miscelánea

a journal of english and american studies

vol. 25

2002

language and linguistics

m

revista de estudios
ingleses y norteamericanos

miscelánea

vol. 25
2002

Volumen de lengua
y lingüística

Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies se publica con la ayuda económica del Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana, de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras y del Vicerrectorado de Investigación de la Universidad de Zaragoza.

Publicación semestral (2 vols. al año) del Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana de la Universidad de Zaragoza. Published twice a year by the Department of English and German Philology, University of Zaragoza (Spain)

Las suscripciones deberán dirigirse a /
Please address subscriptions to:

Revista Miscelánea
Servicio de Publicaciones
de la Universidad de Zaragoza
Edificio de Geológicas
Ciudad Universitaria
50009 Zaragoza

Precio de la suscripción (anual) /
Subscription price (2 volumes):
15 euros
(IVA incluido/ VAT included)

Edición y ©:
Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana de la Universidad de Zaragoza

Selección de textos:
Consejo de redacción de *Miscelánea*

Vol. 25 • 2002
(Volumen de lengua y lingüística)

Dirección, coordinación, tratamiento de textos y edición electrónica (vol. 25):
María Dolores Herrero Granado, Directora
Ignacio Guillén Galve, Subdirector
Hilaria Loyo Gómez, Subdirectora

Editor de estilo
Timothy Bozman

Auxiliares de redacción
Mª Mar Azcona Montoliu,
Ana Matamala Adell

Diseño gráfico
Isidro Ferrer

Maquetación
Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza
Edificio de Geológicas
Ciudad Universitaria
50009 Zaragoza

Imprime:
Doble Color, S.L.

ISSN: 1137-6368
Depósito legal: Z-2139-2003

m

a journal of english
and american studies

miscelánea

Universidad de
Zaragoza

2002

Departamento de
Filología Inglesa y
Alemana

Edición electrónica
Internet homepage:

http://fyl.unizar.es/miscelanea/miscelanea.html

miscelánea

Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
Universidad de Zaragoza
50009 Zaragoza • Spain
Tel. 976 761 529 - 976 762 238 - 976 761 518
Fax. 976 761 519
E-mail: dherrero@unizar.es
iguillen@unizar.es
hloyo@posta.unizar.es

Edicion en Red / Online Edition:
http://fyl.unizar.es/miscelanea/miscelanea.html

table of contents

Articles

COGNITION AND TECHNOLOGY IN EDUCATION: KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION — LANGUAGE AND DISCOURSE

ROBERT DE BEAUGRANDE
Universidade Federal da Paraíba in João Pessoa, Brazil

A. Knowledge and information in the advance of technology

1. The two expressions *knowledge* and *information* are at times used as if they were interchangeable. But significant motivations might be found for distinguishing the two concepts as complementary end-points on a scale. This distinction may prove insightful when assessing the prospects for productive applications of technology to education (cf. Gee 1992; Halliday 1994; Brown and Duguid 1995).

2. Knowledge is more *dynamic* and *integrative*. Its content is characteristically practical, and naturally acquired from lived experiences and directed intuitions among a cultural community (Toulmin 1972; Brown, Collins, and Duguid 1988; Lave and Wenger 1991). The operations for storing, retrieving, and using it are relatively effortless. When not in active use, it can undergo spontaneous evolution and elaboration in mental storage and generate more of itself. New knowledge being entered can reverberate through associated prior knowledge and update its specifications. Or, old knowledge can be creatively modified and adapted for

* Robert de Beaugrande is Professor of English at the Universidade Federal da Paraíba in João Pessoa, Brazil; this research was supported by grant # SHA-00034/01 from the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de Minas Gerais.

unfamiliar or novel situations, often by relaxing degrees of approximation and goodness of fit (cf. Norman and Shallice 1980).

3. By contrast, information is more *static* and *compartmentalised*. Its content is characteristically theoretical, and consciously acquired from specialized activities. The operations for storing, retrieving, and using it are relatively effortful. When not in active use, it can undergo spontaneous conflation or degradation. New information being entered is unlikely to be integrated with prior information unless the mutual associations are expressly constructed. And old information can be rather difficult to modify or adapt to unfamiliar or novel applications.

4. I would advocate a parallel distinction between *cognition* and *information processing*, another pair of terms that have at times been used interchangeably. Cognition is centrally concerned with the natural acquisition and application of knowledge. It is the freely accessible sustainer of communal culture and social interaction. The sharing of knowledge increases not merely the range of knowledgeable people but also the richness and applicability of the knowledge itself (Calfee 1981; Bereiter and Scardamalia 1992).

5. In contrast, information processing is centrally concerned with the deliberate registration and regulation of information. It is the sustainer of specialized or professional expertise, but also of technical data config-urations such as computer-readable program codes. The access to information may be restricted to particular circles of participants, such as owners of personal computers who are registered visitors of websites. But since the value of information depends precisely on its range of access, such restrictions are periodically lifted when higher levels of information have been achieved (cf. ¶ 9, 12).

6. We might broaden our account with another parallel distinction, this one between two *social classes*, each one actually being a cluster of roughly similar classes. The 'lower class' would comprise the 'working class' plus the large chronically poor or unemployed sectors at the bottom; and the 'upper class' would comprise the various groupings of the middle class (e.g. 'upper middle', 'lower middle') plus the small elite sectors at the top. The 'lower' class is more adapted to acquiring and applying knowledge, as in apprenticeship methods of learning on the job. The 'upper' class is more adapted to processing and managing information, as in academic methods of learning from textbooks. The borderline between the two classes could logically be sustained by requiring that aspirants to secured status in the upper class must perform strenuous information-processing tasks. Such could be noted in the formidable examinations for obtaining credentials to practice prestigious technical professions, such as medicine, law and engineering, where a fair portion of the information solicited on the exam is not directly relevant to performing on the job (cf. R. Collins 1979).

7. The differentiation of the classes gets worked out in steadily greater detail as a society becomes *specialised* and *modernised*. Cultural knowledge and practical labour tend to decrease in value, while abstract information and theoretical calculation increase. The speed and intensity of this process are closely controlled and monitored by the evolution of labour-performing technology in general and information-processing technology in particular.

8. The industrial revolution kick-started and propelled the key phase in this process by interposing multiple levels of technology. Whereas more practical tools like hammers and anvils, or ploughs and sickles, apply energy and force directly to labour, more theoretical tools like gears and pulleys, or drive-belts and levers, multiply energy and force before applying them to labour. Already, energy and force were partially becoming information, e.g., in being quantified and defined by the relative sizes of gears and pulleys. In exchange, the theoretical tools rendered labour itself more theoretical and abstract without the workers being involved in constructing or even understanding the theory. Their practical knowledge as builders or artisans lost its relevance and value as their work was shaped by fitting the human to the machine and by implementing out the theoretical information of the designers, engineers, and managers. This process has been called 'deskilling' (Braverman 1974):

> The relative degradation of skill is the result of the fact that technological change means for the most part, transferring skills to machines, [and] a simultaneous process of employer-initiated re-organisation in which the operator's scope of responsibility is reduced by rationalisation, [...] while a much smaller number of highly trained technicians and managers enlarge their responsibility (Aronowitz and Giroux 1983: 188).

Deskilling makes the workers easily manageable and replaceable and supplies a cynical pretext for their penurious wages, whilst the profits from the dramatic rises in production have been channelled to the 'information-rich' jobs of the technicians.

9. Still, advancing technology eventually requires some wider circulation of selected information among the working class. The distinction between social classes gets periodically recalibrated to adjust the distinction between 'lower-level' and 'higher-level' information. As technology keeps on creating steadily higher levels, the working class is granted access to formerly restricted lower levels, which are now obsolete in a sense too precise and technical for workers to grasp. And this process etches an increasingly detailed and exact scale of values for ranking the theoretical over the practical.

10. The industrial revolution led to a giant leap in evolution by shifting technology from converting energy into labour, as with a steam engine, over to

converting energy into information, as with a transducer. This shift was sharply accelerated by the evolution from electric machines, e.g., a drill or a grinding wheel, over to electronic machines, e.g., a vacuum tube or a transistor. Electronic technology renders the practical construction of the device and its consumption of energy more and more irrelevant to the theoretical quantity and quality of information that can be processed.

11. Logically enough, the next shift enlisted technology itself for converting lower-level information into higher-level information, in cycle after cycle. If each higher level might plausibly be regarded as a theory of the construction of one or more lower levels, the proliferation of steadily higher levels would intensify the already dominant theoretical quality of the total process. Yet as the span between the higher and the lower levels keeps widening, this 'theoreticalness' grows more opaque and incomprehensible for the social classes nearer to the bottom.

12. When information is both the means of production and the commodity being produced, the relation between theory and practice can become exquisitely convoluted. Since the value of information rises by 'globalising' the access, continual breakthroughs are needed to enhance the marketability of the technology. Computers and their peripherals keep getting cheaper in proportion to their storage capacities and computational power. Yet this cheap technology is also just becoming obsolete. And however much consumers may save on an individual purchase, they spend far more in the long run on upgrading or replacing their technology at rising speeds.

13. The value of information is thus much enhanced by the current 'globalising' of information technology. The hierarchy of social levels may shift onto parallel dimensions, with the 'upper class' at the *centre* (Europe, North America, Japan) and the 'lower class' at the *periphery* (generally Asia, Africa, South America) (cf. Galtung 1971). Theoretical innovations are achieved mainly by technicians in the centre, whereas practical assembly is performed mainly by workers in the periphery wherever wages are lowest. The 'technological revolution' can thus afford to globalise information by keeping down production costs and paying minimal wages. Indeed, the same trends can render physical geography irrelevant to production when technology enables management to recruit their workforce anywhere on the globe by setting up steadily more sophisticated communication networks and by subdividing and deskilling multiple sectors of the production process. The distinction between the upper class and the lower class is constantly being regrouped and redistributed, all the while getting significantly wider. By inciting competition among workers everywhere, management can dictate conditions and wages no less high-handedly than in the early industrial revolution (Martin and Schumann 1996).

14. Meanwhile, information technology, like the Tower of Babel, has created a mega-scale hierarchy of levels that overloads human processing capacities. So new upper levels are designed to operate the technology and to globalise software and shareware for managing information about information; and the consumer is again impelled to keep upgrading. The tower gets periodically restabilised and reinforced until it once more outgrows itself.

15. My brief overview in this section suggests that the distinction between knowledge and information is most significant where information and information processing serve to differentiate social groups with greater precision and at wider distances, whether or not the overall hierarchical structure of a society is radically altered. The working class is not excluded but rather consigned to the currently lower (and technically obsolete) levels of information technology and thus cannot resist deskilling nor achieve material advancement in real economic terms.

16. At the same time, the middle class is being acutely destabilized by successively finer divisions among the levels of information to which respective groups are entitled. The emergence of higher and higher levels colonised by the super-rich elites who design and disseminate new technologies, automatically exerts downward pressures upon those sectors of the middle class who, unable to upgrade their technology and their processing capabilities, must stagnate in obsolescence. If left to run its course, this process could eliminate the middle class as defined by conventional economic indicators, even in centre countries. Just such an ongoing trend has been documented as early as in the November 1983 issue of *Fortune* magazine and in extensive research since then (esp. Martin and Schumann 1996). But so far, the close link between this trend and the hierarchical mechanisms of information technology has not been widely understood. Nor, to my knowledge, have serious initiatives been mounted by governments to control those mechanisms and their impact upon democratic and economic institutions.

B. 'Knowledge' and 'information' in modern education

17. Standard dictionary definitions of *education* read like this: 'the process of imparting or acquiring general knowledge and of developing the powers of reason or judgement; the process of imparting or acquiring particular knowledge, as for a profession' (*Random House Webster's College Dictionary*, 425). Such definitions reflect an ideal theory of education rather distinct from its real practices as described by Halliday:

> Current 'progressivist' education in the United States derives from a body of the doctrine which locates all learning in the mental makeup of the

> individual, sets up a severe distinction between cognitive and affective processes, and interprets cognition as a kind of information processing (Halliday 1994: 78; cf. Tyack 1974; Gee 1992).

Halliday sees here an 'extreme form of middle class ideology and its hidden curricula of values and educational goals' (cf. ¶ 19, 39) (see also Gramsci 1991).

18. In the previous section, I suggested that specialising and modern-ising a society tends to raise the value of abstract information and information processing and to lower the value of cultural knowledge and practical cognition (cf. ¶ 7ff). I would suggest a corresponding evolution for education, which has been modernised chiefly by undergoing massive injections of information and a correspondingly receding interest in broader cultural knowledge.

19. Here too we might detect the impact of the industrial revolution, as when 'schools' are said to be 'consciously modelled on that most pro-ductive of all technologies, the factory' (Hodas 1993; cf. Tyack 1974):

> For at least the last hundred years, schools have been elaborated as machines set up to convert raw materials (new students) into finished products (graduates, citizens, workers) through the application of certain processes (pedagogy, discipline, curricular materials, gym). This view [...] presumes that the limits of education are essentially technological limits and that better technology will remove them. It is the most generic and encompassing theory of 'educational technology', since it embraces all curricular, instructional, and material aspects of the school experience (Hodas 1993).

However, this modelling would not apply equally to all social classes. The dominance of middle class ideology noted by Halliday would logically be reflected in an emphasis upon information processing as a preparation for acquiring theoretical credentials rather than for performing practical labour (R. Collins 1979) (cf. ¶ 6). If so, most of those 'finished products' emerge out of 'raw materials' from the middle class.

20. I would go further and propose to model 'modern education' overall as a *vast technology for converting dynamic knowledge into static information* (Tyack 1974; Hodas 1993). This conversion too has multiple levels. One level applies to the learners. Rich knowledge about their individual personalities, talents, family, and cultural background, gets converted by educational records into sparse information about their 'achievement' or 'performance', represented in standardised 'facts' and 'figures' as expressed by numbers. The apparent objectivity of numbers masks the subjectivity entailed in assigning a closed, simple quantity like '1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5' —interpreted as 'excellent - good - fair - poor - fail'— to an open set of complex qualities. Officially, the numbers are the fair and

final measures of the educational outcome, explained from inherent 'intelligence' and 'aptitude', which learners cannot control; or else explained from 'diligence' and 'obedience', which learners can and jolly well ought to control. Although these two explanations are logically incompatible, education devoutly oscillates between them when affirming that each individual learner bears full responsibility (cf. ¶ 31). Yet ironically, education also works to marginalise the individuality of the learners in their social, temperamental, and emotional dimensions, which would stand out clearly if the focus were allotted to cultural knowledge rather than abstract information.

21. Another level applies to the content of education. Once a field, such as history or physics, has been selected to be a 'subject' in the standard 'curriculum', its knowledge is emblematically converted into neat batches of stable, free-standing 'facts and figures' waiting be learned and reproduced with the greatest accuracy (Freire 1970; Apple 1985). These in turn constitute the 'information' for the information processing tasks deployed to assess the learners' performance.

22. The preference for such tasks thus interlocks with the emphasis upon facts, figures, and numbers. Each task is approached on the expedient assumption that the learners command precisely the information they have acquired from recent stages within the instructional process. Cognitive tasks, in contrast, would entail some responsibility on the part of the teacher to take account of the comprehensive prior knowledge stores of the learners, which would manifest substantial variation, and which would oblige teachers to become genuinely knowledgeable about their learners.

23. Quantitative assessment of each learner's 'achievement' purports to operate on a smooth and even playing field, yet entails a pungent paradox: all learners supposedly approach the task with the same preconditions and the same opportunities to perform it successfully; yet the actual performances must result in some significant and quantifiable differences. If, on the contrary, the performances were uniformly successful, the validity or appropriateness of the task would be called into question ('too easy!'). The playing field must be even, but the outcome of the game must not be. Sameness gets unsystematically commuted into difference in the name of fairness (treating all learners as equals) and objectivity (applying precise and uniform standards).

24. Information processing tasks are most suited to precluding uniform success, since they can readily be designed to impose limitations. Such tasks can ensure that the 'average' results will indeed constitute the average; and can elicit a proportion of total failures as a cosmetic counter-balance on the 'grade curve' for the proportion of total successes. Knowledge-based tasks, insofar as they are culturally appropriate and socially motivating, would yield large proportions of

high success and virtually no failures, and so be accused in administrative discourse as flagrant 'grade inflation'.

25. Interestingly, the outcome labelled 'average' is itself regularly construed as a symptom of disappointing limitations. Schooling seems to classify learners as typical and ordinary yet to imply that being so is inadequate. This ambivalence can hardly be accidental insofar as it serves the significant social function (or dysfunction) of limiting the learners' expectations and aspirations for the rewards of society in later life (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Apple 1985). This function in turn could be served by effective mechanisms for actually constructing and imposing those limitations upon a human potential that schooling purports to merely discover and reveal.

26. And that function too favours information over knowledge, this time in order to impose multiple bottlenecks. One bottleneck arises where schooling neglects to endow information with significance, inter-est, or relevance. These factors are largely bypassed when information processing tasks are programmatically dissociated from the activities of everyday cognition:

> Such material in a world by itself, unassimilated to ordinary customs of thought and expression. [...] Those which have not been carried over into the structure of social life, but which remain largely matters of technical information expressed in symbols, are made conspicuous in schools, (Dewey 1916).

> The teacher [...] expounds on topics completely alien to the existential experience of the students. His task is to fill the learner with contents that are detached from reality, disconnected from the totality in which they were engendered and which lent them significance. [...] This vision minimises or annuls the creative powers of learners and stimulates their ingenuity rather than their critical thinking (Freire 1985 [1970]: 45ff).

Under such conditions, 'education' can hardly fit the brisk dictionary definitions of being 'the process of imparting or acquiring general knowledge and of developing the powers of reason or judgement' (¶ 17).

27. When learners conclude that their practical knowledge of life is inferior and irrelevant to the information transmitted by the discourses of schooling, they might experience *alienation*, defined here in its etymo-logical and most basic sense as the denial of one's individual identity and potential. Cognitive tasks enlisting the learners' prior knowledge, in contrast, would favour *actualisation*, defined as the affirmation of individual identity and potential (Maslow 1954). Alienation sets the affective dimension alongside the informational dimension of the bottleneck.

28. A closely related bottleneck arises because the remoteness from cultural experience renders static information substantially more difficult to learn and retain than dynamic knowledge. This factor has been documented by robust findings of experimental research in psychology: cognitive processing is poorly adapted for isolated items and bits, and richly adapted for integrative patterns and frameworks (surveys in Kintsch 1977, 1998; Bereiter and Scardamalia 1992). By transmitting information in 'facts and figures', education interposes a bottleneck upon the initial transfer and even more upon subsequent organisation, storage, and retrieval. Compared to ordinary cognition, this transmission is slow-paced, fragmented, and reductive. Long-term retention and productive application are threatened by conflation and degradation, as strikingly attested by the commonplace difficulties among adults of recalling or using what they learned in school as children.

29. The most damaging bottleneck, strongly abetted by these other two, is *overload*, where the strain to increase the quantity of information being processed flips over into a drastic decrease (Beaugrande 1984: 124f). Mental and physical processing enter a state of catastrophic degradation, whilst ancillary symptoms of stress and anxiety trigger a heavy drain on resources, which intensifies the degradation, and so on in a reverberating cycle. This stage becomes most conspicuous in breakdown and panic, when people become totally unable to access the information they have in fact acquired.

30. Taken together, such bottlenecks would materially reduce the learners' potential and marginalise their knowledge. If so, the 'grade curve' represents differences not merely in one's 'achievement' though 'intelligence' or 'diligence', but in one's capacities to operate through multiple bottlenecks and near the threshold of overload. From here we might account for the traditional format of the formal examination. Learners are deprived of operational support from even the more primitive educational technologies, such as notebooks, textbooks, and reference works; and are compelled to perform under physical and psychological pressure. Examination tasks are often more demanding and extensive than many learners can manage within the allotted time. Quality must be sacrificed by working rapidly and superficially, and by omitting deeper reflection and creative evaluation of alternative methods or solutions.

31. The numerical scores of formal examinations thus tend to represent work performed under signally artificial and adverse conditions. Yet these same scores are accredited to be the best indicators —and in some institutions the only ones— of the learners' 'achievement', or indeed of their 'potential' for achievement. This accreditation once again places the full responsibility onto the individual learner (cf. ¶ 20). Ironically, the artificial quality of the formal examination as compared to most situations of assessment in real life is believed to even out the playing field

and to minimize individual differences extrinsic to the educational process (cf. ¶ 23).

32. As modernisation and specialisation continue their massive injections of information into education, the entire system eventually converges upon the threshold of overload; technology periodically overhauls the 'facts' without lessening societies faith in their value —quite the opposite (Veblen 1918). At that stage, poor performance and alienation may assume debilitating or even epidemic proportions. By a relentless inner logic, the system is propelled into an 'educational crisis', such as has in fact been diagnosed in the United States for over twenty years. The usual simplistic accusations that the schools are 'neglecting discipline' and 'lowering standards' are badly misleading; the crisis is the inexorable long-range outcome of the bias of modern education toward information processing. The multiple bottlenecks I have briefly described naturally render the system non-operational when the volume and complexity of the information surpass an unsustainable threshold. This threshold will be reached sooner in an alienating environment such as inner city schools whose learners come from disadvantaged families. It will be reached later in an actualising environment such as suburban schools whose learners come from affluent families. But only the latter schools are taking serious steps to shift their emphasis from information processing over to cognition (Anyon 1981).

33. The indignant calls for a 'return to higher standards' are equally misleading. Those standards could be sustained in former times only insofar as the information load upon on the whole system was substantially lower. Equally misleading are the current campaigns for 'standardisation', a notion also descended from 'the machine-age thinking of the industrial revolution of the past century' (Romberg 1992: 768) and from the trend of 'modelling schools on factories' (Hodas 1993) (cf. ¶ 19). Standardisation paradoxically tries to legislate sameness even though the misguided imposition of sameness has been materially implicated in inciting the crisis. The hidden logic appears to be that the negative consequences of overloading the system should be equally distributed among all learners. Yet standardization itself increases information, due to the fastidious mechanics of quantifying and measuring, and so will deepen the crisis by intensifying the overload upon schools and their staff.

C. Discourses of information and discourses of knowledge

34. The long-standing, popular notion of a language being a medium for the 'transmission of information' has passed on into science in general and into

'linguistic science' in particular. Predictably enough, one dominant model was derived from an analogy to technology. The operations of 'encoding information' in language by the 'sender' and its subsequent 'decoding' by the 'receiver' are briskly viewed as analogous to getting a message from English into Morse code (or some comparable code) and back out again. Yet the analogy could work only if information were static and compartmentalised, neatly arrayed as 'bits of information' in the series of 'meanings' of the individual words and phrases; and if the 'encoder' and the 'decoder', like machines, worked with uniform operations and reliable results.

35. This reassuring technological model is again deeply misleading. A message to be put into Morse code has already been organized as language, and the encoding is just a mechanical, predetermined substitution between two different systems of symbols. No such conditions apply when the message has not yet been formulated in language; indeed, the 'message' as such might not even exist at that stage. Nor can a message in natural language consist of the serial addition of isolated single meanings to be encoded one by one, which factor has posed serious problems for technology when it comes to 'understanding' such a message. Computers are strong in handling information and weak in handling knowledge; humans are just the reverse.

36. All the same, the notion of language being a medium for the transmission of information remains firmly entrenched in the discourses of education. Conventional textbooks or lectures are signally preoccupied with the presentation of facts and figures, along with technical terms and their literal definitions (cf. ¶ 21f, 28, 59). Reciting, recording, and repro-ducing discourses of information as literally as possible thus constitute the commonplace information processing routines of 'academic study', and the major medium for 'good performance' and 'correct answers' (Lemke 1990) —and one of its effects is the proliferation of sameness in language (cf. ¶ 23, 32). The value placed upon literalness in effect converts the wording of the text into a strenuous mode of information in its own right rather than just a medium for transmitting information. The task of learning the textual wording gets superposed upon the task of learning the subject matter; and confounding these two tasks acutely impedes the production of knowledge.

37. The 'good students' are those who enlist their own discourses to 'process information' in static and compartmentalised modes. It is highly ironic that the human organism gets rated and rewarded in proportion to its mimicry of primitive information technology. This analogy between the human and the technological is disturbing insofar as information can be recorded and reproduced without ever becoming knowledge, in fact without even being understood (Darling-Hammond and Snyder 1992; Lemke 1994). Education that merely 'transmits information' in literal discourse and requires its literal reproduction is especially prone to foster

alienation and hinder actualisation as defined in ¶ 27. It might indeed be described as 'dis-education', insofar as it induces an artificial incapacity to organise, enrich, and apply knowledge (cf. ¶ 26). And methods for testing information by means of machines, particularly in 'multiple choice' formats, could justly be described as 'deskilling' the learners as readers and writers of natural language (cf. ¶ 70, 74, 76).

38. Paradoxically, discourses of theoretical information constitute a language variety that is not taught in its own right, yet its mastery remains a key requirement for educational success. Learners are left to their own devices for acquiring it from repeated exposure and imitation. Among its 'stylistic norms' observed by Lemke (1990: 133) in his classroom fieldwork were: 'use technical terms in place of colloquial synonyms and paraphrases'; and present 'statements' 'in the form of propositions that seem to have universal validity' and 'make no reference to here and now' or to 'human action'. These norms 'mainly serve to create a strong contrast between the language of human experience and the language of science' and 'to exempt science from social processes and real human activity', much like the contrast I have described between knowledge and information. And Lemke's work confirms a bottleneck effect: 'the stylistic norms' 'impede the communication of the thematic content of science to students'; and 'pitting science against common sense undermines the students' confidence in their own judgement' (1990: 134). In contrast, his 'systematic comparison' found that the 'less alienating, more colloquial, more humanised ways of talking science' rendered the 'students three to four times as likely to be highly attentive' (1990: 135f). Yet he also observed classroom occasions of 'students directly and indirectly commenting on a teacher's deviations from how they expect scientific language to sound' (1990: 132). Evidently, discourses of information are considered proper or obligatory even by students who are thereby subjected to a bottleneck.

39. Lemke ascribed his findings to the '*mystique of science*'; it rests upon an 'ideology of objective truth', of 'established, permanent, incontrovertible fact' 'taken out of the context of science as a human social activity' (1990: 137). It also rests upon an 'ideology of special truth' 'available only to experts' possessing 'special talents and exceptional intellects which the average student does not and never will have'. 'No one points out that science is taught in very restricted ways favouring people whose backgrounds have led them to already talk a bit more like science books' (1990: 138) —here too, distinctions are sus-tained among social classes, with the usual middle-class bias toward information processing (cf. ¶ 17, 19).

40. Yet we might recognise a more general *mystique of education* which aspires to apply these same two ideologies of 'truth' to the content of every subject matter.

Just when the information to be transmitted is remote from the knowledge of practical life, an aura of 'permanent fact' and 'special truth' offers the prime justification for teaching it at all (Gramsci 1991). Science stands out because it suits this mystique best, but other subject areas do their best to construct their own discourses of information.

41. The effect of such discourses is a double-tracking between offering information and withholding it. Learners are left to their own devices both when acquiring discourses of information, and when actually extracting information from those discourses and converting it into knowledge. Exactly how these two tasks can be accomplished is arguably the greatest unknown factor in the whole of modern education, which, I am claiming, works in the opposite direction — converting knowledge into information for transmission in discourse (¶ 20ff).

42. Under present conditions, the heavy reliance upon discourses of information will continue to entrain 'education' in a maze of paradoxes. Massive transmissions of information may overload the learners and leave them uninformed. Insisting on literal statements of static 'facts' may weaken rather than strengthen the contact with the dynamic real world. Giving 'correct answers' may simulate rather than demonstrate understanding. Formal examinations may give a false measure of the meaningful knowledge of individual learners. And so on.

43. I can briefly illustrate with some samples from the discourse of geography on sand dunes (posted without authorship on the Internet in 1998). The 'definition' given for the 'dune' is shown in sample [1].

> [1] A dune is defined as a body of coarse sand shaped by ambient wind conditions and the grain-by-grain deflation of sand.

Some stylistic norms along the lines observed by Lemke can be readily confirmed: (a) overly specialised terms like 'ambient' meaning 'in the environment', and 'deflation' meaning 'erosion'; (b) gratuitous specifi-cations like 'ambient conditions' (where else could the winds do the 'shaping'?) and 'grain-by-grain' (sand normally occurs in grains); (c) remoteness from ordinary knowledge, which would interpret 'deflate' as 'remove the air from inside' —nonsense in this context. Besides, 'grain by grain' misleadingly suggests that sand might also be eroded in some other formation such as blocks or conglomerates; 'body' is an oddly organic term for an object that frequently changes or disintegrates; and 'coarse sand' is plain wrong —I have encountered dunes, near my home at the edge of the Empty Quarter in Arabia, formed from sand so fine it gets in around the edges of firmly closed windows. All these features illustrate the dangers of a discursive bottleneck upon the transmission of information. I would propose a counter-strategy of *critical rewriting,* as shown in [1a]. Such a version should be

more readily understood and integrated into the learners' store of environmental knowledge, especially of non-native speakers of English.

> [1a] A dune is defined as a mound of sand shaped by the motion and erosion of wind and sand grains.

I would draw the same contrast between samples [2-4] and my critical rewritings in [2a-4a].

> [2] Mesoscale dune wavelength is strongly correlated with sand grain size.
>
> [2a] On medium-sized dunes, the waves get longer when the sand grains are bigger.
>
> [3] Transverse dunes are characterized by low length:width ratios and marked asymmetry, where windward slopes are much gentler than the slip faces associated with lee slopes.
>
> [3a] Dunes formed at a right angle to the wind are very short but very wide. They rise gently on the side facing the wind and drop sharply on the other side.
>
> [4] Barchans are crescentic dunes confined to directionally-constant annual wind regimes; [...] where sand is sparse, barchans become the expressed dune morphology.
>
> [4a] Barchans are crescent-shaped dunes appearing where the wind blows in one direction all year and especially where sand is sparse.

In the same strenuous discourse, rainfall is a 'precipitation event'; extreme dryness in a small area is 'localized hyperaridity'; and sand grains that blow away again from their dune 'become wind re-entrained'.

44. A special motive for this gratuitous informativity might be inferred from these stilted admissions in the same discourse:

> [5] How dunes first form and then replicate are issues that remain unclear.
>
> [6] the formation mechanism of dune characteristics remains hypothetical.

Such limits are uncomfortable if science is expected to present 'established, permanent facts' and 'truths' (cf. ¶ 39f). So a strenuous discourse of information can de deployed to camouflage a lack of deeper knowledge.

45. Compare now this passage from Wilfred Thesiger's (1994 [1959]: 130-133) *Arabian Sands* about the lived communal experience of crossing an immense dune in the Empty Quarter:

> [7] It seemed fantastic that this great rampart which shut out half the sky could be made of wind-blown sand. [...] It was now that Al Auf [the Bedouin guide] really showed his skill. He picked his way unerringly, choosing the inclines up which the camels could climb. Here on the lee side of this range a succession of great faces flowed down in unruffled sheets of sand, from the top to the very bottom of the dune. They were unscalable, for the sand was poised always on the verge of avalanching, but they were flanked by ridges where sand was firmer and the inclines easier. It was possible to force a circuitous way up these slopes, but not all were practicable for our camels, and from below it was difficult to judge their steepness. Very slowly, a foot at a time, we coaxed the unwilling beasts upward. Each time we stopped I looked up at the crests where the rising wind was blowing streamers of sand into the void, and wondered how we should ever reach the top. [...] In that infinity of space I could see no living thing, not even a withered plant to give me hope. 'There is nowhere to go', I thought. 'We really are finished'.

Although Thesiger had extensive experience of deserts and sand dunes, he sensed his abject ignorance alongside his Bedouin companions whose home was the desert. In his lack of knowledge, he desperately scanned the environment for information and, not finding any, relapsed into panic.

46. His Bedouin guide, in contrast, had the practical knowledge for getting the caravan across a dune that must seem impassable to a less knowledgeable person. He did not command the sort of information presented in a discourse like [1-6], which he could hardly have recognised to be a description of the dunes he knew.

D. 'Knowledge' and 'information' in discourses of 'technology'

47. I was intrigued to find the term *technology* defined by recent dictionaries in close association with the term *knowledge*, viz.: 'the application of knowledge for practical ends'; or 'a particular area of activity that requires scientific method and knowledge' (*Random House Webster's College Dictionary*, 1371); or again, 'the branch of knowledge that deals with applied science, engineering, the industrial arts' (*Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary*, 1501) But when I queried my corpora of authentic discourses about 'technology', I found relatively few collocations linking *knowledge* and *technology*. The collocation 'knowledge technology' did not occur at all. At most, a few data suggested that the one might produce the other, as if the direction of the causality is reversible:

[8] Investments in science and technology drive economic growth, generate new knowledge, create new jobs, build new industries, ensure sustained national security, and improve our quality of life.

[9] technology has become a major engine of economic growth, a significant contributor to our national security, a generator of new knowledge, and a critical tool in protecting our health and environment.

[10] These partnerships enable the private sector to translate new knowledge into novel technologies that benefit society at large.

[11] Integrative research is needed to combine fundamental discoveries and thus gain the comprehensive knowledge required to develop more targeted technologies.

We can notice a pervasive optimism that technology will 'benefit society' and 'improve our quality of life' in every way (cf. Cohen 1987).

48. In contrast, I found a high rate of collocation with *information. Information technology* figured as a favoured collocation in bureaucratic, commercial, and academic discourses, viz.:

[12] The revolution in information technology has increased productivity by helping people work faster and smarter. It has created jobs, rewarded entrepreneurs and investors.

[13] The Administration has used advances in information technology to serve customers faster, more accurately, and more reliably.

[14] Congress reformed the way Government acquires information technology as part of the Information Technology Management Reform Act.

[15] the Administration would work with 75 of the Nation's most congested metropolitan areas to develop modern information technology for highway and transit systems.

[16] Establishing Information Dominance: Information is power. U.S. pre-eminence in information technology helps us to field the world's premier military force.

'Information technology' is also presented as showering modern society with myriad benefits. The commitment of the US 'Administration' is correspondingly intense [13-15], especially in aspiring to 'field the world's premier military force' [16] —though projects like 'Star Wars' signal a dangerous misunderstanding of such technology.

49. The collocation *information technology* was also highly prominent in my data corpus from the discourses of education, whose limitations are to be 'removed by better technology' (Hodas, ¶ 19).

[17] Information technology has a role to play in delivering higher education in flexible ways [...] to promote curriculum innovation, and to help raise the profile of teaching in higher education.

[18] Information technologies now present colleges and universities with opportunities to transform the teaching and learning processes that are at the heart of their educational missions, and their business processes and decision-making capabilities.

[19] On the issue of students acquiring information technology skills, there is a widespread sense that such skills are becoming a necessary condition both of employment in many sectors of the economy and of improving international competitiveness.

Undeniably, high hopes are pinned upon *Exploiting the Full Potential of Information Technology in Higher Education* (the title of one report). The university is to be changed, perhaps radically transformed:

[20] Our analysis has uncovered continuing technology training and retraining requirements for this University's information technology community.

[21] the leadership must quickly develop a 'human-centred' information technology infrastructure to respond to the changing needs of faculty, administrators, professionals, clerical staff, and technical staff.

[22] there might be founded a new kind of university which exploited fully the potential of multi-media information technology with all its interactive capacities and opportunities for global networking: the names televersity or virtual university are offered. [...] This could be a university for the twenty-first century, which places learning much more under the control of the individual student but which also involves a new and exciting realisation of the learning community.

Yet the integration of steadily more information technology might only reinforce the prevailing dominance of information, and drive knowledge even further toward the margins of the educational experience (cf. Hodas 1993; Lemke 1994). Merely enlisting technology to intensify the trans-mission of facts and figures could tighten the bottlenecks and increase the perils of overload.

50. I would argue that significant progress can be achieved only if technology gets strategically enlisted for knowledge management (Brown and Duguid 1995;

Bobrow 1998). Specifically, the goal of education would be expressly reconceived in an expanded scope as the *development of skilful and creative strategies of discourse for converting information into knowledge, as well as knowledge into information.* Confronted by the flood of information in education and electronic media, 'educated persons' would be those who can integrate and elaborate it into a productive unity that is relevant and applicable to significant human issues, such as ecological modes of progress. Also, they can communicate their knowledge to a wide range of audiences, especially to ones who need it for achieving a better life. In return, they can provide information at any appropriate degree of specialisation, e.g., to perform in a skilled profession.

51. Such an 'education' would mediate powerfully against the sameness that currently predominates (cf. ¶ 23, 33) (cf. Lemke 1994). Instead of being mechanically recited and reproduced, information gets dynamically expanded and transformed, leading into a range of personalised constellations of knowledge. These would not be identical with the knowledge that originally got converted into information for educational purposes, as described in ¶ 20ff. And if such a constellation were used to generate information, the product would not be identical with the information previously presented in the educational setting. The learners' performance would accordingly not be assessed by their literal accuracy in reproducing discourses of information, but rather by their skills in relating a specific issue or problem to its cognitive and social context and proposing effective and useful means of dealing with it (Lemke 1993). The more difficult or novel the issue, the greater the skills that can be demonstrated.

52. Here is a vital assignment for a genuinely 'human-centred infor-mation technology' (to quote sample [21]): to support human processes for mediating between information and knowledge, and to provide opportunities for managing information in the production of knowledge. A key condition is to unblock the multiple bottlenecks and open up free access and application of information. Learners can then perform at their best in dynamic episodes of actualisation.

E. Technology in education 1: Blackboard, notebook, textbook

53. Looking back over history, our three oldest technologies in education are so familiar and commonplace that most people would not even call them 'technology' —the blackboard, the notebook, and the textbook (Cohen 1987; Hodas 1993). And they served the 'transmission of information' long before any such term was invented. Quite plausibly, these simple graphic media were introduced just when the content of education was starting its long-term move

from knowledge toward information by becoming more 'technical' —more abstract, formal, and theoretical— than the content of ordinary life.

54. When the 'lecture' was adopted for presenting such information, the blackboard handily served as the teacher's visual display and the notebook as the learner's memory bank. The information could be studied, memorised, and reproduced on a test, and then forgotten until some later need arose. These basic technologies may owe their long life-span to their instrumental role for direct and centralised control of the teacher over the discourse of education (Hodas 1993) (cf. ¶ 74).

55. Today, they might be described as bona-fide technological fossils that entail their own informational bottlenecks. Class time gets retarded by the brute-force operations of writing down words at whatever rate can be accommodated by the mechanics of the bodily movements of recognition and inscription. Legibility and orthography assume a vastly exaggerated importance, as if clear and regular handwriting were by themselves valid proof of good performance (cf. ¶ 83).

56. The textbook (or, in earlier manifestations, the scroll and the manuscript) offers an alternative technology for extending inscription and recognition beyond the classroom. This technology can control classroom procedures not just by setting the pace when read aloud, recited, or discussed, but, on a larger scale, by determining the content and design of lesson plans —what must be 'covered' in which sequence. The textbook reinforces the authority of education, and complements the teacher in sustaining centralised control —and so is rarely questioned or challenged. The textbook can also incorporate at least some new technologies for information transfer, such as colour graphics and complex charts and tables.

57. The bottlenecks here are of a different nature, this time reducing the information flow that arrives in the classroom at all. The textbook typically mediates a view of the field that is at least five years out of date, due to the phlegmatic pace of production, review, publication, and adoption, especially if, as is common practice, the textbook gets reprinted or cosmetically 'revised' for continued re-use. Moreover, the aspiring producer of a new textbook is usually pressured by publishers and their reviewers to include materials which were featured in earlier textbooks and to exclude conflicting or unfamiliar materials (cf. Beaugrande 1985; Lemke 1990).

58. A further bottleneck arises from the static, compartmentalised layout of most textbooks, which impedes a conversion into dynamic, integrative knowledge (cf. Venezky 1992). The subject-matter is arranged in conventional chapters and sections, as when textbooks on 'linguistics' conform to the standard sequence 'phonology – morphology – syntax – semantics', and offer no chapters on such

humanly relevant knowledge as discourse and communication in cultural life, or language variation as a key factor in educational success or failure.

59. Moreover, textbooks intensify the drive to convert the knowledge of a community (e.g. historians or lawyers) into information in the form of 'facts', 'figures', and 'correct answers' (cf. ¶ 21f, 28, 36). Consider this sample passage from a lower-division English-medium textbook used as part of the curriculum in Islamic law (Shari'ah) in the United Arab Emirates:

> [23] The Babylonian Code of Hammurabi is the most complete collection of ancient laws yet discovered, and is one of the most important ancient codes of law. A stone slab with the code written on it was discovered in Susa, Iran, in 1901. Hammurabi was king of Babylon around 3750 years ago (from 1792 BC to 1750 BC). He reorganised the administration of justice and established an orderly arrangement of written laws. The Code of Hammurabi consisted of 282 laws. These laws were systematically arranged under such headings as family, labour, personal property, real estate, trade, and business.

The quiz on this passage contains these questions:

> [23a] 1. When and where was the stone slab with the Code of Hammurabi on it discovered?
>
> 2. How long ago was Hammurabi ruler of Babylon?
>
> 3. For how many years was he king?
>
> 4. How many laws were there in the Code of Hammurabi?

These questions pick out specific bits of information which are patently irrelevant to a knowledge of legal tradition, but which enable a quick and easy division between right and wrong answers. Besides, the dates of Hammurabi's reign (given in Western, not Islamic, reckoning!) aren't facts at all, but pure conjectures.

60. Textbooks are also signally prone to impose the bottleneck of 'stylistic norms' deemed appropriate for discourses of information in educational settings (cf. ¶ 38, 43). This is all the more pronounced when the field itself consists mainly in managing discourses of information, as is the case with accounting. This field is defined by one widely used textbook as shown in sample [24]. Highly conspicuous here is the long, repetitious, and pedantic style, as in the sequences 'information - informed - information' and 'judgements and decisions', and in the gratuitous mention of 'users': who else could be meant, and what else should they be but 'informed' after getting all that 'information'? Perhaps the author wanted the style to suggest the sheer quantity and importance of the 'information' as motives for hiring accountants.

> [24] Accounting is most widely defined as the process of identifying, measuring, and communicating economic information to permit informed judgements and decisions by users of the information.

As in sample [1], the style masks some inaccuracy in the information itself. Accountants do 'communicate information', but they can hardly be said to 'identify' and 'measure' it. And the 'information' is not just about 'economics' but about quite specific economic concerns, such as assets and losses. The definition would be more likely to generate knowledge in a rewriting like this:

> [24a] Accounting consists of gathering, organising, and communicating economic information to users who need it for making sound decisions about their financial concerns.

To appreciate how far the academic discourses of information in textbooks can misrepresent information, consider this example from the same textbook:

> [25] Net realisable value means the estimated amount that would be received from the sale of the asset less the estimated costs on its disposal. The term 'exit value' is often used as it is the amount receivable when an asset leaves the business. A very important factor affecting such a valuation is the conditions under which the assets are to be sold. To realise in a hurry would often mean accepting a very low price. Look at the sale prices received from stock in bankruptcies —usually very low figures. The standard way of approaching this problem is to value as though the realisation were 'in the normal course of business'. This is not capable of an absolutely precise meaning, as economic conditions change and the firm might never sell such an asset 'in the normal course of business'.

The difficulties of establishing an asset's net realisable value are similar to those of the replacement value method when similar assets are not being bought and sold in the marketplace. However, the problems are more severe as the units of service approach cannot be used, since that takes the seller's rather than the buyer's viewpoint. (194 words)

This passage purports to inform you of the 'meaning' of 'net realisable value', but leaves you uninformed. You are counselled to 'valuate' by assuming you are selling the asset 'in the normal course of business' and are not in any 'hurry', even though the asset might in fact 'never be sold' or else only under highly non-normal conditions such as 'bankruptcies'. Such a 'valuation' is purely hypothetical.

