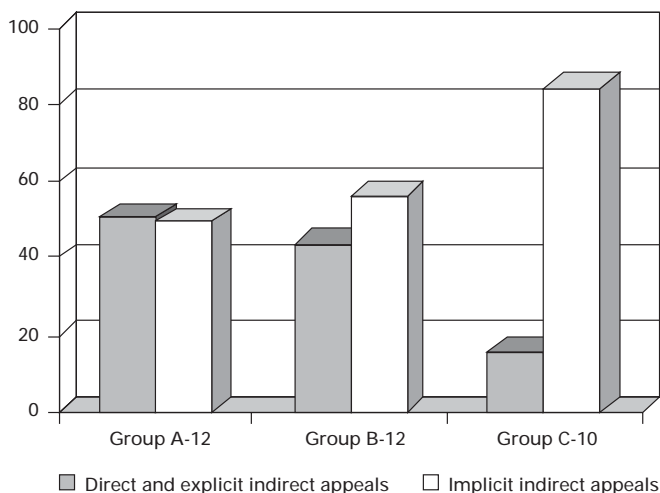


FIGURE 3: Percentages of types of appeals for assistance

The nonparametric alternative to one-way *ANOVA* (*Kruskal-Wallis test*) showed significant differences ($p < .05$) across the three groups. Three *Mann-Whitney U tests* were subsequently run and they showed significant differences between Groups A-12 and B-12, on the one hand, and Group C-10, on the other ($p < .05$) but not between Groups A-12 and B-12 ($p = .59$).

The greater use of *direct* and *explicit indirect appeals* by Group A-12, in comparison to the least proficient group, suggests a relationship between proficiency level and an awareness of L2 needs to sustain discourse. Less proficient learners may be cognitively overloaded by gaps in their L2 knowledge and, consequently, have trouble in identifying L2 needs. As a result, they are less likely to turn to their interlocutor to ask for *direct* or *explicit indirect help*. The linguistic realization of the *appeals* does not seem to interfere since all the learners analysed, irrespective of their proficiency level, always appeal for help in their L1. This function of code switching in the data analysed, i.e., appealing for assistance, would help to explain a greater use of the L1 in the two most proficient groups, the ones that proportionally use more *direct* and *explicit indirect appeals*.

The greater use of *direct* and *explicit indirect appeals* by Group A-12 also implies that more proficient learners exhibit greater achievement behaviour in communication when trouble arises whereas less proficient learners tend to hesitate or remain silent. Faerch and Kasper (1982) point out that beginners are typically

reducers and that this may overrule the inverse relationship between proficiency level and the need for appealing. The fact that the least proficient group is the group with the highest percentage of *implicit indirect appeals*, the least cooperative type of *appeal* realized by means of a variety of nonverbal signals of uncertainty, is in line with that characterization of beginners as reducers. In fact, the learner who hesitates or remains silent might be actually abandoning the message unwilling to sustain discourse. As a result, it is not always clear whether the learner has identified a trouble source and is actually appealing for help or whether s/he is cognitively overloaded by L2 gaps and is abandoning the message. Nevertheless, the perspective taken in this study is that of the interviewer who, confronted with such hesitation phenomena/silences, is seen to intervene offering some kind of assistance in the three groups analysed. Tarone (1983) claims that this is a common effect of *avoidance strategies* such as *message abandonment* in FL interaction.

Apart from the effect of proficiency level, age also seems to contribute to the way L2 learners appeal for assistance given that the two 12-year-old groups, A-12 and B-12, use the different types of *appeals* to a very similar extent, despite the fact that one group is more proficient than the other. Even though the performance of Group A-12 in the tests measuring general proficiency was significantly different with respect to that of Group B-12, there are no significant differences between them as regards the use of *direct* and *explicit indirect appeals*. This is taken as evidence for older learners' greater involvement in conversation as a result of their greater achievement behaviour, a characteristic that is thought to contribute to their differential learning rate (Scarcella and Higa 1982). In addition, *explicit indirect appeals* are metalingual signals of uncertainty that include a self-attribution of ignorance (Palmberg 1979), reflecting thus an attitude that may be more typical of older learners.

The *direct* and *explicit indirect appeals* identified in the data were all aimed at bridging gaps in the learners' lexical knowledge. Lexis is in fact the level at which CSs are mostly used, especially in information-focused tasks (Kasper and Kellerman 1997). Nevertheless, CSs may also occur at other levels of linguistic competence (Manchón 1998). Further research would be needed with more proficient learners to examine whether they produce any *appeals* aimed at bridging gaps in their morphosyntactic or pragmatic knowledge, which would indicate a reallocation of attentional capacity to other areas of linguistic competence as proficiency level increases. Another possibility is that *appeals for assistance* only operate on the lexicon. Buckwalter (2001) found that the learner in her study addressed morphosyntactic problems by means of *self-repair* whereas *appeals for assistance* operated mainly on the lexicon. In that case, further research would be needed regarding the use of *self-repair* by the learners analysed, especially in relation to the use of *appeals for assistance*. Buckwalter (2001) also reports that the learners

in her study, who were adult FL learners, showed a clear preference for *self-repair* when they experienced problems in production. Further research should be undertaken to show the role played by age and proficiency level in the frequency of use of *self-repairs* and *appeals for assistance* as indicators of self-regulated and other-regulated behaviour, respectively.

3.3. Interviewers' responses to the learners' appeals

Table 5 shows the frequencies of the types of interviewer responses to learners' *appeals for assistance*.

GROUP	DIRECT RESPONSES N	AVOIDED RESPONSES N	TOTAL N
A-12	52	51	103
B-12	74	103	177
C-10	38	128	166

TABLE 5: Frequency of types of interviewer responses

In the proportional amount of direct and avoided responses to *appeals* on the part of the interviewers (see Figure 4), an effect of the different degrees of obligation to assist that the different types of appeals impose on the interlocutor can be observed.

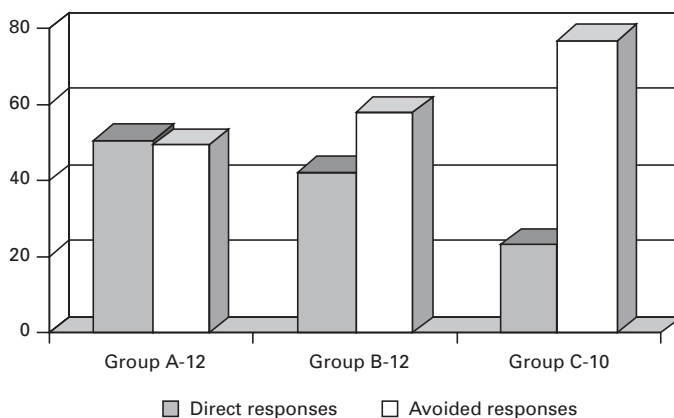


FIGURE 4: Percentages of types of interviewer responses to appeals

The group that proportionally receives more direct responses, Group A-12, is the group that made a greater use of *direct* and *explicit indirect appeals* (see Figure 3), followed by Group B-12. On the other hand, the group that proportionally receives more avoided responses, Group C-10, is the group that made a greater use of *implicit indirect appeals*, the one that imposes the weakest obligation to assist by means of a direct response. This shows how the interactional skills of the participants in the task analysed can have an effect in the amount of feedback they receive from their learning environment. The two groups of older learners as a result of the way in which they appeal for assistance happen to receive more feedback in the form of direct responses than the younger group. Oliver (2000) argues, referring to the greater amount of negative feedback that the older learners in her study were observed to receive, that this may partially explain the differential learning rate of adults and children as input-based explanations for age-related differences.

The fact that the group with the highest percentage of the type of *appeal* that imposes the weakest obligation to assist receives the highest percentage of avoided responses shows in turn the interviewers' low willingness to help the learners directly, an attitude that is justified by the goal the interviewers (researchers) pursued and which was eliciting a representative language sample from the learners with the aim of evaluating their performance.

Although the interviewers may have avoided direct help for research purposes and this may have prevented them from obtaining realistic results (Faerch and Kasper 1984), it is interesting to note that the interviewers resort mainly to question elicitation in order to avoid providing direct help with the three groups of learners analysed. Eliciting through questioning can be seen in fact as a form of verbal assistance. Vygotsky (1978) viewed questions as a linguistic tool that mediates, assists, and scaffolds mental activity. In a study of teacher questions, McCormick and Donato (2000) found that during teacher-fronted activities questions served as scaffolded assistance by means of which learners could achieve tasks that they could not have achieved alone. In Table 6, the frequency counts of the types of direct and avoided responses are displayed.

Figure 5 shows the frequency of occurrence of the different types of direct and avoided responses as a percent of the total number of interviewer responses.

Apart from the weak obligation to assist of *implicit indirect appeals*, another reason may explain the interviewers' comparatively greater use of question elicitation with the youngest and least proficient learners (Group C-10) and this is the need to involve those learners in conversation by keeping and focusing their attention. In a naturalistic language-learning context, Scarcella and Higa (1982) found that native speakers used a series of devices to keep and focus attention more frequently with child than with adolescent L2 learners.

GROUP	DIRECT RESPONSE N	AVOIDED RESPONSE: QUESTION ELICITATION N	AVOIDED RESPONSE: ENCOURAGING N	AVOIDED RESPONSE: SHIFTING N
A-12	52	32	15	4
B-12	74	55	17	31
C-10	38	77	23	28

TABLE 6: Frequency of types of interviewer direct and avoided responses

102

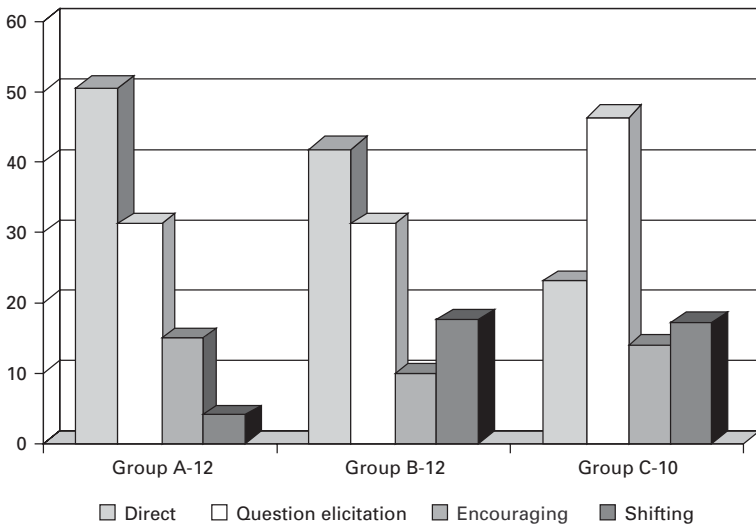


FIGURE 5: Percentages of types of interviewer's direct and avoided responses to appeals

Finally, the group that proportionally receives fewer avoided responses consisting in a shift of communicative focus is the most proficient group, Group A-12, which suggests that the interviewers considered those learners as more capable of expressing their communicative goal when trouble arose.

3.4. Interviewees' incorporation of feedback

Table 7 displays the raw frequency counts of the learners' incorporations of the interviewers' direct responses following each type of *appeal for assistance*. In order to measure incorporations, those interviewer turns containing a direct response but

Appeals for assistance and incorporation of feedback in foreign language...

which gave no opportunity for the learner to take up the feedback were not taken into account. This methodological advance in the measurement of *uptake* was put forward by Oliver (1995) and it eliminates from the analysis those turns in which the interviewer, after providing feedback, continues his or her turn by means of topic switch or topic continuation.

E.g. (Group C-10): S16: la madre aquí hmm mother look a map and dog hmm look a... (Sp.: the mother here hmm)
 Interviewer: it's a basket basket good and here what are they doing?

Those instances where the learners did not have the opportunity to react to the feedback were 6.1% of the total in Group A-12, 8.1% in Group B-12, and 15.2% in Group C-10.

GROUP	INTERVIEWER DIRECT RESPONSES N			INTERVIEWER DIRECT RESPONSES OFFERING OPPORTUNITY TO INCORPORATE N			LEARNER INCORPORATIONS N			TOTAL N
	da	iaex	iaim	da	iaex	iaim	da	iaex	iaim	
A-12	23	9	20	22	9	18	21	8	15	44
B-12	47	11	16	46	11	11	43	6	7	56
C-10	7	6	25	7	5	21	7	5	12	25

da = direct appeals; iaex = explicit indirect appeals; iaim = implicit indirect appeals

TABLE 7: Frequency of learner incorporations

Figure 6 shows the frequency of occurrence of incorporations as a percent of the sum of the interviewers' direct responses to *appeals for assistance*, the total amount of feedback that could be potentially incorporated as a result of learner-initiated episodes.

The most proficient group, A-12, is the group that proportionally incorporates a greater amount of the interviewers' feedback into their discourse, followed by Group B-12. No significant differences across the groups were reported by the *Kruskal-Wallis test* ($p=.25$).

The fact that the more proficient learners show a tendency to incorporate feedback more often is in line with Mackey, Gass and McDonough (2000), who argue that the frequency with which learners perceive interactional feedback may be determined by developmental stage in order to avoid cognitive overload.

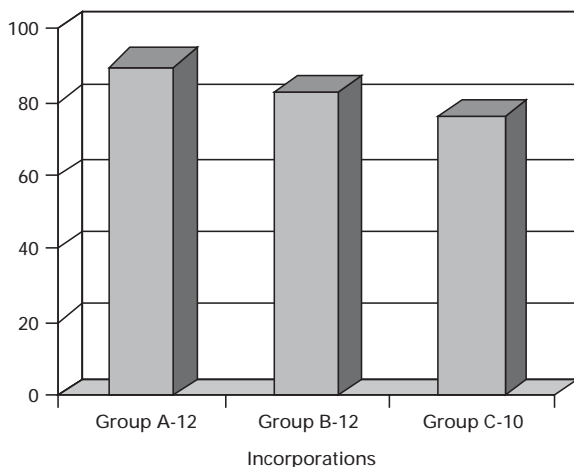


FIGURE 6: Percentage of incorporations

104

Proficiency may therefore have a higher impact than age in this respect as the proportional increase of incorporations up to the most proficient group suggests.

The greater number of incorporations by the two most proficient groups could be again taken as evidence for those learners' more active involvement in conversation. It may also suggest a higher level of conscious noticing (Schmidt 1990) and even a different orientation to learning with a greater willingness to register stimuli in short-term memory.

Figure 7 shows the proportional amount of the learners' incorporations of the interviewers' direct responses following each type of *appeal for assistance*.

The type of *appeal for assistance* that leads to learner incorporation of feedback more often within each of the three groups analysed is the *direct appeal*. This fact would further account for the greater amount of incorporations in the two groups with a higher percentage of *direct appeals*, Groups A-12 and B-12, the two groups that seem to benefit more from their learning environment as a result of their involvement in conversation manifest in how they appeal for help.

The fact that *direct appeals* lead to incorporation of feedback more often seems to show that the degree of explicitness of the *appeal for assistance* is playing a role in learners' incorporation of feedback. This is further supported by the fact that the *explicit indirect appeal* leads to more incorporations than the *implicit indirect* in two of the groups analysed, A-12 and C-10. This suggests that incorporation of

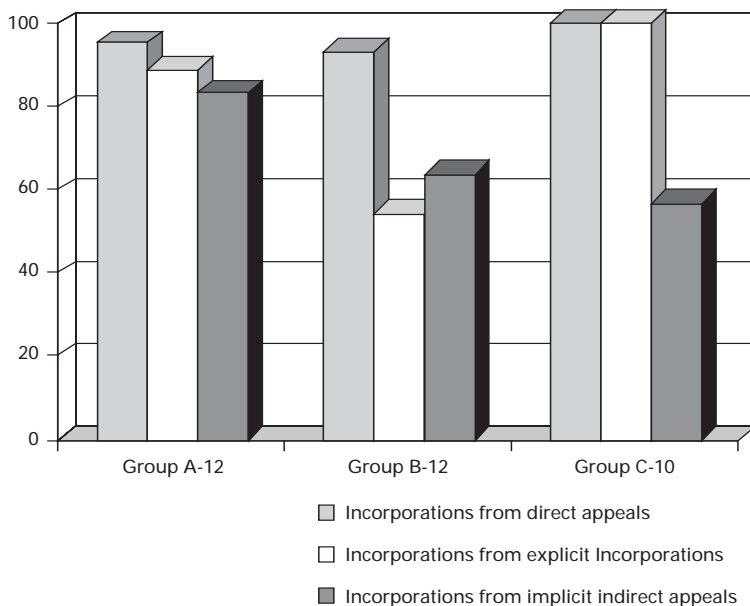


FIGURE 7: Percentages of learner incorporations following each type of appeal

help may depend on the learner’s identification and verbalization of L2 gaps as well as on a clear willingness to fill them. This seems to be a more necessary requirement for the less proficient group, Group C-10, than for the most proficient group, Group A-12, which shows a more balanced pattern with incorporations of help from responses to the three types of *appeals*.

3. Conclusion

This study has examined the extent to which L2 learners of different ages and proficiency levels appeal for assistance in oral interaction, how they do it, and how their interlocutor assists them. It has also focused on the extent to which those learners incorporate the help provided into their subsequent discourse.

Results have shown L2 learners’ greater tendency towards self-regulated behaviour as proficiency level increases with a decrease in the frequency of use of *appeals for assistance*. The analysis suggests that older and more proficient learners show

greater determination to find a solution when they run into a production problem by turning to their interlocutor for *explicit* help. This particular aspect of their interactional skills could contribute to see them more involved in conversation and it has been observed to have an influence on the amount of feedback they receive from their interviewers, particularly in the amount of direct responses to their *appeals for assistance*. Younger and less proficient learners, on the other hand, show a greater tendency to hesitate or remain silent, leaving all responsibility for sustaining discourse to their interlocutor, a behaviour that has been observed to trigger a response move on the part of the interviewer aimed at providing some kind of assistance usually avoiding the provision of a direct response.

Results have also shown an increase in the frequency of learners' incorporation of help with proficiency level. The type of *appeal* that triggered more incorporations in the three groups analysed was the most explicit type of *appeal for assistance*, the *direct appeal*. This suggests that a requirement for learner incorporation of help may be that the learner preempts attention to a linguistic gap s/he has identified, verbalizes the needed L2 item, and clearly attempts to bridge the gap. The fact that *direct appeals* facilitate incorporation further accounts for the greater amount of incorporations by the two groups with a highest percentage of that type of *appeals*.

The results obtained are taken as evidence for the role of age and proficiency level in the interactional skills of FL learners, specifically in the amount of involvement in conversation and determination to sustain discourse, and also for the role of those interactional skills in the learning environment of FL learners, specifically in the amount of feedback received and incorporated.

106

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Notes

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². The mean score reported as an indicator of general proficiency in each of the groups is the result of the average performance of the students analysed on 4 written tests (English cloze, dictation, multiple choice, and listening tests), all of them administered to the participants in the Barcelona Age Factor (BAF) Project.

³. From the point of view of the learner, some overlap may occur between *implicit indirect appeals* and *message abandonment*, a *functional reduction strategy* that involves leaving a message unfinished without any intention of reaching the communicative goal (Faerch and Kasper 1983). However, from an interactional perspective, both appealing nonverbally for help and

abandoning the message trigger a response move on the part of the interviewer aimed at assisting the learner in some way or another. This has been the criterion used to identify *implicit indirect appeals* in this study for the three groups analysed. Katona (1998), for example, argues that *reduction strategies* as well as *language switch* and *appeals for assistance* all function as *help-requesting strategies* in interaction and merges them into a single category. This study does not include either *language switches* or *message reduction strategies* because the interviewer response to the learner's use of those strategies, if any, is interpreted as other-initiated corrective feedback.

⁴. Learner silences (Group A-12=11; Group B-12=54; Group C-10=56) were counted as *implicit indirect appeals for assistance* and, and as a result, they were added to the total number of utterances in order to get a proportional frequency of occurrence.

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ASPECTOS SOCIOCULTURALES EN LA FRASEOLOGÍA DE LA LENGUA INGLESA: PERSPECTIVAS DE ESTUDIO

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111

1. Preliminares: los conceptos de fraseología y cultura

Tradicionalmente la fraseología se ha considerado como la parcela del lenguaje que ilustra por excelencia el cruce entre lo cultural y lo lingüístico. El posterior desarrollo de esta afirmación nos obliga en un primer estadio a establecer lo que entendemos por fraseología y por cultura.

El concepto de “fraseología” hace referencia a dos realidades. Por un lado, designa un conjunto amplio de ciertas unidades lingüísticas, esto es, frases y expresiones relativamente fijas que forman el sistema fraseológico de una lengua; y por otro, da nombre a la disciplina o subdisciplina que se encarga de la descripción de los rasgos semánticos, sintácticos y funcionales del sistema fraseológico (Gläser, 1986).¹ Más concretamente, la fraseología como disciplina se ocupa de, en palabras de Corpas Pastor (1996: 269), “aquellas combinaciones estables de unidades léxicas formadas por más de dos palabras gráficas y cuyo límite superior se sitúa en el nivel de la oración compuesta”. Para denominar dichas combinaciones estables se han barajado varios términos, tales como “frase hecha”, “fraseologismo”, “idiotismo”, “frasema”, “modismo”, “expresión fija”, “unidad pluriverbal lexicalizada”, etc. que dejaban patente la confusión terminológica existente. Con el paso del tiempo y la consolidación de la fraseología como disciplina, se han perfilado las preferencias de los investigadores quienes, influidos por la escuela eslava y alemana, epicentro de

los estudios fraseológicos contemporáneos, se han inclinado por el término general de unidad fraseológica (UF).

Dentro de los sistemas fraseológicos presentes en las lenguas existen diferentes tipos de unidades fraseológicas que demandan a los fraseólogos orden y clasificación. La variedad de criterios y enfoques empleados por los investigadores ha dado como resultado una cantidad considerable de tipologías diferentes, especialmente con respecto a la fraseología de la lengua inglesa. Una de las taxonomías más nítidas es la diseñada por Corpas Pastor (1995a y 1998c), ya que utiliza unos criterios que le permiten identificar unas esferas perfectamente delimitadas sin que esto implique el menoscabo del carácter gradual presente en las UFs. La primera esfera está poblada de colocaciones (p.ej. *early childhood; make a mistake; sleep soundly*), la segunda de locuciones (p.ej. *like a ball out of hell; heads or tails; wet to the skin; by heart*), y la tercera de enunciados fraseológicos (p.ej. *An apple a day keeps the doctor away; The tortoise, after having taken ninety years climbing the ladder, fell down and said: to hell with haste!; One never knows*). Cada una de estas esferas posee unos rasgos específicos e incluyen varias subdivisiones que no constituyen el objetivo de este trabajo.

112

Nuestro tratamiento de los aspectos socioculturales en la fraseología no se especializa en ninguna de las tres esferas mencionadas. Las consideraciones socioculturales imprimen su sello en buena parte del léxico de las lenguas, por lo que también afecta a las tres grandes categorías fraseológicas. De ahí que la investigación pueda llevarse a cabo de forma general, tal y como aquí nos proponemos, o de forma particular y concreta ciñéndose, por ejemplo, a un subgrupo de una de las esferas.

Una vez que hemos explicado el concepto de fraseología y que hemos determinado que nuestro estudio no limita su campo de acción a un tipo de unidad determinada, conviene aclarar el segundo gran concepto que interviene en este trabajo: cultura. McCarthy y Carter (1995: 153) ofrecen distintas definiciones del término *cultura*. *Cultura* con C mayúscula hace referencia a los logros artísticos de una sociedad. *Cultura* con c minúscula, sin embargo, alude a los hábitos, las costumbres, el comportamiento social y a los conocimientos que un grupo de personas asume sobre el mundo. Es esta última acepción de *cultura* con c minúscula la que interesa a las investigaciones fraseológicas. Teliya, Oparina y Sandomirskaya (1998: 57), de una forma muy similar, definen cultura como: “*the ability of members of a speech community to orientate themselves with respect to social, moral, political and so on values in their empirical and mental experience*”.

2. La relación entre la fraseología y la cultura

El binomio fraseología-cultura da lugar a una relación tan estrecha y tan fuertemente consolidada que en ocasiones puede llegar a ser vista como una obviedad. Efectivamente, son muchos los autores que destacan las conexiones existentes entre determinados rasgos culturales y las diferentes unidades fraseológicas o ciertas categorías concretas. Zuluaga (2001: 51), por ejemplo, apoyándose en la definición de cultura que ofrece Hansen (1995) —totalidad de usos y costumbres propias de una colectividad— afirma que, puesto que los fraseologismos dan cuerpo a la expresión de saberes colectivos, constituyen una **parte importante de la cultura** de una comunidad. Luque Durán y Majón Pozas (1998) consideran que “las unidades fraseológicas de una lengua son el **preservador natural** de las creencias, tradiciones y símbolos de un pueblo y como tales su estudio resulta tan interesante para el antropólogo y el historiador como para el lingüista”. Teliya, Oparina y Sandomirskaya (1998) caracterizan a la fraseología como un dominio del estudio lingüístico donde se ilustra de forma elevada la **correlación existente entre el lenguaje y la cultura**. Naciscione (2001), por su parte, destaca la función social del lenguaje y sostiene que la relación entre fraseología y cultura tiene mucho que ver con la lengua, la identidad y la reflexión sobre la identidad que se produce a través del sistema lingüístico. Dentro de esta concepción, el lenguaje es parte de la identidad y además, el conocimiento y sensibilidad cultural ayudan a analizar e interpretar las UFs en su uso actual. De acuerdo con esta autora, los cambios en la vida política y social conllevan cambios en las actitudes, y por tanto, cambios en el lenguaje.

Sin embargo, hay autores que se preguntan acerca de la validez de alguna de estas hipótesis. Este es el caso de Dobrovol'skij (2000:63) que, después de reconocer que es frecuente que en las investigaciones fraseológicas tradicionales se afirme “que las expresiones idiomáticas nacen dotadas de un alto índice de especificidad nacional y cultural”, cuestiona esta suposición. La base de su planteamiento no reside en la negación de la existencia de rasgos culturales en las UFs, sino más bien en la falta de adecuación lingüística de los conceptos de especificidad nacional y cultural. Según este autor, “la ausencia de intentos serios de definir el concepto de lo específico nacional y cultural en términos propiamente lingüísticos dificulta el uso de esa categoría en la descripción del contenido de las unidades léxicas”. Como respuesta a este autor se encuentra no sólo el propio intento de determinación lingüística de dichos conceptos por parte del mismo Dobrovol'skij, sino también y hasta cierto punto, el trabajo de Teliya et al (1998) que, aunque no menciona concretamente los conceptos de especificidad nacional y cultural, sí que clasifican en cinco rutas los caminos por los que la cultura puede llegar a penetrar en el lenguaje, y por ende en la fraseología. Los cinco canales, tal y como los denominan

las autoras rusas, son tanto de carácter lingüístico como cognitivo, y se identifican mediante los semas culturales, los conceptos culturales, las connotaciones culturales, los conocimientos culturales previos y los estereotipos discursivos.

En cualquier caso, es evidente que prácticamente ningún autor pone en duda la conexión fraseología-cultura, si bien es cierto que los investigadores no presentan homogeneidad ni sistematicidad en cuanto a su explicación sobre los factores que corroboran dicha conexión. A nuestro entender, los factores que se encuentran detrás del binomio son dos. La relación que se establece entre fraseología y cultura es, tal y como se adelantaba al comienzo de esta sección, especialmente estrecha ya que aparece consolidada por dos nexos de unión. Por un lado, si asumimos como cierto que la lengua forma parte de la cultura, hemos de aceptar que todo signo lingüístico, y entre ellos, los fraseológicos, son cultura. Por otro lado, la fraseología posee otro nexo de unión con la cultura, ya que no solamente forma parte de ella, sino que también es un potente reflejo de ella, consolidado por medio de referencias a veces explícitas y otras veces implícitas. La relación entre estos dos grandes conceptos —fraseología y cultura— propicia la observación de los aspectos socioculturales en la fraseología, que se encargará de delimitar hasta qué punto la fraseología es parte y reflejo de la cultura.

114

2.1. Aspectos socioculturales en la fraseología

Con frecuencia, cuando se mencionan los aspectos socioculturales en la fraseología se obtiene la idea casi instintiva de que el tema de estudio o análisis está perfectamente delimitado. Nuestro material de estudio son las UFs y lo que se va a observar en ellas son los aspectos socioculturales. No pretendemos poner en tela de juicio esta afirmación pero sí que creemos necesario establecer ciertas precisiones. La investigación de los aspectos socioculturales en relación con el sistema fraseológico de cualquier lengua puede girar en torno a tres ejes distintos. Dicho con otras palabras, la relación entre estos dos componentes —rasgos socioculturales y fraseología— se puede investigar desde perspectivas diferentes:

- Desde la perspectiva del **contexto comunicativo** de las UFs, incluyendo todos los aspectos contextuales entre los que se encuentran tanto las cuestiones geográficas de uso, a saber, la vertiente diatópica, objeto de estudio de la dialectología, como las facetas de las que se ocupa la pragmática, esto es, los interlocutores y su relación entre ellos, así como la situación conversacional.
- Desde la perspectiva del **origen** de las UFs, en la que se ha de tener en cuenta la etimología, la historia y el saber popular.
- Desde la perspectiva de las UFs como **reflejo** de la realidad sociocultural y **portadoras de sus significados y valores**.

Cada uno de estos tres ejes determina una faceta de las UFs con respecto a la que se analizan los rasgos de naturaleza sociocultural. La primera de ellas se centra en el **contexto comunicativo** de las combinaciones fraseológicas de acuerdo con diferentes parámetros sociales y geográficos, por lo que la sociolingüística, la dialectología y la pragmática se presentan como las disciplinas más idóneas y apropiadas para colaborar con la fraseología en su investigación. Las dos facetas restantes, sin embargo, se orientan hacia otras direcciones. El **origen** de las expresiones fijas y su relación con las claves socioculturales debe echar mano de la etimología e incluso de la historia para hallar explicación a sus interrogantes. Finalmente, para la última de las facetas, la que incide en las UFs como **reflejo** de valores socioculturales, se precisa lo que Teliya, Oparina y Sandomirskaya (1998) han calificado como una nueva dirección en los estudios fraseológicos, los estudios linguo-culturales. Esta vertiente se encargaría de la investigación de las UFs orientada a la identificación de la información cultural, tal y como se encuentra representada en los significados lingüísticos.

Estos tres grandes ejes se encuentran interconectados mediante diferentes mecanismos, hasta tal punto que a veces se entremezclan propiciando la generación de un continuo causa-efecto. La cohesión se hace aún más intensa si abordamos los ejes del origen y del reflejo de las UFs. La transmisión del significado lingüístico y la forma en la que éste se encuentra representado en las combinaciones pluriverbales, así como la presencia de ciertos lexemas altamente marcados culturalmente, son con frecuencia el resultado y la consecuencia de los orígenes de las unidades que nos ocupan. Por ello, aunque heurísticamente sea aconsejable la separación y delimitación de los tres ejes, no conviene olvidar la estrecha relación que, no solamente los une, sino que también impregna su razón de ser.

Los apartados siguientes tienen como objetivo ilustrar las distintas posibilidades de investigación que se abren en cada una de las tres perspectivas. Sin entrar en excesivas particularidades, se ofrece una muestra de aquellos aspectos que se encuentran inmersos en los tres ejes de estudio propuestos.

3. Aspectos socioculturales en la fraseología desde la perspectiva del contexto comunicativo

Tal y como hemos avanzado anteriormente, los estudios encargados del análisis de los aspectos socioculturales presentes en la fraseología desde la perspectiva del contexto comunicativo tienen como responsabilidad averiguar las respuestas a las preguntas relativas al empleo de las UFs en relación con los rasgos presentes en la sociedad y la cultura, prestando atención al contexto geográfico y comunicativo.

Por ello, estas investigaciones dedican sus esfuerzos a profundizar, entre otros, en la relación existente entre el uso de determinadas UFs y

- las diferentes variedades dialectales
- las clases sociales, los grupos profesionales y la edad
- la situación sociocomunicativa inmediata

A su vez, cada uno de estos puntos ofrece un título para distintas cuestiones relativas al uso de las combinaciones fraseológicas. Así, por ejemplo, las variedades dialectales responden al interrogante ¿dónde se utilizan y qué peculiaridades de uso poseen las UFs con respecto a los parámetros geográficos? El segundo título responde a la pregunta ¿quién utiliza las UFs?, esto es, ¿qué diferencias y particularidades se dan en el uso de las expresiones fijas de acuerdo con factores como las clases sociales, los grupos profesionales y la edad? Finalmente, el último apartado responde, al igual que hiciera el primer título, a la pregunta ¿en qué contexto inmediato? Sin embargo, este último interrogante no se refiere, como pudiera parecer, a cuestiones geográficas, sino a situaciones discursivas o contextuales de los interlocutores.

116

3.1. Las variedades dialectales y el uso de la fraseología

El interés en esta vertiente diatópica se ha incrementado durante los últimos años con la proliferación de trabajos que indagan en las peculiaridades que los dialectos imprimen a la fraseología y al uso que de ella hacen. Con respecto al alemán destacan, entre otros, los estudios de Barz (1995) Burger (1996, 1998) y Piirainen (2000), con respecto al español, Forment Fernández (2001), Kazumi Koike (2001) y Zuluaga (1980), y con respecto al inglés, Alexander (1978, 1979) Moon (1998) y Gläser (1999).

Dado que el interés de este trabajo reside en exponer una visión general de los aspectos socioculturales en la fraseología no nos vamos a detener en delimitar las distintas variedades dialectales del inglés para después señalar las peculiaridades fraseológicas que les caracterizan. Mencionaremos tan sólo algunos ejemplos como muestra de lo que se puede encontrar en este tipo de estudio escogiendo como material el inglés británico (IBr), el inglés americano (IAm) y un ejemplo del inglés canadiense (ICa), sin entrar en distinciones más particulares.

Las diferencias más evidentes entre las UFs de estas dos variedades diatópicas se reflejan principalmente en la ortografía y los componentes léxicos. Aunque es necesario observar que existen expresiones cuyo uso se encuentra restringido a una cierta área geográfica, así como a un sector laboral, una clase social o un grupo de hablantes con la misma edad.

Have an axe to grind (IBr)

Have an ax to grind (IAm)

All cats are grey in the dark (IBr)

All cats are gray in the dark (IAm)

Las variantes ortográficas de los lexemas no ocurren exclusivamente en las categorías fraseológicas, lo cual implica que, tal y como aparecen en el resto del lenguaje, son trasladadas al sistema fraseológico, por lo que no pueden ser consideradas peculiaridades fraseológicas. Por otro lado, la variación en los componentes léxicos alcanza a todas las clases de palabras y puede afectar a uno o más componentes de la expresión.

If the cap fits, wear it (IBr)

If the shoe fits, wear it (IAm)

Touch wood (IBr)

Knock (on) wood (IAm)

Have green fingers (IBr)

Have a green thumb (IAm)

On the cards (IBr)

In the cards (IAm)

De acuerdo con Moon (1998: 134), estas diferencias son ahora idiosincráticas, pero es posible que oculten razones históricas que ahora desconocemos. Bien distinto es el caso de otras expresiones en las que los diferentes componentes léxicos exponen de forma más o menos explícita las particularidades de uso diatópico:

Take care of the pence and the pounds will take care of themselves (IBr)

Take care of the dimes and the dollars will take care of themselves (IAm)

Like turkeys voting for Christmas (principalmente IBr)

Like turkeys voting for Thanksgiving (IAm)

Estos últimos ejemplos ilustran claramente el tercer eje que considera a las UFs como portadores y reflejo de la sociedad y cultura que será tratado posteriormente. La situación, no obstante, es mucho más complicada de lo que estas expresiones dejan ver. La influencia de la cultura y de los medios de comunicación de Estados Unidos ha favorecido el traspaso de combinaciones fraseológicas de un país al otro. Aunque también es posible encontrar locuciones típicamente británicas, como *in for a penny, in for a pound* o *carry coals to Newcastle* en discursos americanos (cf. Moon, 1998: 135). No menos interesante son aquellas UFs que, aún compartiendo el significado, el ámbito de uso y el dominio metafórico de origen, difieren en

cuanto a los componentes léxicos que dan forma física a la metáfora (cf. Moon, 1998):

A storm in a teacup (IBr)

A tempest in a teapot (IAm)

You cannot get blood out of a stone (ICa)

You cannot get blood out of a turnip (IAm)

3.2. La distribución social (clases sociales), los grupos profesionales y la edad

Frecuentemente se ha considerado que un elevado grado de educación lleva asociado un descenso en la utilización del lenguaje popular tradicional. Parece ser cierto que el habla de la clase trabajadora se caracteriza, especialmente en ciertos contextos, por un uso recurrente de UFs. A la hora de profundizar en una investigación que se encargara de este tema sería necesario, no obstante, atender con especial atención a las tres esferas fraseológicas, puesto que, presumiblemente, la esfera de las colocaciones no presentará datos tan concluyentes como la esfera de las locuciones, y sobre todo la de los enunciados fraseológicos.

118

Muy conectados e influidos por las clases sociales se encuentran los grupos de hablantes establecidos según la edad. Nadie pone en duda que los adolescentes utilizan expresiones que le son propias y que además realizan un empleo especial del resto de la lexis de una lengua. Con respecto a la fraseología, son frecuentes las modificaciones que con frecuencia aparecen en las series televisivas o que incluso quedan reflejadas en graffitis.

UNIDAD FRASEOLÓGICA ORIGINAL	UNIDAD FRASEOLÓGICA MODIFICADA
<i>He who laughs last, laughs longer</i>	<i>He who laughs last has only just got the joke</i>
<i>When in doubt, ask</i>	<i>When in doubt, make the right decision</i>
<i>When in Rome, do as the Romans do</i>	<i>When in Rome, do as the Romans do, pick a pocket</i>
<i>Money isn't everything</i>	<i>Money isn't everything, but it's not bad for a start.</i>

Si por el contrario nos adentramos en las expresiones acuñadas por este grupo social, podemos recurrir a autores como Hepburn y Roberts (1978), que analizaron las rimas que para el día de S. Valentín escriben los adolescentes. Un ejemplo:

Give her a shilling and she will be willing

Algunas de estas rimas son parodias:

*Kind, intelligent, loving and hot, this describes everything you are not
I love your smile, your face, and your eyes - Damn, I'm good at telling lies
I see your face when I am dreaming, that's why I always wake up screaming
I thought that I could love no other, until, that is, I met your brother*

Estos autores señalaron también la existencia de combinaciones fraseológicas empleadas en las tarjetas de felicitación enviadas el 14 de febrero y que aparecían bajo la forma de iniciales:

*SWALK (Sealed with a loving kiss)
BURMA (be undressed and ready my angel)*

Otros grupos de especial interés para la fraseología son los formados por la población de edad más avanzada y los niños. El primero se ha destacado como el preservador más sobresaliente de los refranes, mientras que el segundo se caracteriza por el empleo de rimas, dichos, y extractos de canciones que, a veces, tras el paso del tiempo, ignoran las fronteras del grupo y son empleadas en su totalidad o en forma de extractos por otros colectivos sociales:

Every Jack has his Jill. Procede de la canción infantil: *Jack and Jill went up the hill to fetch a pail of water, Jack fell down and broke his crown and Jill came tumbling after.*

A simple Simon. Procede de la rima: *Simple Simon met a pieman going to the fair.*

También son frecuentes en la población más joven el empleo de parodias con rima:

Roses are red, violets are blue, a face like yours should be in a zoo

Muy directamente unidos a la distribución social se hallan los grupos profesionales caracterizados por un uso particular del lenguaje y la fraseología. Así, dentro de la clase política existen fórmulas rutinarias muy características como es el caso de *Hear, hear!* empleada originariamente y especialmente por los parlamentarios para expresar su acuerdo y aprobación. Otro grupo profesional destacado es el de los pilotos de vuelo, que suelen emplear una jerga específica y unas expresiones fijas muy delimitadas. Un ejemplo es el de *peel off* con el significado de salirse de la formación de forma independiente cuando se procede a atacar a un avión enemigo.

Evidentemente, en un número elevado de casos, las fronteras con respecto al uso de UFs dentro de los grupos de edad, grupos profesionales y clases sociales serán bastante difusas, así como difíciles de determinar. El empleo de una determinada locución puede estar condicionado por dos o incluso los tres parámetros mencionados.

