VIAL

VIGO *i*NTERNATIONAL JOURNAL of **a**PPLIED **L**INGUISTICS

Number 0 - 2003

VIAL

Vigo International Journal
of Applied Linguistics

VIAL. Vigo International Journal of Applied Linguistics.

VIAL

Vigo International Journal
of Applied Linguistics

Number 0 - 2003

Editors:

Rosa Alonso
Marta Dahlgren

Contents:

Foreword

Vigo University Press publishes a great number of specialized journals, among which several related to the Galician language, one in the field of English and German language and literature, and a thriving journal in the field of Sociolinguistics. *VIAL* is, nevertheless, an attempt at filling a gap, which is found not only in our community but in Spain in general, where no journal exists to cover the areas from which *VIAL* hopes to attract contributions: that of SLA, Language Teaching Methodology, the growing area of Cognitive Linguistics related to Language Teaching and Learning, Psycholinguistics, Language Pathologies and the related fields of ESP and Translation.

The idea of publishing an international journal in Applied Linguistics met with enthusiasm when we first presented the idea to the academic community in Spain, and abroad. The great number of letters of support received, and the fact that so many prestigious researchers immediately accepted to be members of our Scientific Advisory Board and Editorial Board confirmed our hypothesis that this journal would be welcome, and earn its right of place among the host of academic journals already on the market.

We hope *VIAL* will encourage the interest of researchers in the existing fields of Applied Linguistics which are quickly becoming key areas on the cutting edge of linguistic research. *VIAL* would like to become an outlet both for new and already established researchers in the area and to create a space for readers interested in pursuing the complex and fascinating path of AL. We have taken the first step; the success of our next call for papers will depend largely on your contributions. Our common effort will hopefully turn *VIAL* into a meeting place for scholars working in similar fields and thus become a forum of discussion in the Applied Linguistics panorama.

We would like to express our thanks to the colleagues who have shown us their confidence in submitting their work to our introductory issue, to the advisors who have been doing the reviewing and to the members of our Scientific Advisory Board. Special thanks are due to the *Servicio de Publicacións da Universidade de Vigo* and to the *Xunta de Galicia* for finacial support. We are proud to present articles from all over Spain and also to have attracted two contributions from abroad, thereby allowing us to call ourselves international. Since this is our first issue, we take the liberty to extend our thanks and to dedicate it to all the volunteers who created a white tide on the blackened coast of Galicia, *VIAL*'s birth place.

The Editors: *Rosa Alonso, Marta Dahlgren*

Introduction ————————————————————

Elaine Tarone
University of Minnesota

The hallmark of this inaugural issue of VIAL is diversity: the scope of the field of applied linguistics as represented in this journal is both broad and diverse. Topics of discussion in this issue alone include foreign accent, discourse analysis, language disorder, English for academic purposes, the knowledge base of language teachers, corpus linguistics, and English grammar. Undoubtedly, future issues of the journal will expand this range of topics even further. In addition, because geographical diversity promises a truly international exchange of ideas, it is important to note that the contributors hail not just from various parts of Spain but also from Italy and the United States. The great advantage of this kind of diversity in a serious academic journal is that it promotes a free exchange of ideas within the discipline of applied linguistics, among specialists who might otherwise be unaware of one another's work.

The introductory article by Bond, Stockmal and Moates is a research study that explores the ability of native speakers of English to accurately identify foreign accents they hear. It is interesting that, though these English speakers could easily differentiate native and non-native accents of English, they could not, in fact, accurately identify the native language sources of the foreign accents they heard. It would of courses be interesting to replicate this study in other geographical regions of the United States, or in Britain.

Elorza pursues a longstanding puzzle for discourse analysts, a problem that has existed for decades: what is the best unit of analysis to use? Her useful review of recent proposals by leading discourse analysts leads to some suggestions for future research in this area, with implications for work on Language for Specific Purposes.

Garayzabal provides a most welcome and useful introduction to the important field of clinical linguistics: the linguistic study of language pathology. Her discussion of variation in the linguistic profiles of patients suffering from Williams' syndrome illustrates the impact of the assessment measures being used on research findings. In this case, standardized and non-standardized tests produce different results, and it is argued that this is because standardized measures do not include social and pragmatic levels of communication.

Martin focuses on the importance of hedging as a rhetorical strategy in academic writing, reviewing seminal research by Myers (1989) and Hyland

(1996, 1998), and illustrating some central hedging strategies used in English for academic purposes.

Martinez' contribution integrates some of the most recent research on second language acquisition, that relating to the analysis of input to learners in the classroom, with recent work on the knowledge base of non-native speaking teachers, and specifically, the ability of Spanish teachers of English to produce pragmatically appropriate discourse when cued. This sort of research is paralleled in the United States by that of Lazaraton, focusing on discourse produced by a Japanese teacher of English in an ESL context (in *TESOL Quarterly*, forthcoming)

Prat Zagrebelsky provides a most useful introduction to the area of corpus linguistics, specifically, the development of corpora focusing on learner language. She views the use of these corpora for the study of learner varieties of English as particularly attractive in Europe at the present time.

Finally, Rodriguez provides an instructive analysis of English resultative expressions with *dead/to death*, for the benefit of Spanish teachers and learners of EFL. Particularly useful in this paper is the wealth of examples drawn from authentic contexts, such as novels, newspapers, magazines and cook-books, and the explicit comparison with Spanish expressions in similar contexts. Such analyses of the English language itself, particularly those providing examples of actual usage, are very helpful not only for language teachers but also for translators and translator trainers.

Searching for Foreign Accent ⸺⸺⸺

Z. S. Bond, Verna Stockmal, Danny R. Moates
Ohio University, Athens, OH, USA

Abstract

Native speakers of English can identify non-native English speakers with relatively little difficulty. Further, they are able to identify the native language of non-native speakers, as suggested by such terms as French or Arabic accent, implying that non-native English carries properties which are characteristic of native languages. In four experiments, we investigated whether English listeners can match an unknown foreign language with a foreign accent. In the first two experiments, listeners heard a sample of accented English and were asked to select the native language of the speakers from a series of competitors. Listener performance did not exceed chance. In the third experiment, listeners made 'yes-no' responses to accented English matched with foreign languages, including the native language of the speaker. Although listeners thought some languages were more likely to be the source of the foreign accent than others, they did not identify the target language correctly. In the fourth experiment, listeners supplied ratings about the similarity of accented English and various foreign languages, with results very similar to those of Experiment 3.

Introduction

What speech characteristics lead listeners to judge that they are hearing a non-native speaker? This question has lead to an extensive literature in which researchers have employed various methodologies to investigate the phonetic and phonological properties of utterances which make them sound non-native. Two conclusions may be drawn from this literature. First, native listeners are extremely accurate in discriminating between native and non-native speech even from minimal information. Second, native listeners employ multiple sources of information, from paralinguistic to phonetic, in making foreign accent judgments.

For example, Flege, Frieda and Nozawa (1997) found that native listeners were consistent in their judgments and extremely sensitive to traces of foreign accent when presented with sentences. Scovel (1995) reported greater than 95% accuracy in distinguishing native from non-native speech samples. Flege (1984) has reported that listeners were able to recognize accented spoken samples of their native language within 30 ms, basing their judgments on phonetic cues

present in fragments of syllables. In a similar study which examined minimal segmental cues, Major (1987) found that native speakers could distinguish Brazilian Portuguese accented English from American English using pronunciations of the contrasting vowels /e/ and /æ/.

When researchers have examined various sources of information about foreign accent judgments, they have found that listeners are able to employ almost any source of information available to them. Cunningham-Andersson and Engstrand (1989) investigated the role of segmental features in the identification of Finnish accent in spoken Swedish. They used speech in which a talker deliberately introduced one or more deviations from normal Swedish which are characteristic of a Finnish accent. Although some features were more effective in suggesting an accent than others, in general, the more deviations, the more likely listeners identified the speech as accented. Magen (1989) presented computer-edited and natural versions of sentences produced in Spanish-accented English; she found that listeners were sensitive to a variety of segmental and also suprasegmental factors such as syllable structure, vowel and consonant quality, and stress placement. Munro (1995) presented filtered versions of sentences produced by non-native talkers. He found that listeners were able to identify foreign-accented speech even without clear information about segmentals. Presumably, the listeners were relying on intonation patterns, timing and speaking rate for accentedness judgments. Munro and Derwing (2001) extended this line of investigation by examining the contribution of speaking rate to accentedness judgments. They employed both naturally produced and computer-manipulated sentences and found that listeners could make reliable judgments of accentedness based on speaking rate alone.

Phonetic and phonological investigations of second-language pronunciation have found that non-native and native pronunciations differ on the dimensions which listeners seem to employ for making accentedness judgments. Flege and Bohn (1989) compared the acoustic-phonetic structure of native English and Spanish accented vowels, finding that producing appropriately reduced English vowels presented particular difficulties for learners. These findings are consistent with Bond and Fokes (1985), who reported that vowel reduction was challenging for non-native talkers from different language backgrounds. Flege, Munro and MacKay (1995) found persistent stop and fricative errors in the English produced by native speakers of Italian, even after many years residence in an English-speaking country. Guion, Flege, Liu and Yeni-Komshian (2000) found systematic differences in the durations of sentences produced in a second language. Ling, Grabe and Nolan (2000) examined the rhythm of English as produced by British speakers and English speakers in Singapore, reporting that Singapore English exhibited characteristics associated with syllable rhythm rather than the stress-based rhythm characteristic of British English. Theoretical perspectives

concerning second language phonology are extensively discussed in Ioup and Weinberger (1987).

There is an emerging consensus that talkers' native languages influence the phonological characteristics with which they produce a second language (see Scovel, 1988). Spanish learners of English frequently employ epenthetic vowels, fail to reduce unstressed vowels, and make predictable consonantal substitutions (Magen, 1998). American English listeners classify these patterns as speaking with a 'Spanish accent.' Many other languages are associated with specific foreign accent characteristics which listeners claim to be able to identify and even imitate (see Cunningham-Andersson and Engstrand, 1989). However, identifying specific accents may be a cognitively more complex task than identifying speech samples as native or non-native (Scovel, 1995). Listeners are also able to recognize spoken samples of foreign languages even when they neither speak nor understand them, suggesting that they are able to employ phonological representations of the 'sound' or 'acoustic signature' of languages (see Bond, Stockmal and Muljani, 1998; Bond and Stockmal, 2002).

To what extent are listeners able to generalize the 'acoustic signature' of a language to accentedness judgments? It is possible that knowledge of foreign accents comes from external information in that listeners require both previous knowledge of a specific foreign accent and of the 'sound' of a language in order to relate the one with the other. Alternatively, listeners may be able to employ language-internal characteristics, relating an unknown foreign language and accented speech on the basis of the phonetic and phonological patterns evident in both.

Experiment 1

The first experiment examined listener abilities to match accented speech to a native language. After hearing a recording of accented English, listeners were asked to select the native language of the talker from a series of competitors.

METHOD

Participants. Twenty-nine American college students with self-reported normal speech and hearing served as listeners.

Materials. A female native speaker of Japanese read a short passage in English. Her knowledge of English and her English pronunciation were excellent, appropriate for an instructor at an American university. This passage served as the material for exposure. In the test, listeners heard five 6-second excerpts per language from read speech produced by female native speakers of Arabic,

Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese and Russian. The Japanese samples on the test were produced by a different talker than the exposure passage but from the same dialect area in Japan.

Procedure. The listeners were tested in small groups in a quiet classroom. They first heard a recording of an English passage read by the female talker. The listeners were instructed to attend to the phonological characteristics of her pronunciation which made it sound non-native. After listening to the exposure passage, the listeners heard the test recording and were asked to select the native language of the speaker in the exposure passage from these competitors. For each language sample, they responded 'yes' if they thought the language was the native language of the talker; they responded 'no' if they thought the language was not the native language of the talker. At the end of the test, listeners were asked to identify the native language of the talker.

RESULTS

Correct identification. In the task of identifying a language as a source of foreign accent, listeners can make four kinds of responses. They can identify the target language and reject competitors correctly; they can err by incorrectly rejecting the target language or by accepting a competitor. In this kind of task, it is common to use A', a measure of sensitivity, to evaluate performance. A' is calculated from 'hits' here defined as correct identification of Japanese as the source of foreign accent and 'false alarms,' selection of a competitor as the source of the foreign accent (see Grier, 1971). The values of A' range from 0 to 1, which indicates perfect identification of the target as well as perfect rejection of competitors; .5 represents chance performance.

A' was calculated for each listener. The mean correct identification, A' = .55, SD = .22, was not significantly different from chance, (t = .009, n.s.). Listeners were unable to select Japanese as the source of foreign accent from competitor languages.

When identifying the native language of the talker, 22 of the listeners named an Asian language ('Asian', Chinese, Korean, Malay). Four named a European language (Italian, Spanish, Russian). One listener identified the source language as Hindi. Seven listeners identified the native language correctly as Japanese but these listeners were no better than the other listeners at selecting samples of Japanese from the competitor languages.

Error patterns. The listeners rejected Russian and Arabic as the native language at relatively high rates. They tended to identify the native language as a language spoken in Asia: Chinese, Indonesian or Japanese. These response patterns are given in Figure 1.

Fig. 1. Listeners correctly rejected both Arabic and Russian as sources of the foreign accent. They failed to correctly identify the target language, Japanese, as the source.

From Japanese-Accented English
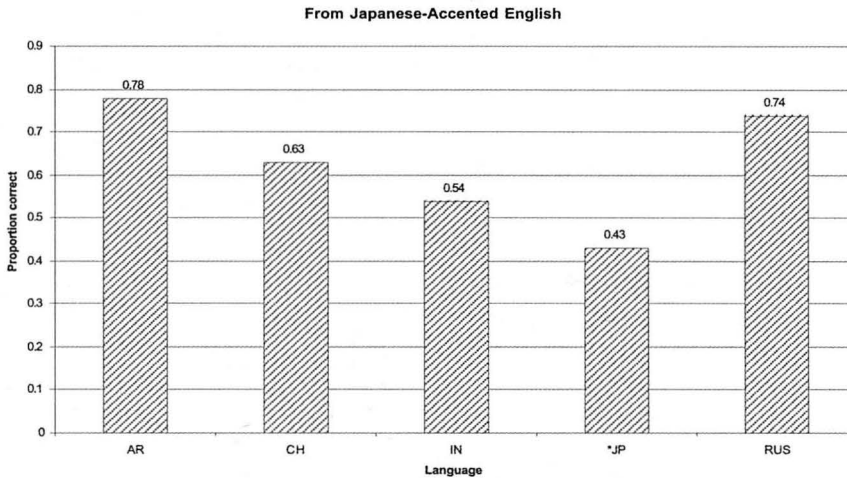
CONCLUSION

The conclusion is very clear. Listeners tended to locate the accented English in Asia, both by selecting Asian languages and by naming them, but the listeners could not identify samples of spoken Japanese as the native language of the talker. The listeners must have had some kind of phonetic or phonological representation of English as spoken with an 'Asian' accent but could not employ the representation to identify Japanese.

Perhaps the Japanese talker spoke English with so little trace of Japanese accent that listeners could not detect the phonetic and phonological similarities between the English sample and the Japanese samples.

Experiment 2

The second experiment replicated the first experiment with two modifications: the talker spoke with a noticeable foreign accent and, because listeners seemed to be sensitive to Asia as a geographical area, both the target language and the competitor languages were European.

METHOD

Participants. Twenty-two American college students with self-reported normal speech and hearing served as listeners.

Materials. A female speaker of Latvian read a short English passage with accented pronunciation. This passage served as the exposure material. The test materials consisted of five 6-second samples per language, excerpted from fluent reading by female native speakers of Finnish, German, Greek, Latvian and Russian.

Procedure. Listeners first heard a recording of the exposure passage read in accented English. They then heard the test recording and were asked to select the native language of the talker from these competitors. The listeners responded 'yes' if they thought a language sample represented the native language of the talker; otherwise, they responded 'no.'

RESULTS

Correct identification. A' was calculated for each listener from 'hits' and 'false alarms,' as in the first experiment. The mean A' = .32, SD = .32 indicated that listeners were responding below chance (t = 2.638, p < .02), completely unable to select Latvian as the source of the foreign accent.

Error patterns. Listeners correctly rejected Finnish as the native language. They rejected Greek, German and Russian at approximately equal rates. They were least accurate in identifying Latvian as the source of the foreign accent. These response patterns are given in Fig. 2.

Fig. 2. Listeners correctly rejected Finnish as the source of the foreign accent. They failed to identify the target language, Latvian, as the source.
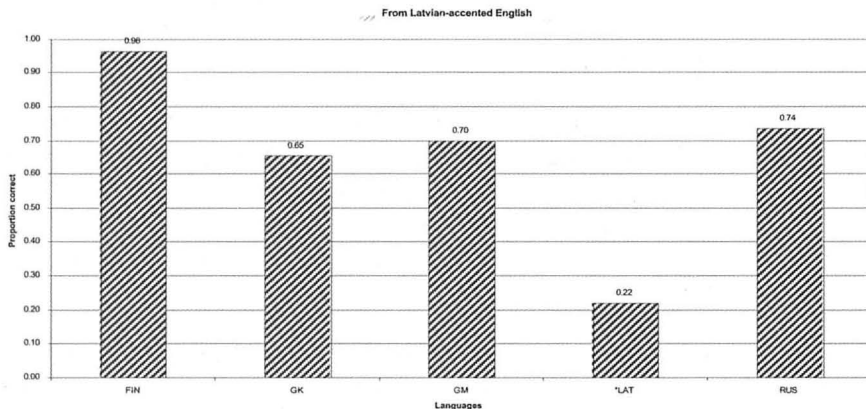
CONCLUSION

Although listeners correctly rejected Finnish, they failed to identify Latvian as the native language responsible for the accented English. Listeners were also not particularly sensitive to the geographic area of the target language.

Experiment 3

The task of building a representation of the 'sound' of a language from a sample of accented English may have been too difficult, requiring listeners to develop and remember a phonetic representation of an accent and apply it to foreign languages. The third experiment employed a task not quite as dependent on memory for identifying the 'sound' of a foreign language suggested by a foreign accent.

METHOD

Participants. Eighteen participants, drawn from the same population as the participants in the first two experiments, served as listeners.

Materials. The language samples employed in the second experiment served in the listening test for the third experiment but were rearranged to minimize reliance on memory. The test recording contained 6-second samples of Latvian-accented English, each sample paired with both Latvian and the four competitor languages. Latvian and each competitor language appeared five times.

Procedure. The listeners heard the test recording in a quiet classroom. For each pair of language samples (accented English and foreign language), listeners responded 'yes' if they thought the foreign language could be the native language of the speaker providing the English sample. Otherwise, listeners responded 'no.'

RESULTS

Correct identification. A' was calculated for each listener, using correct identifications of Latvian as 'hits' and identification of another language as the native language as 'false alarms.' The mean A'=.40, SD=.27, indicated that listeners were not responding significantly differently from chance (t = 1.57 n.s.).

Error patterns. For almost all language pairs, listeners were responding at close to chance levels. These response patterns are given in Fig. 3.

Fig. 3. In making 'Yes-No' judgments, listener responses to pairings of accented English and foreign languages did not differ from chance.
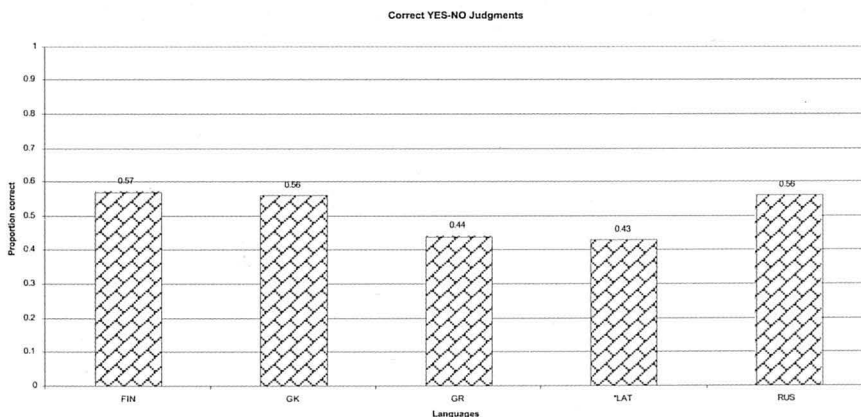
CONCLUSION

Listeners were unable to identify the native language of the talker correctly even when they heard both the accented English and the native language side by side. Simplifying the memory requirements of the task was not sufficient to enable listeners to identify a language as a source of foreign accent in English.

Experiment 4

Experiment 3 demanded categorical 'yes-no' responses from the listeners. It is possible that listeners had different evaluations of the likelihood that a particular language sample represented the talker's native language but that they could not express these differences using only two categories. In Experiment 4, listeners were asked to respond on a scale so that they would have the opportunity to show sensitivity to any foreign accent cues they detected.

METHOD

Participants. Thirty-one listeners, selected from the same population as in the previous experiments, participated in the study.

Materials. The same test recording was employed as in Experiment 3, samples of Latvian-accented English paired with both Latvian and competitor languages.

Procedure. For each language pair, listeners responded on a 7-point scale, indicating their judgment of whether the language might be the native language of the talker's accented English.

RESULTS

Mean ratings for each language indicate that listeners were most inclined to judge German as the source of the foreign accent, mean rating 4.97. They did not judge Latvian to be a particularly likely source of the foreign accent, mean rating 3.78, somewhat less than Greek, mean rating 3.97, and almost equal to Russian, mean rating 3.54. The listener responses are given in Fig. 4.

Fig. 4. In providing rating judgments, listeners responded with values in the middle of the scale and did not find Latvian most similar to Latvian-accented English.
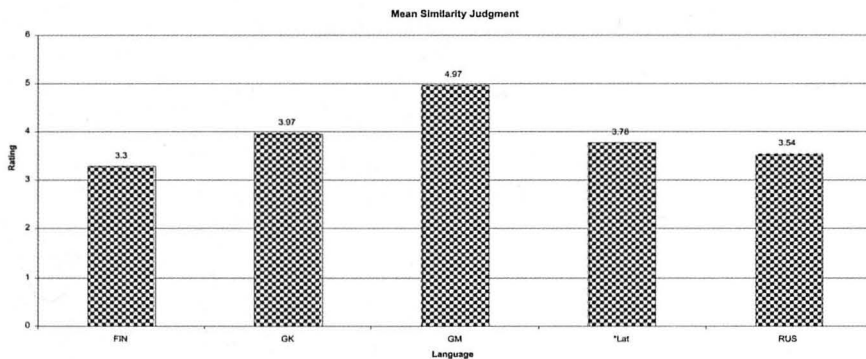
CONCLUSION

Even when able to respond on a scale, which might allow listeners to indicate various levels of sensitivity in their judgments, listeners failed to judge Latvian as the most probable source of the accented English.

General Discussion

In searching for foreign accent, monolingual listeners failed to find phonological commonalties between accented English and the target foreign language in all four experiments; that is, the listeners were not able to identify a foreign language based on the phonological patterns evident in unfamiliar accented speech. Without previous knowledge of both the acoustic signature of the language and the specific accented English, listeners were not able to match the accent with the language.

Even familiarity with a particular foreign accent did not enable listeners to identify the 'acoustic signature' or phonological pattern of the target language. In experiment 1, listeners claimed to recognize the talker's speech as 'Asian' 76% of the time, and 24% of the listeners correctly identified the talker's native language as Japanese, indicating that they were able to identify the foreign accent. However, despite this knowledge, they were not able to identify the language itself. In previous studies by Bond, Stockmal and Muljani (1998) and Lorch and Meara (1989), listeners were often able to locate a language within a geographic region. The error patterns suggest that the listeners did have some impression of 'Asian language' because they correctly rejected both of the non-Asian languages, Arabic and Russian, but had difficulty distinguishing Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian from each other.

Results from the second experiment are consistent with the first experiment. Listeners reported that they recognized the accented speech as 'European'. They correctly rejected Finnish but were unable to distinguish between the other four languages. These listeners reported no previous exposure to Latvian and so had no phonoclogical representation of the target language available to them. The listeners may have been somewhat familiar with the 'sound' of Russian, German and, to some extent, Greek; consequently, they may have been willing to accept them as the target. Although these languages are commonly taught in universities, the listeners were not sufficiently proficient in any of them to evaluate their phonological commonalities with the accented speech. When listeners were asked to evaluate the similarity of the languages with the accented speech, they assigned similarity ratings in the middle of the scale to Greek, Latvian and Russian. Only Finnish, which was correctly rejected in the previous

experiments, was rated very dissimilar. German was rated most similar to the accented speech but may also be the language most familiar to the listeners.

Taken at face value, the results suggest that, without external knowledge of both the language and the resulting accented English, listeners are unable to match an accent with a language. When listeners identify a speaker as exhibiting a particular foreign accent, they must be doing this from external knowledge, from learning what that foreign accent 'sounds' like. Familiarity with a particular foreign accent does not necessarily transfer to knowledge about the 'acoustic signature' or phonetic patterns of the foreign language which is the source of the foreign accent.

Alternatively, there may be technical explanations for the results. It is possible that the listeners, young monolingual Midwestern Americans, have had so little experience with foreign accents that they were unable to form generalizations about their phonology. They may also have reacted differently to languages which are commonly studied, Russian and German, than to less commonly studied languages because the 'acoustic signature' of these languages was somewhat familiar. The listeners may have been distracted by talker voice quality, age, affect, speech rate, or other paralinguistic factors from attending to phonological properties. For example, the Latvian talker who provided the accented speech was almost 25 years older than the talker who provided the target language samples, while the German talker was about the same age. The accented English samples may have been untypical: either too good or too hesitant to allow listeners to interpret the phonology at the appropriate level of abstractness for making language identification judgments. Finally, listeners may not have had adequate samples of either the accented English or the foreign languages.

Several technical improvements should be incorporated into future studies including:

- Longer samples of accented speech, the target language, and competitor languages.

- Similar age and voice quality of talkers.

- Listeners who are somewhat familiar with accented speech and other languages.

Because these studies are quite preliminary and because it is very difficult to prove a negative conclusion conclusively, the question motivating this investigation, Are listeners able to use the 'sound' of a foreign accent to identify a corresponding foreign language? remains open.

References

Z. S. Bond, Z. S. & Fokes, J. (1985) Non-native patterns of English syllable timing, *Journal of Phonetics*, 13, 407-420.

Bond, Z.S., Stockmal, V. & Muljani, D. (1998). Learning to identify a foreign language. *Language Sciences*, 20, 353-367.

Bond, Z.S. & Stockmal, V. (2002). Distinguishing samples of spoken Korean from rhythmic and regional competitors. *Language Sciences*, 24, 175-185.

Cunningham-Andersson, U. & Engstrand, O. (1989). Perceived strength and identify of foreign accent in Swedish, *Phonetica* 46, 138-154.

Flege, J. E. (1984). The detection of French accent by American listeners. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 76, 692-707.

Flege, J.E., Frieda, E. M. & Nozawa, T. (1997). Amount of native-language (L1) use affects the pronunciation of an L2. *Journal of Phonetics*, 25, 169-186.

Flege, J. E. & Bohn, O.-S. (1989). An instrumental study of vowel reduction and stress placement in Spanish-accented English, *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 11, 35-62.

Flege, J. E., Munro, M. J. & MacKay, I. R. A. (1995). Effects of age of second-language learning on the production of English consonants, *Speech Communication* 16, 1-26.

Grier, J. B. (1971). Nonparametric indexes for sensitivity and bias: Computing formulas. *Psychological Bulletin*, 75, 424-429.

Guion, S. G., Flege, J. E., Liu, S. H. & Yeni-Komshian, G. H. (2001). Age of learning effects on the duration of sentences produced in a second language, *Applied Psycholinguistics* 21, 205-228.

Ioup, G. & Weinberger, S. (1987) *Interlanguage Phonology: The Acquisition of a Second Language Sound System*. Cambridge: Newbury House.

Lorch, M. P. & Meara, P. (1989). How people listen to languages they don't know. *Language Sciences*, 11, 343-353.

Low E. L., Grabe, E. & Nolan, F. (2000). Quantitative characterizations of speech rhythm: 'syllable timing' in Singapore English, *Language and Speech* 43, 377-401.

Magen, H. S. (1998). The perception of foreign-accented speech. *Journal of Phonetics*, 26, 381-400.

Major, R. (1987). Phonological similarity, markedness, and rate of second language acquisition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 9, 63-82.

Munro, M. J. (1995). Nonsegmental factors in foreign accent, *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 17, 17-34.

Munro, M. J. & Derwing, T. M. (2001). Modeling perceptions of the accentedness and comprehensibility of L2 speech, *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 23, 451-468.

Scovel, T. (19880. *A Time to Speak*. Cambridge: Newbury House.

Scovel, T. (1995). Differentiation, recognition, and identification in the discrimination of foreign accents (pp. 169-181). In J. Archibald, ed., *Phonological Acquisition and Phonological Theory*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

La elección de diferentes unidades analíticas en el marco de la investigación textual: problemas y soluciones posibles —

Izaskun Elorza
Universidad de Salamanca

Resumen

La observación de análisis descriptivos de muestras de lenguaje real nos indica un uso muy variado de unidades analíticas. No obstante, la utilización de diferentes unidades de tipo supraoracional dificulta la generalización de los resultados obtenidos en estos análisis, por lo que supone un impedimento para la investigación textual. En este artículo delimitamos los conceptos de las unidades analíticas más relevantes mediante las dicotomías <texto/discurso>, <registro/género>, <unidad teórica/unidad práctica> y <nivel/rango>. De este modo, determinamos la naturaleza de este problema para poder esbozar una serie de pautas encaminadas a paliar la falta de un criterio único analítico. Estas consideraciones se extienden al ámbito práctico de las lenguas para fines específicos y al de la traducción, en los que este problema es común.

Abstract

The dilemma of analytic units in textual research: problems and possible solutions

When investigating descriptive analyses of real-world language samples we find a highly varied use of analytic units. However, the use of different units of a suprasentential order makes it difficult to generalize the results obtained in such analyses, which supposes a dilemma in text research. This article is an attempt at delimiting the most relevant analytic units, focusing on the dichotomies 'text/discourse', 'register/genre', theoretical unit/practical unit' and 'level/range'. The background of terms is analyzed with a view to find a series of rules which would fill the void of a missing singles analytic criterion. We also consider the practical environment of discourse in the areas of language for specific purposes and translation, where this problem frequently surfaces.

Introducción

El gran desarrollo de los estudios lingüísticos de tipo descriptivo alcanzado durante los últimos años se debe en gran medida al auge de la lingüística textual

y del análisis del discurso, y de un modo paralelo, al análisis del género desarrollado en el entorno del inglés para fines específicos. No obstante, es extremadamente difícil dibujar un panorama general de los resultados alcanzados ya que no existe un criterio único de obtención de datos analíticos, ni del modo de tratarlos e interpretarlos. En el fondo, esto significa que, lejos de aproximarnos a lograr la descripción de la lengua analizada, se está produciendo tal diversificación de la información obtenida que el estado de la cuestión resulta más confuso en la actualidad que el que se podía esbozar años atrás.

Esta heterogeneidad analítica se manifiesta claramente al considerar la variedad de unidades utilizadas para analizar el lenguaje en uso. La utilización de unidades diferentes dificulta extraordinariamente la generalización de los resultados de los análisis y, como consecuencia, obstaculiza la elaboración de una descripción global de la lengua. Sin embargo, esta cuestión ha sido escasamente tratada por los especialistas. Para intentar arrojar luz sobre esta cuestión, en las secciones siguientes vamos a caracterizar las unidades analíticas utilizadas más frecuentemente en los análisis de muestras de lenguaje en uso: el texto, el discurso, el registro y el género. Ya que los conceptos de cada uno de estos términos no está claramente delimitado ni localizado en un mismo espacio conceptual, y en pro de la concisión, vamos a tratarlos mediante sucesivas dicotomías, comenzando por la que probablemente sea más frecuente a la hora de tratar el análisis textual, y que contrapone los conceptos de texto y de discurso.