61. Moreover, you are restrained from following the buying price you would pay to 'replace' the asset, because you are in the role of a hypothetical seller, not a buyer, and you obviously cannot sell a used asset for the same price paid for a new one. This restriction gets oddly obscured in the final paragraph, which compares 'net realisable value' with 'replacement value'. Since the first of these two

'valuations' is the theme of the whole passage, the proximate reading would be that 'net realisable value' creates 'more severe problems'. But that reading would work only if the terms 'buyer' and 'seller' have been accidentally interchanged. The whole passage has prominently adopted the seller's viewpoint, whereas now the text says 'the seller's viewpoint' 'cannot be used'.

62. Sample [25] trenchantly illustrates how discourses of information get in their own way, even without a substantial proportion of technical terms. I also would point out the casual interchanging of terms for the same practical transaction: 'sale - disposal - exit - amount receivable - leaves the business - sold - realise - prices received - realisation - sell'. Several of these are unintentionally ironic, since the asset may never really 'leave the business.'

63. A counter-strategy for producing knowledge against the grain of such discourse would be *critical rewriting*, which I have demonstrated before (cf. ¶ 43). We might obtain:

> [25a] Estimating the net realisable value or exit value is done by calculating the sum that would be left after selling an asset and subtracting the costs of the sale process. Because the conditions for selling can affect the price in unpredictable ways, as when stock gets quickly sold off after a bankruptcy, you can base your estimate on the value you would presumably receive selling the asset at a time when the business is operating normally.
>
> Estimating the *replacement value* is done by calculating the sum that would be spent to actually buy the asset again. Problems naturally arise if the asset is currently not on the market. Also, you cannot calculate by units of service, which would be adopting the seller's viewpoint rather than the buyer's.

This streamlined rewriting (down from 194 to 127 words) introduces the distinct terms in italics and in parallel topic sentences of two paragraphs; and eliminates the redundant series of partial synonyms for 'selling' noted in [25]. We also dispense with the repetitions of 'net realisable value', 'estimated', 'low price/low figures', 'in the normal course of business'; and replace 'not being bought and sold in the marketplace' with 'currently not on the market'. Finally, we associate the 'problems' with the term where they seem more virulent.

64. That college-age learners can, with suitable training, do their own critical rewriting, was shown by my pilot course in Business English at the University of Botswana in 1997, where English is a second language after Setswana. During the initial training, I acted as a model critic and rewriter, presenting the samples, explaining the problems, and displaying my solutions. The learners soon understood the process, and some of their products were quite impressive. My student Modibedi chose sample [26] from the same textbook:

> [26] We have seen that every transaction affects two items. If we want to show the effect of every transaction when we are doing our bookkeeping, we will have to show the effect of a transaction on each of the two items. For each transaction that means that a bookkeeping entry will have to be made to show an increase or decrease of that item. From there you will probably be able to see that the term 'double entry' bookkeeping is a good one, as each entry is made twice (double entry).

The original text leads up to the main concept of the 'double entry bookkeeping' in a verbose and patronising manner, e.g., repeating 'item' three times, 'entry' four times, and 'transaction' five times. Modibedi produced a radical revision, reducing 91 words to a mere 32:

> [26a] The 'Double Entry System' is the basic system of modern bookkeeping by which each account has two sides, a debit side and a credit side, and each business deal is entered twice.

He adroitly moved the key term up into the strategic topic position of his sentence and highlighted it in upper case, so that the reader knows at once what is to be explained. He invested his own knowledge by replacing the terms 'increase' and 'decrease' with the correct bookkeeping terms 'credit' and 'debit'.

65. My student N!ko!ko chose a more global and challenging discourse on 'bad debts', again from the same textbook:

> [27] With many businesses a large proportion, if not all, of the sales are on a credit basis. The business is therefore taking the risk that some of the customers may never pay for the goods sold to them on credit. This is a normal business risk and therefore bad debts as they are called are a normal business expense and must be charged as such when calculating the profit or loss account for the period.
>
> When a debt is found to be bad, the debt as shown by the debtor's amount is worthless and must accordingly be eliminated as an asset account. This is done by crediting the debtor's account to cancel the asset and increasing the expenses account of bad debts by debiting it there. Sometimes, the debtor will have paid part of the debt, leaving the remainder to be written off as a bad debt. The total of the bad debts account is later transferred to the profit and loss account. (163 words)

N!ko!ko's rewriting, going from 163 words down to 106, read like this:

> [27a] Many businesses sell a large proportion of their goods on credit, although it's a risk because some of the customers may never pay. The amount which is not paid at the end of a year is called bad debts. They are an expense and therefore must be charged to the Profit and Loss for the period.

> When a debt is found to be bad, it must be removed as an asset. To do this, the debtor's account is credited and the bad debts account is debited. If the debtor has paid off part of the debt, the remainder will be written off as a bad debt. (106 words)

She vigorously trimmed away the patronising excess verbiage from [18]: 'for the goods sold to them on credit' (what else would they not 'pay for'?); 'as shown by the debtor's amount' (where else?); a 'bad debt' is 'worthless' (obviously); plus the entire last sentence about 'the profit and loss account', which just repeated what had been stated already. She also saw no point in including 'if not all', or in designating 'bad debts' twice over as a part of 'normal business'. Finally, the repetitions have been dramatically reduced: 'business' from 5 times to 1, and 'debt' from 7 times to 4.

66. If the conventional textbook is indeed a faulty technology, users need skill in adjusting and repairing it. And if authors resist adopting new strategies on the production side, then readers require counter-strategies for converting information into knowledge on the reception side. Critical rewriting, though not a new technology, is an innovative new use of an old technology to offset its bottleneck tendencies. The practice compels an integrative understanding of the content and thus supports knowledge, although the original author may have written carelessly or misleadingly. Far from treating the wording of the text as a mode of information in its own right (cf. ¶ 36), learners approach the wording as a potentially inefficient reflection of knowledge, and they take the initiative in improving it.

F. Technology in the classroom 2: The 'teaching machines'

67. For most people, 'technology in education' is associated with the use of machines. The provision of this technology has been chiefly sporadic or adventitious, e.g., leaving geometry and literary studies with their notebooks and textbooks whilst giving physics and chemistry their 'laboratories'. And those 'labs' have been almost exclusively utilised for proving or disproving information whose status has long been decided in the field (Papert 1980: 139). Consistent, detailed policies for technology all across the curriculum were not even envisioned until recently, and in most places are still in their rudimentary stages. Meanwhile, some institutions evidently believe that just introducing technology will automatically solve their problems (cf. Hodas 1993; McKenzie 1994).

68. Back when prevailing theories of education were conceived in terms of highly general learning processes, as in orthodox behaviourism, technology was expected

to support or perform the basic operations of teaching and learning, independently of content. 'Teaching machines' were predicted to kick-start an 'industrial revolution in education', beginning with an 'apparatus which gives tests and scores and teaches' (Pressey 1926: 373; long-range surveys in Cuban 1986; Benjamin 1988). Pressey's machine, demonstrated at the Ohio State University, presented one from a set of multiple-choice questions inscribed on a rotating cylinder. If the learner chose the correct answer by depressing one of four keys, the drum would rotate to the next question. If all 'answers' were 'correct', the student would be rewarded with a piece of candy.

69. Though Pressey's primitive 'apparatus' did not become popular in ordinary schools, it dramatically illustrated the most literal mode of an 'industrial revolution in education'. Just as in the early factories, the dominant strategy was to fit the human to the machine, rather than vice-versa (cf. ¶ 8). Yet this time the human and the machine were interacting not to produce a tangible product, but to rehearse a behavioural pattern. In terms of sheer behaviour, the pattern was hardly one the learner would need to perform in real life, except to operate the ubiquitous vending machines that sell candy.

70. In terms of information transfer, the machine was far more primitive and restricted than the blackboard and notebook and imposed a far tighter informational bottleneck. Whereas those older technologies easily allow for multiple sets of information to be entered, altered, or revised, the machine could only handle a single set of brief questions and answers in any one session. The learner's performance was far more rudimentary than copying from blackboard into notebook, and no long-term record of the information was preserved. Nor could learners get any broader information about why a given answer is or is not 'correct'. The session could easily be conducted by simple trial and error —you press keys randomly until you get the right one— and without bothering to read or understand the questions and answers. Such technology fostered the 'deskilling' of learners, much as it had previously done for workers in industries (cf. ¶ 8, 37).

71. The concept of 'teaching machines' became a life-long advocacy of the doctrinaire behaviourist B.F. Skinner (e.g. 1958, 1961, 1963), who boldly foresaw them 'supplanting lectures, demonstrations, and textbooks' (1958: 69). Through an unconscious irony, when actually hired by Harcourt Brace Publishing Company to design such a machine, he drew its information from a printed textbook, thus reverting to an ancient technology he vowed to 'supplant'. In this case, it was a high school grammar textbook (published by Harcourt). Its contents were industriously rewritten into 2600 steps whose formats would be suitable for the clumsy technology of the time, namely for transferral to punched paper tape. But Skinner withdrew from the project in 1959, and —again through an

unconscious irony— Harcourt just published the 'programmed' materials in a textbook entitled *English 2600*, which sold over a million copies.

72. Radical behaviourism should find attractive analogies in the operation of machines. The basic model of the 'organism receiving a stimulus' and 'emitting a response' had originally been inspired by laboratory experiments on animal conditioning (cf. Skinner 1935, 1938), which neatly matched the mechanics of seeing a display and pushing a key. The animal was not explicitly 'taught' how to behave, e.g., how to run a maze and find the 'food reward'; the 'learning' was 'conditioned' and 'reinforced' through brute-force trial and error (cf. Thorndike 1911). When the same model was transferred from animals to humans (e.g. in Thorndike 1931), the resulting approach actively discouraged explicit teaching, such as giving information in discursive explanations. Instead, the whole process got broken down into minimal steps, each one centred on a brief, immediate event where stimulus and response were realised as question and answer. Again, information was transmitted largely by trial and error —another 'deskilled' operation imposed by the technology.

73. One mechanism unmistakably inspired a dominant model in behaviourist theory. The 'black box' was an electric circuit whose sole function was to receive an 'input' signal and to transmit a modified 'output' signal. The internal construction and operation were not specified for the user, who could not regulate or alter them anyway. By analogy, the behaviourist model envisioned an organism, whether an animal or a human, getting 'conditioned' by receiving a 'stimulus' and emitting a 'response' which gets either 'reinforced' or 'extinguished' as required by the 'learning objective' of 'habit formation'. This model made no reference to the inner operations; it merely addressed the link between input and output. The model implied a radical isolation both of the individual organism and of the single stimulus-response event. The organism was envisioned as an aboriginal blank slate, with no prior knowledge except whatever rudimentary 'habits' had already been established. The capabilities of the organism to acquire and apply knowledge were assessed at the absolute minimum; no prospects were envisioned for knowledge to be actively elaborated, integrated, or created. Nor do the 'habits' seem relevant to real life, where rats don't run mazes and humans don't press keys on brief, meaningless tasks.

74. These 'teaching machines' too did not become popular in ordinary schools, partly because the real machines of the 1950s and 1960s were still too awkwardly mechanical. Nonetheless, the idea of 'teaching machines' massively influenced education through the closely allied ideas of 'programmed instruction' or 'programmed learning' (Glaser 1965; Skinner 1968, 1986). These methods were modelled upon the 'step-by-step' programs of machines, but did not require real machines —or real proficiency in the operation of machines. The method was

supposedly 'automatic', but did not need automation; in return, the learners were deskilled by being treated much like automatons. As shown by the success of Harcourt's *English 2600*, materials expressly designed for a machine could readily be accepted just as a printed textbook. No new technology was introduced; the teachers could retain central control over the educational process without having to acquire new technological skills.

75. For the present discussion, the salient point is the reinforced breakdown of knowledge into bits of information. The steps in machine operation were kept small by the technology; the steps in 'programmed instruction' by the need for continual proofs that the teachers were dutifully 'delivering the programme' (cf. Hodas 1993). These bits of information were perhaps expected to generate knowledge by sheer accretion on the learners' part, who were once again left to their own devices (cf. ¶ 38). Improvements in small results could be easily shown, since the method handily generates favourable statistics across a large number of episodes. But in the long run, reviewers have concluded that programmed instruction has not lived up to expectations (cf. Schramm 1964; Kulik, Kulik, and Cohca 1980). Since then, it has been relegated to the status of a 'remedial tool' to supplement the process of traditional education (Mitra and Mitra 1996), which ironically points up its primitive qualities.

76. The advent of the 'computer' predictably inspired the next generation of teaching machines under the label of 'computer assisted instruction' ('CAI') (survey in Niemiec and Walberg 1987). At first, the technology was unaffordable for all but major institutions; widespread applications had to wait for the appearance of the small, fairly cheap personal computers ('PCs'). Yet this technology too was still primitive in ways not too dissimilar from Pressey's 'apparatus' described in ¶ 68ff. A PC with the minuscule memory spaces of those days and no hard disk at all must follow a linear sequence in a program hardly less rigid than his inscriptions fastened to a rotating cylinder. The learners could control only the rate of the presentation, but not the content, and could not contribute their own content or enter a discussion (Hodas 1993). The PC thus resembled an 'electronic page turning device' or a 'tutorial drill-and-practice machine' (Mitra and Mitra 1996). Most programs again adopted the 'multiple choice' format, where the learners first read a brief passage, then read a question (the stimulus), and press a single key to select an answer (the response). The learners were forcefully deskilled as readers and writers; they were compelled to process information superficially rather than process knowledge deeply, and had no motive to integrate and use it later (cf. ¶ 30, 37).

77. Especially in early stages, 'CAI' expanded beyond earlier teaching machines by drawing upon the conventional textbook. Most CAI materials were transposed from textbooks onto computers and rendered amenable to multiple-choice tests.

The only real refinement here was to enhance the complexity and flexibility of the machine's presentation, aided by colourful graphics and cheery icons. In one 'reading' programme I reviewed, the screen scrolled out a patently insipid story; periodically, the story text disappeared and the learner got a multiple-choice question about who had what for dinner, who lost and then found the dog, and other profoundly intellectual matters. The learner would type in just a single letter from A to D. A 'correct answer' was rewarded not by candy, but by a cartoon face of an ecstatically smiling female teacher. An 'incorrect answer' merely looped back and repeated the story, thereby inflicting a novel but no less effective punishment than being corrected by a teacher before a class.

78. Still, the PC of this era was in some ways a step forward from the technology of the blackboard. The presenting of information was far quicker and more plentiful and legible; and previous displays could be recovered without effort. But the PC was still a step backward from the notebook, which animates the learners to produce their own written records for further use. As with Pressey's 'apparatus', the learner's 'response' was a single movement; other than the letters for the several choices, the keyboard was superfluous. Once the 'learning session' is over, all the data is lost; you don't even have a candy bar, only the fond memory of ecstatic cartoon smiles. So the PC of this era relaxed the informational bottleneck on the side of the machine but tightened it on the side of the learner, who was still fitted to the machine (cf. ¶ 8, 69).

G. Technology in the classroom 3: The 'language laboratory'

79. The 1950s and 1960s also witnessed the introduction of 'teaching machines' in the popular 'language laboratory'. This technology was the first to gain widespread adoption. A heightened priority was allotted to education in 'foreign languages' during the global post-war situation of competing for economic markets and political influence; and substantial funding was provided.

80. Most of what had been formally presented in language teaching, both native and foreign, was information in the sense I have proposed here, and so had proven notoriously difficult to convert into the mode of knowledge sustained by skilled native speakers. The lab was hailed as the ideal means to shift the emphasis from talking *about* the language over to talking *in* the language. In tune with behaviourism, talking was conceived to be a mode of 'verbal behaviour', a set of 'habits' to be 'conditioned' and 'reinforced' (Skinner 1957; but compare Rivers 1964). The predominant 'audio-lingual method' (e.g. Brooks 1960) bore a portentous name which incorporated the 'audio' label from machines like

'audiotape' or 'audiovisual aids', and evoked an efficient mechanical linkage between hearing and speaking —etymologically, going straight from the ear to the tongue of the learner.

81. Whereas all other technologies, from blackboard to PC, were in visual media, the lab was in an acoustic medium. The standard equipment was a set of microphones and tape recorders wired for teachers and learners to 'monitor their performance' and exchange 'immediate feedback'. The major activity for learners was to imitate native speaker samples, which seems eerily reminiscent of trial and error. Some information was given on how to manipulate the vocal apparatus, but whether this is workable for naive learners whose phonetic habits do not include the target sounds has remained unclear. Normal articulation is not consciously manipulated, and efforts to do so may retard or distort the production of sounds (cf. MacNeilage 1980).

82. Because acoustic information is more linear than visual, still another informational bottleneck impended. The tape recorders of the 1950s and 1960s could only transmit and reproduce the acoustic traces of sounds without even distinguishing between fluent speech and pure noise. They resembled acoustic blackboards, except that —like the PCs of 'computer-assisted instruction'— they could contain much longer sequences of information, and could recapitulate a previous step with no trouble.

83. Repeating a whole sentence or conversation one hears on a tape does at least involve a more active use of the target language than just pressing a key. But the activity is still remote from real-life communication. The vastly exaggerated importance conferred on legibility and orthography in the blackboard and notebook era was now transferred to audibility and acoustic fidelity, as if clear and precise pronunciation were valid proof of deep knowledge of the language (cf. ¶ 55).

84. And again, the rote transfer of information has been restricted by sheer mechanics, this time of articulation rather than inscription. Articulation and pronunciation are not just the easiest aspects of language to regard as 'verbal behaviour' but also the most conducive for the drive of education to measure 'performance' in terms of 'correct' and 'incorrect'. The 'audio-lingual method' viewed the production of 'correct performance' as a mode of 'habit formation' modelled upon the pronunciation of fluent speakers. An unfortunate consequence has been the pressure upon teachers to be constantly 'correcting' the learners, even, or indeed especially, in the earliest stages of learning, when, in theory, the 'conditioning' of 'habits' is most vital. Yet the effort may be unwisely invested if the learners at that stage lack the ability to imitate the corrections they hear. Moreover, being 'corrected' tends to make the learners self-conscious, whereas, as I noted, normal articulation is not consciously manipulated (cf. ¶ 81).

85. So the demand for 'correct pronunciation' imposes an information bottleneck of a special kind. The technology of the language laboratory allows contact with a very small, closed set of recorded utterances, from which learners are expected to acquire competence in producing the very large and open set of fluent utterances in the target language. Yet the technology also tends to foster a slavish dependence upon the imitation of immediately accessible models, which is hardly likely to engender competence and confidence for unmodelled utterances. Besides, learners may be confused later on by listening to native speakers outside a classroom whose ordinary pronunciation is dramatically different from the resolutely standardised recordings of model speakers, especially where social or regional dialects are involved.

86. And imitation is in principle an unreliable method. The articulation of a foreign language is a complex act requiring a swift and precise interaction among numerous neural and muscular operations (e.g., tenseness, voicing, affrication) in co-ordination with the cognitive representation of an acoustic target (MacNeilage 1980). The language laboratory does not supply detailed information about these operations. It just presents their finished product in the articulation by native speakers, which carries a wealth of information non-native learners may fail to access. Learning proceeds inefficiently by trial and error, with errors being naturally generated by the prior set of habits from the native language.

87. No less complex —though less overtly so— are the operations of acoustic discrimination by a hearer of unfamiliar sounds. Again contending with a prior set of habits, learners who mispronounce the sounds of the foreign language can also mishear them. They obviously cannot command any advanced skills in acoustic discrimination for analysing the target performance. So they are almost forced to speak with an 'accent' that compromises by adopting or adapting some features of the target on top of their prior habits.

88. If the technology of the language laboratory imposes bottlenecks on information about pronunciation, it does so far more for 'grammar'. The complexity of grammar is of a fundamentally different kind from that of articulation, and is significantly more resistant to acquisition from imitation of a small set of samples. Outside the lab, learners are given information about 'grammar', yet grammar in communicative practice is a mode of knowledge. The information is focused on the needs of grammar-centred exercises in the lab, such as the 'pattern drill' which overtly treats grammar as a mode of observed behaviour. Such could hardly be more disparate from the use of grammar in real-life communication, so the frequent failure of learners to apply this practice during an actual conversation is only to be expected (cf. Met and Galloway 1992: 877).

89. Moreover, most samples represent what I propose to call *non-authentic language*, i.e., artificial constructions without any natural context (Beaugrande 2001a). Only authentic language manifests the delicate interactions between grammar and vocabulary that decide how fluent and idiomatic a speaker will sound. Children master the grammar of the native language through exposure to a huge set of authentic samples. How mastery can be achieved from exposure to a tiny set of non-authentic samples has never been explained; as far as I can see, the question has scarcely even been posed in earnest.

90. In order to achieve genuine learning and to compensate for the various informational bottlenecks, both the visual technology of the PC and the acoustic technology of language laboratory have implicitly depended on complex language processing by readers or listeners. Language demands a larger base of knowledge than does any other subject-matter. How to produce knowledge through conversion from the modest and measured doses of information, whether from textbooks, computers, or tapes is also among the most formidable challenges in modern education. So we should not be surprised if its success rates have consistently been disappointing.

H. The advent of 'hypertechnology'

91. The foregoing sections might point to two conclusions. First, technology has always been present in one or another of the media to support the representation of information, with each medium implicating certain bottlenecks. Second, the later waves of more mechanised technologies like teaching machines, PCs, and language laboratories, have not removed the bottlenecks but have, on the contrary, implicated fresh bottlenecks, mainly due to the requirements of the machines that things should be represented in terms of 'codes' that are not processed the way humans process natural language (¶ 34f).

92. Evidently, the introduction of technologies into education will not of itself necessarily bring about essential improvements if simply deployed to 'deliver' the same information with the same content and format as before (Lemke 1994; McKenzie 1994). Such a deployment may deliver bottlenecks too, and do little to bridge the pervasive gap between knowledge and information, or even to render the gap more perceptible.

93. A key question here would be whether the *technology itself* as distinct from the users of that technology can be properly said to *process knowledge* or even to *possess* it; or whether technology is in principle limited to information. This question is related to (though not identical with) the question of whether computers can

understand natural language, where a major problem might well be the division between information (which computers handle well) and knowledge (which they do not). I shall argue that technology can at least effectively support the communal production of knowledge and integration of the resources of cognition and information, provided some fundamentally new conceptions can be implemented in design and operation.

94. To make a fresh start in the new millennium, the term 'technology' might be withdrawn from educational planning for being overweighted by popular, historical, and institutional associations. A useful successor might be *hypertechnology*, though it does not appear in my data corpuses and only rarely on the Internet.[1] It can usefully link up with the term *hypertext*, which was coined by Nelson (1965) to describe 'an ongoing system of interconnecting documents'. The hypertext would provide access to the relations between any one text and the other texts to which it relates or refers. In turn, the term *hypermedia* 'expands the concept of hypertext to include other forms of digital information, e.g., graphic images, audio, video, and animation', and to 'present the material interactively' 'in response to the user's choices' (Ebersole 1997: 20; cf. Stebelman 1997).

95. Hypermedia offer a new potential for supporting the construction of elaborate configurations of knowledge and transcending the conventional bottlenecks in education I have described. Yet this potential may overload the user's processing capacities with a rising flood of multi-modal information and thereby create a 'hyper-bottleneck' (cf. Wright 1993). So hypertechnology should be designed and deployed to manage and channel itself in expressly cognitive modes (Turing, Hannemann, and Haake 1995; Ebersole 1997). Encouragingly, substantive research is under way relating 'hypertext' and 'hypermedia' to such concepts as 'cognition' (Shum 1990; Thuring, Hannemann, and Haake 1995; Rouet, Levonen, Dillon, and Spiro [eds.] 1996); 'cognitive processing' (Payne et al. 1993; Cho 1995); 'cognitive models' (Eklund 1995); 'cognitive mapping' (Beasley and Waugh 1995); 'knowledge construction' (Reed 1995); and 'knowledge representation' (Ayersman 1995). We can predict from such work that education will uncover new modes of 'cognitive flexibility' implicated in 'the nonlinear and multidimensional traversal of complex subject matter' (Spiro and Jehng 1990: 163).

96. Some authors have suggested that cognition itself is in some sense a hypermedium, or a complex of hypermedia, and as such differs from ordinary texts in being nonlinear and multidimensional (e.g. Nelson 1965). We might recall research in artificial intelligence and cognitive science proposing to model knowledge in terms of networks (e.g. A. Collins & Quillian 1969; Findler [ed.] 1979), including the knowledge underlying a text (Beaugrande 1980). Yet the examples and demonstrations were largely intuitive and considerably simplified

in comparison to actual cognition, particularly in isolating certain 'schema', 'frame' or 'script' from the rest of what a human presumably knows (Beaugrande 1982).

97. The linear and 'monodimensional' aspects of ordinary texts have probably been overestimated, also due to isolating the individual text. The cognitive representation of a text cannot be mainly linear beyond the 'shallow' stage of short-term memory (Beaugrande 1980; van Dijk and Kintsch 1983; Kintsch 1998). A topic concept forms a network of connections which expands and evolves each time the concept is expressed at any point within the sequence of words or sentences. The total representation of the 'textual world' could be visualised as an array of criss-crossing centripetal pathways of differing strengths and ranks (cf. Kintsch 1988).

98. One educational application of this research so far has been the 'cognitive maps' for helping learners to comprehend and organise the content of a text being read (e.g. Anderson and Huan 1989). The map is an informal visual representation of a rational way to block out topics and concepts. The question of whether or not it corresponds to the real or desired mental representation has not been answered, and may not be in the near future. The more relevant question is whether it proves useful to comprehension and to the construction of knowledge. Today, the notion of a 'map' is being reapplied for hypermedia (e.g. Barba 1993; Gaines and Shaw 1995).

99. Still less linear is *intertextuality*, a concept at the epicentre of 'post-modernism', a trend that anticipated the hypertext (McGann 1996). The processes of producing or receiving a text refer at least implicitly to many other texts which the same people have produced or received; this cross-reference is an essential precondition for an array of language to constitute a text at all, or to belong to a given text type, genre, or style (Beaugrande 1997). Any explicit training a person might have had in performing such processes can organise and elaborate the referrals, as can those occasions where a text responds to another text, e.g., by quoting it, answering it, or evaluating it.

100. Some text types or genres foreground their intertextuality, as when scientific or scholarly research papers or books refer abundantly to recognised sources (Lemke 1993). Indeed, the extent and range of these references may be interpreted as a measure of significance and validity, independently of the content. This factor points up the status of a science or field as a discourse community (Brown and Duguid 1995), with a strong bias toward published written discourse that has undergone favourable 'peer review' —itself a bottleneck with uncontrollable effects (Beaugrande 2001b). This bias is now being mollified by 'virtual publishing' on the Internet, but will persist as long as conventional hard-

copy publications count as the major evidence of professional achievement and recognition.

101. In a modified sense, a *library* is a site of intertextuality, insofar as it groups and arranges texts by a highly developed system (Lemke 1993). Yet resources like catalogues, abstracts, and citation indexes count as special 'meta-texts' that are not cohesive or coherent in normal modes, and are scanned only briefly and sporadically. As the library is being steadily digitised, it becomes a site of hypertextuality as well (McGann 1996); and its own in-house resources would be 'hyper-meta-texts'. The situation changes most significantly when the main texts are made available for electronic access. So far, the libraries implementing this technology have tended to reserve access for enrolled subscribers, but the trends to lift restrictions should eventually catch on here too (cf. ¶ 5)

102. Still, these precedents in intertextuality do not logically implicate hypertextuality. Without some compelling motive, few readers of a scientific research report actually run to the library to read the cited references. Now that technology offers us relatively effortless and immediate access from text to text, some novel considerations arise. Research reports are starting to replace their references with direct access to the source being referred to; and this possibility can significantly enhance the interest and relevance of citing references at all. The essentially monological status of the report can yield to a plurality of discourses and voices, and so heighten the solidarity and vitality of the research community.

103. But as far as I can see, the design of hypertexts does not yet take account of the distinction between information and knowledge. The ease, speed, and freedom of accessing information are obviously enhanced; but the construction of knowledge may well not be unless the technology is expressly designed to support it (cf. ¶ 92). The design should help to sustain both local and global coherence (Ebersole 1997). Increasing coherence can in turn 'facilitate the construction of semantic relations between information units' and 'minimise cognitive overhead', defined as 'the additional mental overhead required to create, name, and keep track of links' (Thuring, Hannemann, and Haake 1995: 61; Conklin 1986: 40).

104. In particular, the linked sources and references should exercise the function of enriching the discussion at appropriate points rather than such functions as intoning shibboleths, saluting prestigious colleagues, or invoking powerful figures, all of which have been common enough in research reports. The user or reader who has followed a hyperlink should be able to return to the main text without a break or disorientation. These requirements would call for some framing of the linked source, presumably by commentary given before the opening and after the ending. Such framing would be helpful for any further links leading out from the source.

105. For hypertexts to support knowledge, some incisive shifts are evidently pending in text design. The conventional 'introduction' or 'abstract' at the start of text is general and unfocussed, without regard for where the reader might be coming from. The 'conclusion' is mainly directed to the text itself, without regard for where the reader might be going next. Either these initial and final text segments should be redesigned by the author, or adjusted by the 'linker', or some balance of both, e.g., the author might provide a range of link sets to accommodate anticipated link types.

106. The hypertext also holds the potential to become its own intertext, i.e., to be a different text for various purposes. The main text could be a frame or scaffold with distinctively sorted links for respective audiences who differ in terms of their interests, fields, or degrees of specialisation. The labours performed in working out such a design should encourage the author to appreciate how much of the central content of the field can be better communicated in plain language than in the 'stylistic norms' illustrated above (¶ 38, 43). The same effect could be predicted for specialist readers who, perhaps surreptitiously, click over to the non-specialist versions for more reliable support in building up their knowledge.

107. A special aid for text design in writing can be derived from a promising mode of hypertext created by interfacing a word processor with a *concordancer*. The writer considering the use of a word or phrase can call up and inspect a set of authentic examples from a corpus. For example, I was wondering whether this mode of 'mode of hypertext' might be called 'propitious', 'auspicious', or 'promising'. Data from my several corpora displayed the first two choices used in old-fashioned discourse and only for (often ritual or historic) circumstances rather than objects or resources, whilst only the third appeared in discourses of technology and so was chosen:

circumstances were propitious to the designs of a usurper.
when the hour was be propitious, Valentinian showed himself from a lofty tribunal;
Darkness is propitious to cruelty, but it is likewise favourable to calumny and fiction

The northern climates are less propitious to the education of the silkworm;
his predecessors had always remitted, in some auspicious circumstance of their reign, the public tribute
under Rome's auspicious influence the fiercest barbarians were united by an equal government
Medals were struck with the customary vows for a long and auspicious reign;
moderate, stable growth provides a more auspicious environment for adjustment than boom and bust.
using a mixed fidelity simulation approach appears to be promising

When a technical area is identified as promising, more extensive research will usually be required

However, the idea of materials being available on the web was recognized as promising

these methods seem like a promising framework for alternative tests which can reduce misspecification

Such data are helpful even when writers have some intuitive notion of usages, but far more so when, as is true of many non-natives, they do not.

108. The most effective and encompassing cognitive uses of hypertechnology in education could be achieved in a '*constructionist environment* where the children take charge of how they reflect on the educational opportunities they have had'; they can 'use the affordances of new media to make learning an active process' (Bobrow 1998). 'In constructivist approaches', 'learning is regarded as the formation of mental models or "constructs" of understanding by the learner' who 'actively builds knowledge based on previous understanding by dynamically interacting with the learning media'; so 'the learning medium must create the situation where the learner has the freedom to exercise judgement about what is to be learned and at what pace' (Eklund 1996). The role of 'constructivist teachers' is to 'nurture their students' natural curiosity'; 'encourage and accept student autonomy and initiative'; 'use raw data and primary sources, along with manipulative, interactive, and physical materials'; and 'encourage student inquiry by asking thoughtful, open-ended questions and encouraging students to ask questions of each other' (Brooks and Brooks 1993: 103-107).

109. In secondary education, one model project along these lines is 'Pueblo', a virtual village:

> Pueblo is a text-based simulated environment that is a home for some 1500 people building a learning community together at Longview Elementary School, an inner city K-8 school in Phoenix, Arizona. [...] Pueblo is a dynamic on-line space that has reached out through the Internet to include families of the students, local college students, senior citizens, and people with severe disabilities who are physically confined to nursing homes. [...] The children [...] use their ability to build their own on-line games to work with the knowledge that they are learning in school. They build worlds that reflect the books they have been reading (Bobrow 1998).

110. In tertiary education, a 'comprehensive alternative paradigm' has been proposed by Lemke (1993):

> 1. *Components.* The basic learning environment for education should have three relatively independent, but loosely integrated components:

> • *individual multimedia workstation interfaces* to global information resources and intelligent learning assistants, both human and computational, with some stable and some ad hoc networked communication groups for interaction and collaboration;
>
> • *learning centers* for face-to-face individual and group interaction with peers, older and younger students, and specialist teachers and counsellors, where skills can be learned through use of specialized materials and equipment;
>
> • *familiarisation visits,* and shorter and longer term *placements in real-world settings* to observe and participate in economic, technical, artistic, and recreational activities with adults.
>
> 2. *Integration.* The components of the learning environment should be coupled in multiple ways:
>
> • Visits and placements should be prepared for by *individual computer-assisted learning* (ICAL); experiences during placements should give rise to interests and needs to know which are pursued by ICAL, and by peer and group discussions on-line and face-to-face.
>
> • *Learning of specialized skills* in learning centres should be contextualized by theoretical knowledge and information gathered by ICAL, and by visits and placements in which the social contexts of use of these skills can be experienced.
>
> • Explorations in the *cyberworld of global information access* should give rise to interests and needs to experience and discuss, which can be pursued on-line, at learning centers, and through visits and placements.
>
> 3. *Evaluation*
>
> • Participants in such learning programs should periodically offer the results of their work for evaluation by a variety of criteria established by a variety of interested third parties.
>
> • This work should be primarily in the form of multimedia presentations (hyperdocuments), including video records of their performance of technical skills and their participation in collaborative work and discussions in learning centre and placement environments.
>
> • To the contents of this cumulative portfolio may be added evalu-ations and recommendations by others, at the discretion of the participant. The contents of the portfolio is at all times to be the private property of the participant and under his or her total and sole control.

Lemke's 'paradigm' resolutely addresses most of the problems I have aired respecting technology in education. Instead of fitting the learner to a primitive machine with sparse, closed, and mechanical tasks, it fits the hypertechnology to the learner with rich, open, and creative tasks. Instead of deskilling, the outcome

is reskilling, so that learners are empowered to interact with current but also future levels of hypertechnology.

I. Back to the future

111. I have argued from multiple perspectives —social, economic, psychological, historical, and technological— that the most promising role of technology in education is to support the integrated, communal construction of knowledge rather than merely the episodic, competitive transmission of information. Only in this way can the several severe bottlenecks inherent in the educational process be effectively transcended.

112. In parallel, we must transform education to reconcile theory with practice if we are indeed committed to an enterprise of 'imparting or acquiring general knowledge and of developing the powers of reason or judgement' (§ 17). Education urgently needs to be recentred around discourse as an interactive process of knowledge construction, including explicit strategies for extracting knowledge from information, such as the 'critical rewriting' of discourses of information (§ 43, 60, 63). The 'educated person' is one who is skilled in this process, not one who has a large store of information withheld from the others. Such a person might achieve Gramsci's (1991 [1930]: 9) vision of a 'new stratum of intellectuals' through 'a critical elaboration of the intellectual activity that exists in everyone at a certain degree of development':

> each man [...] is a 'philosopher', an artist, a man of taste, he participates in a particular conception of the world, has a sustained line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring into being new modes of thought.

Notes

1. 'Searching 'hypertechnology' with AltaVista on the Internet in January 2000, I found just 54 websites, nearly all of them for businesses or games. By contrast, 'hypertext' returned 466,500 websites, and 'hypermedia' 97,920. These differences in frequency reflect the respective life spans of the terms in common usage.

Works cited

ANDERSON, Thomas H. and Shang-Cheng CHIU HUAN. 1989. *On Using Concept Maps to Assess the Comprehension Effects of Reading Expository Text.* Urbana: Center for the Study of Reading. Technical Report 483.

ANYON, Jean. 1981. "Social class and school knowledge". *Curriculum Inquiry* 11/1: 3-42.

APPLE, Michael. 1982. *Education and Power.* Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

ARONOWITZ, Stanley and Henry GIROUX. 1983. *Education under Siege: The Conservative, Liberal, and Radical Debate over Schooling.* South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.

AYERSMAN, David J. 1995. "Effects of knowledge representation format and hypermedia instruction in metacognitive accuracy". *Computers in Human Behavior* 11: 533-555.

BARBA, Roberta H. 1993. "The effects of embedding an instructional map in hypermedia courseware". *Journal of Research on Computing in Education* 25: 405-412.

BEASLEY, Robert and Michael L. WAUGH. 1995. "Cognitive mapping architectures and hypermedia disorientation: An empirical study". *Journal of Educational Multimedia and Hypermedia* 4: 239-255.

BEAUGRANDE, Robert de. 1980. *Text, Discourse, and Process.* Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

—. 1982. "The story of grammars and the grammar of stories". *Journal of Pragmatics* 6, 1982: 383-422.

—. 1984. *Text Production.* Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

—. 1985. "Composition textbooks: Ethnography and proposal". *Written Communication* 2: 391-413.

—. 2001a. "'If I were you...': Language Standards and Corpus Data in EFL". *Revista Brasileira de Lingüística Aplicada.* 1/1: 117-154.

—. 2001b. "Peer review is far from peerless". Posted in "What's new" at www.beaugrande.com.

BENJAMIN, Ludy. 1988. "A history of teaching machines". *American Psychologist* 49: 703-712.

BEREITER, Carl and Marlene SCARDAMALIA. 1992. "Cognition and curriculum". In Jackson. (ed.).: 517-542.

BOBROW, Daniel G. 1998. *It Takes an (Extended Internet) Community to Teach a Child.* Palo Alto: Xerox PARC.

BOWLES, Samuel and Herbert GINTIS. 1977. *Schooling In Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life.* New York: Basic Books.

BRAVERMAN, Harry. 1974. *Labor and Monopoly Capital.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

BROOKS, Nelson H. 1960. *Language and Language Learning.: Theory and Practice.* New York: Harcourt Brace and World.

BROOKS, Jacqueline Grennon and Martin BROOKS. 1993. *In Search of Understanding: The Case for Constructivist Classrooms.* Nevada City, CA: Performance Learning Systems.

BROWN, John Seely, Allan COLLINS and Paul DUGUID. 1989. "Situated cognition and the culture of learning". *Educational Researcher* 18: 32-42.

BROWN, John Seely and Paul DUGUID. 1995. *Universities in the Digital Age.* Palo Alto: Heldref Corporation.

CALFEE, Robert. 1981. "Cognitive psychology and educational practice". In Berliner, D. C. (ed.). *A Review of Research in Education, Vol.* 9. Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association: 3-74.

CHO, Yonjoo. 1995. "Learner control, cognitive processes, and hypertext learning environments". In *Proceedings of the National Educational Computing Conference, NECC '95.* Ed. D. Harris and R. Bailey. Baltimore: Towson State University: 289-293.

COHEN, D. K. 1987. "Educational technology, policy, and practice". *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 9: 153-170.

COLLINS, Allan and Ross QUILLIAN. 1969. "Retrieval from semantic memory". *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 8: 240-247.

COLLINS, Randall. 1979. *The Credential Society.* New York: Academic.

CONKLIN, J. 1986. "Hypertext: An introduction and survey". *IEEE Computing* 20: 17-41.

CUBAN, Larry. 1986. *Teachers and Machines: The Classroom Use of Technology Since 1920.* New York: Teachers College Press.

DARLING-HAMMOND, Linda and Jon SNYDER. 1992. "Curriculum studies and the traditions of inquiry: The scientific tradition". In Jackson. (ed.).: 41-78.

DEWEY, John. 1916. *Democracy and Education.* New York: Macmillan.

DIJK, Teun van and Walter KINTSCH. 1983. *Strategies of Discourse Compre-hension.* New York: Academic.

EBERSOLE, S. 1997. "Cognitive issues in the design and deployment of inter-active hypermedia". *Interpersonal Computing and Technology* 5/1-2: 19-36.

EKLUND, J. 1995. "Cognitive models for structuring hypermedia and implications for learning from the world-wide web". Paper at The First Australian WorldWideWeb Conference.

FINDLER, Nicholas. (ed.). 1979. *Associative Networks: The Representation and Use of Knowledge in Computers.* New York: Academic Press.

FREIRE, Paolo. (1970) 1985. *Pedagogia do oprimido.* Rio de Janeiro: Editora Paz e Terra.

GAINES, B. R. and M. L. G. SHAW. 1995. "Concept maps as hypermedia components". *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies* 43/3: 323-361.

GALTUNG, Johan. 1971. "A structural theory of imperialism". *Journal of Peace Research* 8/2: 81-117.

GEE, James P. 1992. *The Social Mind: Language, Ideology, and Social Practice.* New York: Bergin & Garvey.

GLASER, Robert. 1965. *Teaching Machines and Programmed Learning.* Washington, DC: National Education Association.

GRAMSCI, Antonio. (ca. 1933) 1991a. "On education". In *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci.* London: Lawrence and Wishart: 24-43.

—. 1991a. "The intellectuals". In *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci.* London: Lawrence and Wishart: 5-23.

HALLIDAY, M. A. K. 1994. *Language in a Changing World.* Sydney: Australian Association of Applied Linguistics.

HODAS, Steven. 1993. "Technology refusal and the organizational culture of schools". *Educational Policy Analysis Archives* 1/10.

JACKSON, Philip. W. (ed.). 1992. *Handbook of Curriculum Research.* New York: Macmillan.

KINTSCH, Walter. 1977. *Memory and Cognition.* New York: Wiley.

—. 1988. "The role of knowledge in discourse comprehension: A 'construction-integration model'". *Psychological Review* 95/2: 163-182.

—. 1998. *Comprehension: A Paradigm for Cognition.* Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

KULIK, J. A., C. C. KULIK and P. A. COHCA. 1980. "Effectiveness of computer based college teaching: A net analysis of findings". *Review of Educational Research* 50: 525-544.

LAVE, J. and E. WENGER. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation.* New York: Cambridge U. P.

LEMKE, Jay. 1990. *Talking Science.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

—. 1993. "Hypermedia and higher education". *Interpersonal Computing and Technology* 1/2.

—. 1994. "The coming paradigm wars in education: Curriculum versus information access". Paper at the Computers, Freedom, and Privacy Conference, The John Marshall Law School, Chicago, March 1994.

MACNEILAGE, Peter. 1980. "Speech production". *Language and Speech* 23: 3-23.

MARTIN, H. P. and H. Schumann. 1996. *Die Globalisierungsfalle: Der Angriff auf Demokratie und Wohlstand.* Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt.

MASLOW, Abraham. 1954. *Motivation and Personality.* New York: Harper and Row.

MCGANN, Jerome. 1996. *Radiant Textuality.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia's Institute for Advanced Technology.

MCKENZIE, Jamie. 1994. "From technology refusal to technology acceptance: A reprise". *Educational Technology Journal* 4/9.

MET, Miriam and Vicki GALLOWAY. 1992. Research in foreign language curriculum. In Jackson. (ed.).: 852-890.

MITRA, S. and S. MITRA. 1996. *Education and Technology.* New Delhi: Centre for Educational Technology.

NELSON, Ted H. 1965. *Literary Machines.* Self-published.

NIEMIEC, R. and H. J. WALBERG. 1987. "Comparative effects of computer assisted instruction: A synthesis of reviews". *Journal of Educational Computer Research* 3/1: 19-37.

NORMAN, Donald and Tim SHALLICE. 1980. *Attention to Action: Willed and Automatic Control of Behavior.* La Jolla: CHIP Report 99.