3.3. La situación sociocomunicativa inmediata

Ciertas situaciones sociales y comunicativas conllevan el uso de determinadas expresiones fraseológicas, conocidas como fórmulas rutinarias. Coulmas (1981a y 1981b) es el autor que más se ha ocupado del estudio de estas UFs que se definen por ser expresiones sintáctica y semánticamente fijas, con validez institucional, muy ligadas a situaciones y circunstancias concretas. Poseen una clara función fática y muchas de ellas no presentan idiomatidad. Son varias las clasificaciones existentes de las fórmulas rutinarias. Coulmas (1985) estableció dos grandes grupos: las fórmulas discursivas y las expresivas. Las primeras, según la clasificación de Corpas Pastor (1995: 354) sirven para organizar el discurso e incluyen los subtipos de las fórmulas de apertura y cierre:

How are you keeping?
Enjoy yourself

y las de transición:

You see

Las segundas se utilizan con funciones expresivas y protocolarias:

Sorry to bother you
Help yourself
Pleased to meet you

Gläser (1986) prefirió utilizar criterios semánticos frente a los funcionales empleados por Coulmas y Corpas Pastor. La fraseóloga alemana identificó quince tipos de fórmulas entre las que se encuentran las de saludo (*how do you do?*), de advertencia (*watch out!*), de sorpresa (*Good heavens!*), etc.

4. Aspectos socioculturales en la fraseología desde la perspectiva del origen

Muchas investigaciones fraseológicas han dedicado alguno de sus apartados a indagar en el origen de las UFs, especialmente de las locuciones y las paremias. Los datos obtenidos han sido con frecuencia utilizados como criterio clasificador de las mencionadas UFs. Éste es, por ejemplo, el caso de Gläser (1986), que establece cuatro fuentes de las que han surgido diferentes fraseologismos: la biblia, los clásicos, la literatura antigua y la literatura inglesa. De forma similar, Luque Durán y Manjón Pozas (1998) determinan cuatro grandes bloques de tópicos que han favorecido la creación de expresiones fraseológicas:

a) **Tópicos bíblicos:** el antiguo y nuevo Testamento han servido de inspiración para todos los pueblos que comparten la cultura cristiana. Por ello, no es difícil encontrar UFs que coinciden en varias lenguas europeas:

The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak (S. Mateo 26: 41)

Hide not your light under a bushel (S. Mateo 5:15)

A/the fly on the ointment (Eclesiastes 10: 1)

To wash one's hands of (S. Mateo 27: 24)

b) **Tópicos clásicos:** La tradición greco-latina ha dejado también su huella en todas las lenguas europeas por medio de la fraseología. Algunas de las expresiones provienen de la rica mitología de estos dos países, otras de hechos históricos, y otras de su literatura. A éstas cabe añadir aquellas paremias o locuciones que son el resultado de traducciones.

MITOLOGÍA

To play Cupid: Cupido —en la mitología griega, Eros— el hijo de Venus (Afrodita) es el dios del amor y se representa como un chico de gran belleza que posee alas y que transporta un arco y unas flechas con las que “hiere” de amor a sus “víctimas”.

Achilles' heel: Aquiles es un personaje mitológico que siendo un bebé fue sumergido en la laguna Estigia por su madre con el objetivo de hacerlo invulnerable. Desafortunadamente, el único resquicio de su cuerpo que quedó sin mojar fue su talón, del que lo sostenía su madre. Aquiles murió en una batalla al ser alcanzado por una flecha en el talón.

HECHOS HISTÓRICOS

A Pyrrhic victory: esta expresión proviene de la victoria conseguida por el rey Pirro en Asculum en el año 279 antes de Cristo. Durante la batalla, Pirro perdió muchos de sus mejores hombres por lo que exclamó: “¡Una victoria más así, y estamos acabados!”.

Fiddle while Rome burns: la UF hace referencia al Emperador romano Nerón, quien supuestamente se entretuvo en tocar la lira y cantar mientras Roma ardía.

LITERATURA CLÁSICA

A/dog in the manger: esta expresión —que equivale en español a “el perro del hortelano, que ni come ni deja comer”— proviene de una fábula de Esopo en la que un perro impedía a las vacas que se comieran el heno del pesebre. El perro, a pesar de no querer el heno él mismo, se tumbaba encima gruñiendo a las vacas cada vez que éstas intentaban acercarse.

To kill the goose that lays the golden eggs: esta locución, también procedente de una fábula de Esopo, hace referencia al propietario que mata a su ave intentando conseguir los huevos que creía que se encontraban dentro.

TRADUCCIONES DEL LATÍN

Art is long and life is short (ars longa, vita brevis)

Divide and rule (divide et impera)

All that glitters is not gold (non omne quod nitet aurum est)

There is no accounting for tastes (de gustibus non est disputandum)

DEL GRIEGO

Eat to live, not live to eat

Call no man happy until he dies (Sófocles)

Of two evils, choose the less (Aristóteles)

c) **Tópicos nacionales:** en este apartado se incluyen todas aquellas fuentes como las instituciones, los nombres propios, la literatura nacional, los juegos, los deportes, las tradiciones que caracterizan a un determinado país y que han dado origen a todo un sinfín de colocaciones, locuciones y paremias. Al contrario de lo que sucedía con los tópicos bíblicos y clásicos, las UF de este grupo, tal y como apuntan Luque Durán y Manjón Pozas (1998), difícilmente tendrá un equivalente en otras lenguas. La tarea traductora será asimismo, en algunas ocasiones, harto complicada.

Son muchos los ejemplos que se pueden ofrecer procedentes de la literatura en lengua inglesa, especialmente, como no podía ser de otra manera, de Shakespeare:

122

Give the devil his due (KING HENRY V)

He that dies pays all debts (THE TEMPEST)

A horse, a horse! My kingdom for a horse (RICHARD III)

He aquí algunos ejemplos de otros renombrados autores:

ALEXANDER POPE

A little knowledge is a dangerous thing (Essay on Criticism)

Hope springs eternal in the human breast (Essay on Man)

THOMAS GRAY

Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise (On a Distant Prospect of Eton College)

ERNEST HEMINGWAY

A man can be destroyed, but not defeated (The old man and the sea)

Más problemas con la traducción ofrecen aquellos fraseologismos que incluyen un nombre propio como uno de sus componentes:

And Bob's your uncle!

Jack of all trades, master of none

A plain Jane

A peeping Tom

A simple Simon

Los juegos y los deportes ofrecen material suficiente para un estudio en detalle. Del *cricket* proceden los siguientes dos ejemplos:

Off one's own bat: esta expresión hace referencia al tanto obtenido por un jugador en el juego de forma independiente.

To have had a good innings: los *innings* es el tiempo que el bateador tiene como turno, hasta que es descalificado.

d) Tópicos raciales y prejuicios: son frecuentes también en la fraseología las construcciones que incluyen cierta carga racial. En español son conocidas las locuciones “beber como un cosaco”, “trabajar como un negro”, “ser engañado como un chino”, “hacerse el sueco”. No obstante, Luque Durán y Manjón Pozas afirman que para los españoles estas expresiones no transmiten una opinión verdadera, por lo que los prejuicios pueden ser considerados como superficiales. El origen de estos fraseologismos no se encuentra pues en los tópicos raciales sino más bien en un intento y en un deseo de superlativizar el mensaje que se quiere transmitir. En la lengua inglesa también es posible encontrar ejemplos similares:

Mad as a hatter (lit. loco como un sombrero: loco): cuyo origen se debe los efectos que los vapores de mercurio producían en estos artesanos.

Dutch courage (lit. valor holandés: falso valor adquirido mediante la ingesta de bebidas alcohólicas)

To go Dutch (lit. ir holandés: pagarse cada uno su cuenta en un restaurante)

Double Dutch (lit. doble holandés: palabras y discursos que no se pueden entender): el origen de esta expresión radica en el hecho de que el holandés es una lengua que parece muy complicada y difícil para aquellos que no son hablantes nativos.

(*then*) *I'm a Dutchman* (lit. (entonces) soy un holandés: no soy lo que soy): esta frase suele estar precedida por una oración con *if* e indica que el hablante tiene la creencia de que los hechos u opiniones recogidas en la frase con *if* son falsos.

Take French leave (lit: tomar permiso francés: marcharse sin despedirse o sin obtener permiso): esta locución hace referencia a una antigua costumbre de marcharse de una ocasión social sin decir adiós a los anfitriones. Curiosamente, los hablantes británicos creían que dicha costumbre era francesa, mientras que los franceses pensaban que se trataba de un hábito británico.

5. Aspectos socioculturales en la fraseología desde la perspectiva de las UFs como portadores de significados y valores de una sociedad y cultura concreta

Tal y como avanzábamos anteriormente, el origen de las UFs está muy relacionado con la vertiente que ahora nos ocupa. De hecho, si las construcciones fraseológicas portan significados y valores de una determinada realidad sociocultural se debe, fundamentalmente, a dos razones principales y a una combinación de ambas:

a) su composición incluye elementos léxicos con una alta carga cultural.

To carry coals to Newcastle (lit. llevar carbón a Newcastle: llevar algo a un sitio que es famoso por la producción de ese mismo producto): para la correcta interpretación de esta locución verbal es necesario conocer que Newcastle es rica en carbón.

b) su origen se debió a un determinado hecho histórico, artístico, cultural, o fue propiciado por ciertas creencias o costumbres populares:

124

A hair of the dog (that bit one) (lit. un pelo del perro (que mordió a alguien): una pequeña bebida alcohólica que se tomaba como supuesta cura para alguien que estaba resintiéndose de los efectos de beber mucho alcohol): esta locución procede de la vieja creencia de que si una persona había sido mordida por un perro rabioso podría ser curada aplicando algunos pelos del rabo del perro en la herida.

Give the sack (lit. dar el saco/bolsa: despedir del trabajo): probablemente, la referencia de esta locución verbal reside en una bolsa en la que el trabajador o sirviente transportaba sus herramientas de trabajo o sus pertenencias. Cuando era despedida la persona en cuestión, se le entregaba dicha bolsa antes de que se marchara. Otras fuentes indican que la bolsa representaba el dinero que se le entregaba al trabajador como liquidación de su salario.

c) mezcla de ambas razones

To talk Billingsgate (lit. hablar Billingsgate: hablar sin seguir las reglas del sistema): antiguamente, Billingsgate era el principal mercado de pescado en Londres, famoso por el mal uso del lenguaje.

To be / end up in Carey Street (lit. estar / terminar en Carey Street: estar en bancarrota). Los tribunales donde se juzgan los casos de bancarota están situados en Londres en Carey Street.

No obstante, a veces, las locuciones, las paremias o las colocaciones no provienen, que se conozca, de ningún hecho histórico, cultural o artístico, ni tampoco se encuentra entre sus componentes ninguna palabra altamente marcada con

significado cultural. Sin embargo estas combinaciones fraseológicas verbalizan ciertas actitudes y preferencias de un pueblo, y lo hacen empleando símbolos arraigados en la cultura, como pueden ser determinados colores, ciertos números, o incluso algunas partes del cuerpo o animales. Especialmente interesante son estas cuestiones para los estudios contrastivos. Luque Durán y Manjón Pozas (1998) destacan el valor simbólico que algunos órganos del cuerpo pueden llegar a tener en una lengua. Así en japonés las caderas están asociadas con la tenacidad:

Koshi ga kudakeru (lit. sus caderas se han roto): se ha dado por vencido.

Y en apinayé, una lengua de Brasil (Larson, 1984: op. cit en Luque y Manjón, 1998), los ojos adquieren especial importancia en locuciones como:

Yo no tengo mi ojo sobre ti: no te recuerdo.

Yo ya he enterrado mi ojo: estoy listo para partir.

Yo tiraré de tu párpado: te pediré un favor.

En la lengua inglesa, también llaman la atención las construcciones que dotan a determinadas partes del cuerpo de simbolismo. Este es el caso de los labios y el hombro en las locuciones siguientes:

A stiff upper lip (lit. un labio superior rígido: negativa de una persona a quejarse o mostrar emociones o miedo ante una dificultad o un peligro). Esta capacidad de mantener la calma se ha asumido siempre como una característica del carácter británico.

Curiosamente, existen suficientes ejemplos de combinaciones fraseológicas que muestran la ausencia de equivalencia entre las lenguas europeas. He aquí un ejemplo de un somatismo portador y transmisor de una actitud negativa: desentenderse y despreocuparse:

Give someone the cold shoulder: volver la espalda a alguien.

Con respecto a los animales:

When the cows come home: cuando las ranas críen pelo.

The straw that broke the camel's back: la gota que colmó el vaso.

Todos los ejemplos anteriores muestran formas canónicas de combinaciones fraseológicas como portadoras de valores (p.ej. el valor de la entrega transmitido a través de la locución *to put your heart and soul into something*) y significados de una determinada realidad sociocultural. La importancia de los aspectos socioculturales, no obstante, queda también patente en aquellas producciones modificadas o desautomatizadas de las UFs.² En estos casos, la competencia

sociocultural del hablante se torna imprescindible para todos los pasos implicados en la correcta interpretación de la UF desautomatizada. Este es el caso de la siguiente paremia modificada:³

Mr. Jagger, I'm afraid, you're gathering moss

La captación de los efectos humorísticos que de la modificación se desprenden y la exitosa comprensión del mensaje dependen directamente de los conocimientos culturales que posea el receptor. Es absolutamente necesario que el receptor posea la competencia paremiológica suficiente para poder reconocer la UF canónica fruto de la modificación. En el ejemplo anterior, se trata de la conocida paremia: *a rolling stone gathers no moss*. A pesar del elevado grado de familiaridad que presenta, este enunciado fraseológico goza de dos interpretaciones. Una de ellas, quizás la más extendida, advierte que aquella persona que constantemente se está mudando de un lugar a otro nunca amasará fortuna ni conseguirá cariño. La otra versión tiene carácter más optimista y afirma que es bueno moverse y cambiar de aires. No es fácil averiguar de qué interpretación partió el creador del chiste para desautomatizar la paremia, pero en cualquier caso es evidente que en un proceso comunicativo satisfactorio el receptor ha de conocer la UF originaria y su significado, además de poseer los conocimientos culturales suficientes que le indiquen que el Sr. Jagger forma parte de un grupo de rock llamado *The Rolling Stones*. La competencia sociocultural le proporcionará así mismo información sobre el famoso cantante, por ejemplo, su edad aproximada, su nivel económico etc. Un proceso muy similar de decodificación y de comprensión del mensaje lingüístico es el que ocurre con la siguiente UF desautomatizada:

126

An apple a day could turn the AMA into a fruit conglomerate (UF canónica: *an apple a day keeps the doctor away*)

La presencia de las siglas AMA en la nueva versión del enunciado fraseológico exige, tal y como ocurría en el ejemplo anterior, cierta competencia sociocultural para poder descifrar el mensaje que se desea transmitir. Según el *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*, estas siglas pertenecen a una asociación americana de doctores e investigadores de la medicina (*American Medical Association; the organization for doctors and researchers in medicine*). Si la competencia fraseológica del receptor es capaz de recuperar la paremia originaria y conoce la asociación médica que utiliza las mencionadas siglas, la transmisión del mensaje se producirá de forma satisfactoria.

No es imprescindible, no obstante, la presencia de un elemento cultural explícito, en forma de lexema o de lexemas, en la paremia para que ésta precise de la competencia sociocultural de los hablantes en la interpretación de su

desautomatización. Así por ejemplo, en una conversación un hablante no nativo quizás no entienda las sonrisas que puede producir en otros interlocutores nativos que una anciana afirme: “¡Mola mazo!”, como signo de aprobación. La marca sociocultural de esta expresión la clasifica dentro del vocabulario típico de la juventud española.

6. Conclusión

La fraseología de cualquier lengua es un campo inmensamente fértil para cualquier investigación sociocultural. No es necesario mencionar la importancia que dichas investigaciones pueden tener para la enseñanza y aprendizaje de una lengua, así como para la traductología. Son muchos los aspectos que se esconden detrás de este tipo de construcciones lingüísticas, pero en cualquier caso, es imprescindible acometer el estudio estableciendo unos parámetros cuidadosamente establecidos. En este trabajo hemos sugerido tres vías principales de investigación que engloban los estudios realizados y que delimitan el camino a seguir. Cada una de ellas conduce a multitud de preguntas que aún hay que responder acerca de la fraseología y los aspectos socioculturales.

127

Notas

¹. Cf. Corpas Pastor (2001c) sobre la evolución de la fraseología como disciplina.

². Sobre el concepto de desautomatización, véase Mena Martínez (2002 y 2003).

³. Los ejemplos provienen de Mieder y Tóthné Litovkina (1999).

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THEMATIC AND TOPICAL STRUCTURING IN THREE SUBGENRES. A CONTRASTIVE STUDY

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131

1. Introduction

This article aims to analyse the thematic and topical structure of three subgenres: narratives for young children, news items and tourist brochures.¹ As these are written specifically for publication, the 60 texts under analysis (20 of each type) share the fact that there is no possibility of direct interaction between writer and reader. However, their main rhetorical purpose and their register (Propp 1972; van Dijk 1988a, b; Cook 1992; LLuch 2003) are clearly different and it is hypothesized that this plays a key role in their thematic and topical patterning.

In fact, while the primary aim of the news stories² selected for research is to inform the greatest number of readers about all issues of a current and social event in a hypothetically objective and impersonal way, the main goal of the tourist brochures (although they are, to a certain extent, also informative in nature) is to promote tourism in the areas being advertised. As for the children's tales, also narrative in structure like the news items, their main rhetorical purpose is first to entertain, and second to instruct the young child.

As far as the register of the sample of texts is concerned, although all of them are written texts, the language of the news items is formal, concise and impersonal. This is clearly different from the language of the tourist brochures: more descriptive, persuasive and appealing in nature. These properties determine the use

of personal, subjective, descriptive and evaluative language in the tourist texts. As with tourist brochures, tales, especially traditional ones, are characterized by the use of evaluative and attitudinal lexis, by means of which the writer tries to instil moral and/or social values in the young child from an early age. However, the language of tales is direct and informal, only slightly more developed than the colloquial language of the child with the aim of increasing his linguistic and lexical competence.

The hypothesis suggested for this research is that the news items, the tourist brochures and the children's narratives should, according to the characteristics of genre and register, show significant differences in the placement of sentence topics, understood as those referential and salient entities about which information is given within the confines of the sentence (van Dijk 1981; Givón 1983, 1995).

In order to demonstrate the hypothesis proposed, after first setting out the theoretical background concerning theme (Halliday 1985, 1994) and topic (van Dijk 1981; Downing 1997; Cornish 2004; Moya (in press)), and showing the procedure that was followed in order to identify discourse and sentence topics, the specific properties of genre and register will be treated within each of the three subgenres under study (van Dijk 1988a, 1988b; Cook 1992, Myers 1994; LLuch 2003). The location of topical entities in the clause will then be carefully studied in three texts, taken as models from the sample of 60 texts. The conclusions and the final results, obtained from analysis of the texts under investigation (twenty of each type), will bring this study to an end. The texts were taken from a selection of children's narratives for under fives, tourist magazines and quality newspapers.

132

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Theme as point of departure

The thematic approach adopted here is based on Systemic Functional Grammar where Theme is considered a predication-internal entity. This differs from the Functional Grammar model represented by Dik (1989: 135) which approaches Theme as a left dislocated element or as an initial predication external entity that expresses what the following predication is about.

Thematic structure, like information structure, is not without controversial terminology. In fact, the concept of Theme has undergone debate in the heart of the Prague School of Linguistics ever since Mathesius offered a definition which combined two aspects. Theme was identified, firstly, with the known information of the message and, secondly, with the initial constituent of the clause. This "combined" approach, in Fries' words (1981), has been followed by linguists such

as Danes (1974), Kuno (1975) or Gundel (1985), in opposition to others such as Halliday (1967), Quirk (1985) or Martin (1992), who adopt a “separatist” perspective. The latter group assume that the two properties used by Mathesius in his definition of theme express two different realities that do not always overlap in the same clause constituent. Although theme and given do on occasion coincide, both dimensions correspond to different elements: on the one hand is to be found the informative structure of the clause which distinguishes between *given* and *new* information; while on the other there is the thematic structure, also with two parts (Theme and Rheme), which responds to purely sequential criteria: the theme is located in initial position and always precedes the rheme.

However, as van Oosten (1985) and Jiménez Juliá (1986) state, these are not the only two properties that Mathesius (1939) attributed to the notion of theme. In fact, Mathesius presents a triple characterization to describe the initial constituent of the clause. Theme is the part of the sentence that expresses known information; it also represents the point of departure of the clause as message, and finally, it is described as what an utterance is about. Later on, Halliday (1967, 1985, 1994), Martin (1992), Eggins (1994) and Lock (1996) defend, albeit only partly, this viewpoint and define the initial constituent of the clause on the basis of two criteria: “the Theme is the starting-point of the message; it is what the clause is going to be about” (Halliday 1985: 39).

This controversy surrounding the conceptual characteristics of theme would not make sense if the syntax of a language were so rigid that all the initial elements of its sentences were already determined in advance. However, as Halliday states (1985, 1994), the theme is a meaningful choice that specifies the angle from which the speaker/writer projects his/her message. As a matter of fact, Halliday distinguishes between marked and unmarked themes³ in order to analyse the communicative intentions that lead the speaker/writer to move a clause constituent from its typical place to the initial position of the sentence.

2.1.1. *The topical theme: an ideational component*

“[...] just how much of what comes first in a clause counts as Theme? More technically, how many constituents belong in the Theme?” (Eggins 1994: 275-276). Eggins’ query into which part of the sentence should be considered thematic is of interest to us here. Although in many cases the theme is simple and is realized by a sole constituent, there are also sentences that present a more complex initial structure.⁴

On repeated occasions throughout his many studies on thematicity, Halliday (1994: 52) affirms that the theme of a sentence extends from its beginning up to the first element that fulfils a function in transitivity and that this thematic constituent,

mainly if it is a participant, tends to be topical. When speaking of multiple themes, Halliday (1994: 54) states that only ideational themes are, in principle, referential and can be assigned a topical status. In contrast, textual and interpersonal components, structural elements (and, but, that, when...), conjunctives (anyway, besides...), continuatives (oh, well...), modal adjuncts (probably, frankly...), vocatives and finite operators which are typically located before ideational elements do not exhaust the thematic potential of the clause and do not fulfil a topical function.

The fact that Halliday (1985, 1994) attributes to the theme both structural and semantic properties creates a difficult problem. Although some academics accept the Hallidayan definition entirely, as is the case with van Dijk (1988), Martin (1992: 434-435) and Egginis (1994: 275), the correlation between the first and second aspects of the definition of Theme is by no means obvious. The problem lies in the fact that in his definition, Halliday groups under one concept (Theme) a linguistic category, which is identified exclusively by positional criteria, together with a discourse category, that which the message is about. Besides, he considers the initial constituents of the clause as topics only if they belong to the ideational component (participants, processes and circumstances). However, there is a wide range of ideational elements (adverbials, existential constructions, frontalized attributes...) that can be located in initial position without carrying out a topical function (Downing 1991; Moya and Albentosa 2001).

Thus, it is not always possible to establish an automatic relationship between the clause constituent that expresses what an utterance is about (the topic) and the first ideational constituent of the sentence (the theme). On many occasions, as the following excerpt taken from a tale shows, the theme is realized by an adverbial component that does not provide topical information and whose only function is to specify the temporal and spatial frame within which the communicative interaction takes place. This is why we agree with Downing (1991) when she suggests a dissociation between the notions of theme and topic and rejects the Hallidayan concept of topical theme:

- (1) [...] The next day (theme) CHOO CHOO (topic) was left alone on the tracks while Jim and Oley and Archibald were having a cup of coffee in the restaurant. 'Now is my chance!' said CHOO CHOO, and off she started... (Choo Choo: the Story of a Little Engine who ran away)

Although Halliday identifies Theme and Topic, I assume, following Downing (1991), Hassan and Fries (1997), Alcaraz (2000) and Gómez-González (2000), that they are two different concepts that should be defined from two distinct perspectives: theme, as a structural category whose main function is to determine the point of departure of the message, and topic, as a cognitive and contextually-

referential category, independent of special language-systematic coding (Cornish, 2004), that expresses what the message is about.

2.2. The Pragmatic function of topic: discourse topics and sentence topics

As was stated in the previous section, the notion of topic adopted here for the purposes of this paper is not defined on the basis of the special treatment that is given to some clause constituents from a structural or informative perspective (Halliday 1985, 1994), and no one-to-one correspondence is established between the concept of topic, given information and initial or final position in the sentence. The function of topic is not so much a question of position as a question of relevance and aboutness. The topic is, above all, a textual category that is determined by cognitive and contextual factors and not by purely formal or structural aspects.

Following van Dijk (1977, 1981), Downing *et al.* (1998) and Moya (in press), the cognitive concept of topic is here defined from the aboutness perspective as the entity, proposition or main idea which a sentence, a stretch of discourse or a discourse in its global sense is about. The communicative purpose of the writer, the linguistic and extralinguistic contexts and the general or background knowledge that both the writer and the reader share or can infer from a specific situation, are all taken into account in the delimitation of the notion of topic as aboutness. Interpreting a text or stretch of discourse from a topical perspective is highly dependent on being able to activate our knowledge structures or schematic conceptions (Rumelhart 1980; Lakoff 1987, 1990) which serve to shape our experience of the world. As a result, I consider this concept as a pragmatic and cognitive phenomenon, which can only be established in con-textual terms.

Hockett's (1958) notion of topic has been enlarged upon to apply not only to the sentence, but also to textual sections and to the text in its global sense. In fact, depending on the unit of application (sentence or discourse), many linguists make a distinction between sentence or local topics and discourse topics (van Dijk 1977, 1981; Reinhart 1982; van Oosten 1985; Dik 1997).

Within the pragmatic and discourse perspective that has been adopted, the local topic is defined as the contextual and referential entity about which information is given at the sentence level (van Dijk 1977, 1981). The sentence topic is a referential phenomenon, which is maintained through the continuous references that are made to it (Givón 1983, 1995). In agreement with van Dijk (1977), I have considered that a passage is about a topic if this entity about which information is given is referred to persistently throughout the text.

However, the topic does not always coincide with a specific constituent of the clause structure. In many cases it expresses a main idea or a general concept that

unifies and gives coherence to the text. It is for this reason that I have adopted two basic levels of topicality, distinguishing between Sentence Topics and Discourse Topics. While the sentence topic is confined to a single clause and represents the entity or the proposition about which information is given at a local level, the discourse topic represents what a whole text or discourse is about and is defined as a cognitive schema which sequentially organizes and unifies all the local topics of the discourse under the same topical frame (van Dijk 1977, 1981; van Oosten 1985).⁵

Although in cognitive approaches (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983) the general meaning of a text is not always considered to be intrinsically present, but is instead assigned to it by its readers, I consider the notion of Discourse Topic useful and necessary to refer either to the global idea which the discourse or an episode within the discourse is about, or to the propositions, hierarchically organized, that constitute its semantic macrostructure (Brown and Yule 1983; van Oosten 1985; Downing *et al.* 1998).⁶

Therefore, discourse topics are identified on the basis of both the aboutness perspective previously referred to and in terms of the macropropositions expressed either in the news headlines, in the titles and subtitles of the tourist brochures, or in the titles of the children's narratives. On many occasions these provide a frame for the global meaning of a stretch of text, giving the analyst a basis for focussing on the textual elements that realize or carry out in some way the general thrust of a passage. However, sentence or local topics, "what shorter segments of discourse are about" (Downing 1998: 27), are identified by their being embodied or subsumed within the discourse topic and by their referential continuity in the text. In practical terms, the sentence topics of the news items, tales and tourist brochures under analysis are prototypically those referential, concrete and perceptually salient entities which, after their activation in the current discourse, (1) convey the pragmatic aboutness of the sentence in relation to the wider discourse (Reinhart 1982), (2) are at the forefront of the interlocutor's consciousness at the time of utterance, (3) are referred to in the subsequent discourse by means of proforms, repetitions, synonyms, etc. and (4) emerge linguistically as the nominal arguments of sentences.

2.2.1. *Towards a layering of sentence topics*

With regard to the hierarchization of sentence topics and in line with van Oosten (1985) and mainly Dik (1989), a further typology is presented in which five different subtypes of local topics are differentiated (New topics, Given topic, Subtopic, Resumed topic and Superordinate topic), in order to study the cohesive relationships that are established between the local topics of a text and the

sequentiality with which they are activated in discourse.

Although the levels of application of discourse and sentence topics are different, they are closely related to each other, as the sentence topic can encapsulate (Sinclair 1992) all the information expressed in a text or in an episode of the whole text in a sole constituent (van Oosten 1985; van Dijk 1981). Therefore, any element of the discourse topic can be focussed on and become a sentence topic without losing the internal coherence of the discourse. These local topics, which evoke at the sentence level the general idea about which information is given in a text or a stretch of text, have been called Superordinate Topics (van Oosten 1985). The news item ‘Car bomb kills Punjab minister’ is an example. The superordinate local topic (the explosion) helps to establish the internal coherence of the text and to maintain its topical continuity. It is used as a way of creating links between a specific sentence and the whole text of which it is a part:

- (2) A car bomb yesterday killed the chief minister of Punjab and 12 bodyguards. Beant Singh was leaving his office in the region’s capital, Chandigarh, when the powerful bomb exploded. All windows in the 10-storey building were shattered by the blast, which was heard several miles away. The explosion (superordinate sentence topic) prompted security agencies to declare a red alert across the troubled region [...]. (*The Daily Telegraph*, 1995)

137

Independent of its position in the clause, I will use the term “introductory topic” when referring to those topical entities that are introduced for the first time in the discourse. The introductory topic is a new referent whose main function is to activate an entity that will later become a topic in the following text (Hannay, 1985). Therefore, two characteristics should be attributed to this notion: on the one hand, its presentative and new character and, on the other, its high level of persistence in the discourse (Givón 1983; Dik 1997).

Once a topical element has been introduced or activated it will be called “known topic”. A topical entity should be analysed as known, not only in those cases when it has been previously activated directly or indirectly through an introductory topic or a subtopic component (Dik, 1989), but also in those cases when it is presented by other informative elements of the clause (Moya and Albentosa 2001). These can be either verbal processes, circumstances or nominal entities which, usually placed in rhematic position, introduce future topics.

In opposition to Hajicová and Sgall (1975) and Mackenzie and Keizer (1990), who assume that a topical entity should be analysed as given or known in those cases in which it is recoverable from the general or situational knowledge that both speaker and hearer share, in the model of topic presented here the referential identity of the known topic has been restricted to the linguistic context. The fact that a topic is retrievable either through the general context or through the

situational context does not mean that it should be analysed as known if it has not been linguistically activated before. An entity such as ‘The Queen’ is recoverable from general knowledge by all English people. However, from a topical and linguistic perspective, it will be classified as *given* only if it has been linguistically introduced in the previous context.

Following Hannay (1985, 1991) and Dik (1989), the term “subtopic” will be used to define those entities associated or related to a topic previously activated in the text, as we can see in extract n.º (3). “If an entity X has been activated in the given setting, then the speaker may present an entity Y as a sub-Topic entity, if Y R X, where R is a relationship of inference” (Hannay 1985: 53).

- (3) Cyprus (New topic) is how most of us would like Britain to be. The island is clean, standards of service are incredibly high, it’s friendly and safe... Limassol (subtopic) is the biggest and most important centre of tourism on Cyprus and consequently there is plenty to do and see during the day and night... Due to its stormy past, the town (given topic) is actually split in two. Ancient Paphos (subtopic) originally grew into a major harbour [...]. (*Cyprus, more exclusive than the average winter holiday*)

138

Finally, we will use the term “resumed topic” to refer to a topical entity that has been re-established through anaphoric reference after some time without mention in the discourse. The resumed topic functions both as a mechanism of continuity and discontinuity, since it produces a break in the current topical chain and at the same time establishes the continuity of a known topical entity that had already been the focus of attention in the previous text.

This topical hierarchy allows us to approach the study of the topical progression of a text from two different perspectives: from a local level, through the identification of the sentence topics, and from a general or global perspective, on the basis of the discourse topic.

3. Choices of theme and topic in three subgenres

Now that the theoretical framework has been outlined, the proposed typology of topic can be applied to the 20 news items, 20 tourist brochures and 20 tales in order to establish the differences in their topical and thematic progression. As the main aim of this study is to carry out a comparative analysis of the topic and thematic organization displayed by the three subgenres researched, it is considered convenient to canvass the general characteristics of genre and register in the sample of texts which form the data.

3.1. Database and genre selection

The selected news items belong to the informative subgenre and, following van Dijk (1988a), can be classified as “hard news”, as they refer to current events that should be made public the same day on which they occur. They are sensationalist in character and make reference to events of human interest, which usually imply rarity, suspense, conflict, antagonism, or violence. Their style is impersonal and concise. Thus, they can be considered as a prototype of pure news par excellence. The “field”⁷ of the news items is determined by the specific activity that defines them. Although the rhetoric of the news story writer can be influenced by political or ideological motives (Fowler, 1991), his/her main aim is to inform on current issues in a hypothetically objective and impersonal way (van Dijk 1988b; Martínez Albertosa 1993; Grijelmo 1997).⁸ The “tenor” of the news items selected for research here is determined by the sociological characteristics of the newspapers from which they have been taken. In this case, quality newspapers such as *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and *The Guardian*, typically directed at the upper-middle class with a medium or high cultural level (Jucker 1992). The “mode” of the news is obviously the written language. Therefore, there is no possibility of immediate feedback between the journalist and his/her reader. These variations in field, tenor and mode will be seen in the utilization of a formal, concise and impersonal language that does not use personal comments and evaluative expressions.

In contrast to the narrative character of the news items, the main aim of the tourist brochures is not so much to inform the reader about a particular “product” as to influence directly his behaviour (van Dijk 1988a and b; Cook 1992). The promotion of a town is what defines the *field* of the tourist brochures. Their main rhetorical purpose is to arouse the reader’s interest for the place that is being advertised. The variable of *tenor* is characterized by the interpersonal relationship that is established between the sender and the reader of the tourist brochure. A travel writer uses persuasive aims to address a possible visitor, usually less familiar with the place that is being described. Although there is no possibility of direct feedback between them, the writer of the tourist brochures appeals to the potential tourist in a personalized tone in order to have an influence on his/her behaviour. As written texts, the tourist brochures share some properties of the *mode* of the news items: both subgenres are written to be published. However, in contrast to the discourse of journalism, the language of travel texts is more interpretative and evaluative. As a text type, the tourist brochure is a descriptive text in which there is a predominance of subjective language. In fact, although there is no possibility of direct interaction, the travel writer looks for a certain complicity with the tourist. This complicity is achieved by the utilization of personal and commentary expressions, stative verbs and descriptive adjectives (Lárázo Carreter 1979).

As with the news items, the tales belong to the narrative text type⁹ and are basically characterised as a plot which develops from an initial complication towards a final resolution by passing through a range of intermediate stages (Fabb 1997: 165). As stories, their main characteristics are their condensed style and brevity (cf. Cervera 1992: 113; Sotomayor 2000: 29). All this implies that the texts are basically formed by short sentences, usually in the past, which contribute to the plot's development of the action: there are no digressions nor detailed descriptions which can interfere with the narrative tension (Cerrillo and García 2000; Lluch 2003).

Regarding the three components of register, the field of the tales can be defined as non-technical or non-specialised. Tales are then characterised by simple and clear language, presented in a way that is only slightly more developed than the everyday language of the child in order to increase lexical and linguistic competence without supposing too much difficulty (Albentosa and Moya 2001, Lluch 2003). As for the rhetorical purpose, both entertainment and instruction are the two basic aims of this genre. The tenor, which defines the relationship between the participants in the communicative exchange, is realized in short tales by the necessary presence of three participants, since between author (tale writer) and receivers (young children under five) mediates the figure of an adult (normally a parent or a teacher at a nursery school) that tells (not just reads) the story. Given the close relationship between the storyteller and the receiver/s, the language is direct and informal. The presence of evaluative and attitudinal lexis is, as in tourist brochures, a constant in tales. This evaluative and attitudinal language is frequently used by writers of traditional tales in order to instil moral values in young children. As far as mode is concerned, although the tales analysed are in written mode, their oral origin is traditionally accepted (Almodóvar 1984, Anderson 1992). The lexis and simplicity of syntactic structures are, of course, closer to that of oral discourse. The syntax is characterized by a predominance of short, simple sentences and declarative structures. The explanation for this lies in the fact that the declarative clauses generally contribute directly to the continuity of the plot of the narrative, while the introduction of imperative and interrogative modes would tend to interrupt the thread of the story.

140

3.2. Method of analysis

I will now attempt to highlight the differences in the thematic and topical organization of three chosen texts: a tale about a little boy who is wishing to become older taken from *Stories for Under-Fives* (Corrin and Corrin, eds. 1979), a news item on terrorism taken from a quality newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph* (1995), and a tourist brochure about a Greek island taken from a tourist magazine,

Olympic Holidays (1995). All three were selected as models from the total sample of 60 texts. After a concise analysis the overall results obtained from the study of the correlation between theme and topic in the whole sample of texts will be displayed.

In order to demonstrate the hypothesis outlined above, the 60 texts were submitted to an empirical analysis to determine whether the local or sentence topics were typically located in thematic position in the subgenres under study or whether, in contrast to this hypothesis, they followed different tendencies.

For the purposes of this paper I have taken the Hallidayan model in which all the sentences in a text have a thematic constituent located in initial position. In the case of compound sentences, “the point to bear in mind is that there will be a thematic structure in each of the two constituent clauses” (Halliday 1994: 56-57). In fact, two thematic structures have been assigned to compound sentences: one in the main clause, another in the dependent clause.

As mentioned above, while the theme has been considered as a structural concept, fundamentally defined by its location in the sentence, the topic is essentially a contextual, cognitive and pragmatic notion. Therefore, sentence topics are identified by their being embodied within the discourse topic and by their referential continuity in the text. The local topics of the news items, tourist brochures and children’s narratives usually make reference to the main participants, to the tourist areas of interests, or to the characters that fulfil the main narrative functions (Propp 1972; Lluch 2003) respectively.¹⁰

Taking this position into account, by identifying the thematic and topical entities for the selected texts, the correspondence between the structural notion of theme and the pragmatic and cognitive concept of topic was examined firstly in the three texts, and then in the whole sample of texts.

3.3. Choices of theme and topic in the three chosen texts

An overall view of the thematic progression of the tale (see appendix, text I) confirms that most of it follows a constant theme pattern (Danes 1974),¹¹ realized by the repetition of Tim/he throughout the whole story. The story begins with the introductory phrase “There was once”, a presentative there-clause which takes the main character to rhematic position. From here on, in 36 sentences *he* becomes the theme. As can be seen in the first three paragraphs, after its introduction as Rheme in the first sentence, Tim, the main character, comes to occupy the position of Theme. This pattern is altered by only two direct appeals by the narrator to the hearer with the use of the impersonal *you* which invites the child to become part of the story.

- (4) There was once a boy called Tim. He was smaller than his sister Sally and smaller than his brother Billy. He was the smallest person in the house, except the kitten and the canary, and *you can't count them*.¹²
Tim was so tiny he could only just walk, he could only just talk and he only had one candle on his birthday cake. So *you can guess* how small he was [...].

In the paragraph that follows the model of constant theme is maintained, as the same theme is shared by a series of sentences. There is no doubt that constant theme is a very appropriate pattern for children's narratives, for in this way given information is reiterated so that the young child does not lose the thread of the story. Only at the end does the narrator once again appeal to the reader and break the repetitive string of themes, and in the closing paragraph produces a linear thematic progression, echoing the style of the opening of the tale:

- (5) He didn't know his right foot from his left foot. He didn't know what was red and what was blue. He couldn't say what one and one makes. He was much too small to count [...].
Tim was now so big, he went to the Nursery School. *What do you think of that?*
He was still much smaller than his sister Sally, and he was still much smaller than his big brother Billy. For *they* had grown too!

142

Added to this is the coincidence throughout the text of the grammatical function of subject, the textual function of Theme, and the pragmatic-discourse function of topic carried out by the main character (Tim/he), which in turn coincides with given information.