1. Texto y discurso

A pesar de que existe unanimidad en que los conceptos de texto y de discurso están directamente relacionados, su interrelación, así como la noción que representa cada uno de ellos, es motivo de controversia:

> [S]e han impreso muchas páginas y se han dedicado muchas horas de discusión a la pasión inútil de establecer las supuestas diferencias existentes entre «texto» y «discurso». Quien escribe estas líneas no tiene noticia en ningún caso equiparable en otros ámbitos del conocimiento: lo que unos lingüistas llaman «texto» es, precisamente, lo que otros denominan «discurso» y viceversa. Existe unanimidad en el desacuerdo (Bonilla 1997:9).

Cook (1989) interpreta el texto como "a stretch of language interpreted formally, without context" (Cook 1989:156). Cook considera únicamente los elementos formales del texto, eliminando cualquier aspecto relacionado con el uso del texto en la comunicación, mientras que interpreta el discurso como "stretches of language perceived to be meaningful, unified, and purposive" (Cook

1989:158), es decir, incorporando asimismo los aspectos pragmáticos del lenguaje. La consideración del contexto es, en este caso, la que marca la diferencia entre texto y discurso, siendo ambos porciones de lenguaje. Por su parte, Lavandera (1990) considera que el texto es un producto del discurso y se sitúa en unas coordenadas temporales concretas, mientras que el discurso es interpretado como lengua puesta en uso, es decir, como "habla emitida", tal como se muestra más abajo. En la aproximación de Cook la relación entre texto y discurso se interpreta en términos formales y pragmáticos pero ambos conceptos derivan de otro concepto más general, el de lenguaje. Lavandera, partiendo de la dicotomía de Saussure entre lengua y habla, sitúa el concepto de discurso en el ámbito del habla y, a partir de éste, deriva el concepto de texto:

> Hay quien tiene miedo de llamar *texto* al *discurso, discurso* a lo que es un *texto*. Lo importante es explicitar cómo se van a emplear aquí estos términos. Nosotros vamos a usar discurso como palabra más amplia, más general. *Texto*, lo usaremos para distinguir, en algún caso, lo producido en un determinado momento del discurso. *Discurso* será entonces simplemente habla emitida y habrá momentos en que hablaremos de la *situación del discurso* y momentos en que hablaremos del discurso mismo (Lavandera 1990:10).

Para Lavandera, el problema de qué entendemos por texto y por discurso no es más que una cuestión de distintos enfoques y posicionamientos del lingüista. La posición puede variar en función de los objetivos de la investigación que se va a emprender o del tipo de conocimientos que persigue alcanzar. Por eso no sólo estamos de acuerdo con esta autora en la importancia de hacer explícito qué se entiende por cada uno de estos términos, sino que lo consideramos estrictamente necesario cuando los términos son confusos por el solapamiento entre conceptos. Creemos que esta confusión está directamente relacionada con la falta de unanimidad que, como veremos más adelante, existe en la utilización de los términos de género y registro. Desde nuestra posición, tenemos la convicción de que la cuestión de fondo de estos problemas conceptuales reside en el papel que se le asigna al texto y al discurso, lo cual, en definitiva, implica asimismo la asunción de un cierto modelo de lenguaje en cada caso particular. Así pues, pensamos que la función que se le asigna al texto en cada conceptualización de las utilizadas por los diferentes investigadores contribuye en gran medida a la utilización de una terminología en particular, de acuerdo con lo que se toma en cada caso como unidad de análisis, con la relación que la unidad utilizada tiene con otras unidades distintas, así como con los resultados esperados.

Siguiendo a Beaugrande (1997), entendemos que tanto el texto como el discurso son los canales principales mediante los que la gente se pone en contacto

con el lenguaje, por lo que la descripción de la lengua está necesariamente liga-
da a los textos:

> If we define a text as a communicative event [...], a discourse would be a set of inter-
> connected texts, the primary instance being the conversation. It would follow that
> text and discourse are the main channels for people to encounter language. If so, all
> work for cultivating or studying the language would have been at least implicitly or
> indirectly concerned with texts, even though only a few were explicitly or directly
> so (Beaugrande 1997:21).

Si para Cook los conceptos de texto y de discurso derivan directamente del
concepto general de lenguaje (son 'porciones' de éste), y para Lavandera el con-
cepto de texto deriva del de discurso (el texto se produce en el discurso),
Beaugrande se sitúa en una posición distinta a ambos con respecto de la relación
conceptual entre texto y discurso, ya que este autor toma el concepto de texto
como noción central y, a partir de ésta, deriva el concepto de discurso.

Beaugrande (1980) interpreta los textos como "meaningful configurations of
language intended to communicate" (Beaugrande 1980:1), siendo precisamente
su rasgo fundamental el hecho de que los textos siempre se dan en la comunica-
ción, producidos por un único participante, y dentro de unos límites temporales
(tal como apunta Lavandera también). A partir de esta concepción básica de
texto, el discurso es interpretado como "[a] set of mutually relevant texts", como
"a progression of occurrences that may be continued at a later time"
(Beaugrande 1980:2). Por último, en un rango superior, Beaugrande sitúa el *uni-
verso del discurso*, que define como "[t]he total constellation of mutually relevant
discourses in a group or society" (Beaugrande 1980:2). Esta noción de 'universo
del discurso' surge, tal como este autor apunta, a partir de la idea de intersección
del dominio de cada discurso con los demás (Van Dijk 1977:127).

Para Beaugrande (1980:1), el cambio progresivo de la lingüística del texto
hacia una posición central dentro de la disciplina del estudio del lenguaje pare-
ce estar marcando un cambio de paradigma científico (Kuhn 1971) en muchos
países. Un cambio que Beaugrande describe como una desviación del interés por
el lenguaje representado en oraciones acontextuales, hacia una nueva preocupa-
ción por las manifestaciones del lenguaje tal como se producen de forma natural,
es decir, por los textos. Según esto, podemos deducir que las unidades analíticas
más utilizadas son unidades de tipo supraoracional.

2. Registro y género

Desde otra perspectiva, cabe señalar que la preocupación por el texto a la que
se refiere Beaugrande es afín a la mostrada por los investigadores que trabajan en
la descripción de la lengua en el ámbito de la didáctica de las lenguas para fines

específicos. El texto es el punto de partida para la descripción de la lengua que se considera relevante para el aprendiz. Desde las diferentes aproximaciones a la descripción de la lengua mediante el análisis textual, la lengua que se considera didácticamente relevante es identificada por unos como aquélla que es representada a través del *registro* textual, mientras que otros la describen mediante la caracterización del *género* textual y, por último, otros la caracterizan mediante los rasgos que le asignan al *discurso* asociado con un contexto determinado. En todas estas nociones subyace una interpretación particular del concepto de tipo de texto. Así, el texto es tomado como unidad de análisis con el fin de extraer conclusiones que sean extrapolables a una cierta tipología. Estas conclusiones pueden ser de naturaleza extremadamente variada dado que, como señalan Beaugrande y Dressler, los tipos de texto ('text types') constituyen un rango de clasificación muy comprehensivo al definirse como "classes of texts with typical patterns of characteristics" (Beaugrande y Dressler 1981:10). Desde este enfoque, la afinidad o similitud textual está intrínsecamente relacionada con la *intertextualidad*, si bien esta dependencia no destaca en todos los tipos de texto por igual (cf. Beaugrande y Dressler 1981:11). En última instancia, este concepto de tipo de texto es más general que el concepto de registro y que el concepto de género. Esto implica que su potencial de clasificación es más versátil, albergando la posibilidad de establecer tipologías ulteriores restringidas por un número determinado de variables, de las que el registro y el género son dos ejemplos. En este sentido, se trata de un concepto más útil para unificar criterios que el registro o el género.

El texto es interpretado como un caso particular de un registro por Halliday (1978:110) y otros lingüistas en su misma línea. Según este lingüista, el registro determina a qué variedad pertenece el texto de acuerdo con el uso que se hace del lenguaje desde un punto de vista semántico. De este modo, el texto es concebido como una unidad semántica que presenta la selección de significados del autor. Podemos decir que, en el caso de la lingüística sistémico-funcional de Halliday, el concepto de registro está representado dentro del modelo de uso del lenguaje y tiene una función clara. Por consiguiente, podemos esperar que los resultados de un análisis del registro de un texto o de un corpus de textos ofrezcan información acerca del propio registro, es decir, acerca de la variedad funcional semántica a la que pertenecen los textos analizados con respecto de los elementos lingüísticos elegidos para expresar los significados presentes en esos textos, y con respecto a la propia presencia de unos u otros significados en particular.

Si definimos el texto como un acto esencialmente comunicativo, de acuerdo con la concepción de Beaugrande, el texto también es interpretado como un caso particular de género por Swales y muchos de los investigadores del ámbito del inglés para fines específicos que trabajan con el análisis de géneros. Swales define el género como un acto comunicativo entendido y reconocido socialmen-

te por los participantes en cuanto a sus fines, como se puede comprobar en su definición de más abajo. El texto, según la interpretación de Beaugrande, es asimismo intencional y comunicativo. Pero Swales, además, relaciona de forma inherente el texto con las tareas que se realizan basándose en él, como se puede observar en el apartado (d) de su definición:

a) A genre is a recognized communicative event with a shared public purpose and with aims mutually understood by the participants within that event.

b) A genre is, within variable degrees of freedom, a structured and standardized communicative event with constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their positioning, form and intent.

c) Overt knowledge of the conventions of genre is likely to be much greater in those who routinely or professionally operate with that genre rather than in those who become involved with it only occasionally.

d) Societies give genre names to types of communicative event that they recognize as recurring. Named genres are manifestations through spoken or written texts (or both) and their associated text-based tasks.

e) Modified genre-names (survey article, issue memo, panel discussion) indicate features that a speech community finds salient and thus provide a way into sub-genres (Swales 1986:13).

Según Dudley-Evans (1994:219), el género, como concepto utilizado en el entorno del inglés para fines específicos, se diferencia del concepto literario de género en que el primero se caracteriza por su intención comunicativa, mientras que el género literario se distingue por sus rasgos formales. De acuerdo con esta interpretación, la intención comunicativa es el rasgo distintivo del género, ya que puede diferenciar un género de un registro y también un género de otros géneros:

Communicative purpose is [...] the defining feature by which a genre such as the academic article is distinguished from other genres and by which the consideration of genre is distinguished from the consideration of register. The use of genre in ESP or applied linguistics is thus distinct from its use in literary criticism, where a particular genre, for example a tragedy, a comedy or a novel, is distinguished by its form (Dudley- Evans 1994:219)

Independientemente de lo controvertido de la afirmación de Dudley-Evans de que los géneros literarios se distinguen formalmente, sobre lo que no nos vamos a detener puesto que se trata de un aspecto que se aleja de la cuestión de las unidades analíticas, si nos atenemos a las concepciones de registro y de género esbozadas más arriba, podríamos establecer una distinción entre ambas nociones basándonos en que el registro es susceptible de ser utilizado para describir textos desde una perspectiva semántica, para poner de manifiesto los elementos

lingüísticos y los significados, expresados en el texto mediante esos elementos, como datos analíticos de tipo semántico. Por su parte, el género sería útil para describir textos desde una perspectiva semiótica, es decir, para poner de manifiesto los elementos lingüísticos y los significados del texto como datos analíticos de tipo semiótico. Así, el género resultará más útil que el registro para analizar rasgos característicos comunes existentes entre el cine negro y la novela negra, o también si lo que queremos es estudiar la relación paródica de las películas de *Los Adams* con la novela gótica. Si, por el contrario, deseamos establecer comparaciones entre las noticias de catástrofes naturales emitidas por los informativos y las referentes a los accidentes de circulación durante el fin de semana, entonces probablemente resultará más útil el registro que el género.

Desde la perspectiva de la lingüística sistémico-funcional, Matthiessen (2001) considera que, para poder contemplar desde una aproximación científica fenómenos lingüísticos complejos y multidimensionales como la traducción, debemos considerar el entorno más amplio posible. Según este lingüista, este entorno está definido por una tipología comprehensiva compuesta por sistemas de todas clases, en la cual los sistemas se ordenan según su complejidad, desde los sistemas físicos hasta los sistemas semióticos.

De acuerdo con Matthiessen (2001:49), los sistemas semióticos se caracterizan (a) por tener la propiedad añadida de crear significado, y (b) por su estratificación, ya que, para crear significado, deben constar de un mínimo de dos niveles, que corresponden a la *expresión* y al *contenido*.

Matthiessen (2001:49) señala que el lenguaje es un sistema semiótico, pero también un sistema social (estudiado por la sociolingüística), un sistema biológico (estudiado por la neurolingüística y por la fonética articulatoria) y un sistema físico (estudiado por la fonética acústica). No obstante, existen muchas otras formas de sistemas semióticos, incluyendo la expresión facial, los gestos, etc., y otros sistemas que acompañan al lenguaje hablado o que pueden ser utilizados de forma independiente, y que también han recibido el interés de la investigación en el ámbito de la traducción (cf., p. ej., Poyatos 1997), así como el dibujo, la pintura, etc., y otros sistemas que acompañan al lenguaje escrito o que pueden ser utilizados de forma independiente.

En este sentido, cuando decimos que el género es útil para describir textos desde una perspectiva semiótica, estamos equiparando el lenguaje con otros sistemas semióticos sobre los cuales podemos establecer asimismo diferentes géneros (el cine, por ejemplo). Esta perspectiva nos ayuda a situar el tipo de unidad analítica que supone el género pero, sin embargo, no nos ayuda a diferenciar entre el concepto de registro y el concepto de género, puesto que en realidad ambos se refieren al significado de los textos. Así, necesitamos distinguir entre

diferentes tipos de sistemas semióticos para poder distinguir convenientemente entre ambos tipos de unidad analítica.

Si bien podemos clasificar los sistemas semióticos en diferentes tipos de acuerdo con una tipología comprehensiva de tales sistemas, Matthiessen opina que una distinción crítica para la interpretación del lenguaje como una clase de sistema semiótico es la distinción que Halliday establece entre *sistemas semióticos primarios* y *sistemas semióticos de orden superior*:

a) Los *sistemas semióticos primarios* están compuestos por dos únicos estratos, por lo que son microfuncionales en cuanto a su modo de significación, es decir, sólo pueden crear significado de un modo a un tiempo. Los proto-lenguajes infantiles constituyen una clase de sistemas semióticos primarios puesto que sólo tienen dos estratos: el nivel de la expresión y el nivel del contenido; es decir, carecen del nivel léxicogramatical. El sistema de señales de la circulación es otro ejemplo de sistema semiótico primario, en el que un significado ("prohibir el paso a los vehículos") se expresa mediante una expresión iconográfica (círculo rojo con rectángulo blanco horizontal central)

b) Los *sistemas semióticos de orden superior* están compuestos por tres estratos, por lo que son metafuncionales en cuanto a su modo de significación, ya que el significado puede ser creado de diversos modos al mismo tiempo. En estos sistemas, el nivel del contenido está a su vez estratificado en un plano semántico y un plano léxicogramatical.

Según este planteamiento, el lenguaje no sólo es considerado un sistema semiótico humano, sino probablemente también el único sistema de esta clase que es propiamente de orden superior, lo que hace que su posición sea única en la traducción inter-semiótica (cf. Matthiessen 2001:66). Así, el lenguaje vendría a constituir la "interlengua" de los sistemas semióticos, por lo que Matthiessen toma como hipótesis de trabajo que el lenguaje es el único sistema semiótico al que todos los demás sistemas semióticos (humanos) pueden ser traducidos, si bien esto no significa que las traducciones sean literales: "they are bound to be very 'free' because they have to be done at the level of semantics and thus be abstracted away from lower-level 'renderings' of meaning" (Matthiessen 2001:66).

En este sentido, la traducción intersemiótica se contempla como una transformación que se produce en el nivel de la semántica de cada sistema semiótico, de modo que podemos trazar un concepto significativo a través de diferentes géneros. De este modo, el género se revela como una unidad analítica muy versátil ya que puede ser utilizado para analizar todo tipo de sistemas semióticos, tanto de orden primario como de orden superior.

Por su parte, el registro se corresponde únicamente con los sistemas semióticos de orden superior, por lo que su relación con la traducción se limita, en primera instancia, al lenguaje y, por consiguiente, a lo que Jakobson denomina la traducción intralingüística.

En cuanto a la traducción entre variedades de la misma lengua, Matthiessen explora tanto la traducción entre variedades dialectales, como entre variedades de registro, y señala que las diferencias traslativas son mínimas para la primera:

> Since dialect variation is characterized by phonological variation and to some extent by lexicogrammatical variation but the semantics remain constant (as noted in e.g. Halliday 1978, dialects represent different ways of saying the same thing), translation should constitute a minimal transformation of meanings and also a minimal transformation of many lexicogrammatical patterns (Matthiessen 2001:67).

Pero en cuanto a las variedades de registro, Matthiessen señala que la traducción como tal entre textos de diferentes registros no es posible, dado que la variación de registro implica a su vez una variación de los significados que se expresan ya que los registros son precisamente un tipo de variación semántica, es decir, "ways of saying different things" (Halliday 1978:35). No obstante, aunque se produce una excepción cuando el cambio de registro es utilizado como recurso humorístico, Matthiessen opina que la gente es consciente de esta imposibilidad para traducir entre distintos registros. Una muestra de esta consciencia es que la adaptación parcial de un registro a otro no sólo es utilizada como recurso humorístico, sino que ha sido también explorada en el campo literario. Las "Instrucciones para subir una escalera" de Julio *Cortázar* (*Historias de Cronopios y de Famas*) constituyen un ejemplo de este tipo de adaptación, en el que el registro de los manuales de instrucciones se adapta a la narración literaria breve (además de otros juegos lingüísticos que tienen que ver, entre otras estrategias textuales, con un uso anómalo de la correferencia).

Desde esta perspectiva teórica, podemos decir que el registro se corresponde con un tipo de unidad más limitada que el género, puesto que un análisis del registro de un texto implica la consideración de los recursos léxicogramaticales utilizados para la creación del significado, mientras que en un análisis del género esto no es necesario.

No obstante, si nos fijamos en el tipo de resultados y de conclusiones a las que se suele llegar en los análisis del registro y en los análisis del género, esta distinción no se suele dar en el ámbito de la práctica. Los análisis de géneros y los análisis de registros textuales no se diferencian por el tipo de datos que utilizan, sino más bien por el modo de *denominar* y *clasificar* esos datos, es decir, por la manera de tratar el material textual.

A nuestro parecer, la diferencia fundamental entre estos distintos tipos de análisis estriba en la utilización de diferentes *unidades analíticas*, por lo que nos parece el momento preciso de ahondar en los tipos de unidades que estamos considerando, con el fin de localizar convenientemente la unidades que estamos tratando.

3. *Unidades teóricas y unidades prácticas*

Beaugrande distingue entre unidades de tipo teórico y unidades de tipo práctico. Esta distinción es útil para explicar las diferencias entre la utilización de diferentes conceptos de tipo o clase textual (género, registro, discurso, etc.), que hacen tan confuso el panorama de la investigación. Así, la importancia que se le da a cada tipo de unidad está relacionada con (a) el modelo de lenguaje que se considera en cada caso, y (b) la finalidad del análisis. El género, por poner un caso, ha sido utilizado tradicionalmente para distinguir entre textos literarios y no literarios (entre novela y ensayo, por ejemplo), así como para diferenciar distintas clases de textos literarios (entre novela, poesía y teatro, por ejemplo), si bien este término ha sido tomado y utilizado de forma distinta para analizar tipos de textos asociados con situaciones profesionales.

Para Beaugrande (2000), el hecho de tomar un concepto, como el de género, de otro campo o ámbito diferente y aplicarlo al análisis de textos asociados con otro tipo de situación no supone un problema si esta forma de proceder resulta útil para obtener resultados en los análisis textuales:

> We need to examine a comprehensive range and variety of authentic texts and explore what sorts of properties deserve to be accounted for [...]. We can apply whichever categories and concepts of previous 'linguistics' seem productive, but we can also apply ones from adjacent fields, such as literary studies, cognitive science, artificial intelligence, ethnography, economics, and political science [...] — whatever bases we can enlist in exploring how speakers do select and combine words inside phrases, clauses, sentences, or any other relevant units, such as paragraphs, essays, or science textbooks (Beaugrande 2000).

Creemos que los análisis de textos son aptos para llegar a conclusiones acerca del comportamiento textual en relación con los significados que son apropiados para una función lingüística en particular y con las palabras, estructuras sintácticas, y demás recursos del sistema lingüístico que se usan para crear y expresar esos significados (cf. Halliday 1978:195), así como para conocer los estilos característicos de producción textual en situaciones típicas o en ciertos grupos (cf. Beaugrande 1980:243). En este sentido, los análisis de textos auténticos pueden proporcionarnos información referente a un único tipo discursivo, a varios tipos, o también información que se refiere al universo del discurso. Por ejemplo, podemos analizar la obra de Charles Darwin *The Origin of Species* (1859)

y la obra *On the Tendency of Varieties to Depart Indefinitely From the Original Type* (1858) de su coetáneo Alfred Russel Wallace para obtener información sobre el léxico o las estructuras sintácticas utilizados para expresar significados acerca de la evolución, o bien para obtener información sobre el discurso científico inglés del siglo diecinueve, o quizá también para analizar los rasgos que lo diferencian del discurso científico inglés actual desde una perspectiva diacrónica. No obstante, para poder establecer mediante qué tipo de unidad analítica obtenemos la información textual, debemos introducir otra distinción ulterior, que se refiere a los conceptos de nivel lingüístico y de rango lingüístico, que veremos a continuación.

4. Nivel y rango

Según la concepción de Beaugrande, la utilización de distintos tipos de unidades analíticas no implica que existan diferencias de *nivel* entre unas unidades y otras, sino que apunta más bien a diferencias de rango y, en este sentido, el discurso no ocupa un nivel distinto al del texto, sino únicamente un rango superior. Es decir, el hecho de que unos analistas utilicen el género como unidad y otros el *titular*, por poner un ejemplo, implica únicamente diferencias de rango en el nivel de análisis pero no de niveles lingüísticos, como ocurrire si comparamos el análisis fonológico de un texto con su análisis morfológico.

Beaugrande utiliza los términos 'nivel' y 'rango' de forma diferenciada (Beaugrande 1980:7), entendiendo por nivel "the total aspect of a participating language system"; mientras que el rango es "a unit of a given dimension in a hierarchy of size (e.g. word, sentence, etc.)". El nivel es un concepto de tipo teórico que corresponde con un modelo que interpreta que el lenguaje está compuesto por distintos sistemas que se sitúan en diferentes niveles pero que actúan simultáneamente y, por consiguiente, las unidades que se manejan en cada nivel lingüístico son unidades de tipo teórico. Según Beaugrande (1997:183), estas unidades son el *fonema, el morfema, el lexema y el sintagmema* y se relacionan en forma de "dynamic form-function connections".

Por su parte, los rangos únicamente proporcionan *"practical terms with heuristic functions* for promoting a convergence of data and a consensus among investigators more readily than would *theoretical terms with strictly formal definitions"* (Beaugrande 1997:183).

Así, mientras que el concepto de nivel está por encima de todo el lenguaje (cada elemento está situado en un único nivel lingüístico), el rango es un concepto específico para cada unidad, de tal modo que la relación que se establece

entre texto y discurso es una relación de rango y no de nivel, aunque esa relación pueda ser establecida de diferentes modos, tal como sucede al comparar la interpretación de Cook, la de Lavandera, y la de Beaugrande. Al tratarse de unidades de tipo práctico, las unidades de rango no sólo son mucho más variadas que las unidades teóricas, sino que además permiten que un mismo elemento sea susceptible de ser tratado analíticamente desde diversos puntos de vista. Por ejemplo, una palabra puede ser tomada como tal palabra pero también como una secuencia de sílabas o de letras, al igual que un discurso puede ser interpretado como un conjunto de textos:

> For the forms we actually see as **stretches of text**, we can use the terms for ranks like those envisioned in British functional linguistics: Sound/Letter – Syllable – Word – Collocation – Phrase – Clause – Clause Complex – Sentence/Utterance – Discoursal Move – Discourse Episode – Text – Discourse. Here, the practical part-whole relations are largely stipulated by the ordinary senses of the terms for ranks – e.g., a Syllable being a part of a Word and being pronounced as a unit, or a Phrase being a sequence of Words – and hold no profound theoretical significance (Beaugrande 1997:183).

Desde esta perspectiva, tanto el género como el registro son unidades prácticas que ocupan un rango superior al texto, al igual que sucede con el discurso según la interpretación de Beaugrande. En este sentido, la confusión que existe entre los conceptos de género, de registro e incluso de discurso está originada en la propia consideración del texto como un *tipo* o *clase* de otra cosa, es decir, como ejemplo o muestra de un prototipo, que es concebido como una unidad de rango superior. Esto supone que la versatilidad de lo que Beaugrande y Dressler denominan tipo de texto constituye un aspecto positivo y productivo únicamente cuando se establece explícitamente el criterio específico de clasificación que se perseguirá con los análisis textuales.

En nuestra opinión, la causa de esta confusión proviene de la falta de unanimidad en la adopción de un criterio único, por lo que parece que en la práctica la utilización de estas unidades no sirve para potenciar "a convergence of data and a consensus among investigators", tal como defiende Beaugrande (1997:183). Lo que es más, esta falta de unanimidad no sólo afecta al análisis y clasificación de los textos en el ámbito de la didáctica de las lenguas para fines específicos, sino también al ámbito de la didáctica de la traducción, donde la clasificación tipológica de las traducciones ha recibido interés constante por parte de los investigadores y, por tanto, se observa el mismo tipo de confusión en la utilización de distintas unidades de forma aleatoria. Cabe señalar que, como indica García Izquierdo (2000), el interés por el concepto de tipo textual y por las clasificaciones tipológicas está, también en este ámbito, relacionado con la didácti-

ca, tal como sucede en el entorno de las lenguas para fines específicos.

La clasificación tipológica tiene una estrecha relación con la didáctica de aquellas áreas de la enseñanza donde se utiliza material textual auténtico, de las que las lenguas para fines específicos y la traducción constituyen dos claros ejemplos. En el primer caso, las dificultades tipológicas se manifiestan asimismo en lo que se considera la lengua relevante que se debe enseñar. Aquí, el discurso científico-técnico suele ser tomado como una única variedad funcional de la lengua.

En términos generales, se suele interpretar que tanto la variedad científica como la variedad técnica ocupan un mismo espacio socio-semiótico (White 1998:266), a pesar de que las diferencias existentes entre la ciencia, la técnica y la tecnología han sido abordadas y caracterizadas tanto desde enfoques epistemológicos (Vega Encabo 1996) como filosóficos (Quintanilla 1989) y son comúnmente aceptadas. White señala que ambas variedades lingüísticas presentan rasgos distintivos, tales como diferencias de preferencia al optar por ciertos usos léxicos, es decir, preferencias distintivas en cuanto a la selección de modos de expresión:

> While the discourse of science and technology access the same set of lexical resources for their specialist terminology, they display different preferences in their use of these resources (White 1998:269)

Teniendo esto en cuenta, es extremadamente importante que los análisis de textos asociados con alguna de estas variedades lingüísticas especifiquen de forma explícita, no sólo las unidades prácticas que utilicen, sino también el rango afectado por los resultados obtenidos, bien sea el género, o el registro o un tipo de discurso en particular.

Por otra parte, tal como veremos a continuación, en el ámbito de la traducción esta heterogeneidad analítica no afecta exactamente al tipo de lengua que se considera relevante desde el punto de vista didáctico, sino más bien al signo de las decisiones que se adoptan al llevar a cabo la traducción de un texto. Esto, en última instancia, afecta asimismo a la didáctica de la traducción en cuanto que el análisis que se lleva a cabo con la finalidad de traducir suele ser utilizado en el aula de traducción como una pauta de actuación estratégica para los aprendices.

5. Las unidades analíticas en el ámbito de la traducción

El ámbito de la traducción es interesante en cuanto a la concepción y utilización de unidades analíticas porque presenta un rasgo peculiar: aquí, el análisis textual es tan frecuente como en otros campos de la lingüística aplicada y, sin embargo, la descripción de la lengua no suele constituir un objetivo –siquiera a

largo plazo- del análisis textual. A pesar de esto, se dan los mismos problemas asociados a la variedad de unidades analíticas que hemos detectado en otros ámbitos de aplicación, probablemente por el interés de los traductores en la clasificación textual. Nord (1997:37) señala la importancia de las tipologías textuales para ayudar al traductor en su tarea, posibilitando la especificación de los niveles jerárquicos de equivalencias que son apropiados en cada tarea de traducción.

Hatim y Mason (1990:69) utilizan como unidades con categoría semiótica el texto, el *discurso* y el *género*, interpretándolas del siguiente modo:

> At a general level, genre refers to the linguistic expression conventionally associated with certain forms of writing (for example, the Letter to the Editor), text refers to a sequence of sentences serving an overall rhetorical purpose (such as arguing), and discourse refers to the material out of which interaction is moulded as well as the themes addressed (Hatim 1998:68).

Por otra parte, aun partiendo del mismo modelo lingüístico que los anteriores, House interpreta el lenguaje, el registro y el género como categorías pertenecientes a distintos niveles cuya relación entre sí no se explica en términos de rango, ni tampoco de clasificación de distintos sistemas, como hemos hecho nosotros a partir de Matthiessen, sino en términos de realización de diferentes planos semióticos:

> In order to determine the function of a text –consisting of an ideational and an interpersonal function component- which must be kept equivalent in translation, the original text is analysed at the levels of *Language*, *Register* and *Genre*. The relationship between these three levels can be seen in terms of semiotic planes which relate to one another in a Hjelmslevian content-expression way with *Genre* being the content-plane of *Register*, and *Register* being the expression-plane of *Genre*. *Register* in turn is the content-plane of *Language*, and *Language* is the expression-plane of *Register*. *Register* is divided into *Field*, *Tenor* and *Mode* (House 2001:66).

De acuerdo con el modelo de lenguaje utilizado por House y por Hatim y Mason, el texto es contemplado como una entidad única y holística compuesta por una cantidad indeterminada de elementos que poseen, entre otras, la propiedad de ser interpretados como representación de las opciones elegidas estratégicamente por el autor. Asimismo, en la traducción, tanto la producción del *texto original* (o TO) como la del *texto traducido* (o TT) son interpretadas como actividades teleológicas (cf. Rabadán 1991:45) en las que el texto se configura a partir de unos objetivos intencionales que incluyen, según Reiss y Vermeer (1996), la asignación al texto de una o varias funciones específicas. Esta es la razón por la que afirmamos que la falta de unanimidad en la aplicación de un criterio único de análisis afecta a las decisiones particulares que toma el traductor en el transcurso de la traducción. Si contemplamos la traducción como una actividad cog-

nitiva individual, puede que esto no implique repercusiones importantes, pero si pensamos en su dimensión didáctica, creemos que la falta de unanimidad y de claridad en el análisis textual dificulta enormemente que el aprendiz logre adquirir y desarrollar pautas estratégicas de actuación.

Nord, siguiendo a Reiss, utiliza un concepto doble de tipo de texto, distinguiendo entre dos formas de categorización textual:

[O]n the one hand, text types (*Texttypen*) are classified according to the dominant communicative function (basically informative, expressive or operative); on the other, text genres or varieties (*Textsorten*) are classified according to linguistic characteristics or conventions (like those of reference books, lectures, satires or advertisements) (Nord 1997:37).