PAPERT, Seymour. 1980. *Mindstorms: Computers, Children, and Powerful Ideas.* New York: Basic Books.

PAYNE, David G. et al. 1993. "Cognitive processing and hypermedia comprehension: A preliminary synthesis". *Advances in Human Factors: Ergonomics* 19B: 633-638.

PRESSEY, Sidney. 1926. "A simple apparatus which gives tests and scores and teaches". *School and Society* 23: 373-376.

REED, W. 1995. "Introduction to Hypermedia as a Knowledge Construction System". *Computers in Human Behavior* 11: 601-603.

RIVERS, Wilga M. 1964. *The Psychologist and the Foreign Language Teacher.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

ROMBERG, Thomas. 1992. "Problematic features of the school mathematics curriculum". In Jackson. (ed.).: 749-788.

ROUET, J. F, J. J. LEVONEN, A. DILLON and R. J. SPIRO. (eds.). 1996. *Hypertext and Cognition.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

SCHRAMM, W. 1964. *The Research on Programmed Instruction: An Annotated Bibliography.* Washington D.C.: U.S. Office of Education.

SHUM, Simon. 1990. "Real and virtual spaces: Mapping from spatial cogni-tion to hypertext". *Hypermedia* 2: 133-158.

SKINNER, B.F. 1935. "The generic nature of the concepts of stimulus and response". *Journal of General Psychology* 12: 40-65.

—. 1938. *The Behavior of Organisms.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

—. 1957. *Verbal Behavior.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

—. 1963. "Reflections on a decade of teaching machines". *Teachers College Record* 65: 168-177.

—. 1968. *The Technology of Teaching.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

—. 1986. "Programmed instruction revisited". *Phi Delta Kappa* 68: 103-110.

SPIRO, Rand J. and Jihn-Chang JEHNG. 1990. "Cognitive flexibility and hypertext: Theory and technology for the nonlinear and multi-dimensional traversal of complex subject matter". In Don Nix and Rand Spiro. (eds.). *Cognition, Education, and Multimedia.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum: 163-205.

STEBELMAN, S. 1997. *Hypertext and Hypermedia: A Select Bibliography.* Washington, D.C.: George Washington University.

THESIGER, Wilfred. (1959) 1994. *Arabian Sands.* Dubai: Motivate.

THORNDIKE, Edward L. 1911. *Animal Intelligence.* New York: Macmillan.

—. 1931. *Human Learning.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

THÜRING, Manfred, Jörg HANNEMANN and Jörg HAAKE. 1995. "Hypermedia and cognition: Designing for comprehension". *Communications of the ACM* 38/8: 57-66.

TOULMIN, Stephen. 1972. *Human Understanding: The Collective Use and Evolution of Concepts.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. P.

TYACK, David B. 1974. *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard U. P.

VEBLEN, Thorsten. 1918. *Higher Learning in America.* New York: Macmillan.

VENEZKY, Richard. 1992. "Textbooks in school and society". In Philip. W. Jackson. (ed.). *Handbook of Curriculum Research.* New York: Macmillan: 436-461.

WERTHEIMER, Michael. 1959. *Productive Thinking.* New York: Harper and Row.

WRIGHT, P. (1993). "To jump or not to jump: Strategy selection while reading electronic texts". In C. McKnight, A. Dillon and J. Richardson. (eds.). *Hypertext: A Psychological Perspective* (pp.). New York: Ellis Horwood: 137-152.

THE EFFECT OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY ON COMUNICATION STRATEGY USE: A CASE STUDY OF GALICIAN LEARNERS OF ENGLISH[1]

ANA MARÍA FERNÁNDEZ DOBAO
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

1. INTRODUCTION

The term *communication strategies* –hereafter CS– refers to all those devices language learners use to overcome linguistic difficulties encountered when trying to communicate in a foreign language with a reduced interlanguage system. Two different and at the same time closely related goals have guided the research in this area: firstly, to arrive at a definitive description of the nature of this phenomenon and of the specific types of strategies available (Tarone, 1977; 1981; Faerch and Kasper, 1983; Bialystok, 1990; Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman, 1990); secondly, to explain the use that foreign language speakers make of these strategies. The possible influence on this use of certain learner-related factors –such as proficiency level (Tarone, 1977; Bialystok, 1983; Paribakht, 1985; Poulisse *et al.*, 1990; Liskin-Gasparro, 1996; Jourdain, 2000), native language (Tarone and Yule, 1987; Si-Qing, 1990), personality (Haastrup and Phillipson, 1983) or learning and cognitive style (Luján and Clark, 2000; Littlemore, 2001)– and task-related features –like cognitive demands, time constraints or interlocutor's role (Poulisse *et al.*, 1990; Khanji, 1993)– have been widely studied. Other related issues such as the comprehensibility and effectiveness of different strategies (Ervin, 1979; Bialystok, 1983; Poulisse *et al.*, 1990), the relationship between first and second language strategic behavior (Poulisse *et al.*, 1990) and

the possibility of teaching CS in the foreign language classroom (Tarone, 1984; Dörnyei, 1995) have also been considered.

One of the questions to which more empirical research has been devoted is the study of the relationship between the language learners' proficiency and their use of CS. A better understanding of this relationship is expected to shed important light on the acquisition process and have significant bearing on language teaching practice; however, after more than two decades of research in this area, no definitive conclusions have yet been reached. Although it is now a well-accepted fact that the degree of proficiency affects CS use, to what extent and in which specific ways is still an open question and a fruitful object of research.

The possibility of an influence of the proficiency factor on the foreign language learner's use of CS was suggested even in the early approaches to the study of the phenomena, although no empirical data supporting this idea were available at the time (Tarone, 1977; Corder, 1978). Subsequent studies attempted to test this hypothesis, reaching two main conclusions. On the one hand, Hyde (1982) found that lower level students make more frequent use of CS than more proficient ones because they encounter more problems in communication due to their more limited command of the target language. On the other hand, Bialystok and Fröhlich (1980), and Bialystok (1983) provided evidence of a relationship between the learner's proficiency and their choice of specific CS types, more specifically of what these authors called *L1-based* and *L2-based* strategies. In order to overcome linguistic deficiencies in the second language, low level students resort to the borrowing of lexical items from their first language more often than high level learners, whereas the latter use a significantly higher proportion of L2-based strategies, i.e. strategies based on the speaker's manipulation of their resources in the foreign language.

Although small-scale and fairly exploratory in nature, these studies established the main lines of research for later, more comprehensive analyses. Paribakht (1985), Manchón (1989), Si-Qing (1990) and Liskin-Gasparro (1996), despite adopting different analytical frameworks and methodological designs, obtained similar results and provided further support for the hypothesis that, both in terms of frequency and choice, CS use correlates with degree of proficiency.

However, evidence that contradicts this hypothesis has also been found. During the late 1980s a group of researchers carried out a study considered the most ambitious and comprehensive research on CS to date: the Nijmegen project. Rigorous quantitative and statistical analyses were conducted on more than 4,000 instances of CS obtained from a total of 45 Dutch learners of English with three different levels of proficiency. Although a significant inverse relationship was found between the absolute number of CS used and the degree of proficiency of

the speakers, the results suggest that the proficiency factor has a slightly limited influence on the choice of particular CS types. The impact of proficiency was overruled by that of other factors, such as the nature of the communicative task used in the elicitation of the data (Poulisse and Schils, 1989; Poulisse, 1990; Poulisse *et al.*, 1990). When considering these findings it is necessary to bear in mind that these researchers adopted a psycholinguistic approach to the study of CS. This means that they focused on only a subgroup of CS, *compensatory strategies*, and classified them according to a taxonomy which emphasized psychological plausibility and parsimony, paying little attention to output differences. Furthermore, although the amount of quantitative data is impressive, no qualitative analyses were completed on the question of the influence of proficiency.

In recent years research has widened its scope to focus on the influence that proficiency has, not only on number and types of CS used, but also on their linguistic realization. Jourdain (2000) found that one's ability to make use of certain CS, *paraphrase* strategies, increases with proficiency; that is, more proficient students seem to become more native-like and, consequently, more effective and successful in their strategic behavior.

All these contributions suggest that, although the influence of proficiency on CS use is a widely accepted fact, it seems to be more complex than initially thought and, consequently, further research is still required.

2. THE PRESENT STUDY

The object of the present investigation is the study of the effect of different levels of proficiency on the use that Galician learners of English as a foreign language make of CS. Whereas most previous research has drawn its conclusions from statistical analysis of the data, we aim at obtaining a more comprehensive view on this question by using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis.

Attention will be paid to those strategies Galician learners use to solve lexical problems encountered when trying to communicate orally in the English language; in other words, we will be focusing on communication problems resulting from learners' gaps in the target language lexicon. Most research already undertaken on CS has concentrated exclusively on lexical strategies, and by following the same approach we hope to make our results comparable to those of previous research and at the same time to narrow down the otherwise too broad scope of our study.

Building on the results of previous empirical research on the issue of the relationship between proficiency and CS use and what is known so far about the nature of these strategies, two hypotheses were formulated.

Hypothesis 1. When performing the same tasks less proficient students will make more frequent use of CS than more proficient ones.

Since lower level students have a more limited command of the target language vocabulary than more proficient ones, they are expected to encounter more lexical difficulties in the accomplishment of the same communicative tasks and, therefore, to make more frequent use of CS. As seen above, the results of most previous studies support this hypothesis (Hyde, 1982; Paribakht, 1985; Poulisse *et al.*, 1990).

Hypothesis 2. When performing the same tasks the choice of CS will vary according to the speakers' proficiency in the target language.

Certain kinds of CS make higher linguistic demands than others. On account of this and despite the mixed and inconclusive results of previous research (Bialystok and Fröhlich, 1980; Bialystok, 1983; Poulisse *et al.*, 1990), it can be hypothesized that the patterns of strategy choice of our subjects will vary in function of the development of their interlanguage.

Because of their higher command of the foreign language system, advanced students can be expected to find in this language alternative means to convey their intended messages more often than less proficient students. Consequently, they should need to resort to the less demanding but also communicatively less effective strategies –such as the total omission of their messages or the use of their native languages– less frequently than less proficient students.

3. METHOD

3.1. Participants

The data for this study was collected at the University of Santiago de Compostela and all the foreign language learners participating in the project are Galician students of English at different academic levels. Galician learners differ from students from other areas of Spain in that they have a bilingual background. All the participants in the present study are native speakers of both Spanish and Galician, but some of them have Spanish as their first language while others Galician. However, this difference seems to have no effect on their use of CS in the English language that might interact with their degree of proficiency, as can be seen in Fernández Dobao (1999; 2001).

In order to study CS use in relation to a representative range of degrees of proficiency, three different groups of learners with clear differences in their command of English were selected. No language level test could be administered to the participants. The selection was made rather on the basis of the learners' academic levels, on the assumption that students in the same year, having studied English for the same number of years and passed exams of the same level would have a similar degree of proficiency. Those factors which may affect language proficiency, such as attendance at extra-curricular English classes, stays in English-speaking countries or contacts with native speakers of this language were also checked with the aim of guaranteeing the homogeneity of each group.

The lowest proficiency group was made up of five students in their third year of Spanish secondary education (E.S.O.), who were all attending class in the same school and group. They will be referred to as the elementary level students. The others were undergraduate students of English Language and Literature (English Philology) at the University of Santiago de Compostela, five in their first year, classified as intermediate, and five in their fourth year, categorized as advanced level students since it was supposed that they would have the highest degree of proficiency of the three groups of participants.

Three English native speakers were also asked to participate in the investigation, with the aim of obtaining native speaker data that could be used as a baseline for the analysis of the subjects' performance. These participants were selected on a volunteer basis among a group of British students who were at that moment studying at the University of Santiago de Compostela.

3.2. Materials and procedures

The instruments employed in the elicitation of the data were designed to obtain from the participants a sample of oral production in English that could be considered as representative as possible of natural oral communication in the foreign language. It was also necessary that these instruments should make possible the identification and classification of CS instances with a high degree of reliability. Since it is known from previous research that differences in elicitation task design may affect CS use, interacting with the proficiency factor in complex ways (Poulisse *et al.*, 1990), I opted for using a variety of data collection instruments: a picture story narration, a photograph description and a ten-minute conversation (see Appendix A).

In the first two tasks students were asked to narrate the story depicted in a series of pictures and to describe a photograph in as much detail as possible. The

pictures and the photograph provided a constant pre-selected content to be communicated by all the learners, a factor which facilitates comparative analyses of the data. For this reason, these tasks have become two of the most widely used instruments in CS research (Tarone, 1977; Hyde, 1982; Poulisse *et al.*, 1990).

The conversation task was used in order to obtain a sample of oral language that could be considered as fair an example of normal everyday communication as possible. The aim of this task was to engage the students in a conversation with the researcher, that is, myself, in which they could talk about personal topics of interest and shift freely from topic to topic as in normal social interaction. Whereas in the other two tasks the researcher acted only as an observer, here she took active part as interlocutor in the interaction.

A retrospective interview was also held between the researcher and each of the participants one day after the accomplishment of the communicative tasks. In order to elicit speakers' intuitions on their oral productions, students were asked to look at the transcripts of their performance and to point out to the interviewer all those communication problems they had experienced as a result of a lexical deficiency and the strategic techniques they had used to solve them. Students turned out to be highly collaborative, being in general quite aware of their strategic behaviors and providing invaluable information for the analysis of CS.

3.3. CS identification

The oral language productions of the learners in the accomplishment of the three communicative tasks were audio recorded, transcribed and analyzed in order to identify all CS instances in the data. In this process the researcher was guided by three different sources of evidence: problem indicators, differences between foreign and native language versions of the same task and retrospective data.

Problem indicators include errors, non-native like forms, dysfluencies or hesitation phenomena such as pauses, repetitions or false starts, and more explicit statements like *I mean* or *how do you say...?* These become highly frequent when lexical difficulties in language production are being experienced and they often signal instances of CS use. However, they need to be treated with caution since some of them can also be the result of other kinds of production phenomena, such as interpretation or recall difficulties or even systematic features evidencing the stage of the speaker's interlanguage development.

Native language versions of the picture story narration and photograph description tasks were also elicited for identification purposes. These versions are supposed to reflect the original communicative intention of the speaker -what they

would have said if they had not been constrained by an imperfect command of the target language (Hyde, 1982). Differences between the content provided by the subjects' performance and that provided by the native speakers are quite often the result of foreign language lexical gaps and subsequent CS uses. Although not definitive, since they can also have their origin in memory lapses or restructuring processes, these differences constitute a helpful pointer to possible CS uses.

Finally, the data elicited in the retrospective interview was used to corroborate or rule out the strategies identified with these two techniques. Although introspective techniques do also have certain limitations —speakers cannot always be expected to be aware of the strategic nature of their behavior and sometimes they just forget about it, it is known from previous research that there are always some instances of CS which can only be identified with the speaker's help (Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman, 1987). In fact, in this study retrospective comments turned out to be the most fruitful and reliable source of evidence of CS uses. Students not only clarified the researcher's initial analyses, they also provided evidence of other CS instances unidentifiable by external observation.

Despite the weaknesses observed, the triangulation of three different sources of evidence seems to provide a high degree of reliability in the CS identification process. It also helps to compensate for the lack of a second assessor since both the CS identification and classification tasks had to be carried out by the researcher alone.

3.4. CS classification

The strategies identified in the data were subsequently classified. For this purpose Tarone's (1977; 1981) taxonomy was adopted. Apart from being one of the most widely used classification systems in the field of CS research, this taxonomy seems to be the one which best fits our data and the purposes of our analysis, since Tarone distinguishes three main categories of CS which make it possible to directly test our second hypothesis: avoidance, paraphrase and conscious transfer strategies.

1. *Avoidance.* Avoidance strategies refer to all those techniques by which the speaker, lacking the necessary target language item to convey the originally intended message, does not make reference to it. Within this group two types of strategies can be distinguished:

1.a. *Topic avoidance.* The speaker, lacking the necessary vocabulary to refer to an object, action or idea, avoids any kind of reference to it.

(1) "... the child i:::s (2) wearing a::: jacket (1) and a::: short trousers (.) like a uniform ...".[2] (Tie).

1.b. *Message abandonment.* The speaker begins to talk about a concept but, feeling unable to continue, stops before reaching the communicative goal.

(2) "... the old man (.) is e:::h wearing (1) is (.) he's dressed (.) dressed up (.) with a::: (1) e:::h (1) a::: and the::: (1) the boy is ...". (Tie).

In order to make a distinction between topic avoidance and message abandonment, hesitation devices and speakers' retrospective comments have been crucial.

2. *Paraphrase.* The speaker exploits his/ her resources in the target language to develop an alternative means to convey the original message. This can be achieved in at least three different ways:

2.a. *Approximation.* The speaker substitutes the desired unknown target language item with a new one which, although incorrect, is thought to share enough semantic features with it to be correctly interpreted.

(3) "... and well he's wearing a (1) a::: hat? ...". (Cap).

2.b. *Word coinage.* The learner makes up a new word following the target language rules of derivation and composition.

(4) "... houseshoes ...". (Slippers).

2.c. *Circumlocution.* The learner describes an object or action instead of using the appropriate target language item.

(5) "... it's like ja- jacket without the::: the sleeves ..." (Waistcoat).

3. *Conscious transfer.*[3] The speaker can also communicate their intended meaning transferring items from their first language or any other language they know, and this can be done in two different ways:

3.a. *Literal translation.*[4] The learner uses a first language item or structure modified in accordance with the features of the target language.

(6) "... but (1) I like (.) periodism too (3) I don't ...". (Journalism).

3.b. *Language switch.* The speaker uses a first language item with no modification at all.

(7) "... her (1) e:::h shirtsleeve is mm (2) remangada (laugh) I don't know ...". (Rolled up).

4. *Appeal for assistance.*[5] The learner asks the interlocutor for help.

5. *Mime.* The learner uses a gesture or any other paralinguistic form to refer to an object or event.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In order to compare the use that the three different language level groups of students make of CS, the strategies identified in the data, classified according to the taxonomy proposed, were submitted to quantitative and qualitative analyses. The results obtained made it possible to test the set of hypotheses formulated at the beginning of the study.

Hypothesis 1. When performing the same tasks less proficient students will make more frequent use of CS than more proficient ones.

A frequency count of the number of CS used by each group of students was carried out. The results reveal differences between them in the number of CS used for the accomplishment of the same communicative tasks, but they do not substantiate the hypothesized inverse relationship between learners' degree of proficiency and frequency of CS use.

Table 1. PROFICIENCY LEVEL AND NUMBER OF CS

	Elementary students	Intermediate students	Advanced students
Number of CS	260	138	221

The lowest level group of students, elementary students, used a considerably larger number of strategies than the more proficient intermediate and advanced learners. These results agree with those of previous research and initially confirm our assumption that, because of their more limited command of the target language vocabulary, less proficient students would encounter greater lexical difficulties, thus needing to make use of a larger number of CS.

But contradictory evidence was also obtained when comparing the strategic behavior of intermediate and advanced learners: intermediate students used fewer CS than the more proficient advanced students. Furthermore, the latter used a relatively high number of CS when compared not only to intermediate but also to elementary students.

Two studies, Hyde (1982) and Poulisse *et al.* (1990), suggested the untested possibility that more important than the total number of CS used in the accomplishment of a task is the relationship between CS instances and amount of content provided. Given their nature the communicative tasks used to elicit our data allow a considerable degree of freedom regarding the amount and specificity of content to be communicated. On account of this, it is likely that advanced students, in their last year of English Philology and therefore expected to have a high level, near native-like command of the English language, will set higher communicative goals for the accomplishment of these tasks than elementary or intermediate students; that is, they will try to produce more language and to provide more accurate and complex information, thus encountering greater lexical difficulties.

In order to test this possibility and find an explanation for the apparently contradictory results obtained, further analyses of the data were carried out. In an attempt to measure the amount of language provided by each of our three groups of students straightforward count of the words used to accomplish the data collection tasks was made. As can be seen in table 2 below, advanced students produced considerably longer renditions than intermediate and elementary ones, and the ratio of CS to words shows that, when considered in relation to the amount of language provided, CS were in fact less frequent in the performance of more proficient students. Even though the differences between advanced and intermediate students are not as clear as those between intermediate and elementary ones, the results obtained initially support our first hypothesis.

Table 2. NUMBER OF WORDS AND NUMBER OF CS

	Elementary students	Intermediate students	Advanced students
Number of words	8,242	8,227	14,603
Number of CS	260	138	221
Ratio of CS to words	1:31	1:59	1:66

The differences in the amount of language provided seem to suggest that in fact intermediate and advanced students approached the tasks in different ways. However, a higher word count does not always imply greater specificity or more content, particularly when dealing with non-native speaker data, prolific in phenomena such as repetitions, false starts, rambling speech and the like. Therefore, in order to confirm that advanced students' renditions were not only longer but also more complete and accurate than those of their elementary and

intermediate counterparts, and that this affected their use of CS, it was necessary to make further qualitative analyses.

With this aim and given the apparent variability of the different accounts of the same tasks, a common baseline was identified which enabled us to establish realistic comparative analyses across the performances of different groups of students. Following Tarone and Yule (1989), the essential structure of the picture story narration task[6] was identified, i.e. "those actions and objects which were mentioned by all (or almost all) the subjects in performing the task" (Tarone and Yule, 1989: 117).

For the purposes of this study the essential structure was outlined on the basis of the performance of the three English native speakers. The items included in the essential structure, which can be seen in Appendix C, appeared repeatedly in their narratives. These items were considered to constitute the core of the information required to complete this task successfully and, on this basis, they can be used as a baseline to find out to what extent one account is more complete or provides more information than another. Furthermore, since the essential structure identifies the objects or actions to be included in the narration and not the vocabulary to be used -speakers may realize this essential structure by means of a wide range of referential expressions including those resulting from a CS use-, the analysis of the essential task structure also makes it possible to compare the accuracy and complexity of the different referential expressions used by different learners to name the same object, action or idea.

Using the essential structure to measure the amount of information provided in each performance, it was found that advanced students made reference to more objects and actions than intermediate ones. Of the items identified as constituents of the essential structure and therefore as necessary topics for the successful accomplishment of the narration, advanced students mentioned 87%, whereas intermediate students only referred to 76%. This again supports our suspicion that advanced learners' accounts of the story were more detailed and complete.

The effect that these different patterns of behavior have on the number of CS becomes evident in the analysis of the following extracts of our students' performance. When describing the clothing of the father character the three native speakers mentioned he was wearing a "shirt with rolled up sleeves". "Rolled up sleeves" is not a common item in the lexicon of English language learners at these levels; in fact, when asked about it in the retrospective interview, only one of the participants in our study claimed to know the appropriate target language expression to convey this idea. This did not constitute a problem for intermediate students who, according to their own retrospective comments, did not consider it a relevant detail. Four of the five advanced students, however, tried to include this

feature in their descriptions. As they were not acquainted with the foreign language expression "rolled up sleeves", they made use of a CS.

ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE ITEM: "shirt with rolled up sleeves".

(8) INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... a::: (1) a shirt (1) and ...".

CS ANALYSIS: topic avoidance: according to the speaker's own retrospective comments, the rolled up sleeves are not mentioned because the learner lacks the necessary vocabulary to refer to this item.

(9) INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... and a shirt with long sleeves but the the sleeves are (.) folded...".

CS ANALYSIS: approximation: the speaker uses "folded" for "rolled up", a lexical item thought to be incorrect but to share enough semantic features with the intended one to be correctly interpreted.

(10) INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... he's wearing a shirt (1) a a long sleeve shirt (.) but he has the the the sleeves up...".

CS ANALYSIS: approximation: the speaker uses "up" for "rolled up", a lexical item thought to be incorrect but to share enough semantic features with the intended one to be correctly interpreted.

(11) INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... a shirt (.) eh hi- his shirt is (.) is rolled (.) mm (1) pulled rolled (.) rolled up (2) I don't know (.) the word (1) say that mm...".

CS ANALYSIS: approximation: the speaker uses "pulled" and "rolled up"; according to the own speaker's retrospective comments, these items are thought to be incorrect but to share enough semantic features with the intended one to be correctly interpreted.

These extracts constitute only one example of how advanced students' attempts to provide more detailed and complete accounts of the picture story brought them up against a larger number of lexical problems and made them use more CS than intermediate learners. A detailed analysis of the transcripts reveals that advanced students did not only mention a higher number of the essential structure items, they quite often went beyond the essential structure in at least two different ways: by providing additional details, personal comments and in general more information than necessary for the normal accomplishment of the task, and by using more specific and usually more complex expressions than strictly required, in an attempt to be as accurate as possible. As can be seen in the following extracts from advanced students' narratives, the amount and accuracy of the content to be communicated led them encounter new lexical difficulties and to increase their use

of CS, whereas intermediate students, much more cautious, focused on communicating the essential information.

(12) ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE: "door is opened and second man appears".

INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... the door has been (1) e:::h (1) opened (1) ... the short man is e:::h (2) e:::h (.) in a stair...".

CS ANALYSIS: approximation: the speaker uses "stair" for "step", a lexical item thought to be incorrect but to share enough semantic features with the intended one to be correctly interpreted.

(13) ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE: "house has flowered wallpaper".

INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... and the the house inside it seems (1) to be::: (.) awful (laugh) ... (.) with a with a wallpaper with (.) flowers...".

CS ANALYSIS: approximation: according to the retrospective interview comments, the speaker uses "awful" for "tacky", a lexical item thought to be incorrect but to share enough semantic features with the intended one to be correctly interpreted.

(14) ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE: "father is wearing trousers".

INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... a trouser like ... (2) yeah the suit you go when you (.) you wear when you go running ...".

CS ANALYSIS: circumlocution: the learner describes "sports trousers" in the lack of the appropriate target language item.

(15) ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE: "little boy is looking at them".

INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... and the the little boy is looking at the two men ...".

CS ANALYSIS: approximation: according to the retrospective interview comments, the speaker uses "looking" for "staring", a lexical item which is not the intended one, but shares enough semantic features to be correctly used in the same context.

Hypothesis 2. When performing the same tasks the choice of CS will vary according to the speakers' proficiency in the target language.

The second hypothesis concerns the possible relationship between the learners' degree of proficiency and their patterns of strategy choice. All our students are assumed to have enough resources in the English language to make use of all the different categories of strategies identified in the taxonomy, but in different proportions. Table 3 confirms this assumption.

Table 3. PROFICIENCY LEVEL AND CHOICE OF CS

	Elementary students		Intermediate students		Advanced students	
	n.°	%	n.°	%	n.°	%
Avoidance strategies	100	38.46%	21	15.22%	26	11.76%
Paraphrase strategies	119	45.77%	104	75.36%	175	79.19%
Conscious transfer strategies	41	15.77%	13	9.42%	20	9.05%

Less proficient students, compared with their more proficient counterparts –elementary students with intermediate, and intermediate with advanced– used a higher percentage of avoidance strategies; that is, when faced with lexical difficulties, they resorted more often to the abandonment or total avoidance of topics. As hypothesized, lower level students, because of their more limited command of the target language, were not able to develop alternative means to convey their originally intended messages as frequently as more proficient students.

Corroborating our hypothesis and the results of previous research (Bialystok and Fröhlich, 1980; Bialystok, 1983), less proficient learners also made use of a higher proportion of conscious transfer strategies. Again we assume this happened because they felt unable to find alternative means in their interlanguage system to convey their intended messages. Conscious transfer strategies allow speakers to keep their original communicative intentions and, initially have a more enhancing effect on communication than avoidance strategies. However, it is also known from previous research that they are not always effective, particularly when the interlocutor has little or no knowledge of the speaker's native language (Bialystok and Fröhlich, 1980; Bialystok, 1990; Poulisse *et al.*, 1990). Here, of course, where the students were talking to an interlocutor who shared the same native language, it was an effective strategy.

When making use of paraphrase strategies speakers convey their originally intended messages by manipulating their interlanguage resources without resorting to any other language they know; therefore, these strategies have a more constructive effect on communication and are less likely to lead to misunderstanding than either of the other two categories. However, they are also linguistically and cognitively more demanding, which explains why lower level students used fewer of these strategies than more proficient language learners.

In general the results obtained from the quantitative analysis of the data confirm our hypothesis; nevertheless, it is necessary to point out that, although differences in strategy choice between elementary and intermediate level students are quite clear, these become considerably smaller when intermediate and advanced students' patterns of CS choice are compared.

Again these results need to be interpreted in relation to intermediate and advanced students' different performances of the same tasks, taking into account that advanced students, trying to provide a greater amount of information which will be as specific and accurate as possible, carried out a more complex task from both a cognitive and a linguistic perspective.

A comparative analysis of intermediate and advanced students' performances using the essential structure as baseline confirms that advanced students' use of avoidance and conscious transfer CS is often the result of their attempts to provide highly accurate and detailed information. On the one hand, such attempts led them to encounter more and sometimes complex lexical problems. On the other hand, research on referential communication tasks (Yule, 1997) suggests that linguistically and cognitively highly demanding tasks distract speakers' attention and therefore make the use of quite complex referential expressions, such as paraphrase strategies, even more difficult.

Furthermore, it has been suggested in previous research (Poulisse *et al.*, 1990; Poulisse, 1997) that, when an item is not essential for the successful accomplishment of a task, speakers tend to put less effort into their strategies, they prefer to avoid it rather than spend their time and energy in developing a paraphrase strategy. In other words, the *Principle of Economy* –which requires speakers to produce their messages with the least possible expenditure of effort– prevails over the *Principle of Clarity* -which requires them to produce clear, intelligible messages.[7] This would explain advanced students' use of avoidance and conscious transfer strategies in the following extracts and also their relatively high use of these strategies as compared to intermediate students.

(16) ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE: "second boy is very big".

INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... the child i:::s (2) well the child that I was expecting (.) is rather different (1) because he i:::s eh (.) twice as tall as (.) the father of the child of the other child (1) a:::nd (2) eh many eh more more big (1) or bigger ...".

CS ANALYSIS: topic avoidance: according to the speaker's own retrospective comments, he also wanted to say the child was "burly", "corpulent" or "very heavily-built", but lacking the necessary vocabulary avoided it.

(17) ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE: "child is wearing a school uniform with blazer, tie, shorts and cap".

INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... he wears (.) the uniform is e:::h (1) is formed by a::: a jacket (1) a::: pair of trousers short trousers (.) a:::nd (1) mm like his father he's al- he also has e:::h (1) a::: (1) a shirt (.) and a tie (1) a:::nd obviously a pair of shoes (.) a:::nd (2) too::: (3) and he also ha:::s (1) a::: well nothing else...".

CS ANALYSIS: topic avoidance: according to the speaker's own retrospective comments, he also wanted to say the child was "smartly dressed", but lacking the necessary vocabulary avoided it.

(18) ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE: "second man appears".

INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... a::: fellow (.) who has appeared ... and is looking (1) e:::h well he is he's sur- surprised (1) and well...".

CS ANALYSIS: topic avoidance: according to the speaker's own retrospective comments, he also wanted to say the man was "stunned" or "bewildered", but lacking the necessary vocabulary avoided it.

(19) ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE: "child's father is rolling up sleeves".

INTERLANGUAGE SENTENCE: "... e:::h (2) in a::: in an aggressive (1) attitude (.) because he's eh (.) pulling his::: (1) well his shirt up I mean...".

CS ANALYSIS: literal translation: according to his own retrospective comments, the speaker wanted to be more specific and made use of a conscious transfer strategy, literal translation of the Spanish expression "en una actitud agresiva".

5. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The results of our analyses allow us to conclude that the use that Galician and Spanish speaking learners of English make of CS is clearly influenced by their degree of proficiency in the foreign language, both in terms of frequency and choice of specific CS types.

The first hypothesis of the study concerned the inverse relationship between interlanguage development and frequency of CS use. The study of the data provides evidence supporting this idea. However, it also suggests that certain factors of the communicative process may affect speakers' strategic behavior and be influenced by their language proficiency in complex ways.

Quantitative measures of CS use lead us, initially, to the wrong impression that advanced students were using CS more often than intermediate ones. A closer look at the data reveals that the figures obtained are in fact the result of the students' different interpretation of the same communicative task. An analysis of the amount and specificity of the content provided by each of the students suggests that advanced learners, in the accomplishment of a relatively open and natural communicative task such as a story narration, set higher communicative goals than lower level students. They try to provide more complex and detailed accounts, thus encountering more lexical difficulties and needing to resort to a larger number of CS. When the use of CS is related to the number of words uttered and the amount and specificity of detail provided, the hypothesized inverse relationship between frequency of CS and proficiency becomes clear.

Furthermore, the results of our analyses suggest that the perceived complexity of the communicative task in hand may also interact with the influence the student's proficiency has on his/ her choice of specific CS types. An initial quantitative analysis of our students' proportional use of avoidance, paraphrase and conscious transfer strategies did not provide definitive evidence of the hypothesized differences between advanced and intermediate students. However, clear differences emerge when the choice of CS is analyzed in more qualitative terms, taking into account the lexical richness and complexity of the foreign language discourse. Advanced students seem to be more conscious of the different communicative potential of each type of strategy and their choice between avoidance, paraphrase and conscious transfer seems to be guided by a combination of the communicative value of the strategy and the perceived relevance of the item to be communicated.

These findings could also help to explain the mixed and sometimes even contradictory results of previous research. Empirical studies on the relationship between language proficiency and CS use have resorted to quite a wide range of procedures to elicit their data, from highly controlled activities such as object descriptions and naming tasks (Paribakht, 1985) to much more open and natural communicative tasks such as story narrations and interviews (Poulisse *et al.*, 1990). The results of the present study suggest that, although the effect of different task designs on the learner's use of CS has been widely recognized in most of these studies, they might have overlooked the fact that the same task presented with the very same instructions to different learners may be interpreted and completed in different ways, thus directly affecting the data and the results obtained.

Much further research needs yet to be done before reaching a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between CS use and language proficiency. The limitations of our study do not allow us to draw a definitive conclusion on this

issue. Future research should ideally involve a larger number of students with more widely differing degrees of proficiency, language levels that were more clearly delimited than ours, and data that was most comprehensive and allowed for statistical analyses of CS instances. However, the results of our analyses and the conclusions reached so far allow us to identify at least two direct implications for this future research. First, when studying the effect of learners' proficiency on their use of CS, attention needs to be paid to all those features of the communicative process which may interact with this factor in complex ways. And secondly, in this process final conclusions cannot be drawn only from quantitative measurement of CS instances. More qualitative analyses of foreign language discourse are still needed and are certain to provide new insightful evidence on this issue.

Notes

[1]. This paper is based on a Master dissertation submitted at the University of Santiago de Compostela under the supervision of Dr. Ignacio M. Palacios Martínez. The research conducted for the study was partially financed by the Galician Ministry of Education (Secretaría Xeral de Investigación PGIDT00PXI20407PR). The author wishes to thank Professor Elaine Tarone for her insightful comments on an earlier version of this paper. Of course I assume full responsibility for the weaknesses and all form of errors still remaining.

[2]. Transcription conventions are included in Appendix B.

[3]. *Conscious transfer* strategies have also been referred to as *borrowing* strategies in subsequent publications (Tarone 1981).

[4]. *Literal translation* is also known in the field of CS research as *foreignizing*.

[5]. The lack of an active interlocutor in the performance of the picture story narration and photograph description tasks does not guarantee a totally free and natural use of the appeal for assistance and mime strategies. On account of this and in line with previous similar research, I decided to leave these two types of strategies out of the scope of this analysis. A study of the use that Spanish learners of English as a foreign language make of mime CS was conducted in Fernández Dobao (2002).

[6]. Whereas the description and particularly the conversation are quite open tasks, the picture story narration forces subjects to communicate a pre-selected content organized in a pre-determined time sequence. On account of this, the narration task was chosen to carry out the essential structure analysis, but there is no reason to think the results obtained cannot be generalized to the performance of the other two tasks.

[7]. The principles or maxims which charge the speaker to be both brief and clear have been widely discussed in the literature under these or other names (Grice, 1975; Leech, 1983; Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1986).

[8]. Adapted from J. Haunton. 1989. *Think First Certificate.* Essex: Longman. 74.

[9]. From K. Gude. 1996. *Advanced Listening and Speaking.* Oxford: Oxford U. P. 116.

Works cited

BIALYSTOK, Ellen. 1983. "Some Factors in the Selection and Implementation of Communication Strategies". In Færch, Claus and Gabriele Kasper. (eds.). *Strategies in Interlanguage Communication.* London: Longman: 100-118.

—. 1990. *Communication Strategies: A Psychological Analysis of Second Language Use.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

BIALYSTOK, Ellen and Maria FRÖHLICH. 1980. "Oral Communication Strategies for Lexical Difficulties". *Interlanguage Studies Bulletin* 5 (1): 3-30.

CLARK, Herbert H. and Deanna WILKES-GIBBS. 1986. "Referring as a Collaborative Process". *Cognition* 22 (1): 1-39.

CORDER, S. Pit. (1978) 1983. "Strategies of Communication". In Færch, Claus and Gabriele Kasper. (eds.): 15-19.

DÖRNYEI, Zoltan. 1995. "On the Teachability of Communication Strategies". *TESOL Quaterly* 29 (1): 55-85.

ERVIN, Gerard. L. 1979. "Communication Strategies Employed by American Students of Russian". *The Modern Language Journal* 63 (7): 329-334.

FÆRCH, Claus and Gabriele KASPER. 1983. "Plans and Strategies in Foreign Language Communication". In Færch, Claus and Gabriele Kasper. (eds.): 20-60.

FERNÁNDEZ DOBAO, Ana M. 1999. *Communication Strategies Used by Galician Students in their Learning of English as a Foreign Language: a Case Study.* Unpublished master's thesis. University of Santiago de Compostela.

—. 2001. "Communication Strategies in the Interlanguage of Galician Students of English: the Influence of Learner- and Task-Related Factors". *Atlantis* 23 (1): 41-62.

—. 2002. "The Use of Non-Verbal Communication Strategies in Native-Nonnative Speaker Interactions: a Case Study of Spanish Learners of English as a Foreign Language". Paper presented at the 26th AEDEAN Conference. Santiago de Compostela. December 2002.

GRICE, H. Paul. 1975. "Logic and Conversation". In Cole, Peter and Jerry L. Morgan. (eds.). *Syntax and Semantics*, vol. 3. New York: Academic Press: 41-58.

HAASTRUP, Kirsten and Robert PHILLIPSON. 1983. "Achievement Strategies in Learner/Native Speaker Interaction". In Færch, Claus and Gabriele Kasper. (eds.).: 140-158.

HYDE, John. 1982. "The Identification of Communication Strategies in the Interlanguage of Spanish Speakers of English". *Anglo-American Studies* 2 (1): 13-30.

JOURDAIN, Sarah. 2000. "A Native-Like Ability to Circumlocute". *The Modern Language Journal* 84 (2): 185-195.

KHANJI, Rajai. 1993. "Interlanguage Talk: the Relation between Task Types and CS among EFL Arab Learners". In Alatis, James E. (ed.).

Georgetown University Round Table on Language and Linguistics 1993. Washington D.C.: Georgetown U. P.: 428-436.

LEECH, Geoffrey. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.

LISKIN-GASPARRO, Judith E. 1996. "Circumlocution, Communication Strategies, and the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines: an Analysis of Student Discourse". *Foreign Language Annals* 29 (3): 317-330.

LITTLEMORE, Jeannete. 2001. "An Empirical Study of the Relationship between Cognitive Style and the Use of Communication Strategy". *Applied Linguistics* 22 (2): 241-265.

LUJAN-ORTEGA, Violante and David CLARK-CARTER. 2000. "Individual Differences, Strategic Performance and Achievement in Second Language Learners of Spanish". *Studia Lingüística* 54 (2): 280-287.

MANCHÓN RUIZ, Rosa M. 1989. "Competencia estratégica y evolución de la interlengua del aprendiz de una L2". In Labrador Gutiérrez, Tomás, Rosa María Sáinz de la Maza and Rita Viejo García. (eds.). *Adquisición de lenguas: teorías y aplicaciones*. Actas del VI congreso nacional de AESLA. Madrid: Asociación Española de Lingüística Aplicada: 377-388.

PARIBAKHT, Tahereh. 1985. "Strategic Competence and Language Proficiency". *Applied Linguistics* 6 (2): 132-146.

POULISSE, Nanda. 1990. "Variation in Learners' Use of Communication Strategies". In Duda, Richard and Philip Riley. (eds.). *Learning Styles*. Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy: 77-87.

—. 1997. "Compensatory Strategies and the Principles of Clarity and Economy". In Kasper, Gabriele and Eric Kellerman. (eds.). *Communication Strategies: Psycholinguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Edinburgh: Longman: 49-64.

POULISSE, Nanda, Theo BONGAERTS and Eric KELLERMAN. 1987. "The Use of Retrospective Verbal Reports in the Analysis of Compensatory Strategies". In Færch, Claus and Gabriele Kasper. (eds.). *Introspection in Second Language Research*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters: 213-229.

—. (eds.). 1990. *The Use of Compensatory Strategies by Dutch Learners of English*. Dordrecht: Foris.

POULISSE, Nanda and Erik SCHILS. 1989. "The Influence of Task- and Proficiency-Related Factors on the Use of Compensatory Strategies: a Quantitative Analysis". *Language Learning* 39 (1): 15-47.

SI-QING, Chen. 1990. "A Study of Communication Strategies in Interlanguage Production by Chinese EFL Learners". *Language Learning* 40 (2): 155-187.

TARONE, Elaine. 1977. "Conscious Communication Strategies in Interlanguage: a Progress Report". In Brown, H. Douglas, Carlos A. Yorio and Ruth Crymes. (eds.). *On TESOL'77*. Washington D.C.: TESOL: 194-203.

—. 1981. "Some Thoughts on the Notion of Communication Strategy". *TESOL Quarterly* 15 (3): 285-295.

—. 1984. "Teaching Strategic Competence in the Foreign-Language Classroom". In Savignon, Sandra J. and Margie S. Berns. (eds.). *Initiatives in Communicative Language Teaching*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley: 127-136.

TARONE, Elaine and George YULE. 1987. "Communication Strategies in East-West Interactions". In Smith, Larry E. (ed.). *Discourse Across Cultures. Strategies in World Englishes*. New York: Prentice Hall: 49-65.

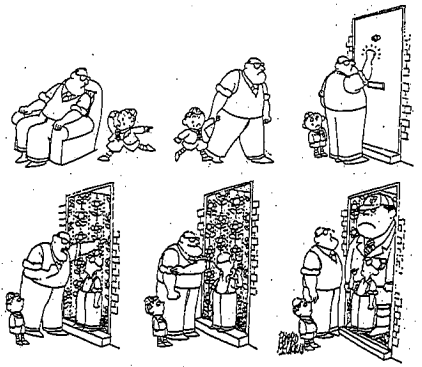
—. 1989. *Focus on the Language Learner*. Oxford: Oxford U. P.

YULE, George. 1997. *Referential Communication Tasks*. Mahwah, N. J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

APPENDIX A: DATA COLLECTION TASKS

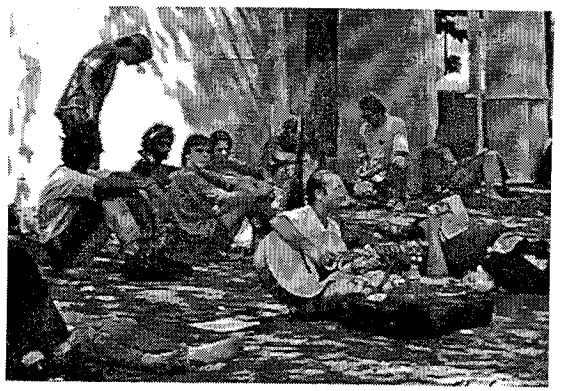
Picture story narration task[8]

Look at the pictures and try to tell the story they narrate in as much detail as possible. Use your imagination but do not create a radically different story since afterwards you will have to retell it in your mother tongue.