As for the tourist brochure (see appendix, text II), its topical constituents are placed both in thematic and rhematic positions. There is not always a one-to-one correspondence between the topical elements and the thematic slot of the sentence. In addition to clause n.º 6 (don't miss the famous Rethymnon wine festival...), which introduces a subtopic component in final position, there are another two syntactic inversions (sentences n.º 1 and 5) that place the topic further away from the initial positions. Sentence n.º 5 (Contrasting with the bustling atmosphere of the waterfront is the old part of the town [...]) activates a subtopic closely related to the main topical entity, *Rethemnon*. The first, however, is used as a way of introducing a new topic in the text (Half way along Crete's northern coast between Heraklion and the island's western most point is the seaside town of Rethymnon). It can be seen that in this sentence the subject complement (attribute) is fronted while the subject, which realizes the topical entity, is placed at the end. In sentence n.º 4 the topic, *the harbour*, is also placed in rhematic position. Finally, in sentence n.º 7 (Luxury, style, service, quality, this beautiful hotel has it all), the predicator complement is located in the theme zone leaving the subject and the subtopic, *this hotel*, in the rhematic slot of the sentence. In this way, the introduction of the topic

(especially new and subtopic components) is postponed and the reader's attention is fully attracted to the area being advertised. This marked pattern in which theme and topic fail to coincide creates an expectation in the reader, as the topical entity about which information is given at a local level is not revealed from the beginning.

As far as the news item is concerned (see appendix, text III), the majority of the topical entities occupy the thematic position of the clause without further introduction. There are only six sentences where the theme and the topic are not realized by the same element: n.º 3 (All windows in the 10 storey building were shattered by *the blast*), n.º 7 (No one has yet claimed responsibility for *the attack*), n.º 10 (Once, a Sikh, likened *Mr Singh* to one of the gurus of his faith), n.º 11 (Many Sikhs considered *this* a blasphemy), n.º 13 (To fanatical Sikhs especially, his failure to do so meant *he* was accepting the praise) and n.º 19 ([...] of which *Mr Singh* was a member and close ally).

The news writer seems to reserve the thematic zone for the presentation of topical referents in subject position and places the information transmitted about them towards the end of the clause. By following this pattern, the local entity about which information is given is clearly identified from the beginning. By placing the topics in initial position and leaving the end of the sentence structure available for the new informational constituents, the writer of the news items avoids a change of subject in discourse and maintains the continuity of a previously activated topic. In this way, the prototypical pattern of the English clause (Given plus New information) is achieved, and the newspaper reader can understand the plot more easily.

3.4. Analysis of the data: final results

Having concluded the study of the three texts, this section now comments on the final results of the analysis of the whole sample of 60 texts selected for research. In the initial hypothesis it was predicted that the specific communicative purposes and contextual characteristics of the news items, children's stories and tourist brochures would reveal differences in their thematic and topical patterning.

The empirical analysis of the sample of 60 texts verifies, to some extent, the hypothesis outlined in the introduction. In fact, the topical and thematic structures of the clauses show different patterns in the three subgenres. While in the news items the theme and the topic are realized by the first element of the clause structure in 84% of the tokens analysed (in raw figures, out of 484 topics, 405 overlap with the theme), in the tourist brochures the correlation between the first clause element and the topic is lower, with a rate of 65% of the tokens identified (213 out of 330 tokens). In the tales, the percentage stays in an intermediate position, reaching the rate of 76% (out of 762 tokens, in 579 theme and topic are realized by the same clause element).

In the tourist texts, sentence topics are more frequently located in rhematic position, especially if they are participants introduced into the discourse for the first time or subtopics associated with the main topical entity. In this way, the activation of the topic is postponed and the reader's interest for the area that is being promoted is aroused in a specific way, as the entity about which information is imparted in most of the sentences of the text (a place, a venue, etc.) is not identified from the beginning.

In 10 of the 20 tourist brochures analysed, the introductory topic is positioned in the rheme of the sentence and is activated in various ways. In some cases, it is realized by adverbial elements placed in rhematic position (Arriving at the Candlelight (new topic) you find the warm and sincere type of welcome which only a family-run small Irish Hotel can supply [...]), or by means of a syntactic inversion (One of the world's best kept secrets is the beauty and wonder of Western Australia (new topic)). In other cases the new topic is introduced by imperative clauses with a persuasive function through which the writer tries to influence the potential visitor (Take time off and relax, with a leisurely cruise on the River Trent aboard the Newark Line's M. V. Sonning (new topic), the largest and certainly the most elegant passenger boat on the river). In two of the brochures, the topic is located after an adverbial group (with some of the clearest water and best protected reefs in the Caribbean, the Cayman Islands (new topic) are a Mecca for divers [...]), or after a dislocated element (Beautiful beaches, warm blue sea and sun-drenched days virtually year-round, Barbados (new topic) certainly offers all the features of a tropical island).

In 6 of the brochures the topic is part of the theme, but is preceded either by a participial clause (Sheltered by the reef that encircles this beautiful, uncrowded island, Bermuda (new topic) is a relaxing destination [...]) or by an existential sentence which anticipates its activation in discourse (There is a place in Middle England that is waiting to be discovered. North West Leicestershire (new topic) is literally brimming over with things to do and places to go). Finally, in only four of them, the introductory topic coincides with the initial element of the first sentence (Our Little Farm (new topic) is a combined small-farm park and nature trail [...]).

In contrast, the local topics of the news items tend to overlap with the theme or are usually activated in initial position without further ado. The journalist reserves the thematic positions for the presentation of topical referents and places the information transmitted about them towards the end of the clause. Following this unmarked pattern, (s)he allows the reader to clearly understand the message, as the local entity about which information is given is activated from the beginning.

Unlike the tourist brochures, only in 1 of the 20 news items is the introductory topic activated in the rhematic span of the clause (Police in Paris yesterday arrested Green peace protesters (new topic) who were trying to deliver to President Chirac a petition bearing more than three million signatures of people objecting to France's resumption of nuclear tests). In line with Givón's (1983a) viewpoint, the rest of the introductory topics, typically realized by indefinite expressions or proper names, coincide with thematic constituents (A British student (new topic) kidnapped in Colombia seven weeks ago has been found dead on the outskirts of Bogotá).

This difference between news items and tourist brochures is mainly due to the communicative purposes and the peculiarities of genre and register of the two text typologies. The persuasive function of the tourist brochure leads the writer to use linguistic strategies through which he tries to influence his reader's behaviour in order to obtain a positive response from him/her. It is, however, the informative function that is the fundamental factor which determines the organization of the news items selected for research.

Although the degree of correspondence between theme and topic is somewhat lower than in the news items, the topical entities of the tales, especially the known and resumed topics, are also usually placed in the thematic span of the clause. By following this strategy, the writer of tales tries to make it easier for the young child to follow the plot of the story, as the entities about which information is given are activated from the beginning of the clause, usually in subject position. However, the new topics that introduce the main characters in the first paragraphs of the story by means of presentative constructions are typically placed towards the rheme of the sentence (Once upon a time there was *a little engine...*). In addition, the utilization of adjuncts of time (one day, the next day, in the meantime...) in initial position often forces the new topic into the rhematic span, and decreases slightly the average of sentence topics that are located in thematic position.

Of the twenty randomly selected tales, only in 6 of them are new topics introduced in the thematic span of the sentence. These local topics refer to the secondary characters in the story, i.e. those that do not fulfil a main function in the narrative. While the topics that refer to the main characters in tales, i.e. the ones that fulfil a key role in the solution of the narrative tension, are prototypically introduced in the rhematic zone of the beginning paragraphs (Not far away was a fox (new topic) who lived in a hut of ice), the local topics that refer to the secondary characters appear after the introductory paragraphs. They are linguistically introduced within the rhematic slot of the sentence. Once activated, the subsequent sentences take them as topics placed in thematic position.

4. Conclusions

It can be concluded that there seems to be a strong association in tales between the point of departure of the clause as message and the element which conveys the aboutness property, the topic. The correlation between theme and topic is also found in the news items, and shows even higher degrees of incidence. The informative function of the news items and the entertainment and didactic functions of the tales determine their thematic and topical patterning, perfectly structured and organized in order to help the reader's or the listener's understanding.

However, in the tourist brochures there seems to be a tendency to move the new topical entities and the subtopic components further away from the thematic slot of the sentence. As a consequence, the introduction of the topic is postponed and the reader's expectations of the area that is being promoted increase. Activating the topic in rhematic position allows the travel writer to introduce a large quantity of information in the initial part of the sentence, so that the reader takes an interest in the place that is being advertised.

It can also be stated that whilst there is a strong tendency to use the constant theme pattern in children's narratives, this does not mean that it is the only pattern available. Although the tale that has been analysed in detail basically presents a continuous thematic schema throughout, the model of lineal thematic progression (Danes, 1974) has also been identified (sentences n.º 1 and 11) as it has in some passages in all the tales under investigation. The constant theme patterning, if employed in many clauses, runs the risk of making the text somewhat static and tedious for the listener. Given the length of the tales (an average of three pages) and the age of the audience (under fives), the repeated use of this pattern achieves its objective of making the stories easy to follow.

The communicative intentions of the journalist, the advertiser and the writer of the tales clearly play a decisive role in the internal organization and the topical progression of the three subgenres selected for investigation. The evidence supports the initial hypothesis.

Appendix

TEXT I:

A GROWING TALE

(1) *THERE was once a boy called Tim.*

He was smaller than his sister Sally and smaller than his brother Billy. He was the smallest person in the house, except the kitten and the canary, and you can't count them.

(2) *Tim was so tiny he could only just walk, he could only just talk and he only had one candle on his birthday cake. So you can guess how small he was.*

(3) *He couldn't wash himself, he couldn't dress himself and he couldn't blow his own nose. His mother had to do almost everything for him. She gave him a tiny chair to sit on, and a tiny bed to sleep in every night.*

(4) *He didn't know his right foot from his left foot. He didn't know what was red and what was blue. He couldn't say what one and one makes. He was much too small to count.*

(5) *He was very good at shouting, at banging and at bawling. He was very good at throwing, at grabbing and at crawling. Tim was so very tiny he could walk beneath the table and never bump his head!*

(6) *But he wished and he wished he could see over fences, and turn door handles all by himself.*

(7) *He grew and he grew until he was two, he grew and he grew until he was three, and he grew and he grew and then he was FOUR. And when he was four, Tim was a Great Big Boy. He had four candles on his birthday cake.*

(8) *He could see over fences and what was on tables. He could now turn door handles, all by himself.*

(9) *He was MUCH too big for his tiny little chair, he was much too big for his tiny little cot, so he slept in a real bed of his very own. He could wash himself, dress himself and blow his nose on a great big pocket handkerchief. He put his left shoe on his left foot, his right shoe on his right foot, and he tied both the laces in a very tidy bow. He knew what was red and what was blue, so he didn't bother bawling and he didn't bother crawling. He was much too big for that!*

(10) *Tim was now so BIG he went to the Nursery School. What do you think of that?*

(11) *He was still much smaller than his sister Sally, and he was still much smaller than his big brother Billy. For they had grown too!*

N. Montgomerie (In S. and S. Corrin eds. (1974) *Stories for Under-Fives*. Puffin Books)

TEXT II:

Crete R E T H Y M N O N

(1) *Half way along Crete's northern coast between Heraklion and the island's western most point is the seaside town of Rethymnon.*

(2) *The massive stretch of sand is a pretty welcoming sight: a great place to 'sunbake', build sand castles or take part in the water sports on offer: (3) The promenade which leads from the beach to the centre of town provides a great choice of bars and tavernas.*

(4) *A favourite spot after dark is the picturesque and colourful old harbour with some very good fish tavernas. (5) Contrasting with the bustling atmosphere of the waterfront is the old part of town where narrow alleyways and beautiful old houses give evidence of past Venetian and Turkish influences. (6) For lots of Greek music, dancing and drinking don't miss the famous Rethymnon wine festival which takes place every year in mid July.*

CRECOTEL
CRETA PALACE
THE LUXE

(7) Luxury, style, service, quality, this beautiful hotel has it all. (8) The Grecotel Creta Palace is located, in its own private grounds, on a beautiful sandy beach 3_ miles outside the town of Rethymmon. (9) This large complex offers elegant accommodation in the main building and bungalow village types. (10) It boasts many amenities which will keep all the family occupied by day and by night. (11) The Grecotel Creta Palace is very popular and not just with Olympic's clients SO BOOK EARLY! (12) It will also accommodate clients in wheelchairs.
Olympic Holidays, 1995.

TEXT III:

Car bomb kills Punjab minister

By Trevor Fishlock and Rahul Bedi in New Delhi

(1) A car bomb yesterday killed the chief minister of Punjab and 12 bodyguards. (2) Beant Singh was leaving his office in the region's capital, Chandigarh, when the powerful bomb exploded. (3) All windows in the 10-storey building were shattered by the blast, (4) which was heard several miles away. (5) The explosion prompted security agencies to declare a red alert across the troubled region and to seal off the Indian capital, New Delhi. (6) Initial reports indicate that the bomb, believed to be plastic explosive, was placed inside Mr Singh's car. (7) No one has yet claimed responsibility for the attack but (8) many believe that Mr Singh may have paid the price for his own vanity. (9) Mr Singh was lauded at a meeting 10 days ago by two ministers in the Punjab government. (10) Once, a Sikh, likened Mr Singh to one of the gurus of his faith. (11) Many Sikhs considered this a blasphemy. (12) Mr Singh made the mistake of not rejecting this flattery. (13) To fanatical Sikhs especially, his failure to do so meant he was accepting the praise. (14) Suspicion for the attack has fallen on the small band of Sikh separatists. (15) It may be that the fanatics, enraged by Mr Singh's vanity, planted the bomb - perhaps with inside help. (16) The assassination is a set back to Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's government, (17) which claimed to have eliminated Sikh militancy nearly three years ago. (18) It is also a setback to Mr Rao's ruling Congress party, (19) of which Mr Singh was a member and close ally. (20) Mr Singh's election as chief minister in February 1992 virtually ended 12 years of Sikh militancy, (21) during which more than 17,000 people were killed.
The Daily Telegraph, 01.09.1995.

Notes

¹. This study broadens the scope of a previous one published in *Text* 2001, in which only two of the three subgenres under research were analysed. The context of that paper was my doctoral thesis on topic introduction and topic continuity in news items and tourist brochures, directed by Professor Angela Downing. I am indebted to her for her accessibility and insightful comments on that research. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to Christine Harris for her invaluable help and wise advice on the final writing of this study.

². As a great macrogenre current Anglo-Saxon journalism can be classified into two general subgenres: stories and comments (Dijk, 1988a). Martínez Albertos affirms that the first and immediate objective of journalistic information is to give news; in second place it is the subjective comment of the facts that have become news (1993: 44). Fairclough (1995: 72) expands the classification offered by Dijk and also distinguishes a third journalistic subgenre, 'background features', in order to make reference to the so called 'interpretive articles' that are located in an intermediate line between the purely informative style and the editorial or evaluative style. Although the basic distinction between stories and comments is widely accepted, the classification of journalistic genres is a question which can be considered as neither solved nor exhausted. As van Dijk (1988a: 125) suggests there is a gradual transition between the various journalistic genres. Subgenres are not rigid frames with clear boundaries between them.

³. Halliday (1985, 1994) distinguishes marked and unmarked themes. A theme is unmarked when it coincides with the subject of a declarative clause, the finite form or the wh-element of an interrogative modal clause or the predicate of an imperative structure. However, the speaker/writer does not always use a prototypical pattern; on many

occasions the realization of his/her message requires a marked option with some specific informative connotations.

⁴. Halliday admits the possibility that within the thematic part of the sentence three different types of theme can be included: ideational, interpersonal and textual themes.

⁵. The term frame is used here as an embracing word that unifies under the same umbrella all the local topics about which information is given in discourse (van Oosten 1985). Thus in the context of this study, its meaning is not related to frame theory.

⁶. Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) define the concept of macrostructure as the hierarchical representation of the different macropropositions that determine the content of a text. The highest proposition represents the global discourse topic, while other propositions of lower level represent what a stretch of text or a part of the whole text is about.

⁷. The variables of field, tenor and mode determine the register of a particular genre, that is, the variations the language suffers in a specific social situation of communication (Halliday and Hasan, 1985/1989: 12). A genre is, in turn, defined by a schematic macrostructure, considered as a cognitive model that facilitates its identification, understanding and interpretation. Whereas the genre is typically associated with the context of culture, the register is related to the situational context in which the communicative interaction is developed.

⁸. Although many Spanish scholars agree that journalism must be essentially objective (Martínez Albertos 1993; López García 1996), news items are products which are logically mediated by ideological interests. In fact, with the term 'objectivity', Martínez Albertos (1993: 43) makes reference to the

journalist's duty of truthfulness and intellectual honesty.

⁹. When describing the news schema, van Dijk (1988a,b) distinguishes two basic parts: (1) the summary, formed by the headline and the lead, where the most relevant information is given and the five questions (who, what, when, where and why) are answered in a concise way and (2) the body of the news story, where the main events referred to in the lead are developed in a decreasing order of informative importance. The structure of the news item is, therefore, prototypical of the narrative style, characterized by a chronological sequence of events. Also narrative in form, although with a less complex structural arrangement, are the tales, defined by a very simple presentation of the situation and the main characters, a very basic account of the development of the action and a brief account of the final outcome of the story. As far as the schematic structure of tourist brochures is concerned, it should be stated that they usually follow a clearly predictable organization: once the name of the place being promoted is introduced, the different tourist areas of interest that can be visited are referred to. Finally, information about timetables, fares and telephone numbers frequently close the brochure.

¹⁰. The main characters that fulfil Propp's functions in tales are the following: the

hero, who either suffers an aggression or lacks something, the aggressor, the donor of the magic object, who will help the hero to achieve his goal and overcome all the obstacles, the princess (usually the final prize of the hero after his triumph), the king or any other powerful man, and the false hero. (Cerrillo *et al.* 2000).

¹¹. Danes proposes three basic patterns of Thematic Progression: 1) Simple Linear TP or TP with Linear Thematization of Rhemes. In this, the Rheme of a clause becomes the thematic constituent of the following clause, lending the text a dynamic character. 2) TP with a continuous (constant) Theme. In this model the same Theme is shared by a series of clauses, each of which adds new information about it. 3) Derived Theme TP. This is a broad spectrum Theme, which Danes calls hypertheme, and which gives rise to the themes of the clauses which follow to form a chain of subthemes deriving from the general Theme.

¹². In this example the pronoun *you* does not fulfil a function in topicality. It is just used by the writer to emphasize the interactive nature of tales. By means of this pronoun the narrator addresses the young child directly as if s/he was also a character in the story.

150

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LA VARIACIÓN ACÚSTICA DE LOS CORRELATOS ENTONACIONALES EN INTERPRETACIÓN SIMULTÁNEA INGLÉS-ESPAÑOL¹

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155

1. Introducción

Quilis es contundente al afirmar que “es imposible poder captar en una definición toda la complejidad sustancial, formal y funcional de la entonación” (1988: 340). El fenómeno de la entonación dista de ser un concepto monolítico, no sólo en lo que atañe a su estructura, sino también a sus múltiples funciones. Ortiz Lira y Finch dan cuenta de los cambios que ha sufrido la definición de entonación a medida que se fue profundizando en los estudios sobre este fenómeno.

Intonation has traditionally been defined in terms of the rises and falls of the voice in speech —a strictly phonetic definition, which only takes into account vocal fold activity. A wider view of intonation does not define it in terms of patterns of falls and rises only, but as a complex of features belonging to different prosodic systems, mainly pitch movement, loudness, rhythmicity and tempo (1982: 118).

Existen, como explica Quilis (1988: 338), numerosas definiciones sobre la entonación que responden al interés de cada investigador. Algunas están limitadas al aspecto estructural y referidas exclusivamente a las variaciones de la frecuencia fundamental (Jones 1909, Bolinger 1955).² En otras, en cambio, se incluyen otros correlatos acústicos como la intensidad y la duración (Hultzén 1957 y Lieberman 1965).³ Hay, además, otras definiciones que se concentran en las funciones que

desempeña la entonación, como las de Denes (1959), Daneš (1960), Lehiste (1970) y Artemov (1962).⁴

En el presente trabajo, nos ceñiremos a una definición puramente estructural y acústica, que nos permita explicar las variaciones de los niveles de monotonía en la interpretación simultánea. Así pues, adoptamos la definición de Artemov:

Desde el punto de vista físico (acústico), la entonación supone una estructura relativa de las frecuencias vibratorias del tono fundamental, de la intensidad y energía absoluta del sonido, estrechamente vinculados en el tiempo (1965: 130).

Si bien esta definición deja de lado otros aspectos prosódicos y paralingüísticos⁵ relevantes en el estudio de la entonación,⁶ a los fines del estudio acústico de la variación de F0, intensidad y duración en la entonación monótona y no monótona, la definición de Artemov es lo suficientemente completa. Ha de aclararse que la monotonía es un *fenómeno relativo* que se enmarca dentro de un continuum, que Poyatos (1994: 43), por ejemplo, organiza en cinco niveles que fluctúan desde la hipermelodiosidad, pasando por la melodiosidad alta, la melodiosidad media y la monotonía hasta llegar a la hipermonotonía.

156

Abordar un estudio de la entonación implica hacer referencia a la dualidad terminológica “entonación-melodía”, Martínez Celdrán explica que:

La melodía es la contrapartida fonética de la entonación, concepto que debe relegarse únicamente a la fonología, para no confundir los hechos. La melodía consiste acústicamente en la curva que describe el primer armónico o tono fundamental (F0) en el grupo (1998: 111).

A pesar de esta aclaración, en el presente trabajo hablaremos de *entonación* para referirnos a *hechos fonéticos* (y no abstracciones fonológicas) producidos por los tres sujetos participantes. Entre los hechos fonéticos, objeto de estudio del presente trabajo, se incluyen la F0, la intensidad y la duración, con lo cual el término “melodía” resultaría insuficiente, puesto que a nivel acústico sólo contempla —según Martínez Celdrán— la F0.

En cuanto a la diferencia entre “prosodia” y “entonación”, ha de aclararse que “prosodia” es un término más amplio dentro del que se incluyen los fonemas suprasegmentales de acento, cantidad y entonación (Quilis 1999: 384). Por tanto, el estudio que aquí se presenta abarca sólo una parte de la prosodia: la entonación.

Pasando a los estudios de interpretación, y las consideraciones relacionadas con la entonación en este contexto, puede decirse que la entonación monótona ha sido, por lo general, juzgada como un aspecto negativo de la oratoria pública en la interpretación de lenguas (Bühler, H. 1986; Kurz 1989; Collados 1998). Salvo casos excepcionales donde la entonación monótona puede tener una finalidad

comunicativa determinada (por ejemplo, el caso de un hipnotizador que desea, con su monotonía, producir un efecto de hipnosis en la audiencia), los intérpretes profesionales tienden a juzgar negativamente tal característica y a evitar utilizar una entonación monótona en su producción.

A partir de estas observaciones, se planteó la hipótesis general del presente trabajo de la siguiente manera: consciente o inconscientemente, los intérpretes —como emisores del proceso interpretativo— tienden a mejorar la entonación de un discurso original, de contenido sencillo, si éste es presentado con una entonación injustificadamente monótona. En el estudio que aquí se presenta, se analizan acústicamente la producción de una oradora —hablante nativa del inglés británico— y dos intérpretes —hablantes nativas del español peninsular. En concreto, se estudian los parámetros de F0, intensidad y duración, y su relación con el grado de monotonía de los discursos de los tres sujetos participantes. Los valores de los correlatos entonacionales (F0, intensidad y duración) permiten demostrar que los intérpretes participantes han reducido considerablemente la monotonía del discurso original, mejorando así la eficacia comunicativa del discurso original. Mientras que el discurso original monótono presenta, acústicamente, un campo entonacional reducido y pocas variaciones F0 e intensidad, los discursos meta, más melódicos, se caracterizan por campos entonacionales más amplios y por mayores variaciones de F0 e intensidad, lo cual implicaría un menor grado de monotonía global. En lo referido a la duración, en los resultados no siempre se ha observado una correlación directa entre velocidad lenta (o duración prolongada) y la entonación monótona, ni tampoco una relación constante entre velocidad alta (o duración breve) y la entonación melódica (ver apartado C en 5.1.1. y cuadro n.º 14).

2. La estructura acústica de la entonación

Un discurso oral tiene una entonación global que puede alcanzar diversos grados de melódiosidad (o monotonía, en su defecto). Para llegar a decir que un discurso es monótono, es necesario estudiar acústicamente la *entonación* de los grupos entonacionales que componen este discurso. Así pues, el análisis de los tres correlatos acústicos (F0, intensidad y duración) de la entonación permiten determinar la melódiosidad o monotonía global del discurso.

Cruttenden, al referirse a la estructura de la entonación, considera que todo análisis lingüístico de la entonación debería asentarse en tres pilares perceptivos fundamentales: *pitch*, *length* y *loudness*. Estos tres términos pertenecen a la fonética perceptiva y, en términos acústicos, se los puede relacionar con F0, duración e intensidad, respectivamente. Este autor define estos tres parámetros de análisis de la siguiente manera:

Pitch concerns the varying height of the pitch of the voice over one syllable or over a number of successive syllables; *length* concerns the relative duration of a number of successive syllables [...] and *loudness* concerns changes of loudness within one syllable or the relative loudness of a number of successive syllables, that is it concerns changes in volume (1997: 2).

La *frecuencia fundamental* se mide en hercios [Hz], la *intensidad*, en decibelios [dB] y la *duración*, en segundos, o sílabas por segundo. En el presente trabajo — de naturaleza acústica y no perceptiva— se habla, por tanto, de *F0*, *intensidad* y *duración*. No se empleará el término *amplitud*, que sería el parámetro acústico absoluto correspondiente a la intensidad, puesto que es la *variación relativa de la intensidad* lo que nos interesa, y no la amplitud absoluta de la onda sonora como porcentaje de una variable lineal.

Se considerará la *duración acústica global* de los discursos emitidos por la oradora y las intérpretes. Para tal fin, se tendrá en cuenta el número de sílabas articuladas por segundo, lo cual representa la *velocidad de habla*. Por tanto, en este contexto, la duración es considerada una variable dependiente de la velocidad de habla (la cual, a su vez, viene determinada por otros factores individuales, anatómicos, situacionales). Para tomar esta decisión, se han seguido los criterios de Gimson (1973: 25), Crystal (1969: 121) y Ortiz Lira (1987: 38), entre otros, para quienes la *duración* es una *categoría acústica objetiva* que depende directamente de la velocidad de habla.

A continuación, en el Cuadro n.º1 se presenta la interrelación que, apriorísticamente, se supone que opera entre los tres correlatos acústicos responsables de la entonación y su grado de monotonía: la *frecuencia fundamental [F0]*, la *duración* y la *intensidad*. Estos tres parámetros, y su interrelación con el grado de monotonía de los discursos orales, serán objeto de estudio y verificación en el presente trabajo.

158

TIPO DE ENTONACIÓN	FRECUENCIA FUNDAMENTAL [F0]	INTENSIDAD [dB]	DURACIÓN [SEG]
Entonación melódica	— Rango amplio — Movimiento tonal pronunciado — Declinación pronunciada	Mayor variación entre los picos de intensidad ⁷	Breve ⁸
Entonación monótona	— Rango reducido — Movimiento tonal reducido — Declinación suave	Menor variación entre los picos de intensidad ⁹	Prolongada ¹⁰

CUADRO N.º 1: Interrelación de los correlatos acústicos en la entonación melódica y monótona

Por lo general, es de esperar que, si una persona habla con un grado de monotonía medio, su discurso también tendrá una intensidad y duración medias. Si, por el contrario, el hablante emplea cambios abruptos en su movimiento tonal, lo que se reflejaría en una entonación excesivamente melodiosa, es probable que emplee cambios abruptos de volumen en su enunciado y una duración menor. Si sucede lo opuesto, y el movimiento tonal del hablante es demasiado reducido y por tanto su entonación se torna monótona, la duración de su enunciado será mayor y las variaciones de intensidad de éste serán menores. Brown confirma esto al aseverar que:

The big pitch movement will also be accompanied by other variables —one would expect that (utterances with big pitch movement) would be uttered rapidly rather than slowly and loudly rather than softly (1977: 131).

La variación de la frecuencia fundamental puede observarse claramente en el rango o campo entonacional que explota el hablante. Como aclara Brown (1977: 127), cada individuo tiene capacidades anatómicas que limitan su desempeño entonacional, como también lo hacen las normas sociales, las características individuales del hablante y su evaluación de la situación comunicativa.

Cuando el campo entonacional es demasiado reducido o estrecho, como es el caso de la entonación monótona, se reducen las posibilidades que tiene el hablante para expresar enfáticamente sus emociones. Esto lo explica Brown (1977: 130), al decir que: “what the narrowness of pitch span appears to indicate is the refusal to express any emotion”. En cuanto a las limitaciones anatómicas del hablante, hemos de decir que todo hablante tiene un *rango total* de habla dentro del cual anatómicamente puede emitir sonidos. A su vez, dentro de este rango total, hay un *rango normal* dentro del cual se emiten habitualmente los enunciados. Lo que se diga dentro del rango normal, dice Brown, (1977: 131) es *unmarked*, es decir, que es la manera habitual de expresión del hablante. Por otra parte, los enunciados emitidos por encima o por debajo del rango normal (*marked option*) acentúan o ponen de relieve los significados y actitudes manifestadas por la entonación dentro del rango normal.

Brazil et al. (1980: 23) reconocen tres factores que determinan el campo entonacional (rango en el que puede variar la altura tonal) del que hace uso un hablante determinado: *el factor individual*, *el factor socio-cultural* y *el factor emocional*. Con respecto al primer factor, aclaran que la naturaleza de las cuerdas vocales del individuo determina los límites absolutos del campo entonacional, y que el hablante sólo puede explotar un campo más reducido dentro del que está predeterminado anatómicamente. Para Brazil et al. también existe una amplia variedad inter-subjetiva en lo que atañe al rango, y confirman que, por lo general, las mujeres tienen un rango más alto (“one octave higher”) que el de los hombres (1980: 23).

El campo entonacional también puede estar determinado por el *factor socio-cultural*: la altura tonal está condicionada por el rango usual de la comunidad lingüística donde interactúa el sujeto. Mena de González, en este sentido, manifiesta que:

Está comprobado que, según qué países, su tono normal medio de expresión es más agudo o más grave. El español se habla por lo general, en un tono más grave que el francés o el italiano. El inglés y el alemán tienen una tonalidad muy cercana al español (1994: 65).

No obstante, teniendo en cuenta las fuentes de variaciones personales, geográficas y situacionales, es difícil hablar de un rango específico para cada lengua. Grabe (2002), en relación con esto, manifiesta que:

Variation has not been a major concern of prosodic typologists. Frequently, it is treated as noise in the data and held to conceal what is really important about the prosodic structure of the language. Consequently, most investigations are restricted to a single standard variety and cross-speaker variation is ignored or masked by statistical processing. The results are often assumed to be representative of the language as a whole. [...] The construction of valid linguistic typologies requires comparable data from several speakers of a dialect, several dialects of one language and a number of languages. Only such data can provide a sufficiently robust empirical basis for prosodic typology.

160

Es cierto que perceptivamente (Navarro Tomás 1968: 93) podría parecer que el inglés alcanza niveles tonales más altos que el español, pero hablar de niveles máximos alcanzados por una lengua no es lo mismo que hablar de su rango habitual, ya que este último depende tanto del nivel máximo como del mínimo. Navarro Tomás, para referirse a la extensión del campo de entonación del inglés y del español, manifiesta que:

[...] la extensión del campo de entonación es en español menor que en inglés y mayor que en alemán y francés. En inglés, se aproxima regularmente a dos octavas (24 semitonos), en español suele alcanzar octava y tercia (16 semitonos) [...]. Falta información [...] sobre varias lenguas y necesitan comprobación estas mismas referencias, hechas en su mayor parte de manera incidental y sin atención particular respecto a los detalles y circunstancias de este asunto (1974: 26-27).

Los estudios que pudiera haber destinados a determinar los rangos específicos de cada lengua deben recurrir necesariamente a corpus de trabajo que son sólo muestras de todas las realizaciones lingüísticas de una lengua en cuestión. Así pues, los resultados obtenidos en estos trabajos no siempre pueden extrapolarse a otras situaciones comunicativas, donde se involucran otros factores situacionales,

emocionales y personales. En el ámbito de la interpretación simultánea, por ejemplo, Darò (1994: 259) cita los valores referenciales de Perkins y Kent (1986), que fijan la F0 promedio de las mujeres en 225 Hz y la de los hombres en 120 Hz, pero claro, estos valores pueden verse fácilmente alterados según la anatomía propia del hablante, la carga emocional involucrada en la situación comunicativa (Shapley 1989), y las variedades geográficas (dialectales) de una misma lengua (Cruttenden: 1997). Por estos motivos, y dada la falta de unanimidad de criterios, en esta investigación no nos ceñiremos aprorísiticamente a ninguno de los valores referenciales anteriormente citados.

Las variaciones del rango también pueden obedecer a *factores emocionales*, a los que puede enfrentarse el sujeto. El rango “normal” de un hablante se puede ampliar voluntariamente para expresar sorpresa, enfado, aburrimiento, apatía, entre otros. En este sentido, Sosa (1999: 30) indica que el rango es un universal que “aparentemente funciona igual en todas las lenguas: la exaltación se manifiesta por medio de registros altos e inflexiones movidas y variadas, mientras que el abatimiento se expresa por un registro bajo y por la uniformidad y monotonía de las inflexiones”.

No obstante, la monotonía o melodiosidad del discurso oral no sólo se manifiestan en el ancho del campo entonacional, sino también en las otras variables entonacionales: la intensidad y la duración. Las variaciones de intensidad están regidas, a la vez, por normas sociales y por condicionantes individuales y situacionales. Cada hablante tiene un volumen normal de habla, y los enunciados emitidos dentro de este rango no traen consigo implicaciones más allá de lo dicho. No obstante, un alejamiento de lo que sería el volumen normal de un hablante, implicaría una cierta actitud del hablante con respecto al enunciado. Clarificadoras resultan las palabras de Brown al respecto:

Everyone has a normally loud way of talking. To some extent each individual will vary the loudness of his speech with the situation in which he finds himself. [...] (The) departure from the norm has some attitudinal significance. Loudness and softness are often closely associated with pitch span (1977: 139).

En lo que a la *duración* (o *velocidad de habla*) se refiere, ésta responde, entre otros factores situacionales y geográficos, a características personales del habla de un individuo. Es decir, que si bien existen ciertas normas sociales que limitan la intensidad y la duración promedio del habla de sus miembros, existen asimismo componentes anatómicos e individuales que condicionan estos aspectos. Brown aclara:

Everyone has a normal tempo of speech. Sometimes a speaker speaks faster than at other times. We cannot judge the significance of the change in speed if the change is simply considered a phenomenon by itself (1977: 137).

Como se ha explicado, el hablante puede separarse de su velocidad normal de habla y emitir un enunciado más lenta o más rápidamente. El significado de tal selección sólo puede analizarse en el contexto comunicativo en que se realiza, ya que un aumento de velocidad no siempre señala prisa del hablante ni una reducción de velocidad indica dificultad de codificación del mensaje. La velocidad normal de habla es una selección neutra (*unmarked*), mientras que una velocidad por encima o debajo de esta media denota una actitud particular con respecto al enunciado.

Sin embargo, ha de aclararse que no parece haber una correlación directa entre la velocidad de habla lenta y la entonación monótona. Como certeramente comentó el revisor anónimo de este trabajo, se puede hablar lenta y melodiosamente —en especial en ciertos estilos de habla como la recitación— sin por ello sonar monótono. De hecho, los resultados del presente trabajo parecen confirmar esta observación, ya que el número de sílabas articulado por segundo es similar en la lectura melodiosa y en la lectura monótona de la oradora, lo que indica que el discurso monótono no necesariamente está caracterizado por una velocidad de habla lenta (o duración prolongada). A pesar de esta observación, en el diseño metodológico de esta investigación, se decidió contemplar como hipótesis los tres correlatos entonacionales (F0, intensidad y duración) para poder verificar su posible relación con la melodiosidad de un discurso oral, y no descartar de antemano ninguna posible interrelación.

162

En el caso de la interpretación simultánea, son numerosos los factores involucrados en el aumento o disminución de la velocidad de habla (Darò 1990: 82). Lenneberg (1967) fija en *siete sílabas/segundo* la velocidad promedio de habla de un adulto, aunque las mujeres pueden superar esta media. Cruttenden, refiriéndose exclusivamente al inglés británico, fija en *seis sílabas/segundo* la velocidad promedio de un adulto. Por lo general, las intérpretes profesionales (mujeres) suelen hablar rápidamente, ya que la velocidad suele asociarse con fluidez y la fluidez es un parámetro fundamental de la calidad de la interpretación (Darò 1990: 82).

Tanto el aumento como la disminución de la velocidad en interpretación simultánea pueden conllevar una valoración negativa de la calidad. Por una parte, la velocidad lenta puede asociarse con actitudes negativas como el aburrimiento, la apatía y el desinterés. Por otra parte, una velocidad de habla excesiva puede llegar a reducir la comprensibilidad del mensaje, y a denotar que la intérprete no maneja las estrategias de síntesis adecuadas (Alexieva 1988).

A partir de lo antes expuesto, cabe reiterar que la entonación no puede ser concebida como un concepto monolítico sino más bien como un fenómeno heterogéneo en el que confluyen los tres correlatos entonacionales principales: la frecuencia fundamental, la intensidad y la duración. A pesar de esta heterogeneidad

estructural, es posible determinar acústicamente los valores de los constituyentes entonativos, para luego analizar el grado de monotonía global de un discurso y su impacto en la situación comunicativa.

3. Objetivos

Con el estudio llevado a cabo, se ha pretendido, por una parte, verificar acústicamente en un *estudio preliminar* la monotonía habitual en la *lectura* efectuada por el sujeto orador y el *habla espontánea* de los sujetos intérpretes, con el fin de establecer puntos de comparación con el desempeño acústico durante la interpretación simultánea.

Por otra parte, se ha empleado la metodología acústica necesaria para verificar si los sujetos intérpretes emplearon una entonación *menos monótona* que la oradora. Este último aspecto se complementó con la verificación acústica del aumento de la monotonía —inducido por las necesidades metodológicas del trabajo— en la lectura en voz alta de la ponencia de la oradora.

Se ha procurado, asimismo, verificar si las intérpretes emplearon una monotonía similar en la grabación preliminar y en la interpretación simultánea, lo cual indicaría que la monotonía del discurso original *no* había constituido un factor condicionante de su producción. Si esto sucediera, podría deducirse que la monotonía había sido valorada, por parte de las intérpretes, como un aspecto negativo que no debería ser reproducido en sus discursos meta.

163

4. Diseño experimental: sujetos, material y procedimiento

Para el análisis acústico se trabajó con seis discursos: dos producidos por el sujeto orador (leídos) y dos (en habla espontánea) emitidos por cada uno de los dos sujetos intérpretes que intervinieron en el presente proyecto. Se ha denominado *grabación preliminar* (o discurso preliminar) al primer discurso de los tres sujetos registrado para obtener valores referenciales de la entonación de estos sujetos. Esto significa que, por medio de la grabación preliminar, se ha pretendido fijar el grado medio de monotonía en la lectura en voz alta de la oradora y en el habla espontánea de las intérpretes. Con este estudio se sientan las bases para la comparación intra-subjetiva, es decir, la comparación del desempeño acústico de un mismo sujeto con respecto a sí mismo en diferentes situaciones comunicativas. Una vez realizada esta intra-comparación es posible considerar los contrastes inter-subjetivos y comparar el desempeño de unos sujetos con otros.

Las grabaciones acústicas y analógicas se realizaron en el laboratorio de interpretación de la Facultad de Traducción e Interpretación de la Universidad de Granada. Para la grabación acústica y analógica preliminar conducente a determinar el *grado de monotonía media de la lectura del sujeto orador*, se seleccionó un discurso breve y sencillo, en inglés, y cuya temática era el euro, que sería leído por el sujeto orador, hablante nativo del inglés. Se optó por seleccionar discursos sobre el euro, tanto para la grabación preliminar como para la interpretación simultánea, ya que en el momento de realizarse este trabajo, el asunto era de gran actualidad y nadie era ajeno al impacto que significaba la implantación de la nueva moneda.

Para facilitar la transmisión del contenido del discurso, los sujetos intérpretes pudieron disponer (unos minutos antes de la grabación) de la versión escrita del discurso original que interpretarían. Esta decisión metodológica estuvo justificada por la necesidad de asegurar una correcta transmisión del contenido que permitiera valorar, a partir de ella, la entonación de grupos entonacionales pertinentes, es decir, correctos desde el punto de vista de transmisión del contenido.