Aun cuando esta clasificación es útil para la didáctica de acuerdo con el enfoque funcional de la traducción, presenta dos problemas para la descripción textual. En primer lugar, la clasificación textual basada en la función comunicativa dominante en un texto utiliza como criterio diferenciador el propósito comunicativo del autor (que se interpreta a partir de la función dominante que el lector asigna al texto), en el sentido como Hatim interpreta el texto al definirlo como "a sequence of sentences serving an overall rhetorical purpose (such as arguing)". Pero, en realidad, tal clasificación se utiliza para diferenciar entre unas funciones comunicativas y otras mediante muestras reales de lenguaje en uso. Es decir, el objeto último de la clasificación no son los textos, sino las propias funciones. Analizar textos para estudiar su función comunicativa dominante no contribuye tanto a la descripción textual como a la descripción de lo que constituye la función informativa tal como se da en la comunicación real. La clasificación textual mediante funciones comunicativas proporciona como resultado más información acerca de las propias funciones comunicativas que acerca de los tipos de textos.

En este sentido, la objeción aquí estriba en la escasa utilidad que se vislumbra en la descripción de textos mediante funciones comunicativas, pero, como sugiere Beaugrande, esto no implica que no sea útil para casos como los que se abordan en la didáctica de la traducción mediante el enfoque funcional. Además de esto, la concepción que menciona Nord de clase de texto ('Textsort') tampoco es útil para diferenciar entre unidades como el registro y el género, por lo que, en términos generales, pensamos que su potencial para aclarar los confusos conceptos que subyacen en la investigación textual es más bien escaso.

6. Conclusiones

Para no alargarnos excesivamente, a continuación vamos a resumir de forma esquemática las conclusiones generales que podemos extraer a partir de las con-

sideraciones de las páginas anteriores. Incluimos aquí algunas sugerencias acerca de cómo podemos contribuir a solventar este problema de forma simple. Al mismo tiempo, sugerimos también cómo podemos continuar indagando en la misma línea de consideraciones teóricas acerca de las unidades analíticas utilizadas para obtener información que nos permita trabajar de forma uniforme y más eficazmente en la descripción de la lengua, independientemente de que esta aproximación se produzca desde un ámbito de aplicación u otro:

6.1. Las unidades analíticas más útiles para la descripción de la lengua analizada son las unidades de tipo supraoracional. Esto es así debido a que la dimensión textual del lenguaje es la única que nos permite adoptar una perspectiva general acerca del lenguaje en uso y variar nuestro enfoque de lo más general a lo más particular y viceversa, de acuerdo con nuestras necesidades e intereses particulares en un momento dado, integrando un enfoque de "arriba abajo" con un enfoque de "abajo arriba". Esto implica que podemos analizar los textos utilizando para ello todas las unidades de tipo práctico que sean de utilidad en el sistema en el que se sitúa la dimensión textual, variando el rango de la unidad de análisis (palabra, párrafo, discurso, registro, texto, oración, grupo nominal, etc.) en función de los objetivos y las necesidades establecidos en un momento dado.

6.2. Como punto de partida para el análisis descriptivo de la lengua en cualquier ámbito de aplicación, la unidad práctica *básica* más útil para la descripción de la lengua desde una perspectiva abierta es el *texto*, interpretado en este trabajo según la concepción y los criterios de textualidad de Beaugrande (Beaugrande 1980; Beaugrande y Dressler 1981). Las unidades de rango superior a éste, que se refieren a tipos de texto, como el registro, el género y el discurso, no sólo mantienen una relación de tamaño con la unidad básica, sino también en cuanto a la generalización de los resultados obtenidos en los análisis, ya que únicamente mediante el análisis de unidades básicas, es decir, de textos, podemos extraer conclusiones acerca de las unidades de rango mayor.

6.3. Para poder alcanzar "a convergence of data and a consensus among investigators", tal como propone Beaugrande (1997:183), todo análisis cuya finalidad sea descriptiva debe contribuir, en última instancia, a la descripción general de la lengua. Para que esto sea posible, sugerimos las siguientes pautas de actuación:

a) En cuanto a los objetivos de los análisis, todo análisis de rango menor debe contribuir a la descripción de un rango mayor. Asimismo, teniendo en cuenta el grado de generalización deseable desde el punto de vista descriptivo, podemos precisar más sugiriendo que todo análisis textual debe poder contribuir a la descripción de un registro, de un género, de un tipo

de discurso y, en última instancia, al universo del discurso de un sistema sociosemiótico o de un subsistema.

b) En cuanto a la metodología de los análisis, *todo análisis debe hacer explícito el criterio analítico utilizado*. La necesidad de esto es obvia para poder paliar la carencia de un criterio común.

c) En cuanto a los resultados de los análisis, *todo análisis debe hacer explícitas las unidades analíticas utilizadas, así como su situación dentro de la gama de rangos utilizados*. De este modo, no sólo evitamos la confusión terminológica, sino que además podemos establecer con mucho mayor rigor qué tipo de resultados esperamos obtener y obtenemos mediante el análisis textual.

d) En cuanto a la generalización de los resultados obtenidos, *todo análisis debe interpretar los resultados obtenidos explicando cómo y en qué contribuyen éstos a la descripción de un rango superior o del universo del discurso*.

6.4. Por último, a la vista de las consideraciones que afectan a la distinción de unidades analíticas en unidades de tipo teórico y unidades de tipo práctico, cabe plantearse nuevas cuestiones que tienen que ver con la naturaleza de la relación existente entre ambos tipos de unidad, tales como si los análisis que utilizan unidades de tipo teórico pueden contribuir a la descripción de la lengua, o si por el contrario esto únicamente es posible en combinación con unidades prácticas, y que deberán ser resueltas en otros trabajos en la misma línea.

Referencias

Beaugrande, R. A. de. (1980) *Text, Discourse and Process*. Norwood: Ablex

Beaugrande, R. A. de. 1997. *New Foundations for a Science of Text and Discourse: Cognition, Communication and the Freedom of Access to Knowledge and Society*. Norwood: Ablex

Beaugrande, R. A. de (2000) "Text linguistics at the millennium: Corpus data and missing links". En formato electrónico en "http://beaugrande.bizland.com/Textmillennium1.htm" http://beaugrande.bizland.com/ Textmillennium1.htm (Última consulta: 10 de septiembre de 2002)

Beaugrande, R. A. de y Dressler, W. U. (1981) *Introduction to Text Linguistics*. Nueva York: Longman

Bonilla, S. (1997) "Estudio preliminar". R. A. de Beaugrande, y W. U. Dressler (eds) *Introducción a la lingüística del texto*. Versión española a cargo de S. Bonilla. Barcelona: Ariel, 7-25

Cook, G. 1989. *Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Dijk, T. A. van. 1977. *Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse*. Nueva York: Longman

Dudley- Evans, T. (1994) "Genre analysis: an approach to text analysis for ESP". M. Coulthard (ed.). *Advances in Written Text Analysis*. Londres: Routledge, 219-228

Elorza, I. e Iglesias, N. (2002) "Tracing Context in Advertising Discourse". P. Alonso et al. (eds.). *Aspects of Discourse Analysis*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 133-163

García Izquierdo, I. (2000) "The Concept of Text Type and Its Relevance to Translator Training". *Target* 12(2):283-295

Halliday, M. A. K. (1978) *Language as Social Semiotic*. Londres: Edward Arnold

Hatim, B. 1998. "Discourse analysis and translation". Baker, M (ed). *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Londres: Routledge, 67-71

Hatim, B. y Mason, I. 1990. Discourse and the Translator. Nueva York: Longman

House, J. 2001. "Pragmatics and translation". P. Fernández y J. M. Bravo (eds.). *Pathways of Translation Studies*. Valladolid: Centro Buendía, Universidad de Valladolid, 57-77

Kuhn, T. S. 1971. *La estructura de las revoluciones científicas*. Traducido del inglés por A. Contín. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica

Lavandera, B. R. (1990) *Curso de Lingüística para el Análisis del Discurso*. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina

Matthiessen, Ch. M. I. M. (2001) "The environments of translation". E. Steiner y C. Yallop (eds) *Exploring Translation and Multilingual Production: Beyond Content*. Berlín: Mouton de Gruyter, 41-124

Nord, C. (1997). *Translating as a Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained*. Manchester: St. Jerome

Quintanilla, M. A. (1989) *Tecnología: un enfoque filosófico*. Madrid: Fundesco, D.L.

Rabadán, R. (1991) "The Unit of Translation Revisited". *Translation Theory and Practice*. Nueva York: State University of New York at Binghamton, 38-48

Reiss, K. y Vermeer, H. J. (1996) *Fundamentos para una teoría funcional de la traducción*. Traducido del alemán por S. García Reina y C. Martín de León. Madrid: Akal

Swales, J. (1986) "A genre-Based Approach to Language Across the Curriculum". M. L. Tickoo (ed.) *Language Across the Curriculum*. Singapur: SEA-MEO Regional Language Centre, 10-22

Vega Encabo, J. (1996) *Epistemología de las técnicas. El problema del saber práctico y el conocimiento técnico*. Tesis Doctoral. Universidad de Salamanca

White, P. R. R. 1998. "Extended reality, proto-nouns and the vernacular: Distinguishing the technological from the scientific".J. R. Martin y R. Veel (eds.). *Reading Science. Critical and Functional Perspectives on Discourses of Science*. Londres: Routledge, 266-296

Estudios inter e intralingüísticos de las alteraciones del lenguaje: la validez de los planteamientos[1]

Elena Garayzábal Heinze
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Resumen

El campo de estudio de las alteraciones del lenguaje desde la perspectiva lingüística, conocido también como lingüística clínica, es un área de reciente interés y desarrollo en nuestro país, aunque ya en los años 80 surgió como estudio consolidado en Inglaterra. Si bien se trata de un nuevo desarrollo de la investigación lingüística, no está exento de problemática si tomamos en cuenta la perspectiva interlingüística, comparación de lenguas, y la intralingüística, por cuanto se refiere a la evaluación de los niveles lingüísticos en una lengua dada y en una patología concreta. Desde estas líneas pretendemos abordar estos aspectos a partir del estudio de una alteración cognitiva y clínica como es el síndrome de Williams.

Abstract

Inter and intralinguistic studies of language pathologies: the different approaches and their validity.

The study of language pathologies from a linguistic point of view, also known as clinical linguistics, is a developing field in Spain which is subject to increasing interest, similar to the one it attracted during the 80s in the UK. Even though it is a new development in linguistic research, if we consider the areas of interlinguistic research, contrastive linguistics and intralinguistics, the study of language pathologies is not devoid of problematic issues, especially with regard to the evaluation of linguistic levels in a specific language and in a specific pathology. This article aims to approach these aspects with special reference to the cognitive and clinical dysfunction of patients suffering the Williams syndrome.

1 ¿Qué es el síndrome de Williams?

El síndrome de Williams-Beuren—SW—(Williams, Barrat-Boyes, Lowe, 1961) es una alteración de tipo genético debida a una microdelección en el cromosoma 7 en la banda 7q11.23. Su incidencia aproximada es de 1 cada 20.000 nacimientos. En esta delección están implicados genes como el de la elastina, que

puede explicar ciertos aspectos clínicos como los cardíacos y vasculares, pero no explica otros de tipo más cognitivo o comportamental; esto ha llevado a pensar que la delección genética en el SW sea más amplia e implique a otros genes (Osborne et al, 2001). A partir de la identificación de genes por medio del proyecto Genoma Humano (DeSilva et al, 1999) se informa de la localización de 18 genes en el intervalo del cromosoma anteriormente mencionado (Bayés et al, 2001; Pérez Jurado, 2001), y se aportan datos a favor de la existencia de ciertos genes implicados en el fenotipo neuro-comportamental o cognitivo. El SW presenta unas características clínicas determinadas (estenosis aórtica supravalvular, hipercalcemia en la infancia, escoliosis, retraso en el crecimiento), conlleva retraso mental leve o moderado (50 y 60 C.I.) y muestra un fenotipo específico que hace que el síndrome se conozca también como síndrome de la cara de duende o "elfin facies": labios prominentes, nariz chata, hipoplasia mandibular, mala formación de la arcada dental, pelo rizado, patrón de iris estrellado, entre otros. Por lo que respecta al perfil comportamental, las personas con este síndrome se caracterizan por su hiperactividad, locuacidad, sociabilidad y por una comportamiento perseverante en algunos casos semejante al de los autistas (Dilts et al, 1990).

El SW presenta un perfil neuropsicológico y cognitivo específico caracterizado por una asimetría cerebral (Bellugi et al, 1988; Vicari et al, 1996) en la que tanto los aspectos no verbales como los visoespaciales y psicomotores están severamente dañados (Bellugi et al, 1990; Wang et al, 1995). Por el contrario, parece que los aspectos verbales están bastante bien preservados, por lo que el perfil cognitivo general de estas personas se describe como un perfil de picos y valles muy acusados (Bellugi et al, 1988), lo cual es destacable en un cuadro de funcionamiento cognitivo con deficiencia mental.

2. Aspectos lingüísticos del síndrome de Williams

La bibliografía clásica acerca del lenguaje en la población afectada por el SW resalta una habilidad particular de éstos para el lenguaje (Udwin y Yule, 1990; Bellugi et al., 1988; Birhle et al., 1989; Karmiloff-Smith, 1992; Jarrold et al, 1998); esta habilidad es raramente observada y descrita en otras poblaciones con deficiencia mental.

Se describe a las personas que padecen este síndrome como hiperverbales, extrovertidos, amigables, gregarios y de personalidad agradable, lo que hace que sus habilidades comunicativo-pragmáticas parezcan aceptables. Su lenguaje es, cuanto menos, curioso, pues utilizan vocabulario poco frecuente, su lenguaje es fluido y, en general, se les describe como locuaces. Por otro lado, parece ser que

sus habilidades de producción de las estructuras lingüísticas son adecuadas, por lo que se apoya la idea de una superioridad del proceso productivo sobre el comprensivo.

Sin embargo, la descripción del lenguaje en este síndrome no deja de ser controvertido y en la literatura se perfilan posturas encontradas:

Aquellos que defienden la existencia de un importante déficit de las habilidades lingüísticas, por lo que no habría prácticamente diferencia entre las habilidades verbales y no verbales (Arnold et al. 1985; Crisco & Dobbs, 1988).

Una postura intermedia sería partidaria de que, en efecto, las habilidades lingüísticas están mejor que las no lingüísticas, sin embargo, no están tan preservadas como se pretendía en los estudios iniciales (Bellugi et al, 2000).

Algunos investigadores cuestionan específicamente la preservación de las habilidades lingüísticas, tanto desde un punto de vista cuantitativo como cualitativo (Gosch, Städing & Pankau, 1994; Garayzábal & Sotillo, 2001a), al igual que se plantea la duda de si efectivamente las habilidades de producción están por encima de las habilidades comprensivas (Howlin et al, 1998; Garayzábal & Sotillo, 2001a).

En resumen, no existe consenso; es clara la existencia de opiniones contradictorias. Es más: llega a hablarse incluso de la existencia de un perfil lingüístico no armónico en general en el SW, perfil que se repite en las ejecuciones no homogéneas en los diferentes niveles de análisis lingüístico (Capirci et al, 1997; Garayzábal & Sotillo, 2001a).

3. Objetivos del trabajo

Pretendemos dilucidar dos aspectos. En primer lugar, si partimos de los datos obtenidos de la evaluación y observación de una muestra de personas españolas con SW[2] (Garayzábal, 2002a) y establecemos una comparación con los estudios anglosajones acerca del mismo síndrome, es un hecho que nuestros resultados difieren radicalmente de la idea clásica de preservación de las habilidades lingüísticas, de ahí que nos planteemos la importancia de los estudios interlingüísticos en las alteraciones del lenguaje.

Por otro lado, y adoptando una perspectiva interna a la propia lengua, observamos una gran contradicción entre los resultados obtenidos en los tests estandarizados de evaluación de lenguaje y los resultados obtenidos del análisis de muestras de lenguaje espontáneo (dirigido y en situaciones naturales). Ello nos lleva a plantear la importancia metodológica de los estudios intralingüísticos y la relevancia de la evaluación.

4. La importancia de los estudios interlingüísticos en las alteraciones del lenguaje

A la hora de enfrentarnos al estudio de una patología en concreto debemos tener en cuenta varios factores. En primer lugar es necesario determinar la edad de la persona que vamos a evaluar: niño, adolescente o adulto. La evaluación se enfocará de diferente manera dependiendo de la edad. Por otro lado, tenemos en cuenta los diferentes niveles de análisis lingüístico que se van a observar: fonético-fonológico, gramatical, léxico-semántico y pragmático-comunicativo. Por último, se analizarán igualmente los procesos de comprensión y producción en esa evaluación.

Como hemos venido diciendo, nuestro centro de interés es el lenguaje de las personas afectadas por el síndrome de Williams. En este punto intentaremos contrastar los estudios anglosajones con los datos obtenidos en muestras españolas. Es importante notar que hoy en día, conforme avanza la investigación en este síndrome, los datos de lenguaje que hemos obtenido coinciden en muchos aspectos con los datos obtenidos de muestras italianas (Volterra et al, 1996; Pezzini et al, 1999), alemanas (Krause, 2001) y francesas (Karmiloff-Smith, 1996). Somos conscientes de que, precisamente por nuestra formación lingüística, nuestros resultados y observaciones son más exhaustivos que los de los demás estudios, que básicamente se limitan a enunciar algunos aspectos del nivel gramatical. Es por ese motivo que, al contrastar nuestros resultados con la de los anglosajones, habrá aspectos que ni siquiera hayan sido tomados en consideración por los últimos.

4.1. Anglosajones frente a españoles: perfiles lingüísticos contradictorios

4.1.1 Niveles de análisis

LA LITERATURA	NUESTROS DATOS

Alteraciones fonológicas:
    No se documentan
	Alteraciones fonológicas:
	    Casos de parafasias fonológicas, asimilaciones, omisiones, sustituciones

Alteraciones gramaticales:
    Aunque ha sido tradicional no encontrar documentación al respecto, en los últimos 5 años comienzan a documentarse errores en este área del lenguaje
	Alteraciones gramaticales:
	    Se han encontrado ejemplos de alteración de la estructura de frase, inconcordancias genéricas y numéricas, errores en el uso de tiempos verbales, uso incorrecto de los elementos funcionales.

Alteraciones léxico-semánticas:
    Vocabulario hiper desarrollado, uso frecuente de palabras de baja frecuencia. Se habla de una hipertrofia semántica, tanto del léxico como de frases hechas y clichés sociales
	Alteraciones léxico-semánticas:
	    Se encuentran numerosas anomias en su lenguaje que en muchos casos se compensan con parafasias semánticas no del todo aceptables; influye en la fluidez verbal.

LA LITERATURA	NUESTROS DATOS

Alteraciones comunicativas:
    No se documentan
	Alteraciones comunicativas:
	    Uso desmedido de la prosodia afectiva, no mantienen contacto ocular

Alteraciones pragmáticas:
    Dos bandos:
    Correcta organización del discurso, no hay incoherencias.
    Aspectos pragmáticos más alterados si cabe que los lingüísticos.
	Alteraciones pragmáticas:
	    No tienen en cuenta al interlocutor, falta de relevancia comunicativa en su discurso, formulación de preguntas al aire sin esperar respuesta, no se hace un uso adecuado de los turnos de conversación, no se tiene en cuenta el contexto ni la situación comunicativa, tendencia a saltar de un tema a otro sin previo aviso.

4.1.2. Procesos

PROCESO COMPRENSIVO	PROCESO PRODUCTIVO
Muchos hacen uso del lenguaje para sostener relaciones sociales incluso antes de comprender el significado de muchas palabras que utilizan. Baja puntuación en pruebas de comprensión gramatical y conceptos básicos. Uso de frases estereotipadas y clichés sociales, que no son garantía de su comprensión. Problemas en la comprensión de situaciones y relaciones sociales.	Lenguaje muy fluido, aparentan ser grandes conversadores. A pesar de esta locuacidad, su edad lingüística es baja.

Está claro que los datos difieren mucho de una lengua a otra. La explicación que presentamos tiene una doble lectura. Por un lado, y si tenemos en cuenta que estudios realizados con otras lenguas se acercan más a los datos obtenidos por nosotros, la explicación parece clara. En parte se trataría de un problema intrínseco a la tipología lingüística cuya consecuencia desde una perspectiva interlingüística se traduce en que la lengua anglosajona, frente a la española, italiana, francesa y alemana, es menos flexiva (Lecours, 2000; Penke, 2001; Garayzábal, 2002b). Pero esto afecta al plano puramente gramatical. En el resto de los niveles quedan especificadas las diferencias que no se explican tan fácilmente a partir de los aspectos tipológicos. La respuesta habría que buscarla, tal vez, en el modelo que soporta la investigación inicial. Aquí nos movemos en un terreno un tanto delicado, pues las diferentes hipótesis lingüísticas relacionadas con la adquisición del lenguaje han girado en los últimos 50 años en torno a la teoría innatista de Chomsky y al modularismo de la mente (Fodor et al, 1974; White,

1982). Si analizamos los datos del modelo anglosajón a partir del estudio de población afectada por el síndrome de Williams, y si tomamos en cuenta la descripción cognitiva de esta alteración[3], vemos que encaja perfectamente con un modelo de partida muy generativista y modular; esto es, unas habilidades muy bien desarrolladas, incluso dentro de la misma descripción lingüística según la cual los aspectos más intralingüísticos estarían preservados, frente a los aspectos paralingüísticos, peor conservados; a ello se une, curiosamente, el hecho de que incluso este perfil lingüístico tiene un correlato neurológico muy importante, por cuanto que los primeros aspectos lingüísticos se hallarían en la mayoría de la población, con o sin discapacidad, en el hemisferio izquierdo, y los aspectos pragmáticos y/o paralingüísticos se localizarían en el hemisferio derecho[4].

Esta visión tan compartimentada no se observa en otros estudios donde vemos que los aspectos del lenguaje en general se encuentran afectados (Agüero et al, 1998), por lo que respaldar una organización modular no cabría desde nuestro análisis, que simplemente atiende al fenotipo lingüístico, y a la apariencia externa del lenguaje en situaciones de interacción libres y ante situaciones controladas, sin estar condicionados por ningún modelo de partida, lo que no supone en modo alguno que luego intentemos justificar nuestros datos a la luz de una teoría o teorías definidas.

Esta visión modular del síndrome de Williams ha dañado la investigación posterior. Se ofrecía un perfil neurocognitivo y lingüístico que en poco o nada, se asemejaba a los datos obtenidos en otras lenguas, Esto, en sí mismo, ha perjudicado el enfoque terapéutico, pues de suponerse unas habilidades lingüísticas en buen estado que, por tanto, no requerían intervención logopédica, se ha visto que, efectivamente, sí se requería una atención específica al lenguaje, sobre todo en el aspecto comunicativo-pragmático. Este hecho es importante dado que la intervención adquiere un carácter diferente, no tan estrictamente logopédico en su sentido tradicional, sino más interactivo.

4.2. Orientaciones e implicaciones prácticas

A la luz de lo anteriormente comentado, la intervención se perfila atendiendo a los siguientes aspectos. Por un lado la terapia será diferente dependiendo de si estamos tratando con niños o adolescentes. De este modo, la práctica logopédica con adolescentes afectados por el SW será preferiblemente en grupo e irá principalmente dirigida al desarrollo de habilidades comunicativas y pragmáticas[5]. Por su parte, la intervención en el lenguaje con niños irá encaminada a corregir posibles errores gramaticales y a desarrollar adecuadas estrategias comunicativas.

5. La importancia de los estudios intralingüísticos en las alteraciones del lenguaje

Cuando hablamos del estudio intralingüístico en una patología concreta, nos estamos refiriendo a los métodos de evaluación que se utilizan para caracterizar el dominio del lenguaje de una persona en concreto o de un grupo en general. La evaluación debe ser individual, pues a pesar de compartir las características propias de la patología en cuestión, en nuestro caso las alteraciones del lenguaje en el síndrome de Williams, no debemos perder de vista las variaciones interindividuales, que se dan igualmente entre la población que no padece problemas de lenguaje[6].

La descripción del lenguaje se realiza utilizando diferentes metodologías y analizando los diferentes componentes del lenguaje con un primer objetivo:el establecimiento de la línea base de funcionamiento lingüístico. Ello, en sí mismo, supone una evaluación bastante prolija.

Pero ¿cómo llevamos a cabo la evaluación? Las estrategias de evaluación son varias y todas igual de importantes. Por un lado, la obtención objetiva de datos se realiza por la aplicación de test estandarizados y escalas de desarrollo. Por otro lado, se recogen datos en situaciones naturales por medio de la observación conductual y pruebas no estandarizadas. En ambos tipos de recogidas se analizan los diferentes niveles de análisis lingüístico, fonético-fonológico, morfosintáctico, léxico-semántico y pragmático tanto en el proceso comprensivo como productivo.

5.1. Evaluación estandarizada

La batería de pruebas que utilizamos para evaluar el lenguaje de las personas afectadas por el síndrome de Williams es amplia y abarca una gran parte de las que podemos encontrar en el mercado:

- Test Illinois de Aptitudes Psicolingüísticas (ITPA): Rango de edad de 2,6 a 12 años. Evalúa comprensión, producción y asociación.

- Registro fonológico de L. Bosch: Rango de edad de 2 a 7 años. Evalúa producción fonológica en lenguaje espontáneo y repetido.

- Test de morfosintaxis (TSA): Rango de edad de 3 a 7 años. Evalúa tanto comprensión como producción, en ésta los últimos 5 ítems son de cierre gramatical.

- Test de comprensión gramatical de Carrow-Woolfolk: Rango de edad de 3 a 7 años. Evalúa la comprensión morfosintáctica

- Test de comprensión gramatical (TROG): Rango de edad de 4 a 12 años. Evalúa la comprensión morfosintáctica.

- Test de Vocabulario en Imágenes PEABODY: Rango de edad es de 2 a 16 años. Mide la comprensión de palabras.

- Test de Conceptos Básicos (BOEHM): Rango de edad de 3 a 7 años. Mide la comprensión de conceptos abstractos en cuatro categorías, espacio, cantidad, tiempo, otros.

- Prueba de Lenguaje Oral de Navarra (PLON): Rango de edad de 4 a 6 años. Evalúa forma, contenido y uso

5.2. Pruebas no estandarizadas

La recogida de muestras de lenguaje espontáneo está hoy en día por desarrollar. Si bien existen en el mercado ciertas pruebas que aportan pautas de observación, lo cierto es que la práctica se apoya en la observación directa en situaciones de interacción. Esta práctica se lleva a cabo por medio de:

Recogida y Análisis de Muestras de Lenguaje: Para medir la producción espontánea del sujeto en una situación diádica y de interacción de grupo. En la primera, el evaluador se entrevista con el evaluado y se hace una idea muy general del lenguaje del "paciente". Las personas con retraso mental, como en el síndrome de Williams, tienden a interactuar más con el adulto que con sus iguales; en estos casos nuestra labor es intentar que la interacción no se limite al adulto, pues las situaciones comunicativas más reales deberán realizarse con personas de su edad o, cuanto menos, con varios interlocutores. En la interacción con iguales, la recogida de datos es más reveladora del desempeño lingüístico por parte del evaluado.

Producción provocada o dirigida. Se valora el lenguaje espontáneo ante un estímulo concreto como puede ser la descripción de una lámina o un cuento en imágenes. Da una idea bastante buena de cómo se logra integrar las diferentes imágenes para crear una historia con sentido. Nos sirve para observar la relevancia informativa, la coherencia y la cohesión del discurso y la utilización de otros recursos lingüísticos.

6. Conclusiones generales sobre los aspectos inter e intralingüísticos

Por lo que respecta a los aspectos interlingüísticos creemos que queda claro que las personas con síndrome de Williams españolas difieren notablemente de

los anglosajones por lo que a su lenguaje se refiere. Muestran una pobre o mala ejecución en aspectos tanto morfosintácticos como semánticos y pragmáticos con respecto a sus iguales anglosajones.

Por lo que se refiere a los aspectos de evaluación o intralingüísticos, creemos que las pruebas estandarizadas no abogan por un correcto desarrollo lingüístico, pues los resultados obtenidos de nuestra muestra supone a nuestros participantes un nivel lingüístico muy por debajo de su edad cronológica, lo que puede ser debido a que exigen la puesta en activo de habilidades metalingüísticas de las que carecen, al igual que tampoco deja de ser una situación de laboratorio, artificial, donde el niño se siente evaluado.

Queremos recalcar aquí que las pruebas estandarizadas utilizadas (que compendian la mayor parte de la oferta que hay en el mercado) no miden la realidad lingüística del hablante. En el caso de la medición de la producción no deja de ser ésta una expresión muy artificial donde se evalúa más la imitación que el lenguaje en sí mismo.

Por lo que se refiere a las pruebas no estandarizadas, éstas aportan datos contrarios a los obtenidos a través de las pruebas estandarizadas; esto es, mejoran notablemente sus habilidades lingüísticas en los niveles morfosintáctico y léxico-semántico, aunque siguen estando en niveles evolutivamente inferiores; el nivel más social (pragmático) muestra importantes deficiencias. Esto es fácilmente comprensible si recordamos que una característica importante de este síndrome es su hiperverbalidad, verborrea y fluidez verbal lo que les hace aparentar ser grandes conversadores "engañando" al interlocutor. Esta aparentemente buena interacción enmascara déficits lingüísticos importantes que no pasan desapercibidos a los ojos del especialista. El desarrollo interactivo y social no se mide eficazmente en las pruebas estandarizadas, que además suelen tener un límite de tiempo de aplicación, y sí en situaciones de interacción con otros interlocutores.

7. Discusión

Creemos que este trabajo puede servir de muestra para poder poner en entredicho los estudios anglosajones en general cuando analizan los componentes lingüísticos de una lengua determinada en una patología concreta o en el desarrollo normal de un niño. Está claro que las lenguas difieren notablemente unas de otras en su tipo lingüístico y unas se parecen más a otras entre sí .

Queremos hacer una llamada de atención a todos aquellos estudios en general que pretenden generalizar y describir unos patrones lingüísticos determinados sin tener en cuenta aspectos tan importantes como las propias lenguas y sus pro-

pias características. Por supuesto, el síndrome de Williams no es la única patología representativa. Sus resultados son extrapolables a afasias, lenguaje del deficiente mental, autismo, síndrome de Down, y un largo etcétera.

En el caso del síndrome de Williams, la investigación ha sido dominada por los anglosajones y ha mantenido confundidos a los estudiosos del lenguaje en este síndrome entorpeciendo el trabajo y desorientando la práctica terapéutica.

Por lo que se refiere a la evaluación del lenguaje en una lengua concreta, en este caso el español, cabe decir que las metodologías arriba mencionadas no pueden aislarse. Ambos datos se complementan, aunque los resultados obtenidos por medio de pruebas estandarizadas deberíamos tomarlos con cautela dada la diferencia de resultados que se obtienen por ambos métodos.

Desde aquí consideramos que las muestras de lenguaje espontáneo son bastante reveladoras de la competencia y actuación lingüística del hablante, pues el lenguaje nos caracteriza como seres sociales que por tanto se comunican en situaciones de interacción y no en situaciones altamente controladas que hacen pensar en el lenguaje en sí mismo y no con una finalidad.

Referencias

Agüero, J; Garayzábal, E. y Sotillo, M. (1999): "Preliminary Evaluation of Some Cognitive, Social, Linguistic and Neuropsychological Characteristics in a Spanish Sample with Williams Syndrome". Comunicación presentada en Roma. Abril, 16-18. International Convention on Williams' Syndrome: First Meeting of Williams Syndrome Associations in Europe.