Photograph description task[9]

Look at the photograph and try to describe it in as much detail as possible. Remember you will have to repeat the task in your mother tongue.



Conversation task

We are going to have a ten-minute conversation. Try to answer the questions you will be asked as completely as possible and feel free to interrupt your interlocutor, ask her questions or shift the orignal topic of discussion whenever you want.

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM

(.)	pause of less than a second
(1)	pauses measured in seconds
the:::	lengthened sound or syllable
the-	cut-off of the prior word or sound
(*laugh*)	laughter and other nonverbal noises

APPENDIX C: PICTURE STORY ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE

ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE

PICTURE 1

1. little child comes crying and pointing somewhere
2. with black eye because somebody hit him
3. father is sitting on an armchair
4. child is wearing a school uniform with blazer, tie, shorts and cap
5. father is wearing a pullover without sleeves, shirt with rolled up sleeves, tie and trousers

PICTURE 2

6. father is very angry
7. takes the boy by the hand
8. they are going somewhere

PICTURE 3

9. father is knocking on a door
10. door has knocker and letterbox

PICTURE 4

11. door is opened
12. second man appears
13. father of the boy who hit the child
14. second man is short, bald, smaller than first man and weaker
15. second man is wearing trousers, shirt, braces and glasses
16. house has flowered wallpaper
17. little childís father is shouting very angry
18. little boy has stopped crying and is looking at them

PICTURE 5

19. man is calling somebody
20. childís father is rolling up sleeves, he is preparing to hit somebody

PICTURE 6

21. second manís child appears
22. second boy is very big, bigger than anybody else
23. dressed in the same uniform
24. his father is proud and happy
25. first father is surprised and worried
26. little child is worried

LINKING THE SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION OF COMPLEX STRUCTURES WITHIN THE OLD ENGLISH DOMAIN OF SPEECH[1]

MARTA Mª GONZÁLEZ ORTA
Universidad de La Laguna

1. Introduction: the concept of *lexical template* within the Functional-Lexematic Model

The Functional-Lexematic Model (FLM), developed by Martín Mingorance (1998) and inspired by the principle of *Stepwise Lexical Decomposition* (Dik 1978), has been devised for the purpose of supplying the Functional Grammar (FG) lexicon with the onomasiological classification of lexemes within domains and subdomains, and as a way of reflecting the organisation of our mental lexicon and demonstrating the close relationship between syntax and semantics (Martín Mingorance 1998; Faber and Mairal Usón: 1994, 1997a, 1997b, 1999).

According to the paradigmatic axis of the FLM based on the principles of Lexematics (Coseriu 1978, 1981), the criteria for integrating a given lexeme in a (sub-) domain are based on its lexical decomposition, in such a way that the definition of the lexeme must contain a nuclear word, shared by the group of lexemes that integrate that (sub-)domain, and a set of differentiating features which establish functional oppositions between the lexemes of the (sub-)domain.

The syntagmatic axis of the FLM was initially based on the FG notion of *predicate frame*. Nevertheless, Cortés Rodríguez and Mairal Usón (2001, forthcoming), Cortés Rodríguez and Pérez Quintero (2001), Faber and Mairal Usón (2000),

and Mairal Usón and Van Valin (2001) have brought to light the inadequacy of *predicate frames* to reflect the interaction between the semantic and syntactic behaviour of predicates.

Accordingly, these authors suggest the enrichment of FG *predicate frames* by applying Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) logical structures along with the notion of semantic macroroles instead of the FG inventory of semantic functions, the result being a procedure of lexical representation where meaning description is encapsulated and interacts with the syntactic behaviour of lexical units.[2]

Thus, *lexical templates* are designed as a way of including semantic and syntactic information within the same format, reflecting generalisations across lexical classes and reducing the information to be included in lexical entries. Moreover, given the fact that subdomains are considered repositories of linguistic regularities, the authors mentioned above propose that each domain and subdomain should be characterised by a *lexical template* from which syntactic alternations will be predicted.

In order to construct a *lexical template*, the logical structures developed by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) within the theoretical frame of RRG will be complemented by the semantic component of the FLM, since logical structures lack the semantic information characteristic of the different lexical (sub-)domains. Thus, "lexical templates conflate both syntactic information (those aspects of the meaning of a word which are grammatically relevant) and semantic information (those aspects which act as distinctive parameters within a whole lexical class) into one unified representation" (Faber and Mairal Usón 2000:7).

2. Role and Reference Grammar logical structures

Within RRG, four classes of verbal predicates are distinguished: states [+static] [-telic] [-punctual], activities [-static] [-telic] [-punctual], achievements [-static] [+telic] [+punctual], and accomplishments (or active accomplishments) [-static] [+telic] [-punctual], together with their causative counterparts. This classification of verbal predicates based on their *Aktionsart* will allow for the capture of syntactic phenomena (combinatory possibilities of predicates) and morphological phenomena (transitivity and case assignment) characteristic of the different verbal classes.

These are the lexical representations corresponding to the verbal classes mentioned above (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 109):

Verb class	Logical structure
State	**predicate′** (x) or (x, y)
Activity	**do′** (x, [**predicate′** (x) or (x, y)])
Achievement	INGR **predicate′** (x) or (x, y), *or* INGR **do′** (x, [**predicate′** (x) or (x, y)])
Accomplishment	BECOME **predicate′** (x) or (x, y), *or* BECOME **do′** (x, [**predicate′** (x) or (x, y)])
Active accomplishment	do′ (x, [predicate$_1$′ (x, (y))]) & BECOME predicate$_2$′ (z, x) or (y)
Causative	α CAUSES β where α, β are LS of any type

Table 1. *Lexical representations for* Aktionsart *classes*

In order to attain the argument structure of a verb, it is necessary to determine firstly its *Aktionsart*, from which its logical structure will be created and along with it its argument structure. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 139) propose two general semantic relations, the *Actor* and *Undergoer* macroroles, which are "generalizations across the argument-types found with particular verbs which have significant grammatical consequences".

As the *Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy* below shows, the *Actor* macrorole comprises those arguments whose nature is closer to that of an Agent and the *Undergoer* those arguments closer to a Patient:

ACTOR → UNDERGOER

Arg. of	1st arg. of	1st arg. of	2nd arg. of	Arg. of state
DO	**do′** (x, ...	**pred′** (x, y)	**pred′** (x, y)	**pred′** (x)

['→' = increasing markedness of realization of argument as macrorole]

The criteria that determine the interaction between arguments and macroroles are to be found in the *Default Macrorole Assignment Principles* (1997: 152-153):

a. Number: the number of macroroles a verb takes is less than or equal to the number of arguments in its logical structure,

1. If a verb has two or more arguments in its LS, it will take two macroroles.

2. If a verb has one argument in its LS, it will take one macrorole.

b. Nature: for verbs which take one macrorole,

1. If the verb has an activity predicate in its LS, the macrorole is actor.

2. If the verb has no activity predicate in its LS, the macrorole is undergoer.

In RRG, transitivity becomes a semantic notion since the number of semantic macroroles a predicate takes determines it. Thus, those verbs that take two macroroles are transitive, those with one macrorole are intransitive, and those with no macrorole are atransitive. Moreover, *Case assignment rules* are also related to the assignment of macroroles (1997: 359):

a. Assign nominative case to the highest-ranking macrorole (in terms of the Privileged syntactic argument selection hierarchy).

b. Assign accusative case to the other macrorole argument.

c. Assign dative case to non-macrorole arguments (default).

Due to the fact that the grammatical relations between the arguments of a verb are not the same in all languages, RRG introduces the notion of *Privileged Syntactic Argument* (*PSA*), which will substitute for that of subject. In order to select the *PSA* in a grammatical construction, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 282) suggest the *Privileged Syntactic Argument Selection Hierarchy* below, based on the *Actor–Undergoer Hierarchy*:

arg. of DO > 1st arg. of do´ (x,... > 1st arg. of pred´ (x, y) > 2nd arg. of pred´ (x, y) > arg. of pred´(x)

According to this hierarchy, the criteria to select the *PSA* depending on the type of construction are the following:

a. Syntactically accusative constructions: highest-ranking macrorole is default choice.

b. Syntactically ergative constructions: lowest-ranking macrorole is default choice.

Therefore, taking into account the *Default Macrorole Assignment Principles*, the *Actor–Undergoer Hierarchy* and the interaction existing between macroroles and grammatical relations, the information to be included in lexical representations will be highly reduced.

3. Linking the syntactic and semantic representation of complex structures within the Old English domain of speech

Based on Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 116-118), the Old English domain of speech will be represented by the following *template*:

do´ (x, [express.(a).to.(b).in.language.(γ)´ (x, y)]) ^ [in´ (w)] &
[BECOME aware.of´ (y, z)], where y = β, z = α, [in´ (w)] = γ

This *template* contains the logical structure of an active accomplishment, characterised by the semantic features [-static] [+telic] [-punctual], where a speaker says something to a hearer who becomes aware of it. It shows three internal variables α, β, γ (marked by Greek letters) referring to the content of the expression, to the addressee and to the language used, respectively, and four external variables *x*, *y*, *z*, *w*, where *x* refers to the speaker, *z* to α or the content of the expression, *y* to β or the hearer, and *w* to γ or the language used.

The syntactic behaviour of a lexeme will be determined by linking internal and external variables. Internal variables differ from external variables because the latter correspond to external argument positions with a syntactic representation, whereas the former belong to the semantic representation of speech verbs, that is, they function as ontological constants of this verbal class adding a semantic decomposition to the logical structure and giving rise to the *lexical template* for the domain of speech.

As example (1) shows, applying the *Default Macrorole Assignment Principles* and the *Case assignment rules*, the variable *x* takes the macrorole *Actor* and Nominative case, the variable *z* takes the macrorole *Undergoer* and Accusative case, the variable *y*, a non-macrorole direct core argument, is assigned Dative case, and the variable *w* will be introduced by the preposition *on*, functioning as an oblique core argument:

(1) *Se mæssepreost sceal secgan sunnandagum and mæssedagum þæs godspelles angyt on englisc þam folce* (Ælet1 (Wulfsige Xa) B1.8.1)

The masspriest will say to people on Sundays and mass-days the meaning of the ɔspel in English"

x	Nom	**Actor**	*se mæssepreost*
z	Acc	**Undergoer**	*þæs godspelles angyt*
y	Dat		*þam folce*
w	on + Acc PP		*on englisc*

ıe external variable *z* can also be syntactically realised by complex structures, the sult of combining the theory of juncture and the theory of nexus. The theory ' juncture deals with the types of units involved in complex constructions, :rived from the layered structure of the clause: nuclear, core, or clausal. Thus, e following patterns can be obtained (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 442):

a. Nuclear juncture [CORE ... [NUC PRED] ... + ... [NUC PRED] ...]

b. Core juncture [CLAUSE ... [CORE ...] ... + ... [CORE ...] ...]

c. Clausal juncture [SENTENCE ... [CLAUSE ...] ... + ... [CLAUSE ...] ...]

ıe theory of nexus, on the other hand, takes into account the type of lationship among the units in complex constructions: coordination, subordination or subordination. The difference between subordinate and non-bordinate junctures lies in the fact that only the former function as arguments the main verb, since they may be clefted and occur as privileged syntactic guments in a passive construction (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 461-462):

) John decided that he will go to the party *subordinate*

It was to go to the party that John decided

To go to the party was decided by John

) John told Bill to wash the car *non-subordinate*

*It was to wash the car that John told Bill

*To wash the car was told Bill by John

ıe complex structures which combine with the Old English speech verbs are re cosubordination, core coordination, clausal subordination, and sentential

infinitive constructions, whereas clausal subordinations will be introduced by a subordinator, in this case *hu* (Present-day English *how*):

(4) **core cosubordination**

Ðeah hine deofol mid barspere beotige to ofsticianne (Byr M1(Baker/Lapidge) B20.20.1)

"Though the devil threatens to pierce him with a boar-spear"

(5) **core coordination**

swa us þa halgan apostolas mynegodon to weorþianne urne hælend and his þa halgan

(HomS 30 (TristrApp 2) B3.2.30)

"Such as the holy apostles warned us to honour our Christ and his saints"

(6) **clausal subordination**

Ne mihte se dumba fæder cyþan his wife hu se engel his cilde naman gesette

(ÆCHom I, 25 B1.1.27)

"The silent father might not tell his wife how the angel set a name for his child"

Although Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 469) question whether a direct discourse construction such as *Amy said, "As for Sam, I saw him last week"* depends on the speech verb that introduces it, we will assume that the linkage between the two sentences is sentential juncture and the nexus coordination:

(7) **sentential coordination**

cwæð se halga Effrem to þam arwurþan biscope, Ic bidde þe, arwurða fæder, þæt þu me anes þinges tyðige (ÆLS (Basil) B1.3.4)

"The holy Effrem said to the honourable bishop: "I ask you, honourable father, to give me anything""

Core cosubordinations and core coordinations are characterised by sharing an argument with the main verb or core. According to the *Theory of obligatory control* included in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 544), core cosubordinations combine with transitive verbs which have *Actor* control, whereas core coordinations combine with jussive verbs which have *Undergoer* control. As a result, these authors state that only in the case of a core cosubordination will a deontic modal operator modify a sequence of cores which denote actions by the same participant (1997: 460). The examples below show the argument functioning as controller in each syntactic construction:

(4) *Ðeah hine deofol mid barspere beotige to ofsticianne* (Byr M1(Baker/Lapidge)

(5) *swa us þa halgan apostolas mynegodon to weorþianne urne hælend and his þa halgan* (HomS 30 (TristrApp 2) B3.2.30)

Undergoer-controller: *us*

In relation to the semantic description of these constructions, the *Interclausal Relations Hierarchy* below will be applied (1997: 481), according to which the different juncture-nexus types may be hierarchically arranged in terms of the tightness of the syntactic link or bond between them:

Strongest		*Closest*
Nuclear Cosubordination		Causative
		Aspectual
Nuclear Subordination		Psych-Action
		Purposive
Nuclear Coordination		Jussive
		Direct Perception
Core Cosubordination		Propositional Attitude
		Cognition
Core Subordination		Indirect Discourse
		Conditional
Core Coordination		Simultaneous States of Affairs
Clausal Cosubordination		Sequential States of Affairs
Clausal Subordination		Unspecified Temporal Order
Clausal Coordination		
Weakest		*Loosest*
Syntactic Relations		Semantic Relations

Table 2. *Interclausal Relations Hierarchy*

The complex syntactic units which combine with the Old English speech verbs will be realized as follows: core cosubordinations will be linked to the semantic relationship *psych-action* ("a mental disposition regarding a possible action on the

part of a participant in the state of affairs"), core coordinations to *jussive* ("the expression of a command, request or demand"), and clausal subordinations to *indirect discourse* ("an expression of reported speech"). The semantic relationship *direct discourse* will be included to account for the semantic description of sentential coordinations.

Therefore, as Table 3 shows, the syntactic description of complex constructions will result from the combination of the theory of nexus and juncture, whereas their semantic description will be provided by applying the *Interclausal Relations Hierarchy*:

COMPLEX STRUCTURES		
Syntactic representation		Semantic representation
Nexus	*Juncture*	*Interclausal Relations Hierarchy*
Core cosubordination		Psych-action
Core coordination		Jussive
Clausal subordination		Indirect discourse
Sentential coordination		Direct discourse

Table 3. *Syntactic and semantic representation of complex structures*

Then, the next step will be the inclusion of the syntactic and semantic representation of complex structures in the *lexical templates*: their semantic description will add information about the internal variable α, whereas their syntactic description will complement the external variable *z*.

Thus, from the *lexical template* that we present below and applying the linking rules the clausal subordination and the sentential coordination in (6) and (7) respectively will be derived as follows:

do´ (x, [express.(α).to.(β).in.language.(γ)´ (x, y)]) & [BECOME aware.of´ (y, z)], where y = β, z = α [Indirect discourse / Direct discourse]

(6) *Ne mihte se dumba fæder cyþan his wife hu se engel his cilde naman gesette* (ÆCHom I, 25 B1.1.27)

x	Nom	**Actor**	*se dumba fæder*
z	[Clausal subordination]	**Undergoer**	*hu se engel his cilde naman gesette*
y	Dat		*his wife*

(7) *cwæð se halga Effrem to þam arwurðan biscope, Ic bidde þe, arwurða fæder, þæt þu me anes þinges tyðige* (ÆLS (Basil) B1.3.4)

x	Nom	**Actor**	*se halga Effrem*
z	[Sentential coordination]		*Ic bidde þe, arwurða fæder, þæt þu me anes þinges tyðige*
y	to + Dat		*to þam arwurðan biscope*

In (6) the variable *x* takes the macrorole *Actor* and Nominative case, the variable *z* takes the macrorole *Undergoer*, and the variable *y*, a non-macrorole direct core argument, is assigned Dative case. In (7), on the other hand, the variable *x* takes the macrorole *Actor* and Nominative case, the variable *z* cannot take the macrorole *Undergoer* since only subordinate junctures are considered arguments of the main core, and the variable *y*, introduced by the preposition *to* (Present-day English *to*), will function as an oblique core argument.

However, there exist some alternations in relation to the macrorole and case assignment of the variable *y*, which cannot be explained by the linkage of syntax and semantics and which could be the result of the influence of pragmatic information, as examples (8) and (9), taken from Bosworth and Toller (1973) and Toller and Campbell (1972), show:

(8) *Ælc biscop ðone cyning myngige ðæt ealle Godes cyrcan syn wel behworfene* (B&T)
"All the bishops warn the king to have all God's churches well prepared"

x	Nom	**Actor**	*ælc biscop*
z	[Clausal subordination]		*ðæt ealle Godes cyrcan syn wel behworfene*
y	Acc	**Undergoer**	*ðone cyning*

(9) *He aras and þa gebroðru gespræc: "Gebroðru, miltsige eow God"* (T&C)
"He stood up and said to the fellowmen: "Fellowmen, God has mercy on you""

x	Nom	**Actor**	*he*
z	[Sentential coordination]		*"Gebroðru, miltsige eow God"*
y	Acc	**Undergoer**	*þa gebroðru*

In these examples the macrorole *Undergoer* corresponds to the variable *y* in Accusative case and the variable *z* will be a non-macrorole direct core argument. We can postulate that the Accusative case associated with the macrorole *Undergoer* could signal the focal element in these sentences when either the clausal subordination or the sentential coordination is not the focus.

Taking into account the fact that in Old English inflexions were used to establish the relation existing between the elements of a sentence, its use to mark the focal element would not be strange. Accordingly, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 211) state that "evidential markers signal focus; that is, the normal placement of an evidential marker in a clause is on the focal element".

Thus, the variable *y* in these sentences can be considered a marked focal element, as opposed to the clausal subordination and sentential coordination in (6) and (7), being located in the unmarked focus position, which appears to be the final position in the core, as in present-day English.

With respect to examples (4) and (5) corresponding to a core cosubordination and a core coordination, they have been taken from the speech subdomain *To say that something bad may happen*, where the *templates* contain the semantic decomposition **express.something.bad.may.happen** and the logical structure of a causative accomplishment:

do' (x, [express.something.bad.may.happen (α) to (β) in.language (γ)' (x, Ø)]) CAUSE [BECOME aware.of' (Ø, z)], where Ø = β, z = α
[Psych-Action]

(4) *Ðeah hine deofol mid barspere beotige to ofsticianne* (Byr M1(Baker/Lapidge) B20.20.1)

x	Nom	**Actor**	*deofol*
z	[Core cosubordination]		*hine mid barspere to ofsticianne*

do´ (x, [express.something.bad.may.happen.(α).to.(β).in.language.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME aware.of´ (y, z)], where y = β, z = α [Jussive]

(5) *swa us þa halgan apostolas mynegodon to weorþianne urne hælend and his þa halgan* (HomS 30 (TristrApp 2) B3.2.30)

x	Nom	**Actor**	*þa halgan apostolas*
z	[Core coordination]		*to weorþianne urne hælend and his þa halgan*
y	Acc	**Undergoer**	*us*

In (4) the *template* only shows two external variables *x* and *z*. Applying the *Default Macrorole Assignment Principles* and the *Case assignment rules*, the variable *x* takes the macrorole *Actor* and Nominative case and the variable *z* will be a non-macrorole direct core argument, since only subordinate junctures can take a macrorole. Thus, the *Actor* will be the controller of the second core.

In (5), on the other hand, the *template* shows three external variables *x*, *y*, *z*, where *x* takes the macrorole *Actor* and Nominative case, the variable *y* takes the macrorole *Undergoer* and Accusative case, and the variable *z* will be syntactically realised by a core coordination. The variable *y* and *Undergoer*, therefore, will be the controller of the second core.

However, regarding core coordinations, the lexemes *beodan* and *biddan* included in the lexical subdomain *To say something to somebody so that they will do it*[3] appear to behave in a different way, since the *Undergoer*, which functions as controller of the second core, does not take Accusative case but Dative, as the following examples show:

do´ (x, [express.something.be.done.(α).to.(β).in.language.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME aware.of´ (y, z)], where y = β, z = α [Jussive]

(10) *Man bead him ut binnan .v. nihtan* (T&C)

"He was ordered to leave the country within five days"

x	Nom	**Actor**	*man*
z	[Core coordination]		*ut binnan .v. nihtan*
y	Dat	**Undergoer**	*him*

(11) *He bæd him hlafas wyrcan* (B&T)

"He commanded him to make loaves"

x	Nom	**Actor**	*he*
z	[Core coordination]		*hlafas wyrcan*
y	Dat	**Undergoer**	*him*

Firstly, in (10) the assignment of Dative case to the variable *y* by the lexeme *beodan* could be due to the fact that the argument referring to a person appears to take Dative case. Secondly, the lexeme *biddan* in (11) appears to behave in the same way as *beodan* when located in the same subdomain, whereas when this lexeme is located in the subdomain *To say something in order to get something else*[4] the variable *y* takes Accusative case, as the following example shows:

do´ (x, [express.something.be.obtained.(α).to.(β).in.language.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME aware.of´ (y, z)], where y = β, z = α [Jussive]

(12) *Heo bæd hine bliðne (wesan)* (T&C)

"He asked him to be kind"

x	Nom	**Actor**	*heo*
z	[Core coordination]		*bliðne (wesan)*
y	Acc	**Undergoer**	*hine*

4. Concluding remarks

From the above discussion it can be concluded that the notion of *lexical template* has been developed as a way of representing the interaction between syntax and semantics. By linking the internal variables and external argument positions of a *template* the syntactic behaviour of a lexeme can be predicted, although this behaviour can be influenced by pragmatic information or by a lexeme (such as *beodan* or *biddan*) taking a specific grammatical case for one of its arguments.

With respect to the Old English domain of speech, it has been shown how external variables can be syntactically realised by complex structures of four juncture-nexus types, that is, core cosubordinations, core coordinations, clausal subordinations, and sentential coordinations. The semantic description of these syntactic units will be provided by the *Interclausal Relations Hierarchy* and will be included in the *templates* complementing the information about internal variables.

Notes

[1]. The research carried out for the writing of this paper has been supported by the Gobierno de Canarias research project PI 1999/136, *Diccionario Nuclear Sintáctico de Base Semántica del Léxico en Inglés Antiguo.* This grant is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

[2]. A first attempt to introduce meaning definitions within logical structures is made in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 116-118) in relation to speech verbs.

[3]. The template corresponding to the subdomain *To say something to somebody so that they will do it* presents the semantic decomposition **express.something.be.done** and the logical structure of a causative accomplishment.

[4]. The template corresponding to the subdomain *To say something in order to get something else* presents the semantic decomposition **express.something.be.obtained** and the logical structure of a causative accomplishment.

Works cited

BOSWORTH, Joseph and T. NORTHCOTE TOLLER. (1898) 1973. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.* Oxford: Oxford U.P.

CORTÉS RODRÍGUEZ, Francisco and Ricardo MAIRAL USÓN. 2001. "Representaciones semánticas y estructuras sintácticas: propuestas de interrelación entre el léxico y la gramática". In Brito, Manuel and Juan Ignacio Oliva. (eds.). *Polifonías textuales: Ensayos in Honorem Mª del Carmen Fernández Leal.* La Laguna: RCEI Ediciones: 75-83.

—-. (forthcoming). "A Preliminary Design for a Syntactic Dictionary of Old English on Semantic Principles". In Díaz Vera, Javier. (ed.). *A Changing World of Words.* Amsterdam: Rodopi.

CORTÉS RODRÍGUEZ , Francisco and M. Jesús PÉREZ QUINTERO. 2001. "Finding Relief for FG Lexical Representations: A Syntactic-Semantic Description of Old English Verbs of 'Healing'". In Pérez Quintero, M. Jesús. (ed.). *Challenges and Developments in Functional Grammar. Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 42: 79-101.

COSERIU, Eugenio. 1978. *Gramática, Semántica, Universales.* Madrid: Gredos.

—-. 1981. *Principios de Semántica Estructural.* Madrid: Gredos.

DIK, Simon C. 1978. *Stepwise Lexical Decomposition.* Lisse: de Ridder.

FABER, Pamela and Ricardo MAIRAL USÓN. 1994. "Methodological Underpinnings for the Construction of a Functional Lexicological Model". *Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies* 15: 193-217.

—-. 1997a. "The Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Structure of the Lexical Field of EXISTENCE in the Elaboration of a Semantic Macronet". *Studies in Language* 21: 129-167.

—-. 1997b. "The Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Structure of the Lexical Field of Feeling". *Cuadernos de Investigación Filológica* 23-24: 35-60.

—-. 1999. *Constructing a Lexicon of English Verbs.* Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

—-. 2000. "Reconsidering Lexical Representations in Functional Grammar". Paper presented at the 9th International Conference on Functional Grammar. Madrid.

HEALEY, Antonette di Paolo. (ed.). *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus.* Web site ISBN 0-472-00277-5.

MAIRAL USÓN, Ricardo and Robert D. VAN VALIN. 2001. "What Role and Reference Grammar Can Do for Functional Grammar". In Pérez Quintero, M. J. (ed.).: 137-166.

MARTÍN MINGORANCE, Leocadio. 1998. *El Modelo Lexemático-Funcional. El Legado Lingüístico de Leocadio Martín Mingorance.* In Marín Rubiales, Amalia. (ed.). Granada: Servicio de Publicaciones.

TOLLER, T. Northcote and Alistar CAMPBELL. (1921) 1972. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Supplement.* Oxford: Oxford U.P.

VAN VALIN, Robert D. and Randy LAPOLLA. 1997. *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function.* Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.

MIND-AS-BODY AS A CROSS-LINGUISTIC CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR*

IRAIDE IBARRETXE-ANTUÑANO
University of Deusto

1. PERCEPTION VERBS AND METAPHOR

The fact that certain verbs of perception could refer to other non-physical meanings has long been established in many etymological studies such as Bechtel (1879), Kurath (1921), and Buck (1949). These researchers provide us with a great deal of detailed information on the etymological origin of these verbs, but unfortunately they did not investigate the reasons why the meaning of these verbs evolved as they did.[1] At the end of the last century, Sweetser's (1990) –within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics– reanalyses some of the semantic extensions of perception verbs in English. Her main aim is to provide a motivated[2] explanation for the relationships between senses of a single morpheme or word and between diachronically earlier and later senses of a morpheme or word.

Sweetser proposes a semantic link-up to account for this pervasive tendency in the Indo-European languages to borrow concepts and vocabulary from the more accessible physical and social world to refer to the less accessible worlds of reasoning, emotion and conversational structure; what she calls the "MIND-AS-BODY" metaphor. This link-up between the vocabularies of the mind and body is not only rooted in certain psychosomatic reactions (Kurath 1921), though, as Sweetser argues, in some examples psychosomatic explanations may be enough to

account for some cases: for instance, the fact that it is possible to have *emotional tension* or to *feel low* may be linked to the muscular states of tension and limpness that go with these mental states. However, other expressions such as *bitter anger* or *sweet revenge* cannot be linked to any direct physical taste response of bitterness or sweetness; they should be regarded as metaphorical.

This MIND-AS-BODY metaphor is motivated by correspondences between our external experience and our internal emotional and cognitive states. These correspondences are not isolated; they are parts of a larger system. This metaphor involves our conceptualising one whole area of experience (i.e. mind) in terms of another (i.e. body), and therefore, Sweetser suggests that MIND-AS-BODY can be considered as what Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999) regard as a "conceptual metaphor" (see also Lakoff 1993, 1996).

Another important point is that correspondences between these two domains of experience are unidirectional (Sweetser 1990: 30): from the vocabulary of bodily experience to the vocabulary of psychological states. In the case of English perception verbs, the metaphorical mappings take place between two domains of experience: the vocabulary of physical perception as the source domain and the vocabulary of the internal self and sensations as the target domain. Figure 1 summarises the structure of English metaphors of perception (see next page).

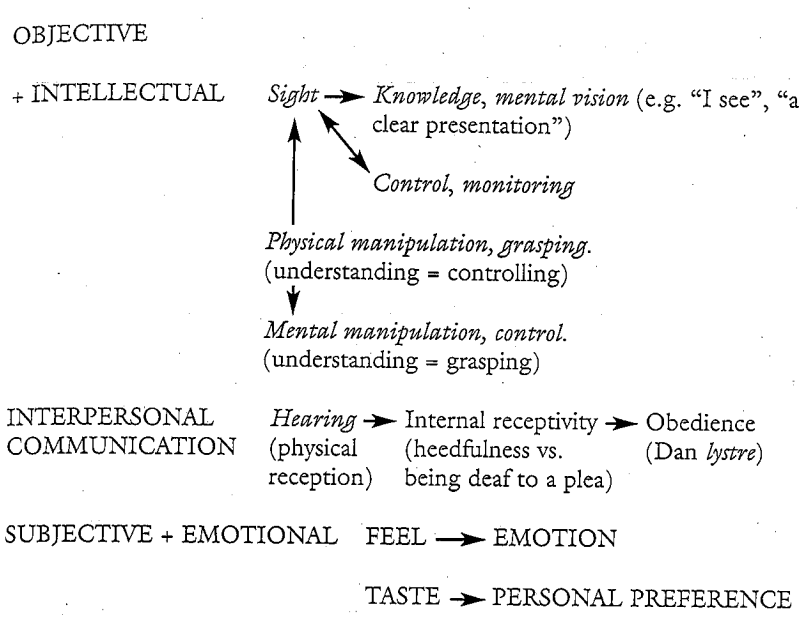


Figure 1: The structure of perception metaphors (After Sweetser 1990: 38).

Taking Sweetser's work on English perception verbs as the starting point, I will analyse in this paper the different semantic extensions that take place in this semantic field. I will focus on two main points: first, I will show how the metaphorical scope[3] of these verbs is even larger than that proposed by Sweetser (see Figure 1) and second, I will provide further support for her claim that these mappings are cross-linguistic. The languages under investigation are two Indo-European languages, English (Germanic) and Spanish (Romance), and one non-Indo-European, Basque.

2. Cross-linguistic correspondences in the MIND-AS-BODY conceptual metaphor

In this section I analyse how the MIND-AS-BODY conceptual metaphor is present in the five perceptual modalities. These metaphorical mappings are only a portion of the group of extended meanings conveyed by perception verbs (see Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999, for a detailed discussion).

The linguistic material used in this study comes from three different sources: (i) Monolingual and bilingual dictionaries; these examples are followed by an abbreviated reference within brackets. (ii) Corpora of written English, Basque and Spanish: the British National Corpus (BNC)[4] is the corpus used for English; present-day Basque Reference Corpus (EEBS)[5] is the corpus used for Basque; reference Corpus for Present-day Spanish (CREA)[6] is the corpus used for Spanish. These examples are also followed by an abbreviated reference within brackets. (iii) Examples that occur without any bracketed indication of the source have for the most part been constructed by me, occasionally on the basis of an utterance that I have seen or heard used. In addition, some of them have been taken from other linguistic studies, and whenever I can straightforwardly pinpoint the origin of such specially invented examples, I shall do so either in a note or in the accompanying text. I have always consulted native speakers concerning the naturalness of these examples.

I would also like to point out that the main aim of this study is not to show how frequent or salient the meanings presented are in each language, but rather to show that it is possible to infer them. Therefore, I have not included any data on frequencies.

2.1. Vision

Vision is by far the most studied sense of the five. The semantic field of sight has been analysed not only from the point of view of polysemy (Alm-Arvius 1993; Baker 1999; Bauer 1949; García Hernández 1976; Prévot 1935) but also from the language acquisition perspective (C. Johnson 1999: Landau and Gleitman 1985). These studies have shown that verbs of sight can convey a vast number of senses. Ibarretxe-Antuñano (1999: ch. 2) organises them into four different categories according to the mappings between the domain of physical visual perception and other domains of experience. These categories are (i) intellect and mental activity ("understand", "foresee"...); (ii) social relationships ("meet", "visit"...); (iii) reliability and assurance ("find out", "make sure"...), and (iv) miscellany ("to witness", "to refer"...). All these groups, except for the social

relationships one, can be considered sub-cases of the metaphor MIND-AS-BODY metaphor. Let us analyse them in more detail.

The verbs used for the following analysis are *see* and *look* in English, *ikusi* and *begiratu* in Basque, and *ver* and *mirar* in Spanish.

2.1.1. Intellect and mental activity

In this group the mapping takes place between the domain of physical visual perception and the domain of mental processing.[7] There are different types of mental processes: "to understand", "to foresee", "to visualise", "to regard", "to imagine", "to revise", and "to meditate". On this basis the following metaphorical sub-mappings may be set up:

UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING in the mapping illustrated in (1), (2) and (3) below:

(1) *I explained the problem but he could not see it* (COL)

(2) *Orduan (nik) ez nuen ikusi (berak) zer esan nahi zuen*
then I.ERG neg aux.1SG see he.ERG what say want aux.COMP.3SG
"I didn't see at the time what he wanted to say" (ELH)

(3) *Es una manera apresurada de ver las cosas*
is a way hasty of see the things
"It's a very hasty way to see things" (CREA)

Another case in this group is FORESEEING IS SEEING as in (4), (5) and (6).

(4) *I can see what will happen if you don't help* (COL)

(5) *Peiori gertatu zaiona aurretik ikusi nuen nik*
peter.DAT happen AUX.REL.ABS before.ABL see aux.1SG I.ERG
"I already foresaw what has happened to Peter"

(6) *Estoy viendo que mi hermano llega sin avisar*
am seeing COMP my brother arrives without notify
"I can see he is going to come without letting us know" (RAE)

In these three examples we foresee what is going to happen before it actually takes place. In the case of Basque, it is necessary to add the word *aurretik* "before" in order to infer this meaning. Otherwise the verb takes the physical meaning "to witness".[8]

IMAGINING IS SEEING is another example of this group. In this case, we visualise a counterfactual situation which has already taken place or might take place in the future.

(7) *Do all your people see themselves as having a selling role* (BNC)

(8) *Geure buruak galdurik ikusi genituen*
our head.ABS.PL lost see.PER aux.1PL
"We saw ourselves lost" (IS)

(9) *Esta chica ya se ve estrella de cine*
this girl already she.REFL sees star of cinema
"This girl already imagines herself a film star" (LAR)

Seeing is also related to the ability to form an opinion about something, to regard a certain thing in a certain way. Here we have the metaphor CONSIDERING IS SEEING as illustrated in (10), (11) and (12).

(10) *She thinks it is soft of him to see them as belonging to a universal latent hostility* (BNC)

(11) *Nola ikusten duzu gure arazoa?*
how see.HAB aux.2SG our problem.ABS
"How do you see our problem?" (ELH)

(13) *No le veo nada malo*
neg he.DAT see.1.SG nothing bad
"I can't see anything wrong with it" (OSD)

Finally, in the last mapping in this group, vision is understood as the faculty that enables one to revise or examine a situation or study a case, that is, STUDYING/EXAMINING IS SEEING.

(14) *I have to see how I fix it* (OSD)

(15) *Zuk ekarritako dokumentuak ikusten ari naiz*
you.ERG bring.REL document.ABS.PL see.HAB be.busy aux.1SG
"I'm revising the documents you brought"

(16) *No vimos ese tema en clase*
neg saw.1PL that topic in class
"We didn't look at that topic in class" (OSD)

2.1.2. Reliability and Assurance

Human beings regard sight as the most reliable sense when it comes to gathering information. This is the reason why sight verbs can convey meanings such as "to ascertain, to find out" as in (17), (18) and (19), "to make sure" as in (20), and (21), and "to take care" as in (22), (23) and (24).

In these three examples, the mapping takes place between the activity of seeing something and the activity of discovering something, i.e. FINDING OUT IS SEEING.

(17) *Please see who's knocking* (AM)

(18) *Mendiaren gailurrera iritsita behean zegoen herri hura ikusi zuen*
mountain.GEN top.ALL arrive.PART down.LOC was.REL town that.ABS see aux.3SG
"When he reached the top of the mountain he discovered the town that was down there" (ELH)

(19) *Mira a ver quién llama a la puerta*
look to see who calls to the door
"See who's at the door"

Another mapping included in this group is MAKING SURE IS SEEING.

(20) *See that it gets done right away* (AM)

(21) *Mira que los niños hagan los deberes*
look.IMP COMP the children do.SUBJ.3PL the homeworks
"See that the children do their homework"

Finally the mapping TAKING CARE OF SOMETHING IS SEEING SOMETHING is also included in this group.

(22) *He looked*[9] *after his younger brother* (AM)

(23) *Begira iezadazu umea kanpoan nagoen bitartean*
look aux.IMP.1SG.2SG child.ABS outside.LOC am.COMP while
"Look after the child while I'm away" (IS)

(24) *Mira por tí misma, los demás que se las arreglen*
look.IMP for you.DAT REFL the others that they.REFL the fix.SUBJ.3PL
"Just take care of yourself, and let the others sort out their own problems" (OSD)

Although in these examples "to take care" refers to the protection of human beings (brothers, children, oneself...) from some potential external agent, this meaning also applies to other situations where no human being is implied such as those depicted in the following Basque examples:

(25) *Harresi handiak begiratzen zuen Txina mongoliarren erasoetik*
wall big.ERG see.HAB aux.2SG china.ABS mongol.POSS attach.PL.ABL
"The Great Wall protected China from Mongol attacks" (MMO)

(26) *Euskara begiratzeko eta zaintzeko erakunde bat*
basque.ABS see.NOM.ADN and take.care.NOM.ADN organisation one
"An institution to preserve and protect Basque" (MM)

2.1.3. Miscellany: "to witness"

In the metaphor WITNESSING IS SEEING the emphasis is on the person that is looking, who acts as a "passive witness" of the events that happen, i.e. does not personally take part in what is going on.

(27) *He has seen much unhappiness in this life*[10] (COL)

(28) *Vieron confirmadas sus sospechas*
saw.3.PL confirmed.PL their suspicions
"They saw their suspicions confirmed" (OSD)

Apart from the cross-linguistic extended meanings just mentioned, each language has developed further meanings. For instance, in Basque, there is the mapping SUFFERING IS SEEING with the verb *ikusi* "to see"[11] as in (29).

(29) *Hark istilu gorriak ikusi zituen*
he.ERG difficulty red.ABS.PL see aux.3SG
"He suffered a great deal" (ELH)

It can be argued that the meaning "to suffer" in (29) is realized by the direct object *istilu gorriak*, not only in the word *istiluak* "difficulties", but also in the word *gorri* "red", which metaphorically means "terrible, awful, extreme".[12] However, *ikusita* in (30) conveys this meaning without the need to rely on any other element in the sentence.

(30) *Neureak ikusita nago*
mine.ABS.PL see.PART am
"I've suffered a lot" (AR)

Two other mappings are possible in Basque, OBEYING IS SEEING as in (31), and REFRAINING IS SEEING as in (32).

(31) *Agindua erraz bazen ere, ez zuen begiratu, hautsi egin zuen*
command.ABS easy.INSTR if.aux.3SG also neg aux.3SG see.PER break.PER make.PER aux.3SG
"Even though the commandment was simple, she did not keep it, she broke it" (MMO)

(32) *Inori gaitz egiterik begiratzen zen*
anyone.DAT evil make.NOM.PART see.HAB aux.3SG
"He refrained from doing evil to anyone" (MMO)

Finally, in Spanish we can find another metaphorical mapping in BEING INVOLVED OR RELATED IS HAVING TO SEE as in (33).[13]

(33) *Y Schneider, ¿qué tenía que ver con la obra?*
and scheider what had.3SG COMP see with the play
"And what did Scheider have to do with the play?" (CREA)

2.2. Hearing

Hearing is said to be the sense of linguistic communication and in fact in all the meanings, both concrete and abstract, it seems to be so. There are always two elements involved in this sense: the hearer and the speaker. The latter could be a person or an object, known or unknown, but the fact is that it is always present.

The verbs analysed in this sense are *hear* and *listen* in English, *entzun* and *aditu* in Basque, and *oír* and *escuchar* in Spanish.

The first metaphorical mapping in this sense is PAYING ATTENTION IS HEARING[14] as in (34), (35), and (36).

(34) *Do not listen to the tempting voices* (BNC)

(35) *Aitari entzun, eta Haren erakutsiak ikasten dituena, Niregana dator*
father.DAT listen and he.POSS show.PART.ABS.PL learn.HAB aux.3sg.REL.ABS I.ALL come.3SG
"Listen to our Lord, and the one who learns what he teaches, could come to me" (EEBS)

(36) *Escucha lo que otros le dicen sobre las formas de reaccionar que tiene su piel*
listen.IMP it.ACC that others he.DAT say.3PL about the ways of react that has.3SG his skin
"Listen to what others say about the way his skin may react" (CREA)

In these three examples the person that utters the sentence is not just asking the hearer to hear him, but demanding attention from him. A further development of this meaning is the case of the metaphor OBEYING IS HEARING, where the speaker –apart from demanding attention– is also asking the hearer to do what he says him to. This is true in sentences (37), (38), and (39).

(37) *He said: "They hadn't organised themselves and didn't listen to advice and instruction"* (BNC)

(38) *Seme batak ez eukan entzunik*
son one.ERG neg had listen.PART
"One of the sons was not obedient" (AR)

(39) *Te he dicho que escuches a tu madre*
you.DAT have said COMP listen to your mother
"I told you to listen to your mother"

The condition of hearing as an interpersonal relation is said to have caused the semantic shifts that the sense has undergone. In a way it makes sense and in the case of the shift, hear→heed→obey, it is true. The verbs of hearing in themselves do not mean "obey"[15] or "pay attention". It is in the context of a conversation, hence interpersonal relation, that they acquire that meaning. Expressions such as Spanish *Hacerse el sordo*, Basque *Gor egin*, French *Faire le sourd* "pretend not to hear", or English *Be deaf to a plea*, Spanish *Hacer oídos sordos* clearly show this interpersonal quality of the sense of hearing and also its metaphorical connections.

Another extended meaning of these verbs is "to be told", "to be informed", which can be inferentially understood as "to know". When we use hearing verbs in these situations we are not simply saying that we heard somebody saying something, we imply that we "know" something, and that the information that we have is second hand[16] –although the informant does not necessarily have to be mentioned. This type of meaning has interesting implications for the study of evidentials. Evidentials are generally said to participate in the expression of the speaker's attitude towards the situation his / her utterance describes. Sense perception verbs are a common cross-linguistic source for evidentials (see Willett 1988). Hearing verbs provide two kinds of evidence: "attached", when the source

of the speaker's information is of a primary source; and "indirect reported", when the source is of secondary origin, i.e. hearsay. This extended meaning will fit into the latter type.[17] Examples (40), (41), and (42) illustrate this metaphor that we could call BEING TOLD/KNOWING IS HEARING.

(40) *I heard you are in catering these days* (BNC)

(41) *Aldaketa hau onerako izan dela entzun dut*
change this.ABS good.ALL.ADN be.PER aux.3SG.COMP hear.PER aux.1SG
"I heard that this change has been for the best" (EEBS)

(42) *Me preocupé cuando oí que habían muerto*
I.REFL worried.1SG when heard.1SG that had.3PL died
"I was worried when I heard that they had died" (CREA)

Although the sense of vision is usually related to mental activities such as "understanding" (see Section 1.1.1), this mapping is also possible with hearing verbs as in (43), (44), and (45), where the metaphor at work is UNDERSTANDING IS HEARING.