Para la determinación del *grado de monotonía media del habla de las intérpretes*, se solicitó a los sujetos intérpretes, hablantes nativos del español, que expusieran durante dos minutos su opinión sobre el euro. Se decidió que los sujetos intérpretes *hablaran* y la oradora *leyera*, puesto que esto es lo que habitualmente sucede en la práctica profesional y esta situación sería reproducida en la situación experimental de la interpretación simultánea. Todos los sujetos con los que se trabajó en ambas grabaciones eran de sexo femenino, lo cual permitía una comparación acústica más directa de la entonación.

Se grabaron los discursos (de la grabación preliminar y de la interpretación simultánea) analógica y digitalmente, empleando el programa Speechanalyzer 1.5. Test Version 15.3. y un micrófono unidireccional, dinámico, modelo *Desktop Voice Multimedia Microphone System*, con una sensibilidad de -54 ± 3 dB y una respuesta a un rango de frecuencia de: 20 a 20000 Hz.

El discurso original, además de grabarse analógica y digitalmente, se grabó en vídeo. Se decidió grabarlo en vídeo porque, de esta manera, se trabajaría con una sola versión del discurso original monótono que se presentaría a las intérpretes en las grabaciones acústicas sucesivas. La grabación también se realizó en el laboratorio de interpretación de la Facultad de Traducción e Interpretación, Universidad de Granada, empleando un vídeo de características *VCR Turbo Drive-(HQ)*.

El discurso original se grabó con un grado excesivo de monotonía, que había sido inducida metodológicamente y no tenía ninguna función comunicativa. Se le indicó a la oradora que leyera el texto “con una entonación monótona, procurando reducir sus inflexiones, el énfasis y el dinamismo de la presentación”. Estas

indicaciones responden a la naturaleza experimental del presente trabajo; y, por tanto, obedecen a una manipulación de variables en una situación experimental diseñada *ad hoc*.¹¹

En lo tocante al análisis acústico, se han considerado los tres correlatos entonacionales fundamentales para la determinación de la monotonía: la frecuencia fundamental, la intensidad y la duración. Para abordar el análisis, se dividió cada discurso en grupos fónicos (delimitados por pausas), que aquí denominamos grupos entonacionales; y, en cada uno de estos grupos, se analizó la F0 y la intensidad. La duración se analizó globalmente, obteniendo sólo un valor por discurso.

La F0 se estudió fundamentalmente a partir del rango de variación de la F0 y de la declinación de cada uno de los grupos entonacionales de cada discurso estudiado. Para la *determinación del rango*, se midió el pico de mayor altura y frecuencia (en Hz) y el punto mínimo (en Hz) alcanzado por cada grupo entonacional, y luego se calculó la media de estos valores para obtener el rango promedio de cada discurso. Se tuvo especial precaución para procurar que la medición coincidiera con un segmento vocálico. Las vocales, a diferencia de las consonantes, tienen una F0 más estable, lo cual contribuye, sin dudas, a la precisión y objetividad de la medición. Estos valores de F0 y rango permitieron, a su vez, calcular la pendiente o *declinación* media de los discursos, siendo la declinación un indicador innegable del grado de monotonía de los discursos orales.

La declinación es un fenómeno universal de la entonación de las lenguas que Martínez Celdrán define de la siguiente manera:

Se ha comprobado que en muchas lenguas hay un descenso progresivo a lo largo del cuerpo del contorno melódico. Ese descenso dibuja una pendiente que se ha denominado *declinación*; la pendiente será mayor si el primer pico es más alto; de lo contrario será menor (1998: 13).

Para calcular la declinación, se resta al valor más bajo de la curva melódica (expresado en hercios) el valor del primer pico de la curva (también expresado en hercios) y el resultado obtenido se divide por el tiempo que transcurre entre los dos puntos (expresado en milisegundos). El resultado (expresado en hz/ms) es un valor numérico positivo o negativo. El signo negativo (que es el más usual) indica que la declinación es descendente, mientras que el signo positivo señala una declinación ascendente (Martínez Celdrán 1998: 13).

El análisis de las *variaciones de la intensidad* fue metodológicamente más complejo, puesto que en el análisis acústico, la intensidad se presenta en decibelios, los cuales constituyen en sí una medida porcentual y logarítmica de la *percepción* de la intensidad. Por tanto, cualquier valor de la curva guarda relación con un

porcentaje establecido para toda la curva. Además, el programa de análisis acústico utilizado proporciona los datos de intensidad invertidos (en valores negativos) con lo cual, para cualquier análisis, es necesario primero positivar estos valores. La *positivación* se realiza por comparación con lo que le falta a un determinado punto para alcanzar el máximo de intensidad (que allí parece un mínimo porque está invertido).

Para estudiar la variación de la intensidad, es necesario, asimismo, determinar el rango máximo de variación de todo el discurso donde se encuentra un determinado grupo entonacional. Una vez determinado este rango (en dB), se miden en cada grupo entonacional el pico máximo y el pico mínimo (ambos en su punto medio), y se calcula el promedio de estas diferencias en todo el discurso analizado. Luego se le asigna al rango máximo el 100% de la variación, y el valor porcentual del diferencial promedio se calcula por medio de una regla de tres simple. Este valor, al ser porcentual, permite la comparación con otros discursos del mismo u otro sujeto.

El análisis de las *variaciones de la duración* es, sin duda, el más simple desde el punto de vista metodológico, pero los resultados obtenidos a partir de este análisis, *no* han probado ser factores determinantes concretos de las variaciones de la monotonía. Para realizar el análisis de la variación de la duración, se ha tenido en cuenta la duración total del discurso y se ha contado el número total de sílabas y palabras pronunciadas durante ese lapso de tiempo. Luego, se ha reducido la unidad de tiempo a un segundo, con lo cual queda plasmado el número de sílabas y/o palabras pronunciadas por segundo por el hablante. La velocidad de habla obtenida es un correlato directo de la duración.

166

5. Resultados y discusión

5.1. Valores intra-subjetivos

5.1.1. Oradora

a) F0, rango y declinación

El valor promedio de los 25 grupos entonacionales del *discurso preliminar de la oradora* en lo referido al rango entonacional es de 199,12 Hz, donde el pico máximo se sitúa en 491 Hz y el valor mínimo en 69 Hz. El rango máximo es de 335 Hz y el mínimo es de 147 Hz. La pendiente o *declinación* promedio de este discurso se fija en $-0,62$ Hz/ms.

En el discurso grabado como *ponencia de la interpretación simultánea* se observa claramente la reducción del rango, lo cual responde a la monotonía introducida *ad*

hoc en la lectura de la oradora. El valor promedio de los 30 grupos entonacionales de la ponencia para la interpretación simultánea en cuanto al rango entonacional es de 69,50 Hz, es decir, que el rango promedio del discurso monótono es 129,62 Hz más reducido que el del discurso melodioso (grabación preliminar). *Esto implica que el rango se ha visto reducido en un 65,09%*. En el discurso monótono, el pico máximo en este discurso se sitúa en 233 Hz (una altura que es un 52,54% menor que el pico máximo del discurso melodioso) y los valores mínimos son de 69 Hz y 163,6 Hz (para la grabación preliminar y ponencia monótona, respectivamente). Otro dato interesante de esta comparación intra-subjetiva es la pendiente o declinación. En el caso del discurso monótono, la pendiente promedio es de -0,12 Hz/ms (descendente), mientras que la declinación de la grabación preliminar de la oradora es de -0,62 Hz/ms (descendente). En términos relativos, la declinación del discurso monótono es un 80,64% menor que la del discurso melodioso de la oradora. En el cuadro n.º2 se presenta una comparación de los valores de la F0, el rango y la declinación en los discursos producidos por el sujeto orador:

		DISCURSO PRELIMINAR MELODIOSO	PONENCIA MONÓTONA PARA LA IS
F0	Pico máximo	491 Hz	233 Hz
	Valor mínimo	69 Hz	163,60 Hz ¹²
Rango	Rango máximo	335 Hz	147 Hz
	Rango promedio	199,12 Hz	69,50 Hz
Declinación	Promedio	-0,62 Hz/ms	-0,12 Hz/ms

CUADRO N.º 2: Comparación intra-subjetiva de la F0, el rango y la declinación de los discursos de la oradora

b) La intensidad

En el *discurso preliminar* (melodioso) de la oradora, el promedio de diferenciales de intensidad es de 23,38 dB, lo cual, en un rango de intensidad de 58 dB, representa —porcentualmente— una variación promedio del 40,31% entre los picos máximos y mínimos de intensidad. En este discurso, la mayor diferencia entre los picos de intensidad es de 39 dB y la diferencia mínima es de 9 dB.

En el *discurso monótono*, el promedio de diferenciales de intensidad es de 13,70 dB, lo cual, en un rango de intensidad de 45 dB, representa un 30,46% de variación porcentual promedio entre los picos de intensidad de la ponencia. Además, es de destacar que el rango de variación de la intensidad del discurso monótono es un 22,40% menor que el del discurso melodioso, a pesar de que los picos mayor y

menor intensidad del discurso monótono (39 dB y 7 dB, respectivamente) sean prácticamente iguales a los del discurso melodioso. Esto indica que el margen de posible variación de la intensidad es aproximadamente un 20% más restringido en el caso de la ponencia monótona.

Como se observa en el cuadro n.º3, los valores de intensidad *no* son tan representativos de las variaciones de la monotonía (como lo pueden ser las oscilaciones de Hz), pero estos valores demuestran claramente las tendencias esperadas.

	DISCURSO PRELIMINAR MELODIOSO	PONENCIA MONÓTONA PARA LA IS
Mayor diferencial de intensidad	36 dB	39 dB
Menor diferencial de intensidad	9 dB	7 dB
Rango de variación de la intensidad	58 dB	45 dB
Promedio de diferenciales de intensidad	23,38 dB	13,70 dB
Variación porcentual promedio de la intensidad	40,31%	30,46%

168

CUADRO N.º 3: Comparación de las variaciones de la intensidad en los discursos de la oradora

c) La duración

En lo referido a la producción de sílabas por segundo, en el cuadro n.º 1 se presentaba una interrelación entre la monotonía y la producción de un número bajo de sílabas. En nuestro trabajo, la duración *no ha sido un factor demasiado determinante de la monotonía de los discursos de la oradora*. En el caso del discurso preliminar melodioso, la oradora pronuncia 2,80 sílabas/segundo (1,92 palabras por segundo), mientras que en el discurso monótono la producción es de 2,70 sílabas por segundo (1,72 palabras por segundo). El hecho de que estos valores se encuentren bastante por debajo de la media habitual (6-7 sílabas/segundo) puede deberse fundamentalmente al hecho de que la oradora leyera los discursos, en lugar de presentarlos hablando espontáneamente. Sosa (1999: 41-42), a este respecto, considera que la velocidad de lectura puede ser más lenta que la del habla espontánea. Aún más notable es la escasa diferencia de 0,10 sílabas entre un discurso y otro de la oradora, lo cual representa una reducción del número de sílabas de sólo el 3,60% en el discurso monótono. A diferencia de lo que sucede con los discursos de la oradora, las variaciones de duración de los intérpretes, en comparación con la oradora (ver cuadro n.º14), parecen demostrar que los

discursos meliosos podrían estar caracterizados por una velocidad de habla mayor que el discurso monótono. Esta diferencia puede deberse, por una parte, al hecho de tratarse de discursos emitidos en interpretación simultánea (las intérpretes — opina Darò 1990— suelen hablar más rápido que la media); y, por otra, al hecho de tratarse de habla espontánea. Sosa (1999: 41-42) opina que: “Es muy diferente la prosodia del habla espontánea y la prosodia de la voz alta, ya que esta última debe obligatoriamente atender a los signos de puntuación. (Una) menor velocidad de elocución puede deberse en realidad a factores próximos a las condiciones particulares de la voz leída”. Los valores obtenidos en la presente investigación deberán ser refrendados en otros estudios, para poder detectar y comparar tendencias.

5.1.2. *Intérprete 1*

a) F0, rango y declinación

El valor promedio de los rangos de los 34 grupos entonacionales del *discurso preliminar de la intérprete 1* es de 153,60 Hz y el rango máximo alcanzado en este discurso es de 314 Hz. El pico frecuencial máximo se sitúa en 470 Hz y el valor mínimo en 133 Hz. La pendiente o *declinación* promedio de este discurso es de -0,51 Hz/ms.

En lo referido al *discurso meta* de la intérprete 1, el rango máximo alcanzado es de 293 Hz. El valor promedio de los rangos del discurso es de 196,70 Hz, lo cual representa un aumento de 43,10 Hz con respecto a la grabación preliminar. Porcentualmente, este aumento representa un incremento del 28,05% con respecto al rango promedio de la grabación preliminar. El pico máximo alcanzado por la F0 de la intérprete 1 en el discurso meta se sitúa en 354 Hz (116 Hz por debajo de la grabación preliminar) y el valor mínimo en 157 Hz (24 Hz por encima de los valores de la grabación preliminar).

Otro dato relevante de esta comparación intra-subjetiva es la pendiente o declinación. En el caso del discurso meta de la intérprete 1, la declinación promedio es de -0,28 Hz/ms (descendente). Este valor indica que la declinación de la grabación preliminar es un 45,09% más acusada que la del discurso meta, lo cual podría indicar que la monotonía de la ponencia ha podido influir en el aumento de la monotonía en la producción de la intérprete 1. La declinación, junto con el rango entonacional, son factores determinantes de la monotonía de un discurso. En el caso en cuestión, la declinación se ha visto reducida prácticamente a la mitad, pero no sucede lo mismo con el rango, que se ha visto incrementado en un 28% aproximadamente.

En el cuadro n.º 4 se presenta una comparación de los valores de la F0, el rango y la declinación en los discursos producidos por la intérprete 1:

		GRABACIÓN PRELIMINAR INTÉRPRETE 1	DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 1
F0	Pico máximo	470 Hz	354 Hz
	Valor mínimo	133 Hz	157 Hz
Rango	Rango máximo	314 Hz	293 Hz
	Rango promedio	153,60 Hz	196,70 Hz
Declinación	Promedio	-0.51 Hz/ms	-0,28 Hz/ms

CUADRO N.º 4: Comparación intra-subjetiva de la F0, el rango y la declinación de los discursos de la intérprete 1

b) Intensidad

En la *grabación preliminar de la intérprete 1*, el promedio de diferenciales de intensidad es de 19 dB, lo cual, en un rango total de intensidad de 51 dB representa —porcentualmente— un aprovechamiento del 37,20% del rango total de intensidad disponible. En este discurso, la mayor diferencia entre los picos de intensidad es de 35 dB y la diferencia mínima es de 7 dB.

En el *discurso meta*, el promedio de diferenciales de intensidad es de 22 dB, lo cual, en un rango total de intensidad de 39 dB, representa un 56,41% de variación porcentual promedio entre los picos de intensidad de la ponencia. El mayor diferencial de intensidad es de 32 dB y el menor de 10 dB. El rango de variación de la intensidad de la grabación preliminar es un 23,52% mayor que el del discurso meta. Los picos de mayor y menor intensidad del discurso preliminar y del discurso meta son similares pero, al emplearse distintos rangos, la variación porcentual es mayor en el discurso meta.

En la grabación preliminar el mayor diferencial de intensidad es de 35 dB, lo cual en un rango total de 51 dB representa un 69% de uso del rango disponible. En el discurso meta el aprovechamiento del rango es de 32 dB/39 dB, que porcentualmente implica un 82% de aprovechamiento. Este último valor demuestra que en el discurso meta la intérprete 1 hace un mayor uso del rango disponible. Es de destacar, no obstante, que el rango total disponible se ha visto disminuido en la interpretación simultánea, lo cual, tratándose de un mismo sujeto, podría indicar que la situación comunicativa y la complejidad cognitiva de la tarea que se realiza (y no los condicionantes anatómico-fisiológicos, o técnicos de la grabación) ejercen cierta influencia en las variaciones de la intensidad.

Como se observa en el cuadro n.º5, los valores de intensidad señalan una cierta variación de la intensidad en los discursos producidos por la intérprete 1.

	GRABACIÓN PRELIMINAR INTÉRPRETE 1	DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 1
Mayor diferencial de intensidad	35 dB	32 dB
Menor diferencial de intensidad	7 dB	10 dB
Rango de variación de la intensidad	51 dB	39 dB
Promedio de diferenciales de intensidad	19 dB	22 dB
Variación porcentual promedio de la intensidad	37,20%	56,40%

CUADRO N.º 5: Comparación de las variaciones de la intensidad en los discursos de la intérprete 1

c) Duración

En el caso de la grabación preliminar, la intérprete 1 pronunció 5,26 sílabas segundo (2,87 palabras por segundo).¹³ En el discurso meta la producción fue de 3,82 sílabas por segundo (1,86 palabras por segundo), lo cual demuestra una reducción del 27,37% de la producción silábica por un mismo sujeto en dos situaciones comunicativas diferentes. Esta reducción puede deberse, bien a la complejidad de la tarea o bien a la velocidad “impuesta” por la oradora, y parecería contradecir lo manifestado por Darò (1990) sobre la supuesta velocidad alta del habla de los intérpretes profesionales. Es de destacar, sin embargo, que a pesar de esta reducción, la intérprete emplea una velocidad de habla que sigue siendo superior a la de la oradora (2,70 sil/seg), lo cual —porcentualmente— implica que el discurso meta ha sido emitido con una velocidad 41,48% mayor que la del discurso original.

171

5.1.3. Intérprete 2

a) F0, rango y declinación

El rango entonacional promedio de los 31 grupos entonacionales del *discurso preliminar de la intérprete 2* es de 52,60 Hz y el rango máximo de este discurso es de 109 Hz. Tratándose de una persona con habla “normal” más grave que la oradora y la intérprete 1, no es de extrañar que el pico máximo se sitúe en 248 Hz (243 Hz por debajo de la oradora y 222 Hz por debajo de la intérprete 1), y el valor mínimo en 97 Hz. La *declinación* promedio de este discurso es de -0,07 Hz/ms (compárese con las grabaciones preliminares de la oradora e intérprete 1 con -0,62 Hz/ms en el primer caso y -0,51 Hz/ms en el segundo).

En el *discurso meta* los valores son ciertamente reveladores. El rango promedio de los 34 grupos entonacionales es de 172,50 Hz y el rango máximo es de 349 Hz. El pico máximo alcanzado por las curvas melódicas de este discurso es de 320 Hz y el mínimo es de 147 Hz. La declinación promedio de este discurso meta es de -0,21 Hz/ms. Estos valores demuestran un notable aumento general de los valores frecuenciales “normales” de la intérprete 2. El rango se ha visto incrementado, muy considerablemente, en un 227,90%. El valor mínimo de F0 del discurso meta es un 51,54% más elevado que este mismo punto en la grabación preliminar, y el valor máximo del discurso meta se ubica un 22,50% por encima de este valor en la grabación preliminar.

Según estos datos, el nivel de monotonía “normal” del habla de la intérprete 2 parece haberse visto “revolucionado” ante la interpretación simultánea y todos los valores se han disparado considerablemente. Esta alteración, sin embargo, no se ve reflejada en una exageración entonacional desmedida (hipermelodía, en términos de Poyatos 1994), poco natural o contraproducente del discurso meta. El aumento de los valores entonacionales se refleja a nivel perceptivo en un aumento del dinamismo y del énfasis en la producción de la intérprete. Esta mayor “agilidad” introducida por la intérprete 2 en su discurso meta puede haber sido desencadenada por una valoración negativa —automática e inconsciente tal vez— de la excesiva monotonía del discurso original. A partir de esta valoración, la intérprete 2 se separa por completo de su media normal para producir un discurso meta comunicativamente efectivo.

En el cuadro n.º6 se presenta una comparación de los valores de la F0, el rango y la declinación en los discursos producidos por la intérprete 2:

		GRABACIÓN PRELIMINAR INTÉRPRETE 2	DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 2
F0	Pico máximo	248 Hz	320 Hz
	Valor mínimo	97Hz	147 Hz
Rango	Rango máximo	109 Hz	349 Hz
	Rango promedio	52,60 Hz	172,50 Hz
Declinación	Promedio	-0,07 Hz/ms	-0,21 Hz/ms

CUADRO N.º 6: Comparación intra-subjetiva de la F0, el rango y la declinación de los discursos de la intérprete 2

Es necesario recalcar, sin embargo, que *no* puede decirse que la intérprete 2 sea monótona en la grabación preliminar a pesar de lo reducido del rango, de lo bajo

que se ubican los puntos máximos y mínimos y de lo poco pronunciada que es la declinación. Estos valores no reducen la eficacia comunicativa del discurso preliminar, algo que sí sucede con el discurso original, donde los valores frecuenciales son similares a los de la intérprete 2. A continuación en el cuadro n.º 7 se presentan los valores acústicos del discurso original y de la grabación preliminar de la intérprete 2.

		DISCURSO ORIGINAL ORADORA	GRABACIÓN PRELIMINAR INTÉRPRETE 2
F0	Pico máximo	276 Hz	248 Hz
	Valor mínimo	80 Hz	97Hz
Rango	Rango máximo	147 Hz	109 Hz
	Rango promedio	69,50 Hz	52,60 Hz
Declinación	Promedio	-0,12 Hz/ms	-0,07 Hz/ms

CUADRO N.º 7: Comparación inter-subjetiva de la F0, el rango y la declinación del discurso original y la grabación preliminar de la intérprete 2

Sería interesante, a partir de estos resultados, plantear y analizar las posibles diferencias acústico-perceptivas que habría entre un discurso original monótono *natural* (como es el caso de la intérprete 2 donde el hablante es “normalmente” monótono) y un discurso original con una monotonía *artificial* (impuesta, por ejemplo, por necesidades metodológicas, como es el caso de la oradora). Nos inclinamos a pensar que en el caso de la monotonía “natural”, el hablante explotaría adecuadamente los recursos entonacionales con los que cuenta anatómicamente y esto le permitiría ser efectivo a nivel comunicativo. En el caso de una monotonía “impuesta”, el hablante, por falta de práctica quizás, no lograría aprovechar los recursos de los que dispone y su contribución no sería tan efectiva a nivel comunicativo.¹⁴

b) Intensidad

En la *grabación preliminar de la intérprete 2*, el promedio de diferenciales de intensidad es de 17,93 dB, lo cual, en un rango de intensidad de 55 dB, representa —porcentualmente— una variación promedio del 32,60% entre los picos máximos y mínimos de intensidad. En este discurso, el mayor diferencial de intensidad es de 31 dB y la diferencia mínima es 7 dB.

En el *discurso meta*, el promedio de diferenciales de intensidad es de 22,03 dB, lo cual, en un rango de intensidad de 58 dB, representa un 37,98% de variación porcentual promedio entre los picos de intensidad de la ponencia. El rango de

intensidad de la grabación preliminar (55 dB) es un 5,38% menor que el del discurso meta (58 dB), y los diferenciales de intensidad (máximo y mínimo) del discurso meta son de 36 dB y 9 dB, respectivamente.

Como se observa en el cuadro n.º 8, los valores de intensidad señalan una leve variación de la intensidad en los discursos producidos por la intérprete 2. Dado que los rangos totales de variación de la intensidad son similares en las dos producciones de la intérprete 2 y la variación porcentual de la intensidad dentro de estos rangos es similar, se puede decir que no se observa gran variación de la intensidad en los discursos de este sujeto, a pesar de la influencia que pudiera ejercer la situación comunicativa y el discurso original.

	GRABACIÓN PRELIMINAR INTÉRPRETE 2	DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 2
Mayor diferencial de intensidad	31 dB	36 dB
Menor diferencial de intensidad	7 dB	9 dB
Rango de variación de la intensidad	55 dB	58 dB
Promedio de diferenciales de intensidad	17,93 dB	22,03 dB
Variación porcentual promedio de la intensidad	32,60%	37,98%

CUADRO N.º 8: Comparación de las variaciones de la intensidad en los discursos de la intérprete 2

c) Duración

En el caso de la grabación preliminar, la intérprete 2 pronunció 5,65 sílabas por segundo (3,22 palabras por segundo). En el discurso meta, por otra parte, la producción fue de 3,98 sílabas por segundo (1,96 palabras por segundo). En este caso, la producción silábica en la grabación preliminar es comparable con la de la intérprete 1 en la misma situación, y en ambos casos se aproxima a los valores propuestos por Lenneberg (1967). Asimismo, la intérprete 2 reduce su producción silábica al enfrentarse a la interpretación simultánea en un 29,55% (valor equiparable al intérprete 1, con una reducción del 27,37%), lo que nuevamente parecería contradecir la apreciación de Darò (1990) sobre la velocidad de habla de los intérpretes. Como sucede con la intérprete 1, la reducción del número de sílabas emitidas por la intérprete 2 no llega a alcanzar los niveles de la oradora, siendo la producción de la intérprete 2 un 32,16% mayor que la de la oradora. Esta reducción de la producción silábica de la intérprete 2 puede deberse a los mismos dos factores

mencionados para el caso de la intérprete 1: la velocidad del discurso original monótono y/o la dificultad añadida por la tarea de estar interpretando.

5.2. Valores inter-subjetivos

5.2.1. Las dos intérpretes

a) La frecuencia fundamental, el rango y la declinación

En este apartado, se compilan los datos acústicos de las dos intérpretes y se comparan los valores inter-subjetivamente, es decir, que se valora el desempeño acústico de una intérprete con respecto a la otra.

Como se observa a continuación en el cuadro n.º9, los valores frecuenciales de uno y otro intérprete son similares por tratarse de hablantes del mismo sexo, pero hay valores que difieren demasiado como para calcular una media fiable entre ambas intérpretes. Es notable que la intérprete 2 haya alcanzado valores aún superiores a los de la intérprete 1, teniendo en cuenta que la voz de la intérprete 2 en la grabación preliminar resultó ser mucho más grave que la de la intérprete 1. El punto de mayor divergencia entre los dos intérpretes es el del *rango máximo* y los valores mínimos de F0.

175

		DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 1	DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 2
F0	Pico máximo	420 Hz	486 Hz
	Valor mínimo	77 Hz	128 Hz
Rango	Rango máximo	293 Hz	349 Hz
	Rango promedio	196,70 Hz	172, 50 Hz
Declinación	Promedio	-0,28 Hz/ms	-0,21 Hz/ms

CUADRO N.º 9: Comparación inter-subjetiva (Intérpretes 1 y 2) de la F0, el rango y la declinación en los discursos meta

Debido a estas diferencias tonales absolutas entre una intérprete y otra, no es conveniente calcular una media entre ambas, para luego comparar su desempeño conjunto con el de la oradora. Por ello, y para demostrar que las intérpretes presentaron sus discursos con una entonación menos monótona que la oradora, se ha recurrido a una normalización porcentual (o transformación a valores relativos que, en este caso, se expresa en porcentaje), la cual permitirá la comparación inter-subjetiva de cada intérprete con respecto a la oradora. Se ha considerado como

punto de partida la F0 media del discurso de cada sujeto y, a partir de ese valor, se ha calculado en porcentaje el máximo alejamiento (cálculo de *span*, según Ladd 1996: 260 y Patterson & Ladd 1999: 1169) de la F0 con respecto al valor medio de cada discurso. Asimismo, se han normalizado los valores de rangos y de la declinación para obtener una perspectiva más completa de los valores de la F0. En el apartado 5.2.2. se proporcionan los datos de estas normalizaciones.

b) La intensidad

En el cuadro n.º10, se comparan la intensidad de los discursos meta producidos por las intérpretes.

	DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 1	DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 2	VALORES MEDIOS INTÉRPRETES 1 Y 2
Mayor diferencial de intensidad	32 dB	36 dB	34 dB
Menor diferencial de intensidad	10 dB	9 dB	9,5 dB
Rango de variación de la intensidad	39 dB	58 dB	48,50 dB
Promedio de diferenciales de intensidad	22 dB	22,03 dB	22,015 dB
Variación porcentual promedio de la intensidad	56,40%	37,98%	47,19%

CUADRO N.º10: Comparación inter-subjetiva (intérpretes 1 y 2) de las variaciones de la intensidad en los discursos meta

En la comparación inter-subjetiva de la intensidad de los discursos meta nos encontramos con valores muy similares entre sí, salvo en el caso de la variación porcentual promedio de la intensidad, donde la variación de la intérprete 1 es un 18,42% mayor que la de la intérprete 2, ya que el rango donde se producen estas variaciones es menor en el discurso meta de la intérprete 1.

c) La duración

En el cuadro n.º11 se observa claramente que la duración del discurso meta 1 y del discurso meta 2 son similares en cuanto al número de sílabas articuladas por segundo. Esto permite calcular una media representativa para la comparación inter-subjetiva con la oradora.

	DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 1	DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 2	VALORES MEDIOS INTÉRPRETES 1 Y 2
N.º de sílabas por segundo	3,82 sil/seg	3,98 sil/seg	3,90 sil/seg
N.º de palabras por segundo	1,86 pal/seg	1,96 pal/seg	1,91 pal/seg

CUADRO N.º 11: Comparación inter-subjetiva (intérpretes 1 y 2) de la duración de los discursos meta

5.2.2. Las dos intérpretes y la oradora

a) La frecuencia fundamental, el rango y la declinación

En el cuadro n.º 12 se compilan los valores absolutos (Hz) y normalizados (%) de la F0 máxima, la F0 mínima y la F0 promedio de los discursos de la oradora y las intérpretes.

	DISCURSO ORIGINAL ORADORA		DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 1		DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 2	
	Valores absolutos	Valores normalizados	Valores absolutos	Valores normalizados	Valores absolutos	Valores normalizados
F0 máximo	233 Hz	17,67%	354 Hz	57,33%	320 Hz	36,75%
F0 mínimo	163,6 Hz	-17,37%	157 Hz	-30,22%	147 Hz	-37,18%
F0 media	198 Hz	0%	255 Hz	0%	234 Hz	0%

CUADRO N.º 12: Comparación inter-subjetiva (oradora e intérpretes) de la F0 y la excursión con respecto la media (valores absolutos y normalizados)

En términos absolutos (Hz), se puede observar que los valores de F0 máximo, F0 mínimo y F0 promedio de las intérpretes son bastante mayores que los de la oradora, lo que podría interpretarse como una melodiosidad mayor en los discursos de las intérpretes que en el de la oradora.

Ahora bien, como sugirió el revisor anónimo de esta investigación, es necesario normalizar (relativizar) estos valores para facilitar la comparación inter-subjetiva (oradora-intérprete 1 y oradora-intérprete 2). El procedimiento de normalización seleccionado (tanto para los datos del cuadro n.º 12 como del n.º 13) ha sido la reducción de hercios a porcentaje.¹⁵

En el cuadro n.º 12 se puede ver que la *excursión de la F0 máxima* de la oradora con respecto a su F0 media es de 17,67%, mientras que en el caso de la intérprete

La excursión es del 57,33% y en el caso de la intérprete 2 es del 36,75%. En la comparación inter-sujeto se observa que el valor máximo de F0, con respecto a la F0 media de la intérprete 1 es un 39,66% (diferencia entre 57,33 y 17,67) mayor que el de la oradora; mientras que la F0 máxima, con respecto a la F0 media, de la intérprete 2 es un 19,08% (diferencia entre 36,75 y 17,67) mayor que la de la oradora. Estos valores señalan que, en el caso de las dos intérpretes, los niveles máximos de F0 se separan de la F0 media (excursión) bastante más acusadamente que la oradora, lo que indicaría una mayor melodiosidad en los discursos meta.

En el caso de los valores de *F0 mínima*, la oradora presenta una excursión de la F0 mínima con respecto a su F0 media de -17,37%, mientras que la intérprete 1 presenta un valor de -30,22% y la intérprete 2 un -37,18%. Esto quiere decir que, en la comparación oradora-intérprete 1, la segunda presenta una excursión de la F0 mínima que es un 12,85% (diferencia entre 30,22% y 17,37%) mayor que la excursión de la oradora. En la comparación oradora-intérprete 2, se observa que la excursión (F0 mínima con respecto a la F0 media) de la intérprete 2 es un 19,81% mayor (diferencia entre 37,18 y 17,37%) que la excursión de la oradora.

178

En resumen, los valores del cuadro n.º 12 demuestran, tanto en términos absolutos como relativos, que los valores de excursión de las F0 máximas y mínimas con respecto a las F0 medias son más acusados en el caso de las intérpretes que en el caso de la oradora, lo que podría indicar que los discursos meta son más melodiosos que el discurso original.

Estos resultados se complementan con los valores relacionados con los rangos y declinaciones que se presentan a continuación en el cuadro n.º 13, los cuales parecen señalar tendencias similares que confirmarían la hipótesis inicial de trabajo.

	DISCURSO ORIGINAL ORADORA		DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 1		DISCURSO META INTÉRPRETE 2	
	Valores absolutos	Valores normalizados	Valores absolutos	Valores normalizados	Valores absolutos	Valores normalizados
RANGO						
Rango máximo	147 Hz	0%	293 Hz	99,32%	349 Hz	137,41%
Rango mínimo	22 Hz	0%	144 Hz	554,54%	62 Hz	181,82%
Rango promedio	69,50 Hz	0%	196,70 Hz	182,01%	172, 50 Hz	148,20%
DECLINACIÓN						
Promedio	-0,12 Hz/ms	0%	-0,28 Hz/ms	133,33%	-0,21 Hz/ms	75%

CUADRO N.º 13: Comparación inter-subjetiva (oradora e intérpretes) del rango y la declinación (valores absolutos y normalizados)

En lo referido a los *rangos máximos*, en términos absolutos es evidente que las intérpretes cuentan con rangos máximos mayores que la oradora, lo que señalaría una mayor melodiosidad en los discursos meta. Ahora bien, es necesario normalizar (%) estos resultados para facilitar la comparación inter-subjetiva. Una vez obtenidos los valores relativos, se puede observar que el rango máximo de la intérprete 1 es un 99,32% mayor que el de la oradora. En cuanto a la intérprete 2, su rango máximo es un 137,41% mayor que el de la oradora. Similares tendencias se observan en los *rangos mínimos*. El rango mínimo de la intérprete 1 es un 554,54% mayor que el de la oradora, y el rango mínimo de la intérprete 2 es un 181,82% mayor también. En lo que atañe a los *rangos promedios*, el rango promedio de las intérpretes 1 y 2 son, respectivamente, 182,01% y 148,20% mayores que el de la oradora.

Por último, los valores relativos a las *declinaciones promedio* parecen, asimismo, confirmar las expectativas planteadas. La declinación promedio de la intérprete 1 es un 133,33% más acusada que la de la oradora y la declinación promedio de la intérprete 2 es un 75% mayor que la de la oradora.

Todos estos resultados contribuyen a confirmar la hipótesis inicial de trabajo. Las intérpretes han emitido sus discursos de manera más melodiosa que la oradora y esto se observa claramente tanto en los valores absolutos como en los relativos.

179

b) La intensidad

En el caso de las variaciones de intensidad entre el discurso original y los discursos meta, no se observan grandes variaciones entre lo que podemos denominar un discurso original “monótono” y las interpretaciones “melodiosas”. Los diferenciales máximos y mínimos son similares, así como el rango de variación de la intensidad. Donde sí se observan diferencias considerables es en el caso del promedio de los diferenciales de intensidad y en la variación porcentual promedio de la intensidad.

Los discursos meta tienen diferenciales de intensidad que son un 8,32% mayores que los del discurso original y la variación porcentual promedio de la intensidad es, en el caso de los discursos meta, un 16,73% mayor que la del discurso original. Estos valores ponen de manifiesto que las intérpretes han explotado más efectivamente la intensidad en sus producciones, lo cual —perceptivamente— se ve reflejado en una reducción de la monotonía. Estas variaciones de intensidad pueden deberse, por una parte, a la monotonía inducida en el discurso original de la oradora y, por otra, al hecho de que la oradora *lea* su discurso con orientación oblicua (*oblique orientation*) (Brazil et al 1980), lo cual puede llevarla a reducir las variaciones de intensidad dentro de su discurso.

	DISCURSO ORIGINAL ORADORA	DISCURSOS META INTÉRPRETES (MEDIA)
Mayor diferencial de intensidad	39 dB	34 dB
Menor diferencial de intensidad	7 dB	9,50 dB
Rango de variación de la intensidad	45 dB	48,50 dB
Promedio de diferenciales de intensidad	13,70 dB	22,015 dB
Variación porcentual promedio de la intensidad	30,46%	47,19%

CUADRO N.º 14: Comparación inter-subjetiva (oradora e intérpretes) de las variaciones de la intensidad

Como ya se observó en el análisis intra-subjetivo de los datos de la oradora, es evidente que los factores del apartado a) relacionados con la F0, el rango y la declinación son más relevantes a la hora de analizar la monotonía. No obstante, la intensidad y la duración son aspectos de consideración ineludible en los análisis de monotonía.

c) La duración

Como se observa en el Cuadro n.º 15, la oradora articula en promedio 2,70 sil/seg en el discurso original, lo cual puede considerarse un valor bastante bajo teniendo en cuenta las estadísticas al respecto (Lenneberg: 1967, por ejemplo). Los intérpretes, como promedio, producen un número de sílabas un 44,44% mayor que el de la oradora, lo cual numéricamente representa 3,90 sil/seg. Estos valores demuestran que los intérpretes tienen una producción silábica mayor que la oradora; lo que, perceptivamente, se refleja también en una reducción de la monotonía. Asimismo, y como se adelantó en el apartado 5.1.1., inciso c), es probable que los intérpretes hablen más de prisa por el hecho de emitir sus discursos en *habla espontánea*, a diferencia de la oradora, que *lee* su discurso (Sosa 1999). Sin embargo, los valores de este apartado parecen contradecir los obtenidos en la

	DISCURSO ORIGINAL ORADORA	DISCURSOS META INTÉRPRETES (MEDIA)
N.º de sílabas por segundo	2,70 sil/seg	3,90 sil/seg
N.º de palabras por segundo	1,72 pal/seg	1,91 pal/seg

CUADRO N.º 15: Comparación inter-subjetiva (oradora e intérpretes) de la duración de los discursos original y meta

grabación preliminar y discurso original de la oradora, donde la velocidad no parece ser un factor relacionado con la monotonía del discurso.

6. Resumen y conclusiones

Apriorísticamente, se suponía que las intérpretes profesionales, como facilitadoras de la comunicación interlingüística e intercultural, reducirían la monotonía de un discurso original presentado con una entonación injustificadamente monótona. En la fase de verificación empírica se pudo comprobar esta hipótesis de partida y se obtuvieron los siguientes resultados:

- La oradora aumenta su grado habitual de monotonía en la producción del discurso original, a partir de las indicaciones metodológicas que recibió (ver cuadros n.º 2 y 3).
- Las intérpretes emplean, para sus discursos meta, una entonación menos monótona que la oradora. Esto se ve reflejado en los valores absolutos y relativos de F0, rango y declinación (cuadros n.º 12 y n.º 13), y en algunos resultados de las variaciones de la intensidad (cuadro n.º 14) y duración (cuadro n.º 15).
- En lo referido a los valores de F0, puede observarse que, tanto en términos absolutos (Hz) como relativos (%), las intérpretes se alejan más acusadamente de sus F0 medias (excursión) que la oradora. Del mismo modo, los rangos (máximos y mínimos y promedios) de las intérpretes son más amplios que los de la oradora. Similares tendencias se observan en las declinaciones de las intérpretes, que son más pronunciadas que la declinación de la oradora.
- En cuanto a las variaciones de intensidad, se observa que —en sus producciones— las intérpretes han explotado más efectivamente los rangos de intensidad que la oradora. Esta variación de la intensidad, junto con las variaciones de la F0, el rango y la declinación, parecen contribuir al aumento de la melodiosidad de los discursos meta.
- Ahora bien, en el presente estudio, las variaciones de la duración *no* pueden relacionarse directamente con las variaciones del grado de monotonía. Por una parte, la oradora produce un discurso monótono en el que no se aprecia una diferencia sustancial en el número de sílabas articuladas por segundo, con respecto a su propio discurso de referencia (grabación preliminar, en apartado 5.1.1.). Esto podría indicar que no habría una relación directa entre la duración y la entonación monótona, a pesar de lo adelantado en el cuadro n.º 1. Por otra parte, los discursos de las intérpretes resultan más veloces que el discurso original de la oradora, pero esto puede deberse al hecho de estar interpretando (Darò 1990) y al hecho de estar emitiendo sus discursos en habla espontánea (Sosa

1999). Por estos motivos, la duración parece ser el correlato menos determinante de la monotonía, mientras que la F0 y la intensidad parecen ser correlatos más pertinentes.