Arnold, R., Yule, W. y Martin, N. (1985). "The Psychological Characteristics of Infantile Hypercalcaemia: A Preliminary Investigation". *Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology*, 279: 49-59.

Bayés, M, de Luis, O, Magano, L.F., Pérez Jurado, L.A. (2001): "Fine Mapping of Deletion Breakpoints in Williams-Beuren Syndrome Patiens". *European Journal of Human Genetics*, 9 (suppl):1446-1452.

Bellugi, U., Marks, S., Bihrle, A. y Sabo, H. (1988). ""Dissociation between Language and Cognitive Function in Williams Syndrome. En D. Bishop y K. Mogford (Eds.) *Language Development in Exceptional Circumstances*:177-189. Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone.

Bellugi, U., Bihrle, A., Jernigan, T., Trauner, D. y Doherty, S. (1990). Neuropsychological, Neurological, and Neuroanatomical Profile of Williams Syndrome. *American Journal of Medical Genetics*, 6: 115-125.

Bellugi U, St. George M. (2000): "Linking Cognitive Neuroscience and Molecular Genetics: New Perspectives from Williams Syndrome". *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 12; supplement 1: 7-29.

Beuren, A.J., Apitz, J., Harmjanz, D. (1962) " Supravalvular Aortic Stenosis in Association with Mental Retardation and a Certain Facial Appearance". Circulation, 26: 1235-1240.

Bihrle, A.M., Bellugi, U., Delis, D. y Markis, S. (1989). "Seeing either the Forest or the Trees: Dissociation in Visuospatial Processing". *Brain and Cognition* 11 : 37-49.

Capirci, O; Queyras, A; Alleva, E. y Volterra, V. (1997): "La Sindrome di Williams: una Finestra Aperta sullo Sviluppo dei Processi Cognitivi e Neurali"., vol. 33; nº 2: 259-266. *Annuario dell Instituto Superior di Sanità*

Crisco, J. J., Dobbs, J. M. y Mulhern, R. K. (1988). "Cognitive Processing of Children with Williams Syndrome". *Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology*, 30: 650-656.

DeSilva, U; Massa, H; Trask, B.J.; Green E.D. (1999): "Comparative Mapping of the Region of Human Chromosome 7 Deleted in Williams Syndrome". *Genome Research*, 9: 428-31.

Fodor, J.A; Bever, T.G, Garret, M.F. (1974) *The Psychology of Language: An Introduction to Psycholinguistics and Generative Grammar*. Nueva York. McGraw Hill.

Garayzábal, E. (2000): "Aspectos léxico-semánticos de una patología lingüística: (SEL). Dificultades para la desambiguación contextual de palabras polisémicas en los sujetos con síndrome de Williams". Actas del II Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Lingüística Madrid, 11-15 de diciembre del 2000. En prensa.

Garayzábal, E. (2001): "Tipología de lenguas y Lingüística clínica ¿Qué nos dicen las patologías del lenguaje?". XXXI Simposio de la Sociedad Española de Lingüística (SEL). Almería, 10-20 diciembre.

Garayzábal Heinze, E. (2002) "Tipología de lenguas y Lingüística Clínica. La importancia de los estudios interlingüísticos en la descripción del lenguaje patológico ¿son válidos los planteamientos?". *Revista de Investigación Lingüística (RIL)*, vol. V, 2002.

Garayzábal, E; Sotillo, M. (2001a): "Habilidades Psicolingüísticas en el Síndrome de Williams". Actas del V Simposio de Psicolingüística. Granada, 24-28 Abril.

Garayzábal , E. y Sotillo, M (2001b): "Analysis of Pragmatic Disorders in Williams Syndrome". Actas del 22nd Annual Symposium on Research in Child Language Disorders-SRCLD. Wisconsin-USA, 7-9 Junio

Garayzábal , E. y Sotillo, M (2001c) "Morphological and Syntactical Problems in Williams Syndrome" Actas del Xth European Conference on Developmental Psychology-ECDP. Uppsala, Suecia, 22-25 Agosto

Garayzábal, E. y Sotillo, M (2001d): "Lexical and Semantical Aspects in Williams Syndrome". Actas del 2001 Williams Syndrome Convention. Turín, Italia, 16-18 Noviembre. En prensa.

Garayzábal, E. (2002) "La evaluación estandarizada del lenguaje y el lenguaje espontáneo ¿Una misma realidad?: El caso del síndrome de Williams". Comunicación presentada en el V Congreso de Lingüística General. León. Marzo.

Gosch, A; Städing, G; Pankau, R. (1994): "Linguistic Abillities in Children with Williams-Beuren Syndrome". *American Journal of Medical Genetics*, 52: 291-296.

Howling P, Davies, M. y Udwin, O. (1998): "Cognitive Functioning in Adults with Williams Syndrome". J. *Child Psychol. Psychiat.*, 39, nº 2: 183-189.

Karmiloff-Smith, A. y Grant, G. (1992): "Linguistic and Cognitive Development in Williams Syndrome: a Window on the Normal Mind?". British Psychological Society, London conference.

Karmiloff-Smith, A; Grant, J. Y Berthoud, I. (1996): "Within-domain Dissociations in Williams Syndrome: The Case of Language. Fundación para el Estudio de los Problemas de la Infancia. Buenos Aires.

Karmiloff-Smith, A., Grant, J., Berthoud, I., Davies, M., Howlin, P. y Udwin, 0. (1997). "Language and Williams Syndrome: How Intact is "Intact"?" Child Development, 68:274-290.

Krause, M; Penke, M. (2001): "Inflected Morphology in German Williams Syndrome". Poster presentation at the 22nd Annual Symposium on Research in Child Language Disorders, "Redifining Specific Language Impairment". Madison, Wisconsin; June 2001.

Osborne, L; Li, M; Pober, B. (2001): " A 1'5 Million Base-pair Inversion Polymorphism in Families with Williams-Beuren Syndrome Patients". *European Journal of Human Genetics*. In press.

Roche Lecours, A. (2000): "Languages and Aphasia". Brain and Language, 71: 141-144.

Penke, M. (2001): "Controversies about CP: A Comparison of Language Acquisition and Language Impairment in Broca´s Aphasia". *Brain and Language*, 77: 351-363.

Pérez Jurado, L.A. (2001): "Genetics of Williams Beuren Syndrome: Affected Genes and Mutational Mechanisms". Comunicación presentada en el II Intenational Convention on Williams Syndrome. Turín, Italia, 16-18 noviembre.

Pezzini, G., Volterra, V., Ossella, M.T. y Sabbadini, L. (1999): "Abilità Linguistiche". En Giannotti A. Y Vicari, S. (eds) *La Sindrome di Williams: Aspetti Clinici e Riabilitativi*. Roma. Franco Angeli: 101-121.

Udwin, O., Yule, W. (1990) "Expressive Language of Children with Williams Syndrome". *American Journal of Medical Genetics*, suppl. 6: 108-114.

Volterra, V., Capirci, O., Pezzini, G., Sabbadini, L. y Vicari, S. (1996): "Linguistic Abilities in Italian Children with Williams Syndrome". *Cortex*, 32: 663-677.

Vicari, S., Carlesimo, G., Brizzolara, D. y Pezzini, G. (1996) "Short-term Memory in Children with Williams Syndrome: A Reduced Contribution of Lexical-semantic Knowledge to Word span". *Neuropsychologia*, 34: 919-925.

Wang, P.P. y Bellugi, U. (1993). "Williams Syndrome, Down Syndrome and Cognitive Neuroscience". *American Journal of Deseases of Children*, 147: 1246-1251.

White, L. (1982): Grammatical Theory and Language Acquisition. Dordrecht, North-Holland.

Williams, J., Barrett, S., Boyes, B., Lowe, J. (1961): "Supravalvular Aortic Stenosis". *Circulation,* 24: 1311-1318.

Notas

1. Este trabajo parte de una presentación hecha en el curso de verano de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela del año 2002. El curso, que llevaba por título Lingüística e problemas na comunicación, y que fue dirigido por Francisco Javier Fernández Polo y Milagros Fernández Pérez, tenía como idea principal resaltar algunas situaciones deficitarias que pueden surgir en la comunicación y que precisan de la actuación de lingüistas con una preparación concreta para solventar dichas situaciones. El curso en general y aportaciones concretas de los participantes han permitido realizar modificaciones sobre la presentación inicial necesarias para su publicación.

Desde aquí animamos a fomentar este tipo de encuentros de profesionales, en los que tanto estos como los alumnos aprendemos continuamente y nos mantenemos en la brecha de la investigación en la lingüística aplicada.

2. Este estudio parte de un trabajo previo presentado en el V Congreso de Lingüística General celebrado en León en Marzo del 2002. Se presentaron los datos de evaluación de 15 personas con síndrome de Williams en una batería de pruebas ciertamente amplia que se menciona más adelante en el texto y donde se corroboran las afirmaciones que se realizan en el presente trabajo.

Desde aquí agradecemos la colaboración de padres y afectados por el SW que nos sufren desde el ya algo lejano año 1997 en el que comenzamos a interesarnos por las peculiaridades lingüísticas y cognitivas de este tipo de personas. Hasta el momento en España los avances se han dado desde la perspectiva médica: genética, neurológica y cardiológica; sin embargo, los aspectos menos clínicos como son los relativos al lenguaje y la cognición no se han desarrollado por otros grupos de investigación. Podría decirse en este caso que somos pioneras en este tipo de estudios con este tipo de población aquí en España.

3. Recordemos que el perfil cognitivo del síndrome de Williams es lingüística y psicológicamente muy llamativo. Se trata de un perfil con picos y valles. Los picos suponen

una buena ejecución en habilidades verbales, mientras que los valles representan una pobre o mala ejecución en habilidades no verbales, como sería el caso de los aspectos visoespaciales y los psicomotores.

4. "El área del lenguaje está parcialmente circunscrita a lo que llamamos el hemisferio izquierdo o dominante [...] ". En el hemisferio izquierdo se encuentra "el núcleo de sus capacidades lingüísticas (fonología, sintaxis, y, a menudo, fluidez léxica)" (Obler, 2001:21).

En el Hemisferio derecho, por el contrario, se encuentran capacidades que tienen que ver con el discurso, el tono, la prosodia y la emoción en el discurso. En general, una lesión en este hemisferio no supone la pérdida del lenguaje. Estudios sobre los lesionados del hemisferio derecho podrían arrojar datos interesantes para la comparación de afecciones genéticas como es el caso del SW.

5. Debemos tener en cuenta que según algunos estudios y observaciones propias realizadas, se ha visto que en la etapa de la adolescencia hay un perfil comunicativo-pragmático bastante opuesto; así, se observa una tendencia al ostracismo por parte de los afectados, ello incide directamente en sus relaciones interpersonales, sociales y comunicativas.

6. En nuestra sociedad no todo el mundo tiene facilidad de palabra. Podemos encontrar a personas que desarrollan un discurso asombrosamente intrincado e rimbombante por lo que se refiere a las estructuras gramaticales y con poco contenido de fondo; y hay quien desarrolla un lenguaje pobre gramaticalmente hablando y muy rico en cuanto a trasfondo comunicativo. Los hay que son pedantes en la selección léxica y los hay que tienen un conjunto de palabras ciertamente limitado y no por ello los consideramos diferentes o pensamos que tienen algún problema. La variabilidad interindividual abarca muchos más aspectos que el mero lenguaje.

The Pragmatic Rhetorical Strategy of Hedging in Academic Writing

Pedro Martín
Universidad de la Laguna, Tenerife

Abstract

In academic discourse, hedging is a crucial rhetorical strategy mainly used by writers to mitigate the argumentative force of knowledge claims in order to reduce the potential threat that new claims make on other researchers, and thus minimise possible criticism from peers (Myers, 1989). In the social interactions between writers and readers, hedges also represent a useful linguistic device used by writers to gain community acceptance for a contribution to disciplinary knowledge (Hyland, 1996, 1998). In this paper, I review the concept of hedge since its origins, and attempt to explore its main pragmatic functions in academic discourse. I finally provide a taxonomy of the most frequent linguistic strategies which writers use in English research articles with the function of hedging, namely indetermination, camouflage, subjectivisation and depersonalisation.

1. Introduction

In the social interaction which implies a negotiation between writers and readers, in order to gain community acceptance for a contribution to disciplinary knowledge, hedges become an important rhetorical strategy used by researchers in academic writing, as they allow writers to demonstrate that they are familiarised with the discourse conventions of particular academic disciplines (Hyland, 1994; 1998). Hedges also allow writers to reduce the force of scientific claims and present themselves as 'humble servants of the discipline', as stated by Myers (1989: 4). Indeed, the making of a claim threatens the general scientific audience, because it is a demand for communally granted credit. The claim also threatens the negative face of other researchers, because it implies a restriction on what they can do from that moment onwards (Myers, 1989). In this socio-pragmatic dimension hedging is primarily viewed as the process whereby authors mitigate their statements in order to reduce the risk of opposition and minimise the face-threatening acts that exist behind every act of communication.

The word hedge is an ordinary language term used technically rather than a fully technical term (Skelton, 1997). The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary

English (1987: 488), for example, defines this term as "something that gives protection", and the verb to hedge is described as "to refuse to answer directly". The Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary (1987: 677) defines the function of hedging as "If you hedge or if you hedge a problem or a question, you avoid answering the question or committing yourself to a particular action or decision". Thus, the ordinary language meaning of hedge has to do mainly with such matters as mitigation of certainty, which is associated with defensiveness, evasiveness, and the avoidance to personal commitment. Dictionaries of linguistics do not normally mention either the concept or the term hedge, with the exception of the Dictionary of Stylistics (Wales, 1989: 215) which refers to the semantic origin of the concept and classifies it as belonging to the field of discourse analysis and speech act theory. This dictionary defines hedging as "qualification and toning-down of utterances and statements in order to reduce the riskiness of what one says". The motivation for its use is given as "mitigation of what may otherwise seem too forceful" and the desire to show "politeness or respect to strangers and superiors".

Hedging has been generally taken to mean those expressions in language which make messages indeterminate, that is, they convey inexactitude, or in one way or another mitigate or reduce the strength of the assertions that speakers or writers make. In academic discourse, rather than associating hedging with the function of evasiveness, it is primarily considered as an interpersonal rhetorical strategy used by writers to indicate either a lack of complete commitment to the truth value of a proposition, or a desire not to express that commitment categorically.

Most recent studies on this relatively new area of research support the inclusion of the explicit teaching of hedging in academic writing programmes (e.g. Salager-Meyer, 1994; Hyland, 1998). However, probably because hedging is a socio-pragmatic phenomenon there is little agreement among linguists about what linguistic devices should be and should not be considered as hedges (cf. Clemen, 1997). Whereas some adopt a broad classification (see, for example, Salager-Meyer, 1994, 1998; Hyland, 1994, 1996, 1998; Lewin, 1998), some of them insist on a narrower classification (see, for example, Crompton, 1997, 1998).

In this paper, I explore the issue of hedging in academic discourse. I start with a review of how the concept of hedge has been viewed in the literature since the term was initially introduced in linguistics by Lakoff (1972) and then developed further in the area of pragmatics over the last two decades. With a main underlying pedagogical purpose, I finally provide a taxonomy of the major lexico-grammatical forms and strategies that writers may use to hedge in scientific texts.

2. Various approaches to the concept of hedge

The use of hedge as a linguistic term goes back at least to the early 1970s when Lakoff (1972) published his article "Hedges: A Study in Meaning Criteria and the Logic of Fuzzy Concepts". As Markkanen & Schröder (1997) point out, Lakoff was not interested in the communicative value of the use of hedges but was concerned with the logical properties of words and phrases like rather, largely, sort of, very, in their ability "to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy" (Lakoff, 1972: 195). According to Lakoff, hedges such as sort of typically modify predicates with regard to their being assigned to a category. This primary interest is not the qualitative aspect according to truth but grading. It is via vagueness and fuzziness that Lakoff arrived at the concept of hedges. Lewin (1998), however, argues that there are some problems with Lakoff's approach, as his definition of hedges "presupposes a set of factive or true utterances and a set of discrete, lexico-grammatical devices which can dilute the truth value of those utterances, or make them fuzzy" (p. 90). But, as Lewin continues arguing, "natural language concepts have vague boundaries and fuzzy edges and consequently, natural language sentences will very often be neither true nor false, but rather true to a certain extent and false to a certain extent" (Lewin, 1998: 90).

Since the early 1970's the concept of hedge has moved a long way from its origins, particularly since pragmatists and discourse analysts have adopted it. Although Lakoff's original use of the term was only for expressions that modify the category membership of a predicate or noun phrase, the idea of hedged performatives became then one way of widening the concept of hedges (Markkanen & Schröder, 1997)

In addition to the idea of hedged performatives, the concept of hedge was also widened in another way when hedges were taken to be modifiers of the speaker's commitment to the truth-value of a whole proposition, not just the category membership of a part of it. In other words, hedges (e.g. perhaps, seem, might, to a certain extent) were seen as modifying the truth-value of the whole proposition, not as making individual elements inside it more imprecise.

This widening of the concept of hedge to contain the modification of commitment to the truth of propositions has led some researchers to think it necessary to distinguish between two types of hedges. Prince at al. (1982), in their work on hedging in Physics discourse, start from Lakoff's definition of hedges as devices that make things fuzzy, but add that there are at least two kinds of fuzziness. One is fuzziness within the propositional content, the other fuzziness "in the relationship between the propositional content and the speaker, that is

the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition conveyed" (Prince et al., 1982: 85). Accordingly, they propose two types of hedges: Those that affect the truth-conditions of propositions, which the authors call approximators (e.g. His feet were sort of blue), and shields, which do not affect the truth-conditions but reflect the degree of the speaker's commitment to the truth value of the whole proposition (e.g. I think his feet were blue).

A similar distinction is drawn by Hübler (1983), who distinguishes between what he calls understatements and hedges, although both are devices used for expressing 'indetermination'. For example, a sentence like It's a bit cold in here is indeterminate. However, according to Hübler, there are two kinds of indetermination: phrastic and neustic. Phrastic indetermination concerns the propositional content of a sentence, whereas the neustic type is connected to the claim to validity of the proposition a speaker makes. Thus, Hübler distinguishes between understatements, i.e. expressions of phrastic indetermination, and hedges, i.e. expressions of neustic indetermination. Therefore, a sentence like It's a bit cold in here contains an understatement, while It's cold in Alaska, I suppose contains a hedge. In this way, Hübler's division greatly resembles that by Prince at al., whose approximators correspond to Hübler's understatements and shields to his hedges.

Since the hedging phenomena have been examined as a pragmatic aspect of communication, divergent views can be found in the literature as to which lexical and/or syntactic hedging devices should be assigned to individual pragmatic strategies (politeness, indirectness, mitigation, vagueness, understatement) which focus mainly on social interaction.

Interesting research activities have emerged from work in the field of politeness strategies. The model proposed by Brown & Levinson (1987) considers politeness as an important motivating factor for the use of hedges in spoken discourse. In their view, hedges are mainly used as a strategy or expression of negative politeness with the function of avoiding disagreement. These authors argue that there are a series of lexical and syntactic devices which modify the illocutionary force of utterances that may otherwise seem too forceful and which, in most cases, indicate politeness such as adverbial-clause hedges (e.g. in fact, in a sense), 'If' clauses (e.g. if you can, if you want), quality hedges which may suggest that the speaker is not taking full responsibility for the truth of his/her utterance (e.g. I think/ believe /assume), modal auxiliaries (e.g. may, could, can), quality-emphasising adverbs (e.g. truthfully, honestly) or quantity hedges (e.g. roughly, approximately). These linguistic devices have a hedging function as they are used to mitigate the strength of claims, statements and utterances while tending to face-save to achieve broader acceptance from the listener/reader.

Although Brown & Levinson (1987) claim that it is possible to distinguish between acts that primarily threaten the hearer's face and those that threaten the speaker's own face, they admit that the latter acts are also potential threats to the hearer. Thus, in their discussion of politeness and the ways to express it, it is the hearer's face-wants that get emphasised.

However, Markkanen & Schröder (1997) have pointed out the possibility of emphasising the importance of hedges for the speaker's own face. They note that the use of hedges may be motivated, for example, by the fear of being proved wrong later on. Being imprecise or mitigating one's commitment to the truth value of a proposition or a claim makes it possible to say, if proved wrong, that the claim was only tentative or an approximation. This explanation is supported by Hübler (1983), as he views that the reason for using hedges is to make sentences more acceptable to the hearer and therefore increase their chances of ratification. According to Hübler, the function of hedges is to reduce the risk of negation. He claims that, in all communication, while showing deference to the addressee, the speaker or writer also tries to protect himself/herself from potential anger, comtempt or other humiliation on the part of the addressee. In this way, in some situations, the desire to protect oneself from the potential denial of one's claims may be greater that the desire to show deference to the addressee.

There have also been many contributions to the research on modality. Although the hedging capacity of modal particles as illocutionary modifiers has been recognised, there has been controversy about considering these lexical items as examples of hedges (see, for example, Clemen, 1997). The demarcation of modal particles has proved difficult because the area they cover is vast. Furthermore, they have different functions and vary according to context. According to Palmer (1986), the notion of modality is vague and leaves open a number of possible definitions. Most linguistic approaches to modality differentiate two major subtypes: deontic modality and epistemic modality; the latter is the subtype of modality which is associated with hedging. Epistemic modality, as defined by Lyons (1977: 797), refers to "any utterance in which the speaker explicitly qualifies his commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed by the sentence he utters". As Stubbs (1986) remarks, we can see a certain degree of affinity in Lyon's definition to many of the conceptions of hedge, but it is not possible to include in Lyon's conception of epistemic modality hedges as defined by Lakoff and others who see them as modifying parts of the proposition. However, even these hedges can be included within the realm of epistemic modality if we consider that it is possible to indicate degrees of commitment not only to propositions but also to illocutionary forces and to

individual lexical items. The concepts of modality and hedge thus overlap to a lesser or greater extent depending on their respective definitions. It seems possible to see the relationship between epistemic modality and hedges in two ways: either modality is the wider concept and includes hedges or it is the other way around; hedging is the wider term and epistemic modality a part of it.

Another concept that cuts across the territory of hedges — and epistemic modality — is evidentiality, again depending on how broadly hedge is understood. Chafe (1986: 271) defines evidentiality as "any linguistic expression of attitudes toward knowledge". According to Chafe, knowledge has various modes: belief, induction, hearsay and deduction, each of which is based on a different source. Most of the examples that Chafe gives as realizations of these different modes are expressions that have also been included in hedges by other linguists (e.g. adjectives of modality, verbs of cognition, modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs). Chafe himself uses the term hedge to refer to "markers of low codability"and for expressions that denote that "the match between a piece of knowledge and a category may be less than perfect" (Chafe, 1986: 270), such as sort of and kind of, i.e. expressions that indicate vagueness, therefore agreeing with Lakoff's original idea of hedges.

Vagueness is another concept close to hedging as it refers, among other things, to the use of expressions like about, sort of, i.e. expressions that denote the impreciseness of quantity, quality or identity, which is very much like Lakoff's fuzziness (see, for example, Channell, 1990). In scientific writing vagueness has been often seen as a motivating factor for the use of hedges. In order to avoid making categorical assertions the writer will make vague statements if, for example, exact data is missing or if precise information is irrelevant in preliminary results. Hedges thus protect writers from making false statements. This role of hedging as an indicator of vagueness and imprecision has been discussed in the framework of LSP texts by, for example, Salager-Meyer (1994), who claims that the association of hedges with evasiveness does not necessarily show confusion or vagueness. In this sense, hedges can be considered as "ways of being more precise in reporting results" (Salager-Meyer, 1994: 151). This author also agues that academics may choose to remain vague in their claims to show their readers that they do not have the final word on the subject, revealing that typical features of science are "uncertainty, skepticism and doubt". Taking this into consideration, hedges, because of their mitigating and evasive effect, can increase the credibility of a statement in academic texts.

While early research on hedging has concentrated primarily on the spoken language, from the end of the 1980s onwards, attention has shifted more to the written discourse. Over the last decade, there has been an increasing interest in

cross-cultural studies, which have analysed the phenomenon of hedging mainly in academic texts. For instance, Ventola & Mauranen (1996) found that Finns writing in English had less variation in expressions of epistemic modality than did native speakers of English. Clyne's (1991) interlanguage study of German scholarly writing in English revealed that German writers hedge more both in their native language and in English than do native speakers of English. Following the work by Clyne (1991), Kreutz & Harres (1997) analysed the distribution and function of hedging in English and German academic writing, and found that while hedges serve to downtone and mitigate arguments in English texts, their main function in German writing may be one of "assertion and authority". Vassileva (1997) examined hedging in English and Bulgarian research articles. Her results revealed differences in the distribution of hedges throughout the research articles and in the means of realising hedging in both languages. The results of all these studies point to the fact that the pragmatics of hedging is culturally determined.

In sum, since Lakoff's (1972) first approximation to the study of hedging, due to the growing influence of pragmatic research, the concept of hedge was broadened and varying degrees of understanding the concept emerged from different domains of knowledge, based on the pragmatic aspect of communication (politeness, mitigation, vagueness) which focus mainly on social interaction. These various approaches have pointed to a great variety of motives in applying hedging devices, for instance, face-saving strategies intended to obtain speaker's or writer's acceptance, mitigation and modification of utterances, avoidance of commitment and intentional vagueness.

Through this extension, the concept of hedge has overlapped with several other concepts, but it also shows the various perspectives from which hedges and hedging can be considered. What seems to be clear is that the varying categorizations at the present stage, enriching as they are, present considerable problems when it comes to the analysis of corpora academic texts.

3. Hedging in scientific discourse

The fact that hedges are actually used in scientific/academic discourse, which is supposed to be, above all, rational and neutral, indicates that scientific texts are not only a collection of conventions that can be explained in terms of the norms of scientific culture. Scientific texts have been shown not to be only content-oriented and informative but also as seeking to convince and influence their audience and also move the reader emotionally (cf. Markkanen & Schröder, 1997). An increasing number of research studies on a variety of

disciplines has been able to demonstrate just how academic discourse is both socially-situated and structured to accomplish rhetorical objectives (e.g. Hyland, 1994, 1996, 1998; Salager-Meyer, 1994, 1998; Skelton, 1997; Lewin, 1998).

In academic writing, politeness has been seen as the main motivating factor for hedging, because as Myers (1989: 5) states "scientific discourse consists of interactions among scientists in which the maintenance of face is crucial". Myers (1989) applied Brown & Levinson's (1987) model to a corpus of biology research articles and found that some of the politeness strategies that are used in spoken interaction can be extended to scientific texts. He argues that in scientific discourse the making of claims, and even the mere act of presenting one's findings, threatens the negative face of other researchers, and thus the use of politeness devices (e.g. hedges) is a frequent strategy used by writers to mitigate the Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) which are involved in the social interactions between writers and readers in publishing an article.

The minimization of FTAs in order to avoid potential criticism has been seen as the main pragmatic function of hedges in academic texts. Hedging is also considered an important rhetorical device which helps writers demonstrate that they are familiariased with the discourse conventions of particular academic disciplines, and thus gain reader acceptance of claims (e.g. Hyland, 1996, 1998). Hedges have also been viewed as strategies which allow writers to express propositions with greater precision, thus acknowledging the impossibility of exactly quantifying the world without any exactitude (see Salager-Meyer, 1994, 1998).

In their studies of academic writing, Markkanen & Schröder (1997) see hedges as modifiers of the writer's responsibility for the truth value of the propositions expressed or as modifiers of the weightiness of the information given, or the attitude of the writer to the information. According to these authors, hedges can even be used to hide the writer's attitude, suggesting that "hedges offer a possibility for textual manipulation in the sense that the reader is left in the dark as to who is responsible for the truth value of what is being expressed" (Markkanen & Schröder, 1997: 6). They continue remarking that when this kind of purely functional starting point is adopted, there is no limit to the linguistic expressions that can be categorised as hedges (e.g. the use of certain pronouns and avoidance of others, the use of impersonal expressions, the passive and other agentless constructions, in additions to the use of modal verbs, adverbs and particles, which are usually included in hedges). In fact, the difficulty with these functional definitions is that almost any linguistic item or expression can be interpreted as a hedge. Furthermore, one can assume that no linguistic items are inherently "hedgy" but can acquire this quality depending on

the communicative context in which they occur, which means that no clear-cut lists of hedging expressions are possible.

Lewin (1998) has pointed to the possibility that specific types of hedges might be associated with particular genres. This has been shown, for example, by Salager-Meyer (1994), who analysed the frequency of occurrence and distribution of hedging devices across various genres (research papers, case reports, reviews and editorials) in the field of medicine. Her findings showed that editorials and reviews are more heavily-hedged than research papers and case reports, that shields are the most frequent strategies in editorials and reviews, whereas the passive voice is the prevalent hedging strategy in research papers and case reports.

Moreover, as literature has revealed disciplinary variation in academic writing, one could assume that in academic genres the use of hedges varies according to field, i.e. that there are scientific disciplines in which there is variation in terms of distribution and types of hedges. For example, Spillner (1983, cited in Markkanen & Schröder, 1997: 12) observes, in texts in which the use of experimental data and logical deduction are not so important, the style of writing becomes an essential element in achieving credibility. However, recent findings (see, for example, Hyland, 1998) suggest that the differences in the use of hedges between texts from different fields are no so great as could be assumed, but rather that hedging is not an inherent characteristic of a text but a product of writer-reader relations.

4. Towards a taxonomy of hedging devices.

Hedging in academic writing can be expressed by means of various lexical, grammatical and syntactic devices depending on how broadly we understand the term. There are some functionally-based reductionist approaches, such as Crompton's (1997, 1998) that consider hedge as a concept reserved to expressions of epistemic modality with the only function of avoiding commitment. On the other hand, most of the researchers on the notion of hedging are unwilling to see form and function as inextricably linked, but rather that forms are read as hedges in certain contexts but not in others. One such researcher is Salager-Meyer (1994, 1998, 2000), who argues that hedges are the product of a mental attitude and therefore favours an eclectic approach which includes various manifestations of the concept. Moreover, Salager-Meyer (1994) argues that many studies of hedging have not placed enough emphasis on the fact that hedges are primarily the product of a mental attitude and have looked for prototypical linguistic forms for their realization without considering that

these linguistic forms may not always have a hedging function. This author also suggests that "the only way to identify hedging devices is by means of introspection and contextual analysis with the help and advice of an expert in the discipline analyzed" (Salager-Meyer, 1998: 298).

Considering that hedging is the product of a mental attitude (as posited by Salager-Meyer, 1994; 1998; 2000), and therefore a subjective phenomenon which functions in a particular context, it is not surprising that at the present stage, as Clemen (1997: 237) notes "researchers cannot agree on which lexical items, phrases or syntactic structures should be classed as hedges and which attributes a word or phrase should contain to function as a hedge in a given context". Clemen (1997: 243) himself provides a list of the most frequent hedging devices, such as epistemic qualifiers, certain personal pronouns, indirect constructions, parenthetical constructions, subjunctive / conditional, concessive conjuncts, negation. Hyland (1994: 240), for example, includes "If"-clauses, questions and time references. The use of passive, agentless and impersonal constructions has also been classified as a hedging device by many authors (e.g. Markkanen & Schröder, 1997; Salager-Meyer, 1998; Clemen, 1997).

In addition to lexico-syntactic items, other authors such as Hyland (1996, 1998) have pointed to the existence of other discourse-based strategies that weaken scientific statements by limiting the confidence invested in the claims made for the research. Hyland refers to those cases in which the writers draw attention to the limitations of the model, theory or method used, an effect which is often achieved by "commenting on the difficulties encountered", the "shortcomings of findings" or "the possibility of alternative explanations".