(43) *If I have heard well, you want to say that there is no solution*

(44) *Ondo entzun badizut zuk esan nahi duzu irtenbiderik ez dagoela*
well hear.PER if.aux.2SG.1PL you.ERG say.PER want aux.2SG solution.PART neg is.COMP
"If I have heard well, you want to say that there is no solution"

(45) *Si le he oído bien usted quiere decir que no hay solución*
if you.DAT have hear.PAR well you want say COMP neg exists solution
"If I have heard well, you want to say that there is no solution"

Notice that the presence of the adverb *well* (*ondo*, *bien*) is required in order for this meaning to be inferred. In Basque, however, this requirement is not needed in cases when we use the verb *aditu* as in (46), where this verb means "understand".

(46) *Aditzen dut zer esan nahi zuen*
hear.HAB aux.1SG what say.PER want aux.3SG
"I understand what he means" (MMO)

Another two metaphorical mappings are possible in Basque if the hearing verb is nominalised. One of them is BEING TRAINED IN SOMETHING IS BEING

HEARD as in (47), or even BEING AN EXPERT IS BEING HEARD as in (48). The other one is HAVING AN AGREEMENT IS HAVING A HEARING as in (49).

(47) *Izketan aditua da*
he.ABS talk.LOC hear.PER.ABS is
"He is a learned speaker" (AR)

(48) *Nijinsky, inoizko dantzarik hoberenak, adituek diotenez, arrakasta zorabiagarri bihurtzen zituen bere saioak*
nijinsky ever.ADN dance.PART best.ABS.PL hear.ERG.PL say.3PL.INSTR success dizzy convert.HAB aux.3SG he.POSS session.ABS.PL
"According to the experts, Nijinsky could turn his best dances into incredible successes" (EEBS)

(49) *Aditu bat dute elkarren artean*
hear one aux.3PL RECIP.POSS between.LOC
"They've got an agreement between themselves" (MMO)

2.3. Touch

The sense of touch has always been related to the field of emotions. Expressions such as *I'm deeply touched* or *Touching words* are widely used in English. Already in 1921 Hans Kurath classified sense perception in respect to emotions and stated how "the kinaesthetic, the visceral, and the tactual perceptions have a relatively stronger tone than those of hearing and especially of sight" (1921: 39). However, if we review the different meanings that tactile verbs can convey, it will be seen that these verbs not only map onto the field of emotions but also onto other experiential domains. Metaphors like REACHING IS TOUCHING, CORRESPONDING IS TOUCHING, and BEING NEAR IS TOUCHING are widely found cross-linguistically (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2000). However, there are only four subcases of the MIND-AS-BODY metaphor: AFFECTING IS TOUCHING, DEALING WITH IS TOUCHING, CONSIDERING IS TOUCHING, and TEMPTING IS TOUCHING.

The verbs used in this case are *touch*[18] in English, *ukitu*[19] in Basque, and *tocar* in Spanish.

The first mapping that we explore is AFFECTING IS TOUCHING[20] as illustrated in the following examples:

(50) *An appeal that touches us deeply* (AM)

(51) *Edertasunak ukitu du azkenean Iñakiren bihotz gogorra*
beauty.ERG touch.PAR aux.3SG end.LOC iñaki.POSS heart strong.ABS
"In the end, beauty changed Iñaki's hard feelings" (IS)

(52) *Juan le tocó el corazón a María*
john she.DAT touched the heart to mary
"John touched Mary's heart" (CSE)

In these examples what is affected is the emotional side of the person in question. In (50) the appeal caused us to react emotionally; we could not remain with the same feelings or ideas that we had before hearing it. In (51) Iñaki's feelings are changed too, as a result of the beauty that he saw in a person or thing. Finally in (52) John also affected, i.e. changed, Mary's feelings.[21] Although the emotional perspective of touch has been seen as an independent metaphorical mapping (Sweetser 1990: 37/43), I would like to include it under the wider domain "to affect".[22] There are other examples in these languages where we have the same "contact-to-effect" chain and which can also be included under this label. For instance, in Basque there is the expression *Ardoa ukitu*, lit. "touch wine", which means that the wine is spoilt and can no longer be drunk. In Spanish, when a person wins the lottery it is very common to say *Me tocó la lotería*, lit. "the lottery touched me", in which case the lottery is the agent that provokes the change in me, that is to say I became rich.

Another metaphorical mapping in the sense of touch is DEALING WITH SOMETHING IS TOUCHING as in (53), (54), and (55).

(53) I *wouldn't touch that business* (AM)

(54) *Lan hori ukitu dugu*
work that touch.PER aux.1PL
"We dealt with that work" (MUJ)

(55) *No tocó para nada ese asunto*
neg touched.3SG for nothing that business
"He didn't deal with that business at all" (MM)

This meaning can be modified by the inclusion of an adverbial expression such as *luzaz* "for a long time", *en muchas ocasiones* "on many occasions", in which case the meaning would be "to know by experience" as in (56) and (57) below.

(56) *Unibertsitate-gaia luzaz ukitu dut*
university-topic.ABS long.INST touch.PER aux.1SG
"I have dealt with university matters for a long time" (IS)

(57) *En muchas ocasiones hemos tocado el tema de una posible intervención de las fuerzas armadas*
on many occasions have.1PL touched the topic of a possible intervention of the forces armed
"We have dealt with a possible intervention by the armed forces on many occasions" (CREA)

Tocar could also mean "to deal with superficially", if a word like *barely* or the preposition *on* in English is inserted as in (58) and (59)[23] respectively.

(58) *He barely touched on the incident in his speech* (AMGD)

(59) *The artists use personal knowledge to touch on the fragility and complexity of human experience* (BNC)

In Basque the verb haztatu,[24] "to touch", may display the metaphor CONSIDERING IS TOUCHING as in (60).

(60) *Hazta ditzagun arrazoiak*
touch aux.SUBJ.1SG reason.ABS.PL
"Let's consider the reasons" (ELH)

Finally, the mapping TEMPTING IS TOUCHING is also possible in Spanish using the verb *tentar*[25] as in (61).

(61) *El diablo tentó a Jesús en el desierto*
the devil tempted to jesus in the desert
"The devil tempted Jesus in the desert" (RAE)

The verb *tentar* is more widely used in this sense of "to tempt" rather than in the physical touch sense, however, this physical meaning is kept in expressions such as *ir a tientas* "to feel one's way", which is derived from this verb.

2.4. Smell

The sense of smell is generally considered a weaker source domain for metaphorical meanings in comparison with the other senses (Caplan 1973; Sweetser 1990; Viberg 1984). Although the sense of smell in human beings is not as developed as other senses such as vision, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (1999c) has

shown that this sense does have several extended meanings, both physical ("to trail something") and metaphorical. In this section I concentrate on the latter. The verbs used in this analysis are *smell* and *sniff* in English, *usaindu*, *usnatu*[26] and *usmatu* in Basque, and *oler*, *olfatear* and *husmear* in Spanish.

The first metaphorical meaning in the sense of smell is SUSPECTING IS SMELLING.

(62) *Things... wouldn't always get past the sharp-eyed QC. If a case smelt, he would smell it* (OED-1973)

(63) *Sailburuaren kontuak zuzenak ez zirela erraz usain zitekeen*
minister.GEN account.ABS.PL right.ABS.PL neg were.3PL.COMP easily smell could.3SG
"It was easy to suspect that the minister's accounts were not clear"

(64) *Claro que yo me huelo que la culpa de todo la tiene el sinvergüenza del marido*
clear that I I.REFL smell.1SG that the fault of everything she.ACC has.3SG the shameless of.the husband
"Of course, I suspect that her shameless husband is the one to blame for everything" (CREA)

In (62) *smell* is used in two different ways. In the first, it is used as the indication of bad characteristics. It can easily be replaced by the verb *stink*. The second *smell* means "to suspect". (62) could be paraphrased as "if there was something wrong in the case, the QC would suspect it". It has been suggested that the second *smell* could be paraphrased as "to know" instead of "to suspect". Although it is true that there is a great deal of variability in the interpretation of this example, it is important to take into account that the information that we get when we use our sense of smell is not as accurate as when we use another sense such as vision (see Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999a: 153-164). In (62) the QC did not know for sure that there was something wrong with the case and that is why the verb *smell* is used instead of *see*, in which case the sentence would not offer any doubt in respect of its meaning.

In (63), we suspected that the minister's accounts were not clear, that there was something wrong with them. This verb always carries negative connotations. This is the case in previous examples, and in (65), where this person suspects that the husband is responsible for what has happened.

Another possible metaphorical mapping is GUESSING/SENSING INTUITIVELY IS SMELLING.

(65) *Mary can smell money* (AM)

(66) *Kanturako haren zera ikusiz,mutrikuarra zela usaindu nuen*
song.ALL.ADN he.GEN way.ABS see.PER.INSTR mutriku.POSS was.3SG.COMP smell.PER aux.1SG
"From his way of singing, I guessed he was from Mutriku" (HM)

(67) *Se huele los problemas desde lejos*
s/he.REFL smells the problems from far
"She can smell trouble a mile off" (OSD)

The meaning in these sentences is that the people involved can sense, recognise something intuitively. Sentence (65) implies that Mary has a sixth sense that helps her to tell when money is around and where it is. In (66) there are no negative connotations or bad characteristics to be discovered, but only the fact that this person was from a town called Mutriku. His particular way of singing gave certain clues as to where he came from. In (67) what is implied is not that this person suspects that there is going to be trouble, but rather, if there were trouble, she would sense it, she would guess it beforehand.

The metaphor INVESTIGATING IS SNIFFING AROUND is also possible in the domain of smell.

(68) *The police have been sniffing around here again* (RCD)

(69) *Bere gauzetan usnaka ibili ondoren, bera hiltzailea izan zitekeela usaindu nuen*
he.POSS things.LOC smelling be.PER after he.ABS murderer.ABS be could.3SG.COMP smell.PER aux.1SG
"After I sniffed around, I suspected he could be the murderer"

(70) *Bastará con que le siga discretamente y con que husmee un poco por ahí*
suffice with that he.ACC follow.2SG unnoticeably and with that smell.2SG a little for there
"It will be enough it you follow him and sniff around a little bit" (CREA)

In these examples, smells are metaphorically understood as traces, as information; and the action of smelling is conceptualised as the action of looking for or investigating those pieces of information.

Apart from these cross-linguistic mappings, English and Basque have developed other meanings unique to these languages.

In English the verb *sniff* also shows the metaphor SHOWING CONTEMPT IS SNIFFING as in example (71) below.

(71) *The critics sniffed at the adaptation of the novel to film* (AM)

Basque has three more mappings, CORRUPTING IS SMELLING, PROPHESYING IS SMELLING, AND NOT TO GET WIND OF SOMETHING IS NOT TO SMELL SOMETHING.

Smell verbs are used in Basque to indicate that the wine is rancid, or that the milk has gone off as in (72). As a metaphorical extension of this meaning it is also possible to use these verbs to mean "to corrupt" as in (73).

(72) *Esnea usaindu da*
milk.ABS smell.PER aux.3SG
"The milk has gone off" (HM)

(73) *Hangoen pentsamoldeak bizimoduz usaindu zuen*
there.ADN.GEN ideology.ERG life.INSTR smell.PER aux.3SG
"The neighbours' way of thinking corrupted their way of living" (HM)

Another metaphorical mapping in Basque is NOT TO GET WIND OF SOMETHING IS NOT TO EVEN SMELL,[27] as in (74).

(74) *Benetako egoeraren usainik ere ez zuen hartu*
true.ADN situation.POSS smell.PART also neg aux.3SG take.PER
"He didn't even get wind of the real situation" (MMO)

This type of metaphorical mapping does not only apply to a knowledge domain. It could be used in other contexts too. The main focus of this type of construction lies in the total lack of awareness of whatever the object of "smelling" is. In other words, in (74) the object is the "situation", but in (75) below, it is the "funding".

(75) *Gipuzkoa eta Arabako AEK urte erdiko subentzioa jaso ezinean, eta Bizkaikoa urte osokoa usaindu ere gabe*
guipuzcoa and alava.ADN AEK year half.ADN funding.ABS receive impossibility.LOC and biscay.ADN.ABS year whole.ADN.ABS smell also without

"AEK in Guipuzcoa and Alava could not receive half a year's funding, but the one in Biscay did not get any of the whole year's funding at all" (EEBS)

In (75), the meaning of the smell verb does not only imply that this organisation, AEK in the province of Biscay, received some money, but that they did not receive any funding at all. It is important to point out that the meaning does not imply that the subject –AEK in Biscay–, did not want the funding, but that that they did not even have the chance to participate or to partake of it and as a consequence they were left out.

Finally, the metaphorical mapping PROPHESYING IS SMELLING is also found in Basque smell verbs as in (76).

(76) *[...] alaba onek [...] etorkizun illunpeak urratu eta erdi-ikusi edo usnatu zuela esan genezake*
daughter this.ERG future obscurity.ABS.PL break.PER and half-see.PER or smell.PER aux.3SG.COMP say.PER could.1PL
"We could say that this daughter could explore and foresee28 the hidden future" (EEBS)

2.5. Taste

The physical sense of taste is generally linked to personal likes and dislikes[29] in the mental world. Perhaps the reason why this is so lies in the fact that the sense of taste is most closely associated with fine discrimination. According to Buck (1949: 1031), among Hindus there are six main varieties of taste with sixty-three possible combinations and among the Greeks six, including the four fundamental ones: "sweet", "bitter", "acid" and "salt". This makes the sense of taste very accurate from a descriptive point of view as it allows us to express ourselves very precisely when we want to describe a taste.

The verbs used in this sense are *taste* and *savour* in English, *dastatu* in Basque, and *gustar*, *saber* and *saborear* in Spanish.

One of the main metaphorical mappings that taste verbs have cross-linguistically EXPERIENCING SOMETHING IS TASTING as in (77), (78), and (79).

(77) *He has tasted the frustration of defeat* (AMGD)

(78) *Ilabete bat eta erdiz presondegia jastatu*[30] *zuen*
month one and half.INSTR jail.ABS taste.PER aux.3SG
"He tasted the life in prison for a month and a half" (LM)

(79) *(Ellos) gustaron las mieles del triunfo*
they tasted the honeys of-the victory
"They tasted the sweet taste of victory" (OSD)

Judging from the English translation provided for (79), it could be argued that the mapping could also be ENJOYING IS TASTING. However, this interpretation is not possible for the example in Spanish (80). As we shall see in the examples below, the verb *gustar* in sentences like (87) below does mean "enjoy, like", but in (79), it means experience something, in this case a victory. The verb *gustaron* can be substituted by the verb *probaron* (*probar* "taste, try"), which does not imply enjoyment as in (80) below.

(80) *(Ellos) Probaron las mieles del triunfo*
they tried the honeys of-the victory
"They tasted the sweet taste of victory"

Another metaphorical meaning in taste verbs is "to enjoy".

(81) *I savour the sweet taste of revenge*

According to the OED, taste used to mean "enjoy, take pleasure" as in (84). This use, however, is archaic nowadays.

(82) *If I wondered at Johnson not tasting the works of Mason and Gray, still more have I wondered at their not tasting his works* (OED-1791)

(83) *Munduko plazerrak dastatu zituen*
world.ADN pleasure.ABS.PL taste.PER aux.3SG
"He tasted the pleasures of this world" (ELH)

(84) *Garaipena dastatzen hasiak zirelarik,partidua eten egin zuten*
victory.ABS taste.HAB beginning.ABS.PL were.3PL-when match.ABS break make.PER aux.3PL
"When they started to savour the taste of victory, they cancelled the match" (ELH)

Although these two examples of taste mean "enjoy", their connotations are different. In (83) the connection with the actual physical sense of taste is more dominant. The meaning of "enjoy" is made explicit by the word *plazerrak* "pleasure (pl.)", but without it (83) might have meant "experience" or "try". On the other hand (84) is not so close to the physical meaning. It is true that a victory is something positive, especially if you are the victor, however, if the direct object is changed, as in (85), the meaning changes from taking pleasure in winning to taking pleasure in the defeat of the opposing side.

(85) *They started to taste the other team's defeat*

To lose a game cannot be considered as something positive and therefore the object itself does not imply this positiveness as in (83), but it does imply enjoyment on the part of the subject. However in (86) the object overrides the positive implicature.

(86) *The Romans tasted defeat at the hands of a Barbarian army*

(87) *Le gusta jugar al fútbol*
he.DAT likes play to-the football
"He likes playing football"

Although ENJOYING IS TASTING exists in Spanish as in (87), the opposite feeling is also possible:

(88) *Me supo mal el decírselo*
I.DAT tasted badly the tell-he.DAT-it.ACC
"I didn't like to tell him so"

This sentence can be also said with *gustar* as in (89).

(89) *No me gustó el decírselo*
neg I.DAT liked the tell-he.DAT-it.ACC
"I didn't like to tell him"

In these examples, the feeling that is produced is not good or enjoyable, but just the opposite, so the mapping should be DISLIKING IS TASTING. Instead of having two differentiated mappings, I propose a more general metaphor like PRODUCING A FEELING IS TASTING. This metaphor could be considered the superordinate and ENJOYING/DISLIKING IS TASTING the hyponyms.

It is also worth noting that in these two examples, when the feeling produced is of a negative quality, the use of a negative[31] form is required. This seems to indicate that these verbs, when used without any qualifying adjectives or adverbs, imply a positive meaning.

In addition to these cross-linguistic mappings, the sense of taste in Spanish has more meanings. This sense of the Spanish verb is quite unique as compared to other Romance languages where the cognates of the Spanish verb *saber* have kept only one of two meanings from the Latin *sapere* "to taste", "to know": in Spanish both meanings are still in use. Therefore, it is possible to establish a further metaphor KNOWING IS TASTING as illustrated in (90).

(90) *María sabe la lección*
mary knows the lesson
"Mary knows the lesson"

3. Conclusions

MIND-AS-BODY is a conceptual metaphor whereby the mind is conceptualised in bodily terms. That is to say, the mind is understood as a separate person, with its own bodily functions and necessities. One of these bodily functions is perception –a biological process wherein the brain derives descriptions of objects and events in the world, using the information gathered by the senses.

In this paper, I focused on the network of metaphorical mappings that take place in perception as special sub-case of the MIND-AS-BODY metaphor. Based on Sweetser's (1990) work on English perception verbs, I analysed the systematic mappings between the vocabulary of physical perception and the vocabulary of internal self and internal sensations in three typologically different languages: English, Basque and Spanish.

I showed that the metaphorical scope of these verbs is broader than that originally proposed by Sweetser. For instance, hearing is not only related to heeding and obeying, but also to understanding and knowing; smell is not only connected to dislikeable feelings but also to suspecting and investigating, and so on. The fact that many of these mappings are found in three different languages supports Sweetser's claim that these extensions are a cross-linguistic phenomenon. The network of metaphorical mappings in perception verbs and its distribution in English, Basque and Spanish are summarised in Table 1.

METAPHORS IN THE PERCEPTUAL DOMAIN		LANGUAGES		
		English	Basque	Spanish
VISION	Understanding is seeing	÷	÷	÷
	Foreseeing is seeing	÷	÷	÷
	Imagining is seeing	÷	÷	÷
	Considering is seeing	÷	÷	÷
	Studying / Examining is seeing	÷	÷	÷
	Finding out is seeing	÷	÷	÷
	Making sure is seeing	÷	÷	÷
	Taking care is seeing / looking after	÷	÷	÷
	Witnessing is seeing	÷	÷	÷
	Suffering is seeing		÷	
	Obeying is seeing		÷	
	Refraining is seeing		÷	
	Being involved is having to see			÷
HEARING	Paying attention is hearing	÷	÷	÷
	Obeying is hearing	÷	÷	÷
	Being told / knowing is hearing	÷	÷	÷
	Understanding is hearing	÷	÷	÷
	Being trained is being heard		÷	
	Having an agreement is having a hearing		÷	
TOUCH	Affecting is touching	÷	÷	÷
	Dealing with is touching	÷	÷	÷
	Considering is touching		÷	
	Persuading is touching			÷
SMELL	Suspecting is smelling	÷	÷	÷
	Sensing/guessing is smelling	÷	÷	÷
	Investigating is smelling/sniffing around	÷	÷	÷
	Showing contempt is sniffing	÷		
	Corrupting is smelling		÷	
	Not to get wind of something is not to smell		÷	
	Prophesying is smelling		÷	
TASTE	Experiencing something is tasting	÷	÷	÷
	Producing a feeling is tasting (enjoying/disliking)	÷	(÷)	÷
	Knowing is tasting			÷

Table 1: MIND-AS-BODY conceptual metaphor in English, Basque and Spanish perception verbs.

Notes

*Preparation for this article was supported by grant BFI98.71 and grant BFI99.53 from the Basque Country Government's Department of Education, Universities and Research. Many of the ideas put forward in this paper were conceived while I was working at the University of Edinburgh and the University of California, Berkeley. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for his/her helpful comments that I will put into practice in future research.

[1]. An exception is Kurath, who attributes this diachronic development of emotion words to the psychosomatic nature of emotions.

[2]. By "motivated" Sweetser understands "an account which appeals to something beyond the linguist's intuition that these senses are related, or that these two senses are more closely related than either is to a third sense" (1990, p. 3).

[3]. The metaphorical scope is "the range of the application of particular source domains to particular target domains" (Kövecses 1995, p. 316).

[4]. The right to use the BNC is granted by Oxford University Press to researchers working on the Framenet project, International Computer Science Institute and University of California at Berkeley.

[5]. "Egungo Euskararen Bilketa-lan Sistematikoa".

[6]. "Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual".

[7]. Traditionally in Cognitive Linguistics, these mappings are grouped under the label KNOWING IS SEEING (Sweetser 1990; Grady 1997a,b, 1998, 1999; Lakoff and Johnson 1999). However, I think it is more appropriate to name these mappings separately for two main reasons: (i) they refer to different mental activities, that is, it is not the same "to imagine" as "to understand"; (ii) "knowing" refers to state whereas "understanding", "imagining", and so on are processes.

[8]. According to Ibarretxe-Antuñano (1999b) cases like this one are the result of "Graduable or Compositional Polysemy", i.e. the meaning of a lexical item is the result of the interaction between the semantic content of the lexical item itself and that of its different co-occuring elements in different degrees of compositionality.

[9]. In some Southern English dialects, saw can be used in this example as in *He saw to his younger brother* (Cann p.c.).

[10]. This example can have another interpretation as well. The subject can be a "passive witness" that sees all this unhappiness as an observer. On the other hand, the subject can be an "active witness" who has experienced this unhappiness in his own flesh (See (47) and (48) below).

[11]. This meaning is somehow similar to (40) discussed above. In this case, as in one of the interpretations in English, the subject is not only a witness of the suffering, but he experiences it in his own flesh. This is what I have previously called "active witness".

[12]. See Perurena (1992) and Frank and Susperregi (1999) for more information about the Basque colour system.

[13]. In Basque, it is also possible to have sentences like (1), but the meaning is "to be related" rather than "to be involved" as in Spanish.

(1) *Honek ez du horrekin zer ikusirik*
this.ERG neg aux.3SG that.COM what see.PART
"This has nothing to do with that" (IS)

[14]. A development of this meaning is the special use of these verbs in the sense of "to attend a lecture, a sermon, a play, a musical performance..." In these cases the hearer is a member of an audience. It is very interesting to see that in Basque the meaning "to hear mass" is lexicalised with a vision verb *ikusi* "to see" instead. The use of *ikusi* "see" in this context might be an instantiation of the correspondence between seeing and witnessing (passively).

[15]. Except Danish *lystre* "obey".

[16]. In fact, this is extremely important in court cases, where *hearsay* evidence is considered to be less reliable than a *eyewitness* testimony (Dundes, 1972: 12; Danesi, 1990: 222).

[17]. For more information on evidentiality, see Chafe and Nichols (1986).

[18]. The verb *feel* is only studied in reference to the sense of touch, not as a general verb for emotion (cf. Spanish *sentir* "feel").

[19]. *Ukitu* is the verb used in Standard Basque. In some of the examples discussed in this section, the verb *ikutu* is also used. It is a variant in the Guipuzcoan and Biscayan dialects.

[20]. According to recent theories in metaphor and metonymy research (Barcelona 2000; Radden 2000), this metaphor could be grounded on the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE, where the effect is the change of state, and the cause the action of touching. This metaphor would be in Radden's terminology a "metonymy-based metaphor" (2000: 93).

[21]. In this example, we have a further metaphor in the case of *heart*. According to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory, *heart* is not a physical object, but a metaphorical realisation of the image schema of a container, where HEART IS A CONTAINER FOR FEELINGS.

[22]. This wider mapping also includes cases where "affect" is not understood metaphorically but physically. For example, a sentence like *Don't you dare to touch any of my things!* (BNC) says that this person is telling the other not to move, change any of his things, where his personal belongings play the role of "affected" entity (see Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2000).

[23]. As in the discussion of the meaning "foresee" in Section 1.1, these are also cases of Graduable or Compositional Polysemy.

[24]. *Haztatu* is more common in the northern dialects.

[25]. This meaning is also possible with *tocar* as in (2):

(2) *Le tocó Dios en el corazón*
him.DAT touched god in the heart
"God inspired his heart" (RAE)

[26]. This verb is more widely used in the Northern dialects.

[27]. This meaning is only possible in negative constructions with the emphatic *ere* "also", which is equivalent to English *not even*.

[28]. Lit. she "smelled, half-saw and broke into".

[29]. This relation between taste and likes/dislikes is very common cross-linguistically, but this meaning seems to be encoded only by taste nouns in English, Basque and Spanish (see Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999a, for analysis).

[30]. *Jastatu* is a dialectal variation of *dastatu*.

[31]. This is also possible in Basque. For example,

(3) *Joni futbola ez zaio gustatzen*
john.DAT football.ABS neg aux.3SG like.HAB
"John doesn't like football"

Works cited

ALM-ARVIUS, Christina. 1993. *The English verb see: A study in multiple meaning*. Göteborg, Sweden: Acta Universitas Gothoburgensis.

BAKER, Colin E. 1999. *Seeing clearly: Frame semantic, psycholinguistics, and cross-linguistic approaches to the semantics of the English verb see*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of California at Berkeley.

BARCELONA, Antonio. 2000 *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads. A cognitive perspective*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

BAUER, J. 1949. *Die Ausdrücke für "schauen" in den Mundarten Italiens und der Südschweiz (nach dem AIS)*. Erlangen.

BRECHTEL, Friederich. 1879. *Über die Bezeichnungen der sinnlichen Wahrnehmungen in den indogermanischen Sprachen. Ein Breitrag zur Bedeutungsgeschichte*. Weimer.

BUCK, Carl D. 1949. *A dictionary of selected synonyms in the principal Indo-European languages*. Chicago: Chicago U. P.

CAPLAN, David. 1973. "A note on the abstract readings of verbs of perception". *Cognition* 2 (3): 269-277.

CHAFE, Wallace and Johanna NICHOLS. (eds.). 1986. *Evidentiality: The coding of epistemology in language*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

DANESI, Marcel. 1990. "Thinking is seeing: Visual metaphors and the nature of abstract thought". *Semiotica* 80 (3/4): 221-237.

DUNDES, A. 1972. "Seeing is believing". *Natural History* 81: 8-12.

FRANK, Roz L. and Mikel SUSPERREGI. 1999. "Conflicting Identities: A comparative study of non-commensurate "Root metaphors" in Basque and Indo-European image schemata". Paper presented at the 6th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference. Stockholm, July 10-16, 1999.

GARCÍA HERNÁNDEZ, B. 1976. *El Campo semántico de "ver" en la lengua latina. Estudio estructural*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.

GRADY, Joseph. 1997a. *Foundations of Meaning: Primary Metaphors and Primary Scenes*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of California at Berkeley.

—. 1997b. "THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS Revisited". *Cognitive Linguistics* 8: 267-290.

—. 1998. "The *Conduit* Metaphor Revisited: Reassessing Metaphors for Communication". In Koenig, J-P. (ed.). *Discourse and Cognition*. Stanford: CSLI: 205-218.

—. 1999. "A typology of motivation for conceptual metaphor: Correlation vs. Resemblance". In Gibbs, Raymond W. Jr. and Gerard J. Steen. (eds.). *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 79-100.

IBARRETXE-ANTUÑANO, Iraide. 1999a. *Polysemy and metaphor in perception verbs: A cross-linguistic study*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of Edinburgh.

—. 1999b. "Predictable vs unpredictable polysemy". *LACUS Forum* 25: 201-211.

—. 1999c. "Metaphorical mappings in the sense of smell". In Gibbs, Raymond W. Jr. & Gerard Steen. (eds.). *Metaphor in cognitive linguistics*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 29-45.

—. 2000. "An inside look at the semantic extensions in tactile verbs". In Ruiz de

Mendoza, Francisco J. (coord.). *Panorama actual de la lingüística aplicada. Conocimiento, procesamiento y uso del lenguaje*. La Rioja: RESLA: 1053-1060.

JOHNSON, Christopher. 1999. "Metaphor vs conflation in the acquisition of polysemy: the case of see". In Hiraga, M.K., Chris Sinha, and Sherman Wilcox. (eds.). *Cultural, typological and psychological perspectives in cognitive linguistics*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

KÖVECSES, Zoltan. 1995. "American Friendship and the Scope of Metaphor". *Cognitive Linguistics* 6 (4): 315-346.

KURATH, Hans. 1921. *The semantic sources of the words for the emotions in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and the Germanic languages*. Menasha, Wi.: George Banta Publishing Co.

LAKOFF, George. 1996. "Sorry, I'm not myself today: The metaphor system for conceptualising the self". In Fauconnier, Gilles and Eve Sweetser. (eds.). *Spaces, Worlds and Grammar*. Chicago: Chicago U. P.: 91-123.

—. 1993. "The contemporary theory of metaphor". In Ortony, Andrew. (ed.). *Metaphor and Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.: 202-251.

LAKOFF, George and Mark JOHNSON. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago and London: Chicago U. P.

—. 1999. *Philosophy in the flesh. The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought*. New York: Basic Books.

LANDAU, Barbara and Lila R. GLEITMAN. 1985. *Language and experience*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. P.

PERURENA, Patriku. 1992. *Koloreak euskal usarioan*. Donostia: Erein.

PRÉVOT, Antoine. 1935. "Verbs grecs relatifs à la vision et noms de l'oeil". *Revue de Philologie* 9: 133-160.

RADDEN, Gunter. 2000. "How metonymic are metaphors?" In Barcelona, Antonio. (ed.). *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads. A cognitive perspective*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter: 79-93.

SWEETSER, Eve. 1990. *From etymology to pragmatics. Metaphoric and cultural aspects of semantic structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

VIBERG, Ake. 1984. "The verbs of perception: a typological study". In Butterworth, B., Bernard Comrie and Osten Dahl. (eds.). *Explanations for language universals* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: 123-162.

WILLETT, Thomas. 1988. "A cross-linguistic survey of evidentiality". *Studies in Language* 12 (1): 51-97.

DICTIONARIES

Advanced Memphis general dictionary. Available from the World Wide Web: http://work.ucsd.edu:5141/cgi-bin/http:_webster. (AMGD)

Collins English dictionary and thesaurus. 1993. Italy: Harper Collins Publishers. (COL)

Collins Spanish-English. English-Spanish dictionary. 1996. Glasgow: Harper Colling Publishers. (CSE)

Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua Española. 1984. 2 vols. Madrid: Real Academia Española. (RAE)

Diccionario moderno Larousse Español-Inglés. 1976. Ediciones Larousse. (LAR)

Diccionario Retana de autoridades del euskera. 1976. Bilbao: Biblioteca de la Gran Enciclopedia Vasca. (AR)

Diccionario 3000 Hiztegia. Adorez 7. 1996. Bilbo: Bostak Bat. (HM)

Elhuyar euskara-gaztelania/castellano-vasco hiztegia. 1996. Usurbil: Elhuyar Kultur Elkartea. (ELH)

MOLINER, María. 1983. *Diccionario del uso del español*. 2 vols. Madrid: Gredos. (MM)

MORRIS, Mikel. 1998. *Morris student plus. Euskara-ingelesa. English-Basque*. Donostia: Klaudio Harluxet Fundazioa. (MMO)

MUGICA-BARRONDO, P. 1981. *Diccionario vasco-castellano* I, II. Bilbao: Mensajero. (MUJ)

Oxford English dictionary. 1986. Oxford: Oxford U. P. (OED)

Oxford Spanish dictionary. 1994. Oxford, New York, Madrid: Oxford U. P. (OSD)

Richmond compact dictionary. 1995. Madrid: Santillana. (RCD)

SARASOLA, Ibon. 1984-95. *Hauta-lanerako euskal hiztegia*. (IS)

The American heritage dictionary. 1992. Houghton Mifflin Company. 3rd Edition. CD-ROM. (AM)

THE TRANSLATION OF THE SONGS IN DISNEY'S *BEAUTY AND THE BEAST*: AN EXAMPLE OF MANIPULATION

LUCÍA LOUREIRO PORTO
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to examine the concept of manipulation in translation, as exemplified in the translation of the songs of the cartoon movie *Beauty and the Beast*, which, as will be shown throughout the paper, reveals a bias towards the assumed audience of the movie.

This paper is divided into two main sections. The first section reviews the basic references related to Translation Studies in general and also specific works on the manipulation of translated literature. As is well known, the idea of manipulation in translation has been the subject of considerable research in the framework of the descriptive branch of Translation Studies (see map of the discipline in Figure 1 below). Several collections of essays have been published on this subject such as the one edited by Theo Hermans (1985). The first section, therefore, is concerned with Translation Studies as an autonomous discipline and with the definition of some of its basic notions, such as *norm*, a technical term which accounts for regularities in the behaviour of the translator when making decisions regarding his translation. This part of the paper also focuses on manipulation itself as a common phenomenon in translation, and comments on its origin, causes and consequences. Finally, in this section I will also make a plea for the need for

empirical work in translation and will summarize the basic steps in a study on translation as proposed by authors such as Toury (1995).

The second section provides the analysis of the data retrieved from the corpus. The examples with optional *shifts*, which reveal the factors conditioning decisions made by the translator, are divided into four main groups: cultural *shifts*, suppression of slang and vulgar language, substitution of abstract for concrete vocabulary and exaggerations. I will try to show the way in which these four groups of factors contribute to the manipulation (simplification, in this case) of the text in order to adapt it to an infant audience, from an original text that was addressed to a broader audience.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of the present study is that which has clearly prevailed in the study of translation from the 70s, namely Translation Studies. The previous conventional line of study of translated texts and of the act of translation itself, which represents a sub-branch of linguistics, considers translations to be literal reproductions of the original text. These reproductions are controlled by established rules, since the approach is prescriptive. Consequently, the outcome of a translation is always predictable, as Hermans (1985: 8-9) clearly explains:

> The conventional approach to literary translation, then, starts from the assumption that translations are not only second hand, but also generally second-rate [...]. The outcome, needless to say is an invariably source-oriented exercise, which, by constantly holding the original up as an absolute standard and touchstone, becomes repetitive, predictable and prescriptive –the implicit norm being a transcendental and utopian concept of translation as reproducing the original, the whole original and nothing but the original.

Traditionally, then, there exist qualitatively "good" and "bad" translations, according to the degree of coincidence with the expected result. There are prescriptive rules that must be followed and respected in order to obtain a relatively good translation (it cannot ever achieve the status of an original text due to its second-rate quality).

However, this concept was abandoned when, in the 70s, a group of scholars put forward a new, different approach to the study of literary translation. That was the beginning of Translation Studies as an autonomous discipline.

2.1. Translation Studies: an autonomous discipline

Hermans (1985: 10) states that in the 70s an international group of scholars proposed a new approach to literary translations whose aim was "to establish a new paradigm for the study of literary translation on the basis of a comprehensive theory and ongoing practical research".

In fact, the discipline was born out of the imperative need for a new approach to translation, and it resulted in the adoption of a diametrically opposed perspective, a descriptive perspective, to the detriment of the old-fashioned prescriptive method. In addition, the study of translation no longer constituted a sub-branch of linguistics, since the new discipline became totally detached from the general science. As proposed by Holmes (1972), the name given to the discipline was Translation Studies.

Traditionally, the source language, and the source text for that matter, was the ideal to be imitated, come what may. With the birth of Translation Studies, the scholars denounced the prescriptive and source-oriented approach of the traditional field, for in their opinion translation must be conceived as a target-oriented phenomenon. The reason for this primacy of the target culture is that translated texts enter the target community to "occupy certain 'slots' in it. Consequently, translators may be said to operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture into which they are translating, however they conceive of that interest" (Toury 1995:12).

Together with this change of orientation, scholars were no longer interested in the question "how should translations be done?" but "how are translations done?" (Fernández Polo 1999: 26-27). The direction of this approach, therefore, is not from rules to translation, but the other way round. In other words, from the analysis of actual translations the scholars will gather which *rules* are being followed by each translator in each case.

This obviously means that Translation Studies as an autonomous discipline requires empirical research. This discipline is primarily practice-based, and the aim is to describe the tendencies which govern the translation of certain text-types in a given society and period. Nevertheless, this does not imply that Translation Studies neglect theory. On the contrary, Translation Studies, like any independent science, combines theory and practice. In order for translation norms to be representative, empirical studies must be ongoing, and at the same time, the existence of previous norms will condition the making of new translations. The connection between practice and theory is bi-directional, as Hermans (1985: 12) clearly states: "Ideally, the process works both ways: case studies are guided by the

theoretical framework, and the feedback from practical research then results in the corroboration or modification of the theoretical apparatus" (1985: 12). Thus, the new autonomous discipline involved both theory and practice. Nowadays, the discipline is very comprehensive and its branches and sub-branches deal with all those aspects which contribute to its scientific status, as is seen in this map:

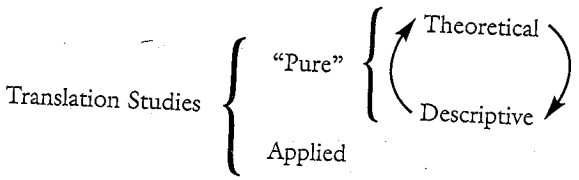


Figure 1: Map of the discipline (cf. Toury 1995: 15; Fernández Polo 1999: 28).

According to this map, "pure" Translation Studies combine theoretical notions with descriptive analysis. The theoretical notions establish the general and partial theories of the discipline, while the descriptive analysis is based on the study of linguistic data. The arrows show the bidirectionality of relationship between theoretical and descriptive fieldwork. Applied Translation Studies, on the other hand, refer to the prescriptive branch of the discipline, which establishes how translations should be done (cf. Fernández Polo 1999: 28).

Through the three sub-branches of the discipline of Translation Studies, theoretical, descriptive and applied, the main concern of the present paper is related to the descriptive analysis of a corpus. Therefore, my intention is to describe the regularities found in the translation of Disney's *Beauty and the Beast*. Such a description will be carried out on the basis of the *norms* used in the translation of these texts from English into Spanish. In the following section, the concept of norm and the different kinds of norms are explained.

2.2. Translation norms

It has already been stated that in the context of Translation Studies, translation is a target culture phenomenon (Toury 1995: 12, 29). The supremacy of the target culture brings the act of translating close to disciplines such as Sociology, since the main concern when translating a text is to achieve acceptance in the target culture. Disciplines such as Contrastive Textology and Pragmatics, which have traditionally been resorted to in order to describe translation, are useful but not enough to illustrate the social role of "translatorship". In Toury's (1995: 53) words:

> Translation activities should rather be regarded as having cultural significance. Consequently, 'translatorship' amounts first and foremost to being able to *play a social role* [...]. The acquisition of a set of norms for determining the suitability of that kind of behaviour [...] is therefore a prerequisite for becoming a translator within a cultural environment.

That is, the translator plays an important role both socially and culturally and his work goes far beyond any linguistic discipline. Translation must, therefore, be regarded as a social act. It is undeniable that within a society there exist certain norms which impose order and which safeguard that society from chaos. The same kind of norms become, therefore, necessary in translation.

These norms, both in society in general and in translation in particular, "are the main factors ensuring the establishment and retention of social order" (Toury 1995: 55). Just as some social behaviours are considered to be deviant from the norm, translated texts may also be habitual or deviant according to the prevailing norm at the moment and place of translation. A definition of translation norm is provided by Baker (1993: 239) (as quoted by Fernández Polo 1999: 36): "options which are regularly taken by translators at a given time and in a given socio-cultural situation". Thus, translation norms are nothing but regularities adopted by translators in a given time and place when translating a certain type of text. The task of the student of translation must be, then, to look for these regularities in order to find out which norms are being followed by the translator. Toury's (1995: 55) words are self-explanatory: "Inasmuch as a norm is really active and effective, one can therefore distinguish **regularity of behaviour** in recurrent situations of the same type, which would render regularities a main source for any *study* of norms as well" (his emphasis). Consequently, in any empirical study of translation regularities should be looked for. This is what I have done in this paper. However, before diving into the corpus-study, the concept of norm should be further explained.

In fact, the concept of norm is somewhat more complex than the simple equivalence with regularity. Toury (1995) distinguishes three types of norms that regulate any act of translation, namely the initial norm, preliminary norms and operational norms.

The *initial norm* stands for the choice between favouring the source or the target pole. That is, the first choice the translator has to make is either to keep the translation close to the original (the translation being *adequate*) or close to the original text-type in the target culture (the translation being, then, *acceptable*). No translation can be fully adequate or fully acceptable. Interferences from the original language and culture prevent the translation from being fully acceptable, and necessary and optional shifts between the two texts make full adequacy

impossible (Toury 1995: 56-7, Fernández Polo 1999: 34). The initial aim of the student of Translation at a first level is to find out whether one of the poles is more favoured than the other, that is, whether the translation is more *adequate* or more *acceptable*.

Preliminary norms are the second kind of norms acknowledged by Toury (1995). They have to do with *translation policy* and *directness of translation* (cf. Toury 1995: 58). *Translation policy* regulates the choice of the text-type to be translated. Depending on the period and the society concerned, some text-types may be the subject of translation more often than others. *Directness of translation*, in turn, pays attention to the languages that are involved in translation, and points out that some languages are much more often translated than others.

Finally, *operational norms* control the process of translation and the decisions made while translating (Toury 1995: 58). There are two types of operational norms: *matricial norms* and *textual-linguistic norms*. These two types of *operational norms* deal with alterations of the original text and describe phenomena such as suppression or substitution, as well as linguistic changes.

In the analysis of my corpus, all these norms will be taken into account in order to determine whether the translation is more adequate or more acceptable. I will also identify all optional shifts in the translation, with the aim of finding out whether the text has undergone any kind of manipulation.

2.3. Manipulation in translation: causes and consequences

The most usual sense of the word manipulation (as seen in the *OED s.v. manipulation*, n, 4) suggests evil intentions on the part of the one who manipulates. However, when dealing with translation one should consider the elements that contribute to the act of translating itself and wonder whether translation is at all possible without any kind of manipulation, an action that does not necessarily imply a wicked intention on the translator's part (cf. Hermans 1985: 11).

Indeed, all translations imply a manipulation of their original, since the translator must make decisions in order to adjust to the lack of direct equivalences between elements in both languages. In taking those decisions, the translator himself is providing an interpretation of the original text, which, according to Hermans (1985), is undoubtedly a manipulation of the original.