A partir del análisis realizado se puede demostrar que las intérpretes, como comunicadoras profesionales, han reducido la monotonía del discurso original en aras de la eficacia comunicativa. Si bien el número de sujetos involucrados en el proyecto es reducido, los resultados obtenidos en el presente estudio marcan ciertas tendencias, que evidentemente habrán de ser refrendados con muestras mayores para sentar las bases necesarias para una generalización. El haber sometido la entonación de la oradora y de las intérpretes a un análisis acústico ha permitido obtener resultados numéricos objetivos que han conducido a la verificación empírica de la hipótesis planteada.

La metodología acústica desarrollada en este trabajo puede ser de utilidad para futuros estudios dentro de esta línea interdisciplinar de investigación. La investigación en interpretación puede servir de la metodología desarrollada por las diversas ramas de la filología, como la fonética acústica. El mutuo enriquecimiento derivado de la investigación interdisciplinar es un fenómeno al cual la investigación en interpretación no puede permitirse estar ajena.

Notas

1. Quisiera dar las gracias al revisor anónimo que se encargó de la corrección de las versiones preliminares de este trabajo. Sus muy útiles y certeras observaciones fueron de sumo provecho. También quisiera agradecer al Prof. Dr. Antonio Pamies y al Ing. Roberto Nafá por sus comentarios y dedicación. Todos los errores que pueda haber en este trabajo son de exclusiva responsabilidad de la autora.

2. Todas las definiciones y sus correspondientes traducciones al español que se proporcionan en las notas 2, 3 y 4 han sido tomadas de Quilis (1988). Jones (1909) define la entonación como: "Variaciones en el tono de la voz del hablante". Bolinger (1955: 20), por su parte, la define como: "La línea melódica del habla, la elevación y descenso del 'fundamental'".

3. Hultén (1957: 317) proporciona la siguiente definición de entonación: "El patrón de tonicidades y atonicidades que comprende el acento y la duración tanto como el tono". Lieberman (1965: 40), por su parte, considera que la entonación se define como: "Todo el conjunto de contornos tonales y niveles acentuales que ocurren cuando se emite una oración". La traducción de estas definiciones es de Quilis (1988).

4. Desde una perspectiva funcional, Denes (1959: 106) define entonación así: "La entonación es la forma lingüística que comunica información de las actitudes emotivas del hablante sobre la materia que se trate". Danes (1960: 34), por su parte, considera que la entonación es "uno de los recursos comunicativos elementales de la

lengua, que forma un sistema fonológico especial, y sirve para la organización de enunciados de un modo diferente en diferentes lenguas". Lehiste (1970: 83) aporta que: "El término entonación se refiere a la función lingüísticamente significante de la frecuencia fundamental a nivel de la oración". Artemov (1965: 130) considera que: "La entonación es un fenómeno que se observa en el lenguaje oral, mediante el cual adquieren una expresión concreta el aspecto comunicativo de lo hablado, así como su significado y régimen sintáctico". La traducción de estas definiciones es de Quilis (1988).

⁵. Crystal (1969: 128), en la descripción más exhaustiva e influyente de estos rasgos en la lengua inglesa, proporciona la siguiente definición de rasgos prosódicos: "vocal effects constituted by variations along the parameters of pitch, loudness, duration and silence". En cuanto a la definición fonética de rasgos paralingüísticos, Crystal (1969: 128) los define así: "vocal effects which are primarily the result of physiological mechanisms other than the vocal cords, such as the direct result of the workings of the pharyngeal, oral and nasal cavities".

⁶. Soler et al (2001: 25) consideran, en este sentido que "intonation has too often been considered the only means of conveying the speaker's attitudes, usually neglecting other important and meaningful features of spoken discourse [...]".

⁷. La *intensidad alta* equivale a lo que coloquialmente se denomina *volumen alto*. Gráficamente, se visualiza en la mayor variación entre los picos de intensidad.

⁸. La *duración breve* depende directamente de una *velocidad de habla alta*. Implica una mayor producción de sílabas por segundo. Aunque suponíamos que la entonación melodiosa estaría caracterizada por una duración breve (o lo que es lo mismo, una velocidad de habla alta) los resultados de la oradora no parecen demostrar una correlación en este sentido. No obstante, al comparar a la oradora con los intérpretes

(cuadro n.º 14) sí se confirman las expectativas iniciales.

⁹. La *intensidad baja* equivale a lo que coloquialmente se denomina *volumen bajo*. Gráficamente, se visualiza en la menor variación entre los picos de intensidad.

¹⁰. La *duración prolongada* depende directamente de una *velocidad lenta de habla*. Implica una menor producción de sílabas por segundo. Aunque apriorísticamente suponíamos que la entonación monótona estaría acompañada de una duración prolongada (o velocidad lenta), los datos de la oradora no parecen corroborar esta premisa. Como se aclaró en la nota n.º 7, al comparar a la oradora con los intérpretes, parecerían confirmarse las expectativas iniciales.

¹¹. Claro está que lo ideal hubiera sido trabajar con discursos reales (donde la monotonía no hubiese sido inducida), pero este tipo de estudio hubiera dificultado la obtención de dos interpretaciones reales, de un mismo discurso, algo que en la práctica profesional no sucede prácticamente nunca, y el análisis hubiera resultado un estudio de caso, de la entonación de un solo intérprete.

¹². Los 163,60 Hz de valor mínimo en el discurso monótono (que podría compararse con los 69 Hz del discurso melodioso) no tienen demasiada relevancia como valor absoluto, puesto que sirven sólo para sentar el umbral bajo del rango, y no como indicador del grado de monotonía.

¹³. Este valor, junto con el de la duración de la grabación preliminar de la intérprete 2, son los valores que más se aproximan a los presentados por Lenneberg (1967).

¹⁴. Para un estudio así habría que diferenciar entre el análisis perceptivo y el análisis acústico de la entonación. El *análisis fonético perceptivo* es el análisis que se realiza *auditivamente*, sin el apoyo de instrumental acústico. Los resultados de este análisis son subjetivos y dependen de la sensibilidad del

individuo. De hecho, Quilis (1999) trata la percepción del sonido dentro de lo que se denomina "psico-fonética", un campo de la psicología experimental. Quilis aclara que "en la percepción de un estímulo acústico existen dos aspectos de naturaleza diferente: uno es el físico, que se puede medir objetivamente en todos sus componentes; otro es el psicológico, es decir el grado de sensación que ese estímulo produce en nosotros; este aspecto

sensorial es subjetivo y mucho más difícil de controlar" (Quilis 1999: 137-138).

¹⁵. Para la *normalización a porcentuales* se ha aplicado la siguiente fórmula, a sugerencia del revisor anónimo de este trabajo: valor que hay que normalizar, multiplicado por cien, dividido por la media, a todo lo cual se resta cien, o lo que es lo mismo: $(X \cdot 100 / F_0 \text{ media}) - 100$.

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EL PAPEL DEL ANCLAJE EN LA TRADUCCIÓN: LOS TEXTOS PERIODÍSTICOS

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187

1. Anclaje, contexto, cotexto y situación

El anclaje, o grado de dependencia (semántica, pragmática, icónica, etc.) que presenta un elemento textual determinado respecto de su cotexto y/o contexto, es un factor esencial en la determinación del concepto de equivalencia interlingüística, como trataremos de demostrar en el presente estudio. El concepto de anclaje está estrechamente relacionado con los de cotexto, contexto y situación, ya que éstos determinan los parámetros extratextuales e intratextuales que el traductor tiene en consideración en el proceso de trasvase. Además, es preciso fijar ciertos límites al alcance del cotexto y del contexto, para poder determinar hasta qué punto un elemento está anclado únicamente al material lingüístico que lo rodea, o tiene una dependencia más global que afecta al texto en sí y a la situación en que éste se produce.

Los términos “contexto”, “cotexto” y “situación” son (aún hoy en día) muy polémicos, pues sus límites son difusos; esta imprecisión conceptual se suma al problema terminológico, ya que los teóricos utilizan multiplicidad de alternativas.¹ De ahí que la aproximación a este tema sea “uno de los problemas más intrincados, por las diferentes y encontradas posiciones de las distintas escuelas y teorías, por la ambigüedad de su definición, etc.” (Lozano et al. 1982: 43). En general, el término “contexto” puede tener tres acepciones:

(a) la situación en que se produce el hecho comunicativo (el *immediate context of utterance* para Leckie-Tarry 1995: 11); correspondería al *environment* y al *context* de Crystal (1985: 110);

(b) el cúmulo de conocimientos compartidos con el/los interlocutor(es) (el *wider context of culture* de Leckie-Tarry 1995: 11); para Crystal, correspondería tanto a *extralinguistic context* (1985: 117) como a *context, situation* o *situational context* (1985: 71-72);

(c) el marco del cuerpo textual (otros autores lo denominan “contexto textual”). Así, el “contexto” en su acepción más general parece incluir rasgos extratextuales y extralingüísticos (paralingüística, etc.). El problema reside en distinguir terminológica y conceptualmente las dos vertientes fundamentales del término “contexto”: el lingüístico, es decir, el que hace referencia al material textual en sí (cf. Myrkin, trad. de 1987: 30), y el contexto en el sentido *firthiano* (derivado de Malinowski), es decir, el contexto de situación o situacional (“situación sociolingüística” para Crystal 1985: 110). Para este último autor (1985), la solución sería denominar al primero “co-texto” (cf. Rabadán Álvarez 1991b: 40; Cook 1994: 24-25) y al segundo “contexto”, algo en lo que también Sinclair está de acuerdo (1991: 171).

188

De todo lo anterior podemos extraer varias conclusiones respecto al concepto de contexto:

(i) lo “extratextual”, “contextual” o “situacional” parece hacer referencia a todo aquello que tiene cierta relevancia de una forma externa respecto de un texto dado, información que se podría obtener sin entrar en un análisis interno profundo del texto (cf. Nord 1991: 37);

(ii) es posible clasificar el contexto comunicativo en dos tipos de factores:

- extratextuales lingüísticos (es decir, que se pueden expresar con medios lingüísticos), como el título del texto, su modo, etc.;
- extratextuales no lingüísticos (también denominados “extralingüísticos” o “extraverbales”, como son la paralingüística, la actitud del emisor y del receptor, etc.).

Por su parte, los estudios de traducción heredan esta misma indeterminación terminológica, salvo quizás Hatim y Mason, (1990: 240), que marcan claramente la diferencia entre *context, situational context* y *co-text*.

Para poder llevar a cabo el estudio de la relevancia del cotexto y el contexto en la muestra textual que aquí analizamos, es necesario delimitar los conceptos de “factor extratextual” y “factor intratextual”, que son de uso habitual tanto en los estudios de traducción como en la lingüística textual. Para nosotros, los parámetros extratextuales son aquellos que afectan al texto de forma genérica y al contexto o

situación en que se produce éste, es decir, a las circunstancias que rodean su emisión, y que se pueden inferir sin necesidad de entrar en un análisis detallado del texto.² Por su parte, los factores intratextuales afectan al cuerpo textual en sí, es decir, al material lingüístico. Distinguimos igualmente entre “cotexto”, que es el material lingüístico que rodea a un elemento determinado, y “contexto”, o conjunto de factores situacionales que se dan en toda comunicación, y que incluye tres dimensiones: comunicativa, pragmática y semiótica (Hatim y Mason 1997: 215). Así, los factores intratextuales están determinados por el contexto y el cotexto, aunque en diferentes grados según el tipo de comunicación de que se trate. Por su parte, los factores extratextuales son parámetros relacionados con el contexto comunicativo, que los determina, y tienen un impacto directo en los factores intratextuales. Por consiguiente, en el presente trabajo trataremos de analizar la relevancia que tiene en el proceso traductivo la dependencia que presentan los titulares periodísticos respecto del contexto y del cotexto, así como su relación con el concepto de equivalencia aplicado en la traducción de estos.

Las variables extratextuales se agrupan en torno a los siguientes elementos integrantes de toda situación comunicativa, que estudiaremos más adelante: (i) el mensaje(s) y sus circunstancias; (ii) el sistema(s) y sus circunstancias; (iii) el emisor(es) del mensaje y sus circunstancias; (iv) el receptor(es) y sus circunstancias, y finalmente (v) el cliente(s) (intermediario). Este último factor sería peculiar del hecho traductivo, donde por lo general existe una tercera parte que interviene en el hecho comunicativo, a cuya instancia se crea el texto, y que por ello influye directamente en la determinación del concepto de equivalencia.

2. Traducción, equivalencia y normas de traducción

Para poder llevar a cabo el análisis de la relevancia del grado de anclaje de los titulares de la muestra textual bilingüe que hemos compilado, es indispensable detenernos a explicar el concepto de “equivalencia”, de “traducción” y de “norma de traducción” que aplicamos en nuestro estudio.

Consideramos que la traducción es, en palabras de Neubert y Shreve (1992: 7), Rabadán Álvarez (1991a) y Hatim y Mason (1997) y otros, una “retextualización” o “recodificación” en una lengua meta, siempre ateniéndose a las circunstancias comunicativas específicas,³ motivo por el cual las aproximaciones más recientes hacen hincapié en el carácter comunicativo de la traducción, en contraposición al carácter lingüístico que distinguía los estudios previos, que por citar un ejemplo, llevaban a cabo evaluaciones de la calidad de las traducciones en términos casi exclusivamente lingüísticos, sin tomar en consideración aspectos icónicos, pragmáticos, funcionales o contextuales.

Concebimos los estudios de traducción como un ciencia funcional, sistémica⁴ e interdisciplinar que se interesa por las normas y limitaciones que intervienen en la producción y recepción de las traducciones (Hermans 1985: 10-11). Compartimos con Toury (1981, 1985 y 1995) y otros muchos la opinión de que los estudios de traducción deben partir de una base descriptiva, no prescriptiva; por ello, es muy importante dejar atrás los antiguos estudios basados en el texto origen como único modelo del proceso traductivo para propugnar un modelo *target-oriented*,⁵ que según Toury (1985: 25) es el único que permite otorgar validez funcional a las *zero-solutions* (omisiones) y a las creaciones a partir de <Ø> como respuestas traductivas. Los estudios descriptivos de traducción se basan en el texto meta sin juzgarlo a través del filtro prescriptivo del texto origen, y lo comparan con su original en busca del establecimiento de una relación entre ambos y de una serie de regularidades (cf. Hermans 1985: 13).

Como consecuencia inmediata de este postulado teórico, la “equivalencia” será, como defienden Rabadán Álvarez (1991a) y Reiss y Vermeer (trad. de 1996) entre otros muchos, la relación que existe entre un texto (o elemento textual) origen y un texto (o elemento textual) meta; se trata por tanto de una noción que “se redefine para cada juicio concreto que ha de emitirse” (Chamosa González 1997: 44-45), siendo diferente para cada proceso de traducción. La equivalencia translémica (cf. Rabadán Álvarez 1991a: 45), por consiguiente, no pretende buscar una versión “perfecta”, sino únicamente una versión aceptable en el sistema meta en función de las circunstancias comunicativas: **al margen de la mayor o menor corrección o fidelidad del TM respecto del TO, el primero será por definición equivalente a su original** (cf. Toury 1995: 35). Llevando a sus últimas consecuencias este postulado, un texto meta que no se reciba como traducción, desde el punto de vista funcional no se considerará como tal, y un texto que se reciba como traducción sin serlo, pasará a convertirse en traducción y se incorporará al universo textual de traducciones del sistema meta, hipótesis con la cual estamos de acuerdo.⁶

De todo esto se desprende que **“traducción” es todo texto que una civilización determinada recibe y acepta como tal en un momento histórico determinado, independientemente de su calidad, procedencia, fidelidad o incluso de la existencia de un TO, dado que lo único que se requiere para que un texto se califique de “traducción” es que funcione como tal en la cultura meta.** Este postulado es absolutamente esencial para nuestro estudio, ya que en consonancia con la teoría actual de la traducción, no vamos a entrar en consideraciones sobre si el titular meta es una “versión”, una “adaptación” o una “creación”; según el concepto de traducción vigente en la actualidad, un trasvase interlingüístico que sea una creación absoluta respecto del material origen es “tan traducción” como

lo pueda ser una traducción que sea “fiel” al original, concepto prescriptivo este último que ha sido rechazado hace ya tiempo por los estudios de traducción. Incluso puede darse el caso de que algunos textos no hayan sido trasvasados por traductores, como suele suceder con los títulos de las películas de cine o televisión; aún así, desde el momento en que dichos textos funcionan como traducciones, pasan a tener dicho estatus,⁷ sin cuestionar su fidelidad al original, calidad, etc.

Por otro lado, desde el punto de vista teórico estamos de acuerdo con Toury (1981: 19 y 1985: 20) en que las pseudo-traducciones pueden ser un objeto de análisis tan válido como cualquier otro texto;⁸ sin embargo, puesto que nuestra muestra textual está integrada en su totalidad por binomios textuales, no incluimos esta posibilidad en nuestro modelo de análisis.

Aceptamos el concepto de “norma” tanto como una serie de restricciones aceptadas por una sociedad y que modulan el proceso traductivo, como en el sentido de una serie de generalizaciones extraídas de un estudio o estudios descriptivos y que son indicativas de una regularidad de conducta.⁹ Dichas regularidades pueden ser indicativas de una norma vigente (Toury 1998: 19), pero no constituyen las normas en sí, sino que son muestra externa de la actividad subyacente de éstas (Toury 1998: 6). Dichas regularidades, en lo que afecta a la traducción de los titulares de prensa en función de su grado de anclaje al contexto y al cotexto, son las que tratamos de dilucidar en nuestra investigación, aunque se ha de tener en cuenta que nuestro estudio es limitado y, como aconseja Toury (1995), los resultados de las investigaciones con corpus reducidos, como nuestra muestra, deben compararse con otros estudios para la obtención de normas sincrónicas de traducción.

191

3. Los titulares de prensa

En nuestro estudio hemos tomado una serie de titulares de prensa y sus traducciones al español. Para poder definir los titulares, llamados también “títulos” por algunos autores (cf. Núñez Ladevéze 1995: 59-68), es preciso en primer lugar dilucidar si formarían parte o no del “supuesto” conjunto textual “titular + cuerpo textual”. Esto resulta fundamental para determinar si son elementos extratextuales (en cuyo caso serían unidad independiente del cuerpo textual) o intratextuales (es este caso, serían parte integrante de una unidad superior); en el primer caso, habrían de cumplir por sí solos los principios reguladores de la comunicación textual, es decir, la eficiencia,¹⁰ la eficacia,¹¹ la adecuación¹² y la naturalidad (Malmkjaer 1991: 469-471),¹³ así como los requisitos de “textualidad” (el cumplimiento de las siete condiciones tradicionales).¹⁴

Todo esto es fundamental para poder calibrar el estatus textual de los titulares, paso esencial para el análisis y justificación del grado de dependencia de estos respecto

de su contexto y/o cotexto respectivos, así como la valoración de las traducciones realizadas y el grado de dependencia de éstas de los mismos parámetros para, posteriormente, “extraer” (usando las palabras de Toury), las regularidades traductivas aplicables a este aspecto concreto de nuestra muestra textual bilingüe.

Los principales teóricos de la lingüística textual,¹⁵ los estudios de traducción y las ciencias de la información parecen estar de acuerdo en que los titulares y algunos elementos adyacentes, como los sumarios,¹⁶ las entradillas (que son *lead* de una línea),¹⁷ los cintillos¹⁸ y los ladillos (breves titulillos) conforman un género independiente; sin embargo, el cuerpo de la información también es un elemento independiente.¹⁹ Aunque cada uno pueda ser autónomo, ambos están íntimamente unidos, ya que juntos conforman una unidad textual reconocida por los hablantes de una lengua. Es importante recordar que, según los estudios más relevantes sobre género y tipología textual, un texto de un género determinado puede presentar insertos otros géneros,²⁰ lo cual no por ello produce transformaciones en el género global del texto (cf. Hatim y Mason 1997, etc.). Nord (1994: 85), que analiza en un artículo la traducción de diversos títulos, afirma que “son unidades textuales *sui generis* y constituyen un género o tipo textual” (cf. Brady 1996: 11);²¹ también Núñez Ladevéze (1995: 59-68) afirma que, aunque existe una indudable unión entre los titulares y el cuerpo del texto, que se basa en una coherencia de referencia temática, los primeros conformarían por sí mismos un texto distinto, ya que presentan funciones que les son peculiares y que no comparten necesariamente con el cuerpo textual. De hecho, Van Dijk (1988: 55), en su esquema ya clásico de la estructura de una noticia, separa el titular y el *lead* del cuerpo de la noticia o *story*.

En nuestro modelo partimos de la hipótesis de que la unidad textual “texto periodístico” está conformada por el cuerpo de la información más todos sus elementos accesorios (gráficos o textuales),²² que conforman sus peculiaridades, algunos de los cuales a su vez constituirían géneros con características distintivas, como los titulares (y algunas variantes como los sumarios, los cintillos, etc.). Así pues, los titulares van a tener siempre dependencia del cuerpo textual, aunque ésta se distribuye en un continuo doble: grado de dependencia del contexto y grado de dependencia del cotexto.

4. La muestra estudiada

En nuestro estudio hemos decidido utilizar el término “muestra” en lugar del de “corpus”, ya que Sinclair (1991), cuando habla de “córpora pequeños de carácter general”, menciona cifras de entre los 10 y los 20 millones de palabras, extensión que creemos más adecuada al trabajo de grandes equipos. Puesto que nuestra intención es llevar a cabo un estudio muy específico, hemos creído conveniente

El papel del anclaje en la traducción: los textos periodísticos

valernos de una “muestra” reducida, lo que se adecuía a la opinión de Toury (1995) o Baker (1993, 1995 y 1996), que defienden la validez de los estudios descriptivos de tamaño relativamente reducido. Por consiguiente, creemos que el tamaño de la muestra que estudiamos se ajusta a las necesidades y objetivos de la presente investigación.

La muestra está integrada por 122 artículos periodísticos en inglés, publicados por *The Guardian* en su edición para el Reino Unido del 1 de enero al 31 de diciembre de 1995, y sus correspondientes traducciones al español, publicadas por *El Mundo del Siglo XXI*. De esta muestra hemos elegido aleatoriamente para nuestro estudio únicamente diez titulares, que son los siguientes:²³

	To	PUBLIC.	Tm	PUBLIC.
[1a]	Genial neighbour appeared to be devoted parent	02/01/95	Perfil de Fred West, el asesino de Gloucester. “Un tipo entrañable”	03/01/95
[1b]	Time to hold breath	06/11/95	¿Qué será ahora de Israel?	07/11/95
[1c]	Shotgun wedding of the year thrills beleaguered Serbia	20/02/95	La bella y el bestia	21/02/95
[1d]	War of words	03/07/95	Chantaje de un terrorista al “Times” y al “Post”	07/07/95
[1e]	Playing with Mr. Big	11/05/95	“La gente está harta de San Bono”	13/05/95
[1f]	Dances with turkeys	28/06/95	Con el agua al cuello	22/07/95
[1g]	Death in the post	15/05/95	Unabomber, el terrorista más buscado en EEUU	28/05/95
[1h]	Last of a colourful courtier from Camelot era	02/05/95	Angier Biddle Duke. El hombre que se bañó en Palomares	03/05/95
[1i]	Rwanda’s unquiet dead speak louder than words	08/04/95	El olor del genocidio	08/04/95
[1j]	One winded president	19/12/95	Yeltsin perdió sus primarias	19/12/95

Fuente: elaboración propia

TABLA 1: Titulares analizados

Para nuestro estudio, es necesario valorar los parámetros fundamentales del contexto de los artículos que, como hemos visto en el apartado 1, son: emisor, receptor, mensaje, sistema y cliente (este último valor es específico del proceso de trasvase interlingüístico).

En lo tocante al **emisor** del mensaje, en el caso de los textos origen se trata de diversos autores. La información que posee el traductor sobre cada uno de ellos es nula, ya que es prácticamente imposible conocer su origen y circunstancias específicas, aunque el traductor puede hacer una tentativa de aproximación a través de su manifestación lingüística en el texto (por ejemplo, origen geográfico si hubiera variación lingüística manifiesta, grado de formación en función del vocabulario, adecuación o no adecuación al modelo de lengua, etc.).

Respecto al **receptor** del texto, el destinatario de los textos de *The Guardian*, según la teoría de “pronóstico de lectores” de Willis (1990: 49-58), sería un lector perteneciente a los siguientes tipos:²⁴ *opinion maker*, que lee prensa para formarse una opinión; *ego booster*, que lee prensa para confirmarse en su estatus²⁵ o imagen e impresionar a otros, e *instrumental*, que se vale de la prensa para estar informado. En cuanto a la parte española,²⁶ los lectores de *El Mundo* coincidirían con los tipos *opinion maker*, *instrumental* y *reader for pleasure* (que ve la lectura de prensa como una actividad agradable y entretenida), junto con un pequeño porcentaje del tipo *scanner*, cuyo interés en prensa es esporádico.

194

En cuanto a los rasgos socio-culturales definitorios de los lectores de los dos periódicos, se formuló esta consulta a los responsables del departamento correspondiente de cada una de las publicaciones, rogándoles que indicaran las características identificativas de su lector potencial. La publicación británica afirmó que su lector medio tendría entre 15 y 45 años y pertenecería a una clase media-alta, tendría estudios universitarios (probablemente también de posgrado), y se dividiría equitativamente entre hombres y mujeres. Para el periódico español su lector tipo tendría entre 18 y 60/70 años, pertenecería a una clase media, no tendría necesariamente estudios universitarios y también se dividiría equitativamente entre hombres y mujeres. Así pues, la diferencia fundamental entre ambos periódicos es que *El Mundo* parece hacer muchas más concesiones a su lector, ya que considera que los estudios de éste no son de un nivel tan alto como los de los receptores de *The Guardian*; el periódico español también se muestra más flexible en cuanto a clase social y margen de edad, por lo que se orienta a un destinatario mucho más general y menos formado que el del periódico británico.

Obviamente, estos datos son subjetivos: puesto que parten de los propios periódicos, están fuertemente determinados por la intención publicitaria de los mismos. Precisamente por este motivo los citamos para que sirvan de referencia genérica, pero trataremos de dilucidarlos de una forma más fiable valiéndonos más bien de su manifestación en los textos o, en nuestro caso específico, sirviéndonos del análisis de la traducción de los titulares estudiados.

Respecto al **mensaje** en sí, el traductor ha de valorar factores como la fecha y lugar de publicación del texto, su origen²⁷ y fuente,²⁸ el tema, la variación según el uso

(campo, tenor y modo), la modalidad discursiva, el medio, el propósito y función del texto, y su tipo textual y género. En cuanto al origen de los titulares y textos, en todos los casos se trata de artículos publicados en *The Guardian*, traducidos y publicados por *El Mundo*; respecto a la fuente, todos ellos provienen del cuerpo del periódico, no de sus especiales. El medio es escrito en todos los casos, y el resto de factores se valorarán más adelante de forma individual para cada uno de los titulares estudiados.

En cuanto al **sistema**, fundamentalmente se tienen en cuenta parámetros como las normas de producción del texto origen y meta, el modelo estético predominante en los dos sistemas implicados, la norma inicial de traducción aplicada, el contexto socio-cultural en que se produce el texto, etc. Para los titulares analizados, el traductor ha de conocer las distintas convenciones que rigen para el sistema origen y el meta en lo que afecta a los textos periodísticos, que se producen en contextos socio-culturales radicalmente diferentes (cf. Freeborn 1996: 265, Oakland 1989/1995: 270, Dunnett 1988: 102). En Gran Bretaña la mayoría de la población lee *tabloids*; sin embargo, los textos origen de la muestra proceden en su totalidad de lo que se denomina *broadsheet*, prensa considerada “seria” en Gran Bretaña (cf. Oakland 1989/1995). La división en la cultura británica entre “periódicos de calidad” y “tabloides” se hace en función de tres criterios: contenido, formato y precio. En cuanto al contenido, los tabloides tienden a ser sensacionalistas y superficiales (Oakland 1989/1995: 274);²⁹ frente a ellos, los periódicos de calidad analizan en profundidad los sucesos, incluyen secciones sobre arte y cultura y fomentan el juicio crítico del lector.³⁰ Los de calidad son de formato grande (*broadsheet*; llamados en español “sábanas”, cf. De La Serna 1996: 47),³¹ y los tabloides son más pequeños. Por último, en cuanto al precio, los periódicos de calidad son algo más caros que los populares.³² En cuanto a su talante, a pesar de existir una relación financiera entre ambos periódicos,³³ por la cual ambos pueden compartir material, y aunque *The Guardian* denomine a *El Mundo* “Spanish sister paper”,³⁴ la publicación española presenta un tratamiento de las noticias mucho más sensacionalista. Por otro lado, en el polo meta, es decir, el español, está activa una convención textual para los textos periodísticos que se observa más claramente si se contrastan los textos meta de la muestra con los textos origen: como hemos observado en un estudio anterior al analizar el cuerpo de los textos de esta misma muestra (cf. Samaniego Fernández 2001), los textos periodísticos españoles “facilitan” al lector la lectura, lo cual comienza por manifestarse en lo visual: “[...] los traductores se han percatado de que un texto ‘corrido’ tan largo como en el original inglés no es cómodo para la lectura y cansa visualmente al lector español, que si se encontrara con textos tan densos y largos y con un tipo de letra tan reducido, no leería el artículo por cansancio o pereza. De este modo, los traductores han dividido el texto en secciones temáticas para la

comodidad visual e interpretativa del receptor, y han fijado dichas divisiones mediante la inclusión de encabezados temáticos que marcan un cambio de tema o el análisis de una nueva perspectiva, adelantando su contenido al lector; además se reduce el tipo de letra, se aumenta el espacio entre párrafos, se añaden imágenes y/o se amplían éstas, se introducen bolos y otros elementos que facilitan visualmente el acceso al texto por parte del receptor” (Samaniego Fernández 2001).

En último lugar, y respecto al **cliente**, en el caso específico que nos ocupa de traducción de prensa, el conocimiento del cliente y de las circunstancias impuestas por éste no cuenta como variable de relevancia en la traducción, ya que las traducciones fueron hechas de forma interna por periodistas de la Sección Internacional, no por traductores externos (cf. Samaniego Fernández 2000), con lo cual el único factor que impone restricciones en la traducción es la limitación de espacio (y en algunos casos limitación de tiempo) propia de los textos periodísticos. Además, tampoco en este caso es el cliente el que impone los parámetros de presión de tiempo o de factor pecuniario, ya que estas traducciones no se pagan (cf. Sanderson 1995) y la presión de tiempo es muy difícil de valorar.³⁵

5. El anclaje en la muestra

El grado de dependencia de su contexto y/o cotexto, es decir, el “anclaje” que presentan los titulares obviamente tiene una enorme repercusión en traducción, pero no estamos haciendo referencia únicamente al papel que tiene el anclaje del titular origen en el proceso de traducción en sí, sino también al proceso de “readaptación” del anclaje del titular meta que hacen los traductores, casi siempre en función de los requisitos específicos impuestos por el sistema meta.

Es esencial recordar aquí lo que ya expusimos en el apartado 2.: **independientemente de su fidelidad al original o su calidad, consideramos que todos los titulares meta de la muestra, y más específicamente los diez titulares seleccionados para su estudio, son traducciones de sus titulares origen, precisamente por conformar elementos textuales aceptados y reconocidos como traducciones en la cultura meta, incluso en aquellos casos en que el titular meta es una creación absoluta.**

Veamos cómo se manifiesta esto en nuestra muestra para cada uno de los binomios:

[1a] Genial neighbour appeared to be devoted parent

Perfil de Fred West, el asesino de Gloucester. “Un tipo entrañable”

En este caso, para la comprensión del texto origen hace falta leer el cuerpo textual, ya que no es suficiente el contexto cultural general en que se produce el titular,

motivo por el que éste está fuertemente anclado al cuerpo textual; sin embargo, el titular meta se libera de esa atadura, puesto que aporta toda la información necesaria para interpretarlo y situarlo sin que sea imprescindible para ello el cuerpo textual (añade los datos “Fred West”, “asesino” y “Gloucester”). Como vemos, en el texto origen se ha dado primacía a la información que proporciona el cotexto, que es mínima, mientras que en el meta se ha centrado el texto dentro de un marco contextual más amplio. Así pues, la traducción ha “atenuado” el carácter relativamente críptico del titular origen.

[1b] Time to hold breath	¿Qué será ahora de Israel?
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En este ejemplo para la comprensión del texto origen es necesario el cotexto además del contexto, mientras que en el titular meta el cotexto desempeña un papel más secundario, ya que se especifica el tema al que se hace referencia (“Israel”). Así pues, el titular meta vuelve a facilitarle la tarea referencial al lector, proporcionándole los datos esenciales para situar la noticia sin necesidad de leer el cuerpo textual.

[1c] Shotgun wedding of the year thrills beleaguered Serbia	La bella y el bestia
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197

El texto hace referencia a la polémica que despertó en su día la boda del criminal de guerra Arkan, hoy asesinado, con una famosa cantante pop serbia. En este caso, los datos del titular origen desaparecen radicalmente del titular meta; allí toda la carga informativa desaparece, lo que obliga al lector a buscar la clave en el entorno lingüístico inmediato, con lo que en el polo meta existe una enorme ligazón al cotexto más inmediato. Aunque el titular origen también presenta cierta dependencia del cotexto, es ínfima comparada con la del meta. Éste se apoya en el juego de palabras para causar impacto en el lector, con lo que potencia al máximo su efectismo.

[1d] War of words	Chantaje de un terrorista al “Times” y al “Post”
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El titular origen presenta un fuerte anclaje cotextual; para la comprensión del texto original el lector necesita leer el cuerpo del texto, mientras que en el titular meta el cotexto es complementario, puesto que los datos iniciales necesarios para la localización textual se proporcionan (“chantaje”, “terrorista”, “Times” y “Post”). De este modo, el titular meta facilita considerablemente la tarea de búsqueda de una referencia informativa al lector, aunque omite el impacto del original.

[1e] Playing with Mr. Big	“La gente está harta de San Bono”
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El titular origen es mucho menos informativo que el meta, y por tanto muestra más anclaje cotextual que el meta, que especifica el personaje del que se habla en el artículo (Bono, el cantante de U2); de ahí que la falta de información del titular origen provoque dependencia del cotexto, pues se obliga al lector a referirse al entorno lingüístico inmediato, lo cual no sucede de forma tan manifiesta en el texto meta. El carácter apelativo de ambos titulares, que tratan de atraer al lector, aunque es de diferente naturaleza, es más o menos equiparable, ya que ambos consiguen llamar la atención del receptor.

[1f] Dances with turkeys

Con el agua al cuello

Para la comprensión del texto origen inicialmente parecería suficiente el contexto cultural general en que se produce el titular: la referencia cultural contenida en el juego de palabras del titular origen es lo suficientemente familiar (la película de Kevin Costner, *Dances with wolves*) como para poder predecir el contenido del texto; por otro lado, el término *turkey* (“bodrio”, “fiasco”, etc.) también refleja la idea de que se está hablando de un fracaso. Sin embargo, el cotexto inmediato del TO nos proporciona una información esencial: el fracaso ha sido de la película *Waterworld*. Como vemos, en la traducción parece haberse dado primacía al anclaje al cotexto, aunque se ha tenido en cuenta el impacto que había de producir el titular en el destinatario meta, motivo por el que se han adaptado tanto la referencia cultural del original (agua= *Waterworld*) como el juego de palabras (se ha utilizado una expresión popular, “con el agua al cuello”). Así pues, se ha considerado que el receptor del texto será muy similar, por lo que se ha mantenido el propósito efectista del original, aunque el pequeño anclaje cotextual del TO ha pasado a ser un anclaje cotextual muy potente en el TM.

[1g] Death in the post

Unabomber, el terrorista más
buscado en EEUU

El titular origen tiene gran anclaje cotextual, es decir, que para que el lector pueda comprender la información a la que se hace referencia, tiene que referirse necesariamente al cuerpo del texto, mientras que el titular meta es autónomo. En este último se proporcionan los datos esenciales para la localización de la noticia (“Unabomber”, “terrorista” y “EEUU”). De este modo, el titular meta le “ahorra” al lector el esfuerzo interpretativo, convirtiendo el titular metafórico e impactante del original en un titular informativo.

[1h] Last of a colourful courtier
from Camelot era

Angier Biddle Duke. El hombre
que se bañó en Palomares

El titular origen presenta anclaje contextual y un mínimo anclaje cotextual (para saber el personaje al que se hace referencia), puesto que la referencia cultural que

aparece (*Camelot*) es perfectamente conocida por los receptores origen. El titular meta, puesto que la referencia cultural a “Camelot” es desconocida para los lectores españoles, omite este elemento y lo sustituye por otro que sí es familiar para el destinatario del texto. La referencia cultural origen queda explicada en el cuerpo del texto español pero no en el origen, lo cual prueba que es conocida para la mayoría de los lectores origen: se trata del término metafórico con el que se hace referencia a la época de J.F. Kennedy. También la referencia cultural en español está muy contextualizada: menciona la ocasión, conocida por la mayoría de españoles de entonces e incluso por muchos de ahora, en que Manuel Fraga (Ministro de Turismo) y A. B. Duke, embajador de Estados Unidos en España, se bañaron en la playa de Palomares para demostrar que no existía peligro de radiación a causa de una bomba que había caído en las cercanías.

[1i] Rwanda’s unquiet dead El olor del genocidio
speak louder than words

La noticia narra el momento en que, tras descubrirse fosas multitudinarias en Ruanda, se dio sepultura pública a los cuerpos (después de que llevaran un año enterrados) en un funeral masivo al que asistieron personalidades políticas. El artículo origen se refiere al hecho de que, a pesar del tiempo transcurrido, el hedor que desprendían los cuerpos era insoportable, lo que no queda recogido en el titular origen, pero sí en el meta. En este caso, la reducción de información en el titular meta, aunque existente, es menos radical que en otros casos, puesto que el titular origen está ya anclado al cotexto, donde se encuentra la explicación al juego de palabras (Ruanda). En español, el juego de palabras figurativo se convierte en una metáfora (sinestesia), que se halla más atada al cotexto que su original, por faltar el referente fundamental (Ruanda), que sin embargo se ha reemplazado por un referente más genérico en español (genocidio). Así, el titular meta gana en impacto, aunque pierde en carga informativa.

[1j] One winded president Yeltsin perdió sus primarias

El anclaje cotextual del titular origen es obvio: para comprender el tema del texto original, el lector necesita leer el texto en sí, mientras que en el titular meta el cotexto es únicamente complementario, puesto que se localiza por completo la información mediante la adición de “Yeltsin” “perdió” y “primarias”. El titular origen, de carácter figurativo, se convierte en un titular metonímico (“Yeltsin” en lugar del partido al que representa) completamente informativo en el polo meta.

6. Resultados

Como se ha podido observar en los ejemplos estudiados, el estudio del grado de anclaje al contexto y al cotexto de los titulares estudiados es esencial para poder analizar su traducción, ya que nos permite identificar los motivos que subyacen a unas traducciones que inicialmente o desde un punto de vista prescriptivo podrían parecer muy libres o incluso poco correctas. En realidad, el traductor en general se ha adaptado a las convenciones sincrónicas del polo meta para este género y tipo de texto y estas dos publicaciones concretas. Mientras que *The Guardian* hace poquísimas o nulas concesiones a su lector por los rasgos socioculturales definitorios de este periódico, *El Mundo* tiende a proporcionar a su lector más datos (de hecho, en el polo meta nos encontramos con siete titulares informativos, frente a sólo tres en el polo origen), con lo que está dando por sentado que el grado de conocimiento compartido entre emisor y receptor es escaso (en todo caso, muy inferior al que se da en el original). En general los titulares origen, a diferencia de los meta, tienden a ser crípticos e impactantes, es decir, invitan al lector a leer el artículo mediante la intriga, el efectismo o cualquier otro tipo de recursos para interesar al destinatario, lo que hace que muestren dependencia del cotexto más inmediato, reduciendo al mínimo la carga informativa y buscando un título sugerente. Esto ata el titular al entorno lingüístico inmediato y obliga al receptor a seguir leyendo para poder comprender el titular. Sin embargo, la desaparición de la carga informativa de los títulos no hace que se pierda la neutralidad informativa, salvo en un par de ocasiones ([1e, 1f]), algo que sí sucede en los únicos casos en que el anclaje tiene lugar en el titular meta [1c y 1f]; al menos en el primer caso, el sesgo es muy explícito (“la bella y el bestia”).

Una aclaración es necesaria aquí: aunque en realidad *a posteriori* lo que se da entre el titular y el cuerpo textual es una relación de interdependencia (es decir, el titular depende del texto y el texto depende del titular), seguimos el orden en que el receptor lee un texto periodístico, ya que lo habitual es que comience por el titular y, si el contenido o forma de éste le interesa, siga con el cuerpo textual:³⁶ de ahí que digamos que “el titular depende del texto”, pues se sobreentiende que nos referimos a éste que “depende” del texto para su interpretación inicial óptima.

Respecto a los titulares meta, y en consonancia con la convención periodística de la cultura española que hemos mencionado, donde los textos tienden a ser mucho más asequibles para el lector, se observa que se facilita mucha información que está completamente ausente de los titulares origen. Ello hace que los textos traten de lograr que al lector le sea fácil identificar su contenido.

Del total de titulares, se observan los siguientes parámetros de anclaje y de carga informativa:

El papel del anclaje en la traducción: los textos periodísticos

	To	A.C.	T.I.	Tm	A.C.	T.I.
[1a]	Genial neighbour appeared to be devoted parent	4	—	Perfil de Fred West, el asesino de Gloucester. "Un tipo entrañable"	—	4
[1b]	Time to hold breath	4	—	¿Qué será ahora de Israel?	—	4
[1c]	Shotgun wedding of the year thrills beleaguered Serbia	—	4	La bella y el bestia	4	—
[1d]	War of words	4	—	Chantaje de un terrorista al "Times" y al "Post"	—	4
[1e]	Playing with Mr. Big	4	—	"La gente está harta de San Bono"	—	4
[1f]	Dances with turkeys	—	4	Con el agua al cuello	4	—
[1g]	Death in the post	4	—	Unabomber, el terrorista más buscado en EEUU	—	4
[1h]	Last of a colourful courtier from Camelot era	4	—	Angier Biddle Duke. El hombre que se bañó en Palomares	—	4
[1i]	Rwanda's unquiet dead speak louder than words	—	4	El olor del genocidio	4	—
[1j]	One winded president	4	—	Yeltsin perdió sus primarias	—	4

Fuente: elaboración propia

CLAVES: A.C.: Anclaje Cotextual

T.I.: Titular Informativo

TABLA 2: Anclaje y carga informativa

7. Conclusión

Los rasgos principales de la traducción de los titulares estudiados en la muestra son los siguientes:

- adecuación a las convenciones textuales meta por parte del traductor o autor del titular;
- mayor anclaje cotextual en los titulares origen que en los meta, debido a las ya mencionadas convenciones textuales;
- presencia en el polo meta de cierto sesgo ausente en el polo origen;
- adición en el polo meta de información que no aparece en los titulares origen;
- predominio en el polo origen del objetivo de impactar al lector y captar su atención frente al objetivo de informar, que es algo más explícito en el polo meta.

Como podemos comprobar, la búsqueda de motivos razonados para el grado de anclaje al contexto y cotexto, así como su valoración, nos permite juzgar con más ecuanimidad, sin valernos del filtro prescriptivo del polo origen, el tipo de traducción que se tiende a hacer en los titulares de prensa. Sin embargo, no debemos olvidar que el estudio realizado se limita a una muestra muy reducida y de carácter aleatorio, motivo por el que los resultados habrán de ser contrastados en el futuro con una muestra más amplia y variada.

Notas

1. Como ilustración de la problemática terminológica, citamos aquí una muestra de algunas de las alternativas que existen como sinónimos más o menos equiparables de los factores contextuales: Roberts (1996) y Richards et al. (1985: 101) hablan de “factores extralingüísticos” (que para Crystal serían de naturaleza no lingüística), mientras que Hartmann (1980: 19) cita los *text-external factors*. Unos, como Wandruszka (1976: 61), hablan de “entorno lingüístico”; Halliday (1978), Van Den Broeck (1978) y otros autores prefieren “contexto”, sin indicar de forma clara a cuál de las dos acepciones hacen referencia; Nida y Taber (1982) [1969] hablan de “contexto lingüístico”, y Wilss (1994: 134-135) usa el término de “factores macrocontextuales” (propósito, destinatario, etc.). A los factores contextuales también se los califica de factores “situacionales” (cf. Roberts 1996), “externos al texto” (Hartmann 1980: 19) o “extratextuales” (Nord 1991). Halliday (1986) [1978] propuso tres dimensiones del contexto: la comunicativa (campo, tenor, modo, dialecto y registro, es decir, variación lingüística según el uso y según el usuario); la dimensión pragmática (propósito del texto, implicaturas, etc.) y la dimensión semiótica (fundamentalmente la intertextualidad, que se refleja en los géneros, los discursos, etc.).

2. “[...] simply by observing the situation in which the text is used” (Nord 1991: 43).

3. “El traductor no ofrece más o menos información que el productor de un texto de partida; el traductor ofrece otra información y de otra manera” (Reiss y Vermeer, trad. de 1996: 110).

4. Se trata de un gran número de sistemas y subsistemas en constante lucha y cambio, que son por ello inestables (Hermans 1985: 11; cf.. Shuttleworth y Cowie 1997: 127).

5. Para Nord (1991: 39 y 42), *translation-oriented* (cf. Toury 1995, Snell-Hornby 1988: 44). Este punto de vista surgió a finales de los años setenta, y centra su atención en el texto meta y el papel que éste desempeña en el sistema de recepción.

6. Cf. Toury (1985 y 1995), Hermans (1993: 75-76), Van Den Broeck (1978), Chesterman (1993: 2), etc.

7. Veamos un caso representativo: la película *Wild Orchid*, protagonizada por Mickey Rourke y Carré Otis, se tradujo al español como “Orquídea Salvaje”. Desde el punto de vista puramente lingüístico (tradicional), sería una traducción incorrecta, ya que las flores en español son “silvestres”, no salvajes. Es muy probable que el traductor se equivocara; sin embargo, si se piensa en el argumento de la película (básicamente, sexo), la traducción funcionó perfectamente, ya que la finalidad del TM era “vender” la película, y desde luego el término “salvaje” sugiere sexo mucho más que “silvestre”: he ahí un caso

El papel del anclaje en la traducción: los textos periodísticos

que los estudios tradicionales de traducción habrían tachado de incorrecto, y que sin embargo el paradigma actual estudia como una traducción válida, correcta y funcional.

8. Textos meta que carecen de textos origen (Tourey 1980: 31).

9. "Norms have long been regarded as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a group —as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate— into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension" (Tourey 1998: 5).

10. "Efficiency depends on the text being used in communicating with minimum effort by the participants" (Malmkjaer 1991: 469-470).

11. "Effectiveness depends on the text leaving a strong impression and creating favourable conditions for attaining a goal" (Malmkjaer 1991: 470).

12. "Appropriateness is the agreement between the setting of a text and the ways in which the standards of textuality are upheld" (Malmkjaer 1991: 470).

13. "Naturalness is Sinclair's term for the concept of well-formedness of sentences in a text" (Malmkjaer 1991: 470).

14. Informatividad, situacionalidad, intencionalidad, intertextualidad, aceptabilidad, coherencia y cohesión. Alcaraz Varó (1990: 120 y sigs.) menciona una condición adicional, la "completez", que haría que el texto se conciba como una unidad íntegra completa y terminada. Más adelante (2000: 93) decide denominarlo "clausura" o "cierre textual".

15. Entendemos esta disciplina en su acepción más restrictiva, es decir, como análisis del discurso escrito, no oral (cf. Alcaraz Varó y Martínez Linares 1997).

16. Incluimos aquí los "sumarios bajo título", los "sumarios entre texto" ("enmarcados entre dos rayas o en un recuadro de esquinas redondeadas") y los "sumarios de pase" ("precedidos de un bolo negro", *Libro de estilo de ABC* 1993/1994: 70).

17. El *lead* es un "resumen de una línea hecho por el documentalista" (*readme file* del CD-ROM de *El Mundo* 1995, 2.º semestre). Su función es "resumir los aspectos sustanciales [de la noticia] y contener todos los elementos tradicionales que configuran una noticia" (*Libro de estilo de ABC*, 1993/1994: 72).

18. "Son antetítulos unificadores de varios titulares" (*Libro de estilo de ABC* 1993/1994: 78).

19. Terminología usada por el *Libro de estilo de ABC* (1993/1994: 72-73).

20. "Textos compuestos" para los autores.

21. "Headlines of course are a separate study in themselves, being radically different from the rest of newspaper reporting language" (Crystal y Davy 1969/1990: 180).

22. Titulares, entradillas, ladillos, cuñas, cintillos, recuadros, bolos, pies de foto, data y firma, etc.

23. Para garantizar que los titulares elegidos no mostraran sesgo alguno, se extrajo la totalidad de artículos traducidos de *The Guardian* y publicados por *El Mundo*, y se les asignó un número de forma aleatoria. Luego se solicitó a un colaborador que eligiera diez de esos números "a ciegas".

24. Datos proporcionados por Donna Halfpenny-Peters, responsable de la sección de servicios de información y documentación de *The Guardian*.

25. Esto se debe al especial carácter de la prensa inglesa, por el que un individuo puede clasificar a otro sociológicamente según el tipo de prensa que lea regularmente. Debido

a las pocas concesiones que hace la prensa de calidad a sus lectores en el mundo anglosajón, se considera que este tipo de prensa es leída por personas con cierta cultura. De hecho, Dunnett (1988: 128) califica a los periódicos de calidad de *highbrow* o *middlebrow* según su grado de comprensibilidad.

²⁶. Los datos proceden de su director adjunto, Jorge Fernández.

²⁷. Se trataría del periódico donde se publica el artículo.

²⁸. Se indicaría si el artículo se ha publicado en el cuerpo del periódico o en alguno de los especiales que se publican a lo largo de la semana.

²⁹. Oakland (1989/1995: 274) afirma que los tabloides se caracterizan por ser “superficial in their treatment of events. The vocabulary range of some of these papers is limited; the emphasis is upon quick reading; and much of their material is sensationalized and trivialized. It cannot be said that the British populars at the lower end of the market are deeply instructive, or concerned with raising the critical consciousness of their readers”.

³⁰. De ahí que se tienda a identificar los tabloides con lectores de clase media-baja o baja, mientras que los periódicos de calidad se asocian con un grupo social medio-alto o alto.

³¹. Como referencia, un periódico de calidad doblado a la mitad sería un poco más grande que un tabloide.

³². Han de gastar gran parte de sus ingresos en campañas de *marketing* muy costosas para garantizar su supervivencia (cf. Oakland 1989/1995: 274), e invierten más en personal (corresponsales, etc.) y en medios.

³³. “[...] [*El Mundo*] in which the Guardian Media Group, which owns *The Observer*, has a 2 per cent share” (*The Observer* 16/06/95, pág.19). Tanto *El Mundo* como *The Guardian* pertenecen al grupo RCS (*Rizzoli Corriere della Sera*), propietario de siete grandes agrupaciones de empresas, dentro de las cuales se hallan algunas tan conocidas como *Ediciones Orbis*, *Milano Press*, *Edibook*, *Fabripress*, *Amica Verlag*, *Max Verlag & Co.*, etc.

³⁴. 22/05/95, pág.2.

³⁵. El que haya distancia cronológica entre el TO y el TM no necesariamente implica que haya habido más tiempo para traducir el texto, ya que en función de las necesidades de espacio del periódico del día siguiente puede decidirse traducir en ese momento un artículo cuyo original se haya publicado varios días antes. Véanse los ejemplos [1d], [1f] y [1g] de la muestra; en el ejemplo [1f], existe una diferencia cronológica de casi un mes entre el original y su traducción.

³⁶. Puede darse el caso, pero lo cierto es que leer sistemáticamente el cuerpo textual y terminar con el titular es poco habitual; ya la misma disposición visual de los titulares, con un tamaño grande, letras más llamativas, uso de la negrita, etc., lo dificulta considerablemente.

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AN ANALYSIS OF IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT FEEDBACK ON GRAMMATICAL ACCURACY¹

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209

1. Introduction

Corrective feedback on the part of the teacher is a reactive pedagogical strategy that emerges when the teacher identifies an error. According to Brown (1988), feedback has to be genuinely responsive, so that learners are allowed to experience the effect of what they utter as a guide in their subsequent output. After having identified an error, the teacher can adopt two different approaches which are closely related to the distinction between implicit and explicit learning. The first approach, that is to say, explicit negative feedback, indicates overtly that there is some kind of mistake in the learner's output. In contrast, implicit negative feedback includes corrections or requests for clarifications. Our study embraced these two types of feedback since one group of subjects received implicit feedback and the other group received explicit feedback every time they made a mistake on the grammatical items targeted in the study. Our aim was to ascertain which type of feedback resulted in better accuracy rates, in both short- and long-term learning.

2. Corrective feedback

The mismatch between the input the learners are exposed to and the output they produce is widely considered in the literature. This mismatch may be tackled by

means of corrective feedback, either in an implicit or in an explicit way. However, no matter what type of feedback we provide, we agree with Brown (1988) on the fact that feedback must be more than encouragement, for “empty and automatic encouragement is often pointless” (1988: 16). A genuine response from the teacher provides some indication to learners as to the effectiveness of their utterances. The importance of feedback is expressed clearly in Zamel’s words:

the teacher’s output becomes the input for the students and determines future performance and the student’s output becomes the input for the teacher and determines the reaction to that performance [...] Teaching and learning are no longer exclusive roles; they become the provinces of both performers in the classroom: while the teacher instructs, the teacher learns about what must be done next, and while the learner learns, the student gives instruction about what information is lacking (1981:149).

Explicit corrective feedback involves the explanation of a formal aspect after an error has been made. In turn, implicit corrective feedback refers to ways which indicate that the learner’s output is somehow erroneous, and needs to be reformulated. A number of studies have been carried out which investigate both types of feedback. Explicit corrective feedback has been widely used as a strategy in Focus on Form (FonF) studies (Doughty 1991; Lightbown and Spada 1990; White *et al.* 1991). Explicit corrective feedback can be regarded as a metalinguistic strategy, as it involves the explanation of a formal aspect when a mistake has been detected. Doughty (1991) investigated the effects of enriched input on the acquisition of relative clause structures by adult intermediate learners. The subjects of the study were assigned to three groups: in the meaning oriented group (MOG), learners completed a series of reading tasks that required them first to read the text for general understanding and then read each sentence separately, with the opportunity to obtain help in the form of lexical and semantic rephrasing. The rule oriented group (ROG) received an explanation of the rules for relativisation with examples. These learners’ attention was therefore most explicitly drawn to the formal properties of relativisation via metalinguistic description. Finally, the control group simply viewed the sentences in the text without any assistance. Doughty (1991) concluded that all three groups showed some gains in the post-test, with the MOG and ROG performing similarly and both gaining more than the control group.

Lightbown and Spada (1990) analysed the effect of explicit corrective feedback in an intensive communicative classroom having English as L2. Their results corroborated the hypothesis that the teaching of formal aspects in a communicative setting positively contributed to the learners’ linguistic accuracy. Likewise, Spada and Lightbown (1993), in a study with similar characteristics to Lightbown and

Spada's (1990), also demonstrated that explicit corrective feedback increased linguistic accuracy. However, and most importantly, these authors showed that their results were maintained in a delayed task five weeks after the treatment. This fact indicates that the effect of explicit corrective feedback can still be present in the long term. In this sense, short- and long-term have been operationalised differently in the literature. Nevertheless, some recent research (Muranoi 2000) allows a five-week period between two post-tests and also an interval of four to six weeks (Williams and Evans 1998).

Another study which compared the performance of explicit corrective feedback learners with others who did not receive this treatment was carried out by White *et al.* (1991). Again, the groups exposed to explicit teaching and explicit corrective feedback showed a higher level of linguistic accuracy than in control groups.

Implicit corrective feedback has also been widely investigated and can be implemented in different ways. For example, Lyster and Ranta (1997) carried out their study in several immersion classrooms in Montreal at primary level. The learners' L1 and L2 were English and French, respectively. The authors audio-taped four teachers whose lessons were transcribed. These transcriptions constituted the database for their analysis, which provided the following typology of corrective feedback:

- 1) *Explicit correction* refers to the explicit provision of the correct form. As the teacher provides the correct form, he clearly indicates that what the student had said was incorrect. Without any doubt, this strategy is an example of explicit corrective feedback, the only one described by Lyster and Ranta (1997).

St: *La note pour le shot.*(La nota para la inyección)

T6: *Oh, pour la, oh, pour ça. Tu veux dire pour la piqûre. Piqûre. Oui?* (Oh, para eso, para eso. Quieres decir para la inyección. Inyección. ¿Sí?)

- 2) *Recasts* involve the teacher's reformulation of all or part of a student's utterance, minus the error.

St: *L'eau érable?* (El agua arce)

T6: *L'eau d'érable* (El agua de arce)

- 3) *Clarification requests* indicate to students either that their utterance has been misunderstood by the teacher or that the utterance is ill-formed in some way and that a repetition or a reformulation is required.

St: *Est-ce que, est-ce que je peux fait une carte sur le... pour mon petit frère sur le computer?* (¿Puedo hacer una carta para mi hermano pequeño con el ordenador?)

T6: *Pardon?* (¿Cómo?)

- 4) *Metalinguistic feedback* contains either comments, information, or questions related to the well-formedness of the student's utterance, without explicitly providing the correct form. Metalinguistic comments generally indicate that there is an error somewhere.

St: *Euhm, le, le éléphant. Le éléphant grande* (Euhm, el, el elefante. El elefante gruñe)

T5: *Est-ce qu'on dit le éléphant?* (¿Se dice el elefante?)

- 5) *Elicitation* refers to at least three techniques that teachers use to directly elicit the correct form from the student. First, teachers elicit completion of their own utterance by strategically pausing to allow students to "fill in the blank". Second, teachers use questions to elicit correct forms, and third, teachers occasionally ask students to reformulate their utterance.

St: *Le chien peut court* (El perro puede corrido)

T5: *Le chien peut court? Le chien peut...* (¿El perro puede corrido? El perro puede...)

- 6) *Repetition* refers to the teacher's repetition, in isolation, of the student's erroneous utterance.

St: *Le... le giraffe?* (¿La... la jirafa?)

T3: *Le giraffe?* (¿La jirafa?)

The findings of the study revealed that recasts were the most used technique by the teachers (55% of the cases), followed by elicitation (14%), clarification requests (11%), metalinguistic feedback (8%), explicit correction (7%), and repetition (5%). On some occasions, a combination of the above strategies may be employed, as in Dougherty and Varela (1998). However, this combination does not allow us to isolate the specific effects of a particular strategy. As the results showed, then, recasts were the most usual reaction to students' errors despite the fact that they were also the least appropriate technique for eliciting output correction on the part of the learners.

Corrective feedback is significant to L2 development because it provides the learner with an opportunity to reflect on the utterance and consider other possibilities. These benefits of corrective feedback are also applicable to the foreign language (FL) context, in the sense that it may trigger the cognitive processes required for acquisition (Carroll and Swain 1993). Nevertheless, not all corrective feedback techniques have been regarded as equally effective. Recent research (e.g. Lyster 1998) considers the need to explore the effect of combinations of corrective feedback, as opposed to isolated techniques. Our study took into account Lyster's suggestion, and thus we provided one group of learners with a combination of feedback A (repetition of error and recast) and the second group with a

combination of feedback B (metalinguistic feedback and elicitation). Two research questions were devised in order to analyse corrective feedback:

- 1) The first drew on Doughty and Varela (1998), who report the successful combination of repetition of error plus recast, and on Carroll and Swain (1993), who argue that metalinguistic feedback works better: *Which combination of feedback (A or B) results in better accuracy rates?*
- 2) The second drew on Mackey and Philp (1998), who showed only immediate gains in accuracy, and on Doughty and Varela (1998) who pointed to the lack of perdurability of gains in accuracy: *Which combination of feedback (A or B) lasts longer, as measured in the delayed test?*

3. Method

3.1. Participants

The subjects of the study belonged to two groups of first-year university students (Group 1, $n=32$; Group 2, $n=16$). They shared the following characteristics: (i) they were all Spanish, and (ii) their level of proficiency in English was lower-intermediate (see 3.3 below). Their ages ranged from 17 to 22 and the vast majority of them had been studying English as a foreign language for 4 to 7 years.

3.2. Grammar points in focus

The study focused on two grammatical items: articles (definite/indefinite, and zero article) and the second conditional. As the participants had a low-intermediate level of proficiency in English, we considered that these two grammatical forms would suit their interlanguage on the basis of the *teachability hypothesis* (Pienemann 1985). We adhered to this hypothesis because, as Pienemann (1989) suggested, instruction directed at structures that are next in line to be acquired according to a well-defined developmental sequence is effective in moving learners along the sequence. In contrast, instruction directed at structures that are too developmentally advanced for the learners has proven to be ineffective. Moreover, in the FonF field, it is claimed that the most suitable items for teaching at this level would be those that are not crucial for communication and those that are likely to be misanalysed by learners (Harley 1993). We believe that both articles and the second conditional fall into these categories because first, articles are not too important for successful communication, and second, the conditional can be easily misanalysed by students.

A further reason for selecting the two grammatical features mentioned above was the fact that these targeted forms were emergent in the learners' interlanguage. By this we mean that our learners had already started to try the forms in their output. Indeed, in a number of oral and written activities carried out before the beginning of the study, we realised first that our learners misused both grammatical forms and, second, that they were able to understand input which contained definite/indefinite articles, zero article, and the second conditional.

3.3. Data collection procedure

In Week 1 of the study, our participants filled in some background information questions which provided the researcher with information regarding their age, mother tongue, etc. They also did a Level Placement Test in order to ascertain their level of proficiency in English. In Week 2, the subjects did a dictogloss exercise and another of text reconstruction as classroom activities since they were not familiar with the performance of these two tasks.

In Week 3 of our study, the participants received instruction by means of communicative tasks on the use of articles and the second conditional. After this instructional phase, the students worked on four different types of tasks (dictogloss, text reconstruction, multiple choice and cloze test) in pairs. These tasks are examples of different degrees of overt focus on form, and they had already been used in several studies (García Mayo 2002a, 2002b; Storch 1998; Wajnryb 1990). The four tasks were carried out in four different weeks (Week 3: dictogloss; Week 4: text reconstruction; Week 5: multiple choice, and Week 6: cloze test). Immediately after the performance and the recording of each task, the students were asked to judge the grammaticality of nine sentences individually in a grammaticality judgement task (GJT). Six of those nine sentences required the use of articles and the second conditional, and three sentences were distracters. The students had to decide whether the underlined parts of each sentence were grammatical or not. If they were grammatical, they simply had to circle the underlined words. If the underlined parts were ungrammatical, they had to provide the grammatically correct version. Grammaticality judgement tasks have been previously employed in several studies (e.g. Ayoun 2001; Long *et al.* 1998; Muranoi 2000).

In order to measure the effects of the different tasks in the short term, we allowed an interval of four weeks in which there was no specific reference to either articles or the second conditional, and the students continued with their normal course content. In Week 7, after this four-week interval, the students worked on the test after treatment, which consisted of a tailor-made test including the most frequent errors the students had made in the four tasks. Finally, and again with a four-week

An analysis of implicit and explicit feedback on grammatical accuracy

interval, the subjects performed the delayed test (Week 8), which was a version of the test after treatment. The course of the study is graphically illustrated in the following table:

BOTH GROUPS	
Week 1	Background information questions + Level Placement test
Week 2	Example of dictogloss and text reconstruction
Week 3	Instruction on articles and conditional + dictogloss + GJT 1
Week 4	Text reconstruction + GJT 2
Week 5	Multiple choice + GJT 3
Week 6	Cloze test + GJT 4
Week 7	Test after treatment (interval: 4 weeks)
Week 8	Delayed test (interval: 4 weeks)

TABLE 1: Study design

The four tasks used in the study followed the same pattern: each dyad was given a single copy of the task; then, in order to encourage joint production (Storch 1999), they had to discuss their suggestions on the correct form to write down, and the researcher provided them with feedback (combination A or B) whenever a mistake was made.

The procedure was as follows: the two groups of learners carried out the four tasks in pairs. Each task contained a number of obligatory contexts in which one of the grammatical forms targeted had to be provided (i.e., definite/indefinite article, zero article, and second conditional). The students' joint work produced output, which was not corrected if it was right, and then the subjects continued with the next obligatory context. If the output was wrong, the researcher provided feedback (combination A or B, depending on the group). Two combinations of feedback were offered to our participants: Group 1 received Combination A (repetition of error and recast) and Group 2 received Combination B (metalinguistic information and elicitation). Typical examples of these two combinations are as follows:

Combination A: repetition of error and recast

Dictogloss, Dyad 8

S1: *a important film*

T: *a important? An important*

S1: *an important film director I would ask him if*

Combination B: metalinguistic information and elicitation

Dictogloss, Dyad 7

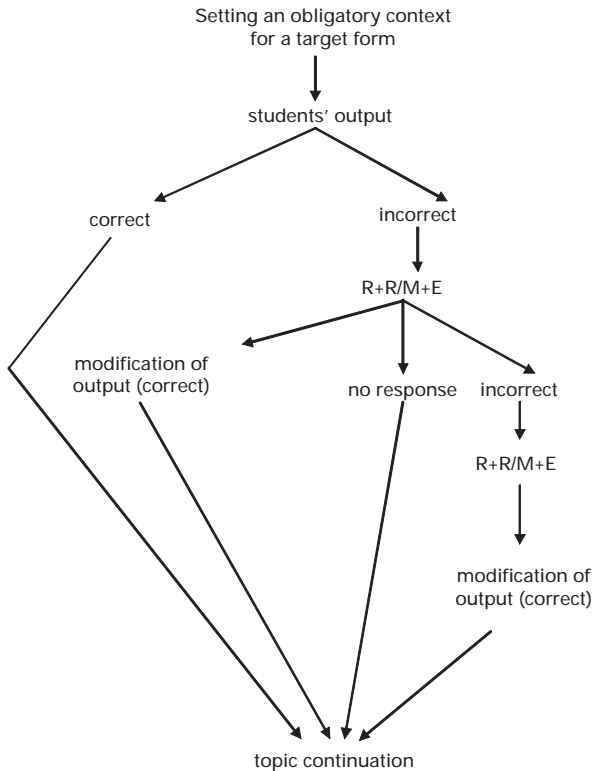
S1: *if I know a film director*

T: *this is a conditional, you need a past. If I...*

S1: *ah! If I knew*

The teacher's feedback might elicit, from the subject, either corrected output or no response. In both cases, there was topic continuation. If the teacher's feedback resulted in incorrect output, there was further feedback designed to elicit a corrected version and thus a topic continuation. This process may be more readily understood in the following figure (adapted from Muranoi 2000):

216



Note: R+R= repetition of error and recast, M+E= metalinguistic information and elicitation.

FIGURE 1: Study implementation.

4. Results and discussion

As the goal of this study was to ascertain the impact of two combinations of feedback on grammatical accuracy in the short and long term, the unit of analysis we employed was the number of correct answers the students had generated in their output. Therefore, for research question 1 we took into account the correct answers generated by the students in the four tasks, in the four GJTs, and in the test after treatment. As for our second research question, we considered the number of correct answers provided in the delayed test. Table 2 shows the mean scores of correct answers in the four tasks and in the test after treatment. Unfortunately, we could not find statistically significant differences between the two groups for the GJTs.

	GROUP 1	GROUP 2
Dicto art	5.72	5.25
Dicto cond	4.5	4.13
TR art	7.75	7.75
TR cond*	5	4.88
MC art	5	5
MC cond	5	5
CT art	3.94	4
CT cond	6	6
Test after treat. art	6.91	5.69
Test after treat. cond**	7.09	4.31

Note: Dicto=dictogloss; art=article; cond=conditional; TR=text reconstruction; MC=multiple choice; CT= cloze test; treat.=treatment.

*Sig. at $p < .05$ level.

**Sig. at $p < .01$ level.

TABLE 2: Mean scores of correct answers in the dictogloss, text reconstruction, multiple choice, cloze test, and test after treatment.

These results reveal that there are statistically significant differences in text reconstruction conditional ($p < .05$) and in the test after treatment ($p < .01$) in favour of Group 1. In fact, a detailed analysis of the above table shows that cloze test article is the only result which is slightly superior in Group 2 (3.94 for Group 1 vs 4 for Group 2). Apart from the constants of multiple choice article and

conditional and cloze test conditional, in the rest of the tasks, Group 1, which received feedback A, obtained higher levels of accuracy. Therefore, we may claim that the combination of feedback A (repetition of error and recast) tended to provide better accuracy rates in most tasks, with significant differences in the grammatical feature of conditional in text reconstruction and in the test after treatment. Moreover, and in light of the above results, we may claim that a combination of feedback B (metalinguistic information and elicitation) did not show better accuracy rates. Our findings indicate that the combination of repetition of error followed by a recast achieved better results. In order to illustrate the two types of feedback, we present two examples from the transcripts:

Example 1: Dictogloss, Dyad 7, Combination A

S1: *if I won the lottery, I would travel to USA*

T: *I would travel to USA? I would travel to the USA*

S1: *ah, yes*

Example 2: Dictogloss, Dyad 7, Combination B

S1: *if I know a film director*

T: *this is a conditional, you need a past. If I...*

S1: *ah! If I knew*

In the first example, feedback is of a more implicit type, as the teacher repeats the mistake with rising intonation and then provides the recast without further explanation. Contrarily, in Example 2, there is some information about the grammatical aspect needed, which is followed by an elicitation. Here, the teacher stops before uttering the correct form so that the student can fill in the gap. It was our belief that giving our learners an explanation of their error or some information about the form required would have been more positive in helping them to become aware of that form and to internalise it. This is corroborated by the fact that, as happens in the second turn by S1 in Example 1, one does not know whether the student has internalised the recast, since he merely accepted what the teacher said. In this sense, we support Ellis *et al.*'s (2002) claim that explicit correction favours students' noticing of the correct form. However, as Table 2 demonstrates, the more implicit feedback achieved better results, above all in the conditional. This outcome is in line with Doughty and Varela (1998), whose study showed that learners who were offered recasts showed greater improvement in accuracy than the control group. When comparing our results with those of Doughty and Varela, we found a coincidence in the sense that they also focused on conditionals, and it was in the conditional where statistically significant differences were found. We may thus argue that the second conditional is a good candidate for FonF, as it is likely to be misinterpreted or misanalysed by learners. Moreover, as we have mentioned earlier, our subjects had attempted to use this grammatical feature, although erroneously.

An analysis of implicit and explicit feedback on grammatical accuracy

It is for this reason that the conditional was near the learners' *zone of proximal development* (Vygotsky 1978), or, as the *teachability hypothesis* maintains, our students were ready to learn this form.

We have stated above that we could not assess the four GJTs because no statistically significant differences were found between groups. However, Table 3 shows that as the study progresses, the number of correct answers increases.

	GROUP 1 (n=32)	GROUP 2 (n=16)
GJT 1	5 or more: 29 students	5 or more:14 students
	4 or less: 3 students	4 or less: 2 students
GJT 2	5 or more: 30 students	5 or more:11 students
	4 or less: 2 students	4 or less: 5 students
GJT 3	5 or more: 31 students	5 or more:14 students
	4 or less: 1 student	4 or less: 2 students
GJT 4	5 or more: 31 students	5 or more:15 students
	4 or less: 1 student	4 or less: 1 student

219

TABLE 3: Learners' correct answers in the four grammaticality judgement tasks.

The results of Table 3 demonstrate that, for Group 1, the number of students who obtained 5 or more correct answers grew from GJT 1 to GJT 4. This increase in accuracy may reveal that Combination of feedback A seemed to provide higher accuracy rates not only in the majority of tasks, but also in the grammaticality judgement tasks. As far as Group 2 is concerned, there were fluctuations in learners' performance, but overall, the number of students who obtained more correct answers also increased as revealed by GJT 4.

Turning to our second research question, i.e., whether there was any impact of corrective feedback on long-term learning, we considered the correct answers provided by our participants in the delayed test. By means of a Wilcoxon test, we assessed the significance of the mean scores contrasting the test after treatment and the delayed test within groups. As can be seen in Table 4, there are no statistically significant differences between the test after treatment and the delayed test in Group 1. However, as Table 5 shows, in Group 2 (cf. Table 5) we found a significant difference for the past ($p < .03$) but not for the rest of grammatical forms targeted (article and conditional).

	MEAN RANK	SIG.
Delayed test past	7.50	.224
Test after treat. past	10.05	
Delayed test a	2.00	.564
Test after treat. a	2.00	
Delayed test the	13.73	.352
Test after treat. the	14.19	
Delayed test zero article	8.50	.371
Test after treat. zero article	9.35	
Delayed test conditional	10.67	.967
Test after treat. conditional	9.40	

TABLE 4: Mean scores of correct answers of Group 1 in the test after treatment and in the delayed test.

220

	MEAN RANK	SIG.
Delayed test past	4.00	.03*
Test after treat. past	7.33	
Delayed test a	.00	.317
Test after treat. a	1.00	
Delayed test the	7.63	.290
Test after treat. the	6.72	
Delayed test zero article	4.79	.530
Test after treat. zero article	7.17	
Delayed test conditional	6.17	.633
Test after treat. conditional	4.42	

Note. Treat.=treatment.

*Sig. at $p < .05$ level.

TABLE 5: Mean scores of correct answers of Group 2 in the test after treatment and in the delayed test.

We carried out a further analysis of correct answers to find out whether there existed significant differences between Group 1 and Group 2. The Mann-Whitney

An analysis of implicit and explicit feedback on grammatical accuracy

U test in Table 6 shows that Group 1 obtained higher mean scores of correct answers, with statistically significant differences in conditional, both in the test after treatment and in the delayed test.

	GROUP 1	GROUP 2
Test after treat. art	6.91	5.69
Test after treat. cond*	7.09	4.31
Delayed test art	7.44	6.19
Delayed test cond**	7.31	5.38

Note. art=article; cond=conditional; treat.=treatment

* Sig. at $p < .01$ level.

** Sig. at $p < .05$ level.

TABLE 6: Mean scores of correct answers in the test after treatment and in the delayed test between groups.

Drawing on the results shown in Table 5, we may claim that combination of feedback B resulted in longer retention than combination A, at least for the grammatical feature of past. This finding seems to contradict the results we obtained for short-term learning, which showed that combination of feedback A provided better accuracy rates in the short term. Ellis (2002) has argued that form-focused instruction is successful if there is an extended treatment, but this treatment does not guarantee success if the target structure is complex in nature. Ellis' assertions may be applied in part to the two types of feedback we used in our study, as the provision of feedback was intensive (every time an error occurred) and extended (it took place throughout the four tasks).

The difference between the results of short term and long term may lie in the fact that the interlanguage changes toward accuracy promoted by FonF tasks are not necessarily immediate (Doughty and Williams 1998b). These tasks may lead to restructuring of nontargetlike forms, a process which is not instantaneous but that takes time. In addition, we should take into account how input (in the form of feedback) was processed by our learners, that is to say, how the subjects' attention was drawn to the target items and its delayed effects. The issue of attention is a part of a series of studies in which Schmidt (1990, 1994) proposed that *noticing* (i.e., conscious attention to the form of input) was necessary for L2 development. This claim has become known as the *Noticing Hypothesis*. From Schmidt's point of view, noticing is the necessary and sufficient condition for the conversion of input into intake. Intake is the third level in Gass and Selinker's (1994) model of

second language acquisition (SLA), after apperceived input and comprehended input. Intake refers to attempts by the learner to assimilate a part of comprehended input by means of testing, rejecting, modifying or confirming hypotheses. In the present study, attention to the targeted grammatical forms was drawn by means of the two combinations of feedback following learners' errors.

In the case of the specific grammatical feature that presents statistical differences between the test after treatment and the delayed test (i.e., past tense), Group 2 had received explicit corrective feedback which involved the explanation and/or information of a formal aspect when a mistake was detected. As discussed earlier, the positive effects of this type of feedback on linguistic accuracy have been reported in studies by Lightbown and Spada (1990), White *et al.* (1991), and Spada and Lightbown (1993). This latter study further showed that the effect of explicit corrective feedback was present in the long term (five weeks after the treatment). In our study, the delayed test took place 8 weeks after the last task (i.e., the cloze test) was carried out, a period we believe long enough to justify claims that learners had internalised this particular grammar point. In our opinion, the effects of FonF and corrective feedback on the delayed test can be attributed to the treatment, since the participants of the study did not receive reinforcement of the targeted form through exposure in classroom materials and activities once the experimental period was over.

222

Despite the encouraging finding that combination of feedback B had an impact on long-term retention of past, we cannot discard the rest of the grammatical items that did not achieve any statistically significant difference in the delayed test. As revealed by our findings, combination of feedback A had an effect on the short term; however, it may have gradually deteriorated and did not have an impact on the long run. Although it has been suggested (Lightbown 1991) that repeated communicative exposure to grammar structures tends to consolidate learner accuracy, Leow (1998) has pointed out the uncertainty of delayed effects of attention on L2 acquisition. It is also worth mentioning that several factors affecting input processing may have played a role in the results of both the test after treatment and delayed test. As Kumaravivelu (1994) notes, factors such as motivation, extroversion and anxiety may have various effects on learners' processing and internalisation of the forms. A qualitative analysis of learners' performance on the four tasks reveals that in some dyads one member was more active and participative than his/her peer. This behaviour would correspond with the third pattern of dyadic interaction suggested by Storch (2002a, 2002b) as *dominant/passive*. In this sense, although Seliger (1983) relates quantity of interaction with learners' performance, we agree with Alcón (1994) that there is no correlation between participation and progress, as learners who keep silent can

still be actively involved in the performance of the task. The following examples show how, in this dyad, S1 dominates the conversation in detriment of S2:

Example 3: Dictogloss, Group 2, Dyad 5

T: *evenings I have dinner? You need a conditional here, in the evenings I...*

S1: *would, if I see*

T: *this is a conditional, so you need a past tense. If I...*

S1: *saw an important film*

S2: *film*

S1: *film director I would asked him*

Example 4: Cloze test, Group 2, Dyad 5

T: *here you need a past. This is second conditional. She would be delighted if she... conducir ese coche*

S1: *ja tenim el drive [we have drive already]*

S2: *es que drive es conducir*

S1: *sí*

S2: *if she... quiere?*

S1: *estaría encantada si condujera ese coche*

S2: *si pudiese... si pudiese conducir*

S1: *sí, could*

Although S1 clearly leads the dialogue and S2 simply accepts her partner's answer or translates it into Spanish, S2 is engaged in the conversation and trying hard to find the right answer. Her participation could be analysed easily due to the fact that our students were grouped in dyads. However, in groups of more than two learners, the task may be completed with some students assuming a minor role in the discussion of the right answer. In Examples 3 and 4 it may be argued that S2 was an introverted student or the teacher's presence made her anxious. Nevertheless, we do not think that anxiety had an inhibitory effect on our subjects, as there was no time pressure and the development of the study took place in a relaxed atmosphere which was enhanced by the fact that the subjects did not consider the teacher a stranger carrying out research in their classroom, but as their teacher helping them in specific activities. Arnold (2001) points out that for cognitive learning to occur, the learners' affective factors must be favourable. The only anxiety-provoking element could have been the tape recorder, but I observed that after the first couple of minutes, the learners forgot about it and centred on the task; besides, some learners even recognised they had enjoyed being recorded. The finding that sustained gains (except for past tense) were not maintained in the delayed test corroborates Doughty and Varela's (1998) study, since accurate rates that were present in the immediate post-test did not endure in the delayed one delivered two months later. Research which demonstrates lasting effects in delayed

post-tests (e.g. Mackey 1997) has, according to Doughty and Williams (1998b) two features: first, this research integrates attention to meaning and attention to form, and second, FonF continues beyond a short treatment period. In our opinion, the study we undertook shares those two characteristics, as, on the one hand, the use of FonF tasks combined attention to meaning and form, and on the other, our students received an intensive treatment over an extended period of time.