Along the same lines, Lewin (1998) claims that in the discourse stratum the realizations of certain optional genre structures (moves/steps) can be considered as hedges since their function is to protect the author from possible attack (e.g. "establishing the gap the present research is meant to fill" or "offering implications for future research").

5. A proposal for a classification of hedging devices

The taxonomy of hedging devices, which I propose in this paper, draws on the different classifications that can be found in the literature. This taxonomy is also the result of the analysis of an extensive corpus of research articles from various disciplines. In terms of assigning a specific function to a hedge, I should make clear that it is of primary importance to consider the socio-pragmatic context in which hedges occur, as it appears that it is virtually impossible to attribute a function to a hedge without considering both the linguistic and

situational context. The analysis of the texts revealed that the linguistic devices which writers most frequently use in English at a lexico-grammatical and syntactic level for the explicit function of hedges can be described as realising the following basic strategies:

5.1. Strategy of indetermination, by giving a proposition a colouring of lesser semantic, qualitative and quantitative explicitness as well as of uncertainty, vagueness and fuzziness. This strategy may comprise:

5.1.1. Epistemic modality, which can be realised by means of

- Modal auxiliary verbs expressing possibility, such as may, might, can.
- Semi-auxiliaries like to seem, to appear.
- Epistemic lexical verbs like to suggest, to speculate, to assume, that is, verbs which relate to the probability of a proposition or hypothesis being true.
- Verbs of cognition like to believe, to think.
- Modal adverbs (perhaps, possibly, probably).
- Modal nouns (possibility, assumption, suggestion).
- Modal adjectives (possible, probable, likely).

The following example illustrates this strategy in academic texts:

Their results would be unusual since the pathway has never been observed from five-membered heterocycles having two heteroatoms in alternate positions (Anantanarayan & Hart 1991, Chemistry)

5.1.2. Approximators of quantity, frequency, degree and time such as generally, approximately, most, relatively, frequently, as proposed by Salager-Meyer (1994, 1998), which indicate an unwillingness to make precise and complete commitment to the proposition expressed:

Information modeling techniques do not usually provide good mechanisms to support multiple classification (Sih & lee 1993, Computer Science)

5.2. Strategy of camouflage hedging (as proposed by Namsaraev, 1997). The devices used under this strategy include:

5.2.1. Metalinguistic operators, that is, extra-clausal disjuncts such as really, actually, in fact, it is obvious that..., strictly speaking, generally speaking, to some extent, which indicate the standpoint from which the writers might evaluate the

truth of a claim. In the view of many researchers these items may not be considered as hedges, as long as they are elements which can act to intensify a proposition. But, as Namsaraev (1997) remarks, all these items are hedges when interpreted pragmatically as a strategy provoking a displacement of the focus of a reader's attention/negative reaction from the proposition to these metalinguistic operators. Namsaraev argues that the possible negative reaction of a reader/hearer to the statement "a penguin is a bird" will mostly be: "No, it is not true. A penguin is not a bird because it does not fly". However, he remarks that when the speaker/writer disguises his/her utterance and says: "It is clear/ obvious, that a penguin is a bird" the reader's/hearer's reaction might be different: "No, it is not clear. It may be that a penguin is a bird, but it is by no means obvious" (Namsaraev, 1997: 69). These expressions, thus, appeal to the reader, presupposing agreement with the proposition made by the writer. They also function to provide argumentative support for the claims expressed, as in the following example:

The cognitive-pragmatic approach used in this paper refutes to some extent both explanations and claims that relationships between linguistic form and function reflect human conceptual structure (Kecskés 2000, Linguistics)

5.3. Strategy of subjectivisation. This includes:

5.3.1. The use of first personal pronouns (I/we) followed by verbs of cognition (think, believe) or performative verbs (suppose, suggest), that can be interpreted as the writers signalling that what they say is just their personal/subjective opinion. In this way, the writers show respect for the reader's alternative opinion and invite the reader to become involved inthe communicative situation:

We believe it inappropriate for children as they do not include intensive sustained nutritional intervention (Anderson et al 1995, Medicine)

In this subcategory, I have also included those expressions constituted by other first person pronouns (i.e. our, my), that is, linguistic devices which express the author's personal doubt and direct involvement such as to our knowledge, in our view, in my experience (as proposed by Salager-Meyer, 1994).

Whale-watching is not simply about getting close to whales, in our view, many other variables are important.(Orams 2000, Tourism)

5.3.2. Quality-emphasising adjectival and adverbial expressions such as extremely interesting, particularly important, that is, expressions which are

equivalent to what Salager-Meyer (1994, 1998) terms as "emotionally-charged intensifiers" which, according to this author, are used to convince the readers of the importance / truth of the propositions expressed, by revealing the writer's emotional state. At the same time, these expressions can be considered as a positive politeness strategy (Myers, 1989) as they show solidarity with the disocurse community by exhibiting responses that assume shared knowledge and desires.

These results are of particular importance, since investigations of differences between leucotomized patients and normals have failed to show statistically significant differences on this measure (Dunbar 1993, Psychology)

5.4. Strategy of depersonalisation. This refers to those cases in which the writers diminish their presence in the texts by using various impersonal, agentless and passive constructions in order to relieve themselves of responsibility for the truth of the propositions expressed. This strategy is syntactically realised by means of:

5.4.1. Agentless passive and impersonal constructions. For example, when the authors use constructions such as In this study the phenomenon X was examined instead of In this study I/we examined the phenomenon X, or The data was analysed instead of I/We analysed the data. Other examples are constructions such as an attempt was made to see..., it seems/appears that...

5.4.2. Impersonal active constructions in which the personal subject is replaced by some non-human entity such as findings, results, data, as in the following examples: The findings suggest/ reveal..., these data indicate...

6. Concluding remarks

As this paper has attempted to show, hedges constitute an important interactive strategy in the communicative situation of academic writing. Hedges are of particular significance when the writers want to remain uncommitted to some extent in order to avoid the FTAs involved in the making of claims. It has also been argued that most writers of research articles in English for international publications use a great number of hedging devices as an important rhetorical tool in their attempt to gain reader acceptance of knowledge claims and to avoid potential criticism.

Due to the importance that modulating claims has for the international scientific community, non-native English writers, especially novice academics

who wish to obtain international recognition through their publications in English-language journals, must be aware of the relevant function of hedging in the production of research texts. In this regard, the taxonomy of hedging devices which I propose in this paper may have useful pedagogical implications for those non-native English speaking postgraduate students, who have to read scholarly papers written in English and eventually write articles in this language, especially if we consider that the phenomenon of hedging in academic texts may vary cross-culturally. This taxonomy could be used as a tool to help students identify the purposes, distribution and major forms of hedging devices in academic texts. As Hyland (1994: 244) underlines, a full understanding of devices such as hedges is "critical to academic success and eventual membership in a professional discourse community".

As the growing literature in both sociology and applied linguistics (e.g. Myers, 1989; Hyland, 1994, 1996, 1998) contends, the rhetorical features of academic texts can only be fully explained when considered as the actions of socially situated writers. In this regard, it is important to consider that hedging is an interpersonal rhetorical strategy which has to be analysed in a particular social context. It is the situation in which hedging occurs which gives it its meaning. Thus, although hedges have lexical and syntactic forms, and individual factors doubtless contribute to the choices made by particular writers when producing research papers, their pragmatic interpretation is primarily based on the understanding of the interactional and social aspects of scientific communities.

References

Anantanaraya, A & H. Har. (1991) "Reduction of DMAD-anthracene adducts. Synthesis and conformations of substituted cuclodecadienes". *Journal of Organic Chemistry* 56:991-996.

Andersson, E. et al (1995) "Interchangeability of conjugated haemophilus influenzae type b vaccines in infants" *Journal of the American Medical Association* 282/11:1041—1046

Brown, P. & Levinson, S. 1987) Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage.Cambridge:Cambridge University Press.

Burgess, S. & A. Fagan (2002) "(Kid) gloves on or off?: Academic conflict in research articles across the disciplines". *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 44: 79-96.

Chafe, W. (1986) "Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing", in Chafe, W. & J. Nichols (eds.) *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Norwood, N. J.: Ablex, 261-272.

Channell, J. (1990) "Precise and vague quantities in writing on economics", in Nash, W. (ed.) *The Writing Scholar: Studies in Academic Discourse*. Newbury Park: Sage, 95-117.

Clemen, G. (1997) "The concept of hedging: origins, approaches and definitions", in Markkanen, R. & H. Schröder (eds.) *Hedging and Discourse. Approaches to the Analysis of a Pragmatic Phenomenon in Academic Text*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 235-248.

Clyne, M. (1991) "The sociocultural dimension: the dilemma of the German-speaking scholar", in Schröder, H. (ed.) *Subject-oriented Texts*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 49-68.

Crompton, P. (1997) "Hedging in academic writing: some theoretical aspects". *English for Specific Purposes* 16: 271-289.

Crompton, P. 1998. "Identifying hedges: Definition of divination?". *English for Specific Purposes* 17: 303-313.

Dunbar, R (1993) "Coevolution of neocortical size, group size and language in humans". *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 16:681-735.

Hübler, A. 1983. *Understatements and Hedges in English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hyland, K. 1994. "Hedging in academic textbooks and EAP". *English for Specific Purposes* 13: 239-256.

Hyland, K. 1996. "Talking to the academy: forms of hedging in science research articles". *Written Communication* 13: 251-281

Hyland, K. 1998. *Hedging in scientific research articles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kecskés, I (2000) "A cognitive-pragmatic approach to situation-bound utterances". *Journal of Pragmatics* 32:605-625.

Kreutz, H. & A. Harres (1997). "Some observations on the distribution and function of hedging in German and English academic writing", in Duszak, A. (ed.) *Culture and Styles in Academic Discourse*. Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin,181-202.

Lakoff, G. (1972) "Hedges: a study in meaning criteria and the logic of fuzzy concepts". *Journal of Philosophical Logic* 2: 458-508.

Lewin, B. (1998). "Hedging: form and function in scientific research texts", in Fortanet, I., Posteguillo, S., Palmer, J. C. & J. F., Coll (eds.) *Genre Studies in English for Academic Purposes*. Vol. 9 Filología. Universitat Jaume I: Collecció Summa, 89-108.

Lyons, J. (1977). *Semantics (Vol 1-2)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Markannen, R. & H. Schröder 1997. "Hedging: a challenge for pragmatics and discourse analysis", in Markkanen, R. & H. Schröder (eds.) *Hedging and*

Discourse. Approaches to the Analysis of a Pragmatic Phenomenon in Academic Text. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 3-18.

Myers, G. (1989) "The pragmatic of politeness in scientific articles". *Applied Linguistics* 10:1-35.

Namsaraev, V. (1997) "Hedging in Russian academic writing in sociological texts", in Markkanen, R. & H. Schröder (eds.) *Hedging and Discourse. Approaches to the Analysis of a Pragmatic Phenomenon in Academic Text.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 64-81.

Palmer, F.R. (1986) *Mood and Modality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Prince, E, F., Frader, J. & C. Bosk (1982) "On hedging in physician-physician discourse", in Di Pietro, R. J. (ed.) *Linguistics and the Profession.* Norwood, N. J.: Ablex, 83-97.

Salager-Meyer, F. (1994). "Hedges and textual communicative function in medical English written discourse". *English for Specific Purposes* 13: 149-170.

Salager-Meyer, F. (1998) "Language is not a physical object". *English for Specific Purposes* 17: 295-303.

Salager-Meyer, F. 2000. "Procrustes' recipe: hedging and positivism". *English for Specific Purposes* 19: 175-187.

Sih, G. and E. Lee (1993) "Declustering: A new multiprocessor scheduling technique" *IEEE Transactions on Parallel and distributed Systems* 4/6:625-637

Skelton, J. (1997) "How to tell the truth in The British Medical Journal: Patterns of judgement in the 19th and 20th centuries", in Markkanen, R. & H. Schröder (eds.) *Hedging and Discourse. Approaches to the Analysis of a Pragmatic Phenomenon in Academic Text.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 42-63.

Stubbs, M. (1986) "A matter of prolonged field work: notes toward a modal grammar of English". *Applied Linguistics* 7: 1-25.

Vassileva, I. (1997). "Hedging in English and Bulgarian academic writing", in Duszak, A. (ed.) *Culture and Styles in Academic Discourse.* Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin, 141-157.

Ventola, E. & A. Mauranen (eds.) (1996) *Academic Writing: Intercultural and Textual Issues.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Wales, K. (ed.) (1989). *A Dictionary of Stylistics.* New York: Longman.

Input in the EFT Setting: focus on the teachers' awareness and use of requests, suggestions and advice acts

Alicia Martínez Flor
Universitat Jaume I

Abstract

Within the area of second language acquisition it has been assumed that the three conditions to acquire different aspects of the target language include pertinent input, opportunities for output and feedback. Regarding the first condition and focusing on pragmatic issues, learners' opportunities for input in the foreign language classroom are limited to two main sources, namely those of materials and teachers' output. Previous research examining the presentation of pragmatic information in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) materials has demonstrated an artificial and decontextualised use of language. However, paying attention to the second source, there are no previous studies which have focused on both teachers' awareness and production of a particular pragmatic aspect. In this respect, the present study aims at analysing a group of university teachers' degree of grammatical and pragmatic awareness on the one hand, and their production of exhortative speech acts, those of requesting, suggesting and advising, on the other. In so doing, we attempt to ascertain whether teachers' output may be regarded as appropriate input in the foreign language classroom. Results show that teachers are more aware of grammatical errors than pragmatic violations. Moreover, their production of the three speech acts analysed, particularly suggestions and advice acts, make us finally state, in line with Bardovi-Harlig (1992, 1996), that it would be beneficial to develop teacher training programs on pragmatics.

1. Introduction

Pragmatic competence has been ascertained as one of the main elements in different models of communicative competence (Alcón, 2000a; Bachman, 1990; Celce-Murcia *et al.*, 1995), since it is considered a necessary ability in order to communicate efficiently in the target language. As stated by Cenoz (1999), in contrast to focusing merely on linguistic competence, which is a static concept based on grammatical rules and related to individuals (i.e. concrete monolingual native speakers), there is a need to pay attention to aspects of communicative

competence, regarded as a social and dynamic construct based on the negotiation of meaning between two or more speakers. Taking into account the relevance of the pragmatic component, the field of interlanguage pragmatics, which investigates learners' acquisition and use of pragmatic aspects in the second or foreign language, has recently been addressed as an important interdisciplinary area within the field of second language acquisition (SLA).

Research within this area has illustrated that the theoretical conditions for second language acquisition include the following assumptions:

(1) Learners' need for comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985)

(2) Learners' need for output (Swain, 1985, 2000; Swain and Lapkin, 1995)

(3) Learners' need for feedback, on both meaning (Pica, 1994) and form (Williams, 1999).

Regarding the first of these three conditions, Krashen's (1985) theory of comprehensible input has suggested that processing input for the comprehension of message meaning is necessary in order to convert input into acquired knowledge. Krashen (1978) also makes the distinction between input and intake, since language input refers to those utterances the L2 learners are exposed to, whereas intake implies that type of input that serves the purpose of language acquisition. Apart from comprehensible input, VanPatten (2000) also distinguishes three more kinds of input that have been discussed in the SLA research over the last thirty years. These refer to simplified, modified and enhanced input. In relation to this research, it has been investigated whether different types of input simplifications (Hatch, 1983), modifications (Long, 1983) or alterations in the way input is presented to learners (VanPatten, 1996) result in increased comprehension. However, in spite of these attempts to analyse input from several perspectives, VanPatten (2000) argues that this research has remained external to the learner, and questions such as "what happens to input during online comprehension" (2000: 291) are absent from input research. In this sense, VanPatten (1995, 1996) has proposed a model of input processing that pays attention to the kind of form-meaning connections that learners make during comprehension. A key issue within this model is the analysis of intake.

Corder (1967) was the first scholar to use this term, and similarly, VanPatten (1996) has also analysed intake as the result of input processing. In contrast, other researchers (Chaudron, 1985; Gass, 1988, 1997) have considered intake as a process consisting of different stages of assimilating information. In fact, Gass (1988) developed a theoretical framework which integrated four main components, namely those of noticed input, comprehended input, intake, and

integration into learners' interlanguage system. According to this author, the first stage of acquisition deals with the noticing of input, which may be caused as a result of saliency. However, not all noticed input may be comprehended, and not all comprehended input becomes intake. It is only when the intake is clearly encoded by the learner, that it becomes an integrated part of learner's implicit knowledge. Noticing, regarded as the initial stage for second language acquisition, has also been considered by Schmidt (1990, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2001). In fact, Schmidt's Noticing Hypothesis supports the idea that conscious noticing is the necessary condition for converting input to intake. Moreover, as suggested by Schmidt and Frota (1986), it is when learners compare what they have noticed in the input with what they are able to produce according to their interlanguage system, that noticed input becomes accommodated intake available to any subsequent language acquisition processes.

Considering this process in the context of the foreign language classroom, it is believed that in order for input to function as intake, it must be presented in a form that can be processed by the learner. As Trosborg (1995) points out, particularly in this setting it is possible, at least to a certain extent, to shape and adapt input to learners' needs. This kind of adapted language used by teachers in second language (L2) classrooms when addressing their learners constitute a special register known as *teacher talk*, whose characteristics involve a simplified register, syntactic simplification, reduced length of utterances, and no ungrammatical speech. In this situation, the learner is completely dependent on the teacher for input, and this input, as reported in several studies (Alcón, 2001a; Ellis, 1992; Trosborg, 1995), is hardly optimal for learning, and more concretely for offering learners opportunities to develop their pragmatic competence in the target language. In fact, as claimed by Alcón (2001a) in her study on the academic advising session, the positive input provided by teachers was not enough to help learners to develop their pragmatic competence in the academic setting.

Furthermore, as suggested by Swain (1985, 2000), input opportunities are not enough for language learning. Thus, we turn to the second condition for SLA, that is, the output hypothesis developed by Swain (1985), which focused on pushing learners into language production. The opportunities for pushed output, which refers to the production that is characterised by precision, coherence, and appropriateness, are regarded to be the necessary conditions for a learner to be able to acquire a second language. In fact, Swain (2000) argues that not only comprehending, but also producing the target language, is what makes learners notice how the language is used in order to express their intended meaning. Swain (1995) also proposed three functions for output that can be

identified in this process. The first function, the noticing function, refers particularly to the fact that learners may notice a gap between what they try to say and what they actually can say. Regarding the second function, that is, the hypothesis-testing function, Swain (1995: 131-132) considers that learners "may use their output as a way of trying out new language forms and structures". Finally, the metalinguistic function encourages learners to reflect on the forms being produced. One example of this theoretical condition may be observed in Kanagy and Igarashi's (1997) longitudinal study of English-speaking children's comprehension of pragmatic routines in Japanese. According to the researchers, by initiating L2 speech, the children created opportunities to produce output, which then triggered additional input from the teacher including negative feedback. Therefore, pragmatic needs were regarded as a significant factor in the language production process, influencing what types of teacher input emerged as output in the earliest stages of L2 acquisition.

Swain (1985) also claimed that output opportunities must be combined with feedback if our aim is to combine communication and accuracy. In this sense, after examining the two first theoretical conditions for SLA, namely those of comprehensible input and learners' need for output, the third and final condition points to learners' need for feedback, which has also been referred to as negative input (Pica, 1996). As raised by Alcón (2000b), research has shown that language learners can be pushed by their interlocutors' feedback to produce more sociolinguistically appropriate and accurate correct target language (Lyster and Ranta, 1997; Pica, 1994; Van den Braden, 1997). Additionally, an important distinction has been made between negotiation of meaning, whose main aim is to restore and/or maintain mutual understanding in a conversation, and negotiation of form, in which one interlocutor tries to push the other towards a more appropriate utterance. Taking into account the former, studies conducted by Gass and Varonis (1985), Varonis and Gass (1985) and Doughty and Pica (1986) have shown that repair occurs when there is some kind of communication breakdown that makes language learners notice a difference between their own production and the intended target language. It is when this breakdown occurs that speakers try to achieve a way of understanding each other through negotiation of meaning. Some of the techniques employed when repairing the communication problem have adopted requests for clarification and requests for confirmation. Paying attention to the second type of negotiation, that is negotiation of form, Lyster (1998a, 1998b) has also identified different techniques, such as recasts or explicit corrections, that perform the function of pushing learners to reprocess their own linguistic resources in order to repair their errors. In this sense, through negotiation of form techniques, the teacher can guide and provide corrective feedback to their students making learners

aware of their own output. Examples of corrective feedback in the realm of pragmatics can be found both focusing on meaning, such as Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's (1996) study based on academic advising sessions; or on form, in which Omar (1992) found two occurrences where NSs of Kiswahili corrected other NSs regarding choice of forms in conversational openings.

The three conditions mentioned above have been regarded as essential for the acquisition of any aspect in the target language. Concerning pragmatic issues, Kasper claims that:

> The acquisition of pragmatic knowledge requires many of the same conditions as the acquisition of other types of L2 knowledge: There must be pertinent input, the input has to be noticed, and learners need ample opportunity to develop a high level of processing control in order to access relevant knowledge quickly and effectively in different communicative contexts (Kasper 1996: 148).

Taking this assumption into consideration, different scholars in the field of interlanguage pragmatics support the need for rich and contextually appropriate input in the classroom (Bardovi-Harlig, 1997, 2001; Judd, 1999; Kasper, 1996, 1997, 2001). In fact, in foreign language contexts learners' opportunities for learning particular pragmatic items of the target language are much more restricted than in second language environments, since the only two input sources learners are exposed to are teachers' output and English Language Teaching (ELT) materials (Bardovi-Harlig, 1996, 2001; Kasper, 1997, 2001). On the one hand, research focusing on the pragmatic information that materials may offer to foreign language learners (Alcón and Safont, 2001; Alcón and Tricker, 2000; Bardovi-Harlig et al., 1991; Boxer and Pickering, 1995; Meier, 1997) has demonstrated an artificial and decontextualised presentation of the different pragmatic aspects examined. On the other hand, concerning teachers' output as a source of input in the EFL classroom, there are only a few studies which have dealt with the type of input teachers produce in this particular setting.

In a study on suggesting in the academic advising setting, Alcón (2001a) examined teachers' production of suggestions and the use of mitigators. The author showed that teachers' output could be regarded as positive input for learners. However, learners' output opportunities were not corresponded with a teachers' pertinent feedback, which made the author conclude that only being exposed to the language or having opportunities for language use are not enough for developing non-native speakers' pragmatic competence. Dealing with a different speech act, namely that of requesting, Alcón (2001b) also investigated whether the foreign language classroom offered learners opportunities to be exposed and make use of requests. The author found that learners' oral

production did not show an appropriate use of requesting. Thus, Alcón (2001b) concluded that neither input nor output, two of the necessary conditions to acquire the pragmatic aspects of the target language, occur in the EFL classroom, so she argued for further research that analyses whether EFL teachers' degree of pragmatic awareness and production influences learners' pragmatic competence. Taking these findings into account, Martínez-Flor *et al.*, (in press) examined teachers' output when requesting in a particular academic setting: that of the oral interview. Results indicated that although teachers made use of a wide range of request act formulae, thus offering learners chances for pragmatic input, students' production was very limited. In this sense, it was again claimed that learners' mere exposure to input in the foreign language classroom does not seem to be enough to develop their pragmatic competence.

Bearing in mind all the above-mentioned studies, and the necessity to conduct more studies examining the source of input in the foreign language classroom, in this paper we attempt to analyse the input produced by teachers regarding one particular pragmatic aspect, namely that of exhortative speech acts. On the one hand, following Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei's (1998) study, which also dealt with English as a Second Language (ESL) and EFL teachers, we devote our study to analysing teachers' degree of grammatical and pragmatic awareness in order to ascertain which aspect teachers pay more attention to. On the other hand, we are also interested in analysing their production of requesting, suggesting and advising in particular contextual situations. In so doing, we are focusing on teachers' output in the EFL setting. The present study thus addresses the following research questions:

(a) Do EFL teachers at the University setting show the same degree of grammatical and pragmatic awareness?

(b) Could university teachers' production of requesting, suggesting and advising be considered as a kind of appropriate input in the EFL context?

2. Method

2.1 Participants

Subjects for our study were twenty female university teachers from the Department of English and Romance languages at Universitat Jaume I (Castellón, Spain). Their age ranged between 27 and 43 years old, the average age being 31.1 years. All of them were teaching different disciplines from the

three faculties the University is divided into, namely the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, the Faculty of Law and Economics, and the Institute of Technology and Experimental Sciences.

2.2 Procedure and Material

The materials employed to collect data from our subjects involved the use of two written questionnaires, an awareness test and a production test. Both instruments were created by the *LAELA*[1] research group for the purposes of conducting research in interlanguage pragmatics.

The written questionnaires were done on two different days. Firstly, we distributed the awareness test (see Appendix A), which consisted of 20 different situations that varied according to degrees of familiarity and social distance in making the particular three exhortative speech acts under study, namely those of requests, suggestions and advice acts. The participants of the study were asked to evaluate each situation taking into account whether the utterances were grammatical or ungrammatical, and appropriate or inappropriate. By means of this test, we aimed at ascertaining whether teachers were more aware of grammatical mistakes or pragmatic violations. Secondly, our subjects were told to express what they would say in each of the 20 situations the production test consisted of (see Appendix B). These situations also varied in terms of familiarity and social distance between the interlocutors. By means of this test, we analysed teachers' production of the speech acts both quantitatively, i.e. examining the amount of each appropriate speech act produced, and qualitatively, i.e. analysing what kind of linguistic realisation strategies the participants employed when producing those speech acts. In order to make our analysis we focused on three different typologies.

As far as *requesting* is concerned, we have followed Trosborg's (1995) suggested taxonomy of this particular speech act (see Table 1 below), since it is built on previous research within the area of pragmatics (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969, 1976), as well as on the basis of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness model distributed into on-record and off-record strategies. Moreover, this typology has also been reformulated following the studies carried out by House and Kasper (1981), Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) and Safont (2001a). As can be observed in Table 1, Trosborg's (1995) taxonomy is mainly divided into the strategies of indirect requests, conventionally indirect requests (either hearer-oriented or speaker-based), and direct requests. Additionally, we decided to include an extra group of other types of strategies in case these might occur.

Table 1. Request strategy types (based on Trosborg, 1995: 205)

TYPE	STRATEGY	STRUCTURE
Indirect	Hints	Statement
Conventionally indirect (hearer-oriented)	Ability	Could you...? Can you...?
	Willingness	Would you...?
	Permission	May I...?
	Suggestory	How about...?
	Formulae	
Conventionally indirect (speaker-based)	Wishes	I would like...
	Desires/needs	I want/need you to...
	Obligation	You must...
		You have to...
Direct	Performatives	I ask you to...
	Imperatives	Lend me your car.
	Elliptical phrase	Your car.
Other types of strategies		

Concerning *suggestions*, we have adopted a typology based on Alcón and Safont's (2001) taxonomy, since the taxonomy proposed by these authors deals with research from the field of pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics. First of all, it addresses those universal pragmatic strategies (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996) of indirect and direct types, and this assumption also takes into account Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness to directness scale. Additionally, following Thomas (1995), suggestions are distributed paying attention to the interactional meaning which underlies their occurrence, and the context in which they might be performed. These criteria are very important in order to distinguish this speech act from the other two directive speech acts addressed in this study, that is, requests and advice acts. Finally, Alcón and Safont's (2001) typology of suggestion formulae includes Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's Maxim of Congruence (1993), which implies the appropriateness of specific strategies according to the speakers' status in a given situation. Apart from all this investigation on which the taxonomy is based, we have also considered Koike's (1994: 521) proposal of some commonly used expressions of suggestions in English. Thus, as might be observed in Table 2 below, the taxonomy adopted for this study, similar to the one presented for requesting, follows the types of indirect, conventionally indirect, direct and other types of strategies.

Table 2. Suggestion strategy types
(based on Alcón and Safont, 2001: 10; Koike, 1994: 521)

TYPE	STRATEGY	STRUCTURE
Indirect	Hints	I'd like you to... We can/could...
Conventionally indirect	Possibility **Probability** Specific Formulae	I wonder if you could... It may/might... How/What about...? Let's... Why don't you /Why not...?
Direct	Declarative Performative	You can/could... I suggest you to...
Other types of strategies		

Finally, regarding *advice*, we have considered Alcón and Safont's (2001) suggested typology of this particular speech act. Since it is similar to suggestions, it is built on the basis of previous research in the field of pragmatics (Leech, 1983; Thomas, 1995; Wunderlich, 1980) and interlanguage pragmatics (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996). Moreover, we have also taken into account Hinkel's (1997: 11-12) classification of advice acts. Thus, similarly to the two previous taxonomies of the speech acts of requesting and suggesting, advice acts are distributed into indirect, conventionally indirect, and direct strategies, to which we have added yet another category which is 'other types of strategies' (see Table 3).

Table 3. Advice strategy types
(based on Alcón and Safont, 2001: 10; Hinkel, 1997: 11-12)

| TYPE	STRATEGY	STRUCTURE
Indirect	Hints	You want to pass, don't you?
Conventionally Indirect	Conditional Probability Specific formulae	If I were you, ... It might be better for you... Why don't you...? Isn't it better for you...?
Direct	Imperative Neg.imperative Declarative Performative	Be careful! Don't worry! You should... You ought to... I advice you to...
Other types of strategies		

3. Results and discussion

As previously mentioned, our study was designed to investigate teachers' awareness and use of exhortative speech acts in the EFL context in order to ascertain whether their output may be considered as a kind of appropriate input for learners to develop their pragmatic competence.

3.1 Results related to the first research question

Our first research question addressed whether teachers showed the same degree of grammatical and pragmatic awareness. Figure 1 shows teachers' grammatical and pragmatic awareness on the one hand, and the suggestions they provided in order to correct the grammatical mistakes and pragmatic violations on the other.

Figure 1. University teachers' grammatical and pragmatic awareness.
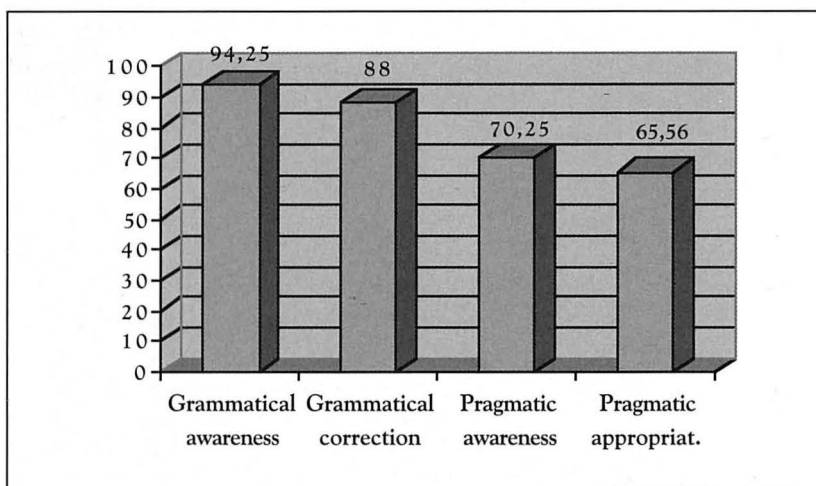
As can be seen in Figure 1 above, University teachers had a higher percentage of grammatical awareness than pragmatic awareness, achieving almost 100% of grammatical awareness (94.25%), whereas their pragmatic awareness accounted for only a 70.25 %. This finding might be due to the fact that teachers are used to correcting students' exams and, thus, to checking for grammatical mistakes. In this sense, detecting ungrammatical sentences comes more natural to them than the identification of pragmatic appropriateness of different situations. Moreover, this result was also found in Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei's (1998) study, in which Hungarian EFL teachers obtained 100% grammatical recognition of errors, whereas they only rated 79.2% for pragmatic errors.