Apart from this obvious relation between translation and manipulation, one should not forget that translators are constrained in many ways, as mentioned by Álvarez and Vidal Claramonte (1996: 6), ranging from their own ideology to "the public for whom the translation is intended" and "what the dominant institutions and ideology expect of them". That is, translation in most cases is related to the commercial interest of those who hire translators. Translations are made in order to address the audience of a culture which is different from the original one, and those who link the original text to the new audience are not only translators but companies which distribute and sell the result of the act of translation, namely publishers. Publishers, together with other institutions such as political parties and the media, are among those groups of persons who Lefevere (1992: 15) names "patronage", and who "operate by means of institutions set up to regulate, if not the writing of the literature, at least its distribution". In the same line, Fernández Polo (1999: 33), based on Toury (1995), also states that both publishers and translation schools play an important role in the development of translation norms.

It is precisely the role played by companies such as publishers –or film distributors in this case– in the translation of the songs of Disney's *Beauty and the Beast* that attracts my attention. There is an important reason for that. A film factory such as Disney guarantees success in every movie in the source culture, namely, the US. Success in the target community is practically assured, but the company which distributes the movie has to adapt the text to the expectations of the target culture in order to obtain a good response. In fact, the role played by companies of this kind may reverse the success or the failure of a text in the source culture. Vanderawera (1985) and Tirkkonen-Condit (1989: 8) are good exponents of the effect of manipulation on the response to a certain text.[2]

Therefore, in an attempt to gain a positive response in the target community, manipulation in literature is not unlikely. Actually, ensuring a positive response in a culture different from the original one is a laborious task both for the publishers and the translator. Thus, any manipulation exerted to this end should not be understood as a case of evil manipulation, but as a challenge for all those involved in the distribution of the translated text in the target community. In the analysis of the corpus, in section 3.2, examples revealing this kind of manipulation will be shown.

2.4. Corpus analysis: the starting point in Translation Studies

As already mentioned, in the framework of Translation Studies corpus-based studies are essential. In Hermans' (1985: 12) words, "Practical fieldwork and case studies are therefore a necessity, since ultimately, the theory remains a tentative construct which stands or falls with the success of its applications".

The ultimate aim in any corpus study in Translation Studies is to find out whether the translation favours the source or the target pole, i.e. to discover the 'initial norm' favoured by the translator or group of translators (Tirkkonen-Condit 1989: 6; Toury 1995: 56-7). From Toury (1995: 36-9) and Fernández Polo (1999: 42-3), we gather that three basic steps should be followed when carrying out a study of a translation in order to ensure rigorous scientific results.

1. The first task is to describe the relationship between the translated text and the original texts of the same type in the target language.

2. The second step concerns the relationship between the source text and the target text. The comparison between both texts may be done by means of two different methods:

- Comparing segments of both texts (Toury 1995: 87ff.). Thus, the student works with pairs of unities which are made up of a *problem* in the source text, and a *solution* in the target text (this procedure is exemplified in Toury 1985: 25-32). Once the student has identified the *problems* and the *solutions*, the task is to determine which regularities have been followed by the translator.
- The second way of comparing the source text to the target text consists of identifying all *shifts* in the translation, that is, the segments that do not remain practically identical in the original and the translation (so-called literal translation).

3. The last step in the study is to analyse the data and determine which factors may have affected the translator in making the decisions identified instead of others, which would have produced a different version of the original text.

In the analysis of the translation of Disney's *Beauty and the Beast*, the first of the three basic steps has not been followed, that is, I have not carried out a comparison between this American cartoon movie and Spanish texts of the same type. It should be borne in mind that, in this particular case, such a comparison would only support the hypothesis of acceptability in the Tourian sense of the word. Undoubtedly, this is a crucial point in the analysis of all translation, since that is the *initial norm* adopted by the translator. However, I will show that in my

corpus I have found enough evidence to conclude that the translator has tried to favour the target pole, and that the translation is, clearly, acceptable rather than adequate (cf. section 3.2. below).

3. ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE SONGS IN DISNEY'S *BEAUTY AND THE BEAST*

3.1. Description of the corpus

As already mentioned, the corpus to be analysed in this study consists of the songs in Disney's *Beauty and the Beast*. This corpus appeals to the scholar of Translation Studies because, firstly, the original is in English, the language from which most texts are translated today not only into Spanish, but also into many other languages. This relates to the *preliminary norms*, which, according to Toury, regulate the selection of the text-type to be translated (*policy of translation*) and the *directness of translation*, which determines the source language translations are usually made from (cf. section 2.2). Secondly, it is a product of the Disney factory, which means that it is a commercial movie and as such it is expected to produce as much money as possible, and hence the translation must be as attractive in the target language as the original text is in the source language. Thirdly, this study does not deal with the whole text of the movie, but only with the lyrics –in theatre texts songs are considered to be part of the dialogue (Basnett-Mcguire 1985: 89). This is an especially important factor for the movie *Beauty and the Beast* was awarded an Oscar for the best soundtrack. All these social considerations –that the original is in English, that it is a product of the Disney factory and that the soundtrack is considered to be the best of that year– constitute a challenge to the translator, since ideally the movie should be as successful in the target community as it was in the source one.

The materials I have used in my study are:

- A video-tape of the original version of the movie,
- a video-tape of the dubbed version of the movie, and
- a hard copy of the corpus itself, with the original text of the songs and the translated version of them.

The corpus is divided into two main sections: the English (i.e. original) version of the songs and the Spanish (and hence translated) version. The English version has been downloaded from the Internet, while the Spanish version has been collected by transcribing from the movie. Each version contains six songs. The titles are:

English: *Belle, Gaston, Be Our Guest, Something There, Beauty and the Beast, The Mob Song.*

Spanish: *Bella, Gastón, ¡Qué festín!, Hay algo, Bella y Bestia son, La canción del pueblo.*[3]

The English version contains 2881 words, while the Spanish version has 2174, making a total of 5055 words.

As can be seen in the final credits of the Spanish version of the movie, the Spanish translation was made by Guillermo Ramos from Barcelona. Thus, we will be dealing with a Peninsular Spanish version of the songs, which is a determining factor for the analysis not only of linguistic factors but also of cultural ones.

Given the social implications of these texts, I have faced the analysis of the corpus by identifying all the *shifts*, that is, all necessary and unnecessary changes that the translator has resorted to in the act of translating. Necessary *shifts* relative to textual-linguistic aspects such as noun-adjective order are not included in this study, since that kind of data do not present the translator with any difficulty, and hence no relevant decision has been taken which may reveal any regularity or *norm* relevant to the translation of the text. In the next section the texts are compared in the light of the *shifts* as explained by various authors who consider that manipulation in the translation of literature is of more than merely incidental importance.

3.2. Translation and manipulation: evidence from the corpus

After a brief outline of the concept of manipulation in translation, I will move on now to the analysis of actual examples from the songs of Disney's *Beauty and the Beast*. I have divided these examples according to four different levels of *shift*[4]: a) cultural shifts, b) suppression of slang and vulgar language, c) substitution of abstract for concrete vocabulary, and finally d) exaggerations.

a) Cultural shifts

In the following paragraphs, we can see some examples of the cultural adaptations of some of the lyrics of *Beauty and the Beast*. Such adaptations are especially common in children's literature (cf., for example, Puurtinen 1989: 88).

The setting of the movie is a French village, and hence, references to France are common, as seen in example (1):[5]

(1)

Be Our Guest	*¡Qué festín!*
They can sing	*El ballet*
They can dance	*para usted.*
After all, Miss, this is France	*Esto es Francia, mademoiselle,*
And a dinner here is never second best	*y cualquiera que se precie es bailarín*

Here Lumiere is singing about all the wonderful things Belle is going to enjoy in the castle. The reference to France is present both in the English and in the Spanish version, although the implications are different (in the original it is associated with good food, whereas in the translation it implies good dancers). It must be borne in mind that the images of this scene play an important role since we observe a revealing icon, the Eiffel Tower, in the background while the dishes are dancing and singing. Obviously, this makes the reference to France unavoidable.

However, when the reference to France implies power (instead of savoir faire or social graces) and there is no referential image, the reference is omitted in the Spanish, as exemplified in (2).

(2)

The Mob Song	*La canción del pueblo*
Raise the flag	*Es un ser infernal,*
Sing the song	*nuestra acción*
Here we come, we're fifty strong	*será triunfal*
And fifty Frenchmen can't be wrong	*porque esa bestia criminal*
Let's kill the Beast	*debe morir*

These are the words the villagers are singing in their way to the castle. Gaston has told them that the Beast is dangerous and that they should kill it. The people are enthusiastic about the deed they are about to do, but there are different nuances in the two texts. The English version says explicitly that the fact that those people are French is a reason for thinking that they will achieve what they want (i.e. kill the Beast). Nonetheless, the Spanish translation does not adduce such a reason for a victory, but just says that they will succeed in the fight. Possibly, this is not a fortuitous deletion. France and the French seem to have different stereotypes in the U.S and in Spain, as shown in example (1).

Another example of shift due to cultural factors is found in the song entitled *Be Our Guest*. When Mrs. Pott gets a spot, she claims in the Spanish version that perfection is a classical Latin virtue. This allusion to the Latin culture may be

related to the traditional classical education in Spanish society, a feature which is absent from the American educational system.

(3)

Be Our Guest	***¡Qué festín!***
Clean it up! We want the company impressed	*Perfección es nuestro lema.* *Está en latín*

A similar cultural replacement takes place in *Gaston* (ex. 4), when Gaston's words "*You can ask any Tom, Dick or Stanley*" are replaced by an idiomatic Spanish expression: "*Tú pregunta a fulano y mariano*".

(4)

Gaston	***Gastón***
You can ask any Tom, Dick or Stanley	*Tú pregunta a fulano y mariano*

Although the use of the childish *mariano*, instead of *mengano* is parallel to the English substitution of *Harry* by *Stanley*, this shift might also show another type of regular shifts found in the corpus, involving the total suppression or substitution of slang and vulgar language.

b) Suppression of slang and vulgar language

In the original English text certain characters are frequently depicted by means of their language. This is a widespread device in literature, and is frequently lost in the process of translation.[6] In my corpus a number of linguistic alterations of this type are found. While the English original contains slang and vulgar vocabulary, the Spanish version has suppressed it completely. A possible interpretation of such a radical suppression could be the translator's attempt to make the text suitable for children. Franco Aixelá (1996: 64) calls this kind of shift "attenuation". Let us consider some examples.

The song *Gaston* is the best source for examples of this kind of shift, since the singers are the rudest characters of the movie. Let us start with examples (5) and (6):

(5)

Gaston	***Gastón***
Heh, heh. Darn right	*Tienes mucha razón*

(6)

Gaston	***Gastón***
Gosh, it disturbs me to see you, Gaston, *Looking so down in the dumps*	*No quiero verte tan triste,* *Gastón,* *anda sonríe por mí*

In both cases we see how the informal, slang-like words, *darn* and *gosh*, are suppressed and turned into kind statements in the target language, without any trace of vulgar language and colloquialisms. In fact, the image of Gaston as one of the mean characters is lost in this change of register.

Another instance of this refinement of the language so as to make it more appropriate for children is Gaston's and the townsfolk's words. In the song *Gaston*, this character's personality is reflected through his language. Thus, as we can see in example 7, he refers to Maurice, Belle's father, as *that whacky old coot*, a rather disrespectful way of describing him, whereas the Spanish words, *ese anciano*, are neutral. In the same line, when the village men are flattering Gaston, saying that nobody spits like him, his reply is *I'm specially good at expectorating*, which alludes to a particularly disgusting way of spitting. The Spanish "equivalent", however, is *soy el rey de las carambolas*, a more genteel reference to the patterns created by his spitting, which in effect gives a euphemistic version of the original (cf. example 8).

(7)

Gaston	***Gastón***
That whacky old coot	*Ese anciano*

(8)

Gaston	***Gastón***
I'm specially good at expectorating	*Soy el rey de las carambolas*

The concrete idea expressed by the original in (8) is disguised by using a more metaphorical reference to his way of spitting. This example, however, reverses the general tendency found in the translation of *Beauty and the Beast* towards the substitution of abstract with concrete specific references, as shown in the following section.

c) Substitution of abstract with concrete vocabulary

Another characteristic of the English original is the use of abstract vocabulary in some parts of the text. Usually it does not occur in the dialogue between

characters, but in the characters' narration of what is taking place at the moment. Some references seem to be too metaphorical or symbolic for children to decode them and in those instances the Spanish translation employs a more concrete vocabulary alluding to tangible items. Thus, the readability of the translation seems to be greater than that of the original (vid. Puurtinen 1989 for a study on the readability of translations), as the following examples show.

(9)

Belle	*Bella*
Look there he goes	*Mirad, es él,*
Isn't he dreamy?	*¡menuda boca!*
Monsieur Gaston	*monsieur Gastón,*
Oh, he's so cute	*¡y qué mentón,*
Be still my heart	*y qué nariz!*
I'm hardly breathing	*Nos tiene locas*

The English version lists some good but general qualities of Gaston, whereas the Spanish version conveys the same meaning by naming concrete specific features of his appearance. Thus, expressions like *¡qué mentón!* or *¡qué nariz!* translate general words such as *cute* or *dreamy*.

The song entitled *Beauty and the Beast* is all in all a good example of this regularity. The English version is hard to summarize, because it does not tell any story. It is made of phrases that imply that love is as old a feeling as mankind. The Spanish translation, however, is more explicit since the main idea is that beauty goes far beyond physical appearance, and that love may imply taking risks. This is seen in examples (10) and (11):

(10)

Beauty and the Beast	*Bella y Bestia son*
Ever just the same	*Hoy igual que ayer*
Ever a surprise	*pero nunca igual*
Ever as before	*siempre al arriesgar*
Ever just as sure	*puedes acertar*
As the sun will rise	*tu elección final*

(11)

Beauty and the Beast	*Bella y Bestia son*
Certain as the sun	*Cierto como el sol*
Rising in the east	*que nos da calor,*
Tale as old as time	*no hay mayor verdad:*
Song as old as rhyme	*la belleza está en el interior*

Apart from the substitution of concrete for abstract vocabulary, these two examples are also cases where some kind of moral teaching has been included. This seems to be caused by the translator's attempt to make the text more explicit. Does he think that the audience needs all these concrete ideas in order to follow the plot? Example (12) provides evidence for this hypothesis:

(12)

Something There	*Hay algo*
Well, who'd have thought?	*¿Qué pasa ahí?*
Well, bless my soul.	*¿Los dos, por fin?*
Well, who'd have known?	*Un par feliz.*
Well, who indeed?	*¡Que sí! ¡Qué sí!*
And who'd have guessed they'd come together on their own?	*Va a comenzar la primavera en el jardín*

In this case, apart from the substitution of concrete phrases like *¿los dos, por fin?* for empty exclamations like *bless my soul!*, we find an example of substitution of lyricism for prosaic language. The translator seems to be trying to make the text sound similar to the typical happy ending of fairy tales. This would give support to the already mentioned interpretation that the kind of audience expected for this movie in Spain is different from the original US audience. Moral lessons and the simplification of some sentences make the translation somewhat more naïve than the English original. We could say that these shifts and devices bring the text closer to children than to adults.

The next group of examples may also lend support to this hypothesis. They are examples of the replacement of neutral statements by exaggerations.

d) Exaggerations

On a number of occasions, the English original shows a rather neutral statement which is replaced by an exaggeration in the Spanish translation. Only in two examples is the exaggeration present in the English version, but even then the overstatement is stronger in the translation than in the original (cf. ex. 14, 15). It

seems reasonable to consider that these exaggerations are intended for an infant audience, since, in some cases, the overstatement appears in the Spanish version with the additional purpose of replacing an abstract concept in the original. Witness (13):

(13)

Belle	*Bella*
With a dreamy far-off look	*Con un libro puede estar*
And her nose stuck in a book	*siete horas sin parar.*
What a puzzle to the rest of us is Belle	*Cuando lee no se acuerda de comer.*

The fact that Belle forgets to eat when she is reading a book, as the Spanish translation has it, reminds us of children's tendency to forget about food when playing and having fun. This constitutes the specification of an abstract concept. Moreover, the educational idea that reading is great fun is present in the Spanish version, while the allusions found in the English version relate the habit of compulsive reading to freaks. The original text, therefore, emphasizes the idea that the French villagers are not very literate, while the translation focuses on the intellectual side of Belle by using an exaggeration which includes some learning. This leads us directly to the idea that the translator is thinking of children as the main audience of this movie.

(14)

Gaston	*Gastón*
and ev'ry last inch of me is covered with hair	*Y soy más peludo que un oso polar*

(15)

Gaston	*Gastón*
When I was a lad I ate four dozen eggs [...]	*Hasta una docena de huevos comía [...]*
And now that I'm grown I eat five dozen eggs	*Y ahora que como cuarenta, tal vez*

Though in these examples the English text is not very realistic either, it is undeniable that the Spanish translation increases the exaggerated tone, as the underlined sequences show. Moreover, the exaggeration of the Spanish text in (14) is a more faithful reflection of a child's vocabulary than the English original; it also contains one reference to a tangible element (the polar bear) which is not present in the original, and which helps to create an image full of plasticity for a

child. As for (15), it is obvious that the original text contains an overstatement, but the difference between what Gaston used to eat as a child and as an adult is not so exaggerated as in the Spanish version.

Finally, let us consider the following words by Lumiere in *Be Our Guest*:

(16)

Be Our Guest	*¡Qué festín!*
(a) 'Til you shout "Enough! I'm done!"	*Y entre velas y caviares serviremos mil manjares*
(b) Tonight you'll prop your feet up	*Y dormirá cien horas, pero ahora coma*

These are clear examples of exaggerations in a very fairy-tale-like manner. The English version contains common expressions that could be used in any regular dialogue, including the humorous expression in (b), according to the *OED* (*s.v. prop* v., 1 b). The Spanish translation contains not only two obvious exaggerations, but also the kind of language that we find in fairy tales. For example, the speaker uses the polite second person pronoun to address Belle (*dormirá, coma*). Though this cannot be done in the original, however, the use of expressions such as *Enough! I'm done!* and *you'll prop your feet up* contrast certainly with the fairy-tale-like language found in the Spanish version. In addition to this, the Spanish version describes the setting of the dinner (*entre velas y caviares*) and makes use of a very refined word to refer to food, *manjares*. All these linguistic connections with fairy tales seem to support the idea that the Spanish translation is not addressed indiscriminately to every kind of audience but to a very specific one, namely to children.

The four kinds of shifts analysed in this section, namely, cultural shifts, suppression of slang and vulgar language, substitution of concrete for abstract vocabulary and exaggerations, seem to contribute to the adaptation of the text to an infant audience. First, the English original often presents references that children would not immediately understand, for instance, cultural allusions (e.g. examples 1, 2 & 3) and abstract concepts (e.g. examples 10 & 11). Second, linguistic changes in the translation make the text suitable for children, as seen in examples (5), (13) & (16), for instance. I conclude, on this evidence, that the text of the songs of Disney's *Beauty and the Beast* has undergone manipulation in the process of translation: while the English original seems to have been addressed to all kinds of audiences, the Spanish translation was made with children in mind.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper has tried to show how literature may be subject to manipulation in the process of translation by reviewing certain works on the topic as well as analysing real data, which constitute the two main sections of the study. The method adopted to carry out this study is that of descriptive analysis. Thus, this paper is located within the framework of Translation Studies as a generally acknowledged framework which assumes a descriptive approach to translation research.

Section 2 is devoted to the description of the theoretical framework of this study. The basic notions for the understanding of this framework are explained in sections 2.1 and 2.2, and special attention is paid to the concept of *norm* in a Tourian sense of the word, since the aim of the analysis of the corpus is to find the *norms* that the translator may have been following in the process of translating the text. Section 2.3 concentrates on manipulation as a common phenomenon in literary translation, and section 2.4 represents the linkage between sections 2 and 3, since it justifies the necessity of corpus-analysis in Translation Studies.

Section 3 is in turn devoted to the analysis of the real data retrieved from the corpus, i.e. the songs in Disney's *Beauty and the Beast*. This analysis was carried out with the aim of finding out the *operational norms* used in the translation, that is, the norms which control the relationship between the source text and the target text, which constitutes the third step to be taken in any study of translation (cf. Toury: 1995: 36-9, Fernández Polo: 1999: 42). Between the two possible ways of dealing with the data (see section 2.4 above), I have opted for the identification of the *shifts* in the translation.

The most relevant *shifts* in the translation of the songs have to do with four basic phenomena: cultural differences between the source and the target culture, suppression of slang and vulgar language, substitution of concrete for abstract vocabulary, and the use of exaggerations. It has been shown, furthermore, that the adaptations described under the four headings have brought about a text suited to a more naïve and innocent kind of audience than the original text seems to have been addressed to. In addition to these four types of adaptation, the text is also characterized by a certain amount of moralizing as well as the use of lyric and fairy-tale-like words and expressions which are not present in the original text.

All these aspects reveal that the audience expected for Disney's *Beauty and the Beast* is different with respect to its source culture, the US, as compared with the target one, in this case, Spain. While the original text was addressed to all kinds of audiences, the translation seems to have been adapted for children exclusively.

However, it should not be forgotten that this is just a one-text-corpus study, and that in order to formulate definite conclusions more similar texts should be reviewed (cf. Toury 1995: 38; and Fernández Polo 1999: 44-5).

This paper, however, does not attempt to formulate general rules about the translation of cartoon movies into Spanish. It is just a thorough study of one particular text, in the line of the research models found in essay collections such as the ones edited by Hermans (1985) or Tirkkonen-Condit and Condit (1989). Just as those scholars write about their findings in individual texts, this paper proposes to explore the text in question as an example of manipulation in translation for reasons of adaptation to the target community. Since this study is only based on a single text, it is impossible to determine the factors which have caused the translator to make these decisions. Were they his own decisions? Or was he influenced by the Spanish film distributors in the same way that translators have been influenced by publishers in this country? An answer to these questions needs further research.

Notes

[1]. The research reported in this paper was funded by a grant from the Xunta de Galicia (No. PGIDT01PXI20404PR) and from the Spanish Ministry of Science and Technology (No. BFF2001-2914). These grants are hereby gratefully acknowledged. I wish to thank Francisco Javier Fernández Polo and Elena Seoane Posse for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper. I also gratefully acknowledge helpful hints and comments from two anonymous referees.

[2]. Tirkkonen-Condit comments on the translations of the novels published by Harlequin. Changes like the elimination of "boring" descriptions of characters and linguistic simplification had been insisted on by the editors and the result got a very good response from the Finnish audience. In other words, "the employer's ideas about acceptability did in fact coincide with the reader's ideas of acceptability" (Tirkkonen-Condit 1989: 8). Vanderawera (1985: 199), however, reports the lack of success of Dutch literature translated into English. In her opinion, "the mechanisms of the literary market, and literary taste at the target pole appear to function as *commercial and aesthetic* censors affecting the distribution and reception of translated literature"(my emphasis).

[3]. I should point out that only the English titles are the actual titles, the Spanish ones are my translation of them. Since the titles of the songs are not provided in the movie, I have decided to translate them in order to make it easier to refer to the texts themselves in the rest of this paper.

[4]. Although I am aware that formal characteristics such as syntactic constraints (e.g. number of words per verse, etc.) constitute an important factor to be taken into account in this type of study, for reasons of space I will only focus on features related to the content of the text, as outlined in the four above-mentioned levels of shifts.

[5]. The words in bold type which precede each example correspond to the English and the Spanish titles of the songs respectively.

[6]. Tirkkonen-Condit (1989: 12-13) mentions a study of the English translation of Finnish war books by one of the students at the University of Joensuu. She shows that while the English translation presents no linguistic characterization of the characters, the Finnish original contains contrasts between soldiers and officers "and those between various provincial stereotypes created through dialogues: humorous and sociable versus stubborn and reserved, lively and clever versus slow and stupid".

Works cited

ÁLVAREZ, Román and M. Carmen África VIDAL CLARAMONTE. (eds.). 1996. *Translation, Power, Subversion*. Clevedon, Philadelphia, Adelaide: Multilingual Matters.

—-. 1996. "Translating: A Political Act". In Álvarez, Román and M. Carmen África Vidal Claramonte. (eds.).: 1-9.

BAKER, Mona. 1993. "Corpus linguistics and translation studies. Implications and applications". In Baker, Mona, Francis Gill and Elena Tognili-Bonelli. (eds.). *Text and technology. In honour of John Sinclair*. Philadelphia/Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 233-252.

BASNETT-MCGUIRE, Susan. 1985. "Ways Through the Labyrinth. Strategies and Methods for Translating Theatre Texts". In Hermans, Theo. (ed.).: 87-102.

FERNÁNDEZ POLO, Francisco Javier. 1999. *Traducción y retórica contrastiva. A propósito de la traducción de textos de divulgación científica del inglés al español*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela. Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico.

FRANCO AIXELÁ, Javier. 1996. "Culture-Specific Items in Translation". In Álvarez, Román and M. Carmen África Vidal Claramonte. (eds.).: 52-78.

HERMANS, Theo. (ed.). 1985. *The Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation*. London/Sydney: Croom Helm.

HOLMES, James S. 1972. "The name and nature of Translation Studies". *3rd International Congress of Applied Linguistics*. Copenhagen. I have used the version which appears in Holmes, James S. 1988. *Translated!* Amsterdam: Rodopi: 67-80.

LEFEVERE, André. 1992. *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*. London and New York: Routledge.

Oxford English Dictionary (OED). 1993. 2nd Edition on CD-Rom. Oxford: Oxford U.P.

PUURTINEN, Tiina. 1989. "Two Translations in Comparison: A Study on Readability". In Tirkkonen-Condit, Sonja and Stephen Condit. (eds.).: 87-112.

TIRKKONEN-CONDIT, Sonja and Stephen CONDIT. 1989. *Empirical Studies in Translation and Linguistics*. Joensuu: Joensuu yliopiston monituskeskus.

TIRKKONEN-CONDIT, Sonja. 1989. "Theory and Methodology in Translation Research". In Tirkkonen-Condit, Sonja and Stephen Condit. (eds.).: 3-18.

TOURY, Gideon. 1985. "A rationale for descriptive Translation Studies". In Hermans, Theo. (ed.).: 16-41.

TOURY, Gideon. 1995. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins P.C.

VANDERAWERA, Ria. 1985. "The Response to Translated Literature: A Sad Example". In Hermans, Theo. (ed.).: 198-214.

Web-site:

http://www.angelfire.com/movies/disneybroadway/beautybeast.html (February 2002)

SEMÁNTICA Y SINTAXIS: EL SINTAGMA NOMINAL EN UN ESTUDIO CONTRASTIVO INGLÉS-ESPAÑOL

NOELIA RAMÓN GARCÍA
Universidad de León

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

En este trabajo pretendemos analizar la representación formal de la función semántica de la caracterización en los sintagmas nominales (en adelante SN) en inglés y en español. El término caracterización se refiere a la expresión de la cualidad; en la teoría lingüística, "la caractérisation est l'ensemble des moyens par lesquels la langue décrit les gens, les choses et les idées d'une part, et les actions d'autre part" (Darbelnet 1969: 41). Este término designa no sólo la atribución de cualidades a sustantivos, por ejemplo por medio de adjetivos (*an interesting man*), sino también, y de forma paralela, a procesos verbales, por ejemplo por medio de adverbios (*to run fast*). En este trabajo nos vamos a centrar exclusivamente en la caracterización de sustantivos.

Teniendo en cuenta la estrecha relación entre sintaxis y semántica, hemos tratado de establecer las posibles correspondencias de la función semántica de la caracterización con las distintas funciones sintácticas propias de los SN, para tratar de observar patrones de comportamiento en la organización de este significado concreto. Con la finalidad de llevar a cabo este análisis, hemos analizado 500 ejemplos de dos sustantivos comunes, *man* en inglés y su equivalente referencial *hombre* en español, extraídos de dos grandes corpus

monolingües, el *Cobuild/Bank of English* y el CREA (Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual).

Este estudio consta de dos partes:

- un primer análisis determinará con qué frecuencia un SN aparece caracterizado, y cuáles son los recursos modificadores de estos sustantivos que los acompañan más comúnmente en cada lengua,

- un análisis posterior establecerá cuál es la distribución de funciones sintácticas de estos SN, según la presencia o ausencia de recursos modificadores, y según el tipo de estructura empleada.

Nuestra hipótesis inicial es que el inglés y el español no emplean del mismo modo los recursos disponibles para caracterizar sustantivos. Esta hipótesis se asienta sobre el conocimiento del funcionamiento de la gramática de estas dos lenguas, en las cuales los patrones colocacionales no son los mismos cuando se trata de caracterizar sustantivos. La posición no marcada de los elementos caracterizadores más claros es opuesta: los adjetivos se colocan delante del sustantivo en inglés (*the red car*) y detrás en español (*el coche rojo*). Además, el uso de sustantivos con funciones adjetivas es un recurso bien conocido de la lengua inglesa (*a lemon cake*), y poco frecuente, aunque posible, en español (*un hombre orquesta*). También es conocida la tendencia a la síntesis en la expresión gramatical en lengua inglesa, mientras que el español tiende más a construcciones analíticas y prepositivas. En consecuencia, esperamos encontrar diferencias en la distribución de los distintos recursos gramaticales que ambas lenguas emplean para llevar a cabo la función semántica de la caracterización.

En nuestro artículo analizamos también la distribución de los SN de acuerdo con la función sintáctica que desempeñan, con la finalidad de observar si en las dos lenguas las distintas funciones sintácticas presentan SN con diferencias en cuanto a la presencia de caracterización o no, y el tipo de modificadores que pueden llevar. El objetivo del análisis es determinar si se seleccionan recursos modificadores específicos según el tipo de función sintáctica en las dos lenguas. Debido a la interdependencia entre semántica y sintaxis, consideramos que determinadas funciones sintácticas podrían presentar una mayor tendencia a la caracterización del sustantivo que constituye su núcleo que otras funciones.

2. LA ESTRUCTURA DEL SINTAGMA NOMINAL EN INGLÉS Y ESPAÑOL: PRINCIPALES RECURSOS CARACTERIZADORES

2.1. La caracterización como función semántica

La modificación directa de los sustantivos es uno de los aspectos en los que dos lenguas como el inglés y el español difieren en mayor medida, ya que poseen formas marcadamente distintas en este aspecto gramatical concreto debido, sobre todo, a la diferente tipología lingüística a la que pertenecen estas dos lenguas: la germánica y la románica, respectivamente. La diferencia más obvia está representada por la distinta posición no marcada de los adjetivos en ambas lenguas: antepuestos al sustantivo en inglés, y pospuestos en español.

Ciertos filósofos alemanes de principios del siglo XIX (Humboldt 1836), desarrollaron teorías sobre la distinta percepción de la realidad de los distintos pueblos, algo que se reflejaba en las diferencias entre las lenguas. Así, la visión de la realidad que tienen los hablantes de una lengua y su manera de referirse a esa realidad y de describirla están íntimamente relacionadas. Este hecho tiene una repercusión importante especialmente en el caso de la función semántica de la caracterización.

> La lengua anglosajona [...] tiene grandes virtudes, como su economía y flexibilidad, porque su campo de acción se contrae a la manifestación concreta de la realidad, gracias a su riqueza de términos concretos para describir la experiencia humana, su facilidad de pintar la realidad en forma natural y precisa con todos sus detalles y matices. Su estructura es apta para la descripción cinematográfica de los procesos de realidad. El orden riguroso y efectivo del inglés, su tendencia a la lexicalización [...] subyuga a una lengua (el español) que se caracteriza por mantenerse en el plano de lo abstracto, del intelecto, ajena a los detalles de lo concreto y de lo objetivo (Vázquez Ayora 1977: 44).

Esta diferencia entre el inglés y el español corresponde al plano léxico del uso de adjetivos, y en consecuencia de unidades caracterizadoras en general. El alto grado de lexicalización al que se refiere el autor tiene también una gran repercusión en el campo de la caracterización, ya que permite que el inglés emplee sustantivos como si de adjetivos se tratase. La diferencia en la concepción y descripción de la realidad, la extraordinaria flexibilidad del inglés para utilizar sustantivos como adjetivos, y la marcada oposición en la colocación de los adjetivos con respecto a los sustantivos nos llevan a descubrir las profundas

diferencias en la forma de organizar la expresión de la cualidad en dos lenguas como el inglés y el español.

Tratándose de una parcela del significado tan amplia, no puede extrañarnos que existan múltiples recursos lingüísticos distintos para llevar a cabo la función semántica de la caracterización cuando se trata de calificar sustantivos. Aunque el adjetivo sea el exponente más claro de la caracterización de sustantivos en ambas lenguas, no es ni mucho menos el único medio existente para expresar gramaticalmente este significado. "Other word classes can be used in similar ways to adjectives (especially nouns, adverbs, and semi-determiners), so that the boundaries of the adjetive category are not easy to draw" (Biber et al. 1999: 506).

También en la tradición gramatical española se reconoce que los elementos lingüísticos que pueden caracterizar un sustantivo, es decir, que pueden ejercer las funciones de un adjetivo, pertenecen a categorías lingüísticas diversas, como sustantivos (*café concierto*), sintagmas preposicionales (*revista de mujeres*), etc. Podemos afirmar que está "reconocido también por el diccionario académico el uso adjetivo de lo que no lo es" (Marsá 1984: 77).

En posición atributiva, los recursos caracterizadores más frecuentes y de mayor importancia en las dos lenguas que vamos a tratar son, entre otros, adjetivos y sintagmas adjetivales (en adelante Sadj), sintagmas preposicionales (en adelante Sprep), oraciones de relativo, otros SN (sustantivos independientes o aposiciones), y oraciones de participio.

En lo que se refiere a la constitución de un SN, la mayoría de los manuales de gramática para ambas lenguas proponen como estructura típica de un SN la siguiente: (DET) + (PREM) + N + (POM), en la que el núcleo sustantivo N se ve rodeado de determinantes, estructuras premodificadoras y postmodificadoras. Según este esquema, el único elemento necesario para la existencia de un SN es un núcleo sustantivo o sustantivado. Los demás elementos son opcionales, de ahí su inclusión entre paréntesis.

2.2. Funciones sintácticas de SN en relación con la caracterización

El inglés y el español comparten las mismas funciones sintácticas propias de los SN. Un SN en cualquiera de estas dos lenguas puede desempeñar funciones como, por ejemplo, sujeto, atributo, u objeto directo, entre otras. Por otro lado, todo Sprep consta de un SN encabezado por una preposición, con lo cual ésta también

será una de las posibles funciones que desempeñen los SN que hemos analizado en este trabajo.

El análisis de las funciones sintácticas de los SN con *man* y *hombre* como núcleo nos permitirá observar en qué casos es mayor el porcentaje de caracterización, para poder establecer una relación entre la modificación cualitativa de los sutantivos y la posibilidad de los mismos de desempeñar determinadas funciones.

En nuestra opinión, se trata de un claro ejemplo del interfaz entre semántica y sintaxis, de la influencia de la expresión de un campo concreto del significado como es la caracterización, y las posibles funciones sintácticas en las que se emplea con mayor o menor frecuencia. Podemos preguntarnos en este momento cómo se produce esta interrelación, si se trata de la propia función sintáctica que exige determinados contenidos léxicos, o si por el contrario, es el contenido léxico el que de alguna manera determina qué funciones sintácticas puede desempeñar con mayor facilidad y cuáles no. No hay una sola respuesta a esta pregunta, y dependiendo de nuestro enfoque nos inclinaremos por una u otra explicación. Podemos considerar que "the function and position of the noun phrase in a given context impose restrictions on the structure of that noun phrase" (Oostdijk y Aarts 1994: 108). O, desde una perspectiva semántica, podemos defender un enfoque opuesto:

> As communicators we do not proceed by selecting syntactic structures and independently choosing lexis to slot into them. Instead, we have concepts to convey and communicative choices to make which require central lexical items, and these choices find themselves syntactic structures in which they can be said comfortably and grammatically (Francis 1993: 142).

Se trata de una mutua complementación. En cualquier caso, la importancia del significado en la estructuración de las funciones sintácticas es evidente. Así, "el componente semántico en las cuestiones sintácticas ha sido objeto de diversa y contradictoria consideración. [...] Se ha pasado de negar al componente semántico ninguna función en la construcción sintáctica a atribuirle un papel de protagonista" (Marsá 1984: 28).

Teniendo en cuenta esta determinación del significado en cuanto a las funciones sintácticas, se justifica el orden prioritario del análisis de la función semántica de la caracterización en nuestro estudio. Sólo una vez que esta función semántica haya sido descrita, pasaremos a observar cómo se distribuye en las distintas funciones semánticas propias de los SN con *man* y *hombre* como núcleo. Coincidimos plenamente con la afirmación de Francis de que "syntax is driven by lexis: lexis is communicatively prior" (Francis 1993: 142).

3. ESTUDIO DESCRIPTIVO DE LA CARACTERIZACIÓN DE LOS SUSTANTIVOS *MAN* Y *HOMBRE*

3.1. La caracterización del sustantivo inglés *man*

Después de analizar 500 ejemplos de *man*, encontramos que en 168 ocasiones este sustantivo aparecía en el texto sin ningún tipo de caracterización (33'6%), mientras que en 332 ocasiones sí presentaba caracterización (66'4%). La siguiente tabla presenta los porcentajes de frecuencia de los recursos caracterizadores que acompañan a *man* y que ocurren diez o más veces en el corpus.

ESTRUCTURA	Nº DE CASOS	PORCENTAJE DE CARACTERIZACIÓN
Oración de relativo	69	20'78%
Un adjetivo antepuesto	68	20'48%
Sustantivo + *man*	44	13'25%
Or. participio (-ing, -ed) y Sadj	20	6'02%
Sprep con OF	19	5'72%
2 adjetivos antepuestos	14	4'21%
Sprep con WITH	10	3'01%

Tabla 1: Recursos caracterizadores del sustantivo inglés *man*.

Los recursos caracterizadores más frecuentes en inglés para el caso de *man* son la oración de relativo, con un 20'78% (*the man who led the protest, the man I love*, etc.), y el adjetivo único antepuesto, ya sea éste simple o compuesto, con un 20'48% (*a young man, a much-married man*, etc.). Estos dos recursos acaparan ellos solos el 41'26% del total. El tercer recurso más frecuente es la modificación por medio de un sustantivo antepuesto con función de adjetivo, con un 13'25% (*museum man, key man, soccer man*, etc.). Este recurso es muy productivo en inglés, además de estar en alza su uso en determinados registros. (Hough 1971: 15). El siguiente recurso caracterizador de *man* agrupa oraciones de participio (*-ing, -ed*), y sintagmas adjetivos (en adelante Sadjs), es decir, grupos sintagmáticos en los que el adjetivo es modificado a su vez por algún adverbio: *a mentally ill man*, etc. Con un 5'72% de frecuencia, se sitúa el quinto recurso más utilizado, el del Sprep encabezado por la preposición OF: *man of the year, man of the left*, etc.

Los 5 recursos formales más frecuentes en la caracterización de *man* suman el 66'25% del total de las estructuras con significado cualitativo. Los demás recursos tienen una frecuencia mucho menor, y se trata en la mayoría de los casos de combinaciones de alguno de los cuatro recursos más comunes entre sí, en distintas posiciones, especialmente combinaciones en las que participa el adjetivo antepuesto y algún tipo de construcción postmodificadora. Es necesario señalar aquí que la lengua inglesa presenta una gran variedad estructural a la hora de caracterizar sustantivos.

3.2. La caracterización del sustantivo español *hombre*

Después de analizar 500 ejemplos de *hombre*, encontramos que en 172 ocasiones este sustantivo aparecía en el texto sin ningún tipo de caracterización (34'4%), mientras que en 328 ocasiones sí presentaba caracterización (65'6%). La siguiente tabla presenta los porcentajes de frecuencia de los recursos caracterizadores que acompañan a *hombre* con diez o más ejemplos en el corpus.

ESTRUCTURA	Nº DE CASOS	PORCENTAJE DE CARACTERIZACIÓN
Oración de relativo	72	21'95%
Sprep con DE	52	15'85%
Un adjetivo pospuesto	51	15'54%
Sadj u or. de participio	28	8'53%
Adjetivo o Sadj + or. relativa	12	3'65%
2 oraciones de relativo	11	3'35%
Adjetivo o Sadj + Sprep con DE	10	3'04%

Tabla 2: Recursos caracterizadores del sustantivo español *hombre*.

El recurso caracterizador más frecuente de *hombre* es la oración de relativo, que acapara un 21'95% de todas las apariciones caracterizadoras: *un hombre que consiguió huir de la justicia, un hombre que reclamaba su ayuda*, etc. Le siguen el Sprep con DE (*un hombre de moda, un hombre de suerte, el hombre de confianza*, etc.) con un 15'85% del total, y el adjetivo pospuesto (*el hombre moderno, un hombre idóneo*, etc.) con un 15'54%, una cifra muy similar de apariciones. En cuarto lugar se sitúan el Sadj. y las oraciones de participio (8'53%), agrupados

dentro de la misma categoría: *un hombre inmensamente feliz, un hombre demasiado mayor*, etc.

Los cuatro modos de caracterización más frecuentes conforman ellos solos un 61'87% del total de las estructuras caracterizadoras. Todos los demás recursos tienen una frecuencia mucho menor, y se puede observar que se trata en la mayoría de los casos de combinaciones de alguno de los cuatro recursos más comunes entre sí, en distintas posiciones. Es de destacar la enorme variedad estructural que ofrece la lengua española en este aspecto. Destaca, por otro lado, la escasísima frecuencia de recursos premodificadores en español. Sólo un 1'52% del total se corresponde con apariciones de *hombre* precedido por un adjetivo.

3.3. Yuxtaposición y contraste de resultados: *man - hombre.*

Podemos decir que los niveles cuantitativos de la caracterización son muy similares en español y en inglés para *man* y *hombre*. En inglés, el sustantivo aparece caracterizado en un 66,4% de los ejemplos y en español en un 65,6%. La no caracterización suma en inglés un 33,6% y en español un 34,4%. En consecuencia, son aproximadamente el doble los casos en los que estos sustantivos aparecen caracterizados cualitativamente, comparados con los SN en los que no aparecen caracterizados. Estos datos pueden mostrar una tendencia particular por parte de los hablantes, tanto de inglés como de español, a realizar algún tipo de comentario calificativo añadido la mayoría de las veces que se refieren a seres humanos.

En lo que se refiere al tipo de caracterización más común para *man – hombre*, éstas son las estructuras más frecuentes:

INGLÉS		ESPAÑOL	
Man +oración de relativo	20'78%	*hombre* +oración de relativo	21'95%
Adjetivo +*man*	20'48%	*hombre* + Sprep con DE	15'85%
Sustantivo + *man*	13'25%	*hombre* + un solo adjetivo	15'54%
Man +Sadj u or. part.	6'09%	*hombre* + Sadj u or. part.	8'53%
Man + Sprep con OF	5'72%	*hombre* + adj. o Sadj + relat.	3'65%
2 adjetivos + *man*	4'21%	*hombre* +adj. o Sadj + Sprep DE	3'35%
TOTAL	70'53%	TOTAL	68'87%

Tabla 3: Yuxtaposición de recursos caracterizadores de *man* y *hombre*.

Destaca la posición del elemento caracterizador con respecto a *man* o a *hombre*. Tres de las seis estructuras más frecuentes en inglés son unidades premodificadoras, mientras que en los seis casos en español se trata de postmodificación. Esto indica claramente las distintas preferencias de las dos lenguas en cuanto a caracterización se refiere. Tanto en inglés como en español, el porcentaje de frecuencia de las oraciones de relativo es muy elevado y se sitúa en torno al 20%. Parece ser más frecuente en inglés que en español el uso de un único adjetivo modificador de sustantivos animados y humanos (en anteposición, lugar no marcado en inglés). Hay un 20'48% en inglés frente a un 15'54% en español de postmodificación (lugar no marcado en español) por medio de un solo adjetivo. Un elemento que llama la atención es el elevado porcentaje del Sprep con DE en español (15'85%), que sobrepasa incluso al porcentaje de modificación por un adjetivo, que se podría haber considerado como la forma primaria de caracterización de un sustantivo. El Sprep con DE se revela así como uno de los recursos preferidos por los hablantes de español para caracterizar sustantivos. En cambio, el equivalente formal en inglés (Sprep con OF) apenas alcanza un 5'72%, menos de un tercio que la forma española con DE. Este hecho se ve ampliamente compensado por otro punto muy destacado: el alto porcentaje de frecuencia de la modificación del sustantivo por medio de otro sustantivo antepuesto con función adjetiva, un 13'25%. Las cifras mencionadas confirman la hipótesis alcanzada por todo hispanohablante que aprende inglés de que muchas de las ocasiones en que aparece una estructura sustantivo+sustantivo en inglés, se corresponden con expresiones con la preposición DE en español. También pone de relieve las preferencias productivas de los hablantes de cada lengua: mientras que los ingleses tienden al uso de la composición nominal, en español la fórmula más productiva es la del sintagma preposicional con DE, que no en vano se denomina a menudo complemento del nombre.

Teniendo en cuenta la elevada frecuencia de la caracterización por medio de un sustantivo en inglés (13'25%), el equivalente formal a esta estructura ni siquiera se encuentra entre los 6 recursos más frecuentes en español, lengua en la cual apenas alcanza un 1'21% de frecuencia de aparición (posibles calcos del inglés, en algunos casos: *el hombre clave*). Es decir, el recurso existe y la lengua lo permite, pero los hablantes de español no lo explotan, por lo que no lo podemos considerar un recurso productivo de la lengua española, mientras que sí lo es, y mucho, en inglés. En cuanto a la modificación de *man* y *hombre* por medio de Sadj y por medio de estructuras de participio, no hay diferencias sustanciales en inglés y español. El porcentaje es de 6'02% en inglés y de 8'53% en español, y en ambas lenguas este recurso ocupa el cuarto lugar en frecuencia de aparición. Por último, en los niveles inferiores al 5% de frecuencia, destaca el uso de dos adjetivos antepuestos a *man* en inglés (4'21%), mientras que el recurso formal equivalente

en español, dos adjetivos pospuestos, es mucho menos frecuente, con sólo 1'82%, por lo que no se encuentra en este tabla.

En el caso del español, aparte de los cuatro primeros recursos, la práctica totalidad de los demás están formados por combinaciones de diversos elementos, en especial adjetivos, oraciones relativas y Sprep con DE, es decir, los recursos más frecuentes también en solitario. Cabe señalar aquí que cuando se dan combinaciones, el adjetivo, ya sea único o modificado, tiene la posición preferente, y los demás recursos que se combinan con él irán siempre en segundo lugar.

En ambas lenguas la gran variedad de construcciones caracterizadoras disponibles es sólo aparente, ya que en realidad sólo unos pocos recursos copan en torno al 70% del total de la caracterización. A pesar de que el adjetivo puede parecer en un principio el recurso caracterizador por excelencia, nuestro análisis demuestra que no es así, ya que en ninguna de las dos lenguas ocupa el primer lugar en frecuencia de uso. También es necesario destacar una diferencia muy clara entre el inglés y el español en cuanto al uso de los adjetivos. Los hablantes ingleses parecen tener una tendencia mucho más marcada hacia el uso de adjetivos como modificadores de sustantivos que los hablantes de español. La distinta tipología lingüística de las dos lenguas de trabajo está representada claramente en las formas preferidas para la caracterización de sustantivos, especialmente en el sustantivo premodificador en inglés y el Sprep con DE en español, que poseen porcentajes muy altos de uso y son diametralmente opuestos formalmente, aunque semánticamente presentan características muy similares, y además poseen porcentajes de frecuencia similares.

Como conclusión podemos señalar que las unidades y estructuras que emplean los hablantes anglófonos e hispanófonos para caracterizar sustantivos no difieren mucho entre sí formalmente, es decir, ambas lenguas comparten en gran medida el inventario de unidades modificadoras, pero éstas se emplean con distinta distribución y frecuencia para la caracterización de los sustantivos, y en este aspecto es donde estriba la problemática.

Una vez establecidos los recursos caracterizadores más frecuentes en las dos lenguas que nos ocupan, vamos a analizar en cada uno de los casos cuál era la función sintáctica que desempeñaban los sustantivos *man* y *hombre*. Intentaremos así demostrar que la función sintáctica determina de cierta forma el hecho de que el sustantivo esté caracterizado o no.

4. ANÁLISIS SINTÁCTICO DE LAS CONCORDANCIAS DEL SUSTANTIVO *MAN*

En esta sección presentamos un estudio para determinar la función sintáctica de cada una de las apariciones del sustantivo *man* en el corpus. Se han delimitado todos los sintagmas de los cuales *man* fuera el núcleo, y se ha establecido la función sintáctica de estos sintagmas dentro de su oración correspondiente, ya fuera ésta principal o subordinada.

En 89 casos no se ha podido determinar el aspecto sintáctico del SN correspondiente por diversos motivos, como errores en el corpus, nombres propios o interjecciones. Esto supone un 16'6% del total. Aun así, consideramos que los 411 ejemplos restantes son suficientemente representativos para extraer conclusiones válidas para nuestro estudio.

El análisis de estos 411 ha dado como resultado los siguientes porcentajes de casos según la función sintáctica que desempeñaba el SN con *man* de núcleo:

1. Sujeto: 170 casos (41'36%)
2. Sprep: 103 casos (25'06%)
3. Atributo: 71 casos (17'27%)
4. Objeto indirecto: 47 casos (11'43%)
5. Aposición: 16 casos (3'89%)
6. Complemento de objeto directo: 3 casos (0'72%)
7. Objeto indirecto: 1 caso (0'24%)

Una vez determinadas las funciones sintácticas en las que aparece el SN cuyo núcleo es *man*, analizamos el tipo de recursos caracterizadores que lo modifican en cada caso. Es necesario mencionar aquí la decisión de incluir la ausencia de caracterización como un recurso más en la presentación de los datos. En varios casos, la ausencia de caracterización es el recurso único más frecuente. Esto no significa que haya más ocasiones sin caracterización, puesto que la suma de todas las estructuras caracterizadoras es siempre muy superior; simplemente, significa que como recurso aislado es el más frecuente. Hemos considerado necesario incluir este dato para mostrar más claramente las ocasiones en las que la no caracterización es menos frecuente que algunos recursos caracterizadores.

La tabla 4 resume los cinco recursos caracterizadores más frecuentes en las cinco funciones sintácticas más comunes en nuestra muestra. Estos pocos criterios abarcan un total de 407 casos de la palabra *man*, lo que redunda en una gran representatividad de los resultados. Se han dejado fuera los 89 casos en los que

man no era el núcleo de su sintagma, y los casos de las dos funciones sintácticas con menos de un 1% de casos en el corpus: complemento de objeto directo y objeto indirecto.

	SUJETO	S. PREP.	ATRIBUTO	OBJETO DIRECTO	APOSICIÓN
1° recurso	Sin caracterización	Sin caracterización	Adjetivo + *man*	Sin caracterización	Or. relativa
2° recurso	Adjetivo + *man*	*Man* + or. relativa	Sin caracterización	Adjetivo + *man*	*man* + Sprep con BEHIND
3° recurso	Sustantivo + *man*	Adjetivo + *man*	*man* + or. relativa	*man* + or. relativa	Sustantivo + *man* + Sprep con FOR
4° recurso	*man* + or. relativa	Sustantivo + *man*	*man* + Sprep OF	Sustantivo + *man*	Adj. + *man* + or. part.+ or. relativa
5° recurso	2 adjetivos + *man*	*Man* + or. part. o Sadj. + *man*	2 adjetivos + *man*	2 adjetivos + *man*	

Tabla 4: Recursos caracterizadores de *man* en las cinco funciones sintácticas más frecuentes.

Vemos que en el caso de las funciones sintácticas de atributo y aposición, es más frecuente que *man* vaya caracterizado que la no caracterización. Esto es algo que no sucede en el caso de las demás funciones sintácticas mayoritarias, por lo que indica que la función sintáctica de atributo y la estructura apositiva predisponen de alguna manera a que sus núcleos lleven caracterización. Si consideramos que la atribución se produce tras verbos copulativos, especialmente tras *be* en inglés, podemos deducir que el propio contenido léxico de este verbo implica que seguirá una descripción de algún tipo, con lo que los elementos caracterizadores son casi obligados.

En cuanto al tipo de caracterización más frecuente, el esquema según funciones sintácticas sigue el modelo presentado anteriormente para la totalidad del conjunto de ejemplos de *man*. El recurso más frecuente sigue siendo el del adjetivo antepuesto a *man*, seguido de cerca por las oraciones de relativo y los sustantivos antepuestos a *man*.

Este esquema deja más clara la distinción mencionada anteriormente de dos grupos según sus preferencias derivadas de su función sintáctica: sujeto y objeto directo tienen una tendencia a preferir premodificación; mientras que el Sprep, el atributo y la aposición tienen preferencia por la postmodificación.

Para terminar, podemos afirmar que, en términos generales, este análisis de las funciones sintácticas desempeñadas por el sustantivo *man* en el corpus analizado confirma las hipótesis previas, permitiendo discernir además que la categoría sintáctica del atributo y la aposición parecen ser las más inclinadas a presentar núcleos caracterizados. Además, se confirma con datos numéricos la tendencia del inglés a relegar unidades postmodificadoras de relativa longitud a posiciones sintácticas finales dentro de una oración.

Finalmente, este estudio parece demostrar que en la función sintáctica que desempeña una unidad lingüística concreta no sólo influye de manera determinante la presencia o no de caracterización, sino también el tipo de recurso empleado.

A continuación, llevaremos a cabo el mismo análisis en español para determinar cuáles son las funciones sintácticas más frecuentes en las que aparece el sustantivo *hombre*, y cómo es la distribución de la caracterización de acuerdo con las distintas funciones.

5. ANÁLISIS SINTÁCTICO DE LAS CONCORDANCIAS DEL SUSTANTIVO *HOMBRE*

Las 500 concordancias del sustantivo *hombre* extraídas del corpus CREA se han analizado para determinar la función sintáctica de cada una de las apariciones de dicho sustantivo en el corpus. Al igual que en el caso anterior, para el análisis de las funciones sintácticas, no hemos podido tener en cuenta 19 ejemplos en los que el sustantivo *hombre* no es el núcleo de su SN. Estos 19 casos de *hombre* forman el 3'8% de las 500 unidades analizadas. Tras excluirlos del análisis sintáctico, nos quedan aún 481 casos, un número suficientemente representativo para extraer conclusiones válidas. Analizados estos 481 casos de SN con el sustantivo hombre como núcleo, la distribución de dichos SN por funciones sintácticas ha sido la siguiente:

1. Sprep: 158 casos (38'44%)
2. Sujeto: 128 casos (26'61%)
3. Atributo (o complemento predicativo): 106 casos (22'03%)
4. Aposición: 51 casos (10'60%)
5. Objeto directo: 35 casos (7'27%)
6. Objeto indirecto: 3 casos (0'62%)

En la tabla siguiente mostramos resumidamente los cinco recursos caracterizadores más frecuentes en español en las cinco funciones sintácticas más

comunes. Estos pocos criterios abarcan un total de 478 casos del sustantivo *hombre* (excluyendo los casos en los que no funciona de núcleo, y la función de objeto indirecto, con menos de un 1% del total). Esta cifra de 478 ejemplos analizados redunda en una gran representatividad de los resultados.

	S. PREP.	SUJETO	ATRIBUTO	APOSICIÓN	OBJETO DIRECTO
1° recurso	Sin caracterización	Sin caracterización	*Hombre* + adjetivo	*Hombre* + or. relativa	Sin caracterización
2° recurso	*Hombre* + or. relativa	*Hombre* + Sprep con De	*Hombre* + Sprep con DE	*Hombre* + Sprep con DE	*Hombre* + or. relativa
3° recurso	*Hombre* + Sprep con DE	*Hombre* + adjetivo	*Hombre* + or. relativa	*Hombre* + 2 Sprep con DE	*Hombre* + adjetivo
4° recurso	*Hombre* + adjetivo	*Hombre* + or. relativa	*Hombre* + Sadj u or. participio	*Hombre* + adjetivo	*Hombre* + Sadj u or. participio
5° recurso	*Hombre* + Sadj u or. participio	Hombre + Sadj u or. participio	*Hombre* + adj. o Sadj.+or. relativa	*Hombre* + Sadj u or. participio	

Tabla 5: Recursos caracterizadores de *hombre* en las cinco funciones sintácticas más frecuentes.

En el caso del atributo y de la aposición, la posibilidad de que el sustantivo *hombre* no lleve ningún tipo de caracterización no se encuentra ni siquiera entre los cinco casos más frecuentes. Esto es muy llamativo teniendo en cuenta que es el caso más frecuente para las demás funciones sintácticas. Este hecho nos permite concluir que el atributo y la aposición son dos estructuras eminentemente caracterizadoras en español, ya que en un altísimo porcentaje de casos, más en la aposición que en el atributo, el núcleo lleva algún tipo de modificación cualitativa.

Los recursos más frecuentes por funciones sintácticas confirman, en líneas generales, los resultados de los análisis anteriores, es decir, la oración de relativo, el Sprep con DE, el adjetivo pospuesto, y los Sadj. u oraciones de participio copan los recursos más frecuentes. Sin embargo, la distribución de frecuencias no es siempre la misma, llevando a diferencias según funciones sintácticas que ya se han comentado en el análisis individual de cada caso.

Existe una especial predilección por el Sprep con DE en el caso de la función de sujeto, cuando en principio es la oración de relativo el recurso más frecuente en términos generales. Al parecer, las funciones de sujeto y atributo tienen una tendencia a preferir formas caracterizadoras más breves, que las funciones de

Sprep, aposición u objeto directo. Esto podría estar relacionado con la localización más habitual del sintagma correspondiente en una oración, y a la tendencia a colocar en posiciones finales los elementos de mayor peso.

En conclusión, los datos indican que el tipo de caracterización que posee el núcleo sustantivo de un SN determina el tipo de función sintáctica que puede ejercer ese SN.

6. CONCLUSIONES

Este trabajo ha constado de dos partes complementarias. Por un lado, hemos realizado un análisis detallado de los recursos modificadores más comúnmente empleados en inglés y en español para caracterizar sustantivos. Y por otro lado, hemos analizado la distribución de los distintos SN caracterizados en las diferentes funciones sintácticas que pueden desempeñar para observar la relación entre caracterización y función sintáctica en las dos lenguas.

En lo que se refiere a la caracterización, destaca la mayor preferencia del inglés por el recurso del adjetivo como unidad caracterizadora, mientras que el español tiende a preferir recursos más analíticos, como por ejemplo el Sprep con DE o la oración de relativo. Los datos también demuestran la preferencia del inglés por la premodificación por medio de otro sustantivo, mientras que este recurso no es productivo ni frecuente en español.

En lo que se refiere a la distribución de la caracterización en las distintas funciones sintácticas, el estudio demuestra que la función sintáctica de atributo y la estructura apositiva son las dos muestras más claras de funciones que requieren núcleos sustantivos modificados por algún recurso cualitativo, y esta tendencia es similar en las dos lenguas de trabajo. Las demás funciones sintácticas propias de un SN muestran niveles de caracterización considerablemente inferiores. Así, "contemporary syntactic theories seem to be converging on the idea that sentence structure is generally predictable from word meanings" (Goddard 1998: 3).

En cuanto al tipo de caracterización encontrado en cada función sintáctica concreta, también parece que hay ciertas preferencias. El sujeto tiende a preferir modificación breve en ambas lenguas, y el Sprep y la aposición tienden a presentar modificación por medio de recursos más largos, especialmente oraciones de relativo en ambas lenguas. Este hecho podría estar relacionado con la localización más habitual del sintagma correspondiente en una oración, y con la tendencia a colocar en posiciones finales los elementos de mayor peso.

En cambio, en el caso del atributo, en inglés la caracterización es menos frecuente que en español y se prefiere la postmodificación larga, mientras que en español se favorece la caracterización breve y directa. Se trata de un dato peculiar y que sólo podemos atribuir a la tendencia a la mayor brevedad de las oraciones en inglés. Una mayor extensión de las oraciones en español predispone a la aparición de complementos de tipo adverbial, con lo cual la función sintáctica del atributo no debe ser demasiado larga para dejar espacio a los elementos posteriores.

Como conclusión, podemos afirmar que en inglés y en español los elementos caracterizadores de sustantivos son los mismos, pero con una distribución muy diferente en las dos lenguas que refleja la distinta forma de describir la realidad de los hablantes de estas lenguas. En cuanto a la distribución de la caracterización en las distintas funciones sintácticas, los datos son muy similares en inglés y español y demuestran claramente cómo la presencia o no de caracterización es un factor esencial en la posibilidad de que un SN desempeñe determinadas funciones sintácticas. También el tipo de caracterización, breve o larga, influye de manera decisiva en este aspecto, dejando clara la validez de la teoría del *end-weight focus*, según la cual los elementos lingüísticos de mayor extensión tienden a ser pesados y, por ende, tienden a colocarse en posiciones finales dentro de las oraciones o sintagmas a los que pertenecen. Un caso claro es el de las oraciones de relativo, que "suelen aparecer después de los demás complementos y modificadores, dada su complejidad o pesantez: *la gorra roja de fieltro para el invierno que tú me compraste en Santander*" (Rigau 1999: 355-356).

Los resultados encontrados trascienden lo meramente estadístico, puesto que manifiestan claramente la imbricación existente entre semántica y sintaxis en la expresión de una función semántica como la caracterización en dos lenguas distintas. Hemos podido observar cómo esta función influye en cuestiones sintácticas tanto en inglés como en español, lo cual ilustra la importancia de los aspectos del significado en los aspectos formales y funcionales.

Queremos terminar este estudio con una afirmación muy apropiada para los resultados obtenidos de nuestro análisis: "Language is as it is because of what it is used for" (Chesterman 1998: 63). Así, la combinación de los tipos de caracterización con las distintas funciones sintácticas no es más que una representación de cómo las lenguas se organizan para poder expresar las funciones deseadas.

Obras citadas

BIBER, Douglas, Stig JOHANSSON, Geoffrey LEECH, Susan CONRAD y Edward FINEGAN. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Londres: Longman.

CHESTERMAN, Andrew. 1998. *Contrastive Functional Analysis*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

DARBELNET, Jean. 1969. *Pensée et structure*. Nueva York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

FRANCIS, Gill. 1993. "A Corpus-driven Approach to Grammar – Principles, Methods and Examples". En Baker, Mona, Gill Francis y Elena Tognini-Bonelli. (eds.). *Text and Technology. In Honour of John Sinclair*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 137-156.

GODDARD, Cliff. 1998. *Semantic Analysis. A Practical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford U.P.

HOUGH, George Anthony. 1971. *Structures of Modification in Contemporary American English*. La Haya: Mouton.

HUMBOLDT, Willhelm. (1836) 1968. *Über die Veschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*. Bonn: Dümmler.

MARSÁ, Francisco. 1984. *Cuestiones de Sintaxis Española*. Barcelona: Ariel.

OOSTDIJK, Nelleke y Jan AARTS. 1994. "Multiple Postmodification in the English Noun Phrase". En Aarts, Jan, Inge De Mönnik y Herman Wekker. (eds.). *Studies in English Language and Teaching. In Honour of Flor Aarts*. Amsterdam: Rodopi: 107-121.

RIGAU, Gemma. 1999: "La estructura del sintagma nominal. Los modificadores del nombre". En Bosque, Ignacio y Violeta Demonte. (eds.). *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa: 311-362.

VÁZQUEZ AYORA, Gerardo. 1977. *Introducción a la Traductología. Curso Básico de Traducción*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown U. P.

ENGLISH GRAMMAR: AN INTRODUCTION

Peter Collins and Carmella Hollo
London: MacMillan, 2000.
(by Marta Carretero. Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Collins and Hollo state in the first sentence of the Preface that *English Grammar: An Introduction* (henceforth *EG*) aims to introduce English grammar to secondary and tertiary students. I would say that *EG* is more ambitious than what is suggested by its title and this statement, since it covers not only grammar, but also basic concepts of sociolinguistics and stylistics. Therefore, it intends to endow students with powerful tools for analysing texts from the perspective of syntax and also of genre, register and style. As is predictable for a book with such coverage, its orientation is functional: the treatment of syntax is mostly influenced by grammarians who work outside generative approaches, such as Quirk et al. (1972, 1985) and Huddleston (1984, 1988); the part on text and context has an unmistakably systemic-functional flavour.

EG consists of eleven chapters (all but Chapter 10 containing final exercises), six appendices of naturally-occurring texts (all written except for a transcript of an interview), a key to the exercises, a glossary, a section of references for further reading, and an index. The chapters are divided into two parts: Part A (Chapters 1-8) covers grammatical description, and Part B (Chapters 9-11) deals with text and context. Within Part A, the first two chapters are introductory: Chapter 1 concerns main concepts of grammar, and introduces the student to syntactic analysis and to the differences between descriptive and prescriptive grammar.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of word classes and the structure of basic clauses, i.e. those which display declarative mood, positive polarity, independent status (not coordinate or subordinate), and neutrality as regards information packaging. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 treat in greater depth the main classes of words (noun, verb, adjective and adverb) as well as the phrases they head, and also Prepositional Phrases. Chapter 6 covers clause structure and clause types; the non-basic types are described at some length. Chapter 7 deals with coordinate and subordinate clauses. The gap between grammar and text linguistics is bridged in Chapters 8 and 9: Chapter 8 covers the syntactic clausal devices available for structuring information. Chapter 9 focuses on the contrast between the complete sentences analysed by grammarians and the fragments commonly found in actual texts: in particular, six pages are devoted to minor sentences; the second part introduces coherence and cohesion, and the latter is developed; the former is treated in Chapter 10, which deals with factors that make a text appropriate in its context: dialect, register (including detailed descriptions of field, mode and tenor), as well as the functions of language in the sense used by Jakobson, and genre. Chapter 11 deals with text analysis from the top-down and the bottom-up approaches, ending with an analysis of an authentic essay from each perspective.

The organisation of *EG* is, in general, adequate; as is unavoidable in a condensed book of this kind, certain areas have received scant attention. This is the case of transitivity, whose presence is limited to a few scattered references to types of participants such as agent, beneficiary and goal, and also of speech acts, which are treated unsystematically and with reference to isolated points (as in Exercise 6d, p. 108). Neither is non-assertion mentioned, but this omission is comparably less important in that its identification is not so crucial for a successful text analysis. The exercises, the appendices and the glossary are suitable for the students of the levels specified. As regards the section "Some useful references", a few lines on the contents and orientation of the works listed would have been very welcome; occasionally this information can be inferred from the titles, but the student is left without knowing the importance of each work within linguistics.

After this overview, I will make specific comments on each of the main areas of *EG*. The first area, namely the word and the phrase, is in general well covered. The type of syntactic analysis proposed, with minimal bracketing, is adequate for laying emphasis on the relationships between syntax and semantics, and between sentence and text; I will only point out that, just as in other minimally-bracketed analyses (Aarts and Aarts 1988; Halliday 1994), the head is assumed to be always an immediate constituent of its phrase, and no account is given of phrases which do not fit into this pattern, such as *only very recently*. Some minor objections could also be made, such as the following:

* As regards the treatment of pre-head modifiers (pp. 57-58), adjectives and nouns are listed as possible realisations, but not Adjective Phrases or Noun Phrases, as in "a *very easy* exercise" or "the *red brick* building"; moreover, the statement that these modifiers "have the semantic role of restricting the denotation of the head noun" does not apply to the occurrences in which the adjective is used simply to mention an additional property of the noun, such as *lovely* in *my lovely youngest sister*.

* Concerning the Verb Phrase, two comments must be made about aspect. First, the statement on p. 74 that English has two aspects, the perfect and the progressive, could have specified that this limitation refers only to the aspect conveyed by verbal forms. Other linguistic devices, or even knowledge of the world, can indicate aspectual distinctions such as habituality and (im)perfectivity. Secondly, the account of the present perfect (p.74) does not make it clear whether the situation concerned is presented as completed or not. I would suggest, in the line of Downing and Locke (1992: 373 ff), that the semantic features of the present perfect are *anteriority* and *current relevance* with respect to speech time. Anteriority refers only to the starting point of the state or event, which may or may not be completed at the reference time. If not completed, it is still operative, and therefore relevant, as in (1); if completed, the relevance applies to its consequences at the speech time (2):

(1) These books have always belonged to my aunt.
(2) Our friends have just left.

The treatment of the syntax of the clause is probably the main weakness of *EG*. The coverage of the simple clause in particular is insufficient. The obligatory clausal complements are simply divided into central (or "major") and non-central. The central complements are the Direct Object, the Indirect Object, the Subjective Predicative Complement ("This musician was *a genius*") and the Objective Predicative Complement ("Ann considers this musician *a genius*"). The rest of the complements have all been signalled with the label "Cx", which, then, covers an extremely broad range of constituents, from locative or temporal complements (3), through notional subjects in existential clauses (4), to certain obligatory infinitival constituents (5), to mention a few:

(3) The conference will be held *in Madrid / in May 2003.*
(4) There were *two nurses looking after the patients.*
(5) The teacher convinced her best student *to major in Linguistics.*

In my view, this analysis is unsatisfactory even for courses with little time assigned to clausal syntax; moreover, the category Cx is also insufficient for stylistics, which is a serious drawback when *EG*'s overall purposes are taken into account.

The analysis of the central complements is not satisfactory either. Its limitation to prototypical cases, together with the small number of syntactic criteria proposed to distinguish between different types of complements, leaves the analysis open for many peripheral cases which could arguably belong to one of the major types of complementation, such as (6-7):

(6) Peter has *three dogs*. (Peripheral Direct Object)
(7) The manager is *under a cloud*. (Peripheral Subjective Predicative Complement)

The analyses proposed for certain other individual clauses is also questionable, but I will not discuss them here for reasons of space.

Although the complex clause is treated in greater depth than the simple clause, the way it is dealt with also seems insufficient in several respects. First, *EG* does not specify that subordinate clauses differ from independent and main clauses in that they cannot select for mood. Secondly, within subordinate clauses, there is no distinction between the clauses called in other grammars *embedded* (8) and *dependent* (9):

(8) *That he failed in the exam* was a surprise to most of us.
(9) He was sad *because he failed the exam.*

Had this distinction being made, students would have been encouraged to describe the semantic relationships linking the different clauses in given texts, thus paving the way for the study of rhetorical relations.

Another issue which deserves comment is the heterogeneousness of the main criteria used for analysing finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. Finite clauses are subdivided according to the function they perform within the main clause (noun, adverbial, relative and comparative clauses), whereas non-finite clauses are classified in terms of an internal property, namely the verbal form they contain (infinitival, present-participial and past-participial clauses). Collins and Hollo (pp. 122-123) decided not to classify the non-finite clauses in the same terms because they are not elliptical versions of related finite clauses (for example, in *He planned to take a detour* the verbal form does not specify tense, aspect or modality, and cannot therefore be paraphrased by *He planned that we would take a detour*). However, this lack of absolute correspondence does not seem to be criterial against classifying the non-finite clause as a noun clause, since it does not involve a difference in function.

The part concerning information structure is by far the best of those sections concerned with clausal grammar. The account of the many constructions available in English for structuring information in different ways is adequate for a book of

this kind. Nevertheless, the role of syntax and prosody in the assignation of topical and focal status to constituents is not treated systematically (cf. Vallduví 1992). Moreover, topicality is virtually restricted to topic continuity: no account is given of how some of the constructions described can contribute to topic introduction (existential sentences and locative inversion, for instance), or to topic closure (right dislocation). Objections can also be made to the syntactic analysis of some existential constructions. For instance, the constituent in italics in (10), which is clearly a constituent of the Noun Phrase headed by *things*, is treated as a Cx of the main clause; and on p. 148, ex. 8c, the sentences (11-12) contrary to what is stated in the keys, do have existential counterparts:

(10) There are three things *I'd like to say.*
(11) Mrs Murphy is at the door. ("There is Mrs Murphy at the door")
(12) Three competitors are disabled. ("There are three competitors disabled")

The part on text and context is as a whole much better than the part on grammar. The students are gradually introduced to the main textual phenomena to be analysed in actual texts. Chapter 11 provides a summary of the contribution of lexical, syntactic and supra-sentential factors to coherence and style. For this task, top-down and bottom-up analyses are combined. The resulting method is a powerful tool, which permits students to perform reasonably deep and complete analyses of texts after a relatively short period of instruction. It must be noted that this approach to supra-sentential linguistics is restricted to the view of language as product, leaving aside that of language as process. This restriction is understandable, since the discourse-as-process view would be difficult to present in the kind of short introductory course that *EG* offers.

The main shortcoming of this textual part is, to my mind, that the contribution of pragmatics to text analysis is underrated. In fact, in line with much of the systemic-functional literature, the authors appear to be cautious about the use of the term *pragmatic(s)*, absent in both the glossary and the index. The unimportance of the role assigned to pragmatics is evident on p. 162, where the concepts of inference and indirect speech act, as well as Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle, are treated superficially. Another clear example is the treatment of politeness. The description of the terms *positive politeness* and *negative politeness* given on p. 202 ("with positive politeness being defined as explicit use of politeness markers such as *please* and *thank you* and negative politeness involving strategies designed to "save face") is not clear, and does not fit the uses given to these terms by either Leech (1983) or Brown and Levinson (1987). Moreover, politeness appears to be used as a near synonym of indirectness

(see the table on p. 206); this equation is nowadays unsatisfactory since, as is common knowledge, too much indirectness may be impolite. In sum, the issue of politeness, if included at all, could well have been treated in greater depth.

To conclude, *EG* can be characterised as an adequate textbook for use in university courses of one academic year, in terms of its coverage, size and layout. I would say that it best suits the demands of students not majoring in Linguistics, since it offers a panoramic view of the subject and, what is more, it gives students an opportunity to view linguistics as connected with everyday life and therefore with their main area of study. It must be stated, however, that the success of a course based on EG will depend to a great extent on the skills of the teacher: concerning the part of grammar, s/he will have to offer solutions to the analysis of linguistic constituents of unclear status which unavoidably occur in naturally-occurring texts. In text linguistics, his/her role will be even more important: the synoptic view of all the issues, together with the fact that the correction is to be done in terms of "guidelines and hints" (p.181) instead of straightforward correct answers, can easily lead students to feel either insecure or overconfident, and consequently it is up to the teacher to set the balance between rigidity and openness.

Works cited

AARTS, Flor and Jan AARTS. 1988. *English Syntactic Structures.* Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall.

BROWN, Penelope and Stephen LEVINSON. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

DOWNING, Angela and Philip LOCKE. 1992. *A University Course in English Grammar.* Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall. (Reprinted in 2002 by Routledge, London).

GRICE, H. Paul. 1975. "Logic and conversation". In Cole, Peter and J.P. Morgan. (eds.). *Syntax and Semantics* 3: Speech acts. New York: Academic Press: 41-58.

HALLIDAY, M.A.K. (1985) 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar.* London: Edward Arnold.

HUDDLESTON, Rodney. 1984. *Introduction to the Grammar of English.* Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

—.1988. *English Grammar: An Outline.* Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

LEECH, Geoffrey N. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics.* London/ New York: Longman.

QUIRK, Randolph, Sidney GREENBAUM, Geoffrey LEECH and Jan SVARTVIK. 1972. *A Grammar of Contemporary English.* London: Longman.

—. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language.* London: Longman.

VALLDUVÍ, Enric. 1992: *The Informational Component.* New York: Garland.

THE THEME-TOPIC INTERFACE. EVIDENCE FROM ENGLISH

María Ángeles Gómez-González
Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2000.
(by A. Jesús Moya Guijarro. Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha)

The author of *The Theme-Topic Interface* (henceforth TTI) has attempted to achieve a double aim: Firstly, she has tried to unravel the confusion that has proliferated around the terms Theme/Topic ever since they were coined by the linguists of the Prague School. Her second aim has been to analyze the formal aspects and discourse functional motivations of thematic constructions in the *Lancaster/IBM spoken English Corpus* (hereforth LIBMSEC) as well as the frequencies of the thematic structures identified therefrom.

The book contains eight chapters, 43 pages of references, 19 figures, 53 tables, 17 pages of notes, an index by subject and author, as well as one appendix. The contents of TTI are divided into three main parts, each of which will be dealt with successively in this review. A critical summary of the contents, followed by comments on particular aspects will be given.

After the introduction, in which the aim of this study and the nature of the Theme/Topic interface are specified, Part I provides a detailed evaluation of the three dominant interpretations that the communicative categories of Theme and/or Topic have received within linguistic studies: semantic, informational and syntactic. Part II, comprising Chapters 2, 3 and 4, surveys previous studies on the categories under analysis. In Chapters 2, 3 and 4, Gómez-González makes a critical evaluation of the pragmatic categories according to three functionalist

models: The Prague School, Systemic Functional Grammar and Functional Grammar respectively. Finally, in Part III the author presents her own proposal of Syntactic Theme, an alternative and at the same time, conciliatory view of the theoretical perspectives already presented. She also gives an account of the formal expressions and discourse functions of this category in LIBMSEC. The final chapter of this part summarizes both the theoretical and the corpus-based finding of her research and makes interesting suggestions for further investigation in this field.

Semantic, informational and syntactic interpretations of the categories Theme and/or Topic

Part I is a successful evaluation of how the pragmatic functions have been presented in previous functional research. This, in itself, is very meritorious, as the author analyzes the communicative categories under study from a semantic, informational, and syntactic point of view –no easy task, considering that the exact boundaries between these three perspectives are, more often than not, hard to draw and that the general tendency has been to give greater weight to one interpretation at the expense of the others. The three perspectives, often overlapping, lead to some queries which are set out in detail, in an attempt to evaluate the pros and cons of each one and their variants.

The difficulties referred to are dealt with convincingly by the author. The semantic interpretation is presented as the focus on the relation of relevance/aboutness with respect to (1) a clausal predication (relational aboutness), (2) the overall discourse (referential aboutness) and (3) what the speaker and her/his addressee regard as relevant information in discourse (interactive aboutness). The informational interpretation, also called "combining" in previous investigations, identifies Theme/Topic with three different types of Givenness: (1) relational givenness, which is discussed with regards to individual clauses; (2) contextual givenness, in terms of recoverability and predictability, shared knowledge and assumed familiarity, and (3) activated givenness, which represents the information that both the speaker and the addressee have in mind. Finally, the syntactic interpretation, described as fairly homogeneous, is characterized by the association of Theme/Topic with the clause-initial position.

As for the terminological confusion surrounding the concept of Theme/Topic, it seems very appropriate that Gómez-González has made a clear distinction between the categories of Theme, Topic and Given information, in line with the

theories set forth by Hasan and Fries (1997) among others. Although these three concepts may conflate in the same word, there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between them. 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 constituent that fulfils a transitivity function, the Theme. Theme and Topic are two distinct notions which should be defined from two different perspectives: "the Theme, as a structural category whose main function is to determine the point of departure of the message, by its location in the clause, and the Topic, for its semantic and pragmatic value, as a cognitive category that expresses what the message is about" (Moya and Albentosa, 2001: 351).

The Theme-Topic interface in three Functional approaches.

The second part of this volume embodies a critical overview of the different interpretations of the pragmatic functions within the frameworks of the Prague School, Systemic Functional Grammar and Functional Grammar. It is shown that "the three approaches succumb to inaccuracies aroused by such a merging of interpretations". In Chapter 3 it is observed that the majority of the "informational trend" linguists of The Prague School identify Theme/Topic with co(n)textually recoverable information. Alternatively, "the syntactic trend" scholars seem to identify Theme with the notions of clausal aboutness and contextual aboutness interchangeably. However, they seem to adopt a separating view, dissociating Theme from Given Information.

In Chapter 4, it is shown that the Hallidayan Theme is simultaneously associated with clause-initial position and "with what the clause is about". One of the controversial aspects observed within the Systemic Functional Grammar approach is the notion of Topical Theme, which Gómez identifies with the first experiential/interpersonal element of the clause.

Concluding the first part and focusing on Functional Grammar, the author points out in Chapter 5 that, although Theme, Tail and Topic are presented as three different functions within Functional Grammar, they are three different realizations of the same pragmatic function. In contrast to the Systemic Functional Grammar model which approaches Theme from a relational perspective, Theme, Tail and Topic are given a referential-semantic interpretation in Functional Grammar. Theme is presented as an initial predication-external entity that expresses what the following predication is about, whereas Topic is considered a

predication-internal entity about which something is predicated with respect to the overall discourse. It is also suggested that Topic is identified with different interpretations of Givenness (recoverability, shared knowledge, assumed familiarity, activation and mental storage) and a Scale of Topic acceptability is presented, without providing a clear method to identify this pragmatic function. It is concluded that the issues that often provide debate within Functional Grammar are due to the merging of syntactic, semantic and informational criteria in the definition of the pragmatic functions.

This extensive and, perhaps too complex, critical apparatus set out in Parts I and II of TTI is justified in the third part of this volume, where Gómez-González presents her own proposal for Theme, based largely on the theories of Systemic Functional Grammar.

The general impression after reading this part is that the overview of the various accounts to Theme within The Prague School, Systemic Functional Grammar and Functional Grammar is done with great skill. To begin with, Gómez-González shows the limitations of the Prague School in the description of communicative categories. This is mainly because their functional explanations centre on a single level of description, Functional Sentence Perspective, which is, in many cases, concerned with isolated independent clauses, rather than with authentic language, the intended aim of analysis of functional accounts. As a result, a great number of contradictions and discrepancies arise both between the scholars within the informational trend (Weil, Mathesius, Firbas, Dahl, Sgall) and those within the syntactic school (Tránvnicek, Benes and Danes).

To mention a few, the differences between Weil, Mathesius and the co-researchers in the generative functional framework, on the one hand, and Firbas and the advocates of Communicative Dynamism, on the other, are more than evident, in spite of the fact that they belong to the same school. In opposition to Mathesius, who admits the existence of themeless clauses, Firbas and his co-researchers assign a thematic structure to all clauses, on the basis of the Communicative Dynamism of their elements.

It is appropriately affirmed that, apart from Firbas, informational linguists do not usually provide contextual evidence to differentiate what should be taken as Given Information from what should be considered as New. In fact, Firbas´ thematic organization of the clause is not only determined by the placement of clause constituents. The basic distribution of Communicative Dynamism (theme-transition-rheme) may be altered by both contextual and semantic factors. On the whole, those elements conveying unknown information carry a higher degree of CD than contextually dependent and known constituents.

I will then make reference to the Systemic Functional Grammar approach, specifically to the balanced and rigorous treatment that is given to the Hallidayan concept of Topical Theme. The fact that Gómez-González strengthens the separating view of the theory is another positive point to comment on, as the notions of "point of departure" (theme) and "what a clause is about" (topic) do not always overlap in the same clause element.

Finally, in the chapter dedicated to Functional Grammar, Dik's (1989) categories of New Topic, Given Topic, Subtopic and Resumed Topic are placed along a scale of Topic Acceptability. It is assumed "that utterances are more likely to be about Active referents than about Brand New referents, because the former are already in the forefront of the addressee's consciousness and therefore can be retrieved more easily" (p. 170). It should also be noted that the author successfully sketches the main problems this approach creates, especially with reference to the relationship between Topicality and P1 and P2 placements. Functional Grammar scholars give special treatment to the topical and focal constituents of the clause structure. The general tendency to place the known topical entities in P1 and the new topical constituents in P2 (Dik, 1989: 269) is pointed out. However, as Li and Thompson (1976: 460) state, Topic can only be understood in terms of discourse and extra-sentential considerations.

Gómez-González's proposal of syntactic theme.

In the third part of TTI Gómez-González proposes an alternative approach to Theme. Despite the moot points referred to in previous sections, a moderate functional approach to theme, largely within the Systemic Functional Grammar, is proposed in Chapter 6. The Theme, identified with "the clause initial transitivity/mood slot and profiled as a marker of subjectivity and as a marker of discourse structure with both forward and backward potential, is regarded as a universal category that acts across languages as a special deictic" which helps texts achieve cohesion and coherence. The main differences between this proposal and the three others previously overviewed can be summarized in the following points:

Firstly, the category of syntactic Theme is dissociated from Discourse Topic, i.e., a cognitive, intuitive and non-structural concept which expresses "what a text/discourse is about"; from Point (the message a particular text tries to convey), and from the suprasegmental coding of Givenness and the morphosyntactic and cohesive coding of Recoverable Information.

Secondly, the categories of Metaphorical Theme and Displaced Theme are abandoned and the notion of Textual Theme is replaced by that of Logical or Conjunctive Theme.

Thirdly, bringing together viewpoints from Systemic Functional Grammar and Functional Grammar and even suggestions from the Role and Reference Grammar, Gómez-González offers an alternative interpretation for Special and Multiple Themes. Taking into account that word-order variation is fully determined in Present-Day English by syntactic function, unmarked, non-special Theme Constructions such as "The duke gave my aunt that teapot" are distinguished from marked and special structures such as Cleft Clauses (it was that teapot the duke gave to my aunt), Pseudo-Cleft Clauses (what the duke gave my aunt was that teapot), It-Extrapositions (it is strange that the duke gave my aunt that teapot), There-presentative Constructions (there is a teapot (at home) that the duke gave to my aunt), Inversions (here is the teapot that the duke gave to my aunt), Right Dislocations (the duke gave it to my aunt, that teapot) and Left Dislocations (as for that teapot, the duke gave it to my aunt). Finally, in opposition to Halliday, Gómez-González, states that the category of Multiple Themes includes cases in which a Topical Theme is preceded and/or followed by an Interpersonal Theme and/or a Logical-Conjunctive Theme. As a conclusion to Chapters 6 and 7, an association is established between the use of different types of themes with specific text types and speaker's attitudes and roles.

Conclusions

At this point an evaluation of the proposal is required. First of all, it should be noted that this theoretical background, replete with parallels and contrasts between one model and the others, leads to a detailed taxonomy of thematic structures in authentic English. This theoretical background provides a basis for a well-thought out proposal of a model which is applied to the corpus selected. The results are relevant and enrich the reader's knowledge of the thematic/topical organization of English spoken texts.

In searching for evidence in authentic texts, Gómez-González proposal is applied to LIMSEC in Chapter 7. 4.097 tokens of syntactic theme are classified with regard to 27 variables by using multivariate tests. As a first result, it is observed that Unmarked Non-special Theme Constructions are the most frequent Themes in Present Day English. Typically realized by a third person pronominal form, acting as agent / subject of a declarative clause and occupying the clause initial predication-internal position (P1), they usually appear after a logical theme and

convey recoverable information which favours thematic progressions with a constant theme and a given before new information patterning.

As regards Marked Themes (preposings and passive clauses), relevant conclusions are also reached: They usually function as prepositional adjuncts expressing condition, place or time in extra-clausal position, and co-occur with Interpersonal Themes, particularly modal adjuncts. These constructions tend to convey focal meaning and to establish a contrast with the information expressed in previous discourse. In opposition to Quirk and Greenbaum (1973), but in agreement with Leech and Svartvik (1975), it is shown that Marked Themes are especially frequent in formal texts such as lectures, magazines, religious broadcasts, commentaries, and fiction poetry.

Only one shortcoming should be commented on in this section. Although the approach adopted by the author is essentially thematic, it would have been relevant to make reference to another of the functional motivations for the use of the passive voice in English. The passive voice is said to be used as a way of avoiding reference to the agent responsible for the action and as a way of keeping an unmarked given-new distribution of information. But another of its main communicative motivations is maintaining Topic Continuity (Givón, 1983). In fact, in many cases, both alternatives, the active and the passive, are equally acceptable from a grammatical point of view. However, from a pragmatic perspective, the passive tends to be preferable to its counterpart as a way of preserving the same subject and the same topic in a stretch of discourse.

As far as Special-Themes is concerned, it has been statistically proven that the rate of frequency of Existential-There clauses is the highest in LIBMSEC. They are followed by It-Extrapositions, Inversions, Cleft constructions, Left detachments, Pseudo-cleft constructions and, finally, Right detachments. The multivariate analyses ratify the special nature of these thematic structures so much so that all of them tend to be marked and placed in extraclausal positions. It is reported that they generally convey subjectivity and that they tend to occur in subjective texts such as fiction, commentaries and dialogues, usually accompanied by Interpersonal Themes, specifically modal adjuncts and finites.

And finally, the author highlights the fact that Multiple Themes usually occur in religious broadcasts, magazines, dialogues and propaganda, following the unmarked pattern: *(Logico-Conjunctive (structural)) – (Interpersonal) – Topical – (Interpersonal) – (Logico-Conjunctive)*, in opposition to the Hallidayan multiple thematic patterning: *(Textual) – (Interpersonal) – Topical.* The former is explained through the Principle of Centripetal Organization (Dik, 1989: 342).

The depth with which the model is described and compared with the three approaches analysed makes this volume both invaluable and enlightening to those interested in the thematic/topical organization of English texts. However, the great variety of concepts contrasted, compared and analysed in detail, may cause some difficulties for those who approach Thematicity for the first time. Nevertheless, as a researcher of the topic under analysis, I myself must highlight the fact that the scope of Theme in this volume has not simply been restricted to the systemic-functional perspective. María A. Gómez embarks successfully on a critical analysis of the models which have included as part of their study the categories of Theme, Topic and Focus from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. The theoretical foundations of her proposal are supported by authentic examples taken from natural spoken texts. The relevant and corpus-based results show the frequencies of English thematic constructions as well as a detailed classification of the different types of Themes, their grammatical realizations in the English language and their real communicative functions in discourse.

Works cited

DIK, Simon. 1989. *The Theory of Functional Grammar.* Part I: The Structure of the Clause. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

HASAN, Ruquiya and Peter FRIES. (eds.). 1997: *On Subject and Theme. A Discourse Functional Perspective.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

LEECH, Geoffrey and J. SVARTVIK. 1975. *A Communicative Grammar of English.* London: Longman.

MOYA, A. Jesús and J. Ignacio ALBENTOSA. 2001. "Points of Departure in News Items and Tourist Brochures: Choices of Theme and Topic". *Text* 21(3): 347-371.

QUIRK, Randolph and Sidney GREENBAUM. 1973. *A Concise Grammar of Contemporary English.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, Javanovich.

INSIDE OUT (INTERMEDIATE)

Sue Kay and Jones Vaughan
Oxford: Macmillan Heinemann, 2000.
(by Ana Almagro Esteban. Universidad de Jaén)

The extensive array of teaching materials in the field of English for General Purposes allows for a choice of textbooks for every student profile. It is however important to make an informed textbook selection and evaluation so that the most suitable book can be chosen in line with the educational context you are involved in.

Inside Out provides over 90 hours of teaching material. It is made up of 16 units which are thematically organised. The themes include general topics (such as friends, relaxation, dates with friends, adrenaline, children, the news, etc) of interest to students of different ages, especially adults and young adults. Each unit has a similar format, from eight to sixteen pages long, with the exception of units eight and sixteen, which revise the preceding units and which are of five pages each.

The four linguistic skills (writing, reading, listening, and speaking) are introduced and integrated. Theoretical notions on grammar are also included, as well as a large variety of activities centred on the four skills and the different linguistic components (grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation). The integration of theory and practice makes for easy comprehension of the contents and the implementation of the activities and, at the same time, is a way of maximising the linguistic and communicative competence of the student.

We will go on to describe the organisation of the units of this textbook and the type of activities it offers.

Each unit introduces and integrates the four skills. The writing skill focuses mainly on genres such as emails, informal letters (to friends and family), reviews of films and books, semi formal letters (accepting and declining invitations), formal letters (job applications), surveys, and reports. The reading materials also offer a wide variety regarding genres (articles from the press, web pages, fragments of novels, etc), types of texts (with linguistic and communicative purposes), length, themes (directly related to those of the units), and the required reading strategies (intensive reading –identification of the main idea and location of specific information– and extensive reading –detailed comprehension, guessing the meaning of unknown vocabulary from the context, etc). The textbook *Inside Out* is accompanied by a cassette for developing the listening skill. Apart from offering a variety of accents and registers, it also uses the voices of people of different ages in the different situations presented. The themes of the speaking activities are very varied, linking in with the topics of the units. The recurrent role in the oral interaction activities is that of a friend.

The linguistic components are given an important focus, fulfilling both linguistic and communicative purposes, and thus the grammatical, lexical, and phonological aspects which are introduced in each unit are a means of enhancing the communicative competence of the student. In addition, linguistic aspects are not presented in isolation, but are directly related to the theme of the units. Each of them includes fixed sections for grammatical questions (*Close Up* and *Language* reference)[1] and vocabulary (*Lexis*), while the section dealing with phonetics (*Pronunciation*) appears in most, but not all of the units.

The contents are supported by a vast gamut of activities generated from the four skills and the three linguistic components, activities which have linguistic and communicative purposes and which, at the same time, involve the use of the different skills. In line with the foregoing, there follows a more detailed description of the type of activities to be found there.

Writing

- Read some e-mail messages, justify orally which ones are the most and least interesting, and then write an e-mail with a message about yourself.

- Read a letter written by one of the people who appear in a photograph and decide who wrote it. Next, find spelling mistakes and missing capital letters.

Finally, write a letter similar to the one previously read introducing yourself to a penpal.

- Write a review of a film you have seen based on information such as title of the film, type of film, name of the director, whether it is based on a book, where it was filmed, main actors and which characters they play, summary of the plot, and what you particularly liked or disliked about the film.

- Write a letter to a friend using a list of expressions provided.

Reading

- Match the headings of a web-page to the information provided.

- Put the verbs in brackets in the most appropriate verb tense.

- Correct sentences which summarise the content of a text previously read.

Listening

- Write questions for the answers provided and compare these questions to the ones on the recording.

- Listening and note-taking.

- Complete texts such as dialogues, lyrics of songs, etc, comparing your version with the original text which is recorded.[2]

- Listen to and read a conversation at the same time, underlining anything which is different from the recording.

Speaking

- Discuss a great variety of topics taking as a starting point photographs, recorded conversations, etc for which words, expressions, and other cues, are provided.

Grammar

- Put the words in sentences in the correct order and add auxiliary verbs when necessary.

- Match answers to questions.

- Underline adverbs of frequency while listening to and reading a tapescript.

- Match words and expressions with possible synonyms, verb tenses with their use, etc.

- Match the words and expressions underlined in a tapescript with words and expressions provided that are closest in meaning.

- Ask questions designed to elicit information about different issues.

- Identify expressions in a text which make certain critical comments less direct.

Vocabulary

- Complete expressions from memory and compare them with a partner. Then look at the article previously read again and check these expressions.

- Find expressions in an article with a similar meaning to the underlined words, comparing them with a partner and, finally, look back at the article to check.

- Complete sentences with words and expressions given and change the grammar of these expressions when necessary.

- Complete sentences referring back to an article previously read and discuss with a partner whether you agree with the statements contained in this article.

- Match words from a list to form compound adjectives which fit certain descriptions.

Phonetics

- Listen to different questions and underline the strongest stress in each question.

- Listen to words and match the sounds to the phonetic symbols.

- Think up words containing the twelve English vowels and check these words in the dictionary.

- Read and at the same time listen to some sentences. Then practise those sentences in which all the schwas have been marked.

Together with the variety of activities, an ample range of strategies and techniques associated with the four linguistic skills are described. Complementary activities

are also provided in the *Inside Out* workbook (Kerr, 2000), where each unit, of four to six pages, includes a good variety of activities of similar characteristics to those in the text book itself, a novelty being that the exercises are accompanied by the use of a cassette. Other additional materials are the Teacher's Book and a resource pack, which includes photocopiable worksheets linked to the student's book.

It is worth indicating at this point that this textbook could usefully be complemented in various ways:

1) Its grammatical sections could be completed by relating them to the corresponding language functions. This would help the student know when to use any particular structure.

2) The reading activities, based on a broad range of texts, determine the use of different reading strategies. However, these strategies are not expressly mentioned, which means that the texts have to be read carefully in advance to determine which strategy the student needs to apply in the reading of each text.

3) While the majority of the activities generated for the practice of speaking skills are meant to be carried out with a classmate as the interlocutor, it would be convenient to carry out some of these activities by means of simulations where the students have to assume different roles.

4) The writing activities should be based on the theoretical aspects of planning and organising what is being written. In this respect the textbook *Successful Writing* (Evans, 2000) would be helpful.

5) Finally, it would be beneficial to encourage extensive reading based on complementary materials, which would be selected according to the level of the students and the themes of the readings.

As can be seen, the positive aspects of the textbook *Inside Out* far outweigh its limitations, which in any case can be easily overcome. It could be used with students of different ages, as well as at different stages of education, mainly secondary and university levels (first-year courses of areas such as *Diploma in Primary School Language Teaching* and *Degree in Hispanic Studies*, among others).

Notes

[1]. The title of these sections is indicated in order to locate them in the textbook under scrutiny.

[2]. Most of the activities, both for the linguistic skills and linguistic components, require the use of spoken English.

Works cited

EVANS, Virginia. 2000. *Successful Writing*. Newbury: Express Publishing.

KERR, Philip. 2000. *Inside Out (Workbook)*. Oxford: Macmillan Heinemann English Language Teaching.

LITERATURE AS COMMUNICATION: THE FOUNDATIONS OF MEDIATING CRITICISM (PRAGMATICAS AND BEYOND: NEW SERIES,78)

Roger D. Sell
Amsterdam y Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000.
(by José Ángel García Landa. Universidad de Zaragoza)

Roger Sell, profesor de la universidad Åbo Akademi ("Åbo" es Turku, en Finlandia) es bien conocido en el campo de la pragmalingüística, sobre todo como editor de un volumen sobre *Literary Pragmatics* y como partidario de aplicar una versión extendida de la teoría de la cortesía lingüística al análisis de la comunicación literaria. Este volumen no recoge trabajos anteriores, sino que desarrolla de forma sistemática la teoría propugnada por Sell, y constituye como tal un hito crucial en su carrera intelectual, y una intervención de primera fila en el campo de la pragmática literaria y la teoría crítica, campos éstos que pretende fundir y redefinir. Se presenta también como un proyecto fundamentalmente humanista y defensor de la validez presente y futura de los ideales centrales de la Ilustración (conocimiento experto, tolerancia, arbitraje racional, responsabilidad individual, ética de la cooperación), frente a ciertas corrientes de pensamiento postmoderno que proclaman prematuramente la defunción del proyecto ilustrado y de su arsenal conceptual.

El libro plantea la necesidad de una teoría de la crítica literaria como mediación: mediación entre autor y lector, o mediación entre diversas épocas, lecturas y contextos culturales. Es una función de la crítica crucial, y que Sell ve desatendida por la teoría literaria de las últimas décadas del siglo XX, si bien no siempre por la práctica de los críticos. El propósito de este libro es proporcionar el

fundamento teórico del cual carece en la actualidad la crítica entendida como mediación. Para ello, Sell expone en su introducción las líneas generales de dicha teoría en el contexto de los estudios literarios actuales, teniendo en cuenta el papel interdisciplinar que jugaría esa teoría, su función en el marco del actual panorama cultural postmoderno y muy en concreto su relación con una pragmática literaria adecuadamente entendida. La justificación de la necesidad de la teoría se plantea mediante el panorama crítico ofrecido en los capítulos 2 y 3. En el capítulo 2, "A-Historical De-humanization" se revisan las insuficientes bases teóricas de, respectivamente, los formalismos lingüísticos y literarios y la estética modernista a ellos asociada (lingüistica estructural, teoría de los actos de habla, Nueva Crítica, estructuralismo literario). Todos ellos pecan de una deshumanización que va unida a la falta de conciencia histórica. Sell critica también la herencia formalista de los primeros acercamientos a la pragmática literaria, una crítica que le sirve para sentar las bases de una teoría pragmática de la literatura más ampliamente entendida, y más cercana también a la práctica crítica humanista. Es muy recomendable la lectura de Sell para quienes entienden la pragmática literaria de manera restringida como el análisis, por ejemplo, de los actos de habla internos a una obra. Sell propone una pragmática que rige todos los niveles de análisis del texto, desde el mundo representado pasando por las voces ficcionalmente construidas hasta la interacción comunicativa entre autores y lectores; en este sentido va mucho más allá de las propuestas de Fish, Ohmann, Pratt o Petrey, por no hablar de Austin o Searle. Es una propuesta de análisis pragmático comparable a la que presento en mi libro sobre teoría de la narración (1998). El capítulo 3 de *Literature as Communication*, "The Historically Human", revisa las insuficiencias de la crítica y lingüística postestructuralista, terminando en una crítica del estancamiento postmodernista, y abogando por una pragmática "histórica pero no historicista." El capítulo 4, "Literature as Communication", expone algunos de los conceptos básicos de tal pragmática, como son: un reconocimiento de los elementos interactivos del fenómeno literario; una consciencia de que las lecturas efectivas de una obra no han de confundirse con la lectura implícita, o con el contexto de lectura ideal invocado por el texto, sino que tienen lugar en una multiplicidad de contextos con una multiplicidad de funciones; una concepción de la existencia social, y dentro de este marco, de la interacción literaria, como un proceso de coadaptación, basado en una concepción flexible y proteica del yo, y en un uso proyectivo pero no rígidamente determinista de los sujetos o roles comunicativos propuestos por el texto (en particular el sujeto textual conocido como lector implícito). Uno de los vicios críticos más elocuentemente denunciados por Sell es precisamente la "presuposición del contexto unitario", es decir, la reducción de los múltiples contextos posibles de recepción a uno sólo, el presupuesto por el crítico. Es

crucial también en la teoría literaria de Sell (algo en lo que recuerda y complementa a T. S. Eliot y C. S. Lewis) la proyección imaginativa del yo hacia el otro, proyección temporal o condicional pero que sin embargo puede llevar a redefinir al yo que la practica. Todo ello lleva en el capítulo 5, "Interactive Consequences", a repensar el papel de otros procesos y conceptos críticos bien conocidos, como la problemática del círculo hermenéutico y de la ética de la lectura, el papel de las convenciones genéricas, el problema de la interferencia del elemento biográfico en la lectura estética del texto, la teoría de la cortesía lingüística (y no lingüística) aplicada a la literatura, y el asunto de la distancia histórica entre texto y lector. En todos estos aspectos tiene Sell algo de interés que aportar, y con frecuencia el tratamiento de un asunto que comienza de manera desconcertante o en apariencia irrelevante resulta al final ser certero, iluminador e inmensamente entretenido de leer. El capítulo final (6, "Mediating Criticism"), pasa a tratar de modo directo lo que Sell entiende como la función mediadora de la crítica y el papel de los conflictos críticos, y establece una tradición de crítica mediadora en la que destacan figuras como C.S. Lewis o T. S. Eliot. De hecho es uno de los aspectos más interesantes de libro la manera en que Sell comenta los precursores y antecedentes de su proyecto de crítica mediadora y los integra en una visión global: ahí encontramos desde Keats y su "negative capability", pasando por el dialogismo de Bajtín, hasta Gerald Graff y su proyecto de incluir en la enseñanza los conflictos críticos, o la hermenéutica de Gadamer con su noción de fusión de horizontes. También se recuperan en cierta medida, aparte de la tradición humanista ya mencionada, ciertos aspectos de las perspectivas críticas anticuadas como la Nueva Crítica; así el interés por la construcción estética como un valor descuidado por lo que Sell denomina crítica "barthesiana" (y que sería mejor llamar crítica (post)estructuralista y político-cultural). También en este complejo de perspectivas teóricas criticadas halla Sell, haciendo justicia a su teoría mediadora, mucho que aprovechar, aparte de las limitaciones que denuncia.

Trabajando en el área de la narratología como fenómeno comunicativo he encontrado en el libro de Roger Sell una perspectiva que comparto en gran medida y que tiende a una integración radical, y no superficial como en muchos estudios estilísticos, de perspectivas de análisis lingüisticas y literarias, en el marco de una semiótica cultural más orgánica, plenamente capaz de apreciar los logros obtenidos en el análisis textual por teorizadores y críticos literarios. Los integra en una concepción comunicativa global, y también ve sus limitaciones. Desde este terreno común con Sell (en el que encuentro mejor pensadas y desarrolladas muchas líneas de pensamiento a las que me llevaba mi propio trabajo en el área), deseo también exponer algunos interrogantes metodológicos sobre el proyecto en general o sobre algunas cuestiones más puntuales.

En cuanto a lo que el proyecto tiene de semiótica de la literatura, es difícil disentir de las propuestas de Sell. Ofrecen una continuidad muy interesante con trabajos recientes en pragmalingüística que ponen el énfasis en la interacción (por ej. Jenny Thomas, *Meaning in Interaction* o Michael Hoey, *Textual Interaction*) y con el análisis integracionalista desarrollado por Michael Toolan en *Total Speech*. Sell, por cierto, va mucho más allá de las propuestas analíticas de muchos de los lingüistas que han teorizado sobre la comunicación textual, precisamente en la medida en que está atento al contexto histórico y cultural de los textos y su recepción, y en la medida en que integra el debate teórico-crítico sobre la literatura en una propuesta pragmalingüística. En este sentido, este libro trata la comunicación textual a un nivel de complejidad y sutileza que libros de "lingüística textual" como el mencionado de Hoey ni siquiera alcanzan a atisbar.

El lado endeble de la propuesta de Sell sería, en todo caso, la medida en que ese proyecto semiótico de análisis comunicativo de la literatura y la crítica requiere en última instancia también una praxis crítica determinada, una praxis mediadora que, por definición, será más satisfactoria para quienes no se encuentren en fase de conflicto agudo. Los críticos mediadores encontrarán un público receptivo entre los observadores no involucrados, aunque por supuesto no quiero descartar que una mediación crítica más metodológicamente consciente no vaya a ser más eficaz a la hora de limar posturas extremas o traer a un terreno de diálogo a algunos empecinados. Pero una pragmática literaria debe reconocer igualmente el conflicto de las interpretaciones como irreducible y generador de significado, precisamente en la medida en que los contextos críticos no serán nunca reducibles a uno solo —aquí casi se podría acusar a Sell de proponer como medicina el mismo vicio que tanto denuncia en el libro, la falacia del contexto unitario. Pero con ello no se haría justicia a la cautela, agudeza y moderación de las propuestas de Sell, que realmente han de ser leídas directamente y no a través de una reseña para ser apreciadas en su justo valor. Queda la objeción, sin embargo, de que si algunos usos de la literatura se benefician de una mediación crítica, otros se benefician del conflicto abierto y rehuirán toda mediación, especialmente si está bien argumentada.

La teoría de la crítica como mediación es útil en tanto que enfatiza un papel muy importante de la crítica. Pero hay otros papeles que no conviene descuidar, y que pueden quedar oscurecidos por un énfasis en la mediación. Así la crítica también es comprensión, o explicación de los fenómenos literarios, y muchas veces al ofrecer una explicación (con argumentos psicológicos, semiológicos, sociológicos, etc.) tiene que ir más allá del proyecto intencional del autor, y más allá de una labor de mediación. No creo que en este caso se escape a la función interactivo-comunicativa de la crítica, sino sólo que esta interacción se da también en

múltiples contextos, no sólo en el contexto comunicativo autor-lector. En la crítica académica, por ejemplo, prima la interacción comunicativa entre críticos sobre la base de la obra, y allí puede pasar a un segundo plano o presuponerse como objeto de análisis la interacción autor-lector que en este libro aparece como la más prominente. También el énfasis de Sell en la comprensión puede parecer a veces en exceso intencionalista —entiéndase, no es que haya que rechazar el intencionalismo, sino sólo el intencionalismo demasiado esquemático, que ignora los muchos niveles de intencionalidad posibles (intenciones implícitas, inconscientes, ideológicamente enmarcadas, etc.) y el papel de la interpretación crítica en la generación de sentido, entre otras maneras dando una formulación explícita a fenómenos intencionales implícitos. La tradición humanista de la que parte Sell podría aquí enriquecerse con una concepción de intención modificada por el (post) estructuralismo y el psicoanálisis, sin que ello supusiera ignorar el ingrediente comunicativo que hay en la interpretación.

Hay algún otro caso en que Sell puede ser acusado de simplificación excesiva, a fin de cuentas con fines polémicos un tanto ajenos al impulso mediador que anima el libro. Así por ejemplo cuando ofrece una versión de la estética kantiana que ignora el papel de las consideraciones éticas en la teoría kantiana del arte. (Es decir, en la estética kantiana no todo en el arte consiste en lo puramente estético, aunque el elemento puramente estético aislado por Kant sea lo más característico de la *Crítica del Juicio* y sea indebidamente generalizado al conjunto de la experiencia artística por algunos seguidores). También en exceso esteticistas son los Nuevos Críticos descritos por Sell, una caracterización que no se sostiene examinando la práctica crítica de Yvor Winters ciertamente, pero tampoco la de R. P. Blackmur ni la de Richards, o Wimsatt, ni la de ningún "nuevo crítico" destacado, al margen de los *New Critics* abstractos utilizados como saco de boxeo en muchos manuales. Tampoco encuentro satisfactorio el escaso reconocimiento concedido por Sell a Wayne C. Booth. La importancia de Booth para la fundamentación de una perspectiva como la que Sell propone es tal que es tentador diagnosticar las referencias escasas o displicentes a él como un caso de *anxiety of influence*. Quizá toda argumentación implique una cierta simplificación de la postura del otro, y Sell no escapa del todo a esa dinámica por mucho que propugne e intente practicar una crítica mediadora. En cualquier caso, recomiendo a todo lector que haya disfrutado leyendo *Literature as Communication* la lectura de *Critical Understanding* de Booth.

A pesar de múltiples comentarios de textos literarios y críticos específicos, todavía queda un tanto desdibujado en este libro lo que sería una crítica mediadora en acción, en la práctica de intervenir en conflictos de interpretación. Es una labor que Sell ha desarrollado más por extenso en otro libro que según nos anuncia en

Literature as Communication es un volumen animado por el mismo proyecto, dedicado a la práctica de la crítica como mediación, y que se ha publicado también (*Mediating Criticism: Literary Education Humanized*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2001. Está en prensa mi reseña de este segundo libro para la revista *Language and Literature*).

Literature as Communication se completa con un glosario de términos críticos redefinidos desde esta perspectiva, una bibliografía e índices onomásticos y temáticos que hacen al libro muy manejable. Recomiendo encarecidamente su lectura a toda persona que trabaje en teoría literaria, pragmática de la literatura o estilística crítica. El libro irradia buena voluntad y sentido común en tal medida que estas virtudes *démodées* (unidas a una cierta tendencia a la repetición) podrían hacerlo parecer un tanto descafeinado a veces, si no fuera por lo certero de los juicios críticos de Sell sobre tantos fenómenos y actitudes crítico-literarios que hemos visto muchas veces, pero comprendemos por primera vez aquí en un contexto teórico mucho más amplio —una comprensión que es también una forma de placer, como explica y ejemplifica de modo magistral este libro. Puede leerse otra reseña favorable en *Language and Literature* (Briffa 2002).

Obras citadas

Booth, Wayne C. 1979. *Critical Understanding: The Powers and Limits of Pluralism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Briffa, Charles. 2002. *Reseña de Literature as Communication: The Foundations of Mediating Criticism*. Por Roger D. Sell. *Language and Literature* 11.2 (Mayo): 189-91.

García Landa, José Angel. 1998. *Acción, relato, discurso: Estructura de la ficción narrativa*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Hoey, Michael. 2000. *Textual Interaction: An Introduction to Written Discourse Analysis*. Londres: Routledge.

Kant, Immanuel. (1790) 1984. *Crítica del Juicio*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

Sell, Roger. (ed.). 1991. *Literary Pragmatics*. Londres: Routledge.

Thomas, Jenny. 1995. *Meaning in Interaction: An Introduction to Pragmatics*. Harlow: Longman.

Toolan, Michael. 1996. *Total Speech: An Integrational Linguistic Approach to Language*. Durham (NC): Duke U.P.

COGNITION AND TECHNOLOGY IN EDUCATION: KNOWELEDGE AND INFORMATION - LANGUAGE AND DISCOURSE

Robert de Beaugrande

Almost from the beginnings of education, technologies in a broad sense have been present, each with its own merits and drawbacks. Computer technology has been hailed with great promise, but early results have been disappointing insofar as computer limitations have been added to human limitations. After differentiating between knowledge and information and tracing the history of technology in education as an information-cantered enterprise, this paper explores the prospects for real progress from hypertechnology and describes some model projects.

Key words: Education, knowledge, information, technology, information technology, hypertechnology, hypertext, multimedia, language laboratory, programmed instruction, constructionism, intertextuality.

THE EFFECT OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY ON COMMUNICATION STRATEGY USE: A CASE STUDY OF GALICIAN LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

Ana María Fernández Dobao

This paper presents an investigation carried out in order to study the effect that language proficiency has on the use that Galician learners of English as a foreign language make of communication strategies (CS).

The results obtained suggest that quantitative measures of CS instances alone cannot provide a fair picture of the use that language learners make of these devices. In analyzing CS use it is necessary to bear in mind that, in the accomplishment of the apparently same communicative tasks, different subjects set different communicative goals which directly influence their use of these strategies. On account of this, in the present study frequency and choice of CS use in a given set of tasks is related to the amount and lexical complexity of the content communicated. In this way, evidence is obtained that more proficient students use CS less frequently than lower level ones and that, in terms of CS choice, more advanced students make more frequent use of paraphrase strategies, rather than avoidance or conscious transfer strategies, than less advanced learners.

Key words: Communication strategy, avoidance, paraphrase, conscious transfer, essential structure analysis.

LINKING THE SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION OF COMPLEX STRUCTURES WITHIN THE OLD ENGLISH DOMAIN OF SPEECH

Marta Mª González Orta

In order to reflect the interaction between the semantic and syntactic behaviour of predicates, the notion of *lexical template* has been devised as a way of including syntactic and semantic information within the same lexical representation, reflecting generalisations across lexical classes and reducing the information to be included in the lexical entries. *Lexical templates* are composed of the logical structures developed by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), complemented by a semantic decomposition in terms of ontological constants or internal variables and semantic primitives corresponding to the different lexical domains.

As will be shown, the syntactic behaviour of a lexeme can be determined by linking the internal variables and external argument positions of a *template*. Within the Old English domain of speech external variables can be syntactically realised by complex structures whose semantic description will also be included in the *templates*.

Key words: Lexical template, logical structures, internal variables, external argument positions, and complex structures.

MIND-AS-BODY AS A CROSS-LINGUISTIC CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR

Iraide Ibarretxe-Antuñano

The conceptual metaphor MIND-AS-BODY (Sweetser 1990) is motivated by correspondences between our external experience (i.e. body) and our internal emotional and cognitive states (i.e. mind). Taking Sweetser's work on English perception verbs as the starting point, I will analyse in this paper the different semantic extensions that take place in this semantic field. I will focus on two main points: first, I will show how the metaphorical scope of these verbs is even larger than that proposed by Sweetser and second, I will provide further support for her claim that these mappings are cross-linguistic. The languages under investigation are two Indo-European languages, English (Germanic) and Spanish (Romance), and one non-Indo-European, Basque.

Key words: Cognitive semantics, cross-linguistic metaphor, perception verbs.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE SONGS IN DISNEY'S *BEAUTY AND THE BEAST*: AN EXAMPLE OF MANIPULATION

Lucía Laureiro Porto

The aim of this paper is to analyse the translation of the songs in Disney's *Beauty and the Beast* taking into account translation norms as defined by Toury (1995). The paper is divided into two main parts. The first part reviews some works on Translation Studies and manipulation theory, as our theoretical framework or background for the corpus-based part of the paper. The translation shows important regularities in the shifts brought about by cultural differences between the source and the target community, as well as those that reveal some kind of manipulation of the text towards a more naïve presentation. Examples of shifts such as substitution of material (concrete for abstract vocabulary, for instance) or total deletion of all traces of slang/vulgar language are provided as evidence of a rather standardised and conventionalised translation. In view of this evidence, it is hypothesized that the translator's intention might have been to make the text more suitable for children, even though the original text was intended for a wider audience.

Key words: Translation norms, shifts, manipulation, source and target community.

SEMÁNTICA Y SINTAXIS EL SINTAGMA NOMINAL EN UN ESTUDIO CONTRASTIVO INGLÉS-ESPAÑOL

Noelia Ramón García

En este artículo vamos a analizar la representación formal de la función semántica de la caracterización en inglés y español. Llamamos caracterización a la modificación cualitativa de sustantivos dentro del sintagma nominal. Los datos empíricos empleados para este estudio han sido extraídos de los dos corpus de referencia más grandes para las dos lenguas de trabajo, Cobuild y CREA (Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual). En primer lugar, hemos determinado los recursos gramaticales más frecuentemente empleados para la modificación de sustantivos en estas dos lenguas. En una segunda parte, los datos se han analizado desde un punto de vista sintáctico para tratar de establecer la relación entre la caracterización y la función sintáctica del sintagma nominal caracterizado, y las posibles diferencias en este aspecto entre el inglés y el español.

Palabras clave: Sintagma nominal, caracterización, función sintáctica, contraste inglés-español.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies is published twice a year by the Department of English and German Philology, University of Zaragoza, Spain. In addition to the printed version of the journal, recent issues of *Miscelánea* are available online, at the following web site:

http://FYL.UNIZAR.ES/MISCELANEA/MISCELANEA.HTML

Miscelánea publishes articles on English language and linguistics, on literatures written in English, on thought, cinema and cultural studies from the English-speaking world.

Unsolicited contributions, in English or Spanish, should be unpublished (and not being considered for publication elsewhere). Please send three copies (no diskette) to the Editor, *Miscelánea*, Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Zaragoza, 50009 Zaragoza, Spain. Only one copy will be returned if requested. Papers may be published if they receive favourable reports from readers who are specialists in the area. Readers will not be apprised of the authorship of these articles. The authorship of the reports will also be confidential, though their purport may be communicated to the contributors concerned if so desired. Invited (non-refereed) contributions from leading scholars will be acknowledged as such. There will be no restrictions placed on authors' use of their material for reprints or other publications as long as their first publication is acknowledged.

The criteria for selecting unsolicited contributions will be basically: their global interest and originality, their theoretical and methodological rigour, the development of a well defined thesis, the quality of their style and the general observance of the norms required of work of an academic nature. The papers submitted should evince serious academic work contributing new knowledge or innovative critical perspectives on the subject in question. Articles that are of a merely popularising nature will not be accepted. Readers will be required to weigh up the articles that are sent to them and make out as soon as possible a written report describing the article in terms of the points itemized in an evaluation form. In the case of articles that have not been accepted or need revision, an additional report will be made out indicating the reasons for non-acceptance, or the changes to be made as the case may be. Although every effort will be made to publish contributions that have received favourable reports, the Editor reserves the right to make a further and final selection when the number of contributions with favourable reports is in excess of the number of articles that can be conveniently published in one issue of the Journal. In the case of partially negative reports as well as positive ones on the same article, the final decision will lie with the discretion of the Editor, who will weigh up the reports and the general interest of the subject matter of the article. Additional reports may also be sought.

The recommended length for articles is of 4,000 to 8,000 words. Reviews are also accepted of books that are of general interest in the field of English studies and that have been published within the last four years (recommended length: 1,500 words). Translations of short texts that are of special interest are also accepted. Book reviews and translations will be accepted for publication at the discretion of the Editor, who may require additional reports. The articles submitted should stick to the Publication Guidelines included in this volume. The editors may correct clerical or factual errors and introduce stylistic corrections without further notice. A copy of the papers on disk will be required to prepare proofs once a paper has been accepted for publication. No off-prints are supplied. The authors will receive some copies of the journal.

For additional information, contact the editor, M. Dolores Herrero, at the above address or via e-mail: dherrero@unizar.es

INDICACIONES A LOS COLABORADORES

Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies es una publicación semestral del Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana de la Universidad de Zaragoza. Además de la versión impresa, se difunde por vía electrónica en el siguiente servidor de Internet:

http://FYL.UNIZAR.ES/MISCELANEA/MISCELANEA.HTML

La revista difunde artículos sobre lingüística inglesa, literaturas escritas en inglés, pensamiento, cine y estudios culturales del ámbito anglosajón.

Se agradecen las contribuciones en inglés o en español, inéditas y no propuestas para su publicación en otro lugar. Se ruega enviar los trabajos por triplicado (sin disco informático) a la Directora de *Miscelánea*, Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Zaragoza, 50009 Zaragoza. Sólo se devolverá, si así se solicita, un ejemplar. Para poder ser publicados, los artículos deberán recibir informes positivos emitidos por, al menos, dos lectores especialistas en la materia. Estos lectores no conocerán la autoría del artículo, y el informe que emitan es asimismo confidencial, si bien se puede dar a conocer su contenido a los contribuidores que así lo soliciten. Las contribuciones encargadas por la Directora a profesionales de reconocido prestigio (contribuciones no seleccionadas anónimamente) se señalan como tales en el índice de la revista. No se pondrá ninguna restricción a los autores que deseen reeditar sus trabajos o utilizarlos en otras publicaciones, aunque deberá indicarse su primera aparición en esta revista.

La selección entre las contribuciones no solicitadas por la editora se hará principalmente sobre la base de sus interés global y originalidad, su rigor teórico y metodológico, el desarrollo de una tesis bien definida, la calidad de su estilo y su adecuación a las normas del trabajo académico. Los artículos habrán de ser el resultado de un trabajo de investigación serio que aporte nuevos datos o perspectivas críticas innovadoras sobre un tema. No se publicarán artículos meramente divulgativos. Los lectores habrán de sopesar los artículos que se les remitan y emitir, por escrito y a la mayor brevedad posible, un informe razonado en función principalmente de los puntos detallados en un impreso de evaluación. En el caso de artículos rechazados o que deban ser revisados se indicarán detalladamente en un informe adicional las razones de la evaluación y las modificaciones a introducir en su caso. Los trabajos se intentarán publicar en la revista siempre que reciban informes positivos, si bien la Dirección se reserva el derecho de establecer una última selección sobre la base de los informes recibidos en el caso de que el número de artículos recomendados para un volumen dado

haga desaconsejable la publicación de todos. En caso de recibirse informes parcialmente negativos y otros positivos, la publicación o no del artículo se hará a juicio de la Dirección, una vez sopesados los informes emitidos y el interés que pueda ofrecer el artículo. Se podrán asimismo solicitar otros informes.

La extensión recomendada para los artículos es de 4.000 a 8.000 palabras. También se aceptan reseñas de libros de interés general para los estudios de Filología inglesa que hayan sido publicados en los cuatro últimos años (unas 1.500 palabras), así como traducciones de piezas breves que ofrezcan interés especial. Las reseñas y las traducciones se publicarán a juicio de la Dirección, que podrá también asesorarse con informes adicionales. Los trabajos deberán seguir las **Normas de Publicación** que se detallan a continuación:

1. Cada artículo debe incluir un resumen (máximo 150 palabras) en el idioma en que esté escrito, seguido de cinco palabras clave (Key words: relevance, context,.../ Palabras clave: relevancia, contexto,...).
2. No se deben enviar diskettes hasta la aceptación definitiva del artículo.
3. No se insertará el número de página en la versión electrónica. En la copia impresa (que se enviará por triplicado) se procederá a una numeración a mano.
4. Las notas irán al final del texto, como texto, antes de la bibliografía y no creadas automáticamente por el programa de ordenador. En el texto las llamadas de las notas se indicarán con números volados y sin paréntesis. Al final del texto irán con número volado seguido de un espacio. A continuación irá el texto de la nota.
5. En ningún momento se procederá a la división de palabras.
6. En ningún caso se incluirán cabeceras ni pies de página.
7. Las siglas y abreviaturas se especificarán con toda claridad la primera vez que aparezcan.
8. Las citas de más de 40 palabras irán separadas del cuerpo, sin comillas y sin numerar (Times, 10p.). Si la referencia figura al final del texto será como sigue:

   ... narrative to their function. (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 12)

   Las citas que vayan en el cuerpo irán entre comillas. Si la referencia va completa al final de la cita:

   "... narrative to their function" (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 12).

   Si se omite parte del texto original de la cita, deberá indicarse mediante [...] y no mediante (...).

Otras referencias para nombrar autores deben ser:

...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).

9. Las referencias bibliográficas figurarán al final del artículo bajo el epígrafe WORKS CITED/ OBRAS CITADAS, e irán por orden alfabético, sin separación de líneas entre una y otra entrada. Títulos de obras y nombres de revista irán en cursiva. Títulos de artículos y capítulos de libro irán entre comillas. Deberán aparecer las referencias de todos los autores que se citan en el texto y no deberá aparecer la de ningún autor que no se haya citado. Si un mismo autor aparece en más de una entrada, deberá indicarse mediante una línea —-. (tres guiones cortos seguidos de punto), y no deberá repetirse el apellido y la inicial. Los números de páginas irán así: ...: 655-664, y no así: ...: 655-64.

Monografías:

APELLIDO AUTOR (en versales), nombre completo del autor. Año. *Título en cursiva*. Ciudad: Editorial.

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. (Año 1ª edición) Año edición utilizada. *Título en cursiva*. Ciudad: Editorial.

APELLIDO EDITOR, nombre completo del editor. (ed.). Año. *Título en cursiva*. Ciudad: Editorial.

APELLIDO AUTOR 1, nombre completo del autor 1, nombre completo del autor 2 APELLIDO AUTOR 2 y/ and nombre completo del autor 3 APELLIDO AUTOR 3. Año. *Título en cursiva*. Ciudad: Editorial.

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. Año. *Título en cursiva*. Trans./Trad. Inicial nombre traductor. Apellido traductor. Ciudad: Editorial.

Capítulo o artículo de monografía:

Si sólo se ha utilizado un cap./ art. de esa monografía:

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. Año. "Título entre comillas". En/ In Apellido editor, nombre completo del editor. (ed.). *Título monografía en cursiva*. Ciudad: Editorial: 00-00.

Si se han utilizado dos o más cap./ art. de esa monografía:

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. Año. "Título entre comillas". En/ In Apellido editor, Inicial editor. (ed.): 00-00.

Si la edición es una recopilación de las obras de otro escritor:

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. (Año 1ª edición) Año edición utilizada. *Título del volumen en cursiva.* Ed. Inicial nombre del editor. Apellido del editor. Trad. Inicial nombre del traductor. Apellido nombre del traductor. Ciudad: Editorial.

Artículo en publicación periódica:

APELLIDO AUTOR, nombre completo del autor. Año. "Título entre comillas". *Nombre revista en cursiva* número de la revista (volumen): 00-00.

Ejemplos

GERLACH, JOHN. 1989. "The Margins of Narrative: The Very Short Story. The Prose Poem and the Lyric". En Susan Lohafer and Jo Ellyn Clarey. (eds.). *Short Story Theory at a Crossroads.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana U.P.: 74-84.

NEALE, STEVE. 1992. "The Big Romance or Something Wild?: Romantic Comedy Today". *Screen* 33 (3) (Autumn 1992): 284-299.

WILLIAMS, TENNESSEE. 1983. *La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente.* Trans. A. Diosdado. Madrid: Ediciones MK.

10. Los listados irán sin formateado automático, es decir, así:

    1. Cada artículo debe incluir un resumen (máximo 150 palabras) en el idioma correspondiente, español o inglés, seguido de cinco palabras clave.
    2. No se insertarán números de página en el diskette. En la copia impresa se procederá a una numeración a mano.

y no así:

1. Cada artículo debe incluir un resumen (máximo 150 palabras) en el idioma correspondiente, español o inglés, seguido de cinco palabras clave.
2. No se insertarán números de página en el diskette. En la copia impresa se procederá a una numeración a mano.

11. En cuanto a la puntuación, deberán seguirse las siguientes pautas:
    - 11.1. Los números de las notas a pie de página irán detrás de los signos de puntuación.
    - 11.2. Los comentarios intercalados, deberían estarlo entre guiones largos (—), no breves (-): —esto es un ejemplo—, sin espacios entre los guiones y el texto a que éstos corresponden.
    - 11.3. Detrás de los signos de interrogación y exclamación no debería haber nunca un punto.
    - 11.4. Después de dos puntos la primera letra irá en minúscula, a no ser que sea nombre propio.
    - 11.5. Las comillas no deberían aparecer nunca después de los signos de puntuación (Ej. "esto es correcto", pero "esto no.").
    - 11.6. Puede ser que las comillas no sean las que "deben ser" y aparezcan otras que estarían "mal colocadas, como éstas" o que no fueran las que corresponden a la letra "como éstas". Lo mismo puede pasar con Martha's y Martha's.
    - 11.7. No se usará el signo "&".
12. El tipo de letra utilizado será Times [12p.]
13. No se utilizarán plantillas para el formateo del texto.
14. No se crearán saltos de secciones ni secciones automáticas dentro del texto.
15. Palabras procedentes de otras lenguas (latín, francés, etc.) y que no sean de uso común se escribirán en cursiva. Por ejemplo: *per se, ab initio, par excellence, trobadour*, etc.
16. En ningún momento se utilizarán comillas simples, ni aún cuando se trate de una cita dentro de otra.
17. Como norma general se tratará de ser coherente con la puntuación y ortografía (británica o americana) a lo largo del artículo. Por ejemplo: "emphasise/ recognise" y no "emphasize/ recognise"; "colour/ colour" y no "colour/ color".

Las editoras se reservan el derecho de introducir mejoras de estilo y de corregir errores factuales o materiales. Se requerirá un ejemplar del trabajo en disco informático para preparar las pruebas una vez haya sido aceptado para su publicación. No se editan separatas. Los autores recibirán algunos ejemplares de la revista.

Para más información, pueden dirigirse a la Directora, M. Dolores Herrero, a la dirección arriba indicada, o por correo electrónico: dherrero@unizar.es

EXCHANGE POLICY

Miscelánea welcomes exchanges with other scholarly publications. Please write to:

Miscelánea (intercambios)
Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana
Universidad de Zaragoza
50009 Zaragoza (Spain)

The basic exchange rate for periodical publications is established on the basis of annual volumes. Quaterly, bi-monthly or monthly journals, or book series editors, may agree to establish other rates or complementary exchanges.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Miscelánea is listed in several bibliographical compilations, including the *Bibliography of European Journals for English Studies* (BEJES) published by the European Society for the Study of English (ESSE), *the MLA Directory of Periodicals, the Directory of Electronic Journals, Newsletters, and Academic Discussion Lists* published by the Association of Research Libraries, *Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory* and the *Bibliografía Española de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-CINDOC). It is also listed in *The Voice of the Shuttle*, in *Bibliografía de Revistas Electrónicas Españolas*, in *El Kiosko Electrónico*, in *WWW Applied Linguistics Virtual Library*, and in several other Internet directories.

Abstracts of *Miscelánea* are published in
Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts (LLBA).

The journal is regularly submitted to the following bibliographical publications for indexing:

The *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*
published by the Modern Humanities Research Association

The MLA International Bibliography
published by the Modern Language Association of America

Complete listings are included in
Literary Theory and Criticism: A Bibliography
(Comp. José Ángel García Landa)
available online at the following website:
http://FYL.UNIZAR.ES/FILOLOGIA_INGLESA/BIBLIOGRAPHY.HTML

ACKNOWLEDGENTS

The publication of volumen 25 has been somewhat delayed. This issue (the first of the two volumes for the year 2002) has appeared in July 2003. This delay has been mainly due to the substantial changes of format that have been recently introduced in our Journal, which have necessarily postponed the edition of some issues.

We would like to thank Dr. Robert de Beaugrande for his invited contribution to the present volume. We would also like to thank all the colleagues who, without belonging to our Editorial Board, were willing to revise and assess some of the contributions.


iberCaja


CIVITATIS
CAESARAVGVSTANAE
STVDIVM
GENERALE


CAi