The first findings of our first research question (Table 2), i.e., combination of feedback A made learners achieve higher accuracy rates, might be subject to criticism. First, Lyster (1998) claims that the repetition of the error with rising intonation is a type of explicit procedure which is combined with a more implicit clue (recast). Therefore, if recasts were isolated as the only type of feedback provided, we could further understand their contribution to SLA. Although we agree with Lyster's proposal, we considered that repetitions of errors would be a type of attentional device designed to draw learners' attention to the targeted forms. A qualitative analysis of the transcription shows that after Combination of feedback A our students tended to repeat the recast (Example 5), to incorporate it in their output (Example 6), or to acknowledge their mistake (Example 7):

224

Example 5: Dictogloss, Dyad 1

S1: *I visit*

T: *I visit? I would visit*

S1: *I would visit... a conditional... would visit*

Example 6: Dictogloss, Dyad 6

S2: *in this country I will see the most interesting places*

T: *I will see? I would see*

S2: *I would see the most interesting places in the morning*

Example 7: Text reconstruction, Dyad 16

S2: *I was, no?*

T: *I was? If I were*

S2: *sí, porque...*

As can be seen from the above examples, the teacher's repetition of the mistake can be considered as an additional clue that tells the learners where the error is. Moreover, on providing the recast the mistake can be easily identified and, hopefully, noticed. As we cannot be sure about what specific element of the combination of feedback A resulted in better accuracy, the only claim we may make is that the union of both elements made learners in Group 1 outperform those in Group 2.

A second criticism of our results might address the issue that attention to form is not the single predictor of accurate L2 production. Salaberry and López-Ortega

(1998) argue that factors such as communicative pressure may affect accuracy in L2 production. In our study, the students did not have to face communicative pressure as there was no time limit to complete the tasks, the GJTs or the test after treatment. We may thus argue that, in our case, accuracy was determined by how and to what forms learners directed their attention. By looking again at Table 2, we see that feedback A is beneficial for learners' accuracy in the tasks and in the test after treatment. Our findings support the claim that when recasts have a specific target, they make a stronger impact on accuracy (Muranoi 2000).

Despite the fact that our findings find support in previous research (e.g. Doughty and Varela 1998; Mackey and Philp 1998), they differ considerably from the results of other studies (e.g. Carroll and Swain 1993; Havranek 1999; Norris and Ortega 2000) which point to the outperformance of groups which received explicit metalinguistic feedback over groups which were offered implicit feedback. A possible explanation may lie in the difficulty for learners to identify where the problem is if the feedback is of the implicit type. Chaudron (1988) observed that implicit negative feedback in the form of recasts and repetitions was likely to be ambiguous for learners in the sense that the modification of the teacher's utterance might be imperceptible, or treated as a mere alternative to the learner's output. The disparity of results of implicit and explicit feedback evidences the need to explore the effects of different combinations of feedback on classroom SLA.

5. Conclusions

The present study was inspired by the lack of data concerning the effect of corrective feedback on the acquisition of English in the foreign language classroom and the felt need to supply such evidence. Recent research (e.g. Lyster 1998) notes the need to explore the effect of combinations of corrective feedback, as opposed to isolated techniques.

In order to ascertain the effectiveness of two different combinations of feedback (one more implicit and the other more explicit) on learners' accuracy, we analysed the learners' correct answers. We found that combination of feedback A (repetition of error and recast) provided better accuracy rates, with significant differences in the text reconstruction task and in the test after treatment for conditional in Group 1. These results concerned the effects of feedback in the short term perspective; moreover we were also interesting in shedding light on the perdurability of feedback in the long term. In this connection, on examining the correct answers in the delayed test we found that a combination of feedback B provided sustained gains for the past, but this was not the case for the rest of grammatical items in Group 2 (articles and conditional) or for a combination of feedback A. Therefore,

there is still a need to explore the exact conditions under which these —and other— types of feedback are likely to be effective for acquisition.

A number of pedagogical implications may be inferred from our findings. The first one concerns the implementation of implicit and explicit feedback in the classroom. In fact, this implementation is a desirable feature, since both types of feedback may, on the one hand, foster learners' awareness of gaps in their knowledge, and on the other, bring forcefully to their notice the correct version. As the concept of noticing has been claimed to be a necessary component towards language learning (Schmidt 1990), teachers should try to enhance maximal noticing on the part of the learners. The second pedagogical implication we suggest is closely related to the first: by briefly drawing the learner's attention to formal aspects in the context of communication, it has been claimed, not only does the learner who has made the mistake benefit from the feedback, but so do the rest of the class. This is particularly important in the EFL context, where teachers face large classes and feedback is usually available to a limited number of students.

Notes

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IMPORTANCIA DE LA COMPOSICIÓN DE LOS CAMPOS SEMÁNTICOS EN SU APRENDIZAJE¹

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229

1. Introducción

En primer lugar, se parte de los presupuestos de que la organización de la información es crítica en el dominio de los campos semánticos con los que se trabaja, y que ésta varía dependiendo del nivel de conocimiento que de ellos se tiene. También, del hecho de que es posible detectar cambios al pasar de una fase a otra del aprendizaje, incorporando el nuevo conocimiento al que ya se tiene. Así, si se detecta en esta investigación algún cambio en la organización y, con ello, en el aprendizaje, será debido a la manipulación de la variable independiente que se maneja: es decir, la explicación del material léxico perteneciente al campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.* y *Cognitive*. Los cambios se deben reflejar en la tarea asignada de traducción/definición de los términos y en la organización del conocimiento de los sujetos. Dado que el aprendizaje implica la reestructuración de la representación mental dentro de un campo de conocimiento, la representación estructural debe de cambiar y hacerse más similar a la de los expertos a medida que se produzca el aprendizaje (Gonzalvo, Cañas & Bajo, 1994).

En segundo lugar, y teniendo en cuenta la investigación de Sánchez (2002) en la que, con una instrucción similar a la que se va a proporcionar aquí, no se obtuvieron los resultados esperados, se plantea como hipótesis que la composición del campo semántico puede ser un factor decisivo para facilitar o dificultar su

aprendizaje. Quizá, el problema para que en la investigación citada no se lograra el aprendizaje en su totalidad con el campo semántico *Shine*, campo semántico complejo en el que la frontera entre sus términos no está bien delimitada, estuviera en la composición de este grupo léxico y no tanto en la instrucción. Con esto en mente y teniendo en cuenta las teorías que atribuyen el efecto de concreción a una mayor capacidad para la creación de imágenes visuales y las teorías estructurales, las cuales sostienen que los términos se recuerdan mejor por la manera en que están organizados los conceptos dentro de la memoria semántica, se analiza en qué campo semántico se da un mayor aprendizaje y la razón o razones para que así suceda. Para dar cuenta de a qué se debe el mayor aprendizaje se emplea la fuerza asociativa, la cual proporciona numéricamente la proximidad existente entre los términos del campo semántico. Esta información se usa en conjunción con las investigaciones que presuponen que el mayor aprendizaje se da con los términos que designan elementos físicos (Galbraith & Underwood, 1973; Paivio, Yuille & Madigan, 1968). Se piensa que éstos se recuerdan mejor por la mayor probabilidad de acceder a una información visual y de generar imágenes: efecto de concreción (Marschark, 1992). Este efecto es tan fuerte que no sólo se produce con el aprendizaje de términos aislados, sino que también se da con el recuerdo de metáforas y símiles (Harris, Tebbee & Leka 1997). Bajo, Cañas, Navarro, Padilla y Puerta (1994) están de acuerdo con una mayor facilidad de formar una imagen visual con palabras concretas, y conceden especial importancia al papel que desempeñan los factores estructurales en el efecto de concreción. Por lo tanto, es probable que los objetos del campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.*, el cual designa objetos físicos y tangibles, se aprendan mejor y más rápidamente, en detrimento del campo semántico *Cognitive*, de naturaleza abstracta. En lo relativo al campo léxico *Classroom/Lab.*, es de esperar una diferencia significativa en las cuatro variables dependientes que se van a manejar y que se explican en el apartado 2.1; por el contrario, en el grupo léxico abstracto (*Cognitive*) puede que no se consiga un aprendizaje total y que ello dé lugar a que no se obtenga una diferencia significativa en todas las variables dependientes. Se espera, como meta final, que los resultados aporten información que permita dictaminar sobre características relevantes que facilitan el aprendizaje de un campo semántico.

230

2. Metodología

2.1. Diseño

Para poder comprobar las hipótesis que aquí se plantean se utilizó un diseño Preprueba-Posprueba. Por lo tanto, se tomaron medidas repetidas con los campos

léxicos ya mencionados para distinguir si se había producido en los sujetos un aprendizaje de la primera a la segunda fase. Se esperaba que la manera de definir y traducir los términos de estos grupos léxicos, junto con la estructura conceptual de los estudiantes en estos mismos campos, mejorara con la instrucción y se hiciera más similar a la de los sujetos nativos o expertos. Las variables dependientes con las que se midió el cambio en cuanto al aprendizaje fueron: ‘traducción/definición’, ‘proximidad’ (obtenida a través de las puntuaciones dadas por los estudiantes en una tarea de relacionar), ‘similitud’ (similitud en cuanto al número de enlaces comunes entre los nodos en diferentes redes), ‘distancia’ (distancia mínima que conecta los nodos). Estos dos últimos índices se hallaron sometiendo al Pathfinder, algoritmo que genera de forma empírica estructuras en forma de red (Cooke & McDonald, 1986; Goldsmith, Johnson & Acton, 1991; Gonzalvo, Cañas & Bajo, 1994; Johnson, Goldsmith & Teague, 1995; Pitarque & Ruiz, 1997; Schvaneveldt, 1990; Schvaneveldt, Durso, Goldsmith, Breen, Cooke, Tucker & DeMaio, 1985; Thompson, Gomez & Schvaneveldt, 2000), las valoraciones originales proporcionadas por los estudiantes.

2.2. Sujetos

231

Los sujetos con los que se contó eran estudiantes de primer curso de Filología Inglesa matriculados en la Universidad de Salamanca, a los cuales se ofreció puntuación adicional por su participación voluntaria. Se utilizaron dos grupos de sujetos que se asignaron en bloque a la condición experimental o control, y en ambos se tomaron dos medidas: una previa (preprueba) y otra posterior a la instrucción (posprueba). En el grupo experimental, participaron en la preprueba 40 sujetos, pero se eliminaron los datos de 5 debido a que no participaron en la fase final. Como a cada uno se le había asignado un número del 1 al 40, se desecharon fácilmente los datos de los sujetos que excedían de 35. En cuanto al grupo control, participaron en la preprueba 53 sujetos y en la posprueba 42. Dado que en el grupo experimental íbamos a tener en cuenta los datos de 35 sujetos, se decidió desechar todos los que excedían de ese número. Aunque la prueba *t* que se utilizó en los análisis es flexible, cuando el tamaño de la muestra es igual o menor a $N=61$ o cuando las dos muestras son diferentes en tamaño (Brown, 1988), como había bastante diferencia entre el número de sujetos que participaron en el grupo control y en el experimental, se optó por realizar los análisis con el mismo número de sujetos en cada fase y condición ($N=35$).

Además, se contó con otro grupo de sujetos nativos, el cual servía como referente a los datos de los estudiantes. Este grupo estaba compuesto por 16 estudiantes norteamericanos matriculados en la Universidad de Salamanca en clases de cultura, lengua y literatura españolas. Aunque parece un número escaso ($N=16$) se cuenta

con diversas investigaciones, realizadas con un número reducido de expertos, que han proporcionado una estructura referente estable con la que comparar la de los sujetos menos expertos (Goldsmith, Jonson & Acton, 1991; Gonzalvo *et al.*, 1994).

Dado que con el diseño Preprueba-Posprueba empleado en esta investigación se pretendía discriminar si existía un efecto de aprendizaje, se necesitaba que los sujetos en la condición experimental y control fueran inicialmente similares. Se suponía que los dos grupos de estudiantes de inglés como lengua extranjera eran homogéneos ya que tenían características similares: edad, estudios, conocimiento de la lengua inglesa, etc. La media de años estudiando inglés del grupo experimental (7,34) y del grupo control (7,37) apunta a una homogeneidad lingüística en estos dos grupos. El hecho de que a un grupo se le asignara al grupo experimental o control no tuvo que ver con su conocimiento de la lengua inglesa. Se tomó la decisión de que un grupo en bloque, cuya pertenencia a él venía determinada por el apellido, fuera el grupo experimental o control. Así, se podía manipular libremente la variable independiente, cosa que no se podría hacer si los sujetos de la condición experimental o control estuvieran juntos.

2.3. Materiales

Se pensó que la instrucción podía ser más eficaz con un conjunto de nombres muy interrelacionados pero con una amplia separación conceptual entre ellos. Para ello se contó con dos tipos de léxico: uno de carácter abstracto (*Cognitive*) y otro compuesto por elementos tangibles y concretos (*Classroom/Lab.*). En la selección léxica de ambos campos semánticos, donde los términos presentan gran relación y el significado preciso de cualquiera de ellos puede extraerse la mayor parte de las veces por los que le acompañan, los términos están muy alejados semánticamente los unos de los otros y la frontera entre ellos está bien delimitada.

El primer grupo léxico (*Cognitive*) constaba de términos abstractos que los sujetos percibían como familiares, quizá debido a que éstos se consideran más frecuentes (Galbraith & Underwood, 1973). Sin embargo, al ser abstractos, en muchas ocasiones no se tiene una idea clara sobre el concepto y sus relaciones, como se comprobó experimentalmente. Todos los términos procedían de un artículo de Ericsson y Charness: "Expert Performance. Its Structure and Acquisition" (1994). Para evitar el sesgo en la selección de los mismos se utilizó el programa Hyperbase 2.3 para el ordenador Macintosh. Este programa proporcionó, de acuerdo con la extensión de dicho artículo, las palabras más significativas: las que aparecían con una frecuencia de 8 o más. Teniendo en cuenta la cantidad de términos que era necesario utilizar: 10 para la preprueba y 10 para la posprueba en la tarea de traducción/definición, y 20 para la tarea de estimar el grado de relación (véase la

lista de términos en el Apéndice 1, sección 1.), hubo que recurrir en 12 ocasiones a palabras que presentaban una frecuencia menor de 8, no llegando en ninguna ocasión a ser su frecuencia menor de 2. Por otra parte, se desecharon un buen número de términos dentro del campo semántico elegido porque, a pesar de ser relevantes, su forma superficial era similar al término español y, además, de uso cotidiano. Como parte de la tarea escrita consistía en proporcionar la traducción del término al español, se pensó que la inclusión de estos términos no probaría de manera adecuada si se había producido o no el aprendizaje de una fase a otra. Por esta razón, palabras como: *memory*, *experience*, etc., a pesar de aparecer con bastante frecuencia en el artículo, se eliminaron. También se desecharon los adjetivos, incluso algunos de gran frecuencia y muy relacionados con este campo semántico, como: *successful*, *outstanding*, *relevant*, etc. Se tomó esta decisión porque, debido a su función modificadora y a su situación en el sintagma, si se presentaban solos podían parecer semánticamente incompletos, siendo probable que los sujetos los tradujeran asociándolos a nombres con los que normalmente se les vincula. Se optó por seleccionar un total de 40 términos, en su mayor parte sustantivos (33). Los términos, en conjunto, se percibían como sustantivos, aunque en algunas ocasiones también podían ser verbos (5) o adjetivos (2). De todas formas se procuró, en la medida de lo posible que, tanto en la tarea escrita como en la de relacionar los términos, las categorías gramaticales fueran las mismas. En todas las ocasiones se utilizaron formas básicas, evitando así morfemas de plural, tiempo, etc. (ej. *replicated* aparecía como *replicate*, y *stimuli* como *stimulus*).

El grupo compuesto por objetos concretos se tomó del *Oxford English Picture Dictionary* (Parnwell, 1977) donde aparece el léxico agrupado, así como la ilustración de cada objeto. Los términos que en él se muestran son de naturaleza diversa, ya que abarca desde animales o instrumentos musicales a categorías gramaticales como pueden ser preposiciones, pronombre, verbos, etc. En este caso se decidió elegir términos relativos al campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.*, es decir, sustantivos que designan objetos que se encuentran en el aula o en un laboratorio. Al igual que con el léxico anterior, se utilizó el mismo número de palabras: 10 en la preprueba y 10 en la posprueba para la tarea de traducción/definición, y 20 en la de relacionar los términos (véase el material empleado en el Apéndice 1, sección 2.), con la diferencia de que eran sustantivos en su forma básica. Se asignaron los términos a las distintas fases, al igual que se hizo con el conjunto de palabras del campo semántico *Cognitive*, cuidando que el grado de dificultad o conocimiento de los términos fuera similar, de tal modo que la diferencia de los resultados entre las distintas fases no fuera debida al material empleado.

2.4. Procedimiento

Las pruebas de traducción/definición y la de la valoración de los términos (preprueba) se hicieron en el plazo de una semana, tanto al grupo control como al experimental, y éstas tuvieron una duración media de 65 minutos (el mismo tiempo que en la posprueba). Una vez que las realizaron todos los sujetos, se comenzó con la instrucción del material al grupo experimental. Se dejó pasar cinco semanas después de la instrucción para la realización de la posprueba del grupo control, y una más para los sujetos del grupo experimental. A pesar de existir una diferencia de tiempo entre las dos pruebas, ésta es tan pequeña que no hace pensar en una maduración lingüística por parte de los sujetos del grupo experimental. Para evitar el estudio del material léxico se avisó a los sujetos de que éste no entraría en el examen final. La misma finalidad se perseguía para no anticiparles la existencia de una segunda prueba (posprueba).

La instrucción de los términos fue realizada por uno de los docentes de primer curso de Filología Inglesa de la Universidad de Salamanca. El tiempo que se dedicó a la enseñanza de los términos elegidos fue de una clase (unos 50 minutos en total). La instrucción de los términos del campo semántico *Classroom/Lab*, se llevó a cabo con la ayuda de una fotocopia que se entregó a cada estudiante. Dicha hoja contenía un dibujo de un aula y de un laboratorio con los objetos que se iban a tratar. Además, en la parte inferior aparecía cada término, tanto en inglés como en español. Como se manifestó en la preprueba, era un material bastante desconocido para los estudiantes. Sin embargo, dado que se trataba de objetos concretos, no precisaba demasiadas explicaciones. Una vez leídos los términos en voz alta y tras explicar alguno de cuyo concepto carecían (ej. *blotting-pad*), se pidió a los estudiantes que los agruparan atendiendo al material de que estaban hechos, por la forma y por el color. Aparte de familiarizarse con los términos, se pensaba que esta tarea les ayudaba a establecer las posibles relaciones entre ellos. Se pretendía que la enseñanza de estos campos semánticos, aunque con tareas diferentes, se asemejara lo más posible a la realizada en la investigación ya mencionada con los términos del grupo léxico *Shine* (Sánchez, 2002). Por lo que respecta al campo semántico *Cognitive*, a pesar de que los sujetos conocían la forma de las palabras en inglés, en su mayoría no tenían una idea clara sobre los conceptos, como se demostró en la preprueba. Por esta razón hubo que explicar cada uno de ellos. La lectura de cada término dentro de un pequeño contexto preparado con el programa Hyperbase 2.3, junto con la explicación del profesor, fue de gran utilidad. Dada la dificultad del material debido a su naturaleza abstracta, se hizo más hincapié en la comprensión de los conceptos que en el significado del término en español. Además, se intentó favorecer la relación entre dichos términos mediante un

ejercicio de emparejamiento. Así, se daba una palabra al estudiante y éste tenía que elegir de entre todos los términos aquél que estuviera más próximo.

Traducción y definición de los conceptos

Para la preprueba se pasó a los sujetos una hoja en la que, por una cara, se incluían 10 términos del campo semántico *Cognitive* y por la otra 10 palabras con el léxico propio del campo *Classroom/Lab.* (ver Apéndice 1, sección 3.). La tarea de los estudiantes consistía en dar la traducción de estos términos al español. Con el fin de que no dieran una traducción que nada tenía que ver con el campo semántico elegido, se les recomendó que antes de comenzar la tarea consideraran todos los términos para hacerse una idea global del material con el que iban a tratar. Además, para estar seguros de que los términos se traducían en relación con el campo semántico indicado, se pidió a los sujetos que aparte de la traducción dieran una breve definición de cada una de las palabras. Dicha definición podía ayudar en parte a suplir la falta de vocabulario que a veces se tiene a la hora de traducir, ya que, si no fuera por la definición, en algunas ocasiones no habría sido posible averiguar si los estudiantes realmente traducían y entendían correctamente el término dentro de un contexto determinado. Por ejemplo, el término *savant* fue traducido en varias ocasiones como ‘sabio’, y la definición fue esencial a la hora de evaluarlo.

235

El procedimiento y el tiempo empleados en la posprueba (ver Apéndice 1, sección 4.), la cual constaba del mismo número de términos que la preprueba aunque distintos, fue el mismo. Como el nivel de dificultad de una fase y otra era similar, según se comprobó con los sujetos nativos, el tiempo dedicado a esta actividad también fue de 25 minutos. Lo único que cambió, ya que contábamos con dos grupos léxicos diferentes, fue el orden de la realización de las tareas en las dos fases del experimento. En la preprueba la mitad de los sujetos comenzó con la tarea de traducción/definición, la mitad de éstos con los términos que tenían que ver con el grupo semántico *Cognitive* y la otra mitad con los que hacen referencia al aula y al laboratorio. La otra mitad empezó con la tarea de valorar la relación entre las parejas de los términos que aparecían en la pantalla del ordenador; la mitad de este subgrupo con el campo semántico *Cognitive* y la otra mitad con el otro grupo semántico (*Classroom/Lab.*). Una vez que completaron una de las dos tareas con los dos campos semánticos realizaron la segunda, teniéndose en cuenta también el orden en el que se hacían. En la posprueba se siguió el mismo procedimiento pero se invirtió el orden.

La prueba de traducción/definición se evaluó de 0 a 1, asignando 0,5 a la traducción del término y 0,5 a la definición. En el caso de que la traducción del término fuera una de las posibles, pero la definición no tuviera nada que ver con el campo semántico, los estudiantes recibían la mitad de la puntuación (ej. ‘andén’

cuando aparecía *platform*, en vez del término ‘tarima’ utilizado en el aula). Las dos fases fueron corregidas por la misma persona, y siempre puntuando el mismo ítem en todos los cuadernillos antes de comenzar con el siguiente. Esto se hizo así para evitar el efecto halo que se produce cuando se puntúa estudiante por estudiante. Como ayuda se contó con varios diccionarios (*Dictionary of Psychology*, Reber 1985; *Collins Spanish-English English-Spanish Dictionary*, Smith 1971; *Webster’s New Collegiate*, 1980) y con un tesoro (*New Roget’s Thesaurus*, Lewis 1978). Una vez evaluados todos los términos se halló la puntuación media por fase y por grupo para poderlas comparar entre sí.

Valoración de los términos

Aparte de la traducción y definición de los términos, se pidió a cada sujeto que estimara el grado de relación entre cada pareja de conceptos. Como contábamos con dos grupos léxicos diferentes, se tuvo en cuenta el orden de la realización de las tareas. La tarea de valoración de los conceptos consistía en juzgar la relación existente entre todas las parejas posibles formadas con los dos grupos de términos *Classroom/Lab.* y *Cognitive* (20 en cada grupo), los cuales se podían ver en la pantalla del ordenador antes de dar comienzo a la tarea. Es decir, los sujetos tenían que valorar la relación o semejanza de 190 pares de conceptos (20 términos tomados de dos en dos) del léxico *Cognitive*, así como la relación de otros 190 pares de conceptos del campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.* Indicaban su juicio sobre la relación de cada pareja presionando una tecla numérica del 1 al 9 (el 1 implicaba ausencia de relación y el 9 la máxima relación). La tarea terminaba cuando todas las parejas se habían presentado de modo aleatorio. El proceso tuvo una duración media de 20 minutos por cada uno de los campos semánticos.

Una vez obtenidos los datos con la valoración original dada por los estudiantes, se hizo una matriz simétrica triangular de 20*20 por sujeto y tarea y se transformaron los datos en medidas de distancia psicológica. Se computó también la media de las matrices de los expertos con cada uno de los dos grupos léxicos. Las matrices de los expertos se compararon más tarde con las de los estudiantes en las distintas fases y grupos. También se aplicó el algoritmo Pathfinder (Schvaneveldt, 1990; Schvaneveldt, Durso & Dearholt, 1989; Schvaneveldt, Durso, Goldsmith, Breen, Cooke, Tucker & DeMaio, 1985; Thompson, Gomez & Schvaneveldt, 2000) con el fin de obtener redes a partir de los datos dados por los sujetos, ya que este procedimiento tiene validez psicológica y es fidedigno por la transformación que hace de los datos (Cooke, 1992; Cooke, Durso & Schvaneveldt, 1986; Goldsmith *et al.*, 1991; Gonzalvo *et al.*, 1994; Pitarque & Ruiz, 1997).

3. Resultados

Las pruebas léxicas se confeccionaron de tal modo que su nivel de dificultad fuera similar en la preprueba y en la posprueba. No obstante, para estar seguros de que los resultados no se veían influidos por una mayor o menor dificultad en una fase o en otra, se creyó conveniente comprobar la igualdad en el nivel de dificultad con los sujetos nativos. A la mitad de los sujetos nativos de la lengua inglesa que participaron en el experimento (N=8) se les dio la prueba de traducción/definición que habíamos utilizado en la preprueba y a la otra mitad (N=7, ya que uno de los sujetos no la hizo) la que habíamos utilizado en la posprueba. La prueba *t* de Student para grupos independientes no manifestó una diferencia significativa ni en el campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.* ni en el campo *Cognitive.* Con estos datos se puede afirmar la igualdad de la prueba en cuanto al nivel de dificultad. En cuanto a la tarea de relacionar los términos, ésta fue idéntica en ambas ocasiones, debido a que los análisis Pathfinder han de ser con los mismos conceptos. Además, como ya se ha comprobado (Sánchez, 1999), no se produce aprendizaje por la repetición de este tipo de tarea.

Para realizar los análisis encaminados a demostrar la existencia de aprendizaje se halló la red media con las valoraciones dadas por los sujetos nativos o expertos. Red ideal con la cual se iban a comparar las redes de los sujetos que aprendían inglés como lengua extranjera. Para establecer esta comparación se llevó a cabo una correlación del promedio experto con las valoraciones originales de cada uno de los sujetos. Con pasos parecidos a los seguidos con las valoraciones originales, para hallar el índice de proximidad, se obtuvo el de distancia y el de similitud. La única diferencia es que en este caso se sometieron las valoraciones originales al algoritmo Pathfinder. Se tomaron estas tres medidas, junto con las de la puntuación en la tarea de traducción/definición de los términos, con el fin de poder comprobar si de una etapa a otra se habían producido cambios en la organización de los términos. Para la realización de los análisis de los distintos campos semánticos se halló la media de las puntuaciones, por grupos y por fases, en las tres medidas obtenidas a partir de las valoraciones originales cuyo referente era el ideal experto. Los análisis llevados a cabo con las puntuaciones obtenidas en las tareas léxicas (una con el campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.* y otra con el campo semántico *Cognitive*) se hicieron con la media por grupos y fases. Al comparar la estructura cognitiva de los estudiantes en las distintas fases y grupos, se pretendía mostrar que se había producido un aprendizaje debido a la instrucción. Se esperaba que estos análisis rindieran una diferencia notable de la preprueba a la posprueba del grupo experimental en las cuatro variables dependientes, al igual que entre la posprueba del grupo experimental y del grupo control (ver tablas 1 y 2).

GRUPO Y FASE	TRAD./DEF. (#)	PROXIMIDAD (\$)	DISTANCIA (!)	SIMILITUD (&)
G. Experm. (N=35)				
Preprueba	0,187	0,235	0,099	0,124
Posprueba	0,865	0,439	0,338	0,229
G. Control (N=35)				
Preprueba	0,142	0,171	0,090	0,105
Posprueba	0,180	0,166	0,058	0,116

Máximo = 1; \$ Rango = gran similitud (1) a poca similitud (0); !Rango = poca similitud (0) a gran similitud (1); & Rango = poca similitud (0) a gran similitud (1)

TABLA 1: Media de las puntuaciones del campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.* por grupo y fase

GRUPO Y FASE	TRAD./DEF. (#)	PROXIMIDAD (\$)	DISTANCIA (!)	SIMILITUD (&)
G. Experm. (N=35)				
Preprueba	0,498	0,144	0,054	0,102
Posprueba	0,765	0,272	0,149	0,141
G. Control (N=35)				
Preprueba	0,521	0,098	0,046	0,106
Posprueba	0,550	0,075	0,042	0,094

Máximo = 1; \$ Rango = gran similitud (1) a poca similitud (0); !Rango = poca similitud (0) a gran similitud (1); & Rango = poca similitud (0) a gran similitud (1)

TABLA 2: Media de las puntuaciones del campo semántico *Cognitive* por grupo y fase

Se realizaron pruebas *t* entre las medias por grupo y por fase en los dos campos semánticos, resultando ser significativas en las cuatro variables dependientes. Siendo éstas para el grupo léxico *Classroom/Lab.* entre la preprueba y posprueba del grupo experimental de $t(34)=27,635$, $p<0,0001$ para la traducción/definición, de $t(34)=5,47$, $p<0,0001$ para la medida de proximidad, de $t(34)=6,357$, $p<0,0001$ para la medida de distancia, y de $t(34)=5,919$, $p<0,0001$ para la de similitud. Así mismo se hicieron pruebas *t* independientes entre la posprueba del grupo control y del experimental, siendo significativas en las cuatro medidas. Se obtuvo una $t(68)=22,581$, $p<0,0001$ para la traducción/definición, una $t(68)=7,816$, $p<0,0001$ para la medida de proximidad, una $t(68)=7,017$, $p<0,0001$ para la distancia y una $t(68)=7,062$, $p<0,0001$ para la similitud. En cuanto a los análisis realizados entre las medias del grupo experimental y control en la preprueba y las del grupo control en la preprueba y posprueba, no proporcionaron diferencia significativa en ninguna de las variables dependientes.

Para el campo semántico *Cognitive* la prueba *t* entre la preprueba y posprueba del grupo experimental fue de $t(34)=2,671$, $p<0,0001$ para la traducción/definición,

de $t(34)=5,423$, $p<0,0001$ para la medida de proximidad, de $t(34)=3,484$, $p=0,0014$ para la medida de distancia, y de $t(34)=3,697$, $p=0,0008$ para la de similitud. Así mismo, se hicieron pruebas t independientes entre la posprueba del grupo control y del experimental, siendo significativas en las cuatro medidas. Se obtuvo una $t(68)=8,852$, $p<0,0001$ para la traducción/definición, una $t(68)=6,801$, $p<0,0001$ para la medida de proximidad, una $t(68)=3,361$, $p=0,0013$ para la distancia y una $t(68)=4,188$, $p<0,0001$ para la similitud. En cuanto a los análisis realizados entre las medias del grupo experimental y control en la preprueba y las del grupo control en la preprueba y posprueba, no rindieron diferencia significativa en ninguna de las variables dependientes. Como se desprende de los resultados de este experimento, se puede afirmar que existe un aprendizaje de una fase a otra en estos dos campos semánticos debido a la instrucción proporcionada. El siguiente paso, dictaminar qué tipo de campo semántico es más fácil de aprender, tiene que ver con las respuestas a estas dos preguntas: a) en cuál se ha aprendido más y b) en cuál se han acercado más los sujetos al conocimiento experto. Cuestión esta última importante, pues cuando enseñamos el fin no es sólo que los discentes aprendan sino que de algún modo en determinadas parcelas vayan teniendo un rendimiento más similar al del nativo. Para responder a la primera pregunta basta con fijarse en las medias obtenidas en la posprueba experimental, cuando los sujetos ya han recibido el tratamiento de la variable independiente (tabla 1 y 2). Se observan cifras mucho mayores para las cuatro variables dependientes en el grupo léxico que tiene que ver con el aula y el laboratorio. Con lo cual se vislumbra que el mayor aprendizaje se ha dado en el campo semántico de términos concretos *Classroom/Lab*. En cuanto a la segunda pregunta, para llegar a una conclusión válida al respecto, se utilizan las puntuaciones del grupo experimental, que ha recibido el efecto de la variable independiente, y las de los nativos en las cuatro medidas o variables dependientes que aquí manejamos. Mediante un estudio correlacional se infiere en cuál de estos dos campos semánticos se han aproximado más los sujetos al hablante nativo.

C. SEMÁNTICO	TRAD./DEF.	PROXIMIDAD	SIMILITUD	DISTANCIA
Classroom/Lab.	-0,460+	0,1963	-0,4283+	-0,2967+
Cognitive	0,265	0,1914	-0,0081	-0,0434

+ = Correlación significativa al $p < 0,05$

TABLA 3: Correlaciones entre la posprueba del grupo experimental y la de los sujetos nativos

Considerando las cifras de la Tabla 3, es evidente que el campo semántico en que más se ha progresado y donde más se acercan al conocimiento de los sujetos de habla inglesa es en el de los términos relativos al aula y al laboratorio. No sólo las cifras son más altas en todas las ocasiones, sino que incluso en tres de las cuatro medidas las correlaciones son significativas. Una vez que se define el campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.* como aquél en el que se ha obtenido mayor éxito, traducido en una mayor covarianza con el nativo del inglés, también interesa responder a qué se debe. Este aspecto es relevante sobre todo si tenemos en cuenta que la instrucción procuró en todo momento elicitación el mismo tipo de conocimiento estructural en los dos campos léxicos. Los objetos que componen el campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.*, quizá por tratarse de objetos tangibles, están más alejados los unos de los otros, mejor delimitadas las fronteras entre ellos. Este factor habría favorecido un mayor aprendizaje y una mayor semejanza, en lo que a estos términos se refiere, con los sujetos nativos de la lengua inglesa. Para poder comprobar la hipótesis que aquí se considera, se halló la fuerza de la relación entre los nodos o el peso medio de los enlaces de la red experta.

240

C. SEMÁNTICO	FUERZA
Classroom/Lab.	0,2761
Cognitive	0,1546

TABLA 4: Peso medio de la red experta

Como se había predicho, la cifra mayor fue para el campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.*, lo que indica una mayor distancia de los enlaces de la red semántica experta. Sin embargo, la cifra menor, la cual se traduce en una mayor proximidad entre los nodos, fue para el campo semántico *Cognitive*. Quizá suceda así por tratarse de un campo semántico que contiene una gran cantidad de términos latinos, los cuales son más difíciles para los hablantes del inglés. También se recurrió a los pesos de la red media de la posprueba experimental para ver qué fuerza adjudicaban los estudiantes pertenecientes al grupo en el que se había producido el aprendizaje a cada uno de estos campos semánticos.

C. SEMÁNTICO	FUERZA
Classroom/Lab.	0,366
Cognitive	0,302

TABLA 5: Peso medio de la red experimental en la posprueba

Los resultados, de nuevo, apoyan la idea presentada en cuanto a los términos que hacen referencia a los objetos que se pueden encontrar en el aula y laboratorio. En este caso el campo semántico *Cognitive* también presenta una cifra alta en fuerza cercana a la del campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.*, existiendo entre ellos una diferencia pequeña (0,064). Posiblemente se debe a que muchos de los términos que componen el campo semántico *Cognitive* son de origen latino, lo que facilita su conocimiento en los estudiantes españoles, de forma contraria a lo que sucede en los sujetos anglohablantes, cuya diferencia es mayor (0,1215). No obstante, a pesar de que en este caso el origen latino de los términos beneficia a los estudiantes españoles, es posible que el peor rendimiento con esta selección léxica se deba a la mayor proximidad de sus términos, percibida así por grado de abstracción de los mismos.

4. Conclusiones

En relación a los datos hallados en esta investigación, se concluye que la enseñanza de los campos semánticos *Classroom/Lab.* y *Cognitive* ha tenido como resultado el aprendizaje perseguido. Se ha dado un cambio en las estructuras conceptuales, el cual se manifiesta en una organización diferente, más cercana o parecida a la de los sujetos expertos (Cooke & McDonald, 1986; Goldsmith *et al.*, 1991; Gonzalvo *et al.*, 1994; Jonson, Goldsmith & Teague, 1995).

Además, como meta final de esta investigación se discrimina el grupo léxico en el que se ha aprendido más y las razones para que eso suceda. Los datos empíricos que proporcionan los análisis realizados ayudan a distinguir como causas de este mayor aprendizaje la mayor o menor proximidad de los términos del campo semántico (fuerza asociativa). Ésta depende de la composición del grupo léxico, en el cual intervienen factores decisivos como el grado de concreción y el origen de la palabra (ej. latino, anglosajón, etc.). Los resultados en cuanto al vocabulario con el que aquí se ha trabajado manifiestan cierta coherencia con las teorías que atribuyen el efecto de concreción a una mayor capacidad de crear imágenes. También coinciden con las teorías estructurales, las cuales mantienen que el mejor recuerdo, y por lo tanto el mejor aprendizaje (ej. campo semántico *Classroom/Lab.*), se da por la manera en como están organizados los conceptos dentro de la memoria semántica.

Apéndice 1

1. Campo semántico: *Cognitive*

PREPRUEBA	POSPRUEBA	PATHFINDER
ability	process	assessment
domain	knowledge	performance
instruction	replicate	accomplish
recall	stimulus	accurate
speed	practice	achievement
goal	talent	excel
cognitive	effect	novice
apprenticeship	advance	peak
encode	feedback	savant
level	significant	coach
		prodigy
		development
		gift
		improve
		attain
		acquisition
		skill
		master
		training
		expertise

2. Campo semántico: *Classroom/Lab.*

PREPRUEBA	POSPRUEBA	PATHFINDER
bunsen burner	glue	pointer
mortar	stapler	beaker
file	palette	notepad
punch	duster	set-square
pestle	blotter	flask
platform	rubber tubing	compasses
easel	adding machine	lens
bench	filing-cabinet	slide-rule
blotting-pad	stool	needle
slide	magnet	test-tube
		weights
		pipette
		balance
		protractor
		scales
		dial
		crystals
		meter
		microscope
		pan

3. Preprueba (*Classroom/Lab.-Cognitive*)

Dé una sola **traducción** y **definición** de las palabras que aparecen a continuación. Puede empezar por donde Ud. prefiera, pero antes de comenzar se le aconseja que eche un vistazo a todos los términos.

1. BUNSEN BURNER _____

2. MORTAR _____

3. FILE _____

4. PUNCH _____

5. PESTLE _____

6. PLATFORM _____

7. BENCH _____

8. BLOTTING-PAD _____

9. SLIDE _____

10. EASEL _____

244

Dé una sola **traducción** y **definición** de las palabras que aparecen a continuación. Puede empezar por donde Ud. prefiera, pero antes de comenzar se le aconseja que eche un vistazo a todos los términos.

1. ABILITY _____

2. DOMAIN _____

3. INSTRUCTION _____

4. RECALL _____

5. STIMULUS _____

6. GOAL _____

7. COGNITIVE _____

8. APPRENTICESHIP _____

9. ENCODE _____

10. REPLICATE _____

4. Posprueba (Classroom/Lab.-Cognitive)

Dé una sola **traducción** y **definición** de las palabras que aparecen a continuación. Puede empezar por donde Ud. prefiera, pero antes de comenzar se le aconseja que eche un vistazo a todos los términos.

1. GLUE _____

2. STAPLER _____

3. PALETTE _____

4. DUSTER _____

5. BLOTTER _____

6. RUBBER TUBING _____

7. ADDING MACHINE _____

8. FILING-CABINET _____

9. STOOL _____

10. MAGNET _____

Dé una sola **traducción** y **definición** de las palabras que aparecen a continuación. Puede empezar por donde Ud. prefiera, pero antes de comenzar se le aconseja que eche un vistazo a todos los términos.

1. PROCESS _____

2. KNOWLEDGE _____

3. LEVEL _____

4. SPEED _____

5. PRACTICE _____

6. TALENT _____

7. EFFECT _____

8. ADVANCE _____

9. FEEDBACK _____

10. SIGNIFICANT _____

246

Notas

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Reviews

ENGLISH TRANSCRIPTION COURSE

María Luisa García Lecumberri and John Maidment.

London: Arnold Publishers, 2000.

(by Darío Barrera Pardo. University of Sevilla)

251

Phonetic transcription is widely used as a pronunciation teaching tool in many higher education institutions in Europe, where large numbers of advanced students in English language and linguistics programs are expected to acquire transcription skills, normally at the phonemic level, with some insight into allophonic variation. Broad transcription is also a regular component in MATESOL phonology-oriented courses in the U.S., as Murphy (1997) reports.