As far as teachers' correction of those sentences that were found grammatically incorrect or pragmatically inappropriate, Figure 1 also illustrates that teachers' grammatical correction was higher (88%) than their correction of inappropriate situations (65.56%). These findings, as stated above, may have been caused by a focus on grammatical and linguistic items over those dealing with pragmatic aspects.

Thus, we may state that University teachers show a higher degree of grammatical than pragmatic awareness. This fact might influence their output in the foreign language classroom, and thus affect the kind of input learners receive as far as exhortative speech acts is concerned. To this respect, in line with Bardovi-Harlig (1992, 1996), we believe that teachers should receive training about pragmatics in the target language.

3.2 Results related to the second research question

Regarding our second research question which involved teachers' production of the three exhortative speech acts of requesting, suggesting and advising, Figure 2 below presents the percentages obtained for each speech act.

Figure 2. University teachers' production of exhortative speech acts.
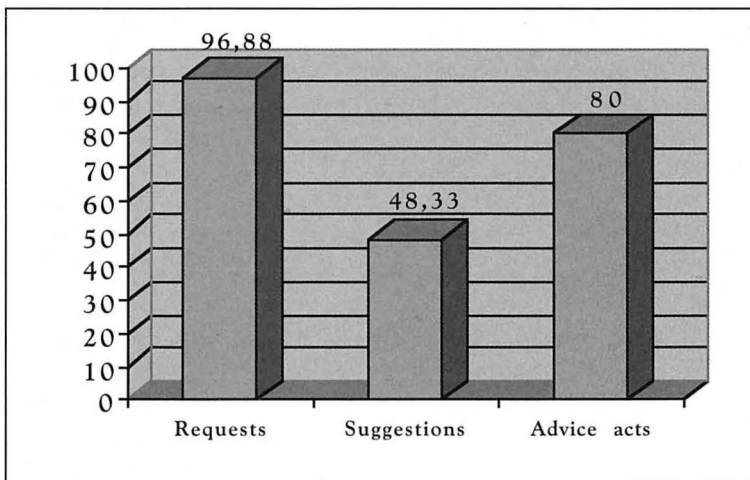
As displayed in Figure 2, teachers' use of requests amounted to a 96.88%, almost 100%. In contrast, their production of suggestions accounted for only a 48.33 per cent, nearly half the total of possible realisations. Finally, the number of appropriate utterances expressing the speech act of advising (80%) was greater than that of suggestions, but not so high as in the case of requests.

Apart from examining the amount of speech acts produced by our participants in quantitative terms, we shall also deal with the type of request, suggestion and advice realisation strategies employed by this group of EFL teachers in qualitative terms. Thus, the next three subsections aim at presenting each of these three speech acts.

3.2.1 Use of request linguistic realisation strategies

Firstly, we will focus on the speech act of requesting, following Trosborg's (1995) taxonomy of this particular speech act. Figure 3 illustrates the distribution of request realisation strategies into the types of indirect, conventionally indirect (both hearer-oriented and speaker-based), direct, and other types of strategies.

Figure 3. Distribution of teachers' use of request realisation strategies.
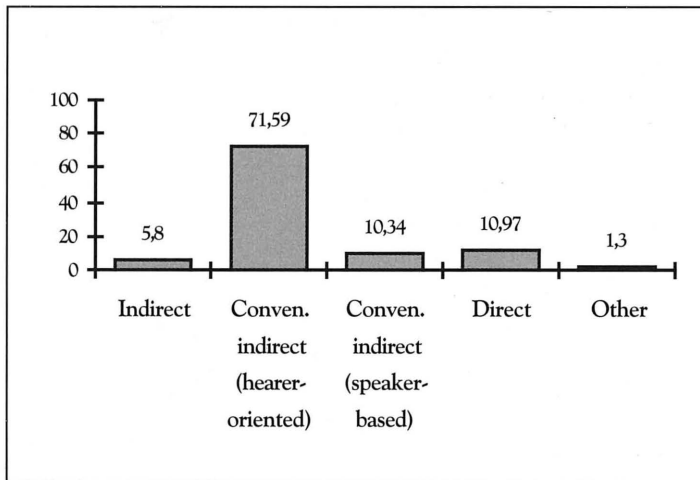
As depicted in the previous Figure, the type most frequently employed involved the conventionally indirect strategies oriented to the hearer, which amounted to 71.59%. This type, although to a lesser extent, was followed by direct requests (10.97%) and conventionally indirect strategies based on the speaker (10.34%). Finally, teachers employed only 5.8% of indirect request strategies and a 1.3% belonged to other types of strategies, which consisted of questions.

A more detailed analysis of the different request formulae performed by our participants showed that among the conventionally indirect strategies, the

request linguistic realisations most frequently used addressed willingness and ability strategies. Thus, the use of willingness structures, which amounted to 25.8%, involved not only the structure *Would you ...?*, but also the expressions *Would you mind + V-ing ...?*; *Would you be so kind as to ...?* or *Would you mind if I ...?*. Additionally, their production of requests consisted of elaborate utterances, which not only contained the speech act itself, but also a pre-request that provided explanations and reasons which mitigated the face-threatening nature of this speech act:

Example (1)
Situation 16 (see Appendix B):

- You work as a secretary in a tile factory. You need two days off because your mother is ill. What do you say to your boss?:

I've just talked to my mother. She's very ill and she needs my help. Would you mind if I take two days off, please?

The previous example shows that before stating the speaker's intentions explicitly, s/he prepares the request itself by providing some explanations and by softening it through the use of mitigators, such as *just* and *please*. In this sense, our subjects employed a high variety of modification devices including *excuse me, please, just, really* and *thank you.*

These findings are in line with previous studies focusing on English adult learners' use of request realisation strategies (Safont and Alcón, in press) and on University teachers from other Departments (Safont, 2001b). Participants in these studies made use of conventionally indirect strategies (above all ability and willingness strategies) as opposed to the employment of other types of strategies. Moreover, both studies were subject to an instructional period that favoured participants' use of other strategies such as hints (indirect) and performatives or imperatives (direct). Thus, in light of these results, and following Bardovi-Harlig's (1996, 2001) studies, we believe that teachers may be aware of specific pragmatic aspects in order to make their output more appropriate in the EFL classroom to develop their learners' pragmatic competence.

3.2.2 Use of suggestion linguistic realisation strategies

Focusing on the speech act of suggesting, Figure 4 presents the distribution of the suggestion realisation strategies according to indirect, conventionally indirect and direct types.

Figure 4. Distribution of teachers' use of suggestion realisation strategies.
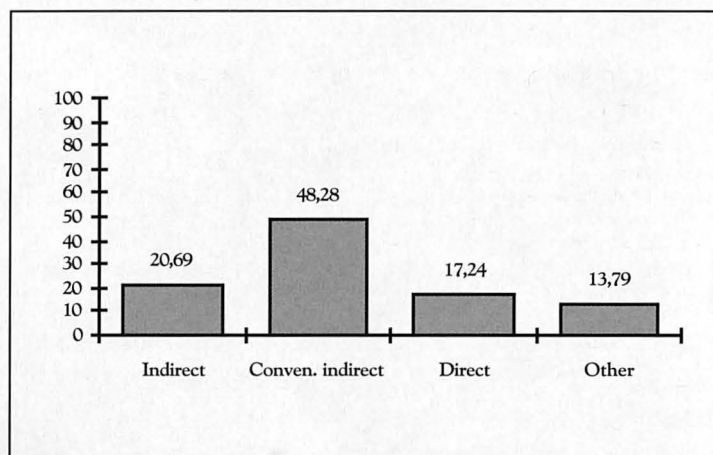
In contrast to the speech act of requesting analysed before, which was highly performed by the use of conventionally indirect strategies, suggestion linguistic formulae were realised by means of the different types of strategies. Among them, the most frequently employed type of suggestions involved the use of conventionally indirect strategies accounting for a 48.28 per cent on the overall strategy use. This was followed by the indirect type amounting to a 20.69 per cent, and finally nearly the same percentage was obtained for the direct type (17.24%) and other types of strategies (13.79%).

Following both Alcón and Safont's (2001) typology and Koike's (1994) assumptions about suggestions, a more detailed analysis of the different suggestion formulae performed by our participants indicate that the suggestion formulae most frequently employed involved the use of specific formulae, since the total percentage of this strategy amounted to 31.04% distributed into the expressions *How/What about ...?* (10.34%); *Let's ...* (6.90%); and *Why don't you/Why not ...?* (13.8%). Moreover, it is worth mentioning that our subjects employed suggestions from all kinds of structures, even the expressions *I'd rather...* and *I'd prefer...*, which belonged to the group referring to other types of strategies. However, the specific structure most frequently employed entailed the indirect type realised by the structure *We can/could ...* (17.24%).

Example (2)
Situation 9 (see Appendix B):

- The marketing manager of a tile factory is planning a new strategy for this year's Cevisama which involves offering free wall tiles to visitors. At a meeting s/he says:

In my opinion it would be a good idea if we could offer free wall tiles to visitors in Cevisama this year.

As illustrated in the previous example, mitigators were also used when expressing a suggestion, although not as frequently as when requesting. The mitigators used were *I think, in my opinion* and *maybe.*

Our results are thus in line with Alcón's (2001a) study, in which teachers' production was analysed in a particular academic setting, that of the advising session. The author, following Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's (1993) Maxim of Congruence, found that teachers were active participants producing a high percentage of suggestions and also a high degree of mitigators when employing this particular speech act. Nevertheless, Alcón concluded that teachers' positive output was not enough to develop learners' pragmatic competence.

3.2.3 Use of advice linguistic realisation strategies

Finally, the third speech act we examined referred to advising. In the same way as the two previous speech acts analysed, Figure 5 below also presents teachers' percentage of the particular advice realisation strategies employed, taking into account indirect, conventionally indirect, direct and other types of strategies.

Figure 5. Distribution of teachers' use of advice realisation strategies.
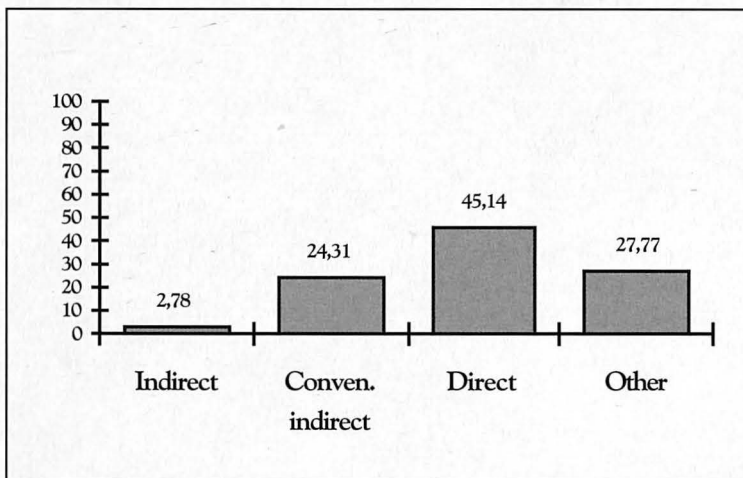
The type of advice strategies most frequently employed was the direct type, amounting to 45.14% (nearly half the overall strategy use). One outstanding

aspect depicted from the figure above involves the scarce use of indirect strategies. These findings are supported by the study carried out by Alcón and Safont (2001), who examined a corpus containing spontaneous speech. The authors not only found that native speakers employed a high percentage of direct advice strategy types (62%), but also that no instances of indirect advice realisations were encountered.

Paying attention to a more detailed analysis of the different advice formulae, following Alcón and Safont's (2001) and Hinkel's (1997) taxonomies of advice linguistic realisation strategies, the advising strategy most frequently employed by our subjects pointed to the use of the declarative structure by means of the modal verb *should*, which amounted to 27.78%. Another relevant aspect to be mentioned refers to the variety of strategies used, since they provided instances of all the advice structures included in the taxonomy. However, teachers' use of other types of strategies, such as *I recommend you to ...*, *You need to ...*, *You must ...* could have been due to a situation of transfer from their L1 to the target language. In this sense, further research is needed in order to examine this phenomenon in this particular EFL context, since this type of production may affect the type of input learners are going to receive as far as advice acts is concerned.

Concerning the use of modification devices, it seems worth mentioning the fact that most of the direct occurrences were mitigated by the use of *I think*, *maybe*, *perhaps* and *just*.

Example (3)
Situation 17 (see Appendix B):

- Your brother has failed all subjects this year. He does not want to tell your parents. You say to him:

I think you should tell them. If you don't talk to them, they will find it out, and it will be worse.

4. Conclusion and pedagogical impliction

The present paper aimed at analysing teachers' degree of grammatical and pragmatic awareness on the one hand, and their production of exhortative speech acts on the other. On the basis of previous research in the field, we were interested in ascertaining whether teachers' degree of pragmatic competence could be regarded as pertinent input for learners in the EFL classroom. Results from our study showed that teachers had a higher level of grammatical awareness

than pragmatic awareness. Moreover, concerning their production of the different speech acts analysed, they produced more appropriate requests, followed by advice acts, and to a lesser extent, by suggestions.

We would also like to comment on certain limitations that may be attributed to our study, which may also lead to the need of conducting further research. Firstly, we have only dealt with twenty teachers. Dealing with a higher number of participants would have possibly involved different results. Moreover, we only distributed two written questionnaires. Perhaps the use of oral tasks would have provided us with more varied outcomes. In fact, if we are to consider teachers' production as a specific type of input for learners in the classroom, it would be very interesting to conduct research on real oral classrooms where the interaction teacher-students may be transcribed and analysed.

Bearing in mind the outcomes from the present study, we would like to highlight some important pedagogical implications. In line with Bardovi-Harlig (1992, 1996, 2001) and Kasper (1997), we believe that it would be beneficial to develop training programs on pragmatics if our aim is to provide the necessary conditions in the classroom to make learners develop their pragmatic competence. These authors have argued that the model of teacher-fronted instruction, in which teachers tell what to do and learners receive orders, does not contribute to foster learners' development of their pragmatic competence. To this respect, in order to bring pragmatics into the classroom, it is necessary that teachers become aware of the different developmental processes learners may go through in order to acquire the pragmatic items of the target language. Thus, there is a need to promote a shift from teacher-centered classrooms to the development of more student-centered activities, such as drama, simulations and role-play. In this sense, it is vital to bring into the classroom authentic native speaker input through the use of audiovisual media. As claimed by Kasper (1997: 125) "authentic discourse is crucial" in order to make learners aware of the right kind of input. In line with this assumption, Bardovi-Harlig (1996: 34) suggests that "it is important that learners observe native speakers in action". We believe that making teachers aware of the importance of bringing real input into the classroom will positively contribute to make their learners become more communicatively competent in the target language.

To sum up, and despite the fact that our study is subject to certain limitations, we believe that our results are encouraging, since no previous studies analysing teachers' degree of pragmatic competence have been conducted on both awareness and production. Additionally, findings from this study show us the kind of input learners may be exposed to in the classroom as far as teachers' output is concerned. Nevertheless, as raised above, further research on the

analysis of the three conditions necessary to acquire pragmatic aspects in the foreign language classroom, namely those of input, output and feedback, might help us prepare specific teacher training programs, materials and syllabus design.

References

Alcón, E. 2000a "Desarrollo de la competencia discursiva oral en el aula de lenguas extranjeras: perspectivas metodológicas y de investigación". In C. Muñoz (ed), *Segundas lenguas: Adquisición en el aula*. Barcelona: Ariel Lingüística, pp. 259-276.

Alcón, E. 2000b "The role of conversational interaction in the development of a second language: Its application to English language teaching in the classroom". *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics 16: 135-154.*

Alcón, E. 2001a "Developing pragmatic competence in the academic setting: the case of suggestions in NS/NNS advising sessions". In S. Posteguillo, I. Fortanet and J. C. Palmer (eds) *Methodology and New Technologies in Languages for Specific Purposes*. Castellón: Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, pp. 79-86.

Alcón, E. 2001b "El desarrollo de la competencia pragmática a partir de la interacción oral en el contexto de EFL: Un estudio sobre la exposición y el uso de peticiones". In A. Moreno and V. Colwell (Eds.) *Recent Perspectives on Discourse*. León: Servicio Publicaciones Universidad de León.

Alcón, E. and Safont, P. 2001 "Occurrence of exhortative speech acts in ELT materials and natural speech data: A focus on request, suggestion and advice realisation strategies". *SELL: Studies in English Language and Linguistics 3: 5-22.*

Alcón, E. and Tricker, D. 2000 "Teaching Discourse Competence in the Classroom: an example based on the Discourse Marker *well* in EFL materials". In P. Gallardo and E. Llurda (eds) *Proceedings of the 22nd International Conference of AEDEAN*. Lleida: Universidad de Lleida, pp. 61-66.

Austin, J. L. 1962 *How to do things with words*. London: Clarendon Press.

Bachman, L. F. 1990 *Fundamental considerations in language testing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bardovi-Harlig, K. 1992 "Pragmatics as part of teacher education". *TESOL Journal 1: 28-32.*

Bardovi-Harlig, K. 1996 "Pragmatics and language teaching: bringing pragmatics and pedagogy together". In L. F. Bouton (ed) *Pragmatics and language learning*, vol. 7. Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, pp. 21-39.

Bardovi-Harlig, K. 1997 "The place of second language acquisition theory in language teacher preparation". In K. Bardovi-Harlig and B. Hartford (Eds.) *Beyond methods: Components of second language teacher education*. New York: MacGraw-Hill, pp. 18-41.

Bardovi-Harlig, K. 2001 "Evaluating the empirical evidence: Grounds for instruction in pragmatics?". In K. R. Rose and G. Kasper (Eds.) *Pragmatics in Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 13-32.

Bardovi-Harlig, K. and Dörnyei, Z. 1998 "Do language learners recognize pragmatic violations? Pragmatic vs. grammatical awareness in instructed L2 learning". *TESOL Quarterly* 32: 233-259.

Bardovi-Harlig, K. and Hartford, B. S. 1993 "Learning the rules of academic talk: A longitudinal study of pragmatic development". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 15: 279-304.

Bardovi-Harlig, K. and Hartford, B. S. 1996 "Input in an institutional setting". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 18: 171-188.

Bardovi-Harlig, K., Hartford, B. S., Mahan-Taylor, R., Morgan, M. J. and Reynolds, D. W. 1991 "Developing pragmatic awareness: Closing the conversation". *ELT Journal* 45: 4-15.

Blum-Kulka, S. and Olshtain, E. 1984 "Requests and apologies. A cross-cultural study of speech act realisation patterns (CCSARP)". *Applied Linguistics* 5: 196-212.

Boxer, D. and Pickering, L. 1995 "Problems in the presentation of speech acts in ELT materials: The case of complaints". *ELT Journal* 49: 44-58.

Brown, P. and Levinson, S. 1987 *Politeness: Some universals in language use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Celce-Murcia, M., Dörnyei, Z. and Thurrell, S. 1995 "Communicative competence: A pedagogically motivated model with content specifications". *Issues in Applied Linguistics* 6: 5-35.

Cenoz, J. 1999 "La adquisición de la competencia pragmática: implicaciones para la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras". In S. Salaberri (ed) *Lingüística Aplicada a la Enseñanza de Lenguas Extranjeras*. Almería: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Almería.

Chaudron, C. 1985 "Intake: On methods and models for discovering learners' processing of input". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 7: 1-14.

Corder, S. P. 1967 "The significance of learners' errors". *IRAL* V: 161-170.

Doughty, C. and Pica, T. 1986 "'Information gap' tasks: do they facilitate second language acquisition? *TESOL Quarterly* 20: 305-325.

Ellis, R. 1992 "Learning to communicate in the classroom: A study of two language learners' requests". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 14: 1-23.

Gass, S. 1988 "Integrating research areas: a framework for second language studies". *Applied Linguistics* 9: 198-217.

Gass, S. 1997 *Input, interaction, and the second language learner*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Gass, S. and Varonis, E. 1985 "Task variation and nonnative/nonnative negotiation of meaning". In S. Gass and C. Madden (eds) *Input in second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Hatch, E. 1983 "Simplified input and second language acquisition". In R. W. Andersen (ed) *Pidginization and Creolization as Language Acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Hinkel, E. 1997 "Appropriateness of Advice: DCT and Multiple Choice Data". *Applied Linguistics* 18: 1-26.

House, J. and Kasper, G. 1981 "Zur Rolle der Kognition in Kommunikationskursen". *Die Neueren Sprachen* 80: 42-55.

Judd, E. L. 1999 "Some issues in the teaching of pragmatic competence" In E. Hinkel (ed) *Culture in Second Language Teaching and Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kanagy, R. and Igarashi, K. 1997 "Acquisition of pragmatic competence in a Japanese immersion kindergarten". In L. F. Bouton (ed) *Pragmatics and language learning*, vol. 8. Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Kasper, G. 1996 "Interlanguage pragmatics in SLA". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 18: 145-148.

Kasper, G. 1997 "The role of pragmatics in language teacher education". In K. Bardovi-Harlig and B. Hartford (eds) *Beyond methods: Components of second language teacher education*. New York: MacGraw-Hill, pp. 113-136.

Kasper, G. 2001 "Classroom research on interlanguage pragmatics". In K. R. Rose and G. Kasper (eds) *Pragmatics in Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 33-60.

Kasper, G. and Schmidt, R. 1996 "Developmental Issues in Interlanguage Pragmatics". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 18: 149-169.

Koike, D. A. 1994 "Negation in Spanish and English suggestions and requests: Mitigating effects?". *Journal of Pragmatics* 21: 513-526.

Krashen, S. 1978 "The Monitor model for second-language acquisition". In R. Gingras (ed) *Second language Acquisition and foreign language teaching*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Krashen, S. 1985 *The Input Hypothesis: Issues and implications*. London: Longman.

Leech, G. 1983 *Principles of pragmatics*. London: Longman.

Long, M. 1983 "Native speaker/nonnative speaker conversation and the negotiation of comprehensible input". *Applied Linguistics* 4: 126-141.

Lyster, R. 1998a "Negotiation of form, recasts and explicit correction in relation to error types and learner repair in immersion classrooms". *Language Learning* 48: 183-218.

Lyster, R. 1998b "Recasts, repetition, and ambiguity in L2 classroom discourse". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 20: 51-81.

Lyster, R. and Ranta, L. 1997 "Corrective feedback and learner uptake: Negotiation on form in communicative classrooms". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 17: 459-481.

Martínez-Flor, A., Alcón, E. and Safont, P. in press "Developing pragmatic competence in the EFL context: the case of requests in NNS-NNS oral discourse". *Actas del XX Congreso AESLA*. Jaén: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Jaén.

Meier, A. J. 1997 "Teaching the universals of politeness". *ELT Journal* 51/1: 21-28.

Omar, A. 1992 "Conversational openings in Kiswahili: The pragmatic performance of native and nonnative speakers". In L. F. Bouton and Y. Kachru (eds) *Pragmatics and language learning*, vol. 3. Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Pica, T. 1994 "Research on negotiation: What does it reveal about second language learning conditions, processes and outcomes?". *Language Learning* 44: 493-527.

Pica, T. 1996 "The essential role of negotiation in the communicative classroom". *Japan Association for Language Teaching Journal* 18: 241-268.

Safont, P. 2001a *Meta-pragmatic perspectives on L3 Acquisition: Analysing Requests in the EAP Context*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Castellón: Universitat Jaume I.

Safont, P. 2001b "Examining the use of requests in the English for Academic Purposes classroom". In S. Posteguillo, I. Fortanet and J. C. Palmer (eds) *Methodology and New Technologies in Languages for Specific Purposes*. Castellón: Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, pp. 125-133.

Safont, P. and Alcón, E. in press "Pragmatic competence and foreign language instruction: a study on the use of request strategies by English adult learners". *Proceedings of XXIV AEDEAN Conference*. Ciudad Real: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Castilla la Mancha.

Searle, J. R. 1969 *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle, J. R. 1976 "The classification of illocutionary acts". *Language in Society* 5: 1-24.

Schmidt, R. 1990 "The role of consciousness in second language learning". *Applied Linguistics* 11: 17-46.

Schmidt, R. 1993 "Consciousness, learning and interlanguage pragmatics". In G. Kasper and S. Blum-Kulka (eds) *Interlanguage Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 21-42.

Schmidt, R. 1995 "Consciousness and foreign language learning: A tutorial on the role of attention and awareness in learning". In R. Schmidt (ed) *Attention and awareness in foreign language learning.* (Technical Report #9). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center, pp. 1-63.

Schmidt, R. 1998 "The centrality of attention in SLA". *University of Hawai'i Working Papers in English as a Second Language* 16: 1-34.

Schmidt, R. 2001 "Attention". In P. Robinson (Ed.) *Cognition and Second Language Instruction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-32.

Schmidt, R. and Frota, S. 1986 "Developing basic conversational ability in a second language: A case study of an adult learner of Portuguese". In R. Day (ed) *Talking to Learn: Conversation in second language acquisition.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House, pp. 237-322.

Swain, M. 1985 "Communicative competence: some roles of comprehensible input and comprehensible output in its development". In S. Gass and C. Madden (eds) *Input and Second Language Acquisition.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House, pp. 235-253.

Swain, M. 1995 "Three functions of output in second language acquisition". In G. Cook and B. Seidlhofer (eds) *Principle and practice in applied linguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 125-144.

Swain, M. 2000 "French immersion research in Canada: Recent contributions to SLA and Applied Linguistics". *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 20: 199-212.

Swain, M. and Lapkin, S. 1995 "Problems in output and the cognitive processes they generate: A step towards second language learning". *Applied Linguistics* 16: 371-391.

Thomas, J. 1995 *Meaning in interaction. An Introduction to Pragmatics.* New York: Longman.

Trosborg, A. 1995 *Interlanguage pragmatics. Requests, Complaints and Apologies.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Van den Branden, K. 1997 "Effects on Negotiation on Language Learners' Output". *Language Learning* 47: 589-636.

VanPatten, B. 1995 "Cognitive aspects of input processing in second language acquisition". In P. Hashemipour, R. Maldonado and M. van Naerssen (eds) *Studies in language learning and Spanish linguistics in honor of Tracy D. Terrell.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

VanPatten, B. 1996 *Input processing and grammar instruction: Theory and research.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

VanPattten, B. 2000 "Thirty years of input (or intake, the neglected sibling)". In B. Swierzbin, F. Morris, M. Anderson, C. Klee and E. Tarone (eds) *Social and Cognitive Factors in Second Language Acquisition.* Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, pp. 287-311.

Varonis, E. and Gass, S. 1985 "Non-native/non-native conversations: a model for negotiation of meaning". *Applied Linguistics* 6: 71-90.

Williams, J. 1999 "Learner-Generated Attention to Form". *Language Learning* 49: 583-625.

Wunderlich, D. 1980 "Methodological remarks on speech act theory". In J. R. Searle, F. Kiefer and M. Bierwisch (eds) *Speech Act Theory and Pragmatics*. Dordrecht: Reidel Publishing Company, pp. 291-312.

Note:

APPENDIX A: AWARENESS TEST

Name (or Nickname): ....

✍ **Complete the following with information about yourself.**

A. Age: _____

B. Gender: Male ☐   Female ☐

C. Years studying English: _____

English courses taken:

- School: _____
- High School: _____
- University: _____
- Other public or private institutions: _____
- Names of course books studied or materials: _____

D. Mother tongue (First Language): _____

What language do you use?

	Catalan/Valencian	Castilian/Spanish	Other: ....
With your parents/ at home			
With your friends			
When you go shopping			
In class			
With your teachers			

E. In your opinion, which is your proficiency level in these languages

	Catalan/Valencian	Castilian/Spanish	English	Others: ....
Bad (no idea)				
A little				
Good				
Excellent				

✔ State whether the following sentences or expressions are correct or incorrect and/or if they are appropriate or inappropriate to the situation. If they are incorrect (or inappropriate) write down the correct answer. **PLEASE USE BLOCK CAPITAL LETTERS.**

1. A girl is very thirsty. She arrives at a bar and asks:
   - *Could you gave me something to drink?*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

2. A woman is cooking and she needs some salt. She asks her neighbour:
   - *Would you lend me some salt, please?*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

3. A friend of yours does not know whether to take English or French as a foreign language. You
   tell him/her:
   - *Maybe you should took English.*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

4. A group of politicians are deciding about their electoral program. One of them says:
   - *I think we needs to make a list with all our ideas.*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

5. An old man goes to the market. He asks one of the greengrocers:
   - *Could you show me that fresh tomatoes, please?*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate☐

SUGGESTION: ....

6. A student has to finish an important composition for the following day, but s/he doesn't have enough time to finish it. S/He asks the teacher:
   - *Would I be able to hand the essay next week, please?*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate☐

SUGGESTION: ....

7. Two strangers are on a train. One of them has just finished reading the newspaper. The other asks him/her:
   - *Would you mind lend me the newspaper, please?*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

8. Two friends are watching TV at one's house. One feels cold and tells his/her friend:
   - *Is getting cold in here, isn't they?*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

9. A couple goes to a restaurant and the waiter tells them.
   - *I think you should have Spanish omelette as a starter.*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

10. A policeman says to a driver that is parking his/her car in a forbidden area.
   - *I would advise you to parking your car in differents place, please.*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

11. A member of the jury that is confused to a judge after a trial:
   - *Why don't you tell us what we are supposed to do now?*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

12. In a hotel a woman tells the receptionist:
   - *My heating don't work. Go and repairing it!*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

13. In a library a person approaches the librarian and says:
   - *I want read one of Shakespeare's plays.*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

14. Two strangers are on a bus. One of them has put his/her bag on an empty seat. The other person says:
   - *I want to seat down.*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

15. At the dentist's. A patient has a terrible toothache. The dentist tells him/her:
   - *I advise you take some aspirins.*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

16. Two workmates are at their office desk. One of them has found a better job but
   he/she does not know what to do. His/her partner says:
   - *If I were you, I would take that new opportunity.*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

17. A person has had problems with some workmates lately, because he/she earns more money than them
   and performs the same kind of job. His/her boss tells him/her:
   - *How about ignore them?*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

18. A child to his father while having dinner:
   - *Excuse me, would you be so kind as to pass me the salt, please?*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

19. The general manager of a company to an employee that arrives late too frequently:
   - *I suppose you would like to continued working for this company, wouldn´t you?*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

20. You are arranging a summer camp with your classmates and one of your partners
   says:
   - *I would suggests visiting the Canary Islands.*

   Correct ☐   Incorrect ☐   Appropriate ☐   Inappropriate ☐

SUGGESTION: ....

APPENDIX B: *PRODUCTION TEST*

Name (or Nickname): ....

✍ **Read these situations and write down what you would say in English.** PLEASE USE BLOCK CAPITAL LETTERS.

1. You arrive in Zaragoza and go to the hotel. You want to know what number your room is. You say to the receptionist:

2. Two friends are having dinner in a restaurant. One asks the other to pass him/her the bread. S/he says:

3. Two strangers are on a bus. The window is open and one of them feels cold. S/he tells the other person:

4. Two women who do not know each other are sitting together on a train and it is a non-smoking area. One of the women starts smoking. The other woman says:

5. You have a very difficult exam tomorrow. You need help. You tell a classmate:

6. You go to the cinema with another friend. There are two films you like but you have to choose. You say:

7. You have invited a very important person to a meeting. After the meeting, there are several possible things to do. You say:

8. You have an important exam next Friday. There is a great party the night before and you do not know what to do. Your friend tells you:

9. The marketing manager of a tile factory is planning a new strategy for Cevisama which involves offering free wall tiles to visitors. At a meeting s/he says:

10. A person you have just met tells you that s/he suffers from stress. You tell that person:

11. A person sitting next to you has written a message using his/her mobile phone but s/he does not know how to send it. You say to that person:

12. At a restaurant a person does not know whether to have soup or paella. The waiter says:

13. You have decided to study one year in England, and you need to choose four subjects from a list of ten. You visit your tutor and s/he tells you:

14. You work at the post office and a person comes to your desk and says that his/her letter should reach its destiny in 24 hours. You tell that person:

15. You have a very heavy suitcase and cannot open the train door to get out at your station. You ask a person sitting next to you to help you. You say to this person:

16. You work as a secretary in a tile factory. You need two days off because your mother is ill. What do you say to your boss?