There has long been a need for a book that offered substantial practice in these skills, and English Transcription Course certainly seems to provide the means to achieve them. One may argue that doing transcriptions is not conducive to pronunciation learning per se, and there is to my knowledge no empirical evidence to support this idea, although there is some indication that students perceive transcription exercises as highly beneficial. For instance, Edwards (1992: 226) found that learners rank transcription activities as the most useful, only second to laboratory work. The authors of the volume claim, I think quite rightly, that phonetic transcription is particularly useful for raising learners' awareness of the radically different pronunciation of words in citation and in context (i.e. connected speech). A more questionable aim proposed for phonetic transcription is that of auditory training, a claim made by Ashby et al. (1995: 171).

The linguistic framework of the handbook is grounded on the transcription usage commonly known as the Gimson-O'Connor system, exemplified by two excellent

pronunciation dictionaries, Roach and Hartman (1997) and Wells (1990), taking so-called RP English as the accent model. Choosing this accent model has both advantages and disadvantages; on the positive side, as the authors point out in the Introduction, RP has been charted and described linguistically, and has been the teaching standard both in and outside of the U.K. for many decades. The sociolinguistic limitations of RP should not be overlooked; only an estimated 5% of the population of the U.K. are natives of this accent, and it is being increasingly challenged as a pronunciation model in ESL contexts.

Linguistically, the problem with this model is that idiosyncratic features like vowel monophthonging, smoothing, intrusive *r*, and plosive assimilation, all of them covered in the book, are restricted to (some versions of) RP, and are blatantly incompatible with other widespread accents of English.

The volume consists of an Introduction, a Glossary, a Bibliography, and 9 units labeled 'lessons', probably to stress its 'course-like' nature. The structure of each lesson includes a very clear and to-the-point presentation of a connected speech topic, supported with relevant examples. Then a sample transcription follows, which contains several instances of the process, conveniently highlighted. This sample transcription is supplemented with comments, as is the rest of the texts to be transcribed. Then more texts (sometimes sequences of sentences) for transcription follow. There is an answer key that is especially helpful because it provides the model transcription and relevant comments. There are over 40 texts for transcription; 82% of the exercises have a passage format, about 10% of the exercises involve sentence-level transcription practice, and 8% word level. The average length of these passages is between 450 and 500 words. A minor criticism in this respect is that in the Introduction "a number of exercises of various types" are announced (p. 1), an announcement not fulfilled in the subsequent chapters of the book, where the vast majority of activities are transcriptions of texts.

The Introduction and lessons 1 and 2 offer a succinct but very clear description of the phonetic symbols and basic terminology of phonetics. The important difference between citation and connected speech forms of a word is excellently explained, and each of the lessons deals with a single connected speech process. One problem I see here is that transcriptions are introduced assuming the reader's familiarity with sound to symbol correspondences, an assumption that in some cases will not be true. Because the volume is presented as a course, the reader should be provided with prior training in establishing the appropriate links between the notation symbols and the sound-letter relationships for which they stand, given that transcription is expected to happen from the very beginning of the course. Before transcribing passages, the learner in a transcription course should probably have the opportunity to master more basic tasks.

Lesson 3 deals with stress, rhythm and weak forms, but it focuses mainly on weak forms of function words. In the pedagogic tradition mentioned, a great deal of attention is devoted to describing and systematizing the form and function of these weak forms. It is not clear, however, whether failure to reduce function words hinders intelligibility in the speech of learners, at least when English is used among non-native speakers (Jenkins 2000: 146-148). Language produced by native speakers, on the other hand, is problematic for non-native listeners who typically have trouble with reduced speech that affects function words, some very frequent lexical words, and even entire phrases. Another criticism is that sentence stress is not explained but is marked in the transcriptions; the reader is left with no clear criteria for marking stress in utterances in the passages for transcription.

Lessons 4 and 5 respectively introduce shandhi r and syllabic consonants. Lesson 6, dealing with elision, could have been usefully related to Lesson 3; this would have assured a clearer association between this connected speech feature and rhythm, and more generally with stress. In addition, only schwa deletion is mentioned, while the broader concept of unstressed vowel would be more helpful (cf. “medicine” or “aspirin”). Lesson 7 covers assimilation phenomena, mostly within plosives in contact, and Lesson 8 introduces glotalling. The final unit, Lesson 9, offers exercises for further practice, all of them in the form of passages to transcribe.

Exercises make up the bulk of the book (79 pages), and the remaining 77 pages constitute an Appendix, with answers to the exercises. This means that half of the text is devoted to the answer key. A volume that is entitled “course” and whose chapters are called “lessons” should include some type of testing of the material and exercises, perhaps in the form of self-evaluation at the end of each unit.

Despite the minor criticisms noted, this book is an excellent resource for transcription practice, is clear in its layout and content, and responds to the needs of learners and teachers who want to acquire or improve on their transcription skills.

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INTRODUCING TRANSLATION STUDIES: THEORIES AND APPLICATIONS

Jeremy Munday

London and New York: Routledge, 2001.

(by M.^a Pilar Mur Dueñas. University of Zaragoza)

255

In his work, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*, Munday offers a valuable compilation of the main analytical frameworks and theories that have evolved since Translation Studies came to be regarded as a new, independent discipline worthy of academic research. This volume has been designed to be used as an introductory university coursebook. As such it will be of particular interest for teachers, students and, very especially, for novel researchers in the field.

The book is divided into eleven chapters, that—in an attempt of gaining clarity and precision— Munday develops following the same scheme. After an introductory chart in which the key concepts and ideas to be dealt with are summarised, the corresponding theories and approaches are analysed and evaluated. A case study together with its discussion follows. An interesting feature of this book is the great diversity of languages—English, French, German, Spanish, Italian and Punjabi—and of genres that Munday examines in his case studies. These include an analysis of passages translated from the Bible, fragments from the novel *Harry Potter* and from the prose of García Márquez and Proust, a tourist guide, a cookery book for children and several official documents. After the case study, Munday offers a concise summary of the main points discussed followed by useful section on relevant further reading designed for researchers. He ends each chapter with a series of questions and commentaries aimed at encouraging his readers to launch out on their own reasearch.

Munday acknowledges that, for reasons of space, he has been forced to leave aside certain issues and frameworks generally considered essential in the evolution of the discipline. He, nevertheless, selects a series of fundamental theories and approaches that he deals with separately in each chapter.

The first chapter focuses on key aspects of Translation Studies and on the consolidation of translation as new academic research area. Special emphasis is put on the outstanding contribution of James S. Holmes in helping the discipline of translation achieve its independence.

In the second chapter Munday underlines the work carried out by Dryden in the 17th century, whose triad put an end to the endless debate on the dichotomy between free and literal translation. He also comments on Scheleirmacher's work whose proposal of a method of translation that respects and even incorporates elements from the foreign text was to have considerable influence on modern scholars.

The third, fourth, fifth and sixth chapters describe and analyse the emergence and subsequent abandonment of linguistically-oriented models put forward in the 1950s. In Chapter Three Munday tackles the concept of equivalence stated by Jakobson and developed by Eugene Nida, who drew the distinction between formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence. In the 50s and 60s translation scholars such as Vinay and Darbelnet, Carford and Leuven-Zwart devoted their efforts to establishing detailed taxonomies of 'shifts' or small linguistic changes that Munday presents in Chapter Four. In the 70s and 80s German scholars abandoned their view of translating as a static linguistic phenomenon and proposed functionalist and communicative theories, such as Holz-Mäntäri's model of translational action and Reiss and Vermeer's influential skopos theory, which Munday expounds in Chapter Five. Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics also had a great influence on Translation Studies, giving way to translation models that attempted to associate linguistic choices to the communicative function of the text and its socio-cultural context. That is the case of the models propounded by Mona Baker, Juliane House and Hatim and Hason, described and evaluated in Chapter Six.

Munday devotes Chapter Seven to the analysis of the theories put forward by the scholars from Tel Aviv. He draws special attention to Even Zohar's polysystem theory and to Toury's methodology for the descriptive analysis of translated texts as well as to his concept of norm developed later by Chesterman. He also makes reference to the work carried out by the Manipulation School.

In Chapter Eight Munday focuses on the different cultural approaches to the analysis of translation. Among them, Munday highlights the feminist approach, the postcolonial approach and Lefevere's ideological approach through his notion of rewriting.

Reviews

In the next chapter the focus of analysis shifts to the presentation of the concept of translation strategy and to the analysis of the role of the translator. Munday bases his analysis on the concepts of '(in)visibility', 'domestication' and 'foreignization' devised by Venutti, greatly influenced by Berman who was also in favour of keeping foreignizing elements in the translated texts.

Chapter ten encompasses the main philosophical approaches to the study of translation. The work of theorists such as Steiner, Ezra Pound, Walter Benjamin and Derrida is examined in this chapter.

In the last chapter Munday analyses the interdisciplinary nature of translation. He states that since Snell-Hoornby proposed her 'integrated' approach, interdisciplinary approaches to translation studies have spread and gained acceptance.

To conclude it can be said that Munday's strength lies in the formal and stylistic clarity with which he manages to compile a great number of the key notions and approaches, offering his readers a very rich picture of what Translation Studies are. Such clarity and precision makes Munday's book a valuable source for those wishing to acquire a sound theoretical grounding in the discipline and to discover its possible applications.

COLLINS DICCIONARIO INGLÉS ESPAÑOL-INGLÉS- INGLÉS ESPAÑOL

Teresa Álvarez García y Cordelia Lilly. (eds.).

Grijalbo, Séptima edición, 2003.

(Por Antonio Sánchez Merino. I.E.S. Manuel Alcántara, Málaga)

259

Paralelamente al exponencial incremento del interés suscitado por el inglés en España en los últimos años, muchos son los cambios que se han producido en lexicografía bilingüe. Al mismo tiempo que han surgido y proliferado diccionarios pedagógicos y semibilingües, se actualizan y mejoran continuamente los existentes. Es el caso del *Collins Diccionario Inglés*, cuya última edición ha aparecido apenas cuatro años después de la anterior, cuando entre la primera y la segunda transcurrieron más de quince años. Su relevancia estriba no tanto en que se trata de un diccionario bifuncional y bidireccional, pensado para que hablantes de ambas lenguas puedan traducir y comprender textos en inglés y español, como en que es uno de los más importantes del mercado editorial español.

1. Macroestructura

Se ha cuidado mucho la presentación, para permitir la rápida localización de la información, si bien se echa en falta el empleo de distintos colores en la tipografía, una técnica bastante extendida en la actualidad. Se ha establecido de forma aproximada, que el número de entradas esta en torno a las 90.000, en torno a 45.000 para cada uno de los dos idiomas, superando en total las 300.000 referencias en ambas lenguas.

Los prefijos y sufijos se tratan de forma bastante desigual, algunos van acompañados de su correspondiente equivalente, mientras otros también recogen la pronunciación y ejemplos. Los prefijos y sufijos españoles han merecido especial atención, ya que además se recogen en un apéndice dedicado a la formación de palabras.

Para los homónimos se ha usado una misma entrada, agrupando los equivalentes por bloques de acuerdo con los diferentes significados del lema. No sucede igual con las palabras policategoriales, que pueden encontrarse, arbitrariamente, solo en una o en varias entradas consecutivas. Únicamente aparecen consistentemente en una entrada cuando coinciden los equivalentes de las distintas categorías gramaticales.

Al margen de los artículos en que tradicionalmente se divide la macroestructura de los diccionarios, hay otros tres tipos de entradas, tradicionalmente característicos de diccionarios pedagógicos: (a) notas lingüísticas, que, contrariamente a lo que su nombre indica, tratan cuestiones relacionadas con la traducción de algunas palabras; (b) entradas complejas, entradas muy extensas encabezadas por un menú pensado para facilitar la localización de información en esos artículos; (c) notas culturales, que explican conceptos para los que no se ha considerado suficiente con una pequeña explicación.

260

Según el caso, las variantes ortográficas se escriben a continuación de la forma canónica, escribiendo entre paréntesis algunas letras o en su lugar correspondiente con referencias cruzadas a la forma canónica. Sólo las realizaciones del inglés estadounidense van acompañadas de su marcación geográfica.

El tratamiento de las formas irregulares es bastante desigual. Los plurales irregulares sólo se encuentran en el artículo de la forma canónica. Los comparativos irregulares se encuentran a veces tras la forma canónica y ocasionalmente en la macroestructura, donde no siempre se indica su condición como tales. Las formas verbales irregulares más frecuentes también aparecen en la macroestructura con referencias cruzadas. El problema de la complejidad de los verbos españoles se soluciona parcialmente con la remisión mediante códigos alfanuméricos a conjugaciones modelo en el apéndice.

La presentación de las formas compuestas ha sido resuelto correctamente en la medida en que se sigue el principio de agrupación semántica en nichos, en el artículo del primero de sus componentes con significado léxico, aunque hay casos donde se han considerado como tales combinaciones libres. Las unidades fraseológicas se agrupan de acuerdo con el significado del lema, y se identifican genéricamente tras los epígrafes MODISMOS o, IDIOMS y REFRANES o PROVERBS). Sería conveniente que se señalasen sus posibles particularidades estilísticas y si los siguen unidades equivalentes o meras traducciones.

2. Microestructura

Son muy pocos los términos entre los que se puede establecer una relación de equivalencia absoluta. Cuando son necesarios varios equivalentes para cubrir todos los matices del lema, cada uno va acompañado de glosas y parónimos que ayuden al usuario a conocer sus contextos de uso. También se ha recurrido a perífrasis y, más esporádicamente, a ejemplos, en detrimento de equivalentes para ilustrar ese significado y posibles contextos de uso (*destrozón: es muy ~ be's a terrible one for breaking things*). Si el lema tiene significados claramente diferenciados, sus correspondientes equivalentes se agrupan en bloques independientes. Las dificultades de traducción que plantean las palabras culturalmente dependientes, aquellas que se refieren a conceptos o realidades específicas de una de las dos lenguas, se han resuelto de varias maneras, no siempre satisfactorias: (a) definiciones tipográficamente diferenciadas; (b) relación de palabras de ambas lenguas con el empleo de signos matemáticos, que en ocasiones son bastante forzadas (*backwoods: región apartada, l Las Batuecas*); (c) equivalentes neutros, donde los elementos de L1 se descomponen semánticamente y se traducen a L2, pero que, sin explicación adicional, pueden resultar incomprensibles (*man hour: hora-hombre*); (d) las ya mencionadas notas culturales.

261

De la información metalingüística se deduce que prima el uso productivo. Los mecanismos de discriminación de significado se presentan en L1 con contadas excepciones. Las etiquetas se explican indistintamente con las abreviaturas, de las que apenas se diferencian tipográficamente, en las contraportadas interiores, ordenadas alfabéticamente con sus correspondientes significados en español e inglés. Salvo excepciones, son las mismas para ambos idiomas. Hacen referencia a su vigencia cronológica, su alcance geográfico, nivel de uso, y el campo semántico al que se asocian. Prestan especial atención a la identificación geográfica de los términos y a su nivel de uso, sobre todo a aquellas palabras que están por debajo de la lengua estándar.

El aspecto gramatical es probablemente el más flojo. Así, los verbos se clasifican de forma bastante deficiente, distinguiendo entre intransitivos, transitivos, auxiliares, y pronominales, la misma etiqueta que se aplica a verbos recíprocos y reflexivos. Por otra parte, se equiparan sintácticamente verbos frasales y preposicionales ingleses. En la introducción hay indicaciones morfológicas sobre algunos tipos de lemas, género y formación del plural de los sustantivos, y se explican las referencias cruzadas de los verbos a los apéndices. Las formas canónicas son las tradicionales de la lexicografía occidental, estando etiquetadas morfológicamente todas las entradas. En los artículos la información sintáctica se presenta con simples formas matemáticas, aunque es bastante limitada, circunscrita en la mayoría de los casos

al régimen de construcción de determinados verbos. En muchas ocasiones, recae en el usuario la responsabilidad de deducirla a partir de los ejemplos.

La pronunciación, representada con el Alfabeto Fonético Internacional, acompaña a algunos lemas españoles, como acrónimos o palabras de origen extranjero, y sistemáticamente a los ingleses, incluidos los plurales irregulares ingleses (*menseervants*). El inglés británico es la variante estándar, que va seguida ocasionalmente de la pronunciación americana, claramente identificada (*tomato* [t@'mA:t@U US t@meIt@U]). Cuando determinados sonidos pueden no pronunciarse en el discurso hablado, esta circunstancia se especifica de dos formas: escribiendo el sonido en cursiva (*plastering*: ['plA:st@riö]), o con una fuente más pequeña volada (*thrower* ['Tr@U@r]).

Los ejemplos tienen la longitud mínima imprescindible y se diferencian de las unidades fraseológicas por las etiquetas que preceden a éstas. Siendo indiscutible su utilidad, sería conveniente revisarlos, pues en ocasiones se presentan como ejemplo de uso de los lemas en el discurso construcciones demasiado forzados (barba: “lleva la barba crecida de un día”).

262

A modo de resumen puede decirse que nos encontramos ante uno de los diccionarios bilingües inglés-español más destacados, no sólo por el número de entradas, sino también por la calidad de la información. Se accede rápida y fácilmente a los distintos tipos de información en cada uno de los artículos. Más importante aún es la forma en la que ha resuelto en la mayoría de los casos los problemas de equivalencia entre palabras de ambas lenguas, con un uso exhaustivo de mecanismos de discriminación de significado, pensados para facilitar el uso de los equivalentes más apropiados para cada caso. Además, a diferencia del otro gran diccionario bilingüe, *El Gran Diccionario Oxford*, la variante estándar es el inglés británico, lo cual tiene especial relevancia si se piensa que muy pocos usuarios se molestan en leer las guías de uso en las que se informa de dicha circunstancia.

Sin embargo, en ocasiones es demasiado didáctico para un diccionario de gran tamaño. Por ejemplo, dedica notas culturales a información que por conocida es casi superflua. Así la nota dedicada a *Hallowe'en* incluye datos que por conocidos son redundantes “*La festividad de Hallowe'en se celebra tanto en el Reino Unido como en EE.UU., la noche del 31 de octubre. Aunque antes la fiesta se asociaba con la creencia de que las almas de los difuntos regresaban a sus hogares, en esa fecha, actualmente Hallowe'en no es más que un pretexto para la diversión. Los niños se disfrazan de fantasmas y brujas y hacen farolillos con calabazas vacías, en cuyo interior colocan una vela. Así vestidos, van de casa en casa por todo el barrio pidiendo caramelos y dinero, una costumbre que se conoce sobre todo como trick or treat porque los niños amenazan con gastarles una broma al dueño de la casa si no reciben los caramelos. También suele celebrarse en Hallowe'en fiestas de disfraces para niños y*

para adultos), en la línea de otros diccionarios pedagógicos de la misma editorial, lo que confirma que sigue vigente la observación de Steiner (1991) según la que muchos diccionarios dependen de otros anteriores. En cualquier caso, sería conveniente mejorar la información gramatical, que es quizás su punto más débil, y ser más sistemático y consistente en el tratamiento de algunos aspectos, como palabras policategoriales o afijos, e incluir información más detallada en la guía de uso sobre las etiquetas, especialmente las referentes al nivel de uso.

Se trata de un diccionario que por sus propias características parece pensado exclusivamente para especialistas, profesionales y personas con amplios conocimientos de ambas lenguas —traductores, profesores, etc.— pero que con la inclusión de información muy básica pretende atraer al mayor espectro posible de usuarios, incluso a aquellos que se encuentran en un estadio inicial de aprendizaje de la otra lengua que difícilmente sacarán todo el partido posible a la información que contiene.

Obras citadas

STEINER, Roger J. 1991: "Bilingual lexicography: English-Spanish, Spanish-English". *Dictionaries. An international encyclopaedia of lexicography*. Eds. Franz Joseph Hausmann *et al.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter: 2949-2956.

GRAMÁTICA DE CONSTRUCCIONES. CONTRASTES ENTRE EL INGLÉS Y EL ESPAÑOL

Montserrat Martínez Vázquez. (ed.).

Universidad de Huelva. Grupo de Investigación Gramática Contrastiva, 2003.

(by Asunción Villamil Touriño, Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

265

Construction Grammar is one of the latest approaches to linguistic analysis, headed by authors like Goldberg (1995, 1996) and with contributors such as Langacker (1987, 1991, 2003) or Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor (1988). According to this approach, language is seen as composed of meaning and form pairings or "constructions". Nevertheless, different authors provide different definitions of the notion "construction" and vary according to the degree to which they consider semantic content to be evident in constructions.

This volume is a compilation of articles devoted to the study of different constructions in the light of Construction Grammar in English and Spanish. Edited by Monserrat Martínez Vázquez, it is published as part of the findings of a research group in contrastive analysis (Grupo de investigación de gramática contrastiva) in the University of Huelva, that has already devoted a volume to transitivity (Martínez Vázquez 1998). This volume represents the contribution of several scholars with articles that present examples of analysis of different verbal constructions and verbal complements in English and Spanish, grouped by semantic fields.

The book opens with an introduction by Martínez Vázquez (2003:7-16) that starts by providing insight into the concept of "construction" in different theoretical lines, as well as reviewing the different approaches existing towards Construction Grammar. Thus, the introduction explores the theoretical framework and

perspective for the practical corpus-oriented analysis of the rest of the articles, that focus on four specific constructions in English and Spanish. The main aim of the papers is therefore contrastive, though the starting point is the English language, due to the contributors' background in English studies. To delimit the semantic verb classes that will be analysed, the researchers contributing to this volume take Levin's semantic classes of English verbs (1993) as a point of reference. In order to select the corresponding Spanish class they used the semantic fields of the *Diccionario Ideológico de la Lengua Española* by Casares. All possible constructions of an event type were previously selected from two novels and their corresponding translations. Apart from this manual search they used the following prestigious electronic corpora: *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* by the RAE, *International Corpus of English* (ICE-GB), *Cobuild* and *British National Corpus*. The first article (F. González-García: "Reconstructing Object Complements in English and Spanish", 2003:17-58) is devoted to the so-called subjective transitive construction. Its object is to analyse constructions of the type "Personally I consider *it distasteful*", "Están cometiendo un delito del que yo *me* considero *víctima*" (2003:18) and how they fit in a constructional view of argument structure as assumed by Construction Grammar. The author starts by arguing for the need of abstracting several general semantic features of the construction in question in English and Spanish: factual-like involvement, direct experience by the subject and subjective assessment. He discusses how these semantico-pragmatic features can be applied to verbs of cognition, physical perception, causation/volition, preference, and calling and/or official communication. Through these examples he attempts to show that the distribution of verbless clause encoding is semantically motivated. In order to contrast his arguments, he examines some shortcomings of the thesis that there is a perfect match between syntax and semantics (Hudson *et al* 1996). These counterarguments are played down by arguing that Construction Grammar does not assume that grammar is wholly semantically-motivated, but that grammar explanations must include pragmatic and discourse oriented factors. Finally, he exemplifies some of the advantages of a construction-grammar approach by showing its effectiveness in handling lexical shifts or cases of merging of different senses of a given construction.

The second article (P. Ron Vaz: "Los verbos de posesión en inglés y en español", pp. 50-90) examines how verbs of possession differ in English and Spanish. The paper aims at finding out whether verbal expressions of possession show significant differences in the two languages as it occurs in nominal possession. As in the previous article, the assumption is that the syntactic pattern of a verb is conditioned by meaning. Some examples are given to demonstrate how verbs of the same class do not need to appear in similar constructions (*run, walk, embezzle, steal*), it therefore being necessary to distinguish two meaning levels: the lexical meaning

of the verb and that of the construction. Following these theoretical guidelines the empirical analysis is carried out, selecting a list of verbs of possession from the corpora. An attempt is made at providing a definition of the complex notion of possession and some lexical subfields are proposed (*tener, contener, sostener, mantener, obtener, dar*), which imply in all cases the final possession of an entity on the part of the possessor. After this characterization, the author focusses on the parallelism between the concepts of location and possession. The expression of possession as a state is characterized in both languages as location in a possessive space, while the transfer of possession is argued to be conceptualised as movement. The latter can appear in the following syntactic structures: caused-motion construction, ditransitive construction, benefactive construction and fulfilling construction. As some differences appear in the grammaticalization of movement and possession, the author claims that they are due to the fact that while physical movement establishes a tridimensional scene with a figure, a space, direction, and manner of movement, in the possessive field there are no such dimensions.

B. Rodríguez Arrizabalaga's aim ("Sobre verbos de cambio ingleses y españoles: las clases de 'breaking', y 'cutting' frente a las de 'romper' y 'cortar'", pp. 91-140) is to compare two of the classes of verbs proposed by Levin (1993), Break Verbs and Verbs of Cutting, both verbs of change, from a syntactic and semantic point of view. Before dealing with the corpus analysis the author reviews the literature on verbs of change, focussing on the features that can help to delimit this class of verbs, as their ergative character and their behaviour in the middle alternation. Two questions are posed: do the group of verbs of 'cutting' and 'breaking' belong to the same class? If such is the case, what are their distinguishing features? The analysis of the corpora shows that they share almost identical behaviour in both languages in the different aspects or alternations analysed: inchoative/causative alternation, middle alternation, instrumental subject alternation, construction with a possessive complementation, conative alternation, resultative construction, construction without a patient argument, the construction *X' way*, and movement construction. These results lead to their classification under the same verbal heading, that of verbs of change that involve a change in the material integrity of a given entity. However, the constructions in the two languages do not show the same degree of productivity: the English counterparts and the verbs of 'cutting' seem to be able to appear in a wider range of syntactic patterns according the data.

L. González Romero ("Los verbos psicológicos en inglés y español", pp. 141-187) presents a study of psychological verbs in English and Spanish, that is, those verbs such as *frighten, admire* or *fear*, whose main differences are to be located in their stative/dynamic nature and in their codification of the experiencer and stimulus as subject or direct object. These differences prove out to be valid for English after the corpus analysis. In Spanish, however, the classification of these verbs according

to the afore-mentioned features does not seem appropriate: the verbs can be divided in two groups according to the syntactic expression of their arguments, but there is not a shared homogeneous syntactic behaviour in each group, as they react differently in the alternations and constructions analysed (passive, causative alternation, alternation of the possessor or its attribute as subject, alternation of the possessor as direct object, pronominalization, passive with *estar* + participle and constructions with *quedarse* + adjective and *sentirse* + adjective).

After summarizing the main points of the papers in this volume, let us now turn to some concluding evaluative remarks. On the one hand, one of the most positive features of these articles is the inclusion of corpus research against which contrast theoretical claims, which gives a higher reliability to the claims proposed. Moreover, the book covers a diverse range of verbal constructions that display the versatility of a contrastive Construction Grammar analysis. On the other hand, from a contrastive point of view it may seem a drawback that the starting point should always be English and Levin's classification of English verbs, since Spanish verbal classes are not made *ex novo* but rather are made to adjust to those classes proposed for English. The papers therefore imply the need for a more thorough analysis of constructions in Spanish, opening a rich path in contrastive research for the comparison between Spanish and English constructions. Furthermore, some of the verb classes and constructions analysed may seem classical ones in the linguistic tradition, such as verbs of possession, but in spite of this the reader will be agreeably surprised to find new perspectives on them.

On the whole, the volume presents up-to-date research in an attractive field of syntactic analysis, as the last AELCO Conference showed (Zaragoza, May 13-15, 2003), where numerous papers were presented combining cognitive grammar with a construction approach to syntactic processes. The blending of these two trends seems to be enriching and promising. The research data presented here may offer a first step in this line of analysis and a thought-provoking invitation to an ideal springboard for future studies.

Abstracts

LANGUAGE PROCESSING, LINGUISTICS AND CONSTRAINTS

Juan Carlos Acuña Fariña

Recently, Gibson and Pearlmutter (1998, 2000) and Lewis (2000a, 2000b), among others, have debated whether the initial spark that gets language comprehension started is deterministically created in the same narrow place, always, or, on the contrary, whether that ignition may come from a variety of different places, a broad base. One may schematically conceptualise these two opposite approaches to initial parsing as either an inverted or a non-inverted pyramid respectively. In this paper I will argue for a broad-base, non-inverted pyramid view of the ignition problem. In support of this I will rely primarily on the strength of recent psycholinguistic evidence, as exemplified through the extensively studied [Complex NP+Relative Clause] construction. A key issue will be whether it makes sense to assume that the processing of linguistic reality should be any easier than the (notoriously complex) linguistic reality itself. This point makes sense against the background of a series of well-known formalist accounts of parsing which dominated psycholinguistic research in the 80s and early 90s by appealing deterministically, to merely two or three kinds of syntactic geometry.

Key words: Psycholinguistics, parsing, constraints, control, modularity.

GRAMMATICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION AS A POETIC STRATEGY IN E. E. CUMMINGS' *YES IS A PLEASANT COUNTRY*

Pilar Alonso Rodríguez

This article applies the theoretical principles of cognitive linguistics to E.E. Cummings' poetic composition *yes is a pleasant country*. It combines the

perspectives of conceptual metaphor theory, blending theory and the conceptual integration network model to show how grammatical conceptualization may be used as a poetic strategy, due to the semantic potential of grammar, which, as cognitive linguistics contends, is meaningful and symbolic in nature. The article also shows how CIN proves to be a valid model of analysis for poetic works given the highly concentrated and involved type of conceptualization they tend to use. Furthermore, it demonstrates that metaphorical mappings and blending are different and combinable mental operations which form a part of the intricate projections found in complex conceptual networks.

Key words: Conceptual projections, mental spaces, conceptual integration, blending, metaphor, knowledge domains, blended space, composition, completion, elaboration.

FIRST APPROACHES TO THE UNEXPLORED DIALECT OF SUNDERLAND

Lourdes Burbano Elizondo

272

In contrast to Tyneside or Newcastle English which has been thoroughly studied, Sunderland English can be regarded as a long neglected dialect within north-eastern England—a gap that it is becoming necessary to fill. Sunderland English is a relatively young urban variety which is often confused with Tyneside English. One of its uses is to distinguish its speakers, Mackems, to distinguish themselves from Geordies (i.e. Newcastle people) and to reflect their strong local identity. Thus, this paper will firstly deal with some social issues that explain the Geordie-Mackem rivalry. It will then concentrate on some data from my MLitt research into Sunderland and Newcastle dialect vocabulary, which investigated the degree to which certain traditional dialect words recorded in the area by the *Survey of English Dialects* are familiar to teenagers nowadays. Similarities and differences between Sunderland and Newcastle dialect lexicon were found, but above all it was evidenced that Sunderland English needs to be thoroughly studied since more differences are likely to emerge. This is precisely the next step in my research.

Key words: Dialectology, Sunderland English, Tyneside or Newcastle English, dialect vocabulary, identity.

A PRAGMACOGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF SOME INTERNET SCIENTIFIC ARTICLES: HEADLINE TITLES

M.^a Isabel González Pueyo

Alicia Redrado Lacarta

The proliferation of new media and electronics modes of communication in public life, and the recent increase in the interdisciplinary nature of academic and professional discourse, has brought about an increasing appropriation of lexicogrammatical resources and rhetorical strategies across discourse communities and genres. Thus, new forms or hybrid forms of *cybergenres* are now under discussion. This paper argues that scientific and technical articles undergo an accommodation process in response to the medium and the assumed tenets of the internet audience. As these modifications can be best embodied in the titles, which display significant pragmalinguistic and generic information, this paper focus on analysing some of the titles encountered at a random choice in the personal homepages to observe, first, how the blurring of alien genres begins at this outstanding discursive space. Then, titles shall provide the analyst with significant insights into the angle of telling, and hence the traits technoscientists are eager to reveal about themselves. It is argued that this is the result of marketing criteria, which attempting to enhance the writer's self-advertisement and the digital medium, often give undue representation to the needs and interests of web users. The methodology and discussion of this paper follows a pragma-cognitive approach of genre theory, text typology, and systemic functional analysis.

273

Key words: Genre analysis, ST discourse, critical discourse analysis, functional grammar.

APPEALS FOR ASSISTANCE AND INCORPORATION OF FEEDBACK IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE INTERACTION: THE ROLE OF AGE AND PROFICIENCY LEVEL

Gisela Grañena

Appeals for assistance are a cooperative communication strategy that foreign language (FL) learners may resort to when they experience problems in production. The aim of this study is to examine the extent to which learners of different ages and proficiency levels appeal for help while performing a narration task, how they do it, and how their interlocutor assists them. The study also examines whether the learners incorporate the help provided into their subsequent discourse. Results show significant differences in the use of direct and explicit indirect appeals on the part of older and more proficient learners as well as an

increase in the learners' incorporation of help in proportion to their proficiency. The results obtained are taken as evidence for the role of age and proficiency level in the interactional skills of FL learners.

Key words: Communication strategy, appeal for assistance, interaction, feedback, incorporation.

ASPECTOS SOCIOCULTURALES EN LA FRASEOLOGÍA DE LA LENGUA INGLESA: PERSPECTIVAS DE ESTUDIO

Florentina Mena Martínez

Piedad Fernández Toledo

La permeabilidad de la fraseología con respecto a los aspectos socioculturales que caracterizan a las lenguas es un hecho comúnmente admitido. La relación entre fraseología y claves socioculturales es especialmente estrecha y se manifiesta de muy distintas formas. De ahí que los lingüistas hayan dedicado sus esfuerzos a la observación de determinadas cuestiones más o menos particulares. Sin embargo, se echan de menos estudios que ofrezcan una visión global de las diferentes vías por las que se produce el contacto entre estas dos realidades. La sistematización de la ubicuidad de la realidad sociocultural en la fraseología no es una tarea sencilla, e implica la necesidad de considerar los ejes en torno a los que se produce esta relación. En este artículo proponemos una clasificación de las distintas perspectivas desde las que se puede acometer la relación entre fraseología y realidad sociocultural con referencia a la lengua inglesa.

Key words: Fraseología, aspectos socioculturales, lengua inglesa, perspectivas de estudio, categorización.

THEMATIC AND TOPICAL STRUCTURING IN THREE SUBGENRES. A CONTRASTIVE STUDY

A. Jesús Moya Guijarro

The main goal of this article is to analyse the thematic and topical structure of three subgenres: narratives for young children, news items and tourist brochures. The 60 texts under analysis (twenty of each type) were written specifically for publication, and consequently do not provide the possibility of direct feedback between the writer and reader. However, their main rhetorical purpose and their register (Propp 1972, van Dijk 1988a, b, Cook 1992, Luch 2003) are clearly different and it is hypothesized that this plays a key role in their thematic and topical organization. In children's stories theme tends to be closely associated with

topic and in news items the correlation between theme and topic is even higher, whereas in tourist brochures theme seems to precede topic. This positioning is attributed to the communicative intentions of the journalist, travel writer and story-writer, respectively.

Key words: Theme, Thematic Progression, Discourse Topic, Sentence Topic, Genre.

LA VARIACIÓN ACÚSTICA DE LOS CORRELATOS ENTONACIONALES EN INTERPRETACIÓN SIMULTÁNEA INGLÉS-ESPAÑOL

María Lourdes Nafá Waasaf

La entonación es un fenómeno lingüístico complejo que puede ser abordado acústicamente a partir de tres correlatos acústicos principales: la frecuencia fundamental (F0), la intensidad y la duración. En el presente trabajo se analiza la variación de estos tres correlatos en una situación experimental de interpretación simultánea, centrandó el análisis en el grado de monotonía de la entonación de los sujetos participantes del experimento. Se parte de la base de que los intérpretes de lenguas —como profesionales de la comunicación oral— procuran reducir la entonación *injustificadamente monótona* (en términos comunicativos) de un discurso original para facilitar así la recepción del mensaje. Los resultados de este trabajo permiten demostrar que si un orador presenta un discurso con un grado de monotonía inaceptable en términos comunicativos, el intérprete profesional y experimentado juzgará negativamente tal modo de exposición y reducirá la monotonía en su producción. La variación de los tres correlatos acústicos (F0, intensidad y duración) es *relativa*, y debe ser interpretada con respecto a los valores habituales del hablante (Brown 1977: 127). Por ello, se ha trabajado con discursos referenciales que han permitido sopesar el aumento o reducción de la monotonía relativa de cada sujeto. Los valores obtenidos en este análisis previo sentaron las bases para analizar el grado de monotonía en un discurso original y dos interpretaciones de este mismo discurso. El discurso original fue emitido en inglés británico, con entonación *monótona* y los dos discursos meta fueron emitidos en español peninsular, con entonación *no monótona*. En el presente trabajo, la *entonación monótona* se define y caracteriza —acústicamente— por un rango, o campo entonacional, reducido donde las variaciones de la F0 y de la intensidad también son escasas. La entonación *no monótona* (o melodiosa), por su parte, se caracteriza por un rango más amplio y por inflexiones de F0 y de intensidad más pronunciados. En lo tocante a la duración, no siempre parece haber una correlación directa entre la monotonía y la velocidad de habla, o duración.

Key words: Entonación, correlatos entonacionales, frecuencia fundamental (F0), intensidad, duración, interpretación simultánea, intérprete, discurso original, discurso meta.

EL PAPEL DEL ANCLAJE EN LA TRADUCCIÓN: LOS TEXTOS PERIODÍSTICOS

Eva Samaniego Fernández

Miguel Ángel Campos Pardiños

El anclaje contextual es un elemento esencial en la traducción, puesto que tiene una incidencia directa, no sólo en la cantidad informativa que los traductores pueden extraer del mensaje, sino también en el abanico de estrategias de traducción que ofrece el texto o elemento en cuestión. Por ello, se trata de un elemento pragmático esencial para el trasvase interlingüístico. En este trabajo trataremos de dilucidar su alcance y, sobre todo, su relevancia en el proceso de transferencia interlingüística, ya que el grado de especificidad del anclaje, así como la mayor o menor presencia de elementos contextuales y cotextuales aclaratorios del mensaje, influyen enormemente en la especificación del concepto de equivalencia que haga el traductor para cada binomio textual concreto.

276

Key words: Anclaje, contexto, cotexto, situación, traducción y equivalencia, textos periodísticos.

AN ANALYSIS OF IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT FEEDBACK ON GRAMMATICAL ACCURACY

Patricia Salazar Campillo

Some authors (e.g. Lyster, 1998) have pointed out the need to explore the impact of different combinations of corrective feedback on student-generated repair. We therefore set up a study which aimed at shedding light on this issue in the English-as-a-foreign language context. The participants in the study were divided into two groups who were offered two different types of feedback whenever an error of one of the targeted grammatical forms occurred (articles and second conditional). Group 1 received implicit feedback (Combination of feedback A: repetition of the error plus recast) and Group 2 received explicit feedback (Combination of feedback B: metalinguistic information and elicitation).

The findings of the study reveal that a) the implicit version of feedback provided better accuracy rates in the short term, and b) the explicit version of feedback

Abstracts

resulted in longer retention for the grammatical feature of past tense. A number of pedagogical implications are offered which stem from our results.

Key words: Feedback, accuracy, short-and long-term learning.

IMPORTANCIA DE LA COMPOSICIÓN DE LOS CAMPOS SEMÁNTICOS EN SU APRENDIZAJE

María Jesús Sánchez

En primer lugar se tiene como propósito comprobar si en los campos semánticos *Classroom/Lab.* y *Cognitive* se produce, mediante un diseño Pretest/Posttest, aprendizaje por efecto de la variable independiente instrucción. Para ello, se van a utilizar dos tareas: un test escrito y juicios de relación y cuatro variables dependientes: prueba de traducción/definición, proximidad, distancia y similitud. En segundo lugar se comprueba en qué campo semántico se produce un mayor aprendizaje. Se explica mediante la fuerza asociativa, producida ésta por factores de composición del campo semántico: origen de los términos y grado de concreción. Resultados que están en consonancia con la teoría estructural (Bajo, Cañas, Navarro, Padilla & Puerta, 1994) y la de concreción (Harris, Tebbee & Leka, 1997; Marschark, 1992).

Key words: Aprendizaje, fuerza asociativa, campo semántico, juicios de relación, instrucción.

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282

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“...narrative to their function” (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 12).

...following Blakemore (1987: 35),...

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

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

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Neale, Steve. 1992. "The Big Romance or Something Wild? Romantic Comedy Today". *Screen* 33 (3) (Autumn 1992): 284-299.

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285

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