17. Your brother has failed all subjects this year. He does not want to tell your parents. You say to him:

18. You work at the information desk in Manises airport and a person that has just arrived (13:00h) tells you that s/he needs to meet a friend in the city centre (Valencia) at 13:30h. You say to this person:

19. In an office a boss asks his/her secretary to photocopy a report for him/her. What does he/she say to his/her secretary?

20. Your boyfriend/girlfriend is not happy with his/her studies. S/He does not like any of his/her subjects and s/he fails all his/her exams. You tell him/her:

Computer learner corpora, or how can we turn our students' interlanguage into a resource for EFL research and teaching?

Maria Teresa Prat Zagrebelsky
Università di Torino

Abstract

The essay presents recent developments in the field of learner corpora, with special reference to some written corpora that have been collected in European academic contexts. One particular corpus, "The International Corpus of Learner English" (ICLE), is dealt with in more detail since it allows cross-linguistic comparison among 11 different national subcorpora. The research that has already been carried out on ICLE ranges from *ad hoc* case studies of mistakes made by specific groups of learners to wider and more systematic investigations of areas of difficulty and of features of "foreign-soundings" across different mother tongue groups, and from the discussion of corpus design criteria to the empirical testing of Second Language Acquisition hypotheses and findings. Using an already existing learner corpus, joining a project in progress or building a new learner corpus appear to be useful and challenging enterprises which may help reconcile research and teaching needs especially in the field of English, which is the most highly required foreign language in European universities.

Introduction

At present, in many Italian and other European universities, to be a lecturer in Modern English implies that you are required to do two things at the same time. On the one hand, you teach courses on various aspects of modern English and introduce your students to one or several methods of linguistic analysis, with a growing emphasis on translation skills. On the other hand, you are also responsible for students' language improvement in cooperation with native speaker experts and language centres. The latter responsibility means to set internal language standards, to compare them to international standards, to plan final written and oral tests and to evaluate students for EFL proficiency several times a year. If you teach in a large university, marking and evaluating students' productions will take a large part of your professional life. A good background in error analysis, contrastive analysis and interlanguage studies is therefore desirable as well as the awareness of recurrent and typical mistakes and areas of difficulty to be dealt with in remedial teaching materials or to be focused upon

in courses. Therefore, storing students' productions electronically and analysing them through software programmes may prove extremely useful and help reconcile teaching and research needs.

1. What is a computer learner corpus?

A learner corpus is the product of one of the branches —probably the least known so far— of the flourishing field of corpus linguistics. To start with a general definition, a computer learner corpus is a computerized textual database of the language produced by foreign language learners. The data can be exploited through the application of specific software programmes in order to obtain information on learner language on a larger scale and in a more systematic and reliable way than through manual search or teacher intuition.

2. What computer learner corpora are available for English?

Learner corpora are made of either oral or written learner productions. The two should be complementary; however, so far oral corpora have been rare because the recording and the phonological transcription, and even the simple orthographic transcription, are extremely time consuming processes. A notable example is the Lindsei Corpus, collected in Louvain la Neuve by Sylvie De Cock, which contains 50 interviews of advanced French and Italian EFL learners while other national subcorpora and an English comparable corpus are being developed (for more information , see the web page of the "Centre for English Corpus Linguistics ").

Ten written learner corpora are available for English today, according to Pravec (2002) and there are probably many more which have not been publicized. In her recent survey in the ICAME Journal nº.26, Pravec gives detailed information for six of them according to a set of corpus design criteria (see Table 1).

Table 1.

COMMERCIAL LEARNER CORPORA

NAME	SIZE	TYPE OF TEXT	LANGUAGE BACKGROUND	WEBSITES
Cambridge Learner Corpus (CLC)	15.000.000 words and expanding; about one quarter tagged for errors	Cambridge exam scripts at different proficiency levels	From all over the world	http://www.cambridge-efl.org/rs-notes/0001/rs-notes1-6.cfm
Longman Learner's Corpus(LLC)	10.000.000 words (and expanding)	Essays and exam scripts at different proficiency levels	From all over the world	http://www.longman.com/dictionaries/corpus/lccont.html

ACADEMIC LEARNER CORPORA

NAME	SIZE	TYPE OF TEXT	LANGUAGE BACKGROUND	WEBSITE AND AVAILABILITY
International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE)	2.200.000 Words	Advanced academic essays, mainly argumentative, by university students	11 languages: Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Swedish	http://juppiter.fltr.ucl.ac.be/ FLTR/GERM/ETAN/CECL/ cecl.html

A CD-ROM edition, with an accompanying hand-book, will be released by October 2002.

C/o S. Granger, Centre for English Corpus Linguistics, Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve Place Blaise Pascal 1, B-1348 Louvain-La-Neuve Email: granger@lige.ucl.ac.be |
Janus Pannonius University (JPU)	About 400.000 Words	Advanced essays by university students	Hungarian	http://www.geocities.com/ writing_site/thesis/ Portions accessible on line http://www.geocities.com/ jpu_corpus.
USE. Uppsala Student English	About 1.000.000 words and expanding	Written academic texts of advanced level	Swedish	http://www.hit.uib.no/icame/ ij24/use.pdf
The Polish Learner English Corpus (The PELCRA Project)	500,000 words and expanding	Exam essays from beginning to post-advanced levels	Polish	http://www.uni.lodz.pl/pelcra/ corpora.htm Samples available at http://www.uni.lodz.pl/pelcra. samples.htm

A useful distinction made by Pravec is the one between commercial and academic learner corpora. The two commercial learner corpora are the Cambridge Learner Corpus (CLC) and the Longman Learner's Corpus (LLC). They are the largest (many million words and still expanding), as they should represent learner written productions from all over the world, at different levels of proficiency and reflecting both timed examination and untimed practice conditions. They are being collected mainly for in-house use and can be currently accessed by the EFL authors working for these two publishers. However, it is interesting to read their web sites to find out more about their design. Both corpora contain some information on learner backgrounds and variables (e.g. nationality, text type and level of competence), and are partially coded for types of mistake. They allow, therefore, the identification of areas of success and of difficulty, and of recurrent mistakes made by learners from

different language backgrounds. They are meant to improve the quality of teaching materials and pedagogical dictionaries and, in the case of the Cambridge Learner Corpus, also of the Cambridge EFL exams by making the teaching materials more sensitive to the recurrent difficulties of different national language backgrounds.

Four academic learner corpora have been singled out for more detailed presentation, as they have been developed in European university contexts and should be more easily available for research. The four corpora (ICLE, JPU,USE and PELCRA) have been collected from1990 to the present, and some of them are still expanding. They vary in size from over 2 million to 400 thousand words . Size and representativeness are important issues in corpus linguistics: they depend on the purpose of the data collection and on the type of research questions to be asked, whether on more frequent language phenomena (e.g. grammatical) or on more rare ones (e.g. lexical). The texts they are made of are mainly academic essays, often of an argumentative type, but they differ in the students' levels of proficiency, length, topic and writing conditions (timed exam versus un-timed practice; with or without reference tools). Three out of the four corpora refer to a specific European language background, Hungarian, Swedish and Polish respectively. The ICLE is the notable exception because it comprises 11 national contexts, from Bulgaria to Sweden, and the number of countries will be extended further to include extra-European language backgrounds such as Chinese and Japanese. Information about learner backgrounds and variables is provided in all corpora. While the ICLE corpus will soon be available for purchase as a CDROM, the other corpora can be accessed, at least partially, on the net, often by negotiating with the researchers responsible for them. Another important feature of the learner corpora to be further investigated through the web sites is the presence of various types of annotation. For instance, the ICLE corpus can also be tagged for parts-of-speech through the Tosca Tagger software, and several types of error annotation projects are being developed on the various corpora. To analyse the corpora several software programmes can be used, Wordsmith Tools being the most popular at present.

3. The ICLE Corpus: what can we do with it?

ICLE is the only learner corpus so far which allows us both to search 11 individual national subcorpora (Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Swedish) and to carry out extensive cross-linguistic comparison between them. Each subcorpus is made of 200,000 words from academic essays written by students in their 3rd or 4th years of study

in foreign languages and literatures degrees in European universities. The essays are argumentative, between 500 and 1,000 word long, and deal with controversial topics (e.g. Attitudes to crime, abortion or artificial insemination), and in a limited percentage, with literature.

Each text is accompanied by an anonymous learner profile, which includes 21 variables. The most important are gender, age, country, mother tongue, language(s) used at home, years of study of English at school and at university, other foreign languages studied, months spent in English-speaking countries, writing conditions and use of reference tools. These variables will be searchable through a user-friendly interface in the forthcoming CDROM edition. This will allow the researcher to select specific national subcorpora (for instance, the Italian subcorpus or the subcorpus of Romance languages) and to extract and compare different socio-linguistic and learning variables (for instance, the performance of males and females and the performance of two groups of learners who have had different years of study of English). To complement this type of information an accompanying handbook will provide a socio-linguistic and educational profile of each country. The software that is currently used is Wordsmith Tools, which allows the usual operations of word count, concordances and key words search.

Well before its publication, the ICLE corpus was exploited for research by the ICLE research teams, as is evidenced by the more than a hundred titles listed in the web page of the *Centre for English Corpus Linguistics* or quoted in Granger' book *Computer Learner Corpora*. Research papers based on the ICLE corpus deal with grammatical, lexical, phraseological and discourse phenomena; they may take a more quantitative and/or a more qualitative approach; or they may focus on corpus design criteria, theoretical issues and/or pedagogical applications. The number of contributions dealing with computer learner corpora is constantly increasing in corpus linguistics conferences such as ICAME and TALC and in general conferences of applied linguistics such as AILA, and also in ESSE.

The research that has been carried out so far follows three different approaches which answer different research questions and range from the most "local" to the most general, from "ad hoc" pedagogical applications to second language acquisition theoretical issues.

A first type of research aims to collect extensive and systematic evidence of lexico-grammatical errors made by learners from a specific national and language background, e.g. Italian learners. The need for this type of investigation may start from casual observations in a specific teaching context.

To give an example, the writer of this article has collected a small corpus of e-mails addressed to her by her students on several academic matters where the word *informations" was used instead of "information". This is a common mistake for Italian EFL learners at an initial level, since this noun is countable and often plural in Italian. By searching ICLE-IT, it was possible to find out that the mistake was still present in the productions of advanced students of English in 4 out of 21 occurrences of the lemma. (see Table 2).

Table 2. Concordances for "information/informations" in ICLE-IT

```
1. comes close to us just to ask an information
because we feel he or
2. vehicle* of personal knowledge and information, and
it underlines ever
3. of education based on both information and
discussion of the
4. program is stopped for commercial_informations. How
can we avoid then
5. a look to past times, we can find information, read
and see a series
6. it was becoming hard to find informations between
all these
7. of the TV, where you are given information you
sometimes assimilat
8. but because they have much more information than
the common citizen
9. first was considered as means of information and
entertainment and
10. can witness very dangerous leak of information and
magistrates'
11. *means* for the divulgation of information, which
marks the advent
12. a powerful means and source of information, which
contributes to
13. of television, all the methods of information:
films, soap operas,
14. science among the huge quantity of informations
that they provide
15. of both lack of time and proper information.
Moreover, we are
```

```
16. the couple's life, giving some information: he
explains where the
17. : it takes more. It takes information. It takes
education. If
18. in the important functions that information can
absolve: only if
19. also because the information about the semen's
20. common citizens. The use of the information those
people do have
21. and social life. It gives all the information
people need. Watching
22. quickly conveyable than written information, for
example books. In
```

The rearrangement in alphabetical order of the first word on the left of the search term, made possible by Wordsmith Tools, allows us to spot wrong patterns more easily, like in line nº 1 "* an information". It is interesting to note that, if we carry out the same search in the Dutch corpus, we do not find one single mistake out of 107 occurrences of "information".

Another example refers to the fact that many Italian advanced students of English use "even if" instead of "even though", thus blurring the prototypical semantic distinction between hypothetical and concessive clauses. The search in this case proved to be considerably longer, as it was necessary to expand the one line concordance into more extended context, which Wordsmith allows us to do, as can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3. Selected expanded concordances for "even though/even if" from ICLE -IT

```
1. be more sense of duty and responsibility among par-
ents. Today the increase in crime is one of the great-
est problems even though the police try to prevent
law-breakings suggesting safety measures such as con-
trolling schools, traffic jam in

2. expensive cars and beautiful houses. In other words
they prefer their economic stability as well as their
economic power even though this leads to a lack of
responsibility towards their children. As long as a
child receives the early education at
............ .
```

1. has increased tremendously. Teenagers start at the age of ten or seventeen burgling, robbing friends and neighbours **even if** they belong to a middle class family. Youth courts have suggested, in order to solve this horrible society plague,

2. to ask only to give help to social services in the payment of juvenile crime. Children will continue to commit burglaries **even if** their parents will be obliged to pay for their offences. Families have the right to look after their sons and to

After consulting pedagogical and descriptive grammars, native informants, and other English native corpora (in particular, the *Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays* (LOCNESS), a comparable corpus of American and British academic essays), what was considered a very clear-cut distinction was considerably more "fuzzy" than expected, also across the British and the American varieties of English, and that some of the uses that were initially marked as wrong were instead to be considered acceptable.

Another example is a lexical investigation made on 5 lexical items belonging to the semantic field of "work" by Aurelia Martelli at the TALC, 2000. The items *work, job, employment, occupation, career* were frequently used in ICLE-IT as many essays dealt with unemployment and the difficulty of finding a job for young people. The search allowed to observe that many Italian students seemed to consider these words as interchangeable synonyms(e.g. "*to look for a work" instead of "to look for a job"). This resulted in the production of unacceptable or unidiomatic collocations, often related to mother tongue transfer such as " *to make a job" instead of "to have a job" or "*to learn a job" instead of "to learn how to do a job". In particular, the comparison of the uses of "career/careers " in ICLE-IT and in the already quoted *Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays* (LOCNESS) has revealed some interesting differences (see Table 4). By observing the concordances of ICLE-IT one can notice the underuse of idiomatic collocations, such as "to pursue a career" or "a career woman" and the presence of collocations that are influenced by Italian usage (e.g "*making career" that corresponds to the Italian "far carriera"). One can also observe in the Italian corpus the prevailing of a negative connotation ("career" often collocates with "dangerous" and "criminal"), which is less evident in LOCNESS (an exception is "career trap"). The negative connotation of "career" in ICLE-IT may be due to cultural factors, since in Italian the corresponding lexical item ("*carriera*") often implies the idea of individual competitiveness, and the loss of more humane

values, which is considered negative especially for women. In Italian, the expression "*fare carriera*" is often ironical and suggests that success may be achieved through lack of fairness and even bribery.

Table 4. Concordances of "career/careers" from ICLE-IT and from LOCNESS, reordered in alphabetical order according to the first word to the left of the search word .

ICLE-IT

1. the starting point for a *criminal career*. That is why I consider

2. of dangers and risks that such a career could imply, F. Shashkova

3. the cultural basis to build up a career, it focuses only on

4. decide to devote their lives to a career, rather than their family.

5. social status through a job and a career were deliberately stopped by

6. women to choose between family and career is still alive. For women on

7. concern is to have a brilliant career and to have the freedom to

8. an important place or a brilliant career in a society dominated only

9 encouraged to go on in their crime career. Certainly the problem of

10. and philosophies of a criminal career. For the criminal behaviour

11. boys who started their criminal careers when they were 12 and 10

12. two different sport, dangerous careers and after having taken into

13. Moreover women with dangerous career force their children to live

14. need to pursue a dangerous career in order to prove her

15. give up their previous dangerous careers in order to assure to the

16. mothers to renounce to dangerous career in the world of sport. The

17. the right to pursue a dangerous career regarded a man that was a

18. their children a more **dignified career** than that of the criminal.

19. example, a mother that lives **for career** and work; probably this

20. time for herself, or even a **good career**. In the long term, this can

21 the same time to continue with **her career**, even when she takes risks

22. not necessarily renounce to **her career** in a dangerous sport is that

23. because he's too worried with **his career**, his power, his politics,

24. plans, which could be: **making career**, getting married, having a

25. all her own interest and her **own career**. A mother continues to be a

26. have the right to pursue their **own career**, even if it dangerous, and

27. by the wires of money, **power, career**, success and personal

28. sport represent their **professional career**, and as all the people that

29. men, as for example the **religious career** or airplain pilots (to

30. contributes to the **scholastic career**. Being a relatively young

31. dedicate themselves to **successful careers** in management, politics,

32. more interested in a **successful career** than getting married and

33. students into the **teaching career**. People are persuaded that

34. mother and the realization in **the career**, in particular when she is

35. as in the sixties, climbing up **the career** ladder in the eighties and

36. because women have reached **the career** ladder. Yet, some of them

37. children are interested in **the career** of crime? If children are

38. woman should be free to pursue **the career** she has chosen. First of all

39. today to find a woman who has **the career** she wanted and the family

40. about the options they make in **the career** versus their family. The
41. for them: to continue with **their career** and consequently to renounce
42. majority of cases, started **their careers** many years before to have a
43. children, should forfeit **their careers** when they are too dangerous
4. at the age of 12 has started **this career** of crime that begun shoplift

LOCNESS

1. childcare and housework over **a career**, and few men want to risk
2. A woman today, if she pursues **a career** as expected by her peers,
3. who returned to college and made **a career** for herself. Those outside
4. that they may one day practice **a career** in the field of their major.
5. mother and disregard or postpone **a career**). Is it a harder life to for
6. I have grown up in an age where **a career** man and a career woman have
7. satisfaction of pursuing **a career**. Many women followed this
8 , and if a woman wants to pursue **a career**, she should be allowed to do
9. they did not particularly want **a career** still tended to stay in
11. hole (not be a mother but choose **a career** vs. be a mother and
12. in an age where a career man and **a career** woman have become
13. prestige that usually accompany **a career**. Yet if a woman decides on
14. ill young enough to choose **another career** if he failed. What if Ralph
15. he same generation of newly **formed career** moms. I remember my mother a
16. He had a good life. He had a **good career** in a fortune 500 company. He
17. children are in school, begins **her career** later in life? It seems to

18. can guarantee a **high-ranking career** and and accelerated
19. becoming a corporate lawyer? **His career** might not have been as
20. guilt and can ruin a **journalist's career**. A judge asking a journalist
21. a baseball player. He later **made career** choices that increasingly to
22. they can pursue a **meaningful career**, relationship, or anything
23. and contented himself with a **party career** in journalism. He was not
24. of higher education, and **pursue careers** without being judge as bad
25. Without patronage, **several careers** related to the arts profess
26. r future. She establishes a **sewing-career**, re-unites with her children
27. **the career** take a minor role or vice
28. are the only ones caught in **the career** trap. There is a lot of
29. who works outside the home. **The career** with a capital C is
30. witnessed the evolution of **the career** woman who worked from 9 to
31. they were ready to interrupt **their careers** for a family. This is not
32. ended up dissatisfied with **their career**, their marriage, and a good
33. off having children until **their careers** were established, only to
34. train an elite for future **top careers** in administration, industry
35. chastising these women for **wanting careers** outside the home. Nowadays,

From small-scale *ad hoc* searches like the ones presented above, one can move to larger and more systematic group projects of interlanguage and error analysis, which should be at the base of the development of more effective syllabuses and teaching/learning materials. Two examples will be given. One comes from Asia and was started in Hong Kong at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology and the TELEC Centre for Teachers of English Language Education. Large-scale investigations of the areas of difficulty of

secondary school students of Chinese (Cantonese) mother tongue background were carried out on the two large learner corpora, mentioned by Pravec (2002) (the HKUST and TSLC corpora). These projects refer to the needs of those specific institutions, but they offer useful models in order to exploit learner corpora for pedagogical purposes. Several corpus-based EFL tools have been developed such as a programme for electronic composition, an interactive on-line English tutorial for students and a network of grammatical explanations and graded exercises to be used by secondary EFL teachers (cf. Milton, 1998).

A similar project is being developed on the ICLE corpus through the use of an error-tagger software. The aim is to identify and tag lexico-grammatical problem areas in several national EFL varieties, and then develop an electronic pedagogical tool that will deal with both common core and L1-specific mistakes, by providing both concordance-based exercises and grammatical explanations.

Such pedagogical applications will answer the practical needs of remedial work with large numbers of students of English and are in character with the growing tendency to encourage learners' autonomous learning, often through on–line resources.

A second type of research carried out on ICLE aims to identify areas of "foreign- soundingness" or "non-idiomaticity", that is, learner language which, even though not incorrect in itself, does not sound "natural" or appropriate in register. This can be achieved by comparing a non-native and a native corpus, thus discovering phenomena of "overuse", "underuse" and even "avoidance" of particular language features and stylistic choices (the already quoted LOCNESS, has often been used as the native control corpus).

Several examples of this type of research can be quoted. For instance, Ringbom (1998) has carried out a search on vocabulary frequencies in advanced learner English in seven different nationalities. When he observes high-frequency main verbs (i.e. *think, get, make, become, want, take, find, know, use, go, live*), he discovers that some are systematically overused by non-native speakers (e.g. *think, get, find, want,* know) while others are underused (e.g. *use , believe and feel)*. These quantitative findings may be the starting point for more qualitative considerations, such as some general features of learner language, which is described by Ringbom and others as "dull, repetitive and verbose "or "more informal in register" An example of inappropriate register is the very frequent use of "I think" in academic essays on the part of foreign learners of different nationalities.

Another example comes from a key area in argumentative essays, which Petch Tyson (1998) and Migliorero (1999) call "writer/ reader visibility". By searching several linguistic features which should reveal the presence of the writer or the reader (e.g. first person singular and plural reference, second person reference, verbs of mental processes, expressions used to monitor the information flow , fuzziness words, emphatic particles, reference to situation and discourse markers), it has been found that the presence of reader/writer in non-native essays is more overtly coded than in the native speakers essays. It is therefore possible to draw the conclusion that a higher degree of interpersonal involvement in argumentative essays is a cross-linguistic feature, which appears to differ from the prevailing native use.

It should be noticed that some of the types of research reported follow an hypothesis- finding data-driven procedure while others use already existing linguistic categories and a more data-based approach. Research also moves from quantitative comparisons (through frequency word counts) to more qualitative considerations, by observing language in context through concordances. Concordances are particularly useful in exploring the area of phraseology and the phenomena of recurrent collocations. Both teachers and students can take advantage of this type of research and compare learner productions with native and, hopefully, more idiomatic models. This comparison can be the starting point for what is called a data-driven approach, whereby the learners are encouraged to work out rules and idiomatic patterns by being exposed to non-native and native usage.

A third and more ambitious type of research aims to find answers to the always open question of how foreign language learning takes place and by what variables it is affected. Learner corpora provide the data to explore well-known learner phenomena such as the types and the causes of mistakes, whether related to L1 transfer or universal learning strategies, or the more covert phenomenon of avoidance of those structures and uses that are considered difficult by learners. The ICLE corpus offers the opportunity to compare 11 different national corpora and to extract a variety of learning variables. Other corpora, the longitudinal ones, may allow to verify some findings of second language acquisition research such as the order of acquisition of English grammatical morphemes, as can be seen in Tono (2000), or the presence of developmental patterns.

However, along with the pedagogical usefulness and the theoretical potential of learner corpora, some disadvantages and methodological dilemmas of learner corpora should also be mentioned. First of all, and very obviously, this type of research and pedagogical application requires an amount of technological

resources not all universities can afford. The amount of computational and statistical expertise is an important educational issue to be taken into account in planning new curricula for the training of applied linguists. Secondly, the representativeness and the validity of the corpus for specific research questions should always be kept in mind and the danger of over-generalising findings should be avoided. In this respect the present prevailing of written over oral corpora should be overcome. Besides, the choice of native models to compare to non-native corpora is a hotly debated issue. In the case of argumentative academic essays, should one favour a comparable native learner corpus, like LOCNESS, or an expert/professional corpus or, in any case, an edited corpus, such as one of editorials in quality newspapers and periodicals, be they written by native speakers or by non-native proficient users of English as a *lingua franca*?

A final problem has to do with the use of learner language. Should it be used only by teachers or also presented for comparison to learners in the so-called data-driven mode? The idea of introducing **native corpora** in EFL teaching and learning has been gaining ground in the last few years. The idea of using **learner corpora** is more recent and perhaps more difficult to assimilate because of the risk of reinforcing wrong habits in learners. The presentation of unedited learner language should indeed be supported by corrective feedback and cognitively satisfactory explanations. Granger and Tribble (1998) argue in favour of the role played by form-focused instruction within a communicative approach, and give many convincing examples of the usefulness of comparing native and non-native speakers' concordances to stimulate language awareness and learning by discovery.

4. To buy or to build a computer learner corpus?

Building a computer corpus is a time consuming enterprise and requires the solution of linguistic, statistical and computational problems. It is therefore a good idea to start by using one of the existing corpora, if they apply to one's specific teaching and research needs. It may also be advisable to join one of the existing projects (ICLE, for instance) and extend its scope to other nationalities or levels of competence by following already existing guidelines.

However, building new corpora is also necessary in order to update the existing ones, to cover other registers, genres and learning contexts. It is very important that applied linguists decide to embark on new learner corpora projects to answer new and different research questions and needs. To this purpose Granger's book on computer learner corpora is a very clear and comprehensive introduction ranging from the compilation to the use of learner

corpora, from theoretical debate to pedagogical applications. Some future developments that would fill some of the gaps in the existing panorama are the following:

1) to collect spoken learner corpora, a type of corpus of which there is shortage;

2) to develop a corpus for a new national group of EFL learners, to compare with other already existing corpora

2) to collect a longitudinal corpus to study the development of the same learners'—or of different learners' — interlanguage through time;

3) to build bilingual corpora, such as a corpus of English-Italian argumentative essays, to compare the types of rhetoric used in the mother tongue and in the foreign language;

4) to develop a corpus of a specialised genre, such as scientific reports or business letters, to suit the students' learning needs.

5. Learner corpora, Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Research and EFL teaching

Is the development of computer learner corpora a revolution which will upturn the foundations of SLA and EFL research and practice , or is it a powerful methodology to be used in conjunction with other traditions of Applied Linguistics research?

A similar discussion is going on among corpus linguists on the pros and cons of the "computer linguist" versus the "chair linguist". This sharp contrast should be overcome. Computer learner corpora provide large amounts of interlanguage data for analysis and observation, thus avoiding the limitations of small-scale tightly controlled elicited experiments on the one hand and vague and impressionistic considerations on the other. This empirical perspective should be welcomed by all those who work in EFL teaching and research because it may counterbalance the role of intuition and introspection in SLA research. Learner corpora have encouraged scholars to reconsider the contribution of Contrastive Analysis (CI) by establishing what Granger calls "Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis" (CIA), which is not the traditional comparison between different language systems but between what native and non–native speakers of a language do in a comparable situation. Learner corpora offer tools to extend Error Analysis by focusing not only on mistakes but also on general features of learner language, such as avoidance, overuse or underuse of specific language

choices. Learner corpora are made of data that are produced in a classroom context and under a teacher's control, thus complementing the tendency of much SLA research to observe natural types of acquisition.

However, the complexity of analysing interlanguage data, especially at discourse level, should not be underestimated. Convincing explanations for learner data require, in my opinion, the use of several sources , such as learner introspection, teachers' intuitions and broader contextual and cultural information. Different approaches should be experimented and combined such as hypothesis-finding and hypothesis-checking searches, data-based and data-driven approaches, raw and tagged corpora, quantitative and qualitative analyses, attention to the individual learning process and to group performance, machine versus manual approaches, product and process perspectives, synchronic and diachronic approaches, textual and contextual considerations

6. Conclusion

Computer learner corpora are a very interesting and fast developing branch of corpus linguistics. They offer rich empirical data for the study of language acquisition and learning. It is to be hoped that the different research communities of corpus linguistics and SLA/ELT studies would take a convergent rather than a divergent course.

7. Selected references.

Granger, S. (ed) 1998. *Learner English on Computer*. London: Longman

Granger, S. and C. Tribble.1998. "Learner corpus data in the foreign language classroom: form-focused instruction and data-driven learning". in Granger (ed) 199-209

Martelli, A. forthcoming. "Lexical errors in EFL writing: a corpus-based approach". poster at the TALC 2000, Graz

Migliorero, S. 1999. "Interpersonal involvement in argumentative essays: a corpus-based analysis of Italian EFL and ENL students". Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Torino, Italy

Milton, J. 1998 . "Exploiting L1 and interlanguage corpora in the design of an electronic language learning and production environment" in Granger (ed) 186-198

Petch Tyson, S. 1998. "Writer-reader visibility in EFL written discourse" in Granger (ed) 107-118

Prat Zagrebelsky, M. T. forthcoming. "Even if and/or even though ? A corpus-based investigation of written learner productions in the Italian subcorpus of the International Corpus of Learner English". Poster presented at ICAME 2001, Louvain-la Neuve, Belgium

Pravec, A.N. 2002 ."Survey of learner corpora". *ICAME Journal,* 26: 81-114

Ringbom, H. 1998. "Vocabulary frequencies in advanced learner English: a cross-linguistic approach" . in Granger (ed) 41-52

Tono, Y. 2000 "A computer learner corpus based analysis of the acquisition order of English grammatical morphemes". in Burnard and McEnery (eds) *Rethinking Language Pedagogy from a Corpus Perspective.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang

For more references see the web page of the *Centre for English Corpus Linguistics* (CECL): http://juppiter.fltr.ucl.ac.be/FLTR/GERM/ETAN/CECL/cecl.html

Dead or To Death? On Translating into Spanish the Semantico-Pragmatic Implications Derived from the English Resultative Construction[1]

Beatriz Rodríguez Arrizabalaga
Universidad de Huelva

Abstract

The almost complete non-existence in Spanish of the remarkably productive English resultative construction with *dead/to death*, together with the semantico-pragmatic connotations entailed by the choice of each of these two attributes, bring to the fore in the present paper a syntactic and semantico-pragmatic contrastive analysis of this peculiar structure. Our objective is two-fold: (a) to prove that both attributes are in complementary distribution and cannot be, consequently, systematically interchanged: specifically, that the adjectival alternative is required when the verb it complements ensures "death" outside the resultative pattern and that its prepositional counterpart is chosen, in turn, when "death" is not guaranteed by the semantics of the verbal constituent; and (b) to explain how the aforementioned pragmatic contrast is translated into Spanish: whereas in English such a pragmatic contrast is formally encoded, in Spanish it is morphologically expressed through singular/plural number in the translation of the English verb.

1. Introduction

Although syntactically simple, the attributive resultative construction is highly complex in semantic terms, since it lexically subordinates in the same syntactic unit two distinct predications —the first verbal in nature and the second, adjacent one, on the contrary, adjectival or attributive— between which a logical and temporal CAUSE-AND-EFFECT relationship is established:

(1) Then she methodically sellotaped these bags closed. (*PPS*: 126)[2]
Then she methodically sellotaped these bags SO THAT they became closed.

(2) It takes ten days to strip the trees bare. (*RL*: 100)
It takes ten days to strip the trees SO THAT they become bare.

(3) Las estufas teñían de rojo la estancia. (*MED*: 27)
Las estufas teñían la estancia que, COMO CONSECUENCIA, se volvió roja.

(4) Se cuecen unos huevos duros. (*La cocina completa*: 137)
Se cuecen unos huevos HASTA QUE estén duros.

As the previous examples illustrate, I take for granted in the present paper the existence of such a construction both in English and Spanish, albeit with particular syntactico-semantic, aspectual and distributional properties (cf. Rodríguez Arrizabalaga 2002; Demonte and Masullo 1999). Notice, for instance, that whereas in English it is very productive in all linguistic registers, ranging from the most vulgar to the most literary, in Spanish it is exclusively used in two clearly delimited semantico-pragmatic contexts: (a) in the gastronomic and culinary field, as evidenced by its common appearance in cookery books and (b) in those situations where chromatic changes are described, manifest in its frequency with colour verbs.

Due to such a productivity imbalance, the following two factors emerge. On the one hand, a clear contrast in the number of publications about the English resultative construction and its Spanish counterpart; whereas the English pattern has been the subject matter of numerous works (cf. Green 1970; Guimier 1980; Randall 1982; Simpson 1983; Yamada 1987; Levin y Rapoport 1988; 1995; Martínez Vázquez 1990; Rapoport 1993 and Wechsler 1997, to name just a few), the Spanish resultative construction has been devoted very little attention in the linguistic tradition (cf. Demonte 1988; Demonte and Masullo 1999; Rodríguez Arrizabalaga 2002). Notice at this point, also, that owing to the marginality such a clausal model has in the Spanish language (cf. Demonte 1988: 387, footnote 1; Bosque 1990: 196; Martínez Vázquez 1990: 96, footnote 18), there are linguists, such as McNulty (1988) and Aske (1989), for instance, who deny its existence in Spanish. In the former's own words, for example, "[...] resultative predicates do not exist in Spanish" (McNulty 1988: 152).

As a consequence, on the other hand, the Spanish language has to resort to some other grammatical devices to encode syntactically the meaning conveyed in the great majority of English resultative structures (cf. Rodríguez Arrizabalaga 1999a; 2000). A revealing example to contrast in this regard is, for instance, the English pattern having as resultative attribute either *dead* or *to death*, since, as will be demonstrated, it does not have an exact equivalent in Spanish. Apart from considering this kind of construction a clear example regarding what the Spanish language has to do when faced with the English resultative model, we analyse the structure with *dead/to death* mainly for two other reasons. First,

because of its high level of productivity: it represents, in fact, 6.8% of the total number of examples compiled[3]. Second, and more importantly, because of the semantico-pragmatic motivation underlying the choice of each of its two possible resultative attributes.

Our objective in this function-based work is, thus, twofold. On the one hand, we will prove that the resultative attributes *dead/to death*, being in complementary distribution, are not at all interchangeable, but rather directly selected by the extra-linguistic implications of the verbal constituent in the clause. We will demonstrate specifically that the adjectival attribute is required when the verbal meaning ensures "death" outside the resultative pattern, and that its prepositional synonym is, on the contrary, chosen when "death" is by no means guaranteed by the semantics of the verb in question. And, on the other hand, in the section devoted to comparing this particular English resultative pattern with its Spanish counterpart, we will pay special attention to how the aforementioned pragmatic contrast is translated into the Spanish version. In this regard, we will show precisely that, whereas in English such a pragmatic difference is formally encoded, namely through the adjectival versus prepositional category of the attribute at issue, in Spanish it is morphologically expressed by singular versus plural number in the corresponding translation of the English verb.

2. The English pattern with the resultative attribute dead or to death

2.1. Syntactico-Semantic Description

As deduced from the general description provided at the beginning of this paper, the attributive resultative construction constitutes a syncretic mechanism used both in English and Spanish to convey the semantic notion of "becoming" because, as already pointed out, it expresses in a single clause a CAUSE-AND-EFFECT relationship between two distinct predications: the first, verbal in nature, describes the cause and the second, being, on the contrary, adjectival, denotes, in turn, its result:

(5) She towelled her hair dry. (*PPS*: 559)
    She towelled her hair SO THAT it became dry.

(6) So she began to run, to the stream, to wash herself clean. (*I*: 84)
    So she began to run, to the stream, to wash herself SO THAT she became clean.

(7) The drug runners beat the man to death. (*NG*: 27)

The drug runners beat the man SO THAT he became dead.

As a consequence of such a causal relationship, the syntactic encoding of such resultative contents calls for the semantic interaction of the three constituents integrating the clausal predicate: that is, the two predicative heads and the nominal participant they share. The verbal nucleus selects, in the first place, a resulting attribute coherent with its meaning and the two together opt, in turn, for a nominal entity semantically compatible with them both. Hence, the complex predicate analysis proposed in the literature for the English resultative construction (cf. Guimier 1980: 207; Simpson 1983: 143; McNulty 1988: 65; Rapoport 1993: 165; Amores Carredano 1996: 233-234 and Rosen 1997: 176, among others).

Though behaving in general as the canonical resultative pattern[4], the English construction with the resulting attributes *dead/to death* differs from the rest in expressing an irreversible change of state –namely, "death"– which, as the following examples illustrate, can be either carried out on purpose by a human agent, as in (8-10), or naturally caused, as in (11-12). In both cases, however, and contrary to what happens to the remainder of resultative attributes that, as seen in (5-6), can be predicated of either an animate or an inanimate entity, the aforementioned attributive pair can only have an animate entity as its logical subject:

(8) Hamilton shot dead 16 children and their teacher before killing himself. (*The Guardian* 15/10/1996: 2)

(9) [...] the Paradise Lad, a beautiful novice [...] flogged to death by the monks. (*S*: 138)

(10) Christ himself in his first appearance on earth was harried and tortured to death. (*MWV*: 123)

(11) An eight-year-old girl starved to death in a cell. (*The Guardian* 15/10/1996: 3)

(12) The prisoners froze to death. (Levin and Rapoport 1995: 39)

This semantic nuance turns out to be, furthermore, crucial in the analysis of this special sort of English resultative construction because, as will be immediately shown, it clearly determines its syntactic configuration. Notice in this regard that in the former case –that is, when a murder is described– the

resultative meaning is structurally conveyed through a transitive clausal model which reserves, both in the active and passive voices, a slot in the sentence for the agentive performer of the action: if it is active, it occupies the subject position, like *Hamilton* in (8); and if it is passive, in turn, it can either surface within an oblique phrase headed by the preposition *by*, as *the monks* in (9), or be definitely suppressed from the syntactic level of the clause, as happens in (10). But if, instead of an assassination, the event to recount is a natural death which, like *starving* and *freezing* respectively in (11-12), it does not require, as such, the intervention of an agent or instigator. The syntactic pattern to be used is then an intransitive one of the unaccusative type since, as evidenced in (11-12), it is the English clausal model that best fits the previous semantic description. In Haspelmath's (1993: 90) words, for instance, this particular structure "[...] excludes a causing-agent and presents the situation as occurring spontaneously"[5].

Apart from determining the overall syntactic configuration of the resultative construction, the (in)compatibility with an agentive phrase previously remarked also conditions the lexico-semantic nature of its verbal constituent. Whereas a verb that lexicalizes in its meaning a manner component, like *bleed, burn, choke, dash, scald, strangle* and *torture*, among many others, is acceptable in the description of both types of deaths, as manifest in the intransitive and transitive examples of (13-14), an instrumental verb of the type of *bayonet, beat, bludgeon, flog, hack, lash, shoot, stab*, etc. is only possible, on the contrary, in a formally transitive resultative construction, like, for instance, (15-16). The latter's instrumental nature undoubtedly implies that the action it denotes has to be performed by an agent and, as already explained, a participant playing such a thematic role does not have any place in the unaccusative clausal model; hence, its exclusion from this syntactic type of resultative pattern:

(13) [...] from someone bleeding to death from an arterial wound. (*PPS*: 210)

(14) One of my daughters was scalded to death. (*MSW*: 456)

(15) A man bludgeoned to death three of his family with a claw hammer. (*The Guardian* 7/4/1998: 5)

(16) He was hacked to death. (*The Oxford Spanish Dictionary* 1994: 1188)

It has to be remarked at this point, nevertheless, that several of these instrumental verbs do not refer to the supposed instrument they apparently lexicalize, but to a specific manner of action. They belong, hence, to the verbal class that Kiparsky (1997: 488-489) calls *pseudoinstrumental verbs* and which he defines as follows: "Instrumental verbs include [...] verbs which are related to

nouns via a shared root, and which do not semantically incorporate the meaning of the noun. [...] Actually denoting manner of motion". Notice, for instance, that the action denoted by *bludgeon* in (15) is by no means performed with the instrument such a verb seems to derive from, but rather, as clearly indicated by the closing prepositional phrase in its clause, *with a claw hammer*. There is no doubt, then, that *bludgeon* exhibits the same behaviour as that remarked by Langendoen (1970: 82) and McCawley (1971: 26-27), among other linguists, for the verb *hammer*. In the latter's own words, for example, "Hammering need not be done with a hammer, [...] The verb *hammer* at least is surely analysable into more basic predicates having to do with striking and repetition" (McCawley 1971: 26-27).

2.2. Dead or to Death? A Semantico-Pragmatic Choice

In her excellent paper on the attributive constructions with the antonym pair *dead/alive*, Green (1970: 271) concludes that the resultative patterns with the former attribute exhibit a highly peculiar semantico-pragmatic behaviour in English, due to the grammaticality contrasts offered by the following series of nearly complete synonymous examples:

(17) Jesse shot him dead.

(18) *Jesse stabbed him dead.

(19) *Jesse hanged him dead.

Since the previous three examples only differ in the instrumental component –a gun, a knife and a rope, respectively– their corresponding verbs of killing incorporate in their meaning[6], Green deduces that the impossibility of combining these three verbal constituents with the resultative attribute *dead*, an adjective semantically compatible with their semantics, is not to be accounted for in syntactic, but in semantico-pragmatic terms. In her own words, "The restrictions [operating on the English resultative pattern with *dead/to death*] are severe, and are probably as much cultural as they are semantic" (Green 1970: 271).

This incompatibility does not mean, however, that the verbs *stab* and *hang* cannot form acceptable resultative constructions. Notice in this regard that the ungrammaticality of (18-19) can be perfectly corrected with the simple substitution of the adjectival attribute *dead* for its prepositional synonym *to death*:[7]

(20) She was stabbed to death on a summer day in front of her young son, Alex. (*The Guardian* 15/10/1996: 2)

The acceptability contrast previously commented on leads us, then, to formulate our first significant conclusion: namely that, despite their synonymy, *dead* and *to death* are, by no means, two interchangeable attributes, but two mutually exclusive variants of the same resulting state: death. As we have proved, the insertion of one of them in the resultative complementation of a killing verb, except for that of *shoot*, as will be immediately proved, automatically excludes the appearance of the other one.

In the same fashion as Green (1970), we defend, thus, that the distributional properties of the adjectival attribute *dead* and its prepositional counterpart *to death* are clearly determined by the semantic and pragmatic connotations inherent in the verbal constituent they adhere to. Observe in this regard that the resultative attribute *to death* combines with verbs that describe either a specific manner of killing, like *bayonet, shoot, stab*, and *strangle*, for instance, or a more or less violent impact between two different entities, like *beat, bludgeon, dash, hack, lash* and *torture*, among others:

(21) a. The drug runners beat the man to death. (NG: 27) ~ /~

b. The drug runners beat the man.

(22) a. A Rwandan woman had been bayonetted to death. (*The Guardian* 15/10/1996: 3) ~/~

b. A Rwandan woman had been bayonetted.

Although both verbal classes denote highly violent and aggressive actions, having on many occasions lethal consequences, it has to be highlighted that the performance of such activities does not ensure, outside the resultative pattern, the death of the patient participant of the predication. This explains the lack of synonymy between the previous pairs of examples. It is, in fact, the non-existence in their meaning of such an unavoidable and systematic cause-and-effect relationship that Levin (1993: 232-233) stresses most in her semantic description of these two verbal groups: "In principle, as means verbs, these verbs need not entail that the action they denote results in death. [...] Some of these verbs are not exclusively verbs of killing, since they describe actions that have death as only one of their possible results".

Apart from radically modifying its meaning, as already seen, the insertion of the prepositional attribute *to death* also has significant aspectual consequences for the primitive transitive predication it fuses with: specifically, it makes its verbal constituent acquire an iterative meaning, which it lacks outside the resultative construction. Notice at this point that it seems extremely difficult to

believe that the logical subjects of the resultative attribute in the two previous examples –*the man* in (21) and *a Rwandan woman* in (22)– die after receiving just one blow or a single bayonet stab. They die, on the contrary, because their respective agentive subjects repeatedly perform the actions denoted by *beat* and *bayonet*. It is, in point of fact, with their deaths that such verbal actions finish. This continuous repetition, implicit in the meaning of the resultative pattern with *to death*, manifests itself as well at the syntactic level of the clause through the preposition that introduces the resulting attribute into discourse: *to* is a clear telic marker, whose function, as such, is to signal the end of a trajectory: in this particular case, it indicates the transition from life to death.

The iteration of the verbal action implies, furthermore, that the aforementioned transition lasts a considerably long period of time. Therefore, the resultative construction with *to death* does not encode an instantaneous change of state, but a gradual becoming. Hence, its compatibility with any progressive tense, as shown in (23), and with temporal adverbials of the type of *gradually* in (24):

(23) The fog's choking us to death like mustard gas. (I: 69)

(24) She gradually starved to death. (I: 283)

The behaviour of *shoot* in the attributive resultative construction turns out to be, however, somewhat surprising. Notice in this regard that, expressing in the same fashion as *bayonet, stab* and *strangle*, for instance, a specific manner of killing which does not guarantee death outside such a clausal model, as evidenced by the lack of synonymy existing between the following pairs of examples, *shoot* does not obligatorily require the prepositional counterpart of the attributive dichotomy *dead/to death*. Apart from being grammatically acceptable, as seen in (26a), its conjunction with the adjectival alternative is, amazingly, more frequent than its juxtaposition with *to death*:

(25) a. I shot him to death. (Simpson 1983: 145) ~/~
     b. I shot him.

(26) a. Hamilton shot dead 16 children and their teacher before killing himself. (*The Guardian* 15/10/1996: 2) ~/~
     b. Hamilton shot 16 children and their teacher before killing himself.

Since the subcategorization frame of *shoot* accepts both attributes as grammatically possible resultative complements, it is obvious that such a verb has to differ in some sense from the other members of its verbal class. Being, as

it is, syntactically and semantically similar to the aforementioned killing verbs, we suppose that the reason for such a contrast has to lie in pragmatics. This supposition is borne out because, when contrasting the different manners of carrying out a murder, the one described by the verb *shoot* stands out for being undoubtedly the most effective and precise of them all. The effectiveness and accuracy of just one shot is, by no means, pragmatically comparable, in point of fact, to that of a single stab or a strangulation because, according to our extralinguistic knowledge, more than one single stab or knife wound are usually needed, on the one hand, to kill someone, and on the other, because a strangulation requires more skill and time on the part of its performer than any other murder caused with a firearm. Owing, hence, to the aforementioned pragmatic contrast, *shoot* exhibits a particular syntactic behaviour: apart from admitting, like the other members of its verbal class, the prepositional phrase *to death* as resultative attribute, implying, hence, that the transition from life to death takes a somewhat long period of time, the pragmatic circumstances surrounding such a verb make it also accept in its subcategorization frame the adjectival resultative attribute *dead*, entailing, on the contrary, that death is both successfully and relatively quickly reached.

As *shoot* is the only verb from all those that describe a particular manner of killing having the semantico-pragmatic connotations previously pointed out, the productivity disparity between *dead* and *to death* is clearly justified. Observe in this regard that, whereas the prepositional resultative attribute appears in twenty-two instances out of the twenty-four compiled, its adjectival counterpart solely surfaces in the two remaining examples.

The previous figures clearly prove, thus, that the syntactic distribution of *dead* is severely conditioned, once again, by the semantico-pragmatic connotations of the transitive predication it fuses with. According to our corpus-based analysis, in point of fact, it only appears juxtaposed to those verbs that, like *shoot*, imply that death will be succesfully reached in most cases, or to those others that, like *kill*, guarantee the victim's death even outside the resultative construction. As a consequence, the syntactic omission of the resultative attribute in this latter case does not alter the overall meaning of the original construction. Hence, the complete synonymy between (27a-27b):

(27) a. The sheriff killed him dead. (Randall 1982: 103) ~
     b. The sheriff killed him.

Since its unique function here is simply to make explicit the resulting state innate in the semantics of *kill*, we absolutely agree with Randall (1982: 103,

footnote 19) when stating that "[...] *dead* is being used here not to give new information, but emphasis".

It has to be highlighted, nevertheless, that from among all the verbs that inherently incorporate in their meaning the final state of death, *kill* is the only one able to form a grammatically acceptable resultative construction. Notice, for instance, that the insertion of its close synonym *murder* in the same resultative pattern turns out to be ungrammatical:

(28) *Brutus murdered Julius Caesar dead. (Levin 1993: 231)

This is so because *kill* stands out in its verbal group for being the most neuter and vague in semantic terms. In Levin's (1993: 231) words, for instance, "The verb *kill* is the class member with the least specific meaning: it lexicalizes nothing about the specific means, manner or purpose involved in bringing about death".

After having examined the grammatical behaviour of the English resultative pattern with the attributive couple *dead/to death*, it is evident that not every verbal predication containing *dead* as its final constituent can be assigned a resultative interpretation. If such a predication lacks the semantico-pragmatic connotations previously detailed, the possible resultative reading it might be attributed has to be directly excluded: either it is an idiomatic expression of the type *stop dead* in (29), or it is a depictive attributive construction, like *dropping dead* in (30), describing, as such, a state that exists with total independence from the action denoted by its verb:

(29) The car stopped dead. (*The Oxford Spanish Dictionary* 1994. 690)

(30) Out there on the Nullarbor, birds are dropping dead. (NG: 47)

2.3. On its translation into Spanish

As indicated at the beginning of this paper, the attributive resultative construction has an extremely limited distribution in the Spanish language. As a consequence, solely those English patterns belonging to the gastronomic field, like (31a), and those others describing a chromatic change, like (32a), have an exact resultative equivalent in Spanish:

(31) a. The baker beat the egg whites into stiff peaks. (Tenny 1987: 221)
     b. Bátanse las seis claras a punto de nieve fuerte. (*La cocina completa*: 111)

(32) a. He dyed the cloth red. (*The Oxford Spanish Dictionary* 1994: 1070)
    b. Tiñó la tela de rojo. (*The Oxford Spanish Dictionary* 1994: 1070)

Since the resultative construction with the attributive pair *dead/to death* semantically differs from the two aforementioned structures, it is obviously going to lack a resultative analogue in Spanish. Therefore, the Spanish language has to resort to several other grammatical devices to encode syntactically such English resultative contents.

The general tendency here consists of inverting the syntactic order of the two English predicative constituents –that is, verb and resulting attribute– and, consequently, their form and function. The results of this functional switch, traditionally known as "chassé-croisé" in the French linguistic tradition (cf. Vinay and Darbelnet 1966; Wyss 1975), are, then, as follows: the English resultative attribute systematically surfaces in the Spanish version as the verb *matar*, which inherently lexicalizes the final state of death, and the English verb, in turn, appears translated in one of two possible ways, depending on its intrinsic nature: if it is a verb that incorporates in its meaning a manner component, like *dash* and *strangle* in (33a-34a) respectively, it is translated as a gerund subordinate clause:

(33) a. She might dash the animal to death on the ground. (*I: 69*)
    b. = Ella podía matar al animal estampándolo contra el suelo.

(34) a. The Boston Strangler strangled his victims to death. (Levin 1993: 233)
    b. = El estrangulador de Boston mató a sus víctimas estrangulándolas.

If it is, on the contrary, an instrumental verb, its translation usually takes the form of a prepositional phrase headed by the Spanish preposition *a*. It should be noticed, furthermore, that the Spanish translation of this second type of English resultative construction takes into account the semantico-pragmatic connotations entailed by the choice between *dead/to death*. Therefore, if the English resultative pattern contains the prepositional counterpart of such an attributive dichotomy, the translation of its verb corresponds to a prepositional phrase of the type illustrated in (35b-36b). That is, a plural noun phrase introduced into discourse by the preposition *a*. The plural morpheme has, thus, in Spanish the same semantico-pragmatic implications as the telic marker *to* in English: on the one hand, it provides the sentence with an iterative meaning; and on the other, it suggests that the resulting state of death is reached after a relatively long period of time:

(35) a. Those who found the strength to refuse were lashed, often to death. (C: 138)

    b. = A aquellos que encontraban la fuerza para negarse los mataban a latigazos.

(36) a. He was hacked to death. (*The Oxford Spanish Dictionary* 1994: 1188)

    b. = Lo mataron a machetazos/hachazos.

If the English clause opts, on the contrary, for the adjectival attribute *dead*, its verbal constituent either does not have any correspondence at all in Spanish for redundancy reasons, as in (37b), or is translated, in turn, as in (38b), as a prepositional phrase with the following configuration: *de* + singular noun phrase. Since such a noun phrase is singular in number, the verbal action expressed in its clause is to be understood as taking place once and only once; that is, it has to be assigned a semelfactive reading (cf. Comrie 1976: 29), which implies that the resulting and final state of death is almost immediately achieved[8]. The semantico-pragmatic connotations underlying the choice of *dead* are, once again, reflected in Spanish, therefore, through the morphological number of the noun phrase that stands for the translation of the English verb in question:

(37) a. Brutus killed Julius Caesar dead. (Levin 1993: 231)

    b. = Bruto mató a Julio César (*muerto).

(38) a. We heard on the news that she had been shot dead. (*Collins Cobuild Dictionary* 1989: 1337)

    b. = Nos enteramos por las noticias que la habían matado de un tiro.

In short, whereas the semantico-pragmatic contrast previously analysed is formally encoded in English through the adjectival versus prepositional category of the resultative attribute at issue, such a difference is morphologically expressed in Spanish by singular versus plural number in the corresponding translation of the English verb.

Apart from this "chassé-croisé" method of translation, the Spanish language offers a second alternative to convey the meaning of the English resultative construction with *dead/to death*. This alternative differs from the previous one in maintaining the same syntactic order as the English pattern: the verb is, then, translated literally and the resultative attribute, in turn, appears systematically translated as the verb *matar*:

(39) a. The drug runners beat the man to death. (*NG*: 27)

    b. = Los camellos golpearon al hombre hasta que lo mataron.

(40) a. Christ himself in his first appearance on earth was harried and tortured to death. (*MWV*: 123)

    b. = Al propio Cristo lo hostigaron y torturaron en su primera aparición terrenal hasta que lo mataron.

The maintenance of exactly the same syntactic order both in the English pattern and in its Spanish counterpart does not mean, however, that both constructions are structurally identical. The subordinate relationship expressed in each of these two constructions is, for instance, completely different: whereas in English it constitutes a clear representative of what Levin and Rapoport (1988: 277-278) call "lexical subordination", namely, the syntactic fusion of two distinct predications without the intervention of any conjunction and with the mere presence of one single verb, in Spanish it is a common case of syntactic subordination since, as seen in (39b-40b), the secondary predication, governed by the verb *matar*, obligatorily requires the telic conjunction *hasta que* in order to be correctly attached to the primary predication.

3. Conclusion

In this paper we have demonstrated, in the first place, that the choice between the resultative attributes *dead* and *to death* is directly determined by the semantico-pragmatic connotations inherent in the verbal predication they combine with. Therefore, they cannot be considered two interchangeable attributes, but rather two mutually exclusive varieties of the same resulting state: namely, "death". The results of our corpus-based analysis have proved specifically here that, whereas the adjectival attribute is required when the verbal meaning ensures "death" outside the resultative construction, its prepositional synonym is chosen when "death" is by no means guaranteed by the semantics of the verb in question.

Since the attributive resultative construction turns out to be a marginal clausal model in Spanish, we thereafter have researched how the contents conveyed in this particular English resultative pattern are syntactically expressed in the Spanish language, paying particular attention to how the aforementioned semantico-pragmatic contrast is marked. In this regard we have shown precisely that, whereas in English it is formally encoded –adjectival versus prepositional category of the attribute at issue–, in Spanish it is morphologically indicated –singular versus plural number in the corresponding translation of the English verb–.

References

Amores Carredano, J. G. 1996. "Causatives and Resultatives from English into Spanish: Complex Predicates and Machine Translation". M. Martínez Vázquez (ed) *Gramática contrastiva inglés-español*. Huelva: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Huelva. 229-243.

Aske, J. 1989. "Path Predicates in English and Spanish: A Closer Look". *Proceedings of the 15th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*: 1-14.

Bosque, I. 1990. "Tiempo y aspecto en los adjetivos y participios". I. Bosque (ed) *Tiempo y aspecto en español*. Madrid: Cátedra. 177-211.

Burzio, L. 1986. *Italian Syntax: A Government-Binding Approach*. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary. 1989. London: Collins.

Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Demonte, V. 1988. "Algunas propiedades de los predicados secundarios". *Homenaje a Alonso Zamora Vicente, I. Historia de la Lengua: El español contemporáneo*. Madrid: Castalia. 385-405.

Demonte, V. and Pascual J. Masullo. 1999. "La predicación: los complementos predicativos". I. Bosque and V. Demonte (eds) *Gramática de la lengua española. Las construcciones sintácticas fundamentales. Relaciones temporales, aspectuales y modales Vol. 2*. Madrid: Espasa. 2461-2523.

Garrudo, F. 1996. *Diccionario sintáctico del verbo inglés, Vol. II*. Barcelona: Ariel.

Green, Georgia M. 1970. "How Abstract is Surface Structure?". *Papers from the 6th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*: 270-281.

Guimier, Claude. 1980. "Les verbes de discours résultatifs en anglais moderne. Essai d'analyse des phrases du type: *he painted the door red*". A. Joly and Walter H. Hirtle (eds) *Langage et psychomécanique du langage*. Lille: University Press. 201-216.

Haspelmath, M. 1993. "More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations".. B. Comrie and M. Polinsky (eds) *Causatives and Transitivity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 87-111.

Kiparsky, P. 1997. "Remarks on Denominal Verbs". A. Alsina, J. Bresnan and P. Sells (eds) *Complex Predicates*. Stanford, C.A.: CSLI Publications. 473-499.

Langendoen, D. Terence. 1970. *Essentials of English Grammar*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Levin, B. 1993. *English Verb Classes and Alternations*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Levin, B. and Tova R. Rapoport. 1988. "Lexical Subordination". *Papers from the 24th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. 275-289.

Levin, B. and M. Rappaport. 1995. *Unaccusativity. At the Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Martínez Vázquez, M. 1990. "Cópulas resultativas en inglés actual". *Anuario de Estudios Filológicos* XIII: 219-226.

McCawley, J. 1971. "Prelexical Syntax". *Georgetown Roundtable Meeting*: 19-33.

McNulty, E. 1988. *The Syntax of Adjunct Predicates*. PhD Thesis Connecticut: Connecticut University Press.

Perlmutter, David M. 1978. "Impersonal Passives and the Unaccusative Hypothesis". *Proceedings of the 4th Regional Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*. 157-189.

Randall, Janet H. 1982. "A Lexical Approach to Causatives". *Journal of Linguistic Research* 2: 77-105.

Rapoport, Tova R. 1993. "Stage and Adjunct Predicates: Licensing and Structure in Secondary Predication Constructions". E. Reuland and W. Abraham (eds). *Knowledge and Language. Lexical and Conceptual Structure. Vol. 2.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Press. 157-182.

Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, B. 1999a. "La estructura atributiva de resultado inglesa. Su traducción al español". *Livius* 14: 119-130.

Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, B.1999b. "La interfaz sintaxis-semántica en la construcción atributiva de resultado". L. González Romero and B. Rodríguez Arrizabalaga (eds). *The Syntax-Semantics Interface* Huelva: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Huelva. 121-144.

Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, B. 2000. "La construcción atributiva de resultado con el binomio *open-shut/closed*. Su traducción al español" Adolfo L. Soto Vázquez (ed) *Insights into Translation. Vol 2.* La Coruña: Universidad de La Coruña. 77-92.

Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, B. 2002. *La atribución en inglés y español contemporáneos. Contrastes en la expresión del cambio de estado.* Michigan: Ann Arbor. (UMI Dissertation Services).

Rosen, Carol G. 1997. "Auxiliation and Serialization: On Discerning the Difference".. A. Alsina, J. Bresnan and P. Sells (eds) *Complex Predicates*. Stanford, C.A.: CSLI Publications. 175-202.

Simpson, J. 1983. "Resultatives". L. Levin, M. Rappaport and A. Zaenen (eds) *Papers in Lexical-Functional Grammar*. Bloomington: Indiana Linguistics Club. 143-157.

Tenny, Carol Lee. 1987. *Grammaticalizing Aspect and Affectedness.* Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

The Oxford Spanish Dictionary. Spanish-English/English-Spanish. 1994. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vinay, Jean-Paul and Jean Darbelnet. 1966. *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais.* Paris: Didier.

Wechsler, S. 1997. "Resultative Predicates and Control". *Proceedings of the 1997 Texas Linguistics Society Conference*. 307-321.

Wyss, S. 1975. "A problem in contrastive linguistics: «chassé-croisé» sentences or deep instrumentals as surface verbs". A. Joly and Thomas K. H. Fraser (eds) *Studies in English Grammar*. Lille: Lille University Press. 131-161.

Yamada, Y. 1987. "Two Types of Resultative Construction". *English Linguistics* 4: 73-90.

Notes

1. This paper is a revised version of one presented at the Second International Conference in Semantics and Pragmatics, held at Newham College (Cambridge) in September 2000. I would like to thank Dr. Jefferey Simons, a colleague at the University of Huelva (Spain), for his generous help throughout its elaboration.

2. The abbreviations in parentheses stand for the title of the publication from which the example at issue has been extracted: COOPER, JILLY. 1999. *Score!*. (S) London: Bantam Press. FROMBERG SCHAEFFER, SUSAN. 1983. *The Madness of a Seduced Woman*. (MSW) Harmondsworth: Penguin. GEORGE, ELIZABETH. 1999. *In Pursuit of the Proper Sinner*. (PPS) London: Hodder and Stoughton. PHILLIPS, CARYL. 1991. *Cambridge*. (C) London: Picador. ROGERS, JANE. 1991. *Mr Wroe's Virgins*. (MWV) London: Faber and Faber. SHIELDS, CAROL. 1993. *The Republic of Love*. (RL) London: Flamingo. WARNER, MARINA. 1992. *Indigo*. (I) London: Vintage. *National Geographic, 193. Nº 4*. (NG) 1998.

3. I refer to a corpus of 220 examples analysed in my doctoral dissertation (Rodríguez Arrizabalaga 2002) and taken from the selection of contemporary English writing indicated in note number 2.

4. It should be noted here that the English language possesses two different classes of attributive resultative constructions that, surprisingly, are structural homonyms: on the one hand, the canonical or true resultative structure of the type of *Then I clamped my mouth shut*, built around a transitive or an unaccusative verb; and on the other, the fake resultative construction that, like *The king laughed himself silly*, for instance, is constructed, in turn, around an unergative or a pseudointransitive verb. For their syntactico-semantic and aspectual differences, see, among others, Yamada (1987: 77), Wechsler (1997: 39) and Rodríguez Arrizabalaga (1999b: 121-126).

5. For the unaccusative/unergative dichotomy, see Perlmutter (1978) and Burzio (1986).

6. Hence, their inclusion in the group of killing verbs Levin (1993: 232) calls *Poison Verbs*.

7. Guimier's opinion (1980: 202), however, the resultative combination *stab ... dead* is grammatically acceptable.

8. Some linguists, however, translate both the adjectival and prepositional resultative combinations in the same way: *a tiros* (cf. Garrudo 1996: 613).

Contents: