Proceedings
of the International
Meeting on Languages,
Applied Linguistics,
and Translation
– LALT 2012 –

UNIVERSIDADE
DE ÉVORA

Edited by
María del Carmen Arau Ribeiro
Luís Guerra
Ana Cláudia Gonçalves
Manuel Fernando Moreira da Silva
Ana Alexandra Silva
Olga Gonçalves
Susana Llinás

Proceedings of the International Meeting on Languages, Applied Linguistics, and Translation
– LALT 2012 –

6-7 December 2012

Edited by

María del Carmen Arau Ribeiro

Luís Guerra

Ana Cláudia Gonçalves

Manuel Fernando Moreira da Silva

Ana Alexandra Silva

Olga Gonçalves

Susana Llinás

Proceedings of the International Meeting on Languages, Applied Linguistics, and Translation
– LALT 2012 –

XI Meeting of Aprolínguas - the Portuguese Association of Foreign Language Teachers in Higher Education and

III Meeting of ReCLes.pt- the Association of Language Centers in Higher Education in Portugal

6-7 December 2012

School of Social Sciences
Colégio do Espírito Santo
University of Évora, Portugal

<u>Organizing Committee</u>

Ana Alexandra Silva
Universidade de Évora

Ana Cláudia Gonçalves
Escola Superior de Hotelaria e Turismo do Estoril

Dulce Sarroeira
Escola Superior de Hotelaria e Turismo do Estoril

Luciana Gomes Oliveira
Instituto Superior de Contabilidade e Administração do Porto, Instituto Politécnico do Porto

Luís Guerra
Universidade de Évora

Manuel Fernando Moreira da Silva
Instituto Superior de Contabilidade e Administração do Porto, Instituto Politécnico do Porto

Margarida Ferreira Gomes
Escola Superior de Hotelaria e Turismo do Estoril

María del Carmen Arau Ribeiro

Escola Superior de Tecnologia e Gestão, Instituto Politécnico da Guarda

Maria Paula Martins das Neves

Escola Superior de Tecnologia e Gestão, Instituto Politécnico da Guarda

Olga Gonçalves

Universidade de Évora

Rita Arala Chaves

Escola Superior de Educação, Comunicação e Desporto, Instituto Politécnico da Guarda

Susana Llinás

Universidade de Évora

Scientific Committee

Ana Alexandra Silva

Universidade de Évora

Luís Guerra

Universidade de Évora

Manuel Fernando Moreira da Silva

Instituto Superior de Contabilidade e Administração do Porto, Instituto Politécnico do Porto

María del Carmen Arau Ribeiro

Escola Superior de Tecnologia e Gestão, Instituto Politécnico da Guarda

Olga Gonçalves

Universidade de Évora

Raúl Filipe

Escola Superior de Hotelaria e Turismo do Estoril

Note from the editors

When representatives Luís Guerra and Olga Gonçalves said that they were hoping to be selected by ReCLes.pt for the next conference, the Board was pleased with their enthusiasm to participate and offer up their traditional conference on Language, Applied Linguistics, and Translation (LALT) for the year 2012 to be remolded under the auspices of a ReCLes.pt event. This exciting challenge was approved for a very busy year of activities: on 27-28 April of the same year, this budding national Association of Language Centers in Higher Education in Portugal had successfully hosted the annual seminar for their European counterpart – CercleS (the European Association of Language Centers in Higher Education). Having been identified as the newest and most burgeoning national member, with 15 member universities and polytechnics in such a small country, CercleS was keen to give ReCLes.pt the opportunity to show its mettle.

Based on the pan-European recognition received for the fruitful seminar at the University of Minho, Braga, Portugal, the ReCLes.pt Board approved the offer and the local organizers at the University of Évora began to lay the groundwork for the conference, seeking further support from Aprolínguas, the Portuguese Association of Foreign Language Teachers in Higher Education, whose experience with ReCLes.pt had proven to be rewarding, thus linking once again two associations with similar missions – one with individual membership and another which is institutional. The colossal efforts of this Cerberus resulted in the International Meeting on Languages, Applied Linguistics, and Translation (LALT) 2012, from which these proceedings are drawn and which aimed specifically to provide "an overview of the current theory and practice, exploring new directions and emerging trends, sharing good practice, and exchanging information regarding foreign languages, applied linguistics and translation" (cf. http://llat2012.blogspot.pt/2012_09_01_archive.html).

The opportunity to meet with other researchers is always met with zeal although this time the response was even greater than we had hoped. Sessions were organized to explore each of the three areas and four keynote speakers – Rafael Alejo González

(University of Extremadura, Spain), Ana Maria Oliveira (Polytechnic Institute of Viseu, Portugal), Luís Filipe Sarmento (noted Portuguese translator), and Antonio Sáez Delgado (University of Évora, Portugal), 50 plenary presentations, and a roundtable discussion by the ReCLes.pt Translation Focus Group on "Preserving the Dignity of the Profession" covered the full breadth of the topics presented. These proceedings comprise 20 papers based on presentations and keynote addresses. The conference was attended by 80 participants from 11 countries, specifically England, Turkey, Spain, Morocco, Slovenia, Ireland, Greece, Italy, the U.S.A., Poland, and Portugal, representing primarily universities and polytechnic institutes, but also a few government research institutes and private companies as well.

The proceedings of the International Meeting on Languages, Applied Linguistics, and Translation - LALT2012 - printed here are a selection of the papers given on 6 and 7 December, 2012 at the School of Social Sciences of the Colégio do Espírito Santo, University of Évora, Portugal. The editors kindly thank the keynote speakers and the other authors who chose to write full papers.

We hope these proceedings inspire further research and interest in the areas that we hold so dear.

The editors,

*María del Carmen Arau Ribeiro, ReCLes.pt Executive Board President
and Aprolínguas Executive Board President*

Luis Guerra, University of Évora

Ana Cláudia Gonçalves, ReCLes.pt Board Secretary

Manuel Fernando Moreira da Silva, ReCLes.pt Board Treasurer

Ana Alexandra Silva, University of Évora

Olga Gonçalves, University of Évora

Susana Llinás, University of Évora

Keynote Addresses of the 2012 International Meeting

on Language, Applied Linguistics, and Translation

Papers of the 2012 International Meeting

on Language, Applied Linguistics, and Translation

Explaining CLIL Success:
A look at the Spanish case

Rafael Alejo González

University of Extremadura

ralejo@unex.es

The present paper examines some of the reasons for the rapid success of CLIL in the past decades. Originated and supported by European policies on language, CLIL would not be growing and developing as it is now had it not been for a number of factors anticipating and preparing the ground for its successful expansion both in and outside the European continent. These factors comprise, on the one hand, global processes affecting theoretical, social and educational developments while, at the same time, involving aspects relating local situations or specific contexts. One such specific context, Spain, is analysed here.

Keywords: Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), Bilingual Education, Multilingualism in Europe

Introduction

In the last two decades, Europe has seen the rise of new bilingual experiences designated under the umbrella term of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), usually presented as the contribution of the old continent to bilingual education or as the European model for bilingual education, even though some researchers (cf. Cenoz et Al. 2013) find great similarities with immersion programmes. As shown in the Eurydice reports (2006, 2012), ever since the European Commission passed the Action Plan for Language Learning in Barcelona in 2002, the number of schools and countries where CLIL is being implemented has not ceased to grow and there are more and more projects involving CLIL practitioners from all around Europe.

As a result, and in parallel with this rapid expansion, the research on these experiences has also grown exponentially. Only in the last couple of years, we have seen, to mention but some important landmarks, the publication of a book by a major publisher (Llinares et al. 2012), a monographic issue by the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* and an article (Cenoz et al. 2013) in *Applied Linguistics*, a leading journal in the field. As expected, this growing interest has been reflected in the generally positive outcomes of CLIL, mostly in terms of motivation (Lasagabaster and Sierra 2009; Lasagabaster 2011, Seikkula-Leino 2007), vocabulary (Wode 1999; Sylvén 2004; Ackerl 2007), oral proficiency and reading comprehension (Admiraal, Westhoff and de Bot 2006).

In a way, it could be said that CLIL has come of age, that it has become a success story that has developed in a relatively short period. However, little has been done to understand the reasons for this rapid success, which, as some authors have emphasized, is not as far-reaching as generally believed (Cenoz 2013; Pérez-Cañado 2012). It goes without saying that there is clearly a relevant role for the European policies, first developed by the Council of Europe, and then implemented at different times by the Commission. However, given the voluntary and advisory nature of these policies for the individual member states, it stands to reason that there must have been other factors.

In my view, these other factors can be classified in two groups. On the one hand, we have factors that are more global in nature and more related to the theoretical foundations of CLIL or related to the social context. On the other hand, this global explanation is complemented by more local factors which may be ascribed to the particular situation of the specific country where CLIL programmes have been implemented. In the present article, I will attempt to describe these two areas by focussing first on the general factors that made it possible for CLIL to be accepted as an educational option in Europe and then by explaining the particular circumstances facilitating its spread in Spain.

Global factors

When considering CLIL, one of the main traits that stands out is the diversity of angles that can be adopted, which comes as no surprise given the multi-faceted nature of everything related to the school experience. Cenoz et al. (2013) establish three main approaches, which they term as 'educational', 'pedagogic' and SLA-related. Following

these authors (and elsewhere Cenoz 2013 or Coyle 2008), I advocate that the perspective that best encompasses CLIL goals is educational, as the features that best define CLIL are precisely related to that school context where it materializes. As a consequence, the main factors explaining CLIL's success are necessarily connected with major areas of influence in education. In this article, these areas will be analysed under the following headings: *1)* a theoretical shift in the Cognitive Sciences; *2)* the impact of social factors; and *3)* a new approach in the Educational Sciences.

The theoretical shift

The enforcement of the European bilingual experiences known as CLIL was made possible by a shift, not only in one but in a whole range of disciplines, which simultaneously prepared the ground for all agents involved – teachers, policy makers, parents, etc. – and made these experiences acceptable and desirable. This wide range of subjects share a common interest in human cognition and include disciplines such as Philosophy – especially as connected with language –, or Psychology and Neuroscience, which deal with topics such Bilingualism and Second Language Acquisition (SLA).

Obviously, as a field far removed from immediate or practical concerns, one would not expect Philosophy to be in any way related to the evolution of bilingual education experiences. However, the *linguistic turn* in philosophy (Rorty 1962), which is, in my opinion, at the heart of the social constructivist approach to education, reviewed below, points to a fact that has become generally accepted, i.e. that knowledge is inevitably perceived as mediated by language. As Steiner (2011: ii) puts it, in a more recent restatement of the same tenet, "Every attempt to think thought… [is] irremediably linguistic. [It is] realised and held hostage by one motion or another of discourse, of encoding in words and in grammar". Thus, incorporating additional languages to the linguistic repertoire of European citizens, which is the ultimate aim of CLIL, would result from an epistemological need to gain access to knowledge from perspectives other than the one provided by your first language. The cultural nature of the European project becomes thus part of the educational process.

More directly influential on CLIL is the body of research on bilingualism, an area clearly established within the field of Psycholinguistics. In my opinion, it would not have been possible to advance in the implementation of bilingual programmes such as CLIL if the theoretical outlook on bilingualism had not radically changed in the last 30 years or so.

Thus, the outright negative attitudes towards bilingualism from authors who had defended that "foreign language in the home …[produced] mental retardation as measured by intelligence tests" (Goodenough 1926: 393, in Romaine 1995: 107) were radically rejected not only as inaccurate science but also as pure ideology, resulting from the "pre-existing bias to believe that bilingualism was harmful for children" (Barac and Bialystok 2011:37). In its place, the more experimentally-oriented research on bilingualism (cf. Bialystok 2009 for a review) has been able to depict a more objective image, comprising positive elements such as: *1)* greater metalinguistic awareness, allowing bilingual children to understand that sentences such as 'apples grow on noses', make no sense, but are grammatical; *2)* a better executive control that improves their "ability to solve problems that contain conflicting or misleading cues" (Bialystok 2009: 5); and *3)* a cognitive advantage revealed in the delay of dementia processes in bilinguals, which the literature has labelled as 'cognitive reserve'. It is important to note here that the definition of bilingual used in these studies is far from the folk understanding which equates bilingual people, or the common expression, 'perfect bilinguals', as two monolinguals in one, thereby implying that the two languages can only have been acquired at an early age, that they are people that make no mistakes, who are able to translate from one language to the other easily and other idealisations of the kind. Rather, the definition used is necessarily variable and refers to someone who uses two languages very often or, as Bialystok (1991: 20) puts it, the ability to carry on conversations and engage in the same kind of activities in two languages, i.e. both a process-oriented and a functional definition, which obviously will include interactions in a CLIL classroom.

Another major area influencing CLIL development is Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research as it has brought about a major change in the way learning a foreign language is perceived. From its traditional emphasis on the use of methods, the language teaching profession has begun, encouraged by figures such as Stephen Krashen, to pay more attention to the principles underlying the acquisition process and to the host of factors which the ever-increasing SLA literature has stressed as being part of that process. In an article devoted to this relationship between SLA and CLIL, Muñoz (2007) underscores four main areas in which CLIL experiences could mean a significant improvement to language learning process: the amount of exposure, the ways in which both form and meaning are processed and the opportunities given to language production. In all four areas, corresponding to Skehan's stages of information

processing (input, central processing and output) (Skehan 1998 in Muñoz 2007: 18), CLIL involves a step forward in a foreign language context. It massively increases the quality and quantity of input that is accessible to students; it allows for a more meaningful processing since the foreign language is required for the study of other subjects; and it also provides real opportunities for language use which, in line with the output hypothesis (Swain 1995, in Muñoz 2007), also allows the learner to perform a deeper processing. Speaking in terms of a usage-based approach to language learning, CLIL would mean paying attention to two of the mechanisms with a major role: frequency effects and the variability of contexts where a language is learned (Eskildsen 2012).

Social and political forces

The propaedeutic function of the Cognitive Sciences described above is not sufficient to explain why typically monolingual educational systems, which had previously only incorporated some classes in one or two different foreign languages (FLs), accepted giving them a new leading role, as has happened in CLIL . For such an important decision to be accepted by the general public, some social and political forces must have also prepared the ground.

The major social force influencing educational agents (parents, teachers, policy makers, etc.) is obviously the massive impact of a globalisation process, which has accelerated in the last few years. From an initial consideration as a 'cultural asset', FLs have nowadays become an 'economic commodity', enabling students to be an active part of a society which is now more than ever inextricably interconnected. Students need FL skills if they want to participate in areas which are so characteristic of the present time such as information technologies, mass media and the economy (cf. Baker 2006). FLs are no longer considered an addition to one's education but a necessary skill that is part of the core of the learning process happening at the school. The European Union has been only too aware of this situation and has promoted a labour force with practical language and intercultural skills, which are crucial for economic growth and better jobs, enabling European companies to compete effectively in the global marketplace. For European policy makers, CLIL is an essential part of this strategy as it provides for the preparation of this labour force from the very beginning.

Another major force is the societal and political reality of Europe which, in spite of its ups and downs, has contributed to the vision that multilingualism as an essential skill for a European citizenship. By promoting social cohesion and intercultural

dialogue, as well as creating the opportunities to discover other values, beliefs and behaviours, the European Union has favoured a positive perception of FL learning that has little by little permeated the opinions and attitudes of the societies of most European countries.

Finally, it also seems undeniable that, in spite of European efforts to promote multilingualism, the rise of English to the status of a *lingua franca* or an international language has had a major role in the consolidation of CLIL throughout Europe. Given that most CLIL experiences incorporate English, the CLIL movement would not be where it is now were English not considered the language for communication in a global world.

Educational bases

In educational terms, the presence of CLIL can only be understood under a re-evaluation of the importance of language in the school. Nowhere is this new assessment better expressed than in the book by Mary Schleppegrell entitled *The Language of Schooling*, in which she states that

> [e]xploring the features of language used in schooling highlights the relationship between language and learning in ways that reveal the close connection between language and content in all school subjects. Knowing how knowledge is construed in language can make the relationship between language and learning a focus of attention in schools and help teachers… At the same time making explicit the way the curriculum is construed in language can also open up the curriculum to challenge or change by those who recognize its limitations or constraints. (Schleppegrell 2004: 5)

This emphasis on language in school contexts is most clearly perceived by social educational approaches and in particular by social constructivism, which has had an ample influence in the last years. For this social-constructionist view, the learning of new knowledge in a school context not only results from assimilating existing information, usually in the form of memorisation but also basically involves the construction by a community, in the case of the education context – a classroom, of the models that explain the world around. Thus, to mention but one example, in their analysis of the Spanish curriculum, Crujeira and Jiménez-Aleixandre state that science education involves practices with a clear linguistic bias, such as 'asking scientific questions', 'constructing scientific explanations' or 'engaging in argument' (2013: 209).

It is this shift from mere transmission of knowledge to the emergence of meaning in the classroom, a typical feature of constructivism, which creates the conditions for the appearance of CLIL with its emphasis on scaffolding (Coyle 2008). Thus, the progressive change in the dynamics of the classroom that is happening in the schools of the 21st century, where the role of the teacher gradually turns from the expert or authority figure into a facilitator or negotiator of meaning, is clearly paving the way for a CLIL methodology where the teacher, typically a non-native speaker, needs to adopt a new function in order to be able to cope with the requirements of teaching in a foreign language, among other aspects. At the same time, the more active role of the students is also more congruent with the activities that are typical in a CLIL class.

In the more specific territory of the language teaching profession, some of these methodological changes in the school have been coincident with the boom of the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach and with some related developments such as the task-based curriculum or the Language for Specific Purposes movement. This meant greater attention to meaning and authentic language use appropriate to the different situations in which the target language was used as a means to learn or to communicate. The result has been a continuum varying from strictly language-driven approaches to more content-driven ones (cf. Met 1998, in Cenoz et al. 2013: 6). It could be said that CLIL culminates this journey from language to content, initiated by CLT and continued by Content Based Instruction (CBI).

Local Factors: the case of Spain

Together with these global forces, CLIL has sometimes gathered momentum pushed by other factors that are more related to the particular situation of a specific context. In this section I will concentrate on some the factors that may have had an influence in the context of Spain by focussing on two main aspects: *1)* the importance of 'peer effects' in the choice of CLIL by parents *2)* the perception of CLIL as a way to FL success. Obviously other factors may cut across these two main areas but, as described by Pérez-Vidal (2002), the situation of FLs in Spain is determined by the existence of 17 educational authorities, one per Autonomous Region, and the reality of some of them where Spanish is not the official language of schooling and English is actually an L3.

The first of these factors is what, following the literature on the economics of education, we have named as the 'peer effect' (cf. Hanushek et al. 2011), which refers to the importance of peers, in our case schoolmates, in academic results or other

educational outcomes. Thus, the same student when in contact with a group of academically bright colleagues will tend to perform better than when in contact with a group of low achievers.

Its importance in Spanish CLIL has to do with the voluntary nature of bilingual experiences in this country since parents are free to enrol their children in the programmes offered by schools. This results in a 'self-selection process' whereby there is a high probability that students with higher academic and foreign language levels would join these bilingual programmes as the additional difficulty of studying content subjects in another language deters low achievers. As a consequence, CLIL groups usually perform better and create the conditions for academic levels to be higher because both teachers and students realize the new context. Some authors (Bruton 2011a, 2011b, 2013) have claimed that this goes against the 'comprehensiveness' of the Spanish school system, but it is undeniable that it has also attracted the attention of many middle-class parents who want to give their children a better education, especially given the poor results of Spain in PISA.

The second related circumstance promoting the presence of CLIL in Spain is linked to the poor results in foreign language learning in this country. As shown by the *First European Survey on Language Competences* (2011: 76), the percentage of students with a proficiency level below B1, considered the threshold level in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, is above 75% and, even more disconcerting, the number of students who have not even reached the A1 or beginner's level reaches 31%. As a consequence, there is a hard felt need, especially by parents from higher socio-cultural backgrounds, to overcome this situation and to offer their children additional opportunities to reach a FL level above the one the educational system seems to be providing. By offering more contact with the FL and therefore increasing the amount of input, CLIL seems to be a reasonable option even at the expense of having to lower the standards in content subjects.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have outlined some of the trends that may help to understand why CLIL has become a success story. In my opinion, CLIL experiences are not only the result of educational policies promoted by the European Union, which have no mandatory character and at most serve an endorsing function, but also, and perhaps mostly, the

outcome of theoretical developments, emerging social contexts and new educational approaches that created the conditions for its arrival and success.

References

Ackerl, C. (2007). Lexico-grammar in the essays of CLIL and non-CLIL students: Error analysis of written production. *Vienna English Working Papers 16*(3). 6-11.

Admiraal, W., G. Westhoff, & K. de Bot (2006). Evaluation of bilingual secondary education in The Netherlands: Students' language proficiency. *English Educational Research and Evaluation 12*(1). 75-93.

Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism. Bilingual Education & Bilingualism*. Clevendon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Barac, R., & E. Bialystok (2011). Cognitive development in bilingual children. *Language Teaching 44*. 36-44.

Bialystok, E. (2009). Bilingualism: the good, the bad and the indifferent. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 12*(1). 3-11.

Bialystok, E. (2001). *Bilingualism in development.* Cambridge: CUP.

Bruton, A. (2011a). Are the differences between CLIL and non-CLIL groups in Andalusia due to CLIL? A reply to Lorenzo, Casal and Moore (2010). *Applied Linguistics 32*(2). 236-41.

Bruton, A. (2011b). Is CLIL so beneficial, or just selective? Re-evaluating some of the research. *System 39*(4). 523-532.

Bruton, A. (2013). CLIL: some of the reasons why… and why not. *Syste, 41.* 587-597.

Cenoz, J. (2013) Discussion: towards an educational perspective in CLIL language policy and pedagogical practice. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 16.* 389-394.

Cenoz, J., F. Genessee, & , D Gorter (2013). Critical analysis of CLIL: Taking stock and looking forward. *Applied Linguistics* (Advance access). 1-21.

Coyle, D. (2008). CLIL – A pedagogical approach from the European perspective. In N. Van Deusen-Scholl and N. H. Hornberger (eds.), (*Second and Foreign Language Education* (Encyclopedia of Language and Education 4, 2nd edn.), 97-111. New York: Springer.

Crujeiras, B. & , M. P. Jiménez-Aleixandre (2013). Challenges in the implementation of a competency-based curriculum in Spain. *Thinking Skills and Creativity 10*. 208–220

Eskildsen, S. W. (2012). L2 negation constructions at work. *Language Learning 62*(2). 335-372.

European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice (2006*). Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) at school in Europe*. Eurydice Report. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

European Commission (2012). *First European survey on language competences: Final report*. European Union.

European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice (2012). *Developing Key Competences at School in Europe: Challenges and Opportunities for Policy. Eurydice Report*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Hanushek, E. A., S. J. Machin, & L. Woessmann (eds.). (2011). *Handbook of the Economics of Education* (Vol. 4). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Lasagabaster, D. (2011). English achievement and student motivation in CLIL and EFL settings. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching 5*(1). 3-18.

Lasagabaster, D., & J. M. Sierra (2009). Language Attitudes in CLIL and Traditional EFL classes. *International CLIL Research Journal 1*(2). 4-17.

Llinares, A., T. Morton, & R. Whittaker (2012). *The roles of language in CLIL*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Muñoz, C. (2007). CLIL: Some thoughts on its psycholinguistic principles. *Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada 20*. 17-26.

Pérez-Cañado, M. L. (2012). CLIL research in Europe: past, present, and Future. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 15*(3). 315–341.

Pérez-Vidal, C. (2002) Spain. In A. Grenfell, M. and Van de Craen (eds.) *Modern Languages across the Curriculum*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Romaine, S. (1995). *Bilingualism.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Schleppegrell, M. *The Language of Schooling: A functional linguistics perspective*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Seikkula-Leino, J. (2007). CLIL learning: Achievement levels and affective factors. *Language and Education 21*(4). 328-41.

Sylvén, L. K. (2004). *Teaching in English or English teaching? On the effects of content and language integrated learning on Swedish learners' incidental vocabulary acquisition*. Gothenburg: Göteborg University dissertation. http://www.dissertations.se/dissertation/d976c8aa0c/ (accessed 23.12.2013).

Steiner, G. (2011) *The Poetry of Thought. From Hellenism to Celan.* New York, NY: New Directions.

Rorty, R. (1962). Realism, categories, and the "linguistic turn". *International Philosophical Quaterly 2*. 307-322.

Wode, H. (1999). Language learning in European immersion classes. In J. Masih (ed.), *Learning through a foreign language. Models, methods and outcomes,* 16-25. London: Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research.

Evidência das neurociências no processamento da(s) língua(s)

Ana Maria Roza de Oliveira Henriques de Oliveira

Centro de Estudos em Educação, Tecnologias e Saúde ESEV

Instituto Politécnico de Viseu Portugal

amholiveira@esev.ipv.pt

A linguagem humana, com a emergência das Ciências Cognitivas, vem contribuir, de maneira decisiva, para a abertura da área interdisciplinar que já se considera transversal, as Neurociências. Tudo o que diz respeito ao tratamento da informação da linguagem ocupa, agora, o seu espaço na exploração e na interpretação de diversos processos em curso, nomeadamente, o da aquisição e o da aprendizagem, assim como os processos que implicam lesões da linguagem. O cérebro constitui o centro de interpretação que permite, de agora em diante, a qualquer investigador, aprofundar e compreender o porquê de sistemas tão complexos como, por exemplo, o da leitura e o do discurso. A presente discussão deve contribuir para o debate dos fundamentos teóricos e metodológicos da organização neuro-funcional da linguagem no cérebro.

Palavras-chave: linguagem e Neurociências; processamento da linguagem; linguagem e cérebro; Neurociências cognitivas.

Human language, with the emergence of the Cognitive Sciences, contributes decisively to the opening of the interdisciplinary area which is already considered to be transversal, the Neurosciences. Everything related to the processing of language information now holds its own in the exploration and interpretation of diverse ongoing processes, namely acquisition and learning, as well as processes involving lesions that affect language. The brain is the center of interpretation

which allows any researcher, from now on, to have an in depth understanding of the origin of such complex systems as reading and discourse. The present discussion should contribute to the debate of the theoretical and methodological foundations of the neuro-functional organization of language in the brain.

Keywords: Language and Neurosciences; Language Processing; Language and Brain; Cognitive Neurosciences

Introdução

As bases neurocognitivas da aquisição e processamento da segunda língua estão ainda longe de serem descodificadas, pelo que a investigação nesta área é surpreendentemente pouca. A discussão em torno do modo como as estruturas cerebrais envolvidas no processamento da segunda língua interagem com os dados computacionais de modo a permitir um conhecimento mais aprofundado das teorias neurocognitivas da segunda língua é de extrema responsabilidade para todos os atores envolvidos.

Centrar-nos-emos nos aspetos cruciais para a compreensão das competências da linguagem: a memorização das palavras no léxico mental e a combinação ordenada das palavras pela gramática mental.

Discutiremos o modelo declarativo/procedural proposto por Ullman (2001a), no qual a memória declarativa está orientada no lobo temporal, enquanto a gramática mental envolve a memória procedural e é orientada no córtex frontal e nos gânglios basais. A escolha deste modelo vai abrir uma nova perspetiva sobre o léxico e a gramática.

Abordaremos a organização e funcionamento do léxico bilingue no âmbito da neuropsicologia cognitiva e no âmbito do estudo de sujeitos bilingues afásicos, focando-se o interesse em torno das diferenças na localização e ativação cerebrais. Ambas as áreas de estudo podem ser muito valiosas no que se refere a encontrar respostas sobre como se organiza a memória e o cérebro bilingue.

A Neurocognição da Linguagem e da Gramática

A linguagem depende de duas capacidades mentais (Chomsky 1965; Pinker 1991): o léxico mental memorizado e a gramática mental computacional. De acordo com esta perspetiva, a primeira e a segunda língua são adquiridas e processadas como um dicionário mental, referido comumente como o nosso *léxico mental*, ou seja, o

repositório da informação armazenada, incluindo toda a informação específica e idiossincrática das palavras. O léxico mental compreende ainda todas as estruturas linguísticas complexas, como por exemplo as frases idiomáticas. Mas a linguagem consiste também em regularidades que advêm das regras da gramática e que vão conduzir o modo como as formas lexicais se combinam para fazerem representações complexas, permitindo-nos interpretar o significado das formas complexas mesmo que nunca as tenhamos ouvido ou visto antes. Além disso, as regras gerem operações mentais que manipulam as palavras e as representações abstratas na composição de estruturas complexas (Schacter e Tulving 1994). A aprendizagem e uso de regras de gramática são sempre implícitos, não estando este conhecimento gramatical disponível para outras operações cognitivas.

As bases neurocognitivas do léxico mental e da gramática mental têm sido estudadas ao ponto de se considerar que uma e outra funcionassem separadas ou funcionassem juntas, partilhando os mesmos correlatos neurocognitivos; de se questionar quais os mecanismos computacionais que subjazem à aprendizagem, ao processamento das duas línguas; se os correlatos neurocognitivos do léxico e da gramática se dedicavam a uma só língua ou serviam as duas; de que modo podemos associar estes correlatos a uma determinada estrutura cerebral; de que modo interagem estas estruturas e qual é a sua ordem temporal durante o processamento da linguagem, etc. (Stanners et al. 1979).

O modelo declarativo procedural da linguagem assenta no facto de os aspetos distintivos do léxico/gramática estarem ligados aos aspetos da memória declarativa e da memória procedural. A memória declarativa está ligada ao conhecimento semântico e ao conhecimento episódico. A memória declarativa é servida por várias sub-regiões do lobo temporal médio, como o hipocampo, largamente conectado com regiões temporais e temporoparietais neocorticais. O lobo temporal médio é chamado para consolidar e evocar novas memórias, embora estas se tornem independentes do lobo temporal médio e dependam de zonas neocorticais, sobretudo as que se situam no lobo temporal (Marslen-Wilson et al. 1993). Outras estruturas cerebrais fazem igualmente parte deste sistema, como o córtex prefrontal anterior ou partes do cerebelo direito, envolvidas na pesquisa deste conhecimento. A memória procedural está implicada nos novos conhecimentos, a nível dos *skills* cognitivos e motores, cuja aprendizagem e conhecimento é largamente implícita.

O modelo declarativo/procedural assenta no facto de o sistema da memória declarativa conter o léxico mental enquanto o sistema da memória procedural conter a

gramática mental. Assim, a memória declarativa é uma memória associativa que armazena não só factos e acontecimentos, mas igualmente o conhecimento lexical, incluindo o som e o significado das palavras. As estruturas do lobo temporal médio são as responsáveis pela aprendizagem e pelo armazenamento do significado de novas palavras enquanto as regiões temporoparietais são mais importantes no armazenamento dos sons das palavras. A memória lexical não está encapsulada do ponto de vista informacional, sendo acessível a múltiplos sistemas mentais (Sonnenstuhl et al. 1999). Por outro lado, a memória procedural serve a aprendizagem implícita e o uso de uma gramática de símbolos através de subdomínios que incluem a sintaxe, a morfologia e a fonologia. O modelo ora apresentado não assume que a memória declarativa e a memória procedural servem todos os aspetos da linguagem. Outras estruturas neuronais e componentes cognitivas são igualmente importantes para as duas partes. Contudo, este modelo é muito similar ao sistema dual, em que os sistemas lexicais e gramaticais estão separados e são servidos por sistemas cognitivos distintos. A gramática manipula símbolos representando formas lexicais e representações abstratas, combinando-as a fim de construir estruturas linguísticas complexas. Estes modelos predizem que o léxico e a gramática são subservidos por sistemas cognitivos separados, com diferentes correlatos neuronais, existindo, assim, uma dupla associação entre as competências das duas línguas.

Com base na investigação empírica, a representação do passado irregular, em inglês, mas não do regular, é recuperada na memória associativa distribuída. Contrastes análogos entre formas regulares e formas irregulares foram encontrados na inflexão do passado, em japonês. Estas representações das formas irregulares são, geralmente, memorizadas.

Na neuroimagética (Damásio 1996), em estudos com PET (*positron emission tomography*) e fMRI (*functional magnetic resonance imaging*), o processamento lexical e semântico está fortemente associado às regiões temporais e temporoparietais, incluindo o lobo temporal médio (Kuperberg et al. 2000).

Este modelo tem várias implicações, das quais destacamos os estudos em animais e em humanos, como a neurofarmacologia da memória declarativa e os seus substratos neuronais na representação da linguagem; as teorias linguísticas e as disciplinas de línguas contribuirão para a pesquisa na memória declarativa e procedural. Este modelo tem ainda implicações clínicas diretas: sujeitos com perturbações comportamentais ao nível do sistema gramatical/procedural recuperam através da memorização de formas

complexas usando a memória lexical/declarativa (Bookheimer et al. 1993). O mesmo acontece com sujeitos com problemas ao nível da segunda língua. Evidência empírica indica que sujeitos com afasia anterior memorizam formas regulares depois do início das lesões (c.f. Fabbro e Paradis 1995; Perani et al. 1998; Coudry, 2008). Esta recuperação pode ser estimulada com várias terapêuticas e fármacos estabelecidos de acordo com o nosso conhecimento dos dois sistemas de memória.

A existência de sistemas cerebrais que subservem a linguagem nos humanos, homólogos nos animais, por sua vez tem implicações na evolução da linguagem.

Organização e funcionamento do léxico bilingue

O conhecimento das bases neuronais do bilinguismo advém de estudos realizados com bilingues afásicos, estudos de lateralização hemisférica diferencial em bilingues sem alterações cognitivas e, mais recentemente, de estudos que utilizam técnicas de neuroimagem (c.f. Fabbro e Paradis 1995; Hernandez et al. (2000). A investigação tem-se centrado na determinação das regiões cerebrais implicadas no processamento da L1 e da L2, sendo, sobretudo, de salientar o facto de saber se ambas as línguas utilizam a mesma ou distintas regiões cerebrais. Sujeitos bilingues que aprenderam dois idiomas durante a infância e sujeitos que o fizeram na idade adulta apresentam uma organização cerebral diferente, evidenciando uma só região cerebral para os primeiros, que se encarrega de armazenar e interpretar ambas as línguas, e duas regiões diferentes para cada língua no caso dos segundos (Kim et al. 1997). Mais recentemente, Sakai (2005) mostra que o momento temporal de aquisição de uma L2 em que se encontra o sujeito bilingue avaliado afeta diferencialmente as funções corticais, bem como salienta ainda a importância da utilização de técnicas como fMRI e PET a fim de possibilitar a localização de diferentes áreas cerebrais implicadas no processamento linguístico. Sakai (2005) assinalou ainda várias mudanças funcionais na gramática que ocorrem durante a aquisição da L2: o _nível da competência na L2_ (baixa ou alta) e a _idade de aquisição_. Quanto à idade de aquisição, existem estudos que mostram que, se a L1 for adquirida antes dos 6 anos e a L2 depois dos 7, as duas línguas são representadas em áreas corticais distintas (Kim et al. 1997), embora outros estudos sugiram substratos neuronais comuns durante a realização de tarefas de compreensão de frases (Chee et al. 1999). Paralelamente, estudos mais recentes realizados com fMRI sobre a idade de aquisição mostram que este fator afeta a ativação da circunvolução frontal inferior (CFI) esquerda do cérebro de tal forma que a activação desta região

para o processamento gramatical é maior na L2 do que na L1 (Wartenburger et al. 2003).

A activação da CFI parece também ser modulada pela idade ou realização da tarefa entre crianças (dos 7 aos 10 anos) e adultos (Schlaggar et al. e 2002). O que não se encontra ainda clarificado é se estes fatores são realmente separáveis uns dos outros. Assim, as ativações corticais aumentam no princípio da aquisição, mantêm o mesmo nível durante algum tempo e diminuem com a consolidação da capacidade linguística. Se o sujeito bilingue for avaliado em diferentes momentos temporais de aquisição da L2, observaremos maior ou menor ativação de regiões corticais que formam o centro da gramática.

Por conseguinte, talvez a idade de aquisição seja um dos fatores que cativou maior atenção entre as distintas áreas de estudo. Ullman (2001a) assinala que, quando se aprendem precocemente as duas línguas, o processamento de ambas ocorre nas regiões cerebrais associadas à memória declarativa, enquanto que, se a L2 for aprendida tardiamente, o processamento desta tem lugar em áreas cerebrais associadas à memória procedural. Assim, a investigação com técnicas de neuroimagem (fMRI) e electrofisiológicas (ERP – potenciais evocados) parece apontar para a ideia de que, se a aprendizagem das duas línguas ocorrer precocemente, estas estarão representadas nas mesmas regiões cerebrais, dentro do mesmo sistema de linguagem e no hemisfério esquerdo. Pelo contrário, se forem aprendidas em momentos temporais distintos, falar-se-á de localizações distintas para cada língua, particularmente no que se refere ao processamento da gramática (Gollan e Kroll 2001). São muitos os fatores que afetam a organização cerebral e o processamento bilingue: a idade de aquisição (cf. Kim et al. 1997; Sakai 2005; Ullman 1999b), o nível de competência nas duas línguas (cf. Perani et al. 1998; Sakai 2005), as diferenças ou semelhanças existentes entre as duas línguas aprendidas (cf. Bialystok et al. 2005; Nilipour e Paradis 1995) ou o momento temporal de aquisição de uma L2 no qual o sujeito bilingue é avaliado (cf. Sakai 2005), entre outros fatores.

Quer em adultos quer em crianças bilingues, é possível encontrar um léxico integrado no qual estão representadas as palavras dos dois idiomas aprendidos, estando certos itens armazenados num sítio comum para ambas as línguas, enquanto que outros podem ser armazenados separadamente – exemplo: palavras concretas vs. abstratas, palavras cognatas vs. não cognatas.

A nível do processamento semântico, a maior parte dos estudos indica que há um acesso às mesmas representações semânticas para ambas as línguas (cf. Costa et al. 1999; La Heij et al. 1990). Se o sujeito bilingue é pouco competente na sua L2, o processamento semântico relativo a esta língua adota outro comportamento em relação à L1. Os resultados de estudos recentes (cf. Ferré et al. 2006; Kotz 2001; Kotz e Elson-Güttler 2004) indicam que o nível de competência na L2 desempenha um papel importante no processamento de palavras deste mesmo idioma. Por isso, o estudo da mediação conceptual no processamento de palavras da L2 parece ser um aspeto determinante. Pelo contrário, existem autores que assinalam que a idade de aquisição é um factor mais importante do que a competência no processamento semântico da L2 (cf. Silverberg e Samuel 2004).

Embora ambos os fatores pareçam afetar o processamento semântico, acreditamos que a competência linguística é um factor mais decisivo na representação e acesso conceptual aos dois idiomas aprendidos. Vários são os autores que chegaram à conclusão de que a semelhança de características entre as palavras é um fator determinante para o acesso à memória semântica (cf. McRae e Boisvert 1998; Sánchez-Casas et al. 2006; Vigliocco et al. 2004).

São vários os fatores que afetam o processamento semântico da L1 e da L2: fatores cognitivos (e.g. nível de proficiência nas duas línguas e capacidade de memória de trabalho), fatores relacionados com a aprendizagem dos dois idiomas (e.g. contexto de aprendizagem e idade de aquisição), variáveis lexicais (e.g. frequência dos estímulos), variáveis semânticas (e.g. número de características partilhadas entre palavras que pertencem à mesma categoria semântica), tipo de tarefas utilizadas (e.g. tarefas de compreensão vs. tarefas de produção) e tipo de palavras (concretas vs abstratas, cognatas vs. não cognatas, tal como referido anteriormente).

Autores como Altarriba e Mathis (1997), ao descreverem efeitos semânticos em nativos de inglês a quem foi ensinado um conjunto reduzido de palavras em espanhol, mostraram que mesmo os adultos em estados absolutamente iniciais de aquisição de um novo idioma são capazes de mediar conceptualmente palavras da L2, da mesma forma que os adultos bilingues com maior competência.

Comesaña et al. (no prelo) encontraram um efeito de interferência semântica não apenas em adultos, mas também em crianças, após uma única sessão de aprendizagem de vocabulário novo. Verificou-se ainda que o tamanho e a estabilidade

deste efeito foram modulados pelo método de aprendizagem, particularmente no caso das crianças.

Gollan e Kroll (2001) referem que pode ser particularmente importante considerar representações semanticamente idênticas na memória bilingue quando estudamos bilingues afásicos. Estes autores sublinham que, se tanto a L1 como a L2 forem mediadas pelas mesmas representações semânticas, seria de esperar que os pacientes com défice semântico mostrassem défices similares nas duas línguas. Os resultados de vários estudos no domínio do processamento cognitivo em bilingues normais (sem qualquer lesão cerebral) são importantes no sentido de entender e predizer de forma adequada as consequências da lesão cerebral em bilingues, como por exemplo no caso de bilingues afásicos. O autor conclui que são muitos os estudos (cf. Fabbro 2001; Hernández et al. 2000; Illes et al. 1999) que indicam que os léxicos da L1 e da L2 estão representados macroscopicamente nas mesmas áreas cerebrais, independentemente da idade de aquisição (em áreas associativas corticais esquerdas, armazenadas em sistemas de memória declarativa que favorecem as funções da linguagem). As representações de aspetos gramaticais ou morfossintáticos de ambas as línguas parecem ser diferentes se a L2 se adquire depois dos 7 anos, com um processamento automático e correto mais lento para a L2 do que para a L1 (Kim et al. 1997). Além disso, o maior conhecimento sobre uma língua ativa um maior número de circuitos neuronais durante o processamento (Dehaene et al. 1997).

A integração de estudos comportamentais sobre o processamento cognitivo, de estudos neurofisiológicos e de estudos que utilizam técnicas neuroimagiológicas contribuem para uma melhor compreensão da organização e funcionamento do cérebro bilingue e, mais concretamente, do processamento bilingue lexical e semântico.

Conclusões

Estudos utilizando diferentes metodologias examinaram a aquisição, o processamento e as bases neuronais do léxico e da gramática, com principal enfoque na morfologia regular e irregular, de algumas línguas. Analisámos o modelo declarativo/procedural e as suas implicações nas bases neuronais da aprendizagem, representação e proces-samento do léxico e da gramática. Analisámos a organização e funcionamento do cérebro bilingue, em algumas das suas variantes, onde podemos constatar que a quantidade de dados acumulados aponta para a existência de um léxico integrado,

de um acesso paralelo, e de representações semânticas partilhadas entre línguas. O bilinguismo tem consequências na arquitetura e funcionalidade cerebral (Bialystock et al. 2005; Costa et al. 2008) são determinadas variáveis que modulam a organização (particularmente a organização de aspetos gramaticais e morfossintáticos) e o processamento bilingue léxico-semântico: variáveis cognitivas, incluindo a capacidade de memória operativa (cf. Kroll et al. 2002) e o nível de proficiência associado a cada um dos idiomas aprendidos (cf. Talamas et al. 1999), entre outras, e variáveis lexicais e/ou sublexicais objetivas. Concluímos, assim, que a conjugação de estudos provenientes de várias áreas de saber, tais como a Psicolinguística, a Neuropsicologia e a Linguística, permite a construção de modelos teóricos sólidos sobre a organização e funcionamento, não só da memória bilingue, mas também da plasticidade cerebral.

Referências

Altarriba, J. & K. M. Mathis (1997). Conceptual and lexical development in second language acquisition. *Journal of Memory and Language 36*. 550-568.

Bialystok, E., G. Luk & E. Kwan (2005). Bilingualism, Biliteracy, and learning to Read: Interactions Among languages and Writing Systems. *Scientific Studies of Reading 9*(1). 43-61.

Bookheimer, S. Y., T. A. Zeffiro, W. Gaillaird & W. Theodore (1993). Regional cerebral blood flow changes during the comprehension of syntactically varying sentences. *Society of Neuroscience Abstracts 19*. 843.

Costa, A., M. Miozzo & A. Caramazza (1999). Lexical selection in bilinguals: Do words in bilingual's lexicon compete for selection? *Journal of Memory and Language 41*. 365-397.

Chee, M. W. L., D. Caplan, C. S. Soon, N. Sriram, E. W. L. Tan, T. Thiel & B. Weekes (1999). Processing of visually presented sentences in Mandarin and English studied with fMRI. *Neuron 23*. 127-137.

Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Comesaña, M., M. Perea, A. Piñeiro & I. Fraga (no prelo). Vocabulary teaching strategies and conceptual representations of words in L2 in children: Evidence with novice beginners.

Coudry, H. (2008). Neurolinguística Discursiva: afasia como tradução. Estudos da Língua(gem). *Estudos em Neurolinguística 6*(2). 7-36

Damásio, A. R. (1996). A neural basis for lexical retrieval. *Nature 380*. 499–505.

Fabbro, F. & M. Paradis (1995). Acquired aphasia in a bilingual child. In M. Paradis (ed.), *Aspects of bilingual aphasia*, 67-83. London: Pergamon Press.

Hernandez, A. E., A. Martinez & K. Kohnert (2000). In search of the language switch: An fMRI study of picture naming in Spanish-English bilinguals. *Brain and Language 73*. 421-431.

Ferré, P., R. M. Sánchez-Casas & J. García. (2001). Lexical and conceptual connections in second language acquisition: Data from Spanish and German. *Cognitiva 2*. 131-152.

Gollan, T. H. & J. F. Kroll (2001). Bilingual Lexical Access. In Brenda Rapp (ed.). *The Handbook of Cognitive Neuropsychology*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.

Illes, J., W. E. Francis, J. E. Desmond, J. D. E. Gabrieli, G. H. Glover, R. Poldrack, C. J. Lee & A. D. Wagner (1999). Convergent cortical representation of semantic processing in bilinguals. *Brain and Languages 70*. 347-363.

La Heij, W., E. de Bruyn, E. Elens, R. Hartsuiker, D. Helaha & L. van Schelven (1990). Orthographic facilitation and categorical interference in a word-translation variant of the Stroop task. *Canadian Journal of Psychology 44*. 76-83.

Kim, K. H. S., N. R. Relkin, K. M. Lee,. & J. Hirsch (1997). Distinct cortical areas associated with native and second languages. *Nature 388*. 171-174.

Kotz, S. A. (2001). Neurolinguistic evidence for bilingual memory representation: A comparison of reaction times and event-related brain potentials. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 4*. 143-154.

Kotz, S. A. & K. E. Elson-Güttler (2004). The role of proficiency on processing categorical and associative information in the L2 as revealed by reaction times and event-related brain potentials. *Journal of Neurolinguistics 17*. 215-235.

Kuperberg, G. E., P. K. McGuire, E. T. Bullmore, M. J. Brammer, S. Rabe-Hesketh, I. C Wright, D. J. Lythogoe, S. C. R. Williams & A. S. David (2000). Common and distinct neural substrates for pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic processing of spoken sentences: An fMRI study. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience 12*. 321–341.

Marslen-Wilson, W., M. Hare & L. Older (1993). *Proceedings of the 15th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society, London*.

McRae, K. & S. Boisvert (1998). Automatic semantic similarity priming. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition 24*(3). 558-572.

Nilipour, R. & M. Paradis (1995). Breakdown of functional categories in three Farsi English bilingual aphasic patients. In M. Paradis (ed.), *Aspects of Bilingual Aphasia,* 123-138. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Perani, D., E. Paulesu, N. Sebastian-Galles, E. Dupoux, S. Dehaene, V. Bettinardi, S. F. Cappa, F. Fazio & J. Mehler (1998). The Bilingual Brain: Proficiency and age of acquisition of the second language. *Brain 121*. 1841-1852.

Pinker, S. (1994). *The Language Instinct*. New York, NY: William Morrow.

Schacter, D. L. & E. Tulving (eds.) (1994). *Memory Systems.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Sánchez-Casas, R., P. Ferré, J. E. García-Albea & M. Guasch. (2006). The nature of semantic priming: effects of the degree of semantic similarity between primes and targets in Spanish. *The European Journal of Cognitive Psychology 18*(2). 161-184.

Stanners, R. F., J. J. Neiser, W. P. Hernon & R. Hall (1979). Memory representation for morphologically related words. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior 18*. 399–412.

Sakai, K. L. (2005). Language Acquisition and Brain Development. *Science 310*. 815-819.

Schlaggar, B. L., T. T. Brown, H. M. Lugar, K. M. Visscher, F. M. Miezin & S. E. Petersen (2002). Functional neuroanatomical differences between adults and school-age children in the processing of single words. *Science 296*. 1476–1479.

Silverberg, S. & A. G. Samuel (2003). *The effects of age of acquisition and fluency on processing second language words: Translation or direct conceptual access?* Unpublished manuscript, State University of New York at Stony Brook, NY.

Sonnenstuhl, I., S. Eisenbeiss & H. Clahsen (1999). Morphological priming in the German mental lexicon. *Cognition 72*. 203–236.

Talamas, A., J. F. Kroll & R. Dufour (1999). From form to meaning: Stages in the acquisition of second language vocabulary. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 2*(1). 45-58.

Ullman, M. T. (2001a). A neurocognitive perspective on language: the declarative/ procedural model. *Neuroscience 2* (October). 717-727.

Ullman, M. T. (2001b). An event-related fMRI study of syntactic and semantic violations. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research 30*. 339–364.

Vigliocco, G., D. P. Vinson, W. Lewis & M. F. Garrett (2004). Representing the meaning of object and action words: The featural and unitary semantic space (FUSS) hypothesis. *Cognitive Psychology 48*. 422-488.

Wartenburger, I., H. R. Heekeren, J. Abutelabi, S. F. Cappa, A. Villringer & D. Perani (2003). Early setting of grammatical processing in the bilingual brain. *Neuron 37*. 159-70.

Immigrant L2 Education in Portugal

María del Carmen Arau Ribeiro

Samuel Walter Best

Luísa Maria Lucas Queiroz de Campos

Maria Paula Martins das Neves

Research Unit for Inland Development*,
Polytechnic of Guarda

Foundation for Science and Technology, Portugal

maricarmen@ipg.pt; wbest@ipg.pt
lcampos@ipg.pt; marianeves@ipg.pt

This article is in part the result of an FCT-financed research project of the Research Unit for Inland Development at the Guarda Polytechnic, Portugal, on Immigrant Education in the area of Portuguese L2 and culture. While the project has involved regional primary and secondary schools, the Guarda Polytechnic itself, local NGOs and other private language and cultural institutions in the data collection process to determine the language education experience of the immigrant community in Guarda, Portugal, particularly in state-certified Portuguese language education courses, this article will focus on a critical and temporal analysis of the emission of national policy. Comparison of the timeliness of these rulings and the resulting structures will reveal a close accompaniment of the broader perspective provided in the context of the conferences held biannually in Spain in the noughties to reflect on the state of immigrant education in language and culture entitled *Segundas Lenguas e Inmigración* (SL&i – Second Language and Immigration). This article then represents not the results of our data collection on the state of immigrant education in Portugal but rather the premises on which the national educational structure to be studied in a local context is based, reflecting

both international and national aspirations to contribute to the creation of a teaching/learning process for second language and culture education for immigrants.

Keywords: Portugal, Portuguese as a Second Language, Immigrant Education, Policy, Iberian Peninsula

Introduction

Immigration has been a reality on the Iberian Peninsula since before the foundation of its nations, Spain and Portugal. Their geo-strategic appeal brought peoples from all over the world through exploration based on ever-improving nautical know-how and an unquenchable thirst to know and even conquer the Other. In a contemporary context, the 1986 entry of Portugal into the European Union (EU) and the subsequent vast expansion of, especially in the first decade of the millennium, to 15 (EU-15), then 27 countries (EU-27) and most recently to 28 with the addition of Croatia as of 1 July 2013 (CEB 2013), has meant that the Schengen Area potential, allowing free transit of goods and, in the context of this article, people within a geo-political space with a common visa policy, provides a more welcoming opportunity for immigration, regardless of the motivation.

Notwithstanding the objective of economic growth, it is undeniable that communication and intercultural dialogue together sit at the forefront of a world at peace, one of the goals of the war-ravaged inner six founders of the European Coal and Steel Company in 1951 and the European Economic Community of 1958. To promote this objective of communication, French, long regarded as the world's official language of diplomacy, has been replaced by the Web-driven hegemony of English, once scorned as the "jargon of traders" (Pei 1958: 105). With the possibility of communicating in a world language, the debate has long ranged as to whether immigrants should, in fact, learn the language of their host county, citing financial, economic, linguistic, anxiety-driven, time-restraining, social and historical reasons, among others; yet these are not be the focus of this research project. Instead, immigrant education in language and culture will be seen as an opportunity that begs a serious inquiry into the conditions offered by the immigrant education available in a host country within a specific region.

The Portuguese city of Guarda is considered geographically central, figuring into the middle third of the country, despite its northeastern geostrategic position, as

demonstrated in Figure 1, at the border of Portugal with Spain, neatly located just south of the halfway mark between Oporto on the Atlantic coast and Salamanca in the Castille region of Spain.

Figure 1: Border location of the designated area of study – Guarda, Portugal
Source: Heritage History, http://www.heritage-history.com/maps/philips/phil018d.jpg

For its border position and history with Spain, most research dealing with Guarda from a sociocultural perspective tends to include an overarching Iberian slant, as promoted by the Centro de Estudos Ibéricos [CEI – The Centre for Iberian Studies] in Guarda, for example, and this study is no exception. Nevertheless, the current article will focus on a critical and temporal analysis of the legal structures supporting immigrant language and culture education specifically in Portugal. The educational structures created by this national legislation will be compared and contrasted with relevant research and activity carried out across Europe and the world, spearheaded and hosted by Spain at a well-attended series of three pro-active Conferences on Second Language and Immigration (SL&i) to determine its efficiency and timeliness.

Future reviews of the literature in this area will contextualise the Guarda region within the Iberian Peninsula, based on a contrastive analysis of Portugal and Spain country data from, first, the United Nation's Human Development Index (Barro and Lee 2010; HDR 2013a, 2013b), with its three related ratings to assess inequality, gender equality and poverty, and then contrasted with data from the 34 countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2013). Another factor of analysis of the logic for immigration to the Iberian Peninsula will be based on the World Economic

Forum's Global Competitiveness Index (Schwab 2013) and the corresponding Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index.

Specifically, then, since the most recent turn of the century, a veritable puzzle of laws, resolutions, rulings and official statements have been issued in Portugal to provide immigrant language education for new residents. We, as language teachers, within the reach of the research project at hand, are examining the practical implementation of these policies and whether their pedagogical implications are paramount in determining their success.

The confluence of Portuguese legislation and scholarly concern in immigrant education

Recent research by Campos et al. (2013) has revealed the contemporary reality of the legally-binding processes for immigrant language and culture acquisition in Portugal, with the systematic implementation of successive decrees beginning as recently as 2006.

The European Year of Languages, however, corresponded with the initial decree at the beginning of the millennium (PT 2001), recognising the schools' duty to provide curricular activities so that non-native speakers (NNS) could learn Portuguese L2 in primary school (first through 9th year). Yet the 2001 decree only covered continental Portugal, such that L2 education for immigrants on the islands of the Azores and Madeira was contemplated for the first time in another decree 21 months later (PT 2002).

Having established that, in Portugal, curricular activities to promote learning of the host country language should be offered to immigrant children of primary school age – approximately six to fourteen years old, this obligation was extended to secondary school (10th through 12th year, ages 15 to 18) as well. This decree (PT 2004), aimed at the overall reform of secondary education, makes a brief reference to the need to reinforce the learning of Portuguese L2 in precisely the year when the *Manifiesto de Santander* – Santander Manifesto (2004, not to be confused with the 2008 Manifesto of Santander supporting euthanasia) was signed by 330 concerned educators and policy makers in the area of immigrant language education from all over the world.

The cause for concern of these motivated participants was a perceived lack of orientation and concern related to immigrant L2 education, specifically for six areas, identified as *(i)* adult L2 education; *(ii)* L2 literacy; *(iii)* vocational L2; *(iv)* L2 programmes

and activities for children; *(v)* L2 teacher training and *(vi)* interculturality in L2 teaching. The occasion of this signing was the first conference on *Segundas Lenguas e Inmigración* (SL&i – Second Language and Immigration), considered to be a benchmark for immigrant language education in Europe (cf. *Centro Virtual de Cervantes debates* – Debates at the Cervantes Virtual Centre).

Then, another 21 months after the implementation of PL2 classes in Portugal for youth, another decree (PT 2005) on the concession of Portuguese equivalences for foreign studies at the primary and secondary levels includes a brief reference to language assessment in Portuguese L2 classes and the need for proper pedagogical support in the national school system for immigrant students.

The implementation of a systematic approach to immigrant language education in Portugal, identified by Campos et al. (2013: 5) as an admonishment of the poor level of support provided by schools and a perceived lack of positive results since 2001, began with a normative dispatch (PT 2006). This dispatch clearly establishes the organisation and management of Portuguese L2 in the national curriculum in the three distinct cycles of Portuguese primary education (first through 4th year; 5th and 6th year; 7th through 9th year) in addition to the need for the creation of extracurricular activities, pedagogical support and assessment. The responsibility is unmistakably placed on the schools and their respective *agrupamentos* (school districts) to effectively construct curricular projects that guarantee equal learning conditions for educational success. Accordingly, immigrant students should have access to activities that guarantee a sufficient language level to become integrated in the existing national educational system. The 2nd conference in the SL&i Conference series also took place in 2006, in Alicante, Spain, honouring the work done in the first conference and the benchmark created by the Santander Manifesto (2004). The Alicante Proposals (*Propuestas de Alicante* 2006) honed in on the focus of the activity that would need to be developed, resulting in a condensed list of priorities revolving around the two overarching themes of child and adult L2 education but including a third theme in recognising the importance of L2 assessment.

In the midst of this Iberian fervor that aimed to provide scaffolding for immigrant language education, a resolution emitted by the Council of Ministries (PT 2007a) brought adult L2 education into the systematic assembly of immigration policy in Portugal, rectifying the absence of a globally-integrated, broad-spectrum plan to systematise the objectives and commitments of the State in welcoming and integrating

immigrants. The resulting Plan for Immigrant Integration projected training courses in technical Portuguese in specific professional contexts requiring a specific lexicon and a network of national (CNAI – *Centro Nacional de Apoio ao Imigrante*) and local support centres (CLAII – *Centro Local de Apoio à Integração de Imigrantes*) to accompany the immigrant learners, all coordinated by the High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI – *Alto Comisário para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural*). Despite this creation of an important national support network for adult immigrant education, it was not until two and a half years later that further legislation was passed to deal with the creation of these adult language education courses.

The subsequent normative dispatch (PT 2007b) addressed parallel concerns for secondary education with only a fifteen month delay, an improvement of six months in the follow-up time established in the years immediately following 2001. Two essential constructs established by this dispatch were the creation of specific Portuguese L2 (PL2) classes organised by language proficiency levels as designated by the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for languages and an assessment component to be implemented at the beginning as a diagnostic test and for purposes of ongoing assessment.

The legal recognition of the CEFR for the newly created PL2 classes was significant in that, although the CEFR, which had been created in English in 1996, was officially promoted by the European Council in 2001 to accompany celebrations of the European Year of Languages, it was not until 2005 that the official Portuguese language version of the CEFR (QECRL – *Quadro Europeu Comum de Referência das Línguas*) was promoted as part of the European Language Portfolio. In an outreach activity, the Director of Immigrant Education at the Portuguese National Board on Curricular Innovation and Development (DGIDC – *Direção Geral de Inovação e Desenvolvimento Curricular*) reported resistance and serious difficulty in promoting the QECRL (Fischer 2005) throughout Portugal.

In addition to the creation of nationally-recognised PL2 classes, an official statement (PT 2007c) suggested ways in which the schools could provide conditions for immigrant student integration and educational success, especially in terms of appropriation of the times in the three weekly classes scheduled as Accompanied Studies, Projects and Civics, when immigrant students should be separated and divided into levels within the schools with the aim of learning Portuguese as an L2. Timely proposals of plans for remedial courses were required which would allow Portuguese L2 learners to catch up

while learning in their newly acquired language; this timeline required initial diagnosis and final reassessment of said plans in the 1st and 2nd periods of the school year.

The year 2008 also marked the third and final SL&i Conference, held in Granada, Spain, closing this motivating series of encounters with a more focused concern on L2 teaching programmes, specifically, and their assessment (González Las 2008) as the logical progression (González Las et al. 2008) of the previous two conferences.

In Portugal, the focus was on more procedural aspects related to assessment in another official statement (PT 2008a) which clarified that PL2 students would not be allowed to use a Portuguese dictionary on their tests. Still further assessment became the focus of the next normative dispatch (PT 2008b), which provided the opportunity for PL2 students in the 9th and 12th years (corresponding to the final years of primary and secondary education in Portugal) to take a final national exam in Portuguese as an L2 rather than the previously required national Portuguese Language exam.

Yet another official statement (PT 2008c) reminded Portuguese teachers of the need for flexibility in the management of the curricular programme to promote individualized strategies for the development of PL2 competences in learners in their regular Portuguese Language classes. In the first-ever inclusion of a cultural dimension of immigrant education, this official statement also reinforced the role of the schools in the transmission of "values and the development of competences that favour the creation of an integrated and inclusive society" (PT 2008c).

The next official statement (PT 2009a) addressed the difficulties in the PL2 classes at the 1st level primary cycles, referring to the "impossibility" of accompanying the levelled language proficiency groups in order to carry out activities specifically designed for Portuguese L2 learning as required by previous legislation (PT 2006) as already presented. To resolve these difficulties, extra hours were attributed for PL2 classes, specifically recognised as Accompanied Studies.

Initial creation of the governmental structures for the Plan for Immigrant Integration (PT 2007a) was followed two and a half years later by another ruling (PT 2009b), which at last created the long-awaited certifiable PL2 classes for adult immigrants. These students would attend public schools and training centres of the Employment and Professional Training Institute (IEFP – *Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional*), an institution which was directed to create a set of courses at levels A1 and A2 as well as another set designed for learning/teaching technical Portuguese. It appears that the

lag time in this ruling was due to the interim creation of the materials and documentation (Grosso, Tavares and Tavares 2008a, 2008b, 2009) supporting the project Portuguese for Speakers of Other Languages – *Português para Falantes de Outras Línguas*, the homologation of which, as early as April 2008, was the result of a partnership established among the National Qualifications Agency (ANQ – *Agência Nacional para a Qualificação*), the DGIDC and the IEFP.

The related IEFP courses, targeting legal adult immigrants aged 18 and older, were proposed in the Portuguese for Everyone (PPT – *Português para Todos*) language programmes (Table 7), which aimed to provide the resident immigrant population access to a set of knowledge needed to best integrate into Portuguese society and exercise their full rights by acquiring competence in expression and comprehension in Portuguese and knowledge of basic citizenship.

Portuguese – A1	Portuguese – A2	Technical Portuguese – 25 hours each
My daily routine and I (*Eu e a minha rotina diária*)	The work world and I (*Eu e o mundo do trabalho*)	Business (*Comércio*)
Eating habits, culture and leisure (*Hábitos alimentares, cultura e lazer*)	My past and my present (*O meu passado e o meu presente*)	Hospitality and Restaurants (*Hotelaria e Restauração*)
The human body, health and services (*O corpo humano, saúde e serviços*)	Communication and life in society (*Comunicação e vida em sociedade*)	Beauty and Care (*Cuidados de Beleza*)
Total 75 hours	**Total 75 hours**	Civil Construction and Civil Engineering (*Construção Civil e Engenharia Civil*)

Table 1 – PPT course contents and organisational structure
Source: Course contents adapted from
http://www.iefp.pt/formacao/ModalidadesFormacao/Progr
amaPortugalAcolhe/Paginas/ProgramaPortuguesparaTodos
.aspx, 12 September 2012

An essential aspect of this 2009 government-mandated construct for immigrant education was its focus on certification for each of the 25 hour curricular courses, by which a course certificate upon conclusion of the A2 level training course (the Basic Portuguese as a Foreign Language Certificate) or upon conclusion of the Technical Portuguese course (the Portuguese for Specific Purposes Certificate) would also serve to exempt the immigrant from taking the nationality test.

While the 2nd Plan for Immigrant Integration (ACIDI 2010), designated to cover the three year period from 2010 to 2013, stipulates its expectations for the role and focus of cultural education in measures 12 and 13 (ACIDI 2010: 16), which call for reinforcement of "the expression of cultural diversity in all domains and activities connected with culture" and for "raising awareness of cultural producers", it is unclear how Portuguese culture and European citizenship training will be specifically carried out beyond the existing PL2 and PPT language classrooms. Language competence is specifically addressed by measures 8, 9 and 10 (ACIDI 2010: 15), which aim to "consolidate" the PL2 programme, ensure "that Portuguese Language examinations are taken as a condition for the acquisition of Portuguese nationality" and strengthen "the teaching of Portuguese".

Fifteen months after the first 2009 rectification (PT 2009a) of 2006 legislation (PT 2006) on the attribution of extra hours for school aged immigrants to study PL2 classes in the schedule allotted to Accompanied Studies, however, another official statement (PT 2011a) clarified that Accompanied Studies no longer would exist in the 3rd level primary cycles. As a result, PL2 students were required to learn their PL2 lessons by the same token as their native Portuguese colleagues' weekly language classes – 45 minutes of which would focus on content and language-integrated learning so that their Portuguese L2 could serve as a vehicle for learning the remaining courses. Furthermore, students in advanced PL2 classes could now be fully integrated into the regular Portuguese Language classes.

The initial 2011 official statement (PT 2011a) reinforced the importance of PL2 class levels based on proficiency rather than year of study although these levels, with age-appropriate teaching material, had to have a minimum of ten students each, which could then oblige schools to cluster the beginning and intermediate levels in one sole group. Within the space of less than two weeks, two more official statements (PT 2011b; PT 2011c) were released, directed at first the primary then the secondary schools, to

clarify that approval at the end of the school year in a given level implies transition to the next level of linguistic proficiency.

To date, legislation on immigrant language education in Portugal has dealt with issues in part related to broader issues identified by scholars in similar years but it has failed to mark a position of leadership. Production of teaching material has followed close on the heels of legislation so that teachers can feel supported in their tasks but the fact that so many separate rulings have been made gives an image of a slow putting together of the pieces of a puzzle rather than an organised and thoughtful approach to this all important area of policy and practice.

Further research

The data collection phase which is being dealt with at the time of publication focuses on exactly how the pertinent legislation works in practice in the area of the schools and *agrupamentos* in Guarda, Portugal. The four overriding areas of interest for this research project deal with *(i)* the fit between the qualification of the teaching staff and the proposed teaching objectives; *(ii)* profiles of the learners; *(iii)* a description of the resulting organisational structures and *(iv)* the assessment process. More specifically, the first area aims to characterise the various types of designated and approved teaching institutions, their teaching objectives and the fit with the learning activities created while the second aim is to determine the actual teacher qualifications for Portuguese L2 teaching and for teaching European and Portuguese cultural competence as well as the existing certification and the available teacher training. The third aim is to thoroughly understand the resulting organisational structures that are created to deal with PL2 classes which may be based on learners' level of linguistic competence, age and/or socio-professional groups with their respective established goals. Finally, the fourth area of interest is to determine assessment issues, ranging from the initial/diagnostic and subsequent placement evaluation process, including evaluation and certification of both the PL2 immigrant students and their national results.

In a final phase of the research project, the analyses of this data will be cross-referenced with the purported intent of European and Portuguese legislation as well as qualitative descriptions of the immigrant education experience in Portugal. We hope to find a teaching staff linguistically qualified to teach Portuguese as a second language

with laudable teaching objectives and learning activities which accentuates intercultural dialogue in the promotion of European and Portuguese citizenship.

References

ACIDI – Alto Comissário para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural [High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue]. 2010. *II Plan for Immigrant Integration 2010-2013*. http://www.acidi.gov.pt/_cfn/4d346c9b80687/live/Consulte+a+vers%C3%A3o+da+Plano+2010-2013+em+Ingl%C3%AAs (accessed 2.09.13).

Barro, R. J. and J.-W. Lee. 2010. A New Data Set of Educational Attainment in the World, 1950-2010. *NBER Working Paper No. 15902*. http://www.nber.org/papers/w15902 (accessed 5.09.13) and Forthcoming. *Journal of Development Economics.*

Campos, L. Q., M. P. M. Neves, M. C. Arau Ribeiro & S. W. Best (forthcoming). Orientações Oficiais para o Ensino da Língua e Cultura Portuguesa aos Imigrantes [Official Orientations for the Teaching of Portuguese Language and Culture to Immigrants]. In A. C. Santos & F. C. Marques (eds.), *Atas do Congresso Internacional da APHELLE/APEF* [Proceedings of the APHELLE/APEF Conference], Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 20-21 September 2013.

Centro Virtual de Cervantes [Cervantes Virtual Centre] debates. http://cvc.cervantes.es/debates/debates.asp?vdeb=27 (accessed 4.09.13).

European Central Bank. 2013. *Press release – Croatia joins the European Union*. 1 July. http://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/pr/date/2013/html/pr130701.en.html (accessed 2.09.13).

Fischer, G. 2005. O Portefólio Europeu das Línguas em Portugal [The European Language Portfolio in Portugal]. Plenary speech presented at Aprolínguas Seminar 2005, School of Technology and Management, Guarda Polytechnic, Portugal, 24 April.

González Las, C. (ed.). 2008. *La Evaluación en la Enseñanza de Segundas Lenguas: Documentos de trabajo y conclusiones del III Encuentro de Especialistas en la Enseñanza de L2 a Inmigrantes* [Assessment of Second Language Teaching: Working documents and conclusions of the 3rd SL&i Conference]. http://segundaslenguaseinmigracion.org/documentos/granada/EvaluacEns2L.pdf (accessed 4.09.13).

González Las, C., M. P. Núñez Delgado, M. T. Hernández García & F. Villalba Martínez 2008. *III Encuentro de Especialistas en la Enseñanza de Segundas Lénguas (L2) a Inmigrantes, Conclusiones 2008* [Conclusions of the 3rd SL&i Conference 2008]. http://segundaslenguaseinmigracion.org/documentos/granada/EvaluacEns2L.pdf (accessed 4.09.13).

Grosso, M. J., A. T. & M. Tavares. 2008a. *O Português para Falantes de Outras Línguas: o utilizador elementar no país de acolhimento* [Portuguese for Speakers of Other Languages: basic users in their host countries]. Lisbon: ANQ/DGIDC/IEFP. https://sites.google.com/site/plnmaterna/4-referencias/4-2-documentos-orientadores/portugues-para-falantes-de-outras-linguas (accessed 2.09.13).

Grosso, M. J., A. T. & M. Tavares. 2008b. *O Português para Falantes de Outras Línguas: o utilizador elementar no país de acolhimento. Sugestão de Actividades e Exercícios* [Portuguese for Speakers of Other Languages: basic users in their host countries. Suggested Activities and Exercises]. Lisbon: ANQ/DGIDC/IEFP. https://sites.google.com/site/plnmaterna/4-referencias/4-2-documentos-orientadores/portugues-para-falantes-de-outras-linguas (accessed 2.09.13).

Grosso, M. J., A. T. & M. Tavares. 2009. *O Português para Falantes de Outras Línguas: o utilizador independente no país de acolhimento* [Portuguese for Speakers of Other Languages: independent users in their host countries]. Lisbon: ANQ/DGIDC/IEFP. https://sites.google.com/site/plnmaterna/4-referencias/4-2-documentos-orientadores/portugues-para-falantes-de-outras-linguas (accessed 2.09.13).

Heritage History. *Wars of the Moorish Empire*. http://www.heritage-history.com/maps/philips/phil018d.jpg (accessed 2.09.13).

HDR – Human Development Report. 2013a. *The Rise of the South: human progress in a diverse world. Explanatory note on 2013 HDR composite indices – Portugal. HDI values and rank changes in the 2013 Human Development Report*. http://hdrstats.undp.org/images/explanations/PRT.pdf (accessed 5.09.13).

HDR – Human Development Report. 2013b. *The Rise of the South: human progress in a diverse world. Explanatory note on 2013 HDR composite indices – Spain. HDI values and rank changes in the 2013 Human Development Report*. http://hdrstats.undp.org/images/explanations/ESP.pdf (accessed 5.09.13).

Leite, M. F. F. 2011. *O Ensino-Aprendizagem da Cultura em PLE: contributos para uma educação intercultural* [Teaching and Learning Culture in PL2: contributions toward na intercultural education]. Oporto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto MA Thesis. http://repositorio-aberto.up.pt/bitstream/10216/57332/2/TESEMESMARIALEITE000141871.pdf (accessed 6.09.13).

Manifiesto de Santander [Santander Manifest]. http://cvc.cervantes.es/debates/leer.asp?vId=7983 (accessed 6.09.13).

OECD – Better Policy for Better Lives. 2013. http://www.oecd.org (accessed 5.09.13).

Pei, M. 1958. *One Language for the World*. New York: Devin-Adair.

Propuestas de Alicante [Alicante Proposals]. 2006.
http://segundaslenguaseinmigracion.com/inicio/propuestasalicante.pdf (accessed 4.09.13).

PT 2001. Decreto Lei [Decree-Law] n. 6/2001, 18 January.

PT 2002. Decreto Lei [Decree-Law] n. 209/2002, 17 October.

PT 2004. Decreto Lei [Decree-Law] n. 74/2004, 26 March.

PT 2005. Decreto Lei [Decree-Law] n. 227/2005, 28 December.

PT 2006. Despacho Normativo [Normative Dispatch] n. 7/2006, 6 February.

PT 2007a. Resolução do Conselho de Ministros [Council of Ministries Resolution] n. 63-A/2007, 3 May.

PT 2007b. Despacho Normativo [Normative Dispatch] n. 30/2007, 22 May.

PT 2007c. Ofício [Official Statement] n. 23/DSEE7DES/07, 22 May.

PT 2008a. Ofício [Official Statement] OFC-DGIDC/2008/1, 18 March.

PT 2008b. Despacho Normativo [Normative Dispatch] n. 19/2008, 5 May.

PT 2008c. Ofício [Official Statement] OFC-DGIDC/2008/19, 19 November.

PT 2009a. Ofício [Official Statement] OFC-DGIDC/2009/3, 12 May.

PT 2009b. Portaria [Ruling] n. 1262/2009, 16 October.

PT 2011a. Ofício [Official Statement] OFC-DGIDC/2011/94, 3 August.

PT 2011b. Ofício [Official Statement] OFC-DGIDC/2011/GD/7, 10 August.

PT 2011c. Ofício [Official Statement] OFC-DGIDC/2011/GD/8, 16 August.

Schwab, K. (ed.) (2013). *The Global Competitiveness Report 2013-14*. Geneva: World Economic Forum 2013, http://reports.weforum.org/the-global-competitiveness-report-2013-2014/ (accessed 5.09.13).

SL&i – Segundas Lenguas & Inmigración [Second Languages and Immigration].
http://www.segundaslenguaseinmigracion.es/ (accessed 4.09.13).

La observación de la enseñanza de léxico a través del juego didáctico

Mónica Barros Lorenzo

Facultade de Letras da Universidade do Porto

mlorenzo@letras.up.pt

El objetivo de esta comunicación es la reflexión sobre la enseñanza de léxico a través del juego didáctico en la clase de lengua extranjera a partir de los datos obtenidos en la observación de una muestra de población de tres clases impartidas por profesores en prácticas que durante el curso lectivo 2011-2012 realizaban el Mestrado de Ensino da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto. La filosofía de la observación realizada se caracteriza en primer lugar, por ser democrática, colaboradora y negociada con el profesor en prácticas en lo relacionado con objetivos, contenidos y estrategias por él diseñados; y en segundo lugar, por aspirar a tener una proyección a medio y largo plazo con el fin de mejorar la enseñanza de dichos profesores así como el aprendizaje de sus también futuros alumnos. Para su puesta en práctica, se siguieron los siguientes pasos: definición clara de sus objetivos, utilización (e incluso creación) de instrumentos adecuados y específicos para facilitar la recogida de datos; análisis e interpretación de los mismos y por último, puesta en común con el orientador de la escuela y el profesor en prácticas con el fin de examinar los elementos susceptibles de mejora así como las vías para hacerlo.

Palabras clave: observación, léxico, juego didáctico

The observation of the teaching of lexis through pedagogic games

This communication is intended to reflect on the teaching of lexis through pedagogical games in a foreign language classroom based on the data collected from the observation of a sample from a population consisting of three classes taught by teachers training towards an MA in teaching at the University of Porto

Language Department in the 2011-2012 school year. The principle behind the observation is characterised, first, by being democratic, supportive and negotiated with the trainee teachers concerning the aims, content and strategies they have devised. It further aspires to improve the quality of the teaching of the newly-trained teachers as well as the learning experience of their future students over the medium and long-term. The following steps were taken to put the project into practice: clear definition of aims, use and development of appropriate and specific tools for data collection; analysis and interpretation of the data obtained, and, finally, discussion with the school's head teacher and the trainee teacher to assess areas and strategies for improvement.

Keywords: Observation, Lexis, Pedagogical Games, Teacher Training

Introducción

El tipo de observación seguida durante la investigación de este trabajo, los principios en que se basa y los instrumentos para llevarla a cabo parten de considerarla un "instrumento multifacético para aprender" (Wajnryb 1992, citado por Verdía 2011: 2) y "una forma de recopilar información sobre la enseñanza más que como una forma de evaluarla" (Richards y Lockhart 2008: 20). Por ello, entendemos que lo aconsejable es que el observador recoja información y no participe en la evaluación del proceso de formación del profesor en prácticas. Sin embargo, dado que la labor de supervisión realizada en el Mestrado de Ensino conlleva la evaluación de los profesores observados intentamos realizar la actividad de "micro-observación" (término que utilizamos para referirnos a observaciones focalizadas únicamente en el juego didáctico de igual manera que hablamos de *micro-teaching* para referirnos a prácticas en que la enseñanza se reduce a determinados aspectos, actividades o explicaciones) de forma independiente de las consideraciones generales que forman parte de la evaluación de dichos profesores en prácticas.

Los principios generales seguidos en la observación del juego didáctico fueron: tener un objetivo claramente definido (la enseñanza de léxico a través del mismo); utilizar procedimientos propios (en este caso tres fichas de observación diseñadas específicamente para recoger los datos relativos al objeto de dicha observación) y tener claro que el observador nunca debe dejar de serlo (en el sentido de nunca participar activamente) (Richards y Lockhart 2008: 30).

En lo referente a los procedimientos de observación arriba mencionados, se elaboraron tres fichas ajustadas a las necesidades específicas del juego didáctico centrado en la enseñanza de léxico: la primera, una ficha de pre-observación o de síntesis de datos presentados por el profesor en prácticas en su unidad didáctica y centrada únicamente en las características del juego propuesto (y que a partir de ahora se denominará ficha A); la segunda, una ficha de observación propiamente dicha donde el objetivo es obtener información sobre la enseñanza de léxico durante la clase (ficha B) y la tercera, una ficha de post-observación o de preparación del comentario de la clase supervisada/observada y cuyo fin es facilitar el análisis e interpretación de los datos objeto de estudio (ficha C).

I. El juego didáctico

La justificación teórica de la elección del juego didáctico como objeto de estudio de este trabajo comienza con las aproximaciones al mismo del Marco Común Europeo de Referencia (MCER) y del Plan Curricular del Instituto Cervantes (PCIC).

El primero nos indica que llevarlo al aula consolida el enfoque comunicativo que entiende el aprendizaje como proceso en el que intervienen lo intelectual, lo físico y lo existencial dentro de un contexto que defiende un aprendizaje dirigido a la acción (2001: 58-59). Por su parte, el PCIC (1194: 110-112) los aconseja porque posibilita tanto la práctica controlada dentro de un marco significativo como la práctica libre y la expresión creativa, además de cubrir tanto conocimientos lingüísticos como socioculturales (citado en Labrador 2008: 75).

De entre otras muchas razones que avalan su uso y rendimiento en el aula recogemos a continuación las resumidas por Cervero y Pichardo (2000) por destacar las diferentes posibilidades de puesta en práctica, las relaciones personales que permiten y la mejora del aprendizaje a partir del incremento de la motivación que suponen:

> *Los juegos didácticos tienen como objetivos favorecer y acelerar los procesos de aprendizaje, sirven sobre todo para la práctica, ejercitación, repaso y ampliación de conocimientos adquiridos y son un recurso ideal para establecer relaciones entre los objetos y sus imágenes y significados. El elemento lúdico y la forma de interacción (parejas, grupos, pleno de la clase) motivan a los/as alumnos/as y favorecen un aprendizaje más afectivo y efectivo.* (2000: 156)

Asimismo, señalamos que la observación se limitó a aquellos juegos cuyo objetivo era la enseñanza de léxico. La razón subyacente a esta decisión fue eminentemente

pragmática y derivada del hecho de que de las treinta y tres clases observadas a los once profesores de los cuales fui supervisora durante el curso 2011-2012 tan solo en cuatro ocasiones se llevó el juego al aula. De estos, en tres se trabajó con léxico y en uno con gramática. En un primer momento consideramos este bajo número chocante aunque la causa puede encontrarse en la combinación de tres situaciones: el limitado número de clases supervisadas; la necesidad de los profesores en prácticas de llevar al aula actividades relacionadas con su futura tesina; y, sobre todo, la decisión de no querer asumir en las clases supervisadas el "riesgo" que en sí mismos conllevan los juegos por ser actividades más libres y menos controladas por el profesor.

II. La observación del juego didáctico

Como hemos señalado anteriormente la información necesaria para preparar la observación del juego didáctico se obtuvo a través de la ficha A. Para su diseño partimos de la sistematización realizada por Arnal y Ruiz de Garibay (1997) para clasificar juegos (pese a referirse específicamente a los escritos). Esta sistematización incluye las siguientes cuestiones: el nivel de competencia lingüística, el tipo de escrito, la etapa del proceso de aprendizaje, su objetivo, el estímulo del que parten, el modelo de aproximación a la información o a la comunicación, la técnica empleada, la dinámica que utilizan, la organización dentro de la clase, las destrezas que integran o la duración prevista en su desarrollo (1997: 56-59). En nuestro caso, estudiamos cinco de estas cuestiones: la organización de la clase para llevarlos a cabo, las actividades de la lengua trabajadas, las técnicas empleadas, su duración y la etapa del proceso de aprendizaje en que tienen lugar y añadimos como punto de partida el análisis de si el juego es efectivamente didáctico.

Su utilización tiene como objetivos: ayudar al observador a analizar las diferencias entre lo planificado por los profesores en prácticas y su desarrollo en el aula; organizar sistemáticamente las dudas que surgen durante la lectura de las unidades didácticas; proporcionar una síntesis completa, útil y manejable para el análisis de los datos (que muchas veces no son estudiados hasta mucho tiempo después); y facilitar *a posteriori* comparaciones entre juegos.

Como indicamos anteriormente, la observación de los tres juegos se desarrolló dentro del marco de las prácticas del Mestrado de Ensino da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto que a partir de ahora denominaremos juegos 1, 2 y 3 respectivamente (J1, J2 y J3) siendo el J1 un bingo de términos relacionados con la

salud; el J2 un juego para adivinar deportes a partir de su mímica; y el J3 una actividad de expresión escrita para adivinar a qué estudiante de la clase se está describiendo.

La ficha A pudo cubrirse para estos tres juegos a partir de los datos registrados tanto en las planificaciones de clase como en las fundamentaciones pedagógicas de las unidades didácticas presentadas por los profesores en prácticas. En las ocasiones en que en dichas unidades no se dispuso de parte de la información se recurrió a su búsqueda durante la puesta en práctica del juego o a la consulta directa con el profesor tras la clase. A continuación, y tras su análisis, resumimos los resultados más significativos:

En primer lugar referimos que tras el estudio de los tres elementos constitutivos que todo juego didáctico debe tener (Chacón 2008: 2): objetivo didáctico; actividades lúdicas para desarrollarlo y reglas del juego o elementos organizativos del mismo. Observamos que sólo los J1 y J2 son efectivamente didácticos pues el J3 no posee reglas de juego (solo instrucciones para realizar adecuadamente la actividad lúdica de expresión escrita). Curioso es, sin embargo, que el J2 no aparezca mencionado en ningún momento de su unidad didáctica como tal, sino como "actividad cinésica en la que tendrán que reutilizar la información nueva o repasada" o "actividad comunicativa de léxico relacionado con los deportes utilizando gestos".

En lo referente a la organización de la clase para llevarlos a cabo, el J1 lo hace en gran grupo y el J2 en dos grupos. Estos dos juegos se diferencian, además, en que en el primero la correcta resolución del problema propuesto a los alumnos (descubrir cuándo su palabra se ajusta a las definiciones dadas por el profesor) no tiene consecuencias positivas o negativas en el resultado final (completar la tarjeta del bingo de vocabulario) mientras que en el segundo, cada ejecución individual correcta (comunicar a sus compañeros a través de gestos un deporte) supone la obtención o pérdida de un punto para su grupo. El J3 se realiza de forma individual (descripción física y psicológica de un alumno de la clase) aunque se exponga posteriormente al resto del grupo con el objetivo de que se adivine a qué compañero se describe. El hecho de que se trabaje individualmente puede deberse a que no sea un juego didáctico pues en los didácticos esta distribución es menos frecuente.

En este punto se hace necesario prestar atención a si, además de trabajarse en grupo, los alumnos lo hacen de forma colaborativa. Es decir, a si entre otras cosas, se reparte la responsabilidad en el aprendizaje; se controlan este aprendizaje y la interacción; se comparte información; o se razona de manera cooperativa.

En cuanto a las actividades comunicativas de la lengua practicadas, el J1 trabaja la comprensión oral (desencadenante de una respuesta no verbal y consistente en la búsqueda y registro de una determinada palabra en sus correspondientes cartones de bingo) y la expresión oral (lectura en voz alta al resto de la clase cuando los alumnos consideran que tienen en sus cartones la palabra que se ajusta a la definición de la profesora); el J2 la interacción oral (aunque uno de los participantes se comunique fundamentalmente a través de gestos y la producción de los demás sea escasa); y el J3 la expresión escrita y la comprensión lectora (descripción de un compañero y comprensión de su identidad por el resto de la clase). Aquí se hizo necesario analizar el uso de la lengua meta durante el desarrollo del juego, especialmente en el J2 por ser el único cuyo objetivo principal es la interacción. Y por supuesto, analizar cómo la utilizaron los estudiantes. Las técnicas utilizadas son el vacío de información en el J1 y en el J2 (tal y como ocurre en la mayor parte de los juegos) y el intercambio de información en el J3 (que, aunque se utiliza en juegos didácticos, es más usual en los que no lo son).

Partiendo de que las distintas posibilidades de duración en un juego didáctico son: corta (hasta quince minutos), media (entre quince minutos y una hora), y larga (si es más de una hora) observamos que, en los tres casos analizados, la duración es corta. Quince minutos en los J1 y J2 y diez minutos en el J3 llevándose a cabo al inicio de la clase en el J1 (con el objetivo de presentar vocabulario nuevo) y como actividad final en los J2 y J3 (para revisar y practicar el ya conocido). A partir de estos resultados se hace necesario prestar atención al papel dado al juego por el profesor en prácticas (en especial en los J2 y J3) puesto que su presencia al acabar la clase puede encubrir una concepción del juego simplemente como pasatiempo, disminuyendo su valor didáctico, recompensa o espacio destinado a cubrir un vacío que no se había previsto.

En lo referente a la etapa del proceso de aprendizaje en que tienen lugar, los tres juegos (independientemente de que sean didácticos o no) constituyen prácticas muy controladas de los objetivos que plantean y utilizan la síntesis como modelo de aproximación a la información o a la comunicación (aunque también se sigue en parte un modelo inductivo en el J1).

III. La enseñanza de léxico a través del juego didáctico

El análisis de la enseñanza de léxico a través del juego didáctico en las clases observadas se realiza a partir del estudio e interpretación de los datos registrados en la

ficha B y que examinan las unidades trabajadas; su forma de presentación y las estrategias empleadas para su fijación.

En cuanto a las unidades básicas que componen el vocabulario trabajado en los tres juegos observamos que los profesores en prácticas se refirieron al que enseñaron a sus alumnos con el término "palabras". A este respecto, Cervero y Pichardo (2000: 44-45) hacen notar que optar por el término "palabra" para referirse a todo el vocabulario que se enseña en clase resulta insuficiente. Por ello, a partir de ahora, siguiendo a estas autoras, haremos la distinción entre "palabra" y "unidades léxicas", entendidas estas últimas como

> *Aquellas secuencias con significado unitario que remiten globalmente a un concepto, constituyen un sistema abierto y pueden estar integradas también por una o más palabras: expresiones prepositivas y conjuntivas, frases hechas, combinaciones sintagmáticas bimembres o trimembres y expresiones lexicalizadas.*

Al poner énfasis en esta cuestión se hace conscientes a los profesores en prácticas de que enseñar léxico no consiste únicamente en enseñar palabras si bien es cierto que en los J1, J2 y J3 se enseña básicamente estas: sustantivos en el J2 y sustantivos y adjetivos en el J3. Mención especial merece el J1 en el que se trabajan sustantivos, adjetivos y verbos y en el que excepcionalmente aparecen dos combinaciones sintagmáticas "hacer deporte" y "estar en ayunas".

También destacamos aquí que, debido a que los tres juegos se desarrollan en los primeros estadios del aprendizaje del español de los alumnos, el léxico se circunscribe al necesario y elemental para que estos se desenvuelvan en situaciones básicas.

El número y la selección de las unidades léxicas trabajadas ha de permitir alcanzar los objetivos establecidos por el docente (adaptado de Cervero y Pichardo 2000: 9). En este sentido en los J2 y J3 las elecciones tomadas se revelaron muy adecuadas al nivel de los alumnos además de coherentes con los objetivos de las unidades didácticas en las que se integraban. Sin embargo, en el J1 se constató que el trabajo con treinta y tres unidades léxicas (sustantivos, adjetivos y verbos) pertenecientes al campo semántico de la salud resultó demasiado exigente para el nivel de la clase (sobre todo teniendo en cuenta que era la primera vez que los alumnos entraban en contacto con muchas de ellas) e insostenible el que no volvieran a aparecer a lo largo de la unidad didáctica ni como vocabulario productivo ni receptivo.

En relación al vocabulario productivo ("conjunto de unidades léxicas que se pueden recuperar y usar adecuadamente en la práctica oral y escrita") y receptivo ("conjunto de unidades léxicas que pueden ser reconocidas y comprendidas al escucharlas o leerlas") enseñado en las clases observadas (Cervero y Pichardo 2000: 39-40) apuntamos que en el J2 y en el J3 el vocabulario es básicamente productivo aunque en el J1 (quizás debido a la gran cantidad de unidades implicadas) aparece alguno básicamente receptivo para este nivel tal y como "salar" o "jugo". Este vocabulario implica además determinados conocimientos culturales o de diferencias dialectales que no fueron tratados en clase.

El objetivo didáctico apuntado en la planificación de los tres juegos (revisión y práctica de vocabulario) se cumple en los tres. Sin embargo, hay que matizar que en el J1, el paso necesario para la presentación de nuevo vocabulario se ve dificultado por varias cuestiones: presentación de una gran cantidad de unidades léxicas; inapropiada selección del método inductivo como modelo de aproximación a la mayor parte del léxico presentado; y desconocimiento por parte de los alumnos de cuestiones relacionadas con la formación de palabras en español.

De las estrategias puestas en práctica para su desarrollo, y siguiendo la terminología de Richards y Lockhart (1998: 64-65) que las divide en: de memoria; cognitivas; compensatorias; metacognitivas; afectivas o sociales, destacamos que priman las compensatorias en los J1 y J2 (utilizadas para aventurar respuestas de forma inteligente y utilizar signos no lingüísticos para inferir significados respectivamente) y las cognitivas en el J3 (para practicar elementos aprendidos anteriormente).

El desarrollo de estas estrategias, tal y como subraya Melguizo (2007), facilita un aprendizaje y enseñanza de léxico eficaces en cualquier situación comunicativa en la que se desenvuelva el estudiante y focaliza el aprendizaje en aquellas unidades léxicas que resultan más rentables. En nuestro caso fue muy significativo observar que los profesores en prácticas no hicieran mención a las necesarias para una realización eficaz del juego ni para facilitar el aprendizaje de vocabulario. Cuestión que, dada su relevancia, fue uno de los puntos esenciales tratados posteriormente en las sesiones de comentarios de clases. También hemos de señalar que lo que se prima en los tres juegos es la producción de la palabra justa perteneciente al campo semántico objeto de estudio sin tenerse en cuenta la coordinación; las colocaciones o combinaciones sintagmáticas; la polisemia e hiponimia; o la sinonimia y antonimia.

En lo referente a los recursos utilizados por los alumnos cuando desconocen una unidad léxica o utilizan otra estructura diferente a la que el profesor pretende practicar o revisar hay que apuntar que, quizás por tratarse de prácticas controladas, se pretendió en los tres juegos que los alumnos utilizasen una palabra concreta y que cualquier otra posibilidad no fuese valorada (aunque de forma más estricta en los J2 y J3). Para el comentario posterior a la observación de clases, nos propusimos tratar este tema: cuestionar por qué se optó por esta fórmula, analizar sus ventajas e inconvenientes y sugerir alternativas con el objetivo de evitar situaciones extremas como la observada en el juego con objetivo gramatical al que nos referimos en la sección intitulada *La observación del Juego Didáctico* (a pesar de no ser uno de los estudiados). En este, observamos que llegó a penalizarse la correcta utilización del futuro simple de indicativo (dada la proximidad de su forma con la de su lengua materna pese a no haber sido estudiado previamente en clase) porque el objetivo principal era la práctica de la perífrasis de futuro *ir + a + infinitivo*.

También destacamos que en ninguno de los casos observados el vocabulario con el que se trabajó antes, durante o después del juego didáctico se sistematizó, ordenó o clasificó ni en escalas de gradación; árboles de hiperónimos e hipónimos; tablas; o asociogramas (Estaire y Higueras 2007 pese a que hubiera sido extremadamente útil en los tres juegos y específicamente en el J1 dada la cantidad de léxico trabajado, por las posibilidades de agrupación que presenta su campo semántico y, sobre todo, para facilitar su estudio y memorización.

IV. Cuarto paso: la reflexión

El observador/supervisor ha de tener entre sus objetivos principales transmitir a los profesores en prácticas la importancia de su papel como docentes de lengua extranjera y de los beneficios que un análisis introspectivo de sus actuaciones, creencias y valores tendrá no solo en su trayectoria profesional sino también en el futuro de sus alumnos.

En nuestro caso la ficha C pretende principalmente ayudar a los futuros profesores a recordar y reflexionar sobre su actuación durante la clase observada y a preparar la sesión del comentario de la misma. Consideramos que conocer de antemano los puntos principales que van a tratarse enriquece la discusión de los procesos de aprendizaje y enseñanza objeto de discusión y favorece la retroalimentación entre todos los agentes que intervienen en la observación.

Además de cuestiones que hemos ido destacando como objeto de tratamiento en el comentario a lo largo de este trabajo, los puntos principales que constituyen la ficha C hacen referencia al análisis de las diferencias entre la planificación y la acción; a la puesta en práctica del juego en el aula; al trabajo con las unidades léxicas; a la participación; y al uso de la lengua meta, entre otros.

V. El comentario

Durante el comentario de una clase observada es cuando la actuación del supervisor/observador cobra mayor importancia. La perspectiva que ha primado en este estudio es la de considerarla no como una evaluación sino como una retroalimentación formativa donde lo importante es dar la oportunidad de explicar las decisiones tomadas. Por ello, el enfoque seguido está basado en el diálogo y se lleva a cabo con un tono positivo, constructivo y cooperativo (Sánchez 2008) que pasa por los siguientes estadios: la ayuda al alumno a tomar conciencia de su actuación (haciéndole ver aspectos sobre los que no había reflexionado); la sugerencia o aportación de técnicas, materiales o ideas para que pueda realizarse una mejora y; por último, el fomento de la reflexión sobre distintos aspectos relacionados con su práctica profesional y docente (adaptado de Verdía 2011).

Todo este proceso se facilita cuando disponemos de un registro fiable y manejable de lo ocurrido durante las clases (en nuestro caso proporcionado por las fichas A y B) y preparamos con antelación un esquema o guion de las cuestiones más importantes a tratar en el comentario (con la ayuda de la ficha C). A continuación dejamos constancia de algunas resoluciones tomadas en las sesiones de comentarios. Debido a la imposibilidad de tratarlas todas, pasamos a reflejar únicamente las relacionadas con las estrategias implicadas con el aprendizaje.

Con respecto al J1, llegamos a la conclusión de que no se llevó a cabo de forma eficaz, entre otras causas, por la falta de previsión a la hora de anticiparse la capacidad de los alumnos para inferir significados a partir de la estructura de las palabras. Aunque esto se debió en gran medida al desconocimiento del nivel de los estudiantes (pues esta era solo la tercera clase que les impartía el profesor en prácticas) concluimos que habría sido necesario trabajar más este aspecto antes de ponerlo en práctica. En el J2 entendimos que dado que conllevaba la utilización de gestos, hubiera sido pertinente explicar a los alumnos la importancia del lenguaje no verbal en los intercambios comunicativos para hacer del juego una práctica significativa. Y, por último, en el J3

consideramos que el desarrollo de las estrategias cognitivas resultó fundamental para ir más allá de la simple repetición y por desenvolver en el aula una práctica con sentido que potenció el aprendizaje autónomo de los alumnos y les hizo conscientes de cuáles eran los objetivos y las estrategias que debían poner en práctica.

VI. Conclusiones

La supervisión seguida a lo largo de las observaciones realizadas para este trabajo se caracterizó por tener una finalidad principal: "ayudar a los docentes a volverse supervisores de su propia práctica" (Vieira 2009: 201) puesto que la observación no deja de ser "una destreza o capacidad humana que puede ejercitarse y desarrollarse con la práctica" (Verdía 2011:2).

Sus objetivos fueron ayudar a los docentes a detectar los puntos susceptibles de mejora del juego didáctico como instrumento para enseñar léxico; indicarles las opciones para llevar a cabo dicha mejora; crear una cultura educativa de coparticipación donde se fomente el diálogo, la negociación y la apertura ante diferentes enfoques y promover la reflexión y el auto-análisis. Para lograr estos objetivos señalamos la importancia del trabajo previo a la observación propiamente dicha. Una clase supervisada/observada puede y debe ser preparada con anterioridad y la diferencia entre hacerlo o no tendrá, lógicamente, consecuencias en el proceso de formación de los profesores en prácticas.

En nuestro caso los instrumentos diseñados para tal fin supusieron una inestimable ayuda. La ficha A, por la aportación de información sobre las características del juego didáctico y su pertinencia como instrumento para la enseñanza de léxico así como por ser un vínculo fundamental para analizar la correspondencia entre la planificación y la acción. Y las fichas B y C, por recopilar y organizar información y facilitar al observador y al profesor en prácticas la preparación del comentario de la clase.

En cuanto a los aspectos susceptibles de mejora en estas fichas de observación hemos de apuntar la inclusión de los estilos de aprendizaje e inteligencias múltiples; la posibilidad de expansión de lo aprendido en el juego como forma de ir más allá y hacer del alumno un aprendiente autónomo y responsable de su propio aprendizaje; o la concepción del error en el juego.

Referencias

Arnal, C. & A. Ruiz de Garibay. (1997). Juegos para practicar la escritura. VV.AA., *Las actividades lúdicas en la enseñanza de ELE* Carabela *41*. 49-66. Madrid: SGEL.

Cervero, Mª J. & F. Pichardo. (2000). *Aprender y enseñar vocabulario.* Madrid: Edelsa.

Chacón, P. (2008). El Juego Didáctico como estrategia de enseñanza y aprendizaje. ¿Cómo crearlo en el aula? *Nueva Aula Abierta 16.* http://grupodidactico2001.com/PaulaChacon.pdf (accedido 01.09.2013).

Consejo de Europa. (2002). *Marco de Común Europeo de Referencia para las lenguas: aprendizaje, enseñanza, evaluación*. Madrid: Secretaría General Técnica del MECD, Subdirección General de Información y Publicaciones y grupo ANAYA.

Estaire, S., & M. Higueras. (2007). Aspectos didácticos I: Una tipología de tareas para reciclar léxico ya conocido. Madrid: Universidad Antonio de Nebrija. Seminario impartido en el Máster oficial en lingüística aplicada a la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera.

Fernández López, S. (2010). El desarrollo de la función lúdica en el aula. *MarcoELE*, *11*. http://marcoele.com/descargas/navas/09.fernandez.pdf (accedido 01.09.2013).

Instituto Cervantes. (2006). *Plan Curricular del Instituto Cervantes. Niveles de referencia para el español.* Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva (3 vols.).

Labrador, Mª J. & P. Morote Magán. (2008). El juego en la enseñanza de ELE. *Glosas Didácticas*, *Revista electrónica internacional 17*. http://www.um.es/glosasdidacticas/numeros/GD17/07.pdf (accedido 01.09.2013).

Melguizo Moreno, E. (2007). La enseñanza de léxico en el aula de ELE. *Actas del II Congreso Virtual ELE.* Ediciones EdiEle. 1-10.

Richards, J. C. & C. Lockhart. (2008). *Estrategias de reflexión sobre la enseñanza de idiomas.* Traducción de Juan Jesús Zaro. Cambrigde University Press, Colección Cambridge de Didáctica de Lenguas. Madrid: Edinumen.

Sánchez Quintana, N. (2008) La retroalimentación formativa. Seminario impartido en el Curso de formación de tutores de prácticas docentes en cursos de formación inicial. Instituto Cervantes, Madrid, junio.

Verdía, E. (2011). La observación y la retroalimentación de la actuación docente. Seminario impartido en el Curso de formación de tutores de prácticas docentes en cursos de formación inicial. Instituto Cervantes, Madrid, 21-22 de junio.

Vieira, F. (2009). Para uma visão transformadora da supervisão pedagógica. *Educación Social, Campinas 29* (105). http://www.google.es/#q=VIEIRA%2C+F.+(2009).+Para+uma+vis%C3%A3o+transformadora+da+supervis%C3%A3o+pedag%C3%B3gica.+Educ.+Soc.%2C+Campinas%2C+vol.+29%2C+n.105 (accedido 01.09.2013).

LingoBee Mobile Language Learning App as a Tool to Support Lexical Growth

Annamaria Cacchione
Emma Procter-Legg

University of Molise, Italy
Bellerby College, UK

annamaria.cacchione@unimol.it
emma525989@hotmail.com

Language learners and teachers should take advantage of the affordances of mobile language learning apps. To gain leverage from such technologies, researchers are challenged with the ideas of technology-enhanced, non-formal learning. In this paper, we describe the outcomes of two case studies conducted in two European countries, the UK and Italy, where pre-university and Erasmus students used LingoBee. LingoBee is a free Android mobile app to support situated mobile language learning in linguistic and cultural diversity. It is designed to capture language elements in their everyday lives (Pemberton et al. 2010). Previous studies were conducted about the pedagogical approaches adopted, concluding that, even if today's students are assumed to be Digital Natives, the level of support provided to them has a positive correlation to engagement and use of LingoBee. Further studies identified that language learners use LingoBee as a social network and behave as social networkers (Procter-Legg et al. 2012). In this paper, we address the problem of evaluating the improvement of the new language proficiency in terms of lexical growth (Lewis 1993), given that LingoBee allows the creation and the sharing of a cultural-oriented, contextualized and multimedia vocabulary. Two groups of learners were tested to measure how many LingoBee entries they were able to recognise and possibly re-define in the target language. The outcomes show that there is a positive correlation between level of use and engagement and lexical enrichment, identifying mobile apps like LingoBee as an

effective tool to support and enhance informal language learning in different contexts.

Keywords: Mobile Learning, Mobile Language Learning, Non-Formal Learning, Lexical Growth

Introduction

Current mobile and Web 2.0 technologies represent a significant challenge for language learning and teaching, as they appear to be the ideal tools to improve learners' engagement and to support the integration of formal and non-formal learning.

In this paper, we describe the outcomes of two case studies on lexical growth conducted in two European countries, the UK and Italy, within the trial phase of the European Lifelong Learning Programme's SIMOLA (Situated Mobile Language Learning) project (SIMOLA 2012b). The project developed a mobile app called LingoBee that has been used by a number of second language learners in several different countries over the last two years. LingoBee is a free Android mobile app developed to support situated mobile language learning and to help learners in linguistic and cultural diversity.

The content of the crowd-sourced LingoBee repository (SIMOLA 2012a) has been previously investigated by all the SIMOLA project partner countries (UK, Italy, Hungary, Lithuania, Norway, Japan and the Netherlands) in relation to general aspects such as learners' engagement and autonomy, creativity in language learning and learners' behavior as social networkers (Adlard et al. 2012; Cacchione 2011; Peterson et al. 2013a, 2013b; Procter-Legg et al. 2012a, 2012b, 2013).

To get more specific data about the improvement of the new language proficiency in terms of lexical growth, two further studies have been conducted with two target groups in the UK and Italy. This paper describes the outcomes of this small- scale research that has been useful in highlighting correlations between the usage of LingoBee and the level of lexical growth of the user.

The paper is organized as follows: a literature review of mobile learning, mobile language learning and an introduction to the LingoBee app; an outline of the study design for the two case studies and the presentation of the two case studies; and the last section presents the main results of the tests and discusses them.

Review of the Literature

Mobile learning

Mobile phones and other portable devices have become increasingly popular as Educational technology. Smartphones and Tablets provide new opportunities for learning, creating the need for researchers and educators to search out innovative ways to gain advantage of their affordances. Mobile Learning is undergoing an evolution from the simple delivery of learning content to learner-generated content (Kukulska-Hulme 2009).

We are challenged to think about learning not only in the formal arena, but also in the non-formal arena (Schwier 2010). There are several distinctions between formal and informal learning. Eraut distinguished between the two when he presented the features of formal learning as: a prescribed learning framework, the presence of a teacher, qualification and credit, and classified everything else as non-formal learning (Eraut 2000). OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) identifies formal learning as being organized and informal learning as being an experience, which is often unorganized, unintentional and undervalued (OECD). Non-formal learning has also been recognized as an intermediate between the formal and informal learning, and this has been of interest to researchers and policy makers (e.g. in the EU and OECD).

Mobile learning emphasizes the active involvement of the learner, where formal learning is complemented by informal learning. These features are consistent with a constructivist approach where the learner experiences concepts, applies them and relates them to their already existing knowledge. Social constructivism (Vygotsky 1978), focuses on the social context that shapes the construction of knowledge which is important in language learning. Learning languages is strongly influenced by situations, (Ogata and Yoneo 2004; Tang 1999) and fits well within the concept of situated learning proposed by Lave and Wenger (Lave and Wenger 1991). As ADL (Advanced Distributed Learning) stated in their recent report on mobile learning, "Unlike other learning technologies, mobile learning is unique in that it can accommodate both formal and informal learning in collaborative or individual learning modes" (ADL 2013: 5).

Mobile Language Learning

The use of mobile technology to support learners of EFL (English as a Foreign Language) or ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) has become increasingly

popular. The early pedagogical approaches made use of the 'push' functionality of the technology, where content created either directly by the teacher or from a reference source was sent to the learners' mobile device. In an overview paper by Kukulska-Hulme and Shield (2008), learning activities often took advantage of what the devices offered, such as text messaging to support vocabulary learning.

More recently, mobile apps have been developed to support language learning. These are often based on the idea of games and are designed to support vocabulary learning, e.g. based on the concept of flashcards (e.g. Ankidroid in Raoul 2012), or word games. An overview of mobile apps for language learning is available from (Godwin-Jones 2011), describing the current main mobile environments (the functionalities of IPhone, Android and Windows Phone-based devices) and the most relevant apps developed for language learning purposes, among which a special attention is given to Cloudbank, the predecessor of LingoBee (Pemberton, Winter, and Fallahkhair 2009).

Ideally, technologies such as LingoBee should be complementary to the activities in formal learning environments such as the classroom. We envisage that activities around LingoBee usage outside of the classroom and the contents that are generated will bring the learners' interests into the classroom, thus bridging the formal and informal learning arenas and enhancing the learning support for language learners.

LingoBee App

LingoBee is an Android based mobile app designed to support situated mobile language learning. It is intended to not only support language learning but to help learners learn about linguistic and cultural diversity. LingoBee leverages the ideas of situated and contextualized learning, enabling learners to capture language or cultural elements as they discover them, whenever and wherever that may be. It uses the idea of crowd sourcing and social networking to allow the learner to collect, share and annotate entries in a shared online repository as shown in Figure 1. The functions of the app include: an individual favourites list; user group view of the repository - Figure 1a); individual entry view including the word and definition - Figure 1b); an entry editor screen to upload new entries; a profile page and a search page - Figure c). Learners are able to add a new entry or a new version of an existing entry through the entry editor which allows learners to add a word or phrase, plus, if they want to, any combination of the following: definition, weblink, photograph or image already stored on their phone or audio recording. All entries are added to the LingoBee repository, which is

subdivided into user groups. All learners within a user group can view and save any entry added from their user group onto their mobile phone. Learners are able to add new definitions to existing entries and the app automatically links them together so that learners can see the number of entries for each word or phrase. Learners can also rate each others entries using an easy to use star system. For example, the Union Jack in Figure 1 b has been rated 5 stars. Learners can also flag entries to highlight an entry that is offensive or incorrect.

a)   b)   c)
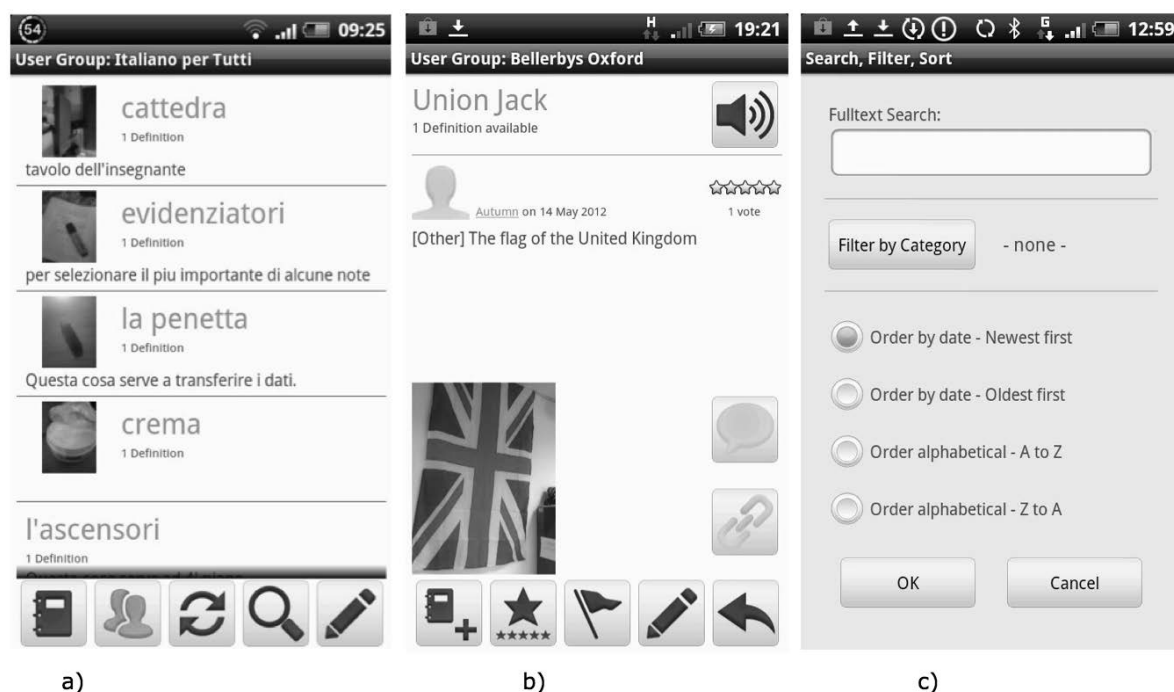
Figure 1a) - user group view; **Figure 1b)** – entry editor; **Figure 1c)** profile and search page

Even though a specific evaluation of linguistic issues was not a required output of the project, since this was focused on more general aspects such as engagement and interest, it seemed to us that a closer look at how much language LingoBee users learnt was due. A review would help to highlight the strengths and weaknesses of the app from a didactical point of view, and provide indications and hints for the best usage in teaching.

However, as Traxler recently pointed out in an interview with The Guardian, "Mobile learning should be recognised as notoriously difficult to evaluate [...] just because you can measure changes in attributes or behaviour doesn't mean they're educationally meaningful or remotely life-changing. It's difficult to observe, difficult to measure and difficult to explain" (Traxler 2012). In previous explanations of this intrinsic difficulty the

author highlighted that: "Attempts to develop the conceptualisations and evaluation of mobile learning, however, must recognise that mobile learning is essentially personal, contextual, and situated; this means it is 'noisy' and this is problematic both for definition and for evaluation" (Traxler 2007). It is significant, therefore, to highlight that *contextual* and *situated* are both key terms in the SIMOLA project: as previously stated, SIMOLA stands for Situated Mobile Learning, and the high contextuality of LingoBee use has been highlighted by Luckin (2010) and is highlighted in Petersen et al. (2012) as a key condition for creativity to emerge.

There is also another kind of problem, as linguistics competence is complex and entails many different kinds of sub-competences, from phonology to pragmatics. Since it is impossible, especially for a small scale trial such as ours, to evaluate it as a whole, a decision had to be made in order to select which level of which sub-competence was to be tested, and how.

Trying to cope with this problem, we have decided to focus on vocabulary, in order to assess if and in which measure LingoBee was able to foster lexical growth. This, however, is only a partial solution, because lexical competence is a structured combination of knowledge and knowing a word can mean many different things, from the phonological form to its morpho-syntactical constraints, from its position to its meaning (Fiorentino and Cacchione 2011). In vocabulary acquisition, like in L2, the knowledge of a word may entail only one or a few of these components. Usually, anyway, in vocabulary testing this complexity is considerably reduced and essentially brought back to semantic aspects – i.e. assessing if a learner knows the meaning of the selected word.

Returning to our choice to focus the research only on the lexicon, it is worth noting that this has given the study two significant advantages. First, it was consistent with the structure of LingoBee, because it is organized as a composition of lexical entries, just like a creative lexicon made of lemmas defined in different, highly personal ways, depending on singular interests, level of proficiency, intrinsic difficulty of definition of the item selected, and other personal describing strategies. Secondly, measuring second language vocabulary acquisition has been treated enough to provide a set of easy-to-manage indications to arrange concrete vocabulary testing.

> *How are vocabulary tests to be made so that they can be both reliable and valid, and gain greater face validity? There are two main issues to be considered in vocabulary*

test construction. One is, which words are to be selected for measurement, examining or counting? The second is, what method is to be used to check whether learners know or can use these words? Researchers are approaching something like a consensus in tackling the first question, and vocabulary tests and other assessments make use of word frequency data and test the most frequent vocabulary. […] There is less consensus in answering the second question, partly because in order to test different aspects of word knowledge, different methods will be needed. A test of a learner's receptive vocabulary knowledge, for example, will require the test writer to select words that can be presented to the learner who may not need to productively use the foreign language at all. A test of productive knowledge, however, will require a technique that can elicit vocabulary in the foreign language from the learner. (Milton 2009: 20)

This paragraph from Milton summarizes all the key issues in vocabulary testing. Taking into consideration the concrete constraints of our small-scale evaluation trials, we have tried to ensure the test was reliable and valid by following the word frequency principle and by limiting our investigation to receptive vocabulary knowledge.

Methodology and Study

The vocabulary test was designed to evaluate how many entries each LingoBee user was able to recognize. *Recognition* was intended that the user was able to recognize the word as familiar and could refer it to a mental object already available in his/her mind. This approach is consistent with a broad referential semantic theory, as it described by the triangle of reference (Ogden and Richards 1949 [1923]). In the simpler test version that was adopted for English as L2, a positive answer, expressed with a tick in the box, was enough to classify the entry as *known*.

The vocabulary evaluation for Italian as L2 was more articulated and, besides the entry recognition, it asked for a definition of the recognized entry, in English or Italian. This task was intended as a way to a) assess if the entry marked as recognized was actually known, i.e., if the definition made corresponded to the meaning of the word; b) how the definition was made: if in the target language (Italian) or in the bridge language (English) and by using which pattern (see below).

This way, the test can be considered as a simplified version of the Vocabulary Knowledge Scale (VKS) proposed by Paribakht and Wesche (1996), in which the five-point scale is squeezed into only two scales: 1) I remember this word and I know what it means (and that's why I tick the box); 2) I remember this word, I know what it means

and I can re-define it by giving a synonym or a translation or a description in English or even in Italian.

The word panel was selected, in both cases, from the LingoBee repository, and was made up of entries added by all the LingoBee users within that user group, including the users whose vocabulary was being tested. The assumption was, in fact, that each user had browsed the repository, as in the majority of cases this actually happened. To make the test affordable, i.e., not too long and boring but including a relevant number of entries, approximately one hundred entries were selected (102 for the English test and 93 for the Italian one).

The entry selection was made following a broad word frequency criterion, in the sense that priority was given to more frequent words. The Italian entry list was assessed by the Censor software (Mastidoro 2003), analyzing the frequency range according to the Gulpease index developed in 1998 by the GULP research group of the University La Sapienza in Rome. The Censor frequency analyser assessed that the word panel included words belonging to the Italian Basic Vocabulary (De Mauro 1997), i.e. to the lexical core of the Italian vocabulary, composed of the most common and useful words – the words a person needs to build 98% of a daily speech.

Results & Discussion

This main criterion was associated with the intention to include and test at least a small (from 4-5 to 10-12) group of entries created by the users during the trials. The following tables show the outcomes from the two tests. For each study we show the total number of entries made by each user and the total entries recognized by each user and the corresponding percentage.

As can be seen in the third line, approximately 50% of the users were able to recognize at least 50% of the entries during both tests.

TEST for ENGLISH L2 LEXICON NB The test included entries entered by the Teacher/Researcher							
	H	A	B	S	Y	L*	tot
Total entries created on LB	142	115	66	57	38	36	544
Total entries recognized (102 entries tested)	47	95	60	45	33	na	280 (56)
%	46	93	58	44	32	--	

* Dropped out of the trial after 4 weeks and therefore did not take the test.

Table 1 – Results from the English L2 lexicon test

TEST for ITALIAN L2 LEXICON								
	KAR*	TAM	YAS	BAR	SIB	PAM	SEB	EMS	tot
Total entries created on LB	21	22	27	3	53	2	34	15	177
Total entries recognized (93 entries tested)	93	84	54	54	50	46	31	29	441 (55 av.)
Definitions made	63	19	54	54	50	46	31	29	
Definitions in Italian	57	19	5	8	6	1	2	0	
Uncorrect definitions	7	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	
%	100	90	67	67	52	48	32	30	

*Joined the trial later than the others due to the availability of a smartphone.

Table 2 – Results from the Italian L2 lexicon test

The following examples (each with the translation in English) are taken from Karolina's (KAR) test. She was the best performer in the Italian test, not only recognizing all the entries, but defining them well – mostly in Italian.

- *Aglio* (garlic) - *puoi cucinare con questa pianta* (you can cook with this plant)

- *Aula* (classroom) - *dove gli studenti hanno lezione* (where students have lessons)

- *Banca* (bank) - *questa cosa serve a prendere euro* (this thing serves to take euros)

- *Cane* (dog) - *è un animale carino* (it is a nice animal)

- *Crema* (cream) - *questa cosa noi usiamo per il viso* (we use this for the face)

Karolina's examples illustrate all the definition patterns that have been traced in the test outcomes. They are outlined in the following table.

Definition patterns for X
X is… (or just the translation in English)
You can do this with X
X serves to…
The place where X is …
We use X for…
(X is) to do Y

Table 3 – Scheme of the definition most used patterns

The outcomes show that there is a positive correlation between the level of use and engagement and lexical enrichment: an average of 50% of the words recognized (but often more) seems to be a very good result. This positive outcome can be easily correlated with the fact that there were words related to routine student life.

Regarding the definition patterns, they are surprisingly articulated and well-structured for users at a very early stage of language learning. They show a relevant strategic ability in communicating in the new language, especially if we take into consideration that defining is not an easy linguistic task.

These considerations bring us to state that mobile apps like LingoBee are effective tools to support and enhance informal language learning in different contexts, with specific reference to lexical improvement. However, there are several aspects limiting the scope of our statement while, at the same time, displaying the potentialities of studies like ours.

First of all, the increasing spread, power, sophistication, and complexity of mobile technology calls into question the adequacy of the conventional repertoire of evaluation techniques based largely around formal, sedentary, and traditional learning (Traxler 2009). The whole set of criteria and methodological tools might not be adequate for mobile learning assessment. On the other hand, no indicator was established at all for linguistic improvement assessment in the whole project, and this, besides being a contradiction for a project about language learning, affected the (few) linguistic focused studies, causing uneven approaches and study designs.

Furthermore, it seems to be the case for almost all projects using mobile phones, the monitoring and evaluation design does not include a control group, but rather just focuses on the target language competency of the participants at the beginning of the trial compared to the end. But selecting representative sample groups to monitor and evaluate can be difficult, because of the physical dispersion of participants in mobile learning projects. On the other hand, we lack a sound literature basis to make a clear cut evaluation of word recognition rates - 50% and over seems a good result, but can we be sure that it is, without the support of other studies?

In conclusion, many frontlines remain open and puzzling, showing the intrinsic difficulty to adapt traditional investigation schemes to a radical new way of interacting - and consequently socialising, learning and teaching. The complexity of mobile learning is thus a challenge for researchers, who need to rapidly develop a common set of analysing tools. However, available data, besides being limited and problematic, offers us many clear clues confirming the effectiveness of mobile devices in learning, in general, and in language learning in particular. We *now* have to concentrate our efforts on developing a new framework for analysing such dramatically innovative learning environments.

References

Adlard, R., Ottway, T. & Procter-Legg, E. (2012). Crowdsourcing with the Lingobee App: A Study in facilitating pollination across language and culture in self-directed learning. *International Journal of Computer-Assisted Language Learning and Teaching (IJCALLT)* 2(4), 17-33.

Cacchione, A. (2011). Imparare l'italiano da lingue agglutinanti: apprendenti iniziali turcofoni e magiarofoni. In C. R. Bozzone, L. Fumagalli & A. Valentini (eds.), *Apprendere l'italiano da lingue lontane: prospettiva linguistica, pragmatica, educativa*, 123-140. Perugia: Guerra.

Eraut, M. (2000). Non-formal Learning and Tacit Knowledge in Professional Work. *The British Journal of Educational Psychology, 70(1),* 113-136.

Godwin-Jones, R. (2011). Emerging Technologies: Mobile Apps for Language Learning *Language Learning & Technology 15(2)*: 2-11.

Heller, M. (2001). Gender and public space in a bilingual school. In A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller & M. Teutsch-Dwyer (eds.), *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender* (Language, Power and Social Process 6), 257–282. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Inkelas, S. (2008). The dual theory of reduplication. *Linguistics 46*(2). www.referenceglobal.com/doi/pdf/10.1515/LING.2008.013 (accessed 10.06.2012).

Kukulska-Hulme, A. (2009). Will Mobile Learning change Language Learning. *ReCALL, 21*(2), 157-165.

Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge UK: Cambdridge University Press.

Luckin, R. (2010). *Re-designing Learning Contexts*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Mastidoro, N. (2003). Leggibilità e lessico: il controllo con Eulogos CENSOR. In A. Cattaneo (ed.), *Il cosmonauta. Guida per l'insegnante*, 77-115. Milano: ELMEDI.

Milton, J. (2009). *Measuring second language vocabulary acquisition*. Clevedon UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Neuman, Y., Lurie, Y. & Rosenthal M. (2001). A watermelon without seeds: A case study in rhetorical rationality. *Text 21*(4). 543–565.

Ogata, H. & Yoneo, Y. (2004). Knowledge Awareness Map for Computer-Supported Ubiquitous Language-Learning. Paper presented at the International Workshop on Wireless and Mobile Technologies in Education, WMTE2004, Taiwan, 23-25 March.

Ogden. C. K. & Richards, I. A. (1949 [1923]) *The Meaning of Meaning: A Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism*. 10th ed. With supplementary essays by B. Malinowski & F. G. Crookshank. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

OECD. Recognition of Non-formal and Informal Learning. www.oecd.org/document/25/0,3746,en_2649_39263238_37136921_1_1_1_1,00.html (accessed 10.5.2012).

Paribakht, T. S. & Wesche, M. (1996). Enhancing vocabulary acquisition through reading: A hierarchy of text-related exercise types. *The Canadian Modern Language Review 52*(2), 155-178.

Pemberton, L., Winter, M., & Fallahkhair, S. (2010). Collaborative Mobile Knowledge Sharing for Language Learners. *Journal of the Research Centre for Educational Technology, 6*(1). 144-148.

Pemberton, L., Winter, M., & Fallahkhair, S. (2009). A user created content approach to mobile knowledge sharing for advanced language learners. *Proceedings of mLearn 2009*, Orlando, Florida, 184–187.

Petersen, S, Procter-Legg, E, & Cacchione, A. (2013a) Creativity and Mobile Language Learning using LingoBee. *International Journal of Mobile and Blended Learning (IJMBL) - Special Issue On: Mobile Learning and Creativity: Current Concepts and Studies.* In press.

Petersen, S., Procter-Legg, E., & Cacchione, A. (2013b). *Lingobee – Crowd-Sourced Mobile Language Learning in the Cloud*. Paper presented at IADIS International Conference Mobile Learning 2013, Lisbon, Portugal, 14–16 March.

Procter-Legg, E., Cacchione, A., Petersen, S., Piguleviciene, J., Cibulskis, G., Adlard, R., Fekete, R., Dankers, M., & Boerjan, D. (2012a). *Situated Mobile Language Learning SIMOLA:* BETI.

Procter-Legg, E., Cacchione, A., & Petersen, S. A. (2012). *Lingobee and Social Media: Mobile Language Learners as Social Networkers*. Paper presented at the Cognition and Exploratory Learning in the Digital Age, Madrid, Spain, 19-21 October.

Procter-Legg, E., Petersen, S., & Cacchione, A. (2013). *LingoBee – Creating a Buzz in Mobile Language Learning. "Synergic Integration of Formal and Informal E-Learning Environments for Adult Lifelong Learners", IGI Global, 199-221.*

Raoul, N. (2012). AnkiDroid Flashcards.
https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.ichi2.anki&hl=en (accessed 1.12.2012)

Schwier, R. A. (2010). Focusing Educational Technology Research on Informal Learning Environments. *Contemporary Educational Technology, 1(1),* 90-92.

SIMOLA. (2012a). LingoBee Repository
http://itrg.brighton.ac.uk/simola.org/lingobee/index.php (accessed 10.6.2012)

SIMOLA. (2012b). Situated Mobile Language Learning
http://itrg.brighton.ac.uk/simola.org/ (accessed 10.6.2012)

Tang, R. (1999). The Place of "Culture" in the Foreign Language Classroom: A Reflection. *The Internet TESL Journal, (Vol. V, No. 8).* http://iteslj.org/Articles/Tang-Culture.html (accessed 31.08.2013)

Traxler, J. (2007). Defining, Discussing and Evaluating Mobile Learning: the moving finger writes and having writ . . . , *IRRDL, The international review of research in open and distance learning, Vol 8, No 2 (2007)*
http://www.irrodl.org/index.php/irrodl/article/view/346 (accessed 31.08.2013)

Traxler, J. (2009). Current state of mobile learning. In M. Ally (ed.) *Mobile learning: transforming the delivering of education and training,* 9-24. Athabasca University, AU Press.

Traxler, J. (2012). Signal poor on m-learning's impact. Interview by Amy Lightfoot on the Guardian Weekly of 13 March 2012 www.theguardian.com/education/2012/mar/13/mobile-learning-research-language-teaching (accessed 31.08.2013)

The Social Technographics Ladder. (2011-2012) http://empowered.forrester.com/ladder2010/ (accessed 31.08.2013)

Zeeland, van, H. (2012). Measuring second language vocabulary acquisition. *The Language Learning Journal, Vol. 40, Iss. 2, 2012 http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09571736.2012.677623#.UrnMhrSzLnY* (accessed 31.08.2013)

Noun Phrase Recognition
in Machine Translation Systems

Kyriaki Ioannidou
Rania Voskaki
Eleni Tziafa

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

kiroanni@auth.gr
rvoskaki@hotmail.com
etziafa@auth.gr

This article is a research in the field of machine translation and deals with the automatic recognition of noun phrases in Modern Greek. In the first part of this paper, we present some problems occurring during automated translation as far as noun phrases recognition is concerned. The MT systems used are Babel Fish, Bing Translator, Google Translate, Systran and Wordlingo. The source language is Modern Greek and the target language is French. In the second part of this paper, we present a network of machine readable grammar rules that have been applied to our corpus in order to recognise noun phrases. This linguistic resource can be integrated in MT systems. This study has been conducted in the Laboratory of Translation and Language Processing of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, in the context of analysing Modern Greek so as to improve the results of computer-aided translation. This research has been co-financed by the European Union (European Social Fund – ESF) and Greek national funds through the Operational Program "Education and Lifelong Learning" – "Investing in knowledge society" of the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF) 2007-2013 (Research Funding Program: Investing in knowledge society through the European Social Fund. Investing in knowledge society through the European Social Fund). It has been conducted on the premises of the Laboratory of Translation and Language Processing (LTLP) of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

1. Introduction

In this paper we deal with noun phrase recognition in Machine Translation (MT) systems. The recognition and identification of noun phrases is a complex and difficult task in the process of machine translation and computational linguistics, due to the fact that their structure is extremely complex (Gross 1986; Abney 1987: 24). More precisely, we do not focus on noun phrases from a semantic point of view, but rather on problems concerning the internal syntactic structure of noun phrases, since the recognition of the components of a noun phrase constitutes a prerequisite for its semantic processing.

In particular, our article comprises two major parts: in the first part we discuss some of the main problems that occur during automated translation of Modern Greek texts and concern the recognition of the internal structure of noun phrases. These errors have been detected in translations produced by the five most widely known MT systems from Modern Greek to French (cf. section 3). That is, the same text (in Modern Greek) has been translated by five different MT systems. Thereafter, we have processed the output (translated text in French) and have tracked down all cases where Greek noun phrases have not been rendered in French, in a structured way (cf. section 3).

The second part of our research concerns the construction of a machine-readable linguistic resource (set of electronic grammars – cf. section 4) that has recognised simple and complex structures of noun phrases. The use of a specialised resource of this kind allows the elimination of the aforementioned errors and improves the quality of automated translation. Due to its format, as explained in section 4, this resource can be integrated in MT systems.

2. Definitions and delimitation of our research

In this section, before discussing the errors we have identified, we focus on the use of the term *noun phrase recognition* and explain how it is used in the framework of this research.

Noun phrases are groups of words that have nouns as lexical heads (Crystal 2008: 328) and perform a syntactic function as a whole. More precisely, within most sentences, noun phrases function as arguments (e.g. subject, objects etc.). For example:

(1)   **Το μωρό** *τρώει*   **ένα μήλο**

'The baby is eating   an apple'

Noun phrases present a variety of structures. Apart from adjectives, adverbs, or single-word determiners, noun phrases may contain relative clauses (e.g. 2), other nouns that modify the lexical head of the noun phrase (e.g. noun adjuncts in example 3) or entire noun phrases, usually prepositional, that modify the lexical head (e.g. 4).

(2)   **Η γυναίκα**   **που έφυγε πριν ένα λεπτό**   *είναι η ξαδέρφη μου*

'The woman   who left a minute ago   is my cousin'

(3)   *Περιφρονώ*   **τον συνάδελφό μου τον Γιάννη**

'I despise   my colleague John'

(4)   *Νοίκιασα*   **το σπίτι με το φράχτη**

'I rent   the house with the fence'

It is equally important to state that, in Modern Greek, a noun phrase (e.g. 5) can have the same structure with an adverbial phrase (e.g. 6), since adverbial phrases in Greek are not necessarily preceded by a preposition (compare examples 5 and 6).

(5)   **Εκείνο το πρωινό**   *με σημάδεψε* *για μια ζωή*

That the morning   me marked   for a lifetime

'That morning   marked me   for a lifetime'

(6)   **Εκείνο το πρωινό**   *αρρώστησα*

That the morning   I fell sick

'On that morning   I fell sick'

In order to resolve this problem in computational linguistics, the syntactic analysis (or *parsing*) of a sentence is usually conducted in two stages: the first stage is called *shallow parsing* and the second *deep parsing*. In *shallow parsing*, a sentence is segmented into groups of words, which form one phrase, regardless of their syntactic position in the sentence. These segments are called *chunks* (Abney 1991; Ramshaw and Marcus 1995). A chunked sentence is illustrated in the following example.

(7)   **[Εκείνο το πρωινό]NP** *[αρρώστησα]V*

That the morning   I fell sick

'On that morning   I fell sick'

Subsequently, deep parsing takes place; during this process, the parser attributes a syntactic function to each phrase (i.e. chunk), according to semantic and syntactic properties of predicates. As an illustration, we can see a fully parsed sentence:

(8)   **[Εκείνο το πρωινό]ADV** [αρρώστησα]V
       That the morning   I fell sick
       'On that morning   I fell sick'

Our research has focused on issues arising in the context of the chunking stage (i.e. *shallow parsing*), since no semantic information has been taken into account. In addition, we have excluded from our study noun phrases including relative or other clauses (e.g. 9), since these noun phrases should be fully recognised during deep parsing.

(9)   *Ξέρω*   **τι έκανες χθες**
      I know   what did yesterday
      'I know   what you did yesterday'

Another key point in this project has been the integration of the task of noun phrase recognition in a MT system. This means that we have taken into consideration the necessary stages of the automated translation process, as cited by Vauquois (1968):
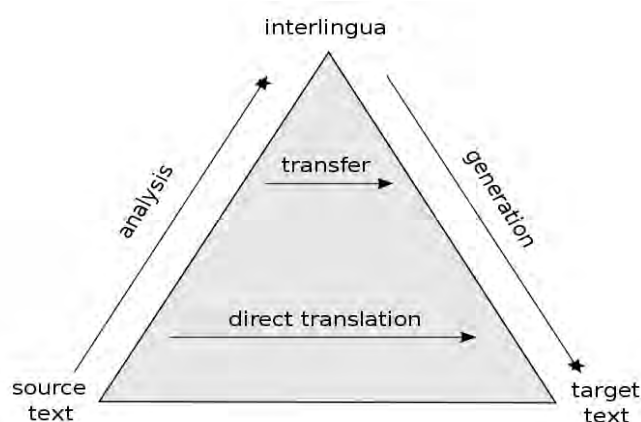

Image 1 – Vauquois' triangle (1968)

As mentioned in the introduction, the texts introduced in MT systems had been written in Greek. That is, the source language (left side of the triangle) in our case has been Modern Greek, whereas the target language (right side of the triangle) has been French. In order to evaluate the result obtained by the MT systems, we should keep in mind that

a wrong translation may have been caused by an error in any of the processing stages of the automated translation.

As an illustration, we mention the most significant processing stages of a noun phrase by an MT system, each one accompanied by an example of an error conducted in the relevant stage:

- Typographical / morphological analysis in the source language (Greek)

(10)   **Η** *ρεπόρτερ μας* [Greek] →*Notre **H** reporter* [French] (Babel Fish, Wordlingo)

        the reporter our   our   H reporter

        'our reporter'   'our H reporter'

- Morpho-syntactical analysis / noun phrase recognition

(11)   *για περίοδο*   *δράσης*   ***τεσσάρων ετών*** [Greek]

        for period   action-GEN   four-GEN years-GEN

        'for a period   of action   of four years'

        ↓

        pour une période d'action   ***quatre ans*** [French] (Bing Translator)

        for a period   of action   four years

        'for a period   of action   four years'

- Syntactic-semantic analysis of source language and translation

(12)   ***ανάπτυξη*** [Greek] → **croissance** [French] (Bing Translator, Google Translate)

        'development'   'growth'

In our research, we have focused on the second category of errors, the ones concerning wrong morpho-syntactical analysis of noun phrases, that is, errors in noun phrase recognition. Nevertheless, the end result of the translating process cannot always give us clear information about the location or stage where the problem has occurred. In this paper, we focus on cases where the problem has undoubtedly occurred in a morpho-syntactic level of analysing Modern Greek language.

3. Noun phrase recognition in existing MT systems

As described above, our study has been strictly delimited in cases where the incorrect translation has occurred due to wrong noun phrase recognition. Notably, these errors have been classified as non-random or systematic, thus allowing us to identify the problem and draw valid conclusions. The MT systems used are Babel Fish, Bing

Translator, Google Translate, Systran and Wordlingo. The size of the corpus has been 40.000 words. The small size of the corpus has not been considered as an obstacle to overcome, since we study grammatical phenomena, and in this case the corpus does not have to be extensive (Biber 1988: 91; Givón 1995: 32; McEnery et al. 2006).

The first problem detected has occurred in cases where a noun is modified by more than one adjective (structure studied: *adjective – adjective – noun)*. For example:

(13)	***εμφανή***	***ευρωπαϊκή***	***διάσταση***
	clear.ADJ	European.ADJ	dimension.N
	'clear	European	dimension'

Additionally, we should mention that noun phrases with nouns modified by one adjective (structure: *adjective – noun)* have been correctly recognised. This can be easily understood since the final phase of automated translation (generation in Target Language) is correct and, hence, all previous phases have been successfully accomplished.

Furthermore, as far as the structure *adjective-adjective-noun* is concerned, the estimation that the problem has occurred during recognition (source language), and not during generation (target language), can be proved by the fact that the structure *adjective–adjective–noun* has been used in different cases in the French text. Hence, this structure is described in the set of rules that are applied in order to generate the French text.

As an illustration, in the following examples, we can see a common example of a noun phrase of an *adjective-adjective-noun* structure and its translation:

(14)	*Η* ***κοινοτική***	***χρηματοδοτική***	***στήριξη*** [Greek]	
	the communautery.ADJ	financial.ADJ	support.N	
	'the communautery	financial	support'	
	↓			
	La communautaire	*soutien*	*financier* [French]	
	(Babel Fish, Systran)			
	the-F communautery.ADJ	support-M.N	financial.-M.ADJ	
	'the communautery	support	financial'	

As we see in the previous example, the Greek noun *στήριξη* (support) has been correctly recognised as a noun, but the adjective *κοινοτικός* (communautery) has not been

recognised as the noun's modifier. That can be easily proved by the fact that the article cited before is feminine whereas the noun is masculine. In addition, the adjective *χρηματοδοτικός* (financial) follows the noun (in French most adjectives follow the noun they modify), but the adjective *κοινοτικός* (communautery) precedes it. Additionally, we can understand that from the translation of the example the adjectives *κοινοτικός* (communautery) and *χρηματοδοτικός* (financial) have been recognised as adjectives, as they have been transferred in French by the use of the adjectives *communautaire* and *financier*, respectively. Hence, we can conclude that the constituents of the noun phrase have not been recognised as a part of it.

More importantly, we have also observed problems in more complex structures of noun phrases. Some MT systems have not recognised noun phrases where the lexical head is modified by a smaller noun phrase in genitive case, which is, in its turn, modified by another noun phrase in genitive case. In other words, noun phrases in genitive case have not been recognised correctly when modifying another noun phrase in genitive case. For example:

(15) *επιμόρφωση των επαγγελματιών **του** κλάδου της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς*

training the-GEN professionals-GEN the-GEN domain-GEN the-GEN cultural inheritance

'training of the professionals   in the domain of cultural inheritance'

↓

formation des professionnels domaine du patrimoine culturel (Google Trans.)

training of the professionals domain of cultural inheritance

'training of the professionals domain of cultural inheritance'

Obviously, the connection of more than two noun phrases both in genitive case has been erroneous.

Moreover, another problem detected, with regard to the internal structure of noun phrases, has been the common form of the possessive determiner with the definite article. Their common form has created problem in cases where a noun in genitive case is determined by the definite article and at the same time determines a preceding noun. For example, sentence 16 should be analysed as follows:

(16) *τον τομέα*   ***της***   *πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς* [Greek]

the domain   **the-GEN**   cultural-GEN inheritance-GEN

'the domain   of the   cultural inheritance'

Instead, it has been recognised and, therefore, translated as follows:

(17)   *τον τομέα*   **της**   *πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς* [Greek]

       the domain   **her**   cultural-GEN inheritance-GEN

       'her domain   of cultural inheritance'

       ↓

       son secteur   *d'héritage culturel* [French] (Systran)

       her domain   of cultural inheritance

       'her domain   of cultural inheritance'

Finally, another problem frequently detected has been the presence of quotation marks within the noun phrase. For example:

(18)   *στην ψυχολογία του "ασθενή" μου* [Greek]

       in the psychology the-GEN "patient-GEN" my-GEN

       in my patient's psychology

       ↓

       dans ma psychologie « malade » [French] (Wordlingo)

       in my psychology "sick"

       in my "sick" psychology

As it seems, in the above MT systems, the presence of quotation marks has hindered the recognition of a (noun) phrase as a whole. In particular, in example 18 the connection of the possessive outside the quotation marks with the noun inside the quotation marks has not been accomplished successfully.

4. Resource produced for noun phrase recognition

In the previous section, we described the errors we have located while using the most widely known MT systems, as far as noun phrase recognition in Modern Greek is concerned. As explained, the problems presented have undoubtedly occurred during the stage of analysing morpho-syntactically Modern Greek texts.

In this section, we propose the integration of a linguistic resource we have created in order to improve the quality of MT systems. This linguistic resource is technically a set of electronic grammars that can be applied to Greek texts and recognise successfully noun phrases.

The grammars we have created have the formalism of Recursive Transition Networks (RTNs). This formalism is widely used for the description of linguistic data (Gross 1993; Roche and Schabès 1997). These grammars constitute machine-readable rules and, hence, they can be integrated in any software, as long as the constraints of the program are taken into consideration and the appropriate adjustments are made. The creation of these rules, as well as their application to our corpus, has been conducted via the Unitex platform (Paumier 2003). The following extract of a graph illustrates the structure of a noun phrase in nominative case, with a masculine noun in the singular as lexical head (*<N:Nms>*) introduced by a determiner (*<DET>* at the beginning of the graph).
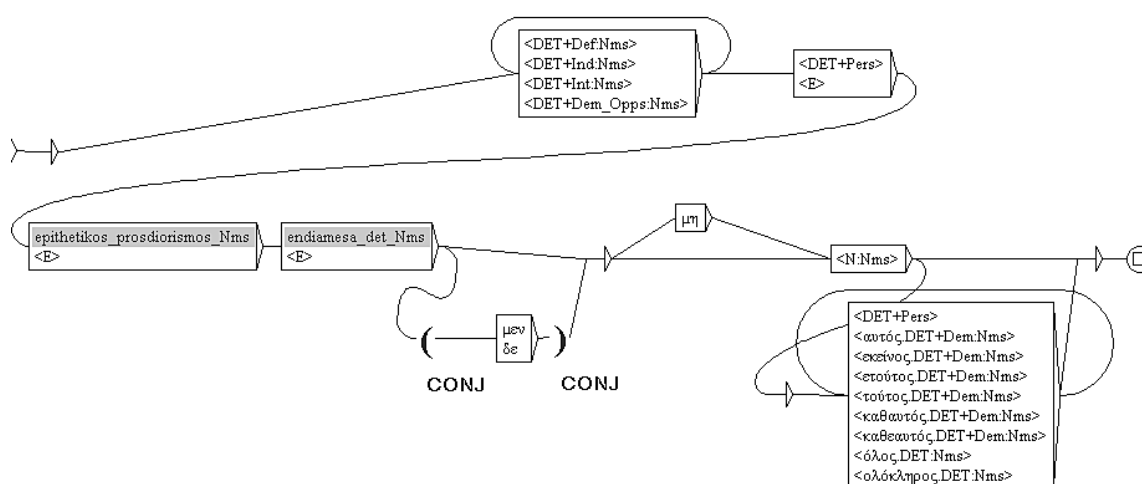
Image 2 – Graph extract

In order to create the electronic grammars, we have focused on the typology of noun phrases proposed by Ramshaw and Marcus (1995), and followed by Tjong Kim Sang (2000) and Bai et al. (2006). We have adapted this typology for Greek noun phrases in order to recognise both simple and complex structures of noun phrases.

More particularly, we have distinguished initially Base Noun Phrases from Maximal-Length Noun Phrases. Base noun phrases are non-recursive noun phrases, that is, nouns (pronouns or other nominals) that are determined by determiners, adverbs or other words; however, they are not determined by other noun phrases. As Ramshaw and Marcus (1995: 85) explain, "these chunks basically select noun phrases that contain no nested noun phrases". For example:

(19) *Αποστείρωσε το μικρό μπουκάλι*

      'He sterilised the small bottle'

Nevertheless, maximal-length noun phrases are base noun phrases, as described above, which are modified by another base noun phrase. As far as maximal-length noun phrases are concerned, the structures included in our descriptions have been the following:

- the base noun phrase that follows is in genitive case. For example:

(20) *Έβαψα   το σπίτι   **του θείου μου***
      I painted   the house   the-GEN uncle-GEN my-GEN
      'I painted my uncle's house'

- the two base noun phrases are linked by apposition. For example:

(21) *Περιφρονώ   **τον συνάδελφό μου τον Γιάννη***
      'I despise   my colleague John'

- the two base noun phrases are linked by coordination. For example:

(22) *Είδα **τον Γιάννη και τη Μαρία***
      'I saw John and Mary'

The recognition of noun phrases (both base noun phrases and maximal-length noun phrases) can be considered as equal, in terms of Natural Language Processing, to noun phrase chunking (Voutilainen 1993; Tjonk Kim Sang 2000; Bai et al. 2006).

The use of graphs in Natural Language Processing in order to achieve chunking is widely used (Brill 1993; Roche 1993; Abney 1996; Blanc et al. 2007; Mokrane et al. 2008). In this research, we have constructed in total 916 grammars (graphs); these are underlying graphs, recalled by a central graph. More precisely, 828 grammars correspond to the description of Base Noun phrases, whereas 88 graphs describe the structures of Maximal-Length Noun Phrases.

5. Evaluation of the resources produced

In section 3, we presented the key points and the systematic problems that occur during machine translation from Modern Greek to French and concern the task of noun phrase recognition. Most of these errors can be avoided, if we integrate the resource we created (cf. section 4) to the correspondent software. Of course, this should be done with respect to the existing constraints for each MT system.

As already explained in section 2, the errors we discussed have been undoubtedly due to incorrect recognition, rather than any other phase of the translation process. Thus,

we could evaluate the effectiveness of our resource by applying the set of grammars we have created to the same text we have used as an input to the MT systems. Consequently, we have used the Unitex platform (Paumier 2003) in order to apply our grammars and recognise noun phrases. In the following table, we can see an illustration of every case discussed in section 3; in the first column the translation made by MT systems is indicated, and the way the noun phrase is probably recognised, and in the second column we can see the results obtained by applying our grammar rules to the same text.

Results of MT systems	Recognition obtained by grammars
Greek noun phrase: εμφανή ευρωπαϊκή διάσταση clear-ADJ European-ADJ dimension-N	[εμφανή ευρωπαϊκή διάσταση] [clear-ADJ European-ADJ dimension-N]
Translation: un éminent dimension européenne [Google Translate] one eminent-ADJ dimension-N European-ADJ	
Recognition done: [εμφανή] [ευρωπαϊκή διάσταση] [clear-ADJ] [European-ADJ dimension-N]	
Greek noun phrase: ο τομέας της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς the domain the-GEN cultural-GEN inheritance-GEN	[ο τομέας [της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς]] [the domain [cultural-GEN inheritance-GEN]]
Translation: son secteur d'héritage culturel [Systran] his domain of cultural inheritance	
Recognition done: [[ο τομέας <u>της</u>] πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς] [[the domain his] cultural-GEN inheritance-GEN	

Table 1 – Evaluation of resource produced

In our corpus of 40,000 words, our grammars have recognised 8,722 noun phrases, covering 57% of the corpus. In 320 noun phrases, we did not have an exact match. In other words, we achieved a high percentage of precision (96.4%). Recall reaches 97%.

6. Conclusion

As mentioned above, noun phrases recognition constitutes a major task in automated translation and computational linguistics, as their internal structure can vary to a great extent. In the framework of noun phrases recognition, the construction of specialised linguistic resources is essential, as it improves greatly the quality of machine translation, as shown in section 5.

Nevertheless, future research has to be conducted, especially as far as semantics is concerned. For instance, an interesting project would be to study semantic relations among noun phrases of certain structures, based on the semantic features of their constituents (Garrigues 1993; Courtois 1994). This study has to be connected to the syntax of verbs, as semantic features of noun phrases and verbs are highly related (Ioannidou et al. 2013).

References

Abney, S. (1987). *The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect.* MIT PhD thesis.

Abney, S. (1991). Parsing by Chunks. In S. A. Robert Berwick (ed.), *Principle-Based Parsing.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Abney, S. (1996). Partial Parsing via finite-state cascades. *Natural Language Engineering 2*(4). 337-344.

Bai, X.-M., J.-J. Li, D.-I. Kim, & J.-H. Lee. (2006). Identification of Maximal-Length Noun Phrases Based on Expanded Chunks and Classified Punctuations in Chinese. In *21st International Conference on the Computer Processing of Oriental Languages 2006*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag. 268-276.

Biber, D. (1988). *Variation across speech and writing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blanc, O., M. Constant, & P. Watrin. (2007). Segmentation en super-chunks. In *Actes de TALN 2007.* Toulouse: ATALA.

Brill, E. (1993). *A Corpus-Based Approach to Language Learning.* Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania.

Courtois, B. (1994). *Marques Lexicales, Syntaxiques, Sémantiques dans le DELAS V08E.* Paris: Université Paris 7 Technical report.

Crystal, D. (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics.*

Garrigues, M. (1993). *Méthode de paramétrage des dictionnaires et grammaires électroniques.* Paris: Université de Paris 7 PhD thesis.

Givón, T. (1995). *Functionalism and grammar.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gross, M. (1986). *Grammaire transformationnelle du nom : Syntaxe du nom.* Paris: Cantilène.

Gross, M. (1993). Local Grammars and their representation by finite automata. In M. Hoey (ed.), *Data, Description, Discourse: Papers on the English Languge in honour of John McH Sinclair.* London: Harper-Collins. 26-38.

Ioannidou, K., E. Tziafa, & R. Voskaki. (2013). Computer-aided learning of transitive non-locative constructions with a concrete direct object in Modern Greek. In *Proceedings of the 7th International Technology, Education and Development Conference.* Valencia: IATED.

McEnery, T., R. Xiao, & Y. Tono. (2006). *Corpus-based language studies: An advanced resource book.* London & New York: Routledge.

Mokrane, A., N. Friburger, & J.-Y. Antoine. (2008). Cascades de transducteurs pour le chunking de la parole conversationnelle : l'utilisation de la plateforme CasSys dans le projet EPAC. In *Actes de la 15ème Conférence sur le Traitement Automatique du Langage naturel (TALN 2008).* Avignon.

Paumier, S. (2003). *De la reconnaissance de formes linguistiques à l'analyse syntaxique.* Paris : Université Marne-la-Vallée PhD thesis.

Ramshaw, L. A., & M. P. Marcus. (1995). Text Chunking using Transformation-Based Learning. In *ACL Third Workshop on Very Large Corpora*. 82-94.

Roche, E. (1993). *Analyse syntaxique transformationnelle du français par transducteurs et lexique-grammaire.* Paris: Université Paris 7 PhD thesis.

Roche, E., & Y. Schabès. (1997). *Finite-State Language Processing.* Cambridge, MA & London: MIT Press.

Tjong Kim Sang, E. F. (2000). Noun Phrase Recognition by System Combination. In *Proceedings of the 1st North American chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics Conference*. Stroudsburg, PA: Association for Computational Linguistics. 50-55.

Vauquois, B. (1968). A Survey of Formal Grammars and Algorithms for Recognition and Transformation in Machine Translation. In *Proceedings of the IFIP Congress-6*. 254-260.

Voutilainen, A. (1993). NPTool, a detector of English noun phrases. In *Proceedings of the Workshop on Very Large Corpora*. *ACL*. 48-57.

Portuguese and Spanish in Dale Brown's novels
Act of War and *Edge of Battle*

Rolf Kemmler

Centro de Estudos em Letras

Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro

kemmler@utad.pt

rolf.kemmler@diacronia.de

The present paper aims to discuss Spanish and Portuguese translations that can be found in *Act of War* (first published in 2005) and *Edge of Battle* (first published in 2006), written by Dale Brown, a well-known American author of novels belonging to the techno-thriller genre. Since the author himself has admitted to having used automatic translation in both novels, we undertake an analysis of some extracts demonstrating what we consider "morphosyntactic aspects" and "wrong choices". Based on the original English equivalents or on what can be extrapolated from the translations, this analysis also includes an outlook on the solutions offered by current tools for Internet translations, namely Google Translate and Bing Translator.

Keywords: Automatic translation, Dale Brown, Spanglish, Porglish

1 Introduction

In 2005, Dale Brown, a well-known American author of novels belonging to the techno-thriller genre, published *Act of War* (2005)*,* the first volume of what was then expected to be the beginning of a new series of novels devoted to the high tech commando group called TALON. Shortly thereafter there came the second and so far last book of the series called *Edge of Battle* (2006). For the present paper, we will be using the paperback editions, referring to Brown (2006) for *Act of War* and to Brown (2007) for *Edge of Battle*.

Both the title and the plot of the stories promise easy reading with pages of action for those who enjoy this genre. However, particularly with the second novel, *Edge of Battle,* where some of the characters, supposedly Spanish native speakers, communicate in a curious mixture of what might be identified as *Spanglish* (cf. Marcos Marín 2004, Stavans 2003), hispanophone and lusophone readers cannot help wondering about some of the author's choices regarding the foreign words used between the American characters and secondary characters from Brazil and Mexico.

The strong idea that the author might have used an automatic translation tool presents itself almost immediately. Thus, and due to the proximity found in the two novels between the "Portuguese" and "Spanish" words and phrases and the author's American English, we propose to analyze those translations from which we think the author's English source text can easily be reconstructed. Finally, we will offer optional and preferably better solutions for some of the translations that seem more problematic.

2 Foreign languages in *Act of War* and *Edge of Battle*

Leaving aside the repetitions of important words and concepts that are reported in two short glossaries in Brown (2006: vii-viii) and Brown (2007: xii-xiii), a total of 349 instances in which individual words, complete sentences or contexts in foreign languages (other than English as the author's mother tongue) are used throughout the two novels. It seems clear that the author's intent may have been to increase the local color and linguistic ambience of both novels to lend greater credibility to the characters in situations of language contact.

2.1 Correspondence with the author

Due to the curiosity that was first aroused by the Portuguese forms in *Act of War* (Brown 2006) and immediately afterwards by the Spanish forms in *Edge of Battle* (Brown 2007), the following text was sent via email on February 8, 2009, to learn more about his method of translation.

> *The foreign language texts led me to assume that you might have used an internet or software based translation routine, which is why I take the liberty in asking you whether you could tell me exactly how you obtained the foreign language texts published in aforementioned books. More exactly, the question is whether you have used tools such as the Altavista babelfish or any one or several of the many translating programs on the market.*

Two days later, the author's enlightening reply read as follows:

> *Yes, I did use online translation services. I"m not sure which ones I used, but Babelfish and Altavista both sound familiar, so it might have been one or both of them.*
>
> *I have been told that the Spanish translations in "Edge of Battle" are atrocious, and I"d be very interested to learn more about how these services work and why they were so far off.*
>
> *I happen to have Google Translate on my browser's home page right now, and I would sign off by using it to say Ich habe nicht einen Newsletter, aber ich häufig aktualisieren Nachrichten über www.AirBattleForce.com .. Vielen Dank für Ihre E-Mail.*
>
> *How close is that to "I don"t have a newsletter but I frequently update news on www.AirBattleForce.com.*
>
> *Thanks for your e-mail." ?*
>
> *Dale...*

In his response, Dale Brown acknowledges having used online-translation. Although he is not certain which exactly might have been the service used in the preparation of the translations in question, the message further confirms that he knows of and currently uses the Google Translate service (translate.google.com). Given the forms of words in foreign languages (and especially Portuguese and Spanish) that can be found in these two novels, the real question is therefore not, as in other cases of translations, the degree of the translator's linguistic or translatorial competence, but rather the power of the available automatic translation services.

2.2 Foreign languages in *Act of War*

In Brown (2006), the Portuguese language is not the only foreign language used by the author. The 180 total occurrences (excluding repetitions) were distributed as follows in Table 1.

Although, in keeping with the geography of the novel, Brazilian Portuguese represents 55% of the foreign language occurrences in *Act of War*, a brief overview of the treatment of other languages will first be provided, in proportion of occurrence.

Table 1: Foreign languages in Act of War

Language	Occurrences	Percentage
Egyptian Arabic	12	7%
(Brazilian) Portuguese	100	55%
Russian	56	5%
Spanish	9	31%
Turkish	3	2%

The Turkish language is used on just three occasions when the cargo ship belonging to the Turk Yusuf Gemici is searched by the American Coast Guard and Gemici responds both in Turkish and in English:

[1] "*Evet, anliyorum*," Gemici said, sniffing. "I understand." (Brown 2006: 39)

On the record that the Turkish word *evet* simply means "yes" in English, it seems that Dale Brown might have based himself on a phrase like *"yes, I understand"...

In *Act of War*, Spanish is only spoken by Ariadna Vega, an American of Mexican origin, and in three cases by a character named Ray Jefferson who is rather self-conscious of speaking "[...] pidgin Spanish to make himself understood [...]" (Brown 2006: 247).

[2] "*Ojete!*" Ari exclaimed. "No, jerk, I mean you." (Brown 2006: 148)

In example [2], Ariadna Vega uses a Mexican expletive that corresponds more to the English word *asshole* than the term "jerk" that is used in the corresponding sentence in English.

[3] "I'll keep it. *¿Una muchacha consiguió protegerse*, no? A girl's gotta use protection, right?" (Brown 2006: 242)

Taking hold of a pistol, Ariadna states that a girl needs to defend herself. The Spanish text does not really make any sense due to the automatic translation of "got to" as the past tense "consiguió" rather than "has to". In order to better correspond with the English text, the sentence in example [3] seems more appropriate as, "¿Una muchacha tiene que usar protección, no?" or better yet "¿Una muchacha tiene que protegerse, no?".

The Egyptian Arabic can be found in twelve occurrences. In the first one, Brown (2006: 336) defines the language spoken at that moment:

[4] "*Ahlan wa sahlan*," Gemici said in Egyptian Arabic. (Brown 2006: 336)

In most cases, the Arabic words or phrases are attributed to native speakers but, in example [5] below, the speaker is an undercover FBI agent, which is why his use of language is commented upon:

[5] "*Misae el kher*." "*Ahlan bik*," the man said in response, in stilted but passable Arabic with an American accent […] "*Enta bititkallim inglizi*?" "Yes, of course, I speak English," Gemici replied (Brown 2006: 336).

Like the Arabic words, the Russian words are similarly not written in the Cyrillic alphabet, but in the usual romanized transcription, as in example [6].

[6] "*Spasibo*," Zakharov responded, draining then refilling his glass. (Brown 2006: 103)

Written Спасибо in Cyrillic letters, the term meaning "thank you" is one of the best known Russian words and can also be seen as the equivalent of the English form *thanks*. Not all of the Russian forms are similarly suitable. In the example [7], for instance, the author chose to use the American term *Colonel* instead of the Russian form *polkovnik*. After all, as Google Translate (GT) (n.d.) shows quite correctly, the Russian phrase "Да, полковник" in English means "yes, Colonel":

[7] "*Da, Colonel*," Khalimov responded. (Brown 2006: 286)

Further on, however, the correct Russian form *Polkovnik* for полковник is used:

[8] "*Davajte vyhodit" zdes", Polkovnik*," Khalimov growled (Brown 2006: 389).

The Russian equivalent of the American term *Colonel* can also be found amongst the Russian occurrences in *Edge of Battle* (Brown 2007).

The use of the Russian language by English speakers requires explanation since, when FBI agent Bolton tries to clear a room of terrorists, the Russian words he pronounces are explicitly attributed to his automatic translation system as exemplified in [9].

[9] "Whoever is in this room, come out immediately," Bolton said through his electronically synthesized voice. "*Sdacha teper*!" he tried in Russian, using his on-board voice translator (Brown 2006: 359-360).

Some similar and other new mistranslations are recorded in the second novel analysed in the section that follows.

2.3 Foreign languages in *Edge of Battle*

In Brown (2007), the linguistic diversity is considerably less than in *Act of War.* The 169 occurrences of the use of foreign expressions, again excluding repetitions, have the distribution that follows in Table 2.

Table 2: Foreign languages in *Edge of Battle*

Language	Occurrences	Percentage
Foreign Words (loan words)	3	2%
Russian	18	11%
Spanish	148	87%

The single foreign words can be understood as loan words that have been incorporated in modern English. In the present case, these are the Russian word *pogrom* (relative to the persecutions of Jews, or, in this case, of Mexicans), the Arabic term *wadi* (for a desert river) as well as the French concept of *nom de guerre* (meaning *a warrior's pseudonym*).

Amongst the Russian occurrences, several are repetitions of words that previously occurred in *Act of War* (Brown 2006). Overall, the importance of Russian words and phrases is considerably reduced. This makes sense since the Russian terrorist Zakharov generally speaks Spanish and even insists on speaking Spanish in Brown (2007: 9). However, half of the occurrences in Russian can be attributed to the Mexican Ernesto Fuerza while talking to Zakharov.

2.4 Portuguese and Spanish in *Act of War* and *Edge of Battle*

Considering the author's admission, the following study uses Google Translate which today seems to be the most frequently used and most developed browser-based automatic translation service (cf. Google Translate n.d.). It must, however, be noted that when Dale Brown wrote the books, the AltaVista BabelFish tool used to be more well-known, having in the meantime lost a lot of its previous popularity. The transformation of the automatic translation service offered by Babelfish, named for Douglas Adams' epic *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* (1979), now renamed as Bing Translator (BT 2012) is best described by Damaster (2012).

Based on the 100 Portuguese as well as the 148 Spanish translations, in the overwhelming majority of cases it is possible to reconstruct what we presume to be the author's original text. The tool Bing Translator is only used when its translations provide relevant information. In those instances in which Brown provides no explicit English equivalent, expected reconstructed forms will be marked by an asterisk (*). In a way similar to historical linguistics, these interpolated English forms / sentences are marked in order to document that these are based on an interpretation of the Portuguese forms. All other English forms are Brown's.

In a more detailed study of Portuguese automatic translations in *Act of War* (Kemmler 2012)*,* there are several areas that seem problematic from a linguistic point of view. Among them are i) morphosyntactic aspects, ii) orthographic aspects, iii) word choices we simply regard as wrong options, iv) foreign words attributed to Brazilian characters, v) Americanisms, and vi) mixed phrases. Given their importance for an analysis of Brown's translations, the focus will be on extracts pertaining to the first and third categories – morphosyntax and mixed phrases.

2.4.1 Morphosyntactic aspects

The first morphosytactic aspect is the lack of agreement of some of the verb forms, notably the correspondence between the English verb "to be" and the Portuguese verbs "ser" and "estar".

[10] "*Onde e* Zakharov *agora*?" (Brown 2006: 223)

The English equivalent to example [10] may be *"Where is Zakharov now?". Due to the temporal nature expressed by "now", the more appropriate Portuguese verb, however, is "estar", rather than "ser", so the equivalent in Portuguese should be "*Onde está o* Zakharov *agora*?" or "*Onde está* Zakharov *agora*?" without an article.

Among the online translation tools GT (n.d.) first proposes the solution "Onde está", but offers the additional alternatives "Onde é; Onde está a; Onde fica; Onde está o". BT (2012) only offers the equally acceptable translation "Onde está o Zakharov agora?".

[11] *"Quem esta? Pode me ajudar?"*(Brown 2006: 221).

In example [11], the opposite can be observed. Given a presumed English source text like *"Who is it? Can you help me?", one adequate Portuguese translation would be "*Quem é? Pode me ajudar?*". The proposal of GT (n.d.) coincides in essence with the proposed solution but adds the personal pronoun "Quem é? Você pode me ajudar?". BT

(2012) goes further and adds the personal pronoun "ele", possibly to translate the English pronoun "it": "Quem é ele? Você pode me ajudar?".

Similarly, the Spanish translation of what can be presumed *"Who are you, sir?" in example [12] is not quite adequate.

[12] *"¿Quiénes son usted, señor?"* (Brown 2007: 16)

Both the plural ending of the interrogative pronoun and the plural form of the verb "ser" do not agree with the verb form or the subject of the sentence. GT (n.d.) offers an adequate solution, "¿Quién es usted, señor?", while BT (2012) offers an incorrect verb form in "¿Quién eres, señor?".

The statement in example [13] is equivalent to the English *"Don't know" and should be "*Não sei*" in Portuguese, since the subject is clearly not the first but the third person singular present indicative.

[13] *"Nao sabe,"* Pereira replied. (Brown 2006: 223)

GT (n.d.) offers not only the first and third person singular, but also the first and third person plural, as well as the third person plural of "conhecer": "não sei; não sabe; não sabem; não sabemos; não conhecem".

Considering that the context leads to believe that the English base text of example [14] might be something like *"I understand everything, Sir", there is no reason why the phrase should contain what looks like a present subjunctive.

[14] *"Compreenda tudo, senhor.* We have one of them in our sights now." (Brown 2006: 257)

The best approach in Portuguese seems to be "*Entendo tudo*". GT (n.d.) offers the alternatives "Eu entendo tudo; Entendo tudo; Compreendo tudo", leaving the choice of pronoun or verb form to the user.

In Portuguese, the more appropriate equivalent of *"Gone, Sir" would be "*Foi-se*", but never the past participle "ido" as in example [15].

[15] *"Ido, senhor,"* Judge Amaral said (Brown 2006: 260).

When we look at possible Portuguese translations for *"Gone, Sir", GT (n.d.) interestingly confirms Brown"s usage as "Gone, Sir" and only offers vernacular alternatives like "Senhor" for "Sir", while BT (2012) offers the equally unacceptable solution, "Ido, Sir".

It seems that the following character, Judge Amaral, would say *"Come quickly! I need it [...]" in English, rather than what we see in example [16].

[16] *"Vindo rapidamente! Eu necessito-o ...!"* (Brown 2006: 249).

The use of the Portuguese gerund in this situation is not justified, where it is more adequate to think of a solution like "*Venham depressa! Eu preciso disso/ de vocês* [...]" for what may be presumed to be *"Come fast! I need it/you..." with an imperative. Both GT (n.d.) and BT (2012) only offer solutions with finite verb forms.

[17] *"¿Quién cuida?* Just run!"* (Brown 2007: 82).

The context suggests that the English equivalent of the Spanish example [17] should be *"Who cares?". In this sense, it seems evident that a translation like "*¿A quién le importa?*", offered as primary translation by GT (n.d.) and BT (2012) would be more adequate.

Since the automatic translation tools can not assess the extralinguistic contexts, another common problem arises as errors of agreement.

Example [18] is attributed to a female character speaking Portuguese. Thus, the adjective must match the gender of the noun it is referring to.

[18] *"Muito obrigado,"* Kristen said. "I believe we've met, *senhor"* (Brown 2006: 245).

While the supposed original English text *"Thanks a lot" is invariable, the more appropriate and common Portuguese solution would be "*Muito obrigada*". GT (n.d.) offers several alternatives, among which the last two are ungrammatical: "muito obrigado; muito obrigada, thanks a lot; agradecimentos muito; graças um lote". BT (2012) only offers "Muito obrigado" without any considerations for gender.

As the mother in the Spanish example [19] is talking to her daughter Ariadna Vega, it seems reasonable to presume an original text like *"Do not kill him, child".

[19] *"No le mate, niño,"* Ariadna's mother Ernestina said. (Brown 2007: 392).

While a translation like "*No lo mates, niña*" seems quite adequate, a solution like "*No lo mates, hija*" even seems better. As an English equivalent of *"Do not kill him, child" both GT (n.d.) and BT (2012) only offer the masculine version that can be found in example [19].

The correct usage of a pronoun proves in this data set to be problematic with automatic translation, as demonstrated in the following examples.

In example [20], the accent on the personal pronoun "*nós*" is missing.

[20] "Uh… *senhor, nos temos um problema aqui*," the pilot radioed back. (Brown 2006: 258).

If the whole pronoun were to be omitted, as in "*Coronel, temos um problema aqui*", the translation would be acceptable for *"Sir, we've got a problem here". Nonetheless, GT (n.d.) and BT (2012) both include the pronoun, as in "Senhor, nós temos um problema aqui".

Based on a supposed English text *"Yes. [...] And speak Spanish, you idiot!",

[21] *"Sí,"* another voice responded in Spanish, much closer. *"¡Y hable español, usted idiota!* (Brown 2007: 14).

the most adequate translation seems to be "*¡Y habla español, idiota!* without the personal pronoun. GT (n.d.) also offers a nearly acceptable solution without pronoun, but without subject-verb agreement, in "Y hablan español, idiota!". The result offered by BT (2012) is even less adequate: "Y habla a español, usted idiota!".

The English equivalent to example [22] is *"Who is this?".

[22] *"¿Quién es ello?"* one of them called out. (Brown 2007: 18).

In Spanish, it would be sufficient to translate this phrase with "*¿Quién es?*". However, GT (n.d.) offers a similar result that maintains a similar structure: "¿Quién es este?" while BT (2012) only offers a laconic "¿Quién?"…

The name of the group of environmental activists/terrorists GAMMA is problematic, since there are Portuguese words which are mixed with a Spanish article.

[23] *Grupo do Abaete de la Movimento Meio Ambiente* (vii, 89).

In its Portuguese name, the group whose designation in English would be "Environmental Movement Group of Abaete" uses the pairing of preposition and Spanish feminine article "de la" instead of the masculine article combination which would result in the Portuguese form "do". While a translation as *"Grupo ambientalista do Abaeté" seems more appropriate, the preference for matching the abbreviation GAMMA leads to what we would consider a more accurate translation *"*Grupo do Abaete do Movimento Meio Ambiente*". Similarly, the equivalent of an "Environmental Movement Combat Alliance" should be *"Aliança do Movimento de Luta Ambiental" instead of example [24].

[24] *Guerra Alliance de la Movimento Meio Ambiente* (Brown 2006: vii, 89),

But it seems that a translation as "*Guerra da Aliança do Movimento Meio Ambiente*" would be less unacceptable.

2.4.2 Wrong choices

In addition to the examples presented, there is yet a considerable number of options simply considered as wrong choices, mostly pertaining to the area of vocabulary.

[25] "*Direita lá, senhor*. Right there, sir," (Brown 2006: 213)

The more adequate Portuguese choice of "Right there, sir" seems to be "*Aí mesmo, senhor*'. GT (n.d.) proposes "Bem ali, senhor; Ali mesmo, senhor; Ali senhor; Logo ali". BT (2012) ends up blending Portuguese and English in a completely inadequate solution "Ali, sir"!

[26] "*Olhar Para fora! Tem um foguete*!*"* he shouted, but he was too late (Brown 2006: 219)

It seems obvious that the original text of example [26] would have been something like *"Look out there! He's got a rocket!" The published Portuguese translation does not make much sense, as the context leads us to believe the character is talking about a RPG launcher, which is why a more suitable Portuguese translation would be "*Olhe por aí! Tem um míssil!*". GT (n.d.) offers as main translation "Olhe por ai! Ele tem um foguete", together with the alternatives "um foguetão; de um foguete; um foguete de; um míssil". BT (2012) offers a not really more appropriate solution "Olhe lá fora! Ele tem um foguete!".

[27] "*Quem é aquele? O deus, o que é ele*?" (Brown 2006: 221)

The context of example [27] (in which a person first gets to see a CID) leads to the preferable English text, *"Who is this? O God, what is that"? Consequently, the more appropriate Portuguese equivalent would seem to be "*Quem é isso? Ó Deus, o que é isso?*" (whilst remaining somewhat awkward in both languages). GT (n.d.) presents a translation "Quem é esse? Ó Deus, o que é?" while BT (2012) confirms the alternative English version.

In reality, the Brazilian Intelligence Agency mentioned in example [28] is the *Agência Brasileira de Inteligência.*

[28] They might be *Atividade de Inteligencia do Brasil*, the Brazilian Intelligence Agency [...] (Brown 2006: 219)

Given that the term "Atividade de Inteligência do Brasil" can be found on the agency's website, more exactly on the page describing the history of the organization from its

beginning up to the present, one is lead to believe that Brown might have found this term after individual online research.

If example [29] seems wrong, the English text might be more like "No transmission of your voices, okay?"

[29] *Nenhuma transmissão de suas vozes, aprovação?*" (Brown 2006: 45)

The resulting Portuguese translation would be "*Nenhuma transmissão das suas vozes, de acordo?*". GT (n.d.) proposes "Não há transmissão de suas vozes, ok?" and BT (2012) "Nenhuma transmissão de suas vozes, OK?". Curiously enough, both translation tools limit their "Portuguese" translation of the English form okay by offering the abbreviation ok/OK.

[30] *"Concordado,"* Fuerza said. (Brown 2007: 154)

Given the preferable English equivalent for example [30] as a simple *"agreed", the more suitable Spanish translation would be "*De acuerdo*" as proposed by BT (2012). However, GT (n.d.) offers the main solution "convenido" and its variants "Acordó, Acordado, Convino, convendidas", which clearly are not applicable for this context.

[31] Suddenly they heard an electronic voice shout, "*¡Parada!* "Stop!" " directly in front of them, but they could see nothing in the darkness. (Brown 2007: 83).

[32] "Hold it, Victor! *¡Parada!* It's me, Purdy! *¡Espera!* Dammit!" (Brown 2007: 251).

The translation of the English imperative "Stop" in [31] and [32] would be the interjection "*¡Alto!*", which seems to be problematic for the translation tools. Brown's solution "Parada" is really not adequate, given the noun's meaning as "bus stop". Even today, results differ, as GT (n.d.) offers the proposed solution "¡Alto!", while BT (2012) maintains the English word "STOP!".

As previously presented in example [3], examples [33] and [34] confirm that Brown usually includes translations of the English verb "to get" with forms of the Spanish verb "conseguir".

[33] To Flores, he shouted, "*¡Consiga abajo!* Victor, get down!" (Brown 2007: 252).

[34] *"¡Consígalo! ¡Mátelo!"* they shouted, raising their tools and fists into the air. (Brown 2007: 257).

Example [33] provides a direct translation of what presumably should be "*venga abajo*", or better yet, "*bájate*" in Spanish. In example [34] the original English text should be something like *"Catch him! Kill him!". Considering the context, the adequate

Spanish translation must be in the plural, hence "*¡Atrápenlo! ¡Matenlo!*". As GT (n.d.) and BT (2012) cannot relate to the context, both tools offer "Atrápalo! Mátalo!"

The Spanish noun "repartidor" (meaning "distributor" or "deliveryman") is inadequate for the English "avenger" in example [35], where the adequate Spanish word would be "*Su vengador*", as offered correctly by GT (s.d.) and BT (2012).

[35] *"Su repartidor,"* Salinas said. "Her avenger." (Brown 2007: 344).

As the character in the following example [36] is talking about a car that has been damaged due to gun shots, the obvious English original seems to be *"No, it's shot".

[36] *"No, es tiro."*(Brown 2007: 15).

Based on this translation, a Spanish equivalent is proposed, such as "*No, se llevó disparos*". Both GT (n.d.) with "No, se disparó" and BT (2012) with ""No, es asesinado"" offer unacceptable solutions.

Finally, there are two examples for which no solutions can be proposed, as the sense of the Spanish sentences cannot really be understood.

[37] There is no use running. *La permanencia y nosotros le daremos el alimento, el agua, y la medicina*." (Brown 2007: 15).

[38] In pretty good Spanish, he added, *"Ellos no pueden parar mi Veracruz y su belleza, señorita."* (Brown 2007: 166).

3 Conclusions

The novel *Act of War*, a techno thriller written by the American author Dale Brown, features 180 occurrences of words or phrases in foreign languages. One hundred occurrences are translations to Brazilian Portuguese, corresponding to 55.55% of all foreign language examples found in this novel. Among these, only 32% may be considered appropriate, resulting in the conclusion that the overwhelming majority of Portuguese occurrences (over two-thirds) are examples of incorrect automatic translation.

In the sequel *Edge of Battle* the main foreign language is Spanish, with a total of 148 occurrences, or 87.57% of all foreign language examples found in the data set for this novel, excluding repetition and Mexican slang. Among the study corpus, more than half of the Spanish occurrences (76 occurrences or 51.35%) seem acceptable.

The analysis of the translations, mostly elaborated, as Brown himself has conceded, thanks to automatic translation tools, shows that it is quite easy to reconstruct the

English text that would have been the basis for translations. Especially with regard to morphosyntactic aspects and "wrong choices", several of the cases, where we found that the translation in Brown's novels (first published in 2005 and 2006) does not meet the linguistic standard of Brazilian Portuguese or Spanish, would nowadays be solved more adequately by both of the translation tools we consulted.

As a further note, since automatic translation tools have always provided the accentuation and other diacritical marks such as the tilde, their omission as well as other graphical errors in Brown (2006) and sometimes also in Brown (2007) might be due to the fact that the author did not use the *copy/paste* method for his online sources. Instead, it seems that he may have (at least partially in *Edge of Battle* and probably mostly in *Act of War*) copied the text manually; if so, it seems that the absence of the tilde and the accents on the American keyboard might serve as a possible explanation for what could be seen along the Spanish and Portuguese examples.

The adequate translations that can be found in both novels clearly demonstrate that there are indeed cases where machine translation can be used by someone who does not know the target language. However, these translation attempts can lead to failure whenever the user of the translation tools is unable to choose between wrong and right choices.

In conclusion, among the free automatic translation tools, the service formerly known as Babelfish, today's Bing Translator, does not yet reach the level of today's Google Translate, based on the many questionable or even wrong translations evidenced in translations for *Act of War*'s Brazilian Portuguese and *Edge of Battle*'s Spanish. While GT provides a variable number of alternatives, Bing Translator usually offers but a single solution, which greatly reduces its usefulness to the user with translatorial competence.

While automatic translation is undergoing constant improvement, no automatic translation tool is yet able to replace first-hand knowledge of any given target language. It can indeed serve as a powerful tool for translating, provided the translator disposes of the necessary language skills to make a proper correction of faulty or incomplete machine translation results. Without this linguistic correction, the translation result unfortunately is too similar to what in other contexts is known as *Porglish* and *Spanglish*.

References

Brown, D. (2006): *Act of War*. New York: Harpertorch.

Brown, D. (2007): *Edge of Battle*. New York: Harper.

Brown, D. (n.d.): Who Is Dale Brown? http://dalebrown.info/info.htm (accessed September 9, 2013).

BT (2012): "Bing Translator", in: http://www.bing.com/translator (accessed December 4, 2012).

Damaster (2012): "Bing Translator takes over Yahoo! Babel Fish", in: http://www.liveside.net/2012/05/30/bing-translator-takes-over-yahoo-babel-fish (accessed: September 9, 2013).

GT (n.d.): Google Translate. translate.google.com (accessed December 4, 2012).

Kemmler, R. (2012): Dale Brown: *Act of war* (2005) - possibilidades e vicissitudes da tradução automática inglês-português. Associação Internacional dos Colóquios da Lusofonia (2012): *Livro de Atas / Anais do XVIII Colóquio da Lusofonia (Ourense, Galiza): 5 -7 de outubro de 2012,* CD-ROM (ISBN 978-989-8607-00-3), file CD atas2012/CD Galiza 2012/ATAS Galiza2012. 296-316.

Marcos Marín, F. A. (2004): De lenguas y fronteras: el espanglish y el portuñol. *Círculo de lingüística aplicada a la comunicación* 17. http://www.ucm.es/info/circulo/no17/marcos.htm (accessed September 9, 2013).

Stavans, I. (2003): *Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language*. New York: Rayo.

Indexing Identity in Translation:
Idiolect and Sociolect in the Spanish Translation of
John Updike's *Rabbit Redux*

Owen Harrington-Fernández

National University of Ireland, Galway (NUIG)

o.harringtonfernandez1@nuigalway.ie

When Umberto Eco (2009) asks "why are we deeply moved by the misfortune of Anna Karenina if we are fully aware that she is a fictional character who does not exist in our world?", he is, in fact, wondering what it is about fictional characters that seem "real" to the reader. He concludes that characters have the power to evoke real feelings and emotions because "unlike other semiotic objects […] fictional characters will never change and will remain the actors of what they did once and forever." Beyond their asynchronous nature, however, characters also seem real because they perform identities that resonate in the non-fictional world. One of the ways authors construct identities for their characters is through dialogue, because, as David Lodge (1966: 47) says, "it is in dialogue, above all, that the novelist has most opportunity […] to suggest continuity between his fictional world and the real world". Given that interlingual translation presupposes linguistic shifts (Toury 2012), it may logically follow that a shift in the language characters use may cause a shift in their identity, therefore contradicting Eco's belief that "characters will never change"; and if Eco's belief is contradicted, can it be said that the characters in the Spanish translation are as "real" as those in the original? To explore this hypothesis, a comparative analysis is carried out between John Updike's *Rabbit Redux* (1972) and its Spanish translation, "El regreso de Conejo" (Menéndez 1993). Specifically, this analysis explores how shifts in the pragmatic functions of the main character's idiolect result in the attenuation of his identity, and how a process of standardisation and neutralisation of the language

used by three African-American characters results in the linguistic dissolution of their speech community.

Introduction

When Umberto Eco (2009) asks "why are we deeply moved by the misfortune of Anna Karenina if we are fully aware that she is a fictional character who does not exist in our world?", he is, in fact, wondering what it is about fictional characters that seem "real" to the reader. He concludes that characters have the power to evoke real feelings and emotions because "unlike other semiotic objects […] fictional characters will never change and will remain the actors of what they did once and forever." Beyond their asynchronous nature, however, characters also seem real because they perform identities that resonate in the non-fictional world. They dress, behave, and speak in such a way as to create a sense of verisimilitude. The focus in this paper is on how characters use language in dialogue to create verisimilitude by projecting their identity, because, as David Lodge (1966: 47) says, "it is in dialogue, above all, that the novelist has most opportunity, if he so wishes, to suggest continuity between his fictional world and the real world." Taking this into account, this paper explores the role of dialogue in the construction of social and cultural identities in John Updike's *Rabbit Redux* and their reconstruction in the Spanish translation, "El regreso de Conejo" (trans. by Menéndez 1993). Given that interlingual translation presupposes linguistic shifts (Toury 2012: 80), it may logically follow that a shift in the language characters use may cause a shift in the semiotic codification of their identity, therefore contradicting Eco's belief that "characters will never change"; and if Eco's claim is contradicted, can it be said that the characters in the Spanish translations are as "real" as those in the original?

Dialogue is constructed with a type of discourse that is particularly difficult to place on an ontological axis. It appears in novels as language that characters speak spontaneously, yet it is judiciously crafted by the author and represented graphically on a page. What is inescapable, however, is the social nature of dialogue and the "continuity" it creates between characters and "the real world". It is precisely this link – the contiguity between the character and the social or real world – that is at the heart of the difficulties translators encounter when translating dialogue. These difficulties may be viewed not as an issue of language *per se*, but of language and its social

variants. The pertinent identity-related sociolinguistic categories in this analysis are *idiolect* (an individual's idiosyncratic use of language) and *sociolect* (the linguistic features of language users that reflect their membership to a speech community). In general terms, an idiolect is crucial to the differentiation of a particular character *vis-à-vis* the other characters in the novel; and a sociolect is crucial to the transmission of the ideologies associated with a speech community's position in its cultural environment.

The challenge in translation lies in the fact that idiolect and sociolect are concepts defined by their cultural and social specificity, as Leppihalme (2000) argues: "the use of dialect in literary dialogue is one way of creating linguistic richness and individuality, and some texts achieve their effects largely through a careful balancing of dialectal and non-dialectal elements. It is well known, however, that in translation these effects are difficult to retain". Leppihalme acknowledges that the difficulties of transferring dialogue are due to the differences in speech conventions from one culture to another. This has led translation scholarship to reach the conclusion that it is "usually quite impossible to render [intralinguistic] variations in a satisfactory manner" (House 1973: 167). House's quotation singles out *intralinguistic variation* as the root cause of these losses. Essentially, she claims that the problematic issues surrounding dialogue translation stem from the varieties of language use that depart from an idealised "standard" – precisely the linguistic features that beget idiolects and sociolects. The view that arises thus is that it seems inevitable that there will be some residual linguistic features that the translator will not be able to transfer to the target text. The concept of *untranslatability* reveals just this: during the process of translating aesthetic language, some elements of the source text are sacrificed in favour of intelligibility in the target text, or intelligibility in the target text is sacrificed in favour of a faithful rendition of the source text. What the dialectal issues in translation reveal – and more importantly, are encumbered by – is the incompatibility of the source language variation with the target language system. This inevitably leads to insurmountable obstacles for the effective rendering of social meaning in the target text, and especially so in the translation of fictive dialogue, where interlingual incongruities can distort the semiotic intricacies of the source dialogue when transposed to the target text. Therefore, save for the transposition of the entire semiotic system – a translation chimera – it can be assumed that losses are incurred in the translation of dialogue. The argument that will be made henceforth is that the loss is not just linguistic, but also semiotic, in the sense that, without linguistic variation in dialogue, the identity of the

characters is attenuated to the point where they may be completely different from the characters in the source text.

The language-identity nexus

The idea that language and social identity are inextricably linked is not a new one. Malinowski (1923) was the first to articulate the link between language and society through his *context of situation* conceptualisation. J.R Firth (1950, 1957) subsequently further elaborated Malinowski's ideas and developed his own theory that drew attention to the context-dependent nature of meaning. However, it was Labov's (1966) seminal studies of phonological patterns in Martha's Vineyard (1961) and New York (1966) that crystallised the language-society synergy. Labov successfully demonstrated that language users subconsciously exercise linguistic agency in order to represent their social status, race, or educational background. In other words, Labov demonstrated that language users not only utter words but also perform their social identity through language. Robert LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) took these ideas further and postulated *acts of identity*, a concept that "reveals that the language choices that we make are a central element of our conception of ourselves not just as members of social groups but as self-contained individuals" (Watt 2010: 77).

The concepts and ideas expounded throughout the works cited above are summarily enacted in Bucholtz and Hall's (in Llamas and Watt 2010:19) *identity principles,* which will be applied in this study as a framework for the analysis of identity through linguistic interaction. The first of these is the *emergence principle*, which states that "identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon". This principle posits that identity is not a psychological mechanism for self-categorisation, but a manifestation of the self that surfaces through linguistic performance in determined sociocultural contexts. The discussion on identity here does not have as its aim the characterisation of the fixed identification categories of race, religion, education, and social status. Instead, these categories provide the cultural schemata needed in order to make inferences about the more transient elements of identity that are not just manifested, but are performed in specific social contexts. This is the crux of this first principle: identity is in some way determined by spontaneous "semiotic practices" which are a "cultural phenomenon". Thus the semiotic structure for interactional language can be used to predict the phraseology

and lexical resources available to the speaker. For example, there is a difference between saying "Whadja do all day?" and "What did you do today?", and the difference is largely determined by context-specific variables, such as to whom the question is directed, or the sociocultural context in which the conversation takes place. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 20), "nearly all contemporary linguistic research on identity takes this general perspective as its starting point". The second identity axiom proposed is the *positionality principle*: "identities encompass (a) macrolevel demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles" (Bucholtz and Hall, 2010: 20). This second principle allows for the view that speakers' utterances in any given social context will reflect their position within their speech community and by extension, the position of the listener. This principle is closely associated with the emergence principle. That is, if identity is a conglomerate of characteristics that surface variedly depending on the context of the interaction, then it logically follows that speakers will take up different positions that pertain to the "macro-structures of society" and that are determined by temporal and interactional parameters. If the first two principles describe the ontology of the language-identity nexus, the third principle, *indexicality,* is the mechanism through which language constructs, constitutes, and reflects, social identities:

> *Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including:* (a) *overt mention of identity categories and labels;* (b) *implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or other's identity position;* (c) *displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and* (d) *the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups.*

Indexicality, based on Peirce's *index* in his sign theory, is "fundamental to the way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions" (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 20) The concept viewed thus is a methodological tool through which the analyst can explore how the ideas embodied in the first two principles manifest themselves during interaction. This proposition can be described as the practice of analysing the micro-level linguistic features (for example, verbs, modifiers, predicates) to find the links between the speaker and the macro-structures of society (ideology, text, discourse).

This process of signification from the micro-signifiers to the macro-signifieds, therefore, is, in Bucholtz and Hall's view, necessarily mediated through the culture-specific ideologies that are semiotically transmitted in social interaction. Given its importance to the analysis, Peirce's index will be discussed in more detail below. Finally, Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 23, 24) consider identity to be an interpersonal concept; this is reflected in their fourth identity axiom, the *relationality principle*: "identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, complementary relations, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy". The relationality principle highlights the dynamic, intersubjective nature of identity. The main aim of this principle is "to underscore the point that identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors". This point is self-evident if we take the indexicality principle to be true, i.e., speakers' speech patterns may represent their social position, and by extension, speakers are also making a presupposition about the listener's position.

Bucholtz and Hall's taxonomy of linguistic identity proffers categories that are neither monolithic nor stable in their potential as indexical elements of language. Due to the transient and subjective nature of language in context, this analysis employs these identity principles to frame a discussion that will be qualitative rather than quantitative, as a quantitative analysis would not recognise the infinite variables that govern the construction of language in any given context. Sociolects, and in particular, idiolects, are rather complicated concepts to negotiate (Eco 1979: 270-271). Testament to this is the paucity of theories that can apprehend the various lects with scientific rigour; however, the principles summarised above will prove valuable in the analysis that follows because, rather than attempting an overarching conceptualisation of what is, in essence, an abstract notion governed by innumerable social variables, Bucholtz and Hall provide malleable parameters that can accommodate individual instances of identity as they are performed. Succinctly put, the principles outlined above will frame the exploration of the characters' performance as they interact in the source dialogue, in order to compare and contrast with how the characters interact in the target dialogue; however, of the principles discussed, the indexicality principle is of paramount importance as it is this concept that will, ultimately, reveal the social and cultural identities of the characters.

Semiotic identities

All language, according to semiotician C.S Peirce, is essentially symbolic because "a symbol is a sign which refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of a law, usually an association of general ideas" (quoted in Gorlée, 1994: 77; original reference in *Collected Papers*: 2.249/1903). Whereas structuralist semiology posits that semiosis ends at this point by virtue of the sign having signified its denotatum, Peirce, on the other hand, believed that this is merely a starting point. In the case of aesthetic texts then, written language is a graphic symbol that represents the point of departure for semiosis. The symbol, through the interpretant, "translates" into another sign, i.e., into another symbol, or into an icon or index. Thus semiosis, rather than an ephemeral event, is best viewed as a process that takes place along a hermeneutic continuum that is sign-posted by symbols, icons, and indices; as Gorlée (1994: 158) explains:

> It is true that linguistic signs are general and conventional signs, and are therefore first and foremost symbols; yet as such they have implied iconic and indexical components […] Thus in Peirce's semiotics a symbol must involve both an index and an icon; and an index in turn an icon. This makes a sign not into some kind of thing but into an event, a relation in which one of the three elements plays a predominant role, thereby overshadowing the two others.

For Gorlée the symbol takes precedence over the index and the icon on this hermeneutic continuum. This seems logical enough given that the symbol is the first sign encountered by the reader, and thus represents the point of departure for semiosis. Yet this view contrasts with the principle of indexicality, which places the index as the dominant sign in relation to emergent identities. This disparity of opinions, however, is only a matter of where the focus lies; Gorlée's is on the referential function of language, and Bucholtz and Hall's is on inferential meaning. Thus espoused, the term "index" is not, as Lyons (cited in Laver, 1974; original reference in Lyons, 1968: 275) explains, used to "mean a deictic device", but as Abercrombie (1967: 6) advocates, as a sign "which reveals personal characteristics […] of the speaker". This pragmatic-semiotic capacity of language to function as an index to social meaning is precisely what this analysis will isolate, therefore correlating with Bucholtz and Hall's partialness for inferential meaning, where pragmatics and social meaning converge by way of the index, which serves as the intersecting point between the content and form of an utterance, and, ultimately, reveals what the utterance communicates semiotically

about the speaker's (and listener's, as the case may be) identity. The search for identity, is, in essence, the task of establishing speakers' idiolects and sociolects through the various graphic symbols that in semiosis, become indices to the "speaker's identities, attributes, and attitudes" (Laver, 1974).

The index is thus used in identity theory to explain how language generates social meaning, and how this social meaning in turn becomes an element of speakers' idiolectal and sociolectal profiles. This is also the case when an idiolect or a sociolect is encountered in fiction; and in translation terms, this is the case when a source reader (who, for the interest of this discussion, we may assume to be familiar with the sociocultural environment described in the novel) reads a source text. Because varieties are a product of a specific cultural environment, and because they are codified in a specific natural language, the translator is faced with the difficult task of re-codifying a culturally-specific variation in a target language whose underlying structure, in all likelihood, will not be able to support the source linguistic variations. It was pointed out earlier that precisely because of this transfer from one language to another there will always be incommensurable losses, because every natural language is structured in its own particular way, and thus its use is defined by a different semiotic system. Despite this seemingly defeatist view of literary translation, it is nevertheless an important endeavour to establish what has been lost, or as the case may be, changed; and if indeed, as Gumperz (1982: 1) says, "communication cannot be studied in isolation, it must be analyzed in terms of its effect on people's lives", then there is nothing more pressing, or more relevant, than the effect the translation process has on identity.

Idiolect: Indexing Harry Angstrom's Identity

Although Harry "Rabbit" Angstrom has been criticised as an immoral character (Gordon 1991: 17-23), Updikean scholars "agree that […] Updike has created an archetypal American hero, one strikingly real and individual, yet emblematic of his class, his country, and his era" (Broer 1998: 3). There are four "Rabbit" books. Throughout the course of the saga, Harry's character changes and shifts so that he is forever living against his culture's conventions. With every book, Harry's political and social opinions are turned upside down in order for him to be in a constant state of opposition; in *Rabbit Redux*, a novel set at the end of the 1960s, a decade defined by liberal ideals, Harry becomes a "staunchly conservative family man" (Boswell, 2001: 76). Despite this

vicissitude for opposition, Harry's character remains consistent throughout the saga, and this consistency can be found in the part of his identity that bestows upon him the name *Angst*rom:

> *An angstrom is actually a unit of length equal to one hundred millionth of a centimetre, used primarily to specify radiation wavelengths, but in the 1950s angst was the existentialist catchword for the anxiety and despair many intellectuals felt as they considered the absurd nature of individual human existence. Rabbit becomes, then, Updike's angst-ridden American Everyman, an individual infinitesimally small in the cosmic scheme of things, but one who views himself as the center of the universe.* (Campbell 1998)

It is Harry's penchant for opposition, as well as the tension between the reality of being insignificant and his belief that he is "special", which are at the root of his anger. However, the aim here is not to isolate the source of his anger, but to establish how it is semiotically encoded in the language that he uses in the source dialogue, in order to explore whether it is semiotically encoded in the target dialogue. A look at the following examples – uttered at various points of the source text - will reveal the linguistic feature that predominantly indexes Harry's anger in the source text, and the strategy employed by the translator to render it in the target text:

> *1a. Christ, exactly. We'd turn it into another Japan if they'd let us.*
>
> *1b. Caray, precisamente. Lo habríamos convertido en otro Japón si nos hubiesen dejado.*
>
> *2a. Well Jesus how much privacy do you think I owe you?*
>
> *2b. ¡Caray! ¿Cuánta intimidad crees que debo proporcionarte?*
>
> *3a. Sure. Now what the fuck is really going on?*
>
> *3b. Por supuesto. Ahora dime qué cuernos está pasando realmente.*

These examples show Harry's predisposition (in the source text) for the use of offensive language. Whenever a subject that makes him uncomfortable is broached (example 1a), loses his patience (example 2a), or aims to be hurtful (example 3a), Harry expresses his anger by uttering an offensive word. The examples from the target text - 1b, 2b, and 3b – are representative of the overall strategy employed by the translator to render this feature. The translation almost always uses euphemistic language where in the source text there is offensive language. By applying the indexicality principle, it can be said

that the shift in language use from offensive to euphemistic creates a different emergent identity for Harry. Part of the reason for this is because, whilst Harry's use of language does change in the translation, the context of situation does not. The target narrative still portrays Harry as an angry character; when he talks with his father, for example, "ve todo rojo" (Menéndez 1993: 12), or when Janice or her lover approach him, "empieza a enfurecerse" (Menéndez, 1993: 150). Whereas these contextual elements frame Harry's use of coarse language in the source text, they frame euphemistic language in the target text, thus creating a character that, instead of being rude and unapologetic, is afraid of causing offence to his father, his wife and his wife's lover. The target dialogue, in essence, weakens Harry because his use of language is no longer a paradigm of his identity as it is constructed in the narrative.

There are other instances in the source text where Harry chooses not to use offensive language. In accordance with the emergence, positionality, and relationality principles, Harry's own diatypic variation illustrates how he exercises linguistic agency to allow other elements of his identity to surface; the following examples illustrate this point:

> 4a. What are you going to have, if you're so fucking smart?
> 4b. ¿Qué vas a tomar tú, ya que eres tan puñeteramente lista?

> 5a. All I want to know is why my wife is never home to cook the fucking supper for me and the fucking kid.
> 5b. Lo único que quiero saber es por qué mi mujer nunca está en casa para cocinar una puñetera cena para mí y el puñetero crío.

> 6a. I spend all frigging day in Brewer.
> 6b. Me paso todo el puñetero día en Brewer.

These utterances occur within the same conversation. Harry, his wife Janice, their son Nelson and Janice's lover Charlie, are having dinner at a Greek restaurant. At this point of the novel Harry suspects, but has not yet confirmed, that his wife and Charlie are lovers. The conversation between the three is tense, and predictably, Harry's use of language reflects his angst and frustration with the situation. Examples 4a and 5a are directed at Janice, in the first instance to insult her intelligence, and in the second to question her skills as a housewife. Unlike the previous examples, it can be said that the translator – examples 4b and 5b – has successfully indexed Harry's anger. The use of "fucking" as an adverb and an adjective – but more importantly, as an indexer of anger – is rendered in Spanish with *puñeteramente* and *puñetero/a*. From a pragmatic

perspective, there is scope to consider *puto/a* as the term that is most closely relatable to "fuck" – at least on a cline of coarseness, it is equitable to the offense that is potentially caused by "fuck". However, the use of *puto/a* would not have allowed for the modulation in 4a because in Spanish, *puto/a* cannot be morphed into an adverb. Thus in the interest of consistency, *puñetero/a* may be considered an effective solution. Notwithstanding, it is this consistency in the target text that ultimately betrays Harry's diatypic variation in the source text. Example 6a is also uttered to Janice, but crucially, a new variable has been added to the context of situation when Harry and Janice's twelve-year old son, Nelson, enters the conversation. It is at this point that Harry changes his linguistic behaviour so as not to expose Nelson to inappropriate language. A crucial element of Harry's identity surfaces here. This crass and unreservedly impolite person, is also, paradoxically, performing the role of conscientious father, an emergent identity that is manifested in the diatypic shift from coarse to euphemistic language, indexed by the use of "frigging", a euphemism of "fucking" - the word that Harry had been liberally uttering until his son entered the fray. By virtue of translating "fucking" and "frigging" with the same term - *puñetero/a* – this emergent identity is not a feature of Harry's idiolect in the target text. In fact, where the source text dialogue makes a distinction between Harry's relationship with Janice and her lover, and his relationship with his son, the target dialogue does not. From a sociolinguistic point of view, at least, the target text Harry does not discriminate between them. This is not the first time that Harry exercises his role of fatherhood in such a way either. During an earlier exchange, when Harry and Nelson are alone, the same euphemism appears in Harry's idiolect, with the same result in the target text:

> 7a. *Turn the frigging TV down for once in your life.*
>
> 7b. *Baja esa puñetera tele por una vez en tu vida.*

While, from a strictly linguistic point of view, the strategy of replacing "fucking" with *puñetero/a* and *puñeteramente* seems like an effective strategy, from a semiotic construction of this character's identity, it in facts attenuates and constricts what in the source text is a multidimensional identity. There is thus a subtle, nuanced distribution of coarse and euphemistic language in the source text; a strategic representation of Harry's idiolect that Updike judiciously constructs. On the one hand, his anger at his wife and her lover is evident in his use of offensive language, but on the other hand, he tones down this element of his idiolect when his twelve-year old son is present. In the

target text, exactly the reverse is true. Harry uses euphemistic language with the people who are the cause of his anger (examples 1b to 6b), but uses coarse language with his son (examples 6b and 7b). The result in the target text is a character whose linguistic behaviour is completely different to how he is originally portrayed in the source text.

Sociolect: Indexing African-American Identity

Rabbit Redux is not just about Harry Angstrom and his family, it is also about the cultural fractures and social conflicts that defined the United States in the 1960s, most notably, the Civil Rights movement and the African-American vs. white supremacy discourse that surrounded it. For Ristoff (1988: 94) "Updike's exploration of this facet of the black movement becomes especially relevant because it represents, ideologically at least, the greatest internal threat to the establishment ever". In contemporaneous terms, Updike's depiction of the African-American community coincides with a time in history when "the patterns of communication between Blacks and other Americans reflected the social distance between them" (Whitely 1981: 92). In *Rabbit Redux* this social distance finds a corresponding homology in the linguistic difference between the African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) spoken by the three African-American characters, and the Standard American English (SAE) spoken by the rest of the characters.

When a novel transcribes a sociolect with orthographical variations, as is the case here, it is semiotically codifying similarity and difference; similarity between the characters that speak AAVE, and difference between speakers of AAVE and SAE. It is this dialogical contradistinction that ultimately ascribes cultural identities, as Lewandowski (2010) points out:

> *[…] The main prerequisite for a sociolect is the existence of a social group whose members maintain strong bonds (professional, social or cultural) established through frequent contacts with each other. If a sociolect is to evolve, the group of its users must be stable, have an established tradition, and display a sense of differentness from other groups.*

The term "sociolect" implies the idea of building networks through language, or "speech networks" whose aggregates can then be described as a speech community. In traditional sociolinguistic research, the chief criticism of the speech community is the homogenising element that is attached to its application (c.f. Patrick 2000). Yet in

literature this is exactly what the reader finds, speech variations that have been homogenised for the benefit of creating a fictive world that reflects and imitates the real world:

> *Hay que ser consciente en cualquier momento de que el texto literario, por más realista que se presente, no es nunca un fiel reflejo de la realidad del habla. Además hay que tener en mente que siempre estamos ante un artificio, aún en los textos contemporáneos y actuales. (Brumme and Esponya 2012: 32)*

The artificial nature of literary sociolects – artificial inasmuch as the representation of the variation is synthetic – is based on the transcription of selective markers of orality. "The author is an artist, not a linguist or a sociologist, and his purpose is literary rather than scientific", says Ives (1950: page), who continues his argument by saying that for this reason, literary dialects "are deliberately incomplete". It is important not to lose sight of this particular point. Fictive sociolects are not sociolects as conceived in traditional sociolinguistic studies, but rather the author's attempt to transcribe it; and as such, the speech community is not a speech community *per se*, but a textual construction:

> *The concept of literary sociolect is construed here as the textual representation of "non-standard" speech patterns that manifest both socio-cultural forces which have shaped the speaker's linguistic competence and the various socio-cultural groups to which the speaker belongs or has belonged. (Lane-Mercier 1997)*

The operative word in the quotation above is "textual". A sociolect appears in novels by design, and can thus be established and analysed by breaking it down to its constituent parts. What is qualitatively interesting about *Rabbit Redux*, however, is that AAVE is a sociolect spoken by three characters: Skeeter, Buchanan and Babe. Therefore, the constituent parts of a sociolect, the lexico-grammatical and phonological variations that are shared among these speakers that belong to the same speech community, must be repeated in these three characters if a speech community has been constructed. This would not just be a "textual" speech community, but, because it is self-contained and constructed from within the text, it is also an *intratextual* speech community. This analysis will move on to isolate and establish precisely these variables; but for the purpose of constructing identities, these variations must be explored not for their linguistic function, but for their semiotic function. In line with the indexicality principle, each variation is an index that points to the existence of a speech

community. In other words, when Skeeter, Buchanan, and Babe each delete the copula verb in the source text (this example will be discussed more thoroughly below), the speech community becomes an existential certainty. Thus, essentially, what the translator should aim for – if the process of translation is carried out under the auspice of equivalence – is to recreate the variation in the three characters in order to index an African-American speech community. However, because the source language variations (AAVE) are not compatible with the target language system (Castilian Spanish), this is impossible. The question thus becomes, how does this interlingual incongruity affect the semiotic representation of an African-American identity in the target text?

The variations that Updike uses to intratextually construct this speech community can be divided into two categories. The first is lexico-grammatical variations, or systemic variations that pertain to non-standard use of grammar and vocabulary; and the second category is phonological variations, which pertain to non-standard patterns of pronunciation. The following examples – by no means exhaustive, but representative of the issues discussed here – demonstrate the intratextual nature of the African-American speech community; the examples from the target text, immediately below the source text examples, show that the translator has opted for a strategy that neutralises and ultimately, textually dissolves the speech community. The first of the lexico-grammatical examples pertains to the norm of deleting the copula:

> *1a. Skeeter: The reason they so mean […]*
> *1b. Skeeter: Son tan malvados porque […]*
>
> *2a. Buchanan: Her daddy dead.*
> *2b. Buchanan: Su padre murió.*
>
> *3a. Babe: That's why he so rude.*
> *3b. Babe: Por eso es tan grosero.*

Similarly, these three characters also share the norm to delete the auxiliary verb:

> *4a. Babe: She got herself clean.*
> *4b. Babe: Ahora está limpia.*
>
> *5a. Skeeter: Whitey here got so much science.*
> *5b. Skeeter: Aquí el blanco tiene tanta ciencia.*
>
> *6a. Skeeter: Good, man; she got to live, right?*
> *6b. Skeeter: Bueno hombre, de algo tiene que vivir, eh?*

There are other lexico-grammatical variations that Updike uses to index the African-American speech community, such as double negatives – "There won't be nobody else" (249) - and non-standard third person conjugation of the present tense – "They's like little babies" (119) - but the result in the target text is invariably the same, the speech community that is an existential certainty in the source text, is non-existent in the target text. The same process of neutralization occurs in the translation of the phonological features. Most prevalent among these is the norm to drop the word-final "g":

7a. Buchanan: *How're they treatin' you, Harry?*
7b. Buchanan: *¿Qué tal te tratan, Harry?*

8a. Skeeter: *All those years talkin' about happy Rastus chompin' on watermelon.*
8b. Skeeter: *Se pasaron montones de años hablando de lo feliz que era el negrito mordiendo una sandía.*

9a. Babe: *I don't mind your hangin' around the place […]*
9b. Babe: *A mí no me importa que haraganees […]*

Another distinct feature is the hyphenation of syllables to signify non-standard word stress patterns:

10a. Buchanan: *Works right beside his daddy at ver-i-ty press.*
10b. Buchanan: *Trabaja con su padre en Verity Press.*

11a. Babe: *I'm nowhere near spaced enough to pee-form.*
11b. Babe: *No estoy bastante cerca para ponerlo en forma con lo que tengo.*

12a. Skeeter: *There's a fact for your eddi-cayshun.*
12b. Skeeter: *Ahí tienes un dato concreto para tu educación.*

There is no attempt made at making these three characters speak alike in the target dialogue; there are no variables (or even a single variable) that is repeated in their speech, and thus, there is no intratextually constructed speech community. In fact, a close look at the examples from the target text reveals that the speech of these characters is translated with a rather formal register (example 1b, 3b, and 11b best elucidate this shift in register), with one notable exception, the speech of Skeeter:

13a. Skeeter: *Cuernos, tío, la revolución.*
14a. Skeeter: *Ah, uno es sólo un negrito* maalo.

> *15a. Skeeter: Nosotros somos lo que ha quedado* fuera *de la revolución industrial, de modo que somos la* próxima *revolución…*

The translator attempts to translate Skeeter's dialogue with colloquial language, but by virtue of not replicating this strategy with the other two African-American characters, Skeeter's target dialogue has the undesirable effect of distancing, rather than approximating, his language use to that of the other characters in his community. For example, whereas in the source text Buchanan says "woman way you goin'" (120), in the target text he expresses himself in more formal terms: *por la forma en que lo estás haciendo* (104). This formalisation of Buchanan's speech in the target text is at odds with how Skeeter's informal language is rendered, where he is allowed to express himself with discourse markers such as *tío* (example 13a), and particular words in his dialogue are italicised to allow for the extrapolation of a variation in rhythm (examples 14a and 15a). All this, whilst faithful to the register of particular sections of Skeeter's dialogue, fails to index his relationship to Buchanan and Babe. Instead of a dialogue that creates a common cultural identity for these three characters, performed through language by sharing the same dialectical variations, these three characters, in the target text, can only be described in terms of diatypic variation. Certainly Skeeter's colloquial language represents too much of a departure from the formalised speech of Buchanan and Babe to warrant a shared linguistic identity between the three. The overall effect thus reverses the literary device of the source text where Buchanan and Skeeter speak alike, in the target text they speak differently.

Conclusion

Fictive dialogue is where the personal, historical, social and political background of a character is implicitly expressed. There are other ways, such as narrative descriptions and how a character interacts with popular culture, but the benefit of dialogue is that the reader gets this information directly from the character. Dialogue, as Eco – quoted in the introduction – points out, is a literary device that forges a textual relationship between the characters and the reader. The consequence of not giving this aspect of the translation process due consideration is severe. As this analysis has shown, dialogue plays a crucial part in the semiotic construction of the social (personal) and cultural (collective) identity of the characters. The eponymous character, Harry Angstrom, is portrayed as an angry and frustrated person throughout the novel. In the source text this can be seen with his use of offensive language. Crucial to his identity as

a father, however, this outspoken and rude character refuses to curse when his twelve-year old son is within earshot. This type of dyatipic variation is an important indexical sign that allows the reader to see a side of Harry that is not normally seen, nor described anywhere else in the text. It is solely through looking at the language that he uses that the reader can appreciate his performance of conscientious father. A comparative look at the target text reveals that Harry's dialogue represents a fine translation in strict linguistic terms. It is only when the semiotic construction of his identity through language is considered that important lacunas appear. When Harry uses offensive language in the source text, in the target text he uses euphemisms; and when in the source text he uses euphemisms (i.e., when his son is around), in the target text he uses coarse language. Thus virtually reversing the linguistic identity of the character in the target text. This analysis also looked at sociolect, a type of language variation that indexes collective identity. In the case of *Rabbit Redux*, the best example of this is the African-American community (made up of three characters) who all share linguistic norms and manifest them in their dialogue. In this instance also, it was found that, viewed from a strictly semantic perspective, the translation was acceptable – save for some circumstantial and inevitable losses for which translator cannot blamed. The semiotic function of the dialogue of these three characters, the linguistic variables that indexed the existence of an intratextual speech community, however, is lost in the translation. Thus attenuating an element that in the source text is rich in sociocultural and political history. This analysis also found that, due to the translator's erratic strategy of formalising and neutralising that speech for only two of the African-American characters, rather than approximating the language of these three characters in order to create a common cultural identity, it, in fact, distanced their language use. It may not be particularly innovative or ground-breaking to point out that lectal variation is difficult, if not impossible, to translate. It is a preconceived notion of the translation process that has come to be considered axiomatic. What may also be axiomatic, as this article has argued, is that when the language of the characters use in dialogue is translated, their semiotically constructed identity changes with it. With every linguistic shift that occurs in dialogue there is an accumulation of semiotic shifts that, ultimately, cause an indelible shift in the identity of the target characters. A translator, however, is always fighting a losing battle. There is no universally applicable strategy, no panacea for either the translation of idiolect or sociolect - and irrespective of whatever strategy is employed there will always be incommensurable losses. Eco, no doubt, is right in

saying that characters make readers feel emotions which are normally reserved for other living people, and not fictive representations; and although his statement that characters never change is relevant to monolingual studies of fiction, his claim may now need a footnote to clarify that some characters do change: those who are translated.

References

Abercrombie, D. (1967) *Elements of General Phonetics*. London: Longman.

Boswell, M. (2001) *John Updike's Rabbit Tetralogy: Mastered Irony in Motion*. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press.

Broer, L. (ed.) (1998) *Rabbit Tales: Poetry and Politics in John Updike's Rabbit Novels*. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press.

Brumme, J. and Esponya, A. (2012) *The Translation of Fictive Dialogue*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.

Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. (2010) Locating Identity in Language. In Watt, D. and Llamas, C. (2010) *Language and Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Campbell, J. (1998) Middling, Hidden, Troubled America. In Broer, L. (ed.) (1998) *Rabbit Tales: Poetry and Politics in John Updike's Rabbit Novels*. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press.

Eco, U. (1979) *A Theory of Semiotics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Eco, U. (2009) On the ontology of fictional characters: a semiotic approach. *Sign System Studies*. 37 (1/2). 82-97

Firth, J.R. (1957) *Papers in Linguistics*. London: Oxford University Press.

Gordon, M. (1991) *Good Boys and Dead Girls and Other Essays*. London: Bloomsbury.

Gorlée, D. (1994) *Semiotics and the Problem of Translation: with Special Reference to the Semiotics of Charles S. Peirce*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Gumperz, J. (ed.) (1982) *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

House, J. (1973) Of the limits of translatability. *Babel*. 4(3). 166-167.

Ives, S. (1950) A theory of literary dialect. *Tulane Studies in English.* 2. 137-182.

Labov, W. (1966) *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Lane-Mercier, G. (1997) Translating the untranslatable: the translator's aesthetic, ideological, and political responsibility. *Target* 9 (1). 43-68.

Laver, J. (1975) Communicative Functions of Phatic Communication. In Kendon and Harris (eds.) *The Organisation of Behaviour in Face-to-Face Interaction*, 215–238, The Hague: Mouton.

Le Page, R. and Tabourte-Keller, A. (1985) *Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leppihalme, R. (2000) The two faces of standardization: on the translation of regionalisms in literary dialogue. *The Translator* 6 (2). 247-269.

Lewandowski, M. (2010) Sociolects and registers: a contrastive analysis of two kinds of linguistic variation. *Investigationes Linguisticae* 10 (2010). 60-79.

Lodge, D. (1966) *Language of Fiction*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1923) The problem of meaning in primitive languages. In Ogden and Richards (1923) *The Meaning of Meaning*. Harcourt, Brace and World Inc.: New York.

Ristoff, D. (1988) *Updike's America: the Presence of Contemporary American History in John Updike's Rabbit Trilogy*. New York: Peter Lang.

Toury, G. (2012) *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond – revised edition*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company: Updike, J. (1972) *Rabbit Redux*. London: Andre Deutsch.

Updike, J. (1972) *Rabbit Redux*. London: Andre Deustch

Updike, J. (trans. by Menéndez, I.) (1993) *El regreso de Conejo*. Barcelona: Tusquets Editores.

Watt, D. and Llamas, C. (2010) *Language and Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Problems of Arabic-French bilingualism in the Moroccan educational system

Abdelaziz Kesbi

University Hassan II

Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences

Mohammedia Morocco

aabd.kesbi@gmail.com

This paper is an attempt to demystify the issue of Arabization as a language planning policy in the Moroccan educational system. The focus is on the transmission and propagation of Arabic via printed documents, such as textbooks and methods of teaching. The adoption of Arabic-French bilingualism in education did not entirely solve the problem as there are different obstacles that still confront students in studying both Arabic and French. From socio-and-applied linguistic perspectives, I have tried to enumerate and examine the difficulties facing Moroccan students in studying both Arabic and French. Those difficulties are mainly concomitant to the complex linguistic map of Morocco, the inefficient and ineffective methods of teaching, the context of teaching as well as the interlingual and intralingual problems. Consequently, Arabic-French bilingualism has been faced with contradictory reactions. It is concluded that both Arabic and French, to different degrees, are relatively lagging behind with respect to the access to scientific and technological information. The paper also questions the true intentions of the *Francophonie*.

Keywords: Language Planning, Arabic-French Bilingualism, Arabization, *Francophonie*

Introduction

This article is an attempt to discuss some of the problems of Arabic-French bilingualism, namely the transmission of Classical Arabic through print and teaching

methods. I focus on the various impediments facing the teaching and learning of Arabic in the Moroccan educational system. One of the causes of the problem of transmission of Arabic is the existence of a large number of languages and dialects on the linguistic map of Morocco. In addition, learners face problems in learning Arabic because of the use of some traditional teaching methods. The transmission of Arabic is considered unsatisfactory and unworthy due to the learner's difficulty in reading printed materials. Texts written in Classical Arabic are a handicap for the learners; they consider them an impenetrable "mystery". In addition, the intensive use of the French language in administration and education has promoted this distance vis-à-vis the Arabic language.

Learners of French are also facing many problems due to difficulties, including the failure of teaching the language in different contexts, for example, in France and Morocco. Other problems are the arbitrary compromise between the spelling and sound as well as France's general refusal to allow any other francophone country to propose reforms to the French language. Furthermore, Arabic-French bilingualism has been adopted sparking reactions on both sides of the debate. It is also worth noting that the French and Arabic languages are, to varying degrees, both lagging behind English in terms of access to technology. The fact remains that French is predominant in Moroccan society despite doubts about the true objectives of *Francophonie*.

Linguistic difficulties

In an interview, Professor Lakhdar-Ghazal declared that the main problems of Arabization are that of terminology (Kesbi 2003, 2011) and the transmission of the language. This observation applies not only to printed documents but also to the methods of teaching Arabic (Zirari 1992). In fact, substituting Arabic with French raises a problem for the transmission and diffusion of Arabic. Facing the number of languages and varieties present in the Moroccan linguistic map, the question is which variety of Arabic is apt to transmit and diffuse knowledge conveyed in foreign languages (Lakhdar-Ghazal 1977). Classical Arabic seems to be the language unanimously chosen to be the instrument of Arabization. The reasons are manifold, such as the desire for unification with the Arab world as Classical Arabic represents an important component of Arab cultural unity. Nevertheless, cultural and social promotion in the Moroccan society is contingent upon the mastery of foreign languages. The question that arises again is why is it difficult for a Moroccan to learn Classical Arabic?

One of the possible answers is that the methods of teaching the official language are not as effective as those used for foreign languages. For instance, there is an urgent need to simplify the traditional way of teaching grammar, which was inherited from a long tradition, requiring a long and costly learning period. The challenges in education concern two factors: teachers and textbooks. Immediately after independence in 1956, most Moroccan teachers were Francophone. Though the Moroccanization of the teaching staff was achieved a long time ago, we witness a great impact of the Egyptian and Syrian television series, movies and songs on the Arabic variety used by Moroccan students. The traditional teaching of Classical Arabic does not take into account the impact of the mother tongues. Besides, pedagogical and linguistic studies dealing with the problem of shifting from varieties to Classical Arabic are lacking to an enormous extent (Lakhdar-Ghazal 1977). The pedagogy has constituted a different problem. Moroccan educational pedagogy has been based on French pedagogy, which focused on observation and active participation of the pupils. In contrast, the Moroccan teachers of Arabic use a traditional pedagogy typically found in Koranic schools. Therefore, the conflict between those two pedagogies has not led to an education of quality. Nowadays, the problem is not solved though all teachers are Moroccans mainly because of the failure of the Moroccan bilingual educational system. Indeed, students are familiar with both Arabic and French from the early years of the primary school; nonetheless, they fully master neither of the languages.

A condition for the success of overall Arabization has also been the availability of the required textbooks. In contrast with the period immediately after independence, Arabic textbooks are written and published now by Moroccan teachers for Moroccan students. Nonetheless, if the problem of cultural alienation is settled, that of pedagogy is not. As a result, the skills of reading and writing are stressed to the detriment of listening and speaking. Consequently, students may achieve a certain competence in the former skills but not in the latter. A case in point is the book of Arabic Murchidi fi: llurah al ʕarabiya (Rimi et al. 2011) for the fifth grade of primary school where both writing and reading are assigned two sessions per week, while both speaking and listening are not allotted even a single session. Furthermore, the teacher is considered as the only source of learning the language. In other words, students are not familiarised with other speakers of Arabic via CDs, for instance. According to this pedagogy, students are considered as native speakers while in fact Moroccan pupils

who have either Moroccan Arabic or one of the Amazigh varieties as their mother tongues realize that Classical Arabic looks like a foreign language.

No reform will be possible as long as there is a language for science and another for communication. Either the latter should be elevated or the language of science should be lowered until they are united. There would be, then, the accurate thought and language that emanates from real life (Amine 1971, cited in Benjelloun 1990). The main goal should be to reduce the gap between Classical Arabic and the mother tongue in order to make a language of communication the language of science. Benjelloun (1990) argues that the child must continue to learn how to speak. The child begins to learn how to communicate at home. As soon as s/he starts school, language teachers act as if s/he has finished this process; hence, the necessity of the re-valuing and upgrading of the mother tongue if they want to make it a means of pre-learning before any acquisition of a second language. Yet, the shift from the mother tongue to Classical Arabic is abrupt, without any bridging between the child's unwritten oral competence and his/her written but unspoken one. Indeed, from the mother tongue, which is spoken but not written, the child is driven to the written variety that is not spoken (Benjelloun 1990). In fact, the child is compelled to learn words such as /manzil/ meaning (house) while s/he has in his/her mother tongue the word /da:r/, which has the merit of being both part of Moroccan and Classical Arabic. A continuum should be created between the two varieties with no explicit gap. Hence, the first steps in learning Classical Arabic should be to learn similarities with Moroccan Arabic before moving to differences.

The methods of teaching are not the only cause of the inadequate transmission of the language. One of the main problems of Arabic is its mode of diffusion, mainly the printed documents. One of the means of access to a language and its respective culture is reading. Yet, the problem of Arabic is that its vowels are not written, which creates problems in reading and deciphering texts. It follows that, while in European languages people read in order to understand; in Arabic learners rather understand to be able to read. This task is very difficult, especially for a beginner. Lakhdar-Ghazal (1977) said that Alkarmalie declared, to academicians in Cairo, that the main difference between Arabs and foreigners is that the former study the rules of Arabic in order to learn how to read while the latter read to learn sciences.

Prior to computers, the reason for the non-existence of vowels in the printed document was purely technical. To write an Arabic text, compared to a Latin one, typists needed

more keys on a typewriter. The reason is the complexity of writing in Arabic, for example, the same letter is written differently depending on whether it is situated in the ultimate, penultimate or antepenultimate position of a word. As an illustration, the voiced palato-alveolar fricative /R/(غ) is written differently depending on its positions in a word as the following example shows:

Table 1 Different representations of the same letter in Arabic

بلغ	مغرب	غيور

In addition, the fact that vowels in Arabic are positioned either under or above consonants raises another problem for the standard mechanical process of printing. Nowadays, computers are able to write the vowels without changing the form of words. Nevertheless, vowels appear rarely, if ever, in printed materials making it difficult to decrypt Arabic texts. The problem of the vocalic system of Arabic was first noted in the seventh century when the Caliph Ali Ibn Abi Talib discovered that the Arabic language started to change because of continuous contact with foreign languages. Consequently, he asked the grammarian Abu: Laswad DuʔAli to vocalize the Koran to avoid any ambiguities in reading or understanding. A case in point is exemplified in Table 2, where the Arabic word /بلغ/ is transcribed phonetically as /blR/ without any apparent vocalization. The reader's role is to provide the appropriate vowels while reading according to context.

Table 2 Use of vocalization in Arabic

Possible transcriptions and meanings after vocalization	Word
/ballaRa/ inform, announce /bulliRa/ was informed /balaRa/ attain, reach, arrive at, get to, to amount to, to come to one's knowledge, to mature	/بلغ/ /blR/

One pedagogical complexity resides in the diglossic or even triglossic situation in Morocco. Indeed, we notice the existence of at least three varieties of Arabic, namely Classical Arabic, Middle Arabic and Moroccan Arabic. Nevertheless, this problem can be

solved by trying to eradicate illiteracy and reducing the gaps, especially, between Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic (Ennaji 1991; Moatassime 1992).

Another problem that emerges is the difficulty of Classical Arabic for a child who uses Amazigh as his/her mother tongue. In fact, Arabic, compared to the Amazigh language, is still predominant. Educationalists are waiting for the possible linguistic reforms that will accompany the stipulation that the Amazigh language has become the second official language according to the new Moroccan constitution. Therefore, the Amazighophone child is required to learn Arabic. Consequently, studies should devise ways to bridge the Amazigh varieties smoothly with Arabic; the oral language, even if it is not written, clearly contains a culture that Moroccans should know and preserve. Therefore, learning Arabic should not mean neglecting the Amazigh cultural patrimony (Benyaklef 1980).

The difficulties of Arabic stem also from the existing structures. Indeed, all the administrative and educational structures were elaborated in French during the colonisation period. After independence, the Arabization of administration was one of the main goals of decision-makers. Still, in sectors where the interactions and transactions were with foreigners, Arabization was not required and was even deemed unnecessary (Grandguillaume 1983). Now, for more than half of a century, the political independence of Morocco has not entailed a linguistic independence. Actually, though the administration was Moroccanized and Arabized, Moroccans feel lost since the government officials still opt for a bilingual, if not a French, discourse while communicating with them, making both of the Moroccan monolingual or illiterate unwelcome in such a context. As for education, French is still privileged as the unique means of instruction for scientific studies in higher education. Once again, the mastery of French is deemed of paramount importance for a student who wishes to pursue his/her higher studies.

Because of all these difficulties, Laroui (1982a, 1982b) discusses the danger of believing in the perfection of Classical Arabic. For many centuries, Arabs have believed that Classical Arabic is the reflection of the Arabs' conception of the world. To preserve this conception, it is said that Classical Arabic should be preserved as it was during the golden Arab period. This idea is dangerous as it rejects any possible cultural or linguistic innovation, which allows for the coexistence of Classical Arabic, the mother tongues and foreign languages; hence the need to reform Classical Arabic, according to the requirements of the new demands of modern life. Classical Arabic, as it is now

taught, does not provide an adequate, concise and exact means of communication. In other words, it is not conducive to a modern culture that reaches the masses in a short span of time. Reforming Classical Arabic in order to eradicate the problematic notion of diglossia would resolve one of the problems of Arabization.

The French language, which is one of the obstacles to Arabization, faces many difficulties. The failure to teach French, as witnessed in France especially among poor families, is due, among other causes, to the diglossic situation between the French used in everyday speech and the one used in academia. This suggests that French learning and teaching cannot be a success anywhere or under any conditions (Moatassime 1992).

French, which was for many centuries only spoken, was led to arbitrary compromises to meet the needs for a graphic representation. Therefore, many complexities have arisen as to the wide gap between the sounds and their pronunciations; for instance, the sound /o/ has different written forms as (o, eau or au) as in the French words "vél**o**", "gat**eau**", "ch**au**d".

In addition, all the decisions concerning the French language are centralised in France without allowing any Francophone country, including Morocco, to suggest any kind of reform whatsoever (Moatassime 1992). Still, conscious of the importance of foreign languages, policymakers have encouraged a bilingual and even multilingual educational system, which suggests that there is no contradiction between the process of Arabization and the teaching of foreign languages.

Arabic-French bilingualism

Facing the present impossibility to implement complete Arabization of the Moroccan educational system, Arabic-French bilingualism has been taken as an option. The use of Arabic and French is clear in all walks of Moroccan life. Reactions to this bilingualism vary considerably from those who believe that it is a "sign of alienation" and a frustrating obstacle, to those who believe that it is rather an "enriching factor" (Ennaji 1991).

Radi (1987) argues that research and pedagogical experiences proved that the pupil who uses his/her language in school has more chances to succeed. Thus, Arabic should be the principal medium of instruction at the primary school. As long as this is true, the Amazigh-speaking child should be prepared for a successful transition from any of the

Amazigh varieties to Arabic. However, the few television and radio programmes transmitted in Amazigh show that this language looks more and more like an Arabic dialect due to extensive borrowing from Arabic (El Couri 1998).

Santucci (1986) describes the situation of the French language in the Maghreb in the eighties. Compared to rural areas, the urban presence of French is more apparent in the public and private sectors, where it is the language of the training of the political class of the highest decision-makers. Even in highly Arabized ministries, it is frequent to use French in important meetings; consequently, French is still considered a tool of social promotion. Hence, in Morocco, in 1983, one third of primary school teachers and nearly half of the teacher-trainees were bilingual and, between 1972 and 1982, almost 70% of teacher-trainees of the first cycle were trained in French (Santucci 1986), clearly establishing the importance of French in the Moroccan educational system.

Nowadays, researchers can have access to scientific knowledge in a limited number of languages. Unfortunately, Arabic is not a member of this "closed club". Statistics concerning worldwide scientific publications in the hundred years up to 1980 reveal that 70% are in English, 12% in Russian and only 2% in twenty-two other languages including Arabic (Radi 1987). The situation did not change much between 1998 and 2000 as Sandelin and Sarafoglou (2003) remark that higher rates of publications are noted in English language countries. Surprisingly, they are followed by countries with small languages like Denmark and then by large non-English languages in countries like France. Nowadays, English is even considered as "*the lingua franca of science*" (Meneghini and Packer 2007).

Consequently, learning foreign languages is necessary to keep up with the rapid development of science with French trailing behind English for any technological progress. Researchers have to wait many years to translate what is available now in English in the field of science.

Socio-cultural life in Morocco is also influenced by the presence of French. The latter is the privileged medium for many newspapers, magazines, radio and even television programmes. Morocco, in fact, occupies the sixth position among the first countries in the world that import French books (Santucci 1986).

The process of Arabization not only modified the status of French, but it has also contributed to the lowering of the level of mastery of this language. This situation has led, to some extent, to the growing failure of students in scientific areas at the Faculty of Sciences in which French is still the exclusive means of instruction.

Conscious of these problems, decision-makers have taken many decisions in an attempt to solve them. Hence, more hours were dedicated to the teaching of French. Teachers of scientific areas were given extra hours to introduce the French terminology and translation became a normal school subject in secondary school. Yet, none of the actions that have been undertaken have resolved the major pedagogical problem of the failure of teacher-student interactions. It is true that the process of Arabization, especially in science has its share in this problem, but it is in no way the only cause of the failure of the educational system (Benlazmia 1994).

In any case, French plays an eminent role in Francophone countries including Morocco. Due to the growing generalisation of schooling and the demographic explosion, the number of Francophones is increasing. However, the number of people who have a Francophone, compared to Anglophone, education and culture will decrease, corroborating the change of the status of French from a second to a foreign language (Santucci 1986). Nowadays, according to WolframAlpha (2013) the number of Anglophones exceeds 760 million while francophones constitute only 128 million of world population according to 2005 estimates.

Facing this conflicting linguistic situation between Arabic and French, the French have opted for a mild management of the conflicts. The strategies adopted follow less institutionalised and less centralised decisions in which the local authorities are consulted. This is an attempt to maintain the position of French as a tool of development and co-operation with Moroccan authorities in the field of French teaching. The French have also tried to diversify the sectors susceptible of supporting the school linguistic acquisitions, like cinema, radio and television and have attempted to achieve equilibrium between the teaching of French and Arabic by encouraging the teaching and learning of Arabic in the French schools established in Morocco (Santucci 1986).

Nonetheless, the aim of France is not to help the Francophone countries to develop. This idea is made clear by the French sociolinguist Calvet (1974) who surveys the historical notion of *Francophonie*, which dates back to 1964. The coincidence of the birth of the idea and the independence of many African countries was not accidental; it depicts the spectre of French cultural imperialism. Except France, all the Francophone countries experience a situation of bilingualism. In such a linguistic situation, the domination of French over the indigenous languages is prevalent. El Couri (1998) rightly remarks that France is the most monolingual country in Europe as it neither

encourages its local dialects such as "l'Occitan" and "le Basque" nor gives priority to any foreign language over French.

Therefore, the existence of *Francophonie* in Morocco is linked to the colonising history of the French. The French language is used for economic goals or for the establishment of a world market in which French products can find potential customers. The notion of *Francophonie* can also be an instrument of international relations for the benefit of French policy and its economy. Third world countries, as Morocco, do not benefit from any cultural exchange in order to develop their cultural peculiarities. *Francophonie,* from this perspective, is simply the French culture, which aims at standing as an obstacle to the continuous spread of the English language and even Arabic (Elgherbi 1994).

Conclusion

One of the proposed solutions to the problem of learning Arabic is to try to bridge the gap between Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic in order to make the latter an effective tool for language communication. In addition, the publishing houses should include vocalisation in printed documents to make the process of reading, understanding and communicating easier. Therefore, it should be noted that the development of Arabic, like other languages, is related to the economic, political, *inter alia*, development of its users. The French language, on the other hand, is fraught with many difficulties as well, indeed; it has been shown that learning French cannot be successful anywhere and anyhow (Moatassime 1992). It is noted that France should involve more Francophone countries, as is the case in Quebec, in decisions concerning possible reforms of the French language. Morocco has opted for Arabic-French bilingualism, which has both advantages and disadvantages; nevertheless, the French and Arabic languages are lagging behind as languages of science and technology. Therefore, if there is a need in Morocco for a foreign language with access to technology, policy makers should consider the English language since the concept of *Francophonie* is nothing more than a way to perpetuate the French political, economic and cultural hegemony over underdeveloped Francophone countries.

References

Benjelloun, S. (1990) L'Arabe de la Langue Maternelle à la Langue de l'enseignement. In J. Pleines (ed.), *La Linguistique au Maghreb*. Rabat: Okad.

Benlazmia, A. (1994). L'enseignement de La Langue Française dans le Contexte de l'Arabisation. *La Revue de l'association Marocaine des Enseignants de Français*.

Benyaklef, M. (1980). *Pour une Arabisation de Niveau*. Casablanca: Impressions Graphoprint.

Calvet, L. J. (1974). Linguistique et Colonialisme in Ouadghiri (ed.) (1983) (trans. in Arabic).

El Couri, M. (1998). La politique d'arabisation du Maghreb et la position française. *Al-Lissan Al-Arabi 45*.

Elgherbi, M. (1994). *alfrankufu:niyah wa ttaʕri:b wa tadri:s lluRa:t l aʑnabiah fi : lmaRrib* [La francophonie, l'arabisation et l'enseignement des langues étrangères au Maroc]. Meknes: Sindi.

Ennaji, M. (1991). Aspects of Multilingualism in the Maghreb. In M. Ennaji (ed.), Sociolinguistics of the Maghreb. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language 87.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Grandguillaume, G. (1983). *Arabisation et Politique Linguistique au Maghreb*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.

Kesbi, A. (2003). *Attitudes towards Arabization of scientific subjects in the Moroccan educational system*. Fès, Morocco: Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University dissertation.

Kesbi, A. (2011). Arabization and translation: focus on lexical issue. In M. Ennaji (ed.), *Language and Linguistics 27*. Morocco: Imprimerie Imagerie Pub.

Lakhdar-Ghazal, A. (1977). *Méthodologie Générale de L'arabisation de Niveau*. Rabat: I. E. R. A. Press.

Laroui, A. (1982). *ttaʕri:b, wa xaSa:iS Lwuʑu:d Lʕarabi: wa lwaħdah lʕarabiyah* [L'Arabisation et les Particularités de la Présence et de l'Unité Arabe]. *markaz dira:sa:t lwaħda lʕrabiayah attaʕri:b wa dawruhu fi: tadʕi:mi al wuʑu:d al ʕarabi wa lwaħda lʕarabiyah,* [L'arabisation est son rôle dans la consolidation de la présence et l'unité arabe]. Le Centre d'Etudes de l'Unité Arabe. Beirut: I.E.R.A.

Meneghini R. and A. L. Packer (2007). Is there science beyond English? Initiatives to increase the quality and visibility of non-English publications might help to break down language barriers in scientific communication.
http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1796769/#illus1 (accessed 8. 11. 2013).

Moatassime, A. (1992). *Arabisation et Langue Française au Maghreb*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Ouadghiri, A. (1993). *Alfrankufu:Niyah Wa Ssiya:Sah Llurawiyah Wa TtaʕLi:Miyah Lfaransiyah Bil Marrib* [La Francophonie et la Politique Linguistique et Educationnelle Française au Maroc. Casablanca: Najah El Jadida.

Radi, A. (1987). Arabisation ou Bilinguisme. *Lamalif 190*(7). Casablanca: Sonir.

Rimi, M., M. Arbihi, M. Benazouz, A. Elfarabi, I. Aichou and M. Bouchama, (2011). *Murchidi fi: llurah al ʕarabiya* [Guides for the Arabic language]. Casablanca: Afrique Orient.

Sandelin, B. and N. Sarafoglou (2003). Language and Scientific Publication Statistics: a Note. https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/2077/2670/1/gunwpe0109.pdf (accessed 22.10.2012)

Santucci, J. C. (1986). Le Français au Maghreb Situation Générale et Perspective d'avenir. In J. R. Henry (ed.) (1986), *Nouveaux Enjeux Culturels au Maghreb*. Paris: Edition C. N. R. S.

Tahiri, N. (1993). *Siya:Sat TaʕRi:B TtaʕLi:M Bil Marrib* [La Politique de L'Arabisation de l'Enseignement au Maroc]. Casablanca: Qurtoba.

WolframAlpha Computational Knowledge Engine (2013). The number of English and French speakers. http://www.wolframalpha.com/input/?i=english+speakers and http://www.wolframalpha.com/input/?i=number+french+speaking (accessed 8.12.2013).

Zirari, N. (1992). Entretien avec le Professeur Ahmed Lakhdar-Ghazal. *Le Courrier Informatique 12*. Centre National de Documentation.

CLIL: Practical approaches of Higher Education EFL teachers

Maria Margarida Morgado
Margarida Coelho

Instituto Politécnico de Castelo Branco, Portugal
Instituto Politécnico de Portalegre, Portugal

marg.morgado@ipcb.pt
margco@estgp.pt

Foreign Language teaching perspectives increasingly use the concept of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) in theory and in practice and this carries implications for teacher education and for the professional identities of language teachers. This paper highlights practical CLIL approaches by Higher Education EFL teachers in two Polytechnic Institutes in Portugal as a basis for reflection on the possibilities and potential of CLIL in higher education. The paper addresses how CLIL contents were developed in two contexts of higher education, namely in Social Work and Public Relations and Secretarial Studies syllabi through two modules: one on Migration and another on Marketing. This critical appreciation aims at highlighting trends for educating EFL teachers in Portugal for the higher education sector and offers practical advice on setting up CLIL EFL courses in this sector.

Keywords: CLIL, developing contents for CLIL, CLIL for EFL

Introduction

This paper raises questions about CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) and how we need to educate both the EFL teachers in Higher Education (HE) and other subject teachers to use CLIL and to accept CLIL as part of their teaching. It discusses

these questions through two practical examples of materials developed as part of a CLIL approach.

In *Uncovering CLIL*, a key book in CLIL research and practice, authors Peter Mehisto, David Marsh and Maria Jesus Frigols position CLIL clearly as a need in education and a response to new ways of living and learning. They write,

> *In an integrated world, integrated learning is increasingly viewed as a modern form of educational delivery designed to even better equip the learner with knowledge and skills suitable for the global age. Moreover the mindset of the generation Y (generally recognised as born anywhere between 1982 and 2001) is particularly focused on immediacy as in 'learn as you use, use as you learn'.* (Mehisto et al. 2008: 10-11)

Thus we would like to use the notion that, despite not being implemented in Portugal (there are about 23 pilot studies across all education levels), CLIL is a must in language learning for the twenty-first century and as such needs to come to the attention of HE teachers and researchers, both as teacher educators and as teachers who have to engage with a multilingual and multicultural globalized reality. Simultaneously, HE contexts need to rethink the contexts for learning specialized language by focusing on the desired learning immediacy that seems to characterize today's younger generations. Because it integrates content learning with language learning CLIL appears to be an advantageous approach over English as Medium for Instruction (EMI) and English for Specific Purposes (ESP) (Morgado and Coelho 2012, 2013).

Introducing the CLIL approach is not done without resistance and mistrust on the side of practitioners. In fact, CLIL creates a series of challenges that need to be addressed reflectively: how to build integrated skills and knowledge for an increasingly more globalized and integrated world; how to reconfigure the role of the Foreign Language (FL) teacher and that of the subject teacher in order to accommodate a student-centered approach to FL learning in very diverse higher education academic contexts; and how to rethink FL learning as transversal to all courses rather than a subject in itself and per se. Introducing CLIL further carries implications for the professional identities of language teachers (Byram 2008) and eventually to subject teachers that will need to look at the foreign language as integrated in the subjects they teach.

In three previous papers, the authors (Morgado and Coelho 2011, 2012, 2013) have approached CLIL from a theoretical standpoint – what it consists of, its advantages and disadvantages over English as a medium of instruction, its boundaries in relation to

ESP. Theoretical explorations are, however, not enough to convince people to change methodology or even their own conception of the purpose of learning a foreign language. In the context of today's craving for immediacy, the practice is often preferred to theory. Besides, if CLIL is about integration replacing fragmentation (Mehisto et al. 2008: 7), it has perhaps more impact to start with examples of how one can learn content and language in a convergent way. In fact, there is a rich bibliography of empirical studies that focus on developing content for CLIL that can be easily adapted to other educational contexts, although there are not many which addressed HE. People need to see how CLIL works in practical HE contexts, and the closest we can come to this is to show you how we have prepared two CLIL modules/lessons – one for students of a course in a Social Work degree and another course for a Public Relations degree in two Portuguese HE Polytechnic Institutes.

Introducing the two CLIL Modules

Module 1 - Migration is about how you can teach the English language at B1 level and simultaneously a module on Migration in a Multiculturalism course as part of a course in a Social Work degree syllabus of the Castelo Branco Polytechnic Institute in Portugal. The module encourages independent and co-operative learning, repackaging information through picture book illustrations, using charts and other diagrams, key concepts for relevant terminology and relevant course bibliography that has to be consulted in English because there is no Portuguese translation available. EFL skills function in this context as added-on value for students to be able to cope with a set bibliography.

Module 2 – **Marketing** is a course on Marketing and it aims at introducing the subject to 1st year/2nd semester undergraduate students of the Public Relations and Secretarial Studies Degree (1st Cycle) at the School of Technology and Management of the Polytechnic Institute of Portalegre, Portugal. The module is divided into two parts (Introduction to Marketing and The Marketing Mix) and each part is divided into units. Lessons integrate content *and* language and the materials provided offer students motivating and progressive activities through both units. These units focus particularly on the oral and written use of the English language and the scaffolding used aims at providing support for students to understand the subject and to be able to use the English language actively to reach the content learning outcomes.

Module 1 - Migration is an original material; **Module 2** - **Marketing** consists of the adaptation of a number of materials available through research for a particular context. Both **modules** are developed with the aim of teaching a particular subject content and simultaneously English as a FL to students at an A2-B1 level. This is a conscious choice, since these two modules represent two common forms of materials production for the CLIL classrooms: starting from scratch and from the set texts of a particular course that are in English, on the one hand; or, on the other hand, searching for materials that are already available and that may constitute a good starting point for adopting a CLIL methodology.

CLIL methodology is not exclusively dedicated to the scaffolding of course materials. In HE the content dimension presupposes an integrated approach to teaching content while promoting good language interaction. According to the *4Cs curriculum* as defined by Coyle, Holmes and King (2009: 12), CLIL methodology also involves the dimension of cognition, whereby learners are led to process knowledge in the foreign language. A third dimension concerns communication and the development of language uses for students to mediate ideas, thoughts and values. A fourth dimension is cultural, addressing the very nature of using content and language in an integrated manner to fashion the students' own identities.

The two modules (Module 1 – Migration and Module 2 – Marketing) are also different in nature. Module 1 – Migration is part of a subject lesson taught by a HE subject teacher who is also an EFL teacher; Module 2 – Marketing is a module taught in the context of an EFL classroom by the EFL teacher. Again, this choice of these two modules highlights some of the formats in which CLIL may be implemented in HE. It is expected that a subject teacher will devote more time to content and put more emphasis on communication in the FL while the teacher in the FL context will spend more time on language or learning skills development and will emphasize formal accuracy in the use of the languagealthough this is not always the case. Through CLIL methodology it is expected that subject content and target language are blended and integrated into a meaningful whole and that understanding and comprehension of both content and language are mutually reinforced. Through scaffolding language the students are expected to understand content better and, because they are interested in content, they are capable of overcoming linguistic features that would appear as such in the traditional EFL classroom, but become in the CLIL context a means for and of communication.

Module 1 - Migration

The module on Migration is part of the Multiculturalism course in the Social Work degree course syllabus. The expected student EFL level is B1 although it never is. There is always a wide range of EFL abilities from A1 to B2 levels. The contents on which this module is based are extracted from a book that is part of the course bibliography in English, and for which no Portuguese translation can be found: *Immigrant Nations* by Paul Scheffer (2011).

In this case, the CLIL materials do not result from cooperation among teachers because the subject teacher is simultaneously an EFL teacher. This is not widely described in the reviewed literature, where cooperation between subject specialist and language specialist is the standard procedure. However, the situation described may be found more often in Portugal in HE and especially at polytechnic institutes or in countries where students can major in combinations of Language and any other subject.

Through the use of the materials produced, the aim was for students to learn and be able to express their views on a number of situations: life stories of immigrants; experiences of indigenous residents in relation to migration; the tensions between mobility and migration. The aim is for students to learn (in the active sense, i.e., developing knowledge about, relating to own experience, acquiring language to speak about it) the arguments put forward in *Immigrant Nations* (Scheffer 2011)*, which describe the tensions felt by migrants and settled populations in multicultural societies, why xenophobic discourses arise and why it is impossible in western European countries to continue to ignore migration and migrants. The core point we want to focus on, following this author's lead, is that **there is a need to think seriously about both the life stories of immigrants and the experiences of indigenous residents.**

To introduce the topic, a picture book for adults was brought into the class as an icebreaker, Armin Greder's *The Island* (2007), to plan a repertoire of speech acts that relate to the content of Scheffer's book. The argument for introducing a picture book lies in its graphic layout, through the use of very somber pictures and minimal text, which conveys a message similar to that of Scheffer's academic text. There are allusions on the cover of the picture book to spaces that look like fortresses to keep some people out and other people in, and that is a useful concept from which to start. Through looking at the pictures and accompanying text, students learn to use the language that

enables them to form and express opinions on a variety of topics, from strangers and newcomers to resident populations and their reactions to foreigners. They further develop a repertoire of speech acts and terminology that relate to the content of Scheffer's book and which prepare them to address the same topic from a more academic perspective. Note that, at the stage of engagement with the picture book and its graphic and linguistic content, there is no harm in allowing multiple language use in the classroom.

At this stage it is not enough for students to identify words and phrases. We also need to consider the kind of discourse they are going to need to talk about this topic and promote not only discussion skills for asking and answering questions but also language to build arguments and disagreement. Learning a role and dramatizing some scenes from the book is a possible activity. The characters, for example, are limited so that six actors have to speak while the rest are divided into two different kinds of mobs: those who stare at the immigrant man and those who are puzzled…

Another activity involves looking at idiomatic language, such as a single line on a blank page that says, "So, they took him in." For a learner to be engaged you need cognitive challenge as well as linguistic support that enables learning. In the line, "So, they took him in," the phrasal verb provides food for thought because of its ambiguity: does this mean "to welcome that person and offer him assistance" or rather "to make that person a prisoner?" The opposite senses metaphorically convey two social reactions that we are attempting to document, discuss and argue about. In fact, "to take someone in" means to welcome that person and offer them assistance. However, "to take someone in" could also mean to befool and dupe someone and the text does play with that meaning as well. It also uses the sense of *take* as seizing and capturing. By looking at the picture on the following page the students realize which meaning has been activated: that of seizing the newcomer and making him a prisoner. Graphics and short text messages such as these are great helpers for intercultural understanding and interpretation.

In yet another activity that presupposes taking the man in, the students are given a problem to solve in groups: group 1 needs to decide what they can/must do to integrate the man in their society, conscious that he is of a different cultural background and that this creates specific challenges. Group 2 needs to consider what the man will need to do in order to be accepted by the resident community, also taking into account that he is of a different cultural background.

These introductory steps of learning through a FL involve the essential activities, including systematic development of emerging language from specific contexts supported by structured grammatical awareness, using known language in new ways and assessing unknown language.

The next stage is to lead students into understanding the academic text, which, at first, may seem a daunting task. However, as we come to the academic text after an engagement through oral activities, group work, reading and discussing, the language to understand and discuss it is already in place and the students have been able to express an opinion on the main topics common to both texts.

Creating CLIL teaching materials from authentic texts is not particularly difficult if you follow the instructions and examples given by two very good books on the subject, those of Mehisto et al. (2008) and Coyle et al. (2010). However, at the HE level, in our opinion, the development of learning skills requires the ability to manipulate, assess, synthesize and evaluate information and knowledge. Given a complex academic text, one has to remove parts, insert synonyms or explanations, insert subheadings, highlight terms, words, ideas and facts, create sub-units and sub-themes and divide the text in chunks. These are all examples of scaffolding, of breaking complex information and processes into component parts and adapting instructional material to the students' linguistic skills and academic requirements (Mehisto et al. 2008: 227ff, 234).

The Four Cs of Module 1

From a theoretical standpoint, these materials and module promote the integration of content, cognition, communication and culture in CLIL in the subject class. In terms of content the module deals with new types of society where mobility and migration come to the fore and give rise to the need for multilingual and multicultural approaches. Students are able to not only learn about globalizing trends from a historical perspective but also understand interconnectedness and the integration of people in the world and in the world economy, including social and physical mobility and its consequences for nations and people.

The dimension of communication is based on what students already know (or think they know) about this and the new meanings they can extract from texts and activities. Specific student needs are addressed, namely the ability to read bibliography in English (from academic publications), scan for information and skim for detail. We are often confronted with students who feel that they "cannot read English", but by learning

specific terminology that will be needed to recognize, write and speak about migration, they are able to draw meaning from context (be it graphic or in an academic text that was pedagogically adapted to support their communicative skills).

The dimension of cognition in CLIL concerns the teacher's expectations: that by the end of the lesson or unit students will be able to demonstrate understanding of the opposing concepts of *migration* and of *mobility*. Students will be able to explore diverse perspectives on the same topic (migration), create meaning from the interconnectedness of learners' social experiences and their learning, and negotiate meaning.

Culture is a transversal area related to aspects of the cultural consciousness of learners as well as the ability to make connections between their learning background(s) and their social experiences, as they well should, since their area of expertise is Social Work.

This module in CLIL showed that in order to approach a certain topic, it is important to create learning materials that support the learners' involvement: we used illustrations from picture books, graphic organizers, and analysis of the same topic from several perspectives. In the picture below, a figure shows the core of the module as related to the 4Cs.
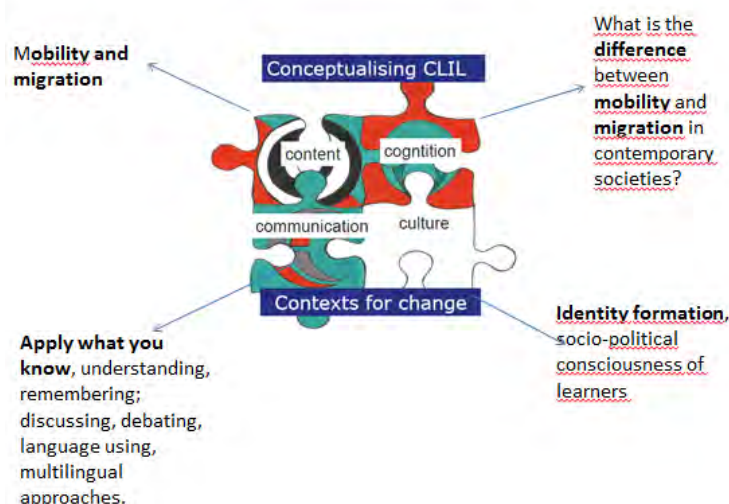

Figure 1 - Module 1 – CLIL approach

Module 2 - Marketing

The subject of the second CLIL sample unit is Marketing and the target group is a Portuguese 1st year (semester 2) undergraduate class of English Language, mostly B1

level, taught by the FL teacher. The overarching goal is to help students use the English language to express feelings and speak spontaneously about the basic principles of Marketing and the Marketing Mix.

The CLIL Module covers two general topics - *Introduction to Marketing* and *Marketing Mix* - and is organized into 5 units. Unit 1 deals with the concept of Marketing, followed by key ideas that characterize and identify the marketing process (unit 2), the Marketing plan (unit 3), the 4 Ps of Marketing (Product, Price, Promotion & Place – (unit 4), and the main marketing techniques connected with Merchandising (unit 5). The amount of teaching time assigned to each unit is 4 hours, for a total of 20 hours teacher/student contact time. Autonomous work was required from students after classes and accounted for an average of 10 to 12 hours of additional work. The topics to be covered were posted by the subject teacher and discussed with the FL teacher in terms of their relevance to the content of the Curricular Unit (CU) in Marketing. This CU is to be taught by the Marketing teacher to these same undergraduate students in the 2nd year of their degree. The content teacher made all the relevant materials (syllabus and texts/documents) available and a list of the core concepts and key vocabulary was created to represent the learning outcome of this CLIL module. The preparation phase was essential for the selection of authentic materials to be used in the CLIL module and allowed for a more focused choice of tasks and activities to support the learning.

The activities (exercises and tasks) assembled for teaching the **P**roduct in Unit 4 of the CLIL Marketing Module are presented below as a sample lesson which was planned for 2 hours of student/teacher contact work, plus an additional 2 hours of autonomous work.

The first activity offered students a *reading & collecting information* exercise – *The Marketing Mix* – to be worked with a multiple choice test for checking understanding and two questions for fostering discussing and allowing for the justification of choices, scaffolded with a list of language function phrases. The second activity presented students with an extract from Kotler's *Principles of Marketing – Developing an integrated Marketing Mix* – and this second reading comprehension activity was directed at the application of new information in a gap-filling text that was scaffolded with a vocabulary list. The next three activities explored the concepts of product classification, Product Life Cycle and packaging differentiation. Students were asked to complete a table and classify different types of products, then they compared answers and gave arguments to support their answers. To describe a Product Life Cycle, handouts were

provided that scaffolded with examples, phrases and sentences used to describe movements, percentages, fractions and proportions. Finally students discussed the characteristics of different products and their packaging by using both a product classification table for scaffolding and a table to fill in and rate a package according to a number of items. This final task required the sharing of information among the members of the group in order to reach their conclusions.

As autonomous work, students were given more exercises and tasks to check their knowledge of the content and language used in the CLIL class through a variety of tasks: reading comprehension multiple choice exercises; matching exercises for checking understanding of new vocabulary; developing ideas in writing and explaining the meaning of packaging and its importance.

Summing up, we would like to underline the fact that these CLIL module materials were adapted from different sources, selected with the support and advice of the content teacher so that the set of lessons was planned to target the effective integration and interrelationship between subject matter (content), the language of and used for learning (communication). Planning also contemplated the thinking process needed for the learning (cognition) and the understanding of the significance of both content and language and how they contribute to identity and citizenship (culture). The planning of the module also followed the key principles of the CLIL approach (Oliva-Girbau and Walsh 2012: 3) with the following objectives: "*1)* its multiple focus (on language, learning and cognition); *2)* the construction of safe and enriching learning environments; *3)* the use of authentic materials and interactions; *4)* the promotion of active learning; *5)* the use of macro and micro scaffolding to accompany students' learning to make them increasingly autonomous; and *6)* the promotion of co-operation among students and teachers."

However, we should keep in mind that, as stated by Coyle et al. (2010: 48) there is "neither one preferred CLIL model nor one CLIL methodology" but instead there are alternative ways to plan for effective learning. The CLIL approach has to be flexible, so as to be able to fit a wide variety of contexts, which will then determine how we integrate language with non-language content.

The Four Cs of Module 2

Using Coyle's conceptual framework (1999, 2002, 2006, 2009, 2010) – the 4 Cs – the theoretical framework for the CLIL Module on Marketing was set as described in the diagram below:

CLIL Module - Marketing Unit 4: Product, Price, Promotion, Place	
CONTENT **Product**: types, mix, life cycle, packaging. **Price**: fixation, strategies. **Promotion**: advertising, sales promotion, personal selling, public relations. **Place**: functions, intermediaries, channels & strategies.	**COMMUNICATION** - Students will learn vocabulary related to Product, Price, Promotion and Place; vocabulary related to variation in quantity, to calculations and measures. - Students will learn language focusing on how to classify and describe products; ask questions, explain, give examples, discuss and give answers, give and ask for information.
COGNITION - Give students tools to understand and apply concepts. - Provide students with tools to understand meaning behind the 4 P's concepts. - Enable students to use expressions and language to classify and exemplify. - Expand students curiosity and creativity to build knowledge.	**CULTURE** - Students will develop awareness of how marketing affects our lives on a daily basis. - Students will relate marketing and economy in many ways: costs and the law of supply and demand; the importance and implications of fixing the right price, of choosing the right place. - Students will be aware of the influence of promotions in our decision buying process.

Figure 2 – CLIL Module/Unit 1 theoretical framework (based on Coyle's 4 Cs)

Significantly different from just imparting content through FL or just developing cognitive skills in FL, this CLIL Marketing Module targets the integration of Content, Communication, Cognition and Culture, safeguarding the specialised cultures that are inherent to the area of Marketing and preparing students to use the appropriate resources to communicate effectively in it.

Conclusion

This paper has proposed two practical examples of materials design for a CLIL approach, highlighting different CLIL approaches in HE. One feature was common in both examples: the adaptation of academic sources through scaffolding procedures to ease students' linguistic access to the content matter and, simultaneously, place cognitive and cultural challenges strategically enhance comprehension and the use of new knowledge through the English language.

This paper should also serve as a stimulus for involving both teachers of content and language in HE CLIL approaches. While it may not be easy to motivate HE lecturers to embrace CLIL, the new challenges presented in HE contexts require that some thought be given to the potential of CLIL. In the course of this research the authors have already established a CLIL applied research inter-Polytechnic project coordinated by the Castelo Branco Polytechnic, which is expected to involve 10 subject areas and a team of 16 Polytechnic teachers (both content and FL teachers).

References

Byram, M. (2008). *From Foreign Language Education to Education for Intercultural Citizenship. Essays and Reflections*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Coelho, M. (2012). Uma outra maneira de aprender uma língua estrangeira: a Aprendizagem Integrada de Conteúdos e de Língua (AICL/CLIL – Content and Language Integrated Learning. Atas do III Seminário de I&DT. Valorizar o Saber, Criar Oportunidades. Col. C3I, vol. 3, Instituto Politécnico de Portalegre, Portalegre (CD-ROM).

Coyle, D. (1999). Theory and planning for effective classrooms: Supporting students in content and language integrated learning contexts. In J. Mash (ed.), *Learning through a foreign language: Models, methods and outcomes,* 46-62. London, England: CILT Publications.

Coyle D. (2002). Relevance of CLIL to the European Commission's Language Learning Objectives. In Marsh, D. (ed.). *CLIL/EMILE – the European Dimension*, 27-28. Public Services Contract DG EAC.

Coyle, D. (2006). Content and Language Integrated Learning: Motivating learners and teachers. *Scottish Languages Review 13*. 1-18.
http://blocs.xtec.cat/clilpractiques1/files/2008/11/slrcoyle.pdf (accessed 01.09.2013).

Coyle, D., Holmes, B., & King, L. (2009). *Towards an Integrated Curriculum: CLIL national statement and guidelines.* London: The Languages Company.

Coyle, D., Hood, P., & Marsh, D. (2010). *CLIL: Content and Language Integrated Learning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Greder, A. (2007). *The Island.* Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin.

Kotler, P. & Armstrong, G. (2008 [2005]). *Principles of Marketing,* 12th edn. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Mehisto, P., Marsh, D., & Frigols, M. J. (2008). *Uncovering CLIL: Content and Language Integrated Learning in bilingual and multilingual education*. Oxford: Macmillan.

Morgado, M., & Coelho, M. (2011). Learning different subjects by using other languages … or the other way round? The relevance of the CLIL approach. Paper presented at the International Conference Languages 2011. Communication without barriers, Instituto Politécnico de Bragança, 28-20 October.

Morgado, M., & Coelho, M. (2012). Higher education experiments with CLIL vs English as the medium of instruction: differences, similarities, and lessons to learn for the Portuguese context. Paper presented at the IV Cercles Seminar on Five Years of Bologna. Upgrading or Downsizing Multilingualism?, Universidade do Minho, 26-28 April.

Morgado, M., & Coelho, M. (2013). CLIL vs English as the Medium of Instruction: the Portuguese Higher Education Polytechnic Context, *Egitania Sciencia Journal 12*. 123-145.

Oliva-Girbau, A., & Walsh, M. L. (2012). CLIL Material Design at University, Congrés Internacional de Docència Universitària i Innovació (CIDUI), *Proceedings 1*(1).

Scheffer, P. (2011). *Immigrant Nations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

In the Field of Bilingualism:

Identity, culture, code switching and migration

Mariagrazia Palumbo

Università della Calabria, Italia

mariagraziapalumbo@yahoo.it

Languages in contact are, after all, the result of people in contact and of communities of people of different language backgrounds in contact
Clyne 2003

In this study, the complex phenomenology of code switching is investigated in a migratory context. The focus of the investigation is the relationship between the identity of the descendants of twenty one Italian migrants living in Europe and in America and the code switching from and into Italian language varieties. Data have been taken from questionnaires and interviews carried out among descendents of Italian immigrants belonging to different generations of immigrants living in the United States and in different areas of Europe. The rationale for the study is the relevance of the *relationship between social processes* – such as migration dynamics – *and linguistic forms* (Heller 1988). Migration dynamics affect code switching in two different ways: *(1)* bilingual emigrants often feel that one language, usually the language of their origin, Italian or a dialect thereof, is *more expressive* than the other, therefore code switching is a consequence of this perception; *(2)* bilingual emigrants choose their code depending on the topic of conversation: the more personal the conversation is (family, private life) and connected with *identitary values* (Pasquandrea 2008; Heller 1988), the more they tend to switch their code to the language of their origin, using the host language. In a migration context, code switching is connected with migration dynamics involving the problem of identity and that of the speakers' perception of the different languages.

Keywords: Code Alternation, Migration, Language in Contact

Introduction

The current research is part of a wider study on Italian emigrants in the world. The rationale for the study is the relevance of the relationship between social processes – such as migration dynamics – and linguistic forms (Heller 1988). Since research has "firmly established the fundamental role of linguistic processes and strategies in the creation, negotiation and establishment of identities" (De Fina et al. 2006: 4), a study of this type presents further theoretical foundations, which will be summarized in this section as follows. First the issues of identity and the relevance of the migratory context are defined in terms of the relationship between language and identity. The "troublesome terminology around 'code switching'" (Clyne 2003: 70) will then be explained, in the attempt to define the different phenomena of code alternation, including *language alternation*, *code switching*, *code mixing*, and *fused lect*. To conclude, these code alternation phenomena will be analyzed in relation to the identity in a corpus of interviews and questionnaires carried out over a sample of 21 Italian emigrants and their descendents.

Identity and migration

Despite the fact that migration is an ancient and widespread phenomenon, linguistic studies within the framework of migratory contexts started in the Sixties, when sociolinguistics became an autonomous branch of linguistics and studies about languages in contact began (Weinreich 2008; Scaglione 2000; Santipolo 2006; Vedovelli 2011).

The relevance of the migratory context in a study about identity and language is, on the whole, a very intuitive concept: in a migratory context speakers call into question their identities starting from the language. As De Fina (2003: 143) points out, "The construction of a new identity is a vital process for immigrants given that establishing themselves in a new country and starting a different life always implies a redefinition of their place in the host society and of their position with respect to other social groups". In a migration context, the rebuilding of one's own linguistic space intertwines two poles: the need to learn a new language and the need to maintain the old one. This rebuilding should be also framed in the context of sociolinguistic issues in terms of the language policy of the two countries involved (in our case, Italy and the host country) and the linguistic prestige of the languages involved in the dynamics of contact (Weinreich 2008).

Once the relevance of the migratory context in a study about identity and language has been stated, the issue of (Italian) identity (De Fina et al. 2006) should be taken into account. It is claimed that identity is something that is achieved through discursive practices, including code alternation, a process which narrators and listeners are constantly engaged in (De Fina 2003: 24). The notion of identity as "the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories" (Kroskity 2001: 106) has also been considered.

As Trifone (2009) maintains, there are ten main *generative cores* of the Italian national imaginary that are deeply connected with the Italian identity: food, fashion, opera, and the languages of the Church, cinema, television, politics, bureaucracy and childhood literature. From a linguistic point of view, the languages of food and opera are particularly relevant because they contain "words which are borrowed directly and used in their original form, as with musical and culinary terminology from Italian (into most languages worldwide)" (Riley 2004: 213). In fact, the informants interviewed in the present study perceived food, family life, and, sometimes, fashion, as deeply connected with their Italian identity.

The architecture of linguistic contact

In the field of bilingualism, the issue at stake is not only the definition of bilingualism *per se,* but also the characterization of the linguistic phenomena caused by the contact between two or more languages.

Scholars agree in correlating the definition of bilingualism to the use of two languages, the result of which is the creation of a "third system […] which shows properties not found in either of the input languages. Thus, through the merger or convergence of two systems, a new one can be created" (Romaine 1995: 4).

Indeed, there is a great deal of disagreement in the recent literature about code alternation phenomena.
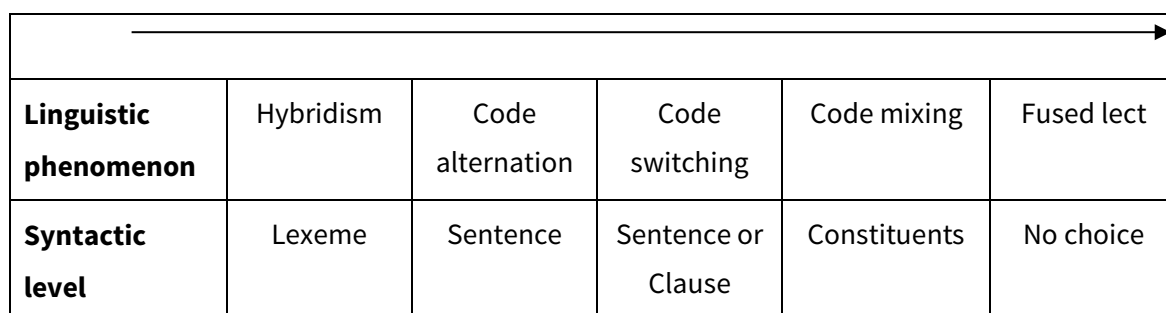
For example, Auer (2003: 183) suggests using the term 'code alternation' as a general term covering the meaning of both code switching and transfer, while Muysken (2000) identifies three main basic processes in the field of code switching, working differently in different situations: *insertion*, *alternation* and *congruent lexicalization*.

In the field of studies about code alternation phenomena, Berruto's proposal (2003) seems to be really promising. He states that the grammars of the languages in contact

are integrated and permeate each other. The final result of this process is a fusion of the grammars of the two languages in a sort of 'overall grammar' determined by all the languages in contact.

Thus, considering Berruto's model means to clearly distinguish the level of systems analysis of a language from the level of its outcomes. This overall model allows one to overcome the first theoretical problem: the differentiation between borrowing, interference and code choice phenomena. Borrowing and interference belong to the level of language system and do not necessarily need language in contact to occur (as is the case of almost all languages with respect to English). Code choice phenomena (*language alternation*, *code switching*, *code mixing*, *fused lect*) occur at speech level: they are closely related to the use of language and, therefore, can only occur in situations of bilingualism.

In speech, language contact may occur as *language alternation*, *code mixing code switching* or *fused lect* (which occurs when the insertion of lexical items in given positions is mandatory). These terms have now become so polysemous and unclear that it is necessary to explain their meaning. In fact, "there is a developed consensus among some linguists […] that there is no clear dividing line between 'code switching' and 'borrowing', that they form a continuum" (Clyne 2003: 71). In figure 1, a scheme of the fusion process of languages in contact is indicated based both on Auer's (1998) and Berruto's (2003) proposals.

Linguistic phenomenon	Hybridism	Code alternation	Code switching	Code mixing	Fused lect
Syntactic level	Lexeme	Sentence	Sentence or Clause	Constituents	No choice

Figure 1 - *Code choice phenomena* (Auer 1998; Berruto 2003)

Along the arrow, representing the speech continuum, the possible results of languages in contact are displayed according to a progression from the most superficial phenomena, where the linguistic systems in contact are quite distinct both in the awareness of the speakers and in their speech, to the deepest phenomena, which are characterized by a gradual blurring of the boundaries between the languages in contact.

When progressing from the left side to the right side of the graph, the different phenomena have an implicational relationship, i.e. code switching presupposes code alternation, code mixing presupposes code switching, and fused lect presupposes code mixing (Auer 1998; Berruto 2003).

The last criterion of differentiation is eminently syntactical and involves discriminating the different phenomena both at a sentence level and at a constituent level. Thus, code alternation and code switching are identified by the fact that switching occurs at the level of the sentences, namely that the speech looks like the juxtaposition of phrases in different languages. Code alternation implies the alternative use of two different codes depending on the communicative and the sociolinguistic settings (Alfonzetti 1995: 17). Code switching and mixing occur independently of these factors.

The phrasal boundary helps to discriminate code mixing and code switching: intra-sentential code mixing occurs within a clause or sentence boundary, at the level of constituents, while intersentential code switching occurs at a clause or sentence boundary (Berruto 2009: 11), i.e. each clause or sentence is in either one or the other language. When the switching occurs within a word boundary, it is a hybridism. Berruto's overall model provides a complete descriptive model. However, as it has already been pointed out, these kinds of phenomena are often difficult to explain and to identify.

Objectives and methodology

The objectives of this study are, on the one hand, to understand not only how the multilingual informants choose the language of their conversation but also whether their choice is connected with identitary and cultural values and, on the other hand, to establish when the informants switch their code and whether their choice is exclusively related to competence.

The analysis is based on a corpus made up of 503 minutes of interviews recorded in Cosenza, Italy, in the period between 31 August 2010 and 24 August 2011.

In order to obtain a qualitatively broad range of data, a heterogeneous sample has been taken into account: in fact, the informants involved in the investigation belong to a variety of age groups, to different generations and have different cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless, they share three main features: they are Calabrian emigrants (or their descendants); they have a project of permanent migration; and they

are part of the post-war wave of emigration, whose main feature is the activation of a metalinguistic process based on two different elements: the language(s) and/or dialect of the country of emigration and the Italian languages and/or dialect (Vedovelli 2011: 90).

As a consequence, data collection took into account not only the elicitation of their speech but also the metalinguistic reflection of the informants: both interviews and questionnaires included a section dedicated to their metalinguistic reflection.

Of the twenty-one informants, nine come from Europe (three from Zurich from different emigrant generations, two from Lausanne, one from Munich, two from Belgium, and one from France), from Canada (a third generation emigrant from Toronto), from the United States (one fourth generation emigrant from Fairmont, one from Philadelphia, two from New York, and two from Los Angeles), as well as from Australia (five from Melbourne).

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews organized into three phases according to the linguistic and cultural objectives and the topics discussed.

In structuring the tracks for the interview, space has also been given to the question of the imaginary centred around the languages, i.e. assessments, judgments, and attitudes relevant to the language (Vedovelli 1994). Specifically, the informants were questioned on their attitudes, prejudices, stereotypes, and feelings about the languages they speak.

The Study

The linguistic space of the informants (see figure 2) is built up around three different axes: dialect and/or Italian language; dialect and/or host country languages; and language learned at school. The space of the languages studied by immigrants increases from the second generation onwards and, in most cases, it also includes Italian: this clearly shows the desire to maintain a meaningful relationship with Italy through the study of the Italian language.

In such a complex linguistic space, how do emigrants select the language of conversation? This study found that their code choice is deeply connected with the sociolinguistic setting and the topic of conversation. Indeed, 76% of the informants choose to use the language shared by their interlocutors: if they are Italian, they tend to use Italian or Italian dialect. The remaining 24% of the informants are second, third,

and fourth generation descendants: they learned Italian at school or at University, therefore, their choice of linguistic codes is expected to be the result of their inadequate linguistic competence.
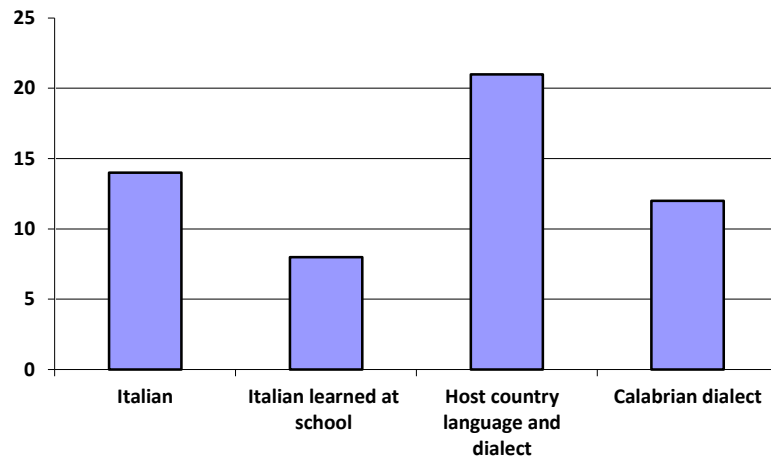
Figure 2 - The languages used by the informants

Their code choices also depend on their perception of the expressiveness of the languages. For example, two informants, SP and LM, respectively third and fourth generation speakers, feel that Italian and Italian dialects are more expressive than other languages and tend to switch both to Italian and to (fragments of) dialect as follows:

> I: *Quale lingua preferisci, l'italiano o l'inglese.*
>   What language do you like the most, Italian or English?
>   *Quale trovi più bella?*
>   What language do you find most beautiful?

> LM: *È più semplice parlare, leggere in inglese, ma ma italiano è come una*
>   It is easier to talk, to read in English, but but Italian is like a
>   *canzone.*
>   song.

> SP: *tipo   per dire che una persona è nu ciuoto cioè come fai dire*
>   For example, to say that someone   is crazy   I can't just say
>   *he is crazy, […] con mia madre se lo devo dire con la mia amica*
>   he is crazy, […] with my mother, if I have to talk with my best friend

che parla inglese   la mia migliore amica che è coreana magari lo dico

who talks in English my best friend   who is Korean I say he is crazy

però con mia mamma lo dico ma chiru è propiu nu ciuoto cioè perché mi esce

But with my mother   I say   but   he is   just crazy   because it is

meglio. […] Alcune cose   vanno dette in dialetto alcune cose vanno dette in

better. […] something   must be said in dialect something   must be said in

inglese alcune cose vanno dette   italiano. […] il dialetto è passionale

English something must be said   in Italian […] dialect is passionate

During the interview, these two informants switched from Italian into (fragments of) dialect when they talk about food, a topic with a strong cultural connotation, a generative core of Italian identity (Trifone 2009):

I: *E la cucina italiana. Quale cucina preferisci italiana o Americana?*
     And Italian food.   What food   do you prefer, Italian or American?

LM: *ohh! Italiano italiano. Meneʃra. mi piace molto Meneʃra […]*
     Oh Italian, Italian.   Minestrone soup. I like minestrone soup very much.

I: *questi nomi te li ricordi in dialetto?*
     Do you remember these names in dialect?

LM: *si I think*
     Yes, I think so

SP: *qui è un lavoro   ami fa u sucu   cioè si riuniscono le donne alle*
     Here it is a job   we must make tomato sauce i.e. women gather at
     cinque del mattino   […] è fatto u sucu
     five in the morning […] The tomato sauce is made.

The informant's perception of the Italian language, dialect, and culture is very positive: this is consistent with the first generation informants' choice of maintaining and transmitting the Italian language to the further generation. But this is also consistent with the choice of the descendents of Italian emigrants to join Italian language classes.

In coherence with the informants' metalinguistic evaluations, the impression is that they tend to switch from Italian to dialect or, in one case, they use dialect as the basic language of conversation, switching, eventually, to Italian or other languages.

Nevertheless, code choice phenomena are not merely triggered by the perception of a more expressive or musical characteristic of either language and/or dialect. A similar role is played, indeed, by other micro sociolinguistic factors, such as the topic of conversation: the more the topic is personal and connected with private life and Italian identity values, the more the speakers tend to switch to the language that – they feel – is more suitable to express those values. This opinion is expressed by 57% of the informants.

Some semantic areas are exclusively expressed in Italian and/or dialect: food and family are deeply perceived by informants as intimately connected with their Italian identity and – in part – generative cores of Italian national imaginary.

One of the informants feels that some words are untranslatable since they are inextricably related to their cultural and identitary values, as in the case of the following informant:

> RE: *ci sono delle cose che in tedesco hanno un loro nome specifico ed in italiano*
>
> There is something that in German has a very specific name and   in Italian I *avrei*
>
> *problemi   a tradurre,   per esempio tagesmutter perché sono*
>
> I would have problems to translate   for example *tagesmutter* because
>
> *puntigliosissimi […] PER ESEMPIO   adesso sono nell'Elternzeit […] perché*
>
> *they* are very fussy […] for example now I am on parental leave […] because it is
>
> *difficile da tradurre.*
>
> difficult to translate.

This informant believes that some expressions in German cannot be translated because they are too precise. In the above example, the word "Elternzeit" has indeed a correspondence to the Italian "congedo parentale" (*parental leave*).

Conclusion

The analysis shows that the outcome of language contact, and in particular the choice of language selection during conversation, is based on three main grounds: the sociolinguistic setting, the topic of conversation and speakers' perception of the spoken languages. Code alternation phenomena from Italian and other languages are triggered by the perception that some words or expressions in a language are not translatable because of their connections with the culture of that language. Based on the same grounds, code alternation phenomena from Italian into dialect are triggered by the perception that dialect is more "expressive" than other codes. Further

investigation – based on a larger set of data – will certainly help to substantiate the outcome of this exploratory study.

References

Auer, J. C. P. (ed.). (1998). *Code-witching in Conversation: language, interaction and identity*. London: Routledge.

Auer, J. C. P. (2003). *La pragmatica della commutazione di codice: un approccio sequenziale*. In S. Giannini & S. Scaglione (eds.), *Introduzione alla sociolinguistica*, 181–204. Roma: Carocci.

Berruto, G. (2003). *Fondamenti di sociolinguistica.* Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Berruto, G. (2009). *Confini tra sistemi, fenomenologia del contatto linguistico e modelli di code switching*. In G. Iannaccaro & V. Matera (eds.), *La lingua come cultura*,3-34, Novara: Utet.

Ciliberti A. (ed.). (2007). *La costruzione interazionale di identità: repertori linguistici e pratiche discorsive degli italiani in Australia.* Pavia: Franco Angeli.

Clyne, M. (2003). *Dynamics of language contact. English and immigrant languages.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

De Fina, A. (2003). *Identity in narrative. A study of immigrant discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

De Fina A., Schiffrin D., Bamberg M., (2006). *Discourse and identity*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

De Mauro, T. (2008). *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Kroskrity P. V. (2001). *Identity.* In A. Duranti, *Key terms in language and culture*, 106. Oxford: Blackwell.

Gonzo, S., & Salterelli, M. 1983. *Pidginization and linguistic change in Emigrant languages.* In Andersen R. W. (ed.), *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*, 181-197. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Krefeld T. (2004). *Einfühung in die Migrationslinguistik. Von der* Germania italiana *in die Romania multipla*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Haller W. H. (1993). *Una lingua perduta e ritrovata. L'italiano degli italo-americani,*: La Nuova Italia.

Haller, W. H. (1997), *The dialects abroad*. In M. Maiden & M. Parry (eds.), *The dialect of Italy*, 401-411. London and New York: Routledge.

Heller M. (eds.). (1988). *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives.* Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.

Myers Scotton, C. (1988), *Code switching as indexical of social negotiation.* In M. Heller (ed.), *Codeswitching. Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives*, 151-186. Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.

Melchior, L., & Krefeld, T. (2008). *La Germania italiana oggi*. in E. Jezek (ed.), *Bollettino della società di linguistica italiana XXVI*(1).

Muysken, P. (1997). Code switching processes: alternation, insertion, congruent lexicalization. In Pütz, M. (ed.), *Language choices: conditions, constraints, and consequences,* 361-380. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Pasquandrea, S. (2008). *Più lingue, più identità. Code switching e costruzione identitaria in famiglie di emigranti italiani*. Perugia: Guerra.

Riley, C. (2004). *About English. Introduzione alla lingua inglese*. Roma: Carocci.

Santipolo, M. (ed.) (2006). *L'italiano. Contesti di insegnamento in Italia e all'estero*, Torino: UTET.

Scaglione, S. (2000). *Attrition. Mutamenti sociolinguistici nel lucchese di San Francisco*. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Trifone, P. (ed.) (2009). *Lingua e identità*. *Una storia sociale dell'italiano.* Roma: Carocci.

Vedovelli, M. (1994). Apprendimento e insegnamento linguistico in contesto migratorio: dall'apprendimento spontaneo a quello guidato dell'italiano L2, *Studi Italiani di linguistica teorica ed applicata 2*. 193-220.

Vedovelli M. (ed.). (2011). *Storia linguistica dell'emigrazione italiana nel mondo.* Roma: Carocci.

Weinreich U. (2008). *Lingue in contatto*. Novara: Utet.

La mediación lingüística según el MCERL: un punto de partida para su didactización

Marta Pazos Anido

Faculdade de Letras. Universidade do Porto

manido@letras.up.pt

En el Marco Común Europeo de Referencia para las Lenguas (MCERL) se incluye la mediación lingüística como otra actividad comunicativa de la lengua, al mismo nivel que las actividades de interacción, las de recepción y las de producción. La sociedad multilingüe y multicultural en la que vivimos (que conlleva una serie de desafíos para la didáctica de lenguas extranjeras) y la concepción lingüística en la que se basa el MCERL justifican la idoneidad de esta consideración que ha obtenido la mediación, una actividad comunicativa con la que la mayoría de los docentes de lenguas extranjeras todavía no estamos familiarizados (como se concluye de un estudio llevado a cabo entre varios docentes de Español Lengua Extranjera de la enseñanza primaria y secundaria en cuatro escuelas portuguesas situadas en los alrededores de Oporto).

En la comunicación se analizará de forma crítica lo recogido en el MCERL acerca de la mediación lingüística (¿lingüística o lingüística y cultural?), los tipos de mediación (¿la presencia de la L1 en clase?) y las actividades y estrategias que presenta este documento para desarrollarla (¿son todas ellas pertinentes para el aprendiente de una lengua extranjera, por ejemplo, la traducción literaria o la interpretación consecutiva?). Tras un acercamiento a estas cuestiones, se reflexionará sobre cómo trasladar esta teoría a las clases de lengua extranjera, valorando en qué medida lo descrito en el MCERL nos sirve de punto de partida para introducir la mediación en nuestras planificaciones didácticas.

Palabras clave: Mediación, MCERL, Actividades de Mediación, Estrategias de Mediación, Competencia Mediadora

Linguistic Mediation in the CEFRL:

A starting point to promote mediation in the classroom

The Common European Framework of References (CEFR) for languages presents linguistic mediation as a communicative activity, on the same level as reception, production and interaction. The demands of modern multilingual and multicultural societies (which present several challenges to foreign languages teaching) along with the CEFR-based linguistic approach are the reasons why it has obtained such importance in recent years. Nevertheless, most foreign language teachers are not yet familiar with this activity, as recently shown by a study carried out among several Spanish foreign language teachers in four primary and secondary Portuguese schools in Oporto (Portugal) area.

In this presentation, the CEFR perspective on linguistic mediation will be critically analysed with the following considerations: linguistic mediation (or linguistic and cultural mediation?), types of mediation (should the use of L1 return to the foreign language classroom?) and the activities and strategies to develop mediation (are all of them suitable for a foreign language learner?). The resulting reflection about how to apply all these ideas to the foreign language classroom, will question the pertinence of that information in the CEFR as a starting point to successfully include mediation in our lesson planning.

Keywords: mediation, CEFR, activities of mediation, mediation strategies, mediation competence

Justificación teórica

La consideración de la mediación como una actividad comunicativa de la lengua en el Marco Común de Referencia para las Lenguas (MCERL) se justifica por las nuevas situaciones a las que nos enfrenta la sociedad global en la que vivimos, así como por la concepción plurilingüe que subyace al propio MCERL. Por un lado, el plurilingüismo y el pluriculturalismo a los que nos conduce nuestra sociedad suponen un desafío para la educación y, especialmente, para la didáctica de lenguas extranjeras, pues el objetivo es desarrollar una competencia plurilingüe y no "una suma de competencias separadas en compartimentos estancos" (Martin Peris 2008: 45). Así, las lenguas no deben ser consideradas de forma aislada, sino que es necesario fomentar la capacidad de "transferir saberes y usos de unas lenguas a otras" (Vez 2011: 104). Por otro lado, en lo que se refiere al MCERL, en este documento se demuestra la importancia y la

adecuación de situar la mediación al mismo nivel que las actividades de recepción, producción e interacción, argumentando que "las actividades de mediación de tipo lingüístico, que (re)procesan un texto existente, ocupan un lugar importante en el funcionamiento lingüístico normal de nuestras sociedades" (Consejo de Europa 2002: 14-15). Asimismo, en el MCERL se presenta la mediación, la cual conlleva casi siempre el uso (no dominio) de dos códigos lingüísticos y culturales, como medio para desarrollar la competencia plurilingüe y pluricultural:

> *Al término de la Educación Secundaria, sería conveniente intentar ofrecer un reconocimiento oficial de la competencia plurilingüe y pluricultural […] sería útil que se pudiera tener en cuenta y que se reconociera formalmente la capacidad de desenvolverse bien en varias lenguas y culturas. Traducir (o resumir) de una segunda lengua extranjera a una primera lengua extranjera, participar en un debate oral que incluya varias lenguas, interpretar un fenómeno cultural en relación con otra cultura…, son ejemplos de mediación (según se define en este documento) que tienen un lugar a la hora de reconocer y valorar la capacidad de sacar partido de un repertorio plurilingüe y pluricultural.* (Consejo de Europa 2002: 174)

Por todo lo expuesto, parece adecuado y pertinente llevar la mediación al aula. Sin embargo, la relevancia dada a esta actividad por el MCERL no se refleja todavía en la mayoría de los programas de español lengua extranjera (ELE) ni en las actividades realizadas por los docentes, como se demuestra en un estudio basado en la observación de clases de ELE llevado a cabo en cuatro escuelas de los alrededores de Oporto en el contexto de las prácticas efectuadas en el segundo año del Mestrado em *Ensino do Português no 3º ciclo do Ensino Básico e no Ensino Secundário e de Língua Estrangeira nos Ensinos Básico e Secundário* y el Mestrado em *Ensino de Inglês e de Alemão/Francês/Espanhol no 3º ciclo do Ensino Básico e no Ensino Secundário*, impartidos en la Faculdade de Letras de la Universidade do Porto (Pazos 2012). No obstante, esta comunicación no se centrará en dicho trabajo, sino en analizar el tratamiento de la mediación en MCERL, es decir, qué información ofrece el MCERL sobre la mediación, pues algunas de las conclusiones del estudio antes citado revelaban que las causas de que la actividad de mediación no se integrara en las planificaciones de los docentes observados derivaban del desconocimiento casi total de todo lo relativo a esta actividad, la dificultad de entender las diferencias entre la mediación y la traducción tradicional así como la consecuente dificultad a la hora de diseñar actividades de mediación a partir de la descripción del MCERL.

Tipos de mediación

En el MCERL se habla de mediación de tipo lingüístico (Consejo de Europa 2002: 15), si bien es cierto que lengua y cultura son un binomio inseparable (Rodríguez 2006: 195) y, por lo tanto, la mediación lingüística es necesariamente cultural. Además, las actividades de mediación presentadas en el MCERL parten de la perspectiva del saber hacer intercultural (Consejo de Europa 2002: 102) y el plurilingüismo siempre debe concebirse en el contexto del pluriculturalismo (Cantero y De Arriba 2004a: 10).

El MCERL presenta distintos tipos de mediación según el canal de comunicación (oral y escrita) y el código lingüístico (un solo código o más) y, además, señala que puede ser interactiva o no (Consejo de Europa 2002: 85). La mediación oral parte de un discurso oral, tiene lugar entre interlocutores y, por lo tanto, casi siempre existe la posibilidad de interactuar y negociar entre ellos (aunque a veces no es posible); Cantero y de Arriba (2004a: 14) denominan a este tipo de mediación "personal" frente a la mediación escrita o "textual". En cambio, la mediación escrita parte de un determinado texto y el mediador se convierte en el nuevo emisor del texto, se da de forma unidireccional y normalmente sin interacción posible, a no ser que se trate de un canal de comunicación basado en la interacción escrita.

Esta mediación oral y escrita, teniendo en cuenta el código lingüístico, puede realizarse entre interlocutores de una lengua misma lengua o de lenguas diferentes. Así, se puede distinguir entre mediación interlingüística e intralingüística (nomenclatura usada por Cantero y De Arriba [2004a] y Ordeig [2010], pero no referida en el MCERL). Por un lado, la mediación interlingüística se produce entre diferentes lenguas con la finalidad de garantizar la comprensión y evitar malentendidos sociolingüísticos o culturales, como por ejemplo, en la explicación de cómo se suele pagar en España cuando se sale con amigos o el significado de la expresión "pagar una ronda" (Ordeig 2010). Por otro, la mediación intralingüística se produce entre dos códigos de una misma lengua para aclarar algunos aspectos o también para prevenir ciertos problemas que puedan surgir, debido, por ejemplo, a la polisemia de algunos términos, a las diferencias de significado en España con respecto a otros países de Hispanoamérica o a malentendidos socioculturales causados, entre otros motivos, por las normas de cortesía en los diferentes países hispanos (Ordeig 2010).

Respecto a los tipos de mediación, el MCERL solo menciona los referidos anteriormente, pero algunos autores (Poyatos 1994; Collados 2001 en González 2006:

263-264), partidarios de la univocidad del binomio lengua-cultura profundizan más en este sentido y consideran la comunicación no verbal como un elemento clave en la mediación. Collados (2001: 45-46), quien se refiere a los traductores e intérpretes como mediadores lingüísticos y culturales, afirma que entendemos la mediación como una actividad multilingüe y multicultural en la que los mediadores cuentan con otros modos de comunicación, además de la lengua, para construir significados y crear sentidos: cuentan con la comunicación no verbal (en González 2006: 263). El propio MCERL propone soluciones para que, ante la falta de mediador, interlocutores que no pueden comprenderse logren una mínima comunicación valiéndose de su bagaje lingüístico, sus experiencias, de recursos paralingüísticos (mímica, gestos, expresiones faciales, etc.) y la simplificación del uso de la lengua (Consejo de Europa 2002: 4). Esta aportación de la comunicación no verbal es defendida por estudiosos y considerada necesaria para la práctica de la traducción, interpretación y mediación profesionales, pero también se debería hacer una reflexión sobre la necesidad de tener en cuenta la comunicación no verbal en la didáctica de la mediación entre los usuarios de lenguas extranjeras para llegar a una comunicación intercultural; de hecho, como indica Byram (1997: 47), el aprendiente debe estar preparado para comprender e interpretar aspectos de la comunicación no verbal, aunque no se espera que los domine hasta que se encuentre dentro de un contexto y tampoco que los integre en su lenguaje renunciando a los propios.

Las actividades de mediación

Actividades de mediación propuestas por el MCERL

Ya en las primeras páginas del MCERL, cuando se justifica la relevancia de la mediación, se enumeran algunas actividades de mediación de tipo lingüístico para ejemplificar esta actividad comunicativa: "la traducción e interpretación, una paráfrasis, un resumen o la toma de notas proporciona a una tercera parte una (re)formulación de un texto fuente al que esta tercera parte no tiene acceso" (Consejo de Europa 2002: 14-15). También se refiere a la mediación como medio y como fin: ejercer "la mediación, ya sea como una actividad de clase o para ayudar a otro alumno" (Consejo de Europa 2002: 60).

Antes de presentar el elenco de actividades de mediación, el MCERL indica que en este tipo de actividades, "el usuario de la lengua no se preocupa de expresar sus significados, sino simplemente de actuar como intermediario entre interlocutores que no pueden comprenderse" (Consejo de Europa 2002: 85). Así, el alumno no produce su

propio texto, sino que se centra en traspasar, reformular, parafrasear o resumir un mensaje dado.

Como mediación oral, el MCERL propone las siguientes actividades: la interpretación simultánea (congresos, reuniones, discursos formales); la interpretación consecutiva (charlas de bienvenida, visitas con guías); y la interpretación informal (de visitantes extranjeros en el país propio; de hablantes nativos en el extranjero; en situaciones sociales y en intercambios comunicativos con amigos, familia, clientes, huéspedes extranjeros; de señales, cartas de menú, anuncios). Por otro lado, en cuanto a las actividades de mediación escrita se sugiere: la traducción exacta (por ejemplo, de contratos, de textos legales y científicos); la traducción literaria (novelas, obras de teatro, poesía, libretos); el resumen de lo esencial (artículos de periódicos y revistas) en la segunda lengua o entre la lengua materna y la segunda lengua; y la paráfrasis (textos especializados para profanos) (Consejo de Europa 2002: 85).

Reflexionando sobre las actividades de mediación de tipo lingüístico recogidas en el MCERL, llama la atención que no se haga ninguna referencia a la distinción entre la mediación que realiza un usuario de lenguas y la mediación profesional, propia de un traductor e intérprete con formación especializada. Por lo tanto, cabe preguntarse si actividades como la interpretación simultánea, la consecutiva, la traducción exacta y la literaria, propias de la formación específica y especializada de la formación de traductores e intérpretes, son necesarias y viables para un usuario de lenguas. Algunas de estas propuestas resultan, sin duda, polémicas y sería necesario analizarlas con profundidad para ver su pertinencia dentro del proceso de enseñanza y aprendizaje de lenguas, así como las posibilidades de adaptación de aquellos aspectos que sean significativos para los aprendices de lenguas.

Propuestas de actividades de mediación según otros autores

Cantero y De Arriba (2004b) concretan la información del MCERL sugiriendo una serie de actividades de mediación muy interesantes que suponen una gran aportación para la práctica de la mediación. Estos autores proponen algunas microhabilidades, es decir, actividades de mediación habituales para un usuario "competente en más de un código y que pueda poner en contacto a otros hablantes de diversos idiomas, dialectos, registros o niveles lingüísticos" (2004a: 15). Se enumeran a continuación algunos ejemplos de estas microhabilidades, que pueden relacionarse entre sí, llegando incluso a yuxtaponerse.

Entre las microhabilidades orales señalan: resumir/sintetizar lo esencial de un discurso, parafrasear o reformular las palabras de un tercero, intermediar o negociar con otro/s interlocutor/es la intención de un discurso e interpretar o traducir un texto oralmente ya sea de manera profesional o no (en este punto cabría matizar el tipo de interpretación y de traducción). En lo que respecta a las microhabilidades escritas, estos autores apuntan, al igual que para la mediación oral: resumir/sintetizar y parafrasear, y además añaden: citar una parte de un texto, traducir, apostillar y adecuar un texto a un tipo de lector concreto (Cantero y De Arriba 2004a: 15). Como se puede observar, algunas de estas actividades coinciden con las señaladas en el MCERL, pero incorporan algunas nuevas que pueden contribuir también a la formación de usuarios multilingües y pluriculturales. Un aspecto que conviene destacar de la aportación de estos autores es que sí que hacen referencia a la distinción entre la traducción y la interpretación profesional y la no profesional, a diferencia del MCERL.

Por su parte, González Piñeiro, Guillén Díaz y Vez (2010: 205), quienes conciben la mediación como "puente intercultural de integración y convivencia" que ofrece elementos de reflexión relacionados con el uso de las lenguas en su vertiente intercultural, se centran únicamente en la traducción e interpretación como actividades de mediación en situaciones no profesionales (nótese que estos autores también hacen hincapié en esta distinción), actividades cuyo objetivo es el desarrollo de la competencia plurilingüe e intercultural del usuario de lenguas. Así proponen varias actividades de reflexión para comprobar cómo evoluciona el aprendizaje del aprendiente, identificar aquellos puntos en los que deben mejorar y las habilidades que necesitan practicar más. Por ejemplo, se les propone reflexionar sobre las experiencias de traducción e interpretación no profesionales que hayan tenido (qué tipos de textos, el objetivo de esas traducciones e interpretaciones, etc.), se les anima a pensar en cómo lo han hecho, qué recursos han utilizado, a qué estrategias han recurrido, con qué dificultades se han encontrado, cómo las han superado, cómo han sido los resultados conseguidos, cómo han realizado los procesos (pasos que han seguido), etc. (González Piñeiro, Guillén Díaz y Vez 2010: 208-218):

> Por último, otros autores como Caspari y Schinschke (2010) van más allá y, en lugar de proponer actividades concretas, han elaborado las características que deberían reunir las actividades de mediación y que nos pueden servir como

pautas para el diseño de este tipo de actividades, unas directrices que se echan de menos en el MCERL: debe haber una situación comunicativa de contacto intercultural; los textos que se utilicen deben ser lo suficientemente desafiantes (es necesario que haya que superar dificultades), pero no demasiado (pues puede desmotivar al alumno); el alumno debe ser capaz de hacer llegar al informante el mensaje (aplicar el "cambio de perspectivas"); y, por último, señalan que la mediación oral debería suponer un grado más alto de exigencia intercultural que la ME (es un tipo de interacción triádica, el uso de estrategias comunicativas, reparadoras de errores, etc.)

La mediación y la traducción e interpretación

Como ya se ha comentado, la traducción y la interpretación son dos de las actividades de mediación que recoge el MCERL, aunque claramente se presentan como principales, pues se describen explícitamente y de manera detallada los procesos de traducción e interpretación. En cambio, las demás actividades sugeridas aparecen simplemente enumeradas, sin mencionar nada más al respecto (Consejo de Europa 2002: 14, 97).

Asimismo, la mayoría de autores y planes de estudio analizados también asocian la mediación únicamente con la traducción y la interpretación. González Piñeiro, Guillén Díaz y Vez, autores citados en el apartado anterior, también se centran en la traducción y la interpretación, pero con la particularidad de que presentan la mediación

> *como actividad para la comprensión intercultural, que […] de ninguna manera pretende equiparar esta competencia mediadora informal de "andar por casa" con la formación profesional que reciben los traductores e intérpretes en los centros superiores de nivel universitario.* (González Piñeiro, Guillén Díaz y Vez 2010: 206)

Con esto no se pretende dar a entender que la traducción y la interpretación no sean un recurso posible para practicar la mediación, sino que son actividades que deben ser adaptadas a las necesidades de los aprendientes de lengua extranjera. Así, se puede recurrir al uso de la traducción de manera funcional y significativa, tomando como modelo la enseñanza de la traducción profesional, pero sin perder de vista la comunicatividad, como propugna Lavault (1985) en lo que se denomina traducción pedagógica. Según esta autora, la traducción pedagógica se trata de un proceso rico para la investigación pedagógica, tanto a nivel lingüístico como intelectual y cultural del alumno (Lavault 1985: 109). Sin embargo, no se debe confundir entre traducción

pedagógica y pedagogía de la traducción (propia de la formación de traductores profesionales). Se trata, por lo tanto, de una actividad didáctica diferente de la traducción profesional y que también puede ser explotada para desarrollar la mediación.

En definitiva, la mediación y la traducción consisten en dos actividades complementarias que se llevan a cabo mediante procesos distintos, siendo el concepto de mediación mucho más amplio, ya que engloba otras actividades diferentes de la traducción y la interpretación. En los siguientes apartados seguiremos viendo la relación entre estas dos áreas.

Estrategias de mediación

El usuario de lenguas, ante la falta de recursos para procesar la información y establecer un significado equivalente, recurre a las estrategias de mediación, aplicando los principios metacognitivos: planificación, ejecución, control o evaluación y reparación o corrección (Consejo de Europa 2002: 61). Así, el proceso de mediación suele suponer una planificación previa (desarrollo de los conocimientos previos, búsqueda de apoyos, preparación de un glosario), así como la consideración de cómo se va a realizar la tarea (pensar en las necesidades del interlocutor, seleccionar la unidad de interpretación, etc.). Durante la ejecución de la tarea, el mediador tiene que procesar la información de entrada y formular el último fragmento simultáneamente (previsión), tomar notas de posibilidades y equivalencias (recurrir a fragmentos prefabricados) que le permitirán seguir procesando más información y salvar obstáculos con los que se pueda encontrar usando diferentes técnicas para superar las incertidumbres y evitar la interrupción. En cuanto a la evaluación del proceso de mediación, esta tiene lugar en un nivel comunicativo y en un nivel lingüístico y provoca la corrección, sobre todo en la mediación escrita, mediante la consulta de diccionarios o la consulta de expertos y de fuentes (Consejo de Europa 2002: 85-86).

Entrenar estas estrategias en los aprendientes de lenguas es muy positivo y la mayoría de ellas los ayudaría en la realización de la mayoría de tareas, no solo para las actividades de mediación. Los procedimientos anteriores también se movilizan durante el proceso de mediación profesional, de igual modo que otras estrategias de la traducción e interpretación profesionales como la transposición (se sustituye una estructura gramatical por otra en la lengua de llegada sin seguir una transposición literal de los elementos de dicha estructura), la modulación (que consiste en la

expresión de una realidad cultural o conceptual en la lengua de partida por otra relacionada en la lengua de llegada), la explicitación (de aspectos implícitos, de conocimientos compartidos por los hablantes de una determinada cultura y desconocidos para el otro interlocutor), la adaptación (la explicación de situaciones inexistentes en la otra cultura) en función del contexto, del interlocutor, la finalidad, etc. son procedimientos que resultarían muy útiles para los aprendientes de lenguas con la finalidad de fomentar la comprensión intercultural, demostrar la constante interacción entre lengua y cultura y la necesidad de desarrollar una competencia comunicativa intercultural en lo relacionado con el aprendizaje de lenguas (González Piñeiro, Guillén Díaz y Vez 2010: 208).

Competencia mediadora

A pesar de que en el MCERL no se habla de competencia mediadora, algunos autores sí se refieren a esta competencia, como Cantero y De Arriba (2004a), quienes la sitúan al mismo nivel que otras subcompetencias de la competencia comunicativa (siguiendo la clasificación de Van Ek 1988): la lingüística, la discursiva, la estratégica y la sociolingüística, sociocultural y social (Cantero y De Arriba, 2004a: 19). Según estos autores, la competencia mediadora formaría parte de la competencia comunicativa y dentro de esta competencia mediadora se encontraría la competencia traductora (Cantero y De Arriba, 2004a: 18), debido a que algunas fases del proceso de mediación coinciden con las del de traducción (aunque no todas).

Siguiendo con el análisis de esta relación entre mediación y traducción, Hallet (2008: 5) señala las diferencias entre la competencia traductora e interpretativa profesional y la competencia mediadora (no profesional) en lo que respecta a aspectos como la exactitud, la consistencia terminológica, la profesionalidad y la relevancia escolar y cotidiana, entre otros. Por un lado, la competencia mediadora no requiere el mismo nivel de exactitud ni la misma precisión formal que la competencia traductora e interpretativa, pues en la primera se busca una traslación adecuada del contenido y una equivalencia del contenido, pero no se exige la correspondencia total del contenido ni el dominio del idioma necesario en el caso de la competencia traductora e interpretativa de un profesional; de hecho, en el MCERL se indica que "los que tengan algunos conocimientos, por muy escasos que sean, pueden utilizar esta competencia [se refiere a la comunicativa] para ayudar, sirviendo de mediadores entre individuos que no tengan una lengua común y carezcan, por tanto, de la capacidad para

comunicarse" (Consejo de Europa 2002: 4). Asimismo, en la mediación es posible parafrasear, añadir o eliminar partes del mensaje, mientras que en la competencia traductora e interpretativa debe haber consistencia terminológica y transmitirse el mensaje lo más fiel posible al original, con el fin de garantizar la calidad y la utilidad de la traducción. Respecto a la profesionalidad, en el caso de la traducción e interpretación dos de los requisitos imprescindibles son el conocimiento excelente de los dos códigos y la capacidad de traducir e interpretar, por lo que se trata de una actividad muy exigente y con poca presencia en la vida cotidiana (más en ámbitos concretos profesionales); por el contrario, la mediación es una tarea comunicativa bastante común en la vida cotidiana y, aunque también es bastante compleja (porque conlleva que el que actúe de mediador reciba y produzca información normalmente en dos códigos distintos y active los mecanismos de intercomprensión), no requiere el nivel de exigencia de la traducción e interpretación profesionales.

Evaluación de la mediación

El MCERL (2002: 86) indica que "todavía no existen escalas ilustrativas disponibles" y que serán los usuarios del MCERL los que determinarán las actividades de mediación necesarias para un determinado alumno, cómo se le capacitará para ello y qué nivel de logro se le exigirá. Este es, sin duda, uno de los puntos más débiles en el tratamiento de la mediación en el MCERL, pues es para la única actividad comunicativa de la lengua que no se contempla esta información.

González Piñeiro, Guillén Díaz y Vez (2010: 205), partiendo de la consideración de la mediación como herramienta para la toma de conciencia para el desarrollo de la competencia plurilingüe e intercultural, proponen una sugerencia de autoevaluación desde el nivel A1 al C2 para elaborar un perfil competencial. No obstante, los descriptores se refieren únicamente a actividades de traducción e interpretación no profesional (excepto en el nivel C2 que sí se hace referencia al ámbito profesional).

A pesar de que estas escalas propuestas por los autores anteriores se limitan únicamente a las actividades de traducción e interpretación, podrían servir de base, junto con otros descriptores adecuados para la evaluación de la competencia plurilingüe, para diseñar criterios con la finalidad de evaluar la mediación, una información que resultaría de gran utilidad para la integración y práctica de la mediación en el proceso de enseñanza y aprendizaje de una LE.

Conclusión

La mediación se presenta en el MCERL como una actividad comunicativa que ayuda a desarrollar la competencia plurilingüe y, por lo tanto, necesaria en la sociedad global en la que vivimos. Entre las posibles actividades de mediación de tipo lingüístico, el MCERL cita la traducción y la interpretación y se centra bastante en ellas, dando la sensación de que se trata de las actividades principales para desarrollar la mediación; sin embargo, como señala Sánchez (2012), la mediación, es más adecuada y relevante para la clase de lenguas extranjeras por su creciente presencia en las situaciones comunicativas de la vida cotidiana que la "traducción de toda la vida", distinción que se echa en falta en el MCERL.

A pesar de la importancia que le da el MCERL a la mediación, se puede concluir que el tratamiento que se hace en dicho documento no es tan profundo como en el caso de las demás actividades comunicativas, pues aunque se describe los tipos de mediación y las posibles actividades y estrategias para realizarlas, no se dan muchas más pistas sobre cómo llevar esta actividad al aula ni se presentan escalas ilustrativas con criterios, lo que facilitaría el diseño de actividades de mediación y su integración en las planificaciones de clase. Por lo tanto, cabe al profesor, siguiendo las concreciones realizadas al respecto por parte de otros autores, investigar y decidir los procedimientos necesarios a fin de preparar a sus alumnos para actuar de mediadores.

Referencias

Byram, M. (1997). *Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cantero Serena, F. J. & C. De Arriba García (2004a). La mediación lingüística en la enseñanza de lenguas. *Didáctica (Lengua y Literatura) 16*. 9-21. http://www.ucm.es/BUCM/revistas/edu/11300531/articulos/DIDA0404110009A.PDF (accedido 25.11.2012).

Cantero Serena, F. J. & C. De Arriba García (2004b). Actividades de mediación lingüística para la clase de ELE. *Revista Electrónica de Didáctica ELE (RedELE) 2*. www.mepsyd.es/redele/revista2/cantero_arriba.shtml (accedido 25.11.2012).

Caspari, D. & A. Schinschke. (2010). Sprachmittlungsaufgaben gestalten. Zum interkulturellen Potenzial von Sprachmittlung. *Der fremdsprachliche Unterricht Franzosisch 108*. 30-33. Seelze: Friedrich Verlag.

Consejo de Europa. (2002). Marco de referencia europeo para el aprendizaje, enseñanza y evaluación de lenguas, [Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Asessment]. Estrasburgo: Consejo de Europa. http://cvc.cervantes.es/obref/marco (accedido 2/12/2012).

González Piñeiro, M., C. Guillén Díaz & J. M. Vez (2010). Didáctica de las Lenguas Modernas. Competencia Plurilingüe e intercultural. Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, S. A.

González Rodríguez, M. J. 2006. De lo escrito a lo oral y viceversa: una forma de ordenar el desorden en mediación. In G. Bazzocchi, G. & P. Capanaga (eds.). *Mediación lingüística de lenguas afines: español/italiano*, 245-271. Bolonia: Gedit edizioni.

Hallet, M. (2008). Zwischen Sprachen und Kulturem vermitteln. Interlinguale Kommunikation als Aufgabe. *Der fremdsprachliche Unterricht Englisch 93*. 2-7. Seelze: Friedrich Verlag.

Lavault, E. (1985). *Fonctions de la traduction en didactique des langues*. Paris: Didier Érudition.

Martin Peris, E. (2008). Enseñanza de lenguas y fomento de valores: el plurilingüismo en el mundo actual. In R. Bizarro (ed.). *Ensinar e Aprender Línguas e Culturas Estrangeiras hoje. Que perspectivas?,* 43-52. Porto: Areal Editores.

Ordeig Olazábal, I. (2010). Hablando se entiende la gente, en Centro Virtual Cervantes. *Didactired.* http://cvc.cervantes.es/aula/didactired/anteriores/enero   10/11012010.htm (accedido 20.11.2012).

Pazos Anido, M. (2012). La mediación lingüística en las clases de ELE de nivel inicial en el *Ensino Básico* y el *Ensino Secundário* en Portugal. Comunicación presentada en el XXIII Congreso Internacional de ASELE. Universidad de Girona. 19-22 septiembre 2012.

Poyatos, F. (1994). *La comunicación no verbal I. Cultura, lenguaje y conversación.* Madrid: Istmo.

Rodríguez Abella, R. M. (2006). Lenguas y Culturas (Elementos para adquirir la competencia intercultural). In G. Bazzocchi & P. Capanaga (eds.). *Mediación lingüística de lenguas afines: español/italiano*, 195-212. Bolonia: Gedit edizioni.

Sánchez Castro, M. (2012). La mediación en clase de ELE: una actividad potenciadora de la competencia plurilingüe e intercultural. Comunicación presentada en el XXIII Congreso Internacional de ASELE. Universidad de Girona. 19-22 septiembre 2012.

Vez Jeremías, J. M. (2011). La Investigación en Didáctica de las Lenguas Extranjeras. *Educatio Siglo XXI 29*(1). 81-108. http://revistas.um.es/educatio/article/view/119881/112861 (accedido 20.11.2012).

Zarate, G. et al. (eds.). (2004). *Cultural mediation in language learning and teaching.* Estrasburgo: Council of Europe Publishing.

Conceitos (e preconceitos) sobre o dialeto napolitano nas crônicas de autores estrangeiros do século XIX

Roberto Pigro

Universidade de Udine (Itália)

esperob79@gmail.com

Resumo

O presente estudo examina os numerosos conceitos – particularmente sur-preendentes do ponto de vista sociolinguístico e intercultural – sobre o dialeto napolitano, publicados por vários viajantes e intelectuais do século XIX em inglês. Embora se trate historicamente de um dos dialetos mais queridos e populares (recorde-se, por exemplo, a difusão e o prestígio de que goza hoje o napolitano na maior parte do sul da Itália), e ainda que dignificado por uma relevante produção literária, teatral e musical (de referir o sucesso de *'O sole mio*, *Funiculì funiculà*, *'O surdato 'nnammurato*, canções que bem antes que a globalização aflorasse já pertenciam de maneira indiscutível ao patrimonio cultural do planeta inteiro), é interessante observar como, naquela época, o napolitano era percebido pelos estrangeiros, salvo pouquíssimas exceções, como um dialeto bárbaro, rude e sem dignidade, utilizável apenas para caracterizar a fala de delinquentes e ignorantes (Vários Autores 1837); um idioma muito diferente – pela expressividade, ritmo e melodia – do italiano padrão, a que a maioria já se havia acostumado, en un pais reconhecido entre outros por (Loporcaro 2009) como país dos dialetos por excelência. O napolitano, no século XIX, evidentemente não deixava quase ninguém indiferente. Havia aqueles para quem era divertido, os que ao escutá-lo não se compraziam, mas também quem mal suportava ouvi-lo (em uma época diversa da atual, em que a diversidade e o plurilinguismo são vistos como um precioso recurso), e não tinha problema algum em declará-lo descaradamente,

quase incrédulo – mesmo porque ignorante das origens nobres e antigas daquele e de todos os outros dialetos da península italiana – frente àquela (presumida) cacoépia disforme do italiano regular. O napolitano, hoje entre os dialetos italianos mais vitais, representa, ao contrário, um dos múltiplos êxitos daquele latino medieval de que foram nascidos – cada qual com sua irrefutável beleza e dignidade – para além da, ainda que respeitabilíssima, *lingua toscana in bocca romana*, as dezenas de línguas românicas faladas em nossa moderna e plurilíngue Europa.

Palavras-chave: Italiano, Dialeto Napolitano, Conceitos, Preconceitos, Dialetologia

Concepts and prejudices about the Neopolitan dialect
in the chronicles of foreign authors in the 19th century

The present study examines the numerous judgments which travelers and intellectuals expressed on the Neapolitan dialect during the 19th century. Neapolitan is historically one of the most beloved and important dialects of the so-called Belpaese (which explains the spread and prestige it still enjoys nowadays in almost the whole south of Italy), and it has been enriched by a huge production in the fields of literature, theater and music (as proven by the international success of 'O sole mio, Funiculì funiculà and 'O surdato 'nnammurato, songs which now belong to the cultural heritage of the whole world). It is thus interesting to note that at the time the Neapolitan dialect was mostly perceived by foreigners as a barbarous, rude and vile variety. According to some sources (e.g. Vários Autores 1837), it had no dignity and was suitable merely for beggars and criminals, unlike the expressive and musical Italian standard, to which most observers had apparently accustomed the eye and, above all, the ear, in a country recognized by several linguists (e.g. Loporcaro 2009) as the land of dialects par excellence. The Neapolitan dialect, in the 19th century, left almost no one indifferent. There were those (a few) who considered it hilarious, those who were not very pleased when they heard it, and also those who were unable to bear its sound at all (in a context quite different from the modern one, where diversity and multilingualism are often seen as a precious resource). What is more, these attitudes were declared shamelessly: apparently not many authors could appreciate the ancient and noble origins of this and other dialects of the Italian peninsula. Yet the Neapolitan dialect could be defined today as one of the most vital Italian dialects, and as one of the multiple independent results of that medieval Latin which gave birth to standard Italian - *lingua toscana in bocca romana* - and to the dozens of Romance languages

spoken in our modern and multilingual Europe, each of which has its own undeniable beauty and dignity.

Keywords: Italian, Neapolitan dialect, judgments, prejudices, dialectology

Julgamentos de estrangeiros sobre uma língua já são algo bastante infrequente. Esta é, pelo menos, a opinião de Stammerjohann (2008), que - num estudo apresentado em 2004 em Gênova - mencionava os pareceres, por ele minuciosa e fastidiosamente descritos, de escritores e viajantes estrangeiros sobre o dialeto da cidade onde se realizou a conferência, que à época era, além de tudo, capital europeia da cultura. Foi exatamente a leitura daquele artigo, que levou o autor desta contribuição a conduzir uma pesquisa análoga sobre aquele que é, embora com algumas pequenas variações (pois o autor desta contribuição vem, de fato, da província de Salerno), o seu dialeto nativo, falado pelos seus genitores, avós e antepassados, ou seja, a sua "verdadeira" língua-mãe.

Na realização deste tipo de pesquisa, as dificuldades surgiram, segundo Stammerjohann (2008), da dificuldade em encontrar, de maneira sistemática, julgamentos subjetivos e opiniões pessoais, que foram tirados de livros e publicações tipologicamente e estilisticamente muito diferentes uns dos outros. Em comparação a 2004, quando se realizou a conferência acima referida, é interessante notar que o desenvolvimento de novas tecnologias, e em particular a digitalização e difusão de obras antigas na Internet, facilitou consideravelmente tal pesquisa, interessante do ponto de vista linguístico, mas também socio-antropológico.

Eis as premissas sobre as quais nasce a presente monografia, dedicada aos conceitos e sobretudo aos preconceitos de escritores e viajantes dos anos oitocentistas, quase sempre de língua inglesa, sobre o dialeto napolitano. Trata-se de um dos dialetos mais importantes na Itália, reconhecido entre outros por (Loporcaro 2009) como país dos dialetos por excelência, considerando-se a sua difusão – embora com alguns ajustes fonéticos – em grande parte da região meridional da Itália. Considere-se, também, a sua história e o seu inegável prestígio obtido, nos séculos passados e de certo modo ainda hoje, graças a obras literárias (principalmente teatrais) e musicais de inegável

valor. De referir o sucesso de *'O sole mio, Funiculì funiculà, 'O surdato 'nnammurato*, canções que bem antes que a globalização aflorasse já pertenciam de maneira indiscutível ao patrimonio cultural do planeta inteiro. Isto certamente não aconteceu no mundo nas canções tradicionais de Roma, Milão, Turim, Veneza e outras cidades famosas da "Bota".

É curioso notar a diferença entre os julgamentos, muito lisonjeiros, expressos sobre o napolitano falado por pessoas do lugar (sobretudo Murat e Ferdinand II) através da mediação de alguns autores estrangeiros que no-los apontaram, e aqueles numericamente superiores e muito mais depreciativos, saídos da pena de escritores e viajantes não-italianos, que não hesitaram em descrever como "bárbaro" e "execrável" o vernáculo que foi usado dentro e ao redor de Nápoles ainda, entre outros, por autores como Boccaccio, Tasso e Sannazzaro em algumas de suas obras mais conhecidas.

Entre os epítetos utilizados pelos autores que foram expressos de uma forma mais lisonjeira no dialeto napolitano ["much more disagreeable to the eye than to the ear" (Galiffe 1820); "so different, in some respects, from the Tuscan" (Vários Autores 1867)], podem-se incluir aqueles de Antoine Claude Pasquin, que em Valery (1839) define o napolitano como "sonoro, redobrou, musical" [em inglês: "sonorous, redoubled, musical"]. Um outro adjetivo significativo ("copious": rica, abundante), evidentemente para enfatizar a riqueza lexical, foi por sua vez fornecido em 1832 por Knight (1832). Na mesma linha encontra-se outra obra de 1840: "the Neapolitan dialect [...] is full of humour and naive expression" (Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge 1840). Conceito este reiterado, ainda mais explicitamente, no seguinte texto: "He had always something to say on the event or predominant folly of the day, and most facetiously did he say it, in his broad, open-mouthed, Neapolitan dialect, which we take to be the most happy of all vehicles for the conveyance of humour and perhaps also of wit" (Knight and Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge 1845). Ainda mais extasiado parece o comentário de Davy (1838): "When he spoke to our guide, which he did with uncommon fluency in the Neapolitan dialect, I thought I had never heard a more agreeable voice, sonorous yet gentle and silver-sounded".

Esta era, por outro lado, a convicção dos autóctones, como é relatado por alguns escritores oitocentistas: "He spoke and wrote Italian with great purity, but with his countrymen, he preferred the Neapolitan dialect, which he considered the most expressive, the most difficult, and most metaphoric of all languages" (Bacon 1820). E ainda: "In 1779 he (Galiani) published a book on the Neapolitan dialect, in which he explains the grammatical rules of it, and asserts that the pronunciation of none of the other Italian dialects is so harmonious, so expressive, and so agreeable to the muses" (Aikin and Enfield 1803).

O uso do teatro napolitano em obras executadas em público deveria ser ainda mais agradável ao habitante local: "For the amusement of these princes he is said to have written several dramatic pieces in the Neapolitan dialect, which highly delighted the populace" (Roscoe 1805). E quem de forasteiro chegava a Nápoles seguramente sentia a necessidade de aprender, cedo ou tarde, o falar local: "On the road, Murat talked much with the general in the Neapolitan dialect, which I happen to be familiar with" (Pope Morris et al. 1838). Sobre a harmonia e a amenidade do napolitano, também concordava Hans Christian Andersen, que por ser dinamarquês deveria entender bem de certas características linguísticas: "the soft Neapolitan dialect rung in my ear like swaying verse, and the words melted melodiously one into another" (Andersen 2004).

A compreensão de tal dialeto devia ser, no entanto, longe de fácil: "the Neapolitan dialect [...] presents difficulties innumerable — almost insuperable" (Cruikshank 1828); "the sermons I here allude to, are delivered in the Neapolitan dialect, and are consequently unintelligible to most foreigners" (Percy and Timbs 1824). Conceito similar também é expresso em 1853 por Charles Dickens: "The language is the Neapolitan dialect, and, therefore, hard to understand for a foreigner" (Dickens 1853).

Esse que ainda é o principal dialeto do sul da Itália, surpreendia, em geral, os viajantes estrangeiros: "The Neapolitan dialect differs much from the Italian employed in literature" (Bradford e Vethake 1851). Não podia ser de outra maneira, por outro lado, se alguém notava o que é ainda hoje um dado bastante consolidado, ou seja que o dialeto napolitano era ininteligível para a maioria dos italianos: "the Neapolitan dialect

[…] is unintelligible to the rest of Italy, except the Serva Padrona" (Rees 1819). Em outras palavras: "the Neapolitan dialect differs so widely from pure Tuscan, as to be almost entirely incomprehensible to the best Italian scholar, who is not habituated to its short nasal sounds and […] screaming tones" (Tait e Johnstone 1845).

De resto, parecia claro a muitos que a presença espanhola em Nápoles havia deixado traços inequívocos no vocabulário local: "The Neapolitan dialect comprises many Spanish words" (Waldie 1820); embora, em (Knight 1855), alguém chegou a definir, de maneira pouco precisa, o dialeto napolitano como uma mistura de italiano e espanhol, mas diferente de ambos ["a mixture of Italian and Spanish, but different from both"], o que certamente é bastante forçado. Pouco crível também é a teoria segundo a qual o dialeto napolitano era, nos séculos anteriores, extremamente similar (de fato: "quase idêntico") ao romanesco, como se vê, no entanto, relatado com convicção por dois autores estrangeiros: "The Roman and Neapolitan dialect, which in those ages was nearly the same, is equally vague in the use of terms descriptive of legal infancy" (Robinson and Benedict 1817).

Não se trata de fato do único julgamento a nos deixar perplexos; é o caso, entre outros, de (Rose e Wright 1841), o qual assegurava a antiguidade absoluta do dialeto napolitano ["the Neapolitan dialect [is] the oldest of Italy"]. Ao contrário é sabido que todos os dialetos falados hoje na Itália são derivações diretas e independentes do latino medieval (Loporcaro 2009); os vários dialetos italianos se formaram gradual e autonomamente, tendo nascido no mesmo período. Mas deve ter havido nesses anos alguém que, de Nápoles, se gabava dessa suposta primazia do dialeto partenopeu, pois um ano mais tarde, outro autor afirmou, sem poupar no entanto um julgamento depreciativo a este respeito: "At the other extremity of Italy, the Neapolitan dialect (certainly not for the delicacy of its sound) claims to be at least of high antiquity" (Stoddart 1858).

E precisamente este último julgamento permite-nos começar a examinar os conceitos menos lisongeiros (para usar um eufemismo) sobre o dialeto napolitano.

Muito longe do "verdadeiro italiano" parece o napolitano para August von Kotzebue, em 1806 ["The Neapolitan dialect is as different from the true Italian, as the Siberian is

from the Russian; and has just the same drawling as is peculiar to the Siberian peasants"]. Em outra passagem, de John T. Dunlop, ele é chamado de "corrupção" do estilo, caracterizado por reversões estranhas, improváveis e inexplicáveis [Dunlop fez a seguinte consideração: "his style is corrupted by the frequent use of the Neapolitan dialect, and his sentences are often strangely inverted" (Dunlop 1825)].

Já vimos como o dialeto napolitano foi – além de tudo, com grande sucesso e prazer da assistência – utilizado na execução de peças teatrais. Isso, porém, provocava, ao que parece, o forte desprezo de alguns observadores estrangeiros ["There are numerous other theatres here, where the actors speak in the Neapolitan dialect, which is a most detestable patois" (Strang 1863)].

O recurso ao napolitano, para observadores estrangeiros evidentemente avessos a um ambiente multilinguístico e não convencidos das vantagens que tal situação pode oferecer, não parecia portanto de modo algum enriquecer ou dignificar o discurso. De fato, o dialeto de Nápoles era julgado um vernáculo desprezível, a ser evitado, ou ao máximo a ser reservado aos "mendigos", malandros e pessoas de má reputação: "He is not even master of any language, except Italian, without making a painful effort; and his ordinary Italian is a Neapolitan dialect, such as the lowest of his subjects, the *lazaroni*, speak in their intercourse near each other" (Vários Autores 1837). Um conceito que, *mutatis mutandis*, retomava o que já fora afirmado por Ralph Griffiths e George Edward Griffiths, em 1824: "Ferdinand speaks the corrupt Neapolitan dialect in use among the common people, and in his manners, habits, and conversation, is a complete Lazzarone" (Griffiths and Griffiths 1824). E a mesma ideia, claramente um verdadeiro lugar comum da época, é reafirmada em seguida: "Whilst my attention was diverted for a moment by two *lazzaroni* assailing each other, as usual, not with blows, but abuse in the harsh Neapolitan dialect" (Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge 1845).

Em geral, para muitos autores, o linguajar dos napolitanos era "vil" ["his liaison with a literary Marchioness, a robust elderly woman, or, as he expressed it, a matronly specimen of Italian beauty, who taught him to recite sonnets in a vile Neapolitan dialect" (Vários Autores 1823)], "ridícula" ["ridiculous Neapolitan dialect" (Spalding

1842)], "desgraçada" ["in his homely Neapolitan dialect" (Trollope 1859)], não raro até mesmo descrita, sem volteios de frase, como "bárbara" ["I answered several questions put to me in a barbarous Neapolitan dialect" (Lamartine 1848); "Nothing can be more barbarous than the Neapolitan dialect" (Matthews 1825)]; um falar, em suma, se ainda não ficou claro, cujo parco prestígio pode ser exemplificado pelo desolador quarteto que se segue: "There are poultry, yelping curs, and dirty children rolling in the mud-puddles, — for our courtyard is an untidy place, as are most of them, — and noisy men and women screaming out this shrill Neapolitan dialect" (Hampton Brewster 1866).

Quão diverso o confronto entre os juízos quase entusiásticos sobre o napolitano relatados no início do artigo e aqueles, desconcertados, de quem, ao contrário, afirmou: "During all this time we were surrounded by a swarm of boats, filled with men vociferating in every possible manner the harsh Neapolitan dialect, which conveyed no idea of the musical language of Italy" (Peale 1831); "They turned their backs upon us and walked sullenly off, leaving us to pursue our journey without their indispensable company, and without the pain of listening to their interminable bawling in the harsh Neapolitan dialect" (Wines 1832); "My two guides proceeded in different directions, shouting, in the harsh tones of the Neapolitan dialect, for the servants of this fair unknown" (Campbell Bury 1827); "This was followed by a vehement philippic on the part of our host, delivered in the uncouth Neapolitan dialect" (Graham 1820). E mesmo Charles Dickens asseriu que, em certas situações, o dialeto napolitano podia se transformar em um linguajar de baixo, até ínfimo nível: "but before he could leave the room, his arm was seized by the cafetier, who vehemently demanded payment, accused him of being a thief and a scoundrel, and loaded him with all the abuse in which the Neapolitan dialect is so rich" (Dickens et al. 1839).

Para concluir, o napolitano, no século XIX, evidentemente não deixava quase ninguém indiferente. Havia aqueles para quem era divertido, os que ao escutá-lo não se compraziam, mas também quem mal suportava ouvi-lo (em uma época diversa da atual, em que a diversidade e o plurilinguismo são vistos como um precioso recurso), e não tinha problema algum em declará-lo descaradamente, quase incrédulo – mesmo porque ignorante das origens nobres e antigas daquele e de todos os outros dialetos da península italiana – frente àquela (presumida) cacoépia disforme do italiano regular. O

napolitano, hoje entre os dialetos italianos mais vitais, representa, ao contrário, um dos múltiplos êxitos (alternativos, mas complementares, antes que antitéticos, ao italiano propriamente dito) daquele latino medieval de que foram nascidos – cada qual com sua irrefutável beleza e dignidade – para além da, ainda que respeitabilíssima, *lingua toscana in bocca romana*, as dezenas de línguas românicas faladas em nossa moderna e plurilíngue Europa.

Um dialeto, ou uma língua, nunca são belos ou rudes *a priori*. Aplicar critérios estéticos às línguas pode ser, entretanto, enganoso, além de inadequado. Nenhuma língua é bela ou feia. Cada uma é, no entanto, digna e preciosa, porque carrega nas costas a história, as tradições e a cultura do local de que é porta-voz oficial. Tampouco ela poderia ser diferente do que é, quer isso nos agrade ou não.

Bibliografia

Aikin, J., e W. Enfield (1803). *General Biography. Or, Lives, Critical and Historical, of the Most Eminent Persons of All Ages, Countries, Conditions and Professions, Chiefly Composed by J. Aikin and W. Enfield*. London: Smeeton.

Andersen, H. C., e M. Howitt (a cura de) (2004). *The Improvisatore; Or, Life in Italy 1880*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing.

Bacon, R. M. (1820). *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review, Volume 2. European music periodicals*. London: Baldwin, Craddock and Joy.

Bradford, T. G., e H. Vethake (1851). *Encyclopaedia Americana: A popular dictionary of arts, sciences, literature, history, politics and biography, a new edition; including a copious collection of original articles in American biography; on the basis of the seventh edition of the German Conversations-Lexicon, Volume 11*. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard.

Cairns Collection of American Women Writers (1869). *The Atlantic Monthly, Volume 23*. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Company

Campbell Bury, Lady Charlotte (1827). *Flirtation: A Novel, Volume 2*. London: H. Colburn.

Cruikshank, G. (1828). *The Pocket Magazine*. London: James Robins

Davy, H. (1838). *Consolations in Travels: Or the Last Days of a Philosopher*. London: John Murray.

de Lamartine, A. (1848). *A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land: Comprising Recollections, Sketches, and Reflections, Made During a Tour in the East, Volume 1*. New York: D. Appleton.

Dickens, C. (ed.) (1853). *Household Words, Volume 7. Early British periodicals: General series*. London: Bradbury and Evans.

Dickens, C., W. A. Ainsworth e A. Smith (1839). *Bentley's Miscellany, Volume 4*. New York: J. M. Lewer.

Dunlop, J. T. (1825). *The History of Fiction: Being a Critical Account of the Most Celebrated Works of Fiction from the Earliest Greek Romances to the Novels of the Present Age*. Edinburgh: Longman Brown.

Galiffe, J.-A. (1820). *Italy and Its Inhabitants: An Account of a Tour in that Country in 1816 and 1817: Containing a View of Characters, Manners, Customs, Governments, Antiquities, Literature, Dialects, Theatres, and the Fine Arts, with Some Remarks on the Origin of Rome and of the Latin Language, Volume 2*. London: J. Murray.

Graham, W. (1820). *Travels through Portugal and Spain, during the Peninsular War*. London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co.

Griffiths, R., e G. E. Griffiths (1824). *The Monthly Review*. R. Griffiths.

Hampton Brewster, A. M. (1866). *St. Martin's Summer*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

Knight, C. (1855). *The English Cyclopedia: Geography*. London: Bradbury and Evans.

Knight, C., Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1832). *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*. London: Knight & Company.

Knight, C., Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1845). *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Volume 14. Early British periodicals: General series*. London: C. Knight & Company.

Loporcaro, M. (2009). *Profilo linguistico dei dialetti italiani*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Matthews, H. (1825). *The diary of an invalid: being the journal of a tour in pursuit of health in Portugal, Italy, Switzerland and France (1817-1818-1819)*. Paris: A. and W. Galignani.

Peale, R. (1831). *Notes on Italy. American culture series. Library of American civilization*. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea.

Percy, R., e J. Timbs (1824). *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction, Volume 4*. London: J. Limbird

Pope Morris, G., R. Le Bossu, A. Dacier, B. B. M. de Fontenelle, P. F. Le Courayer, e P. A. Motteux (1838). *Monsieur Bossu's treatise of the epick poem: Preface of the translator. A discourse of ... to Monsieur the abbot knight of Morsan. A memoire concerning the Reverend Father Bossu, sent to M....... by the Reverend Father Courayer (p. xxi-xxxvi) Monsieur Bossu's Treatise of the epick poem (book I-II)*. London: J. Knapton and H. Clements.

Rees, A. (1819). *The Cyclopædia: Or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature, Volume 26*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

Robinson, R. e D. Benedict (1817). *The History of Baptism.* Boston: Lincoln & Edmands Press.

Roscoe, W. (1805). *The life and pontificate of Leo X*. London: Creery.

Rose, H. J., e T. Wright. (1841). *A New General Biographical Dictionary Projected and Partly Arranged, Volume 3*. London: Fellowes.

Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1840). *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: Murilio - Organ, Volume 16*. London: C. Knight & Co.

Spalding, W. (1842). *Italy and the Italian islands: From the earliest ages to the present time, Volume 2*. Edinburgh: Harper and brothers.

Stammerjohann, H. (2008). *Giudizi sul dialetto genovese.* In *Il mediterraneo plurilingue: atti del convegno di studi.* Genova, 13-15 maio 2004*. Plurilinguismo. Contatti di lingue e culture 14 (2007) [2008].*

Stoddart, Sir J. (1858). *Glossology. Or the Historical Relations of Languages. Encyclopaedia metropolitana*. London-Glasgow: R. Griffin and company.

Strang, J. (1863). *Travelling notes in France, Italy and Switzerland of an invalid*. London: Longman.

Tait, W., C. I. Johnstone (1845). *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, Volume 12*. Edinburgh: W. Tait.

Trollope, T. A. (1859). *A decade of Italian women: in two volumes, Volume 1*. London: Chapman and Hall.

Valery (pseud. de Pasquin, A.-C.) (1839). *Historical, Literary, and Artistic Travels in Italy: A Complete and Methodical Guide for Travellers*. Paris: Baudry.

Vários Autores (1837). *Waldie's Select Circulating Library, Volume 9*. Philadelphia: A. Waldie.

Vários Autores (1845). *Lit, Volume 10.*

Vários Autores (1867). *Notes and Queries*. London: Oxford University Press

Vários Autores (1823). *The New Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal, Volume 6*. Boston: Oliver Everett.

von Kotzebue, A. (1806). *Travels through Italy, in the Years 1804 and 1805, Volume 2*. London: Richard Phillips.

Waldie, J. (1820). *Sketches Descriptive of Italy in the Years 1816 and 1817: With a Brief Account of Travels in Various Parts of France and Switzerland in the Same Years, Volume 3*. London: J. Murray.

Wines, E. C. (1832). *Two Years and a Half in the Navy: Or Journal of a Cruise in the Mediterranean and Levant, on Board of the U.S. Frigate Constellation, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831, Volume 2*. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea.

Como transmitir a cultura do Outro num idioma diferente?

Alexandra Pinto Bravo

Universidade de Évora

bravo.alexandra@gmail.com

O trabalho de projeto, *A tradução teatral como reescrita: considerandos sobre a peça de teatro La Pantoufle de Claude Ponti*, visou contribuir para a discussão da atividade tradutória enquanto prática condicionada por diversos elementos relacionados com a transferência linguística. Além de refletir sobre a literatura infantil e de defender a tradução teatral como uma manipulação textual que passa por diversas fases até ao momento da sua encenação/publicação, procurámos problematizar o binómio tradução-cultura, focando a importância da transferência cultural como processo simultâneo à transposição linguística.

Nas diversas abordagens dos Estudos de Tradução, encontramos questões reincidentes, tanto em tradução literária como em tradução técnica, que subsistem na atualidade: existirá alguma tradução completamente fiel ao texto original? O tradutor será sempre encarado como um traidor? A fidelidade a um texto original, partindo do pressuposto da tradução interlingue, "aquela que dá corpo ao conceito tradicional de tradução, ou seja, uma interpretação de signos verbais por meio de uma outra língua" (Lima 2010: 91), remete-nos para a questão da equivalência. Este conceito tem sido alvo de discussão; Nida, por exemplo, distingue "equivalência formal e equivalência dinâmica" (Nida apud Faria 2010: 91). A equivalência formal teria o objetivo de possibilitar que o leitor percebesse o máximo possível do contexto da língua de partida. A "equivalência dinâmica", por sua vez, defenderia que a relação produzida entre recetor e mensagem na língua alvo resultasse da mesma forma que a relação estabelecida entre os recetores originais e a mensagem na língua fonte. Resta o problema da transmissão da cultura do Outro num idioma diferente.

Palavras-chave: Transferência Cultural, Transposição Linguística, Interpretação, Reescrita

How can the Other's culture be transmitted in a different language?

The project, *Theatrical translation as rewriting: considerations regarding the play La Pantoufle by Claude Ponti*, is intended to bring a contribution into the discussion about the translation activity as a practice conditioned by several elements related to the linguistic transfer. Besides reflecting upon Children's Literature and stating theatrical translation as a textual manipulation, which undergoes various stages until the moment of its staging/publication, we also aimed at discussing the translation-culture binary, focusing on the importance of cultural transfer as a simultaneous process regarding linguistic transposition. Amongst the several Translation Studies approaches available, recurrent issues are found when it comes to literary translation, as well as technical translation, which remain current: is there any translation completely faithful to the original text? Will the translator always be regarded as a traitor? The similarity with an original text, considering the interlanguage translation assumption, "the kind which embodies the traditional concept of translation, i.e., an interpretation of verbal signs through another language" (Lima 2010: 91), takes us to the equivalence issue. This concept has been surrounded by debate: Nida, for instance, makes a distinction between "formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence" (Nida apud Faria 2010: 91). Formal equivalence would aim at enabling the reader the maximum understanding of the source-language context. On the other hand, "dynamic equivalence" would defend that the relation created between the receptor and the message in the target-language would be substantially similar to the one established between original receptors and the message in the source-language. The problem remains as to how to transmit the Other's culture in a different language?

Keywords: Cultural Transfer, Linguistic Transposition, Interpretation, Rewriting

O trabalho de projeto *A tradução teatral como reescrita: considerandos sobre a peça de teatro La Pantoufle de Claude Ponti*, realizado no âmbito do Mestrado em Línguas Aplicadas e Tradução, visou contribuir para a discussão da atividade tradutória enquanto prática condicionada por diversos elementos adjuntos à transferência linguística, pois além de refletir sobre a Literatura infantil e de defender a tradução teatral como uma manipulação textual que passa por diversas fases até ao momento da sua encenação/publicação, procurou também problematizar o binómio tradução-

cultura, focando a importância da transferência cultural como processo simultâneo à transposição linguística.

Nas diversas abordagens dos Estudos de Tradução, encontramos questões reincidentes, tanto em tradução literária como em tradução técnica, que subsistem na atualidade: a velha questão da fidelidade ou infidelidade. Existirá uma tradução completamente fiel ao texto original? O tradutor será sempre encarado como um traidor?

A fidelidade a um texto original, partindo do pressuposto da tradução interlingue, *"aquela que dá corpo ao conceito tradicional de tradução, ou seja uma interpretação de signos verbais por meio de uma outra língua"* (Lima 2010: 91), remete-nos para a questão da equivalência. A existência de termos equivalentes em diferentes línguas, isto é, termos que designam o mesmo objeto ou a mesma realidade em diferentes culturas, leva a crer na possibilidade de existência de uma tradução fiel e perfeita. Contudo, o próprio termo equivalência tem sido alvo de discussão: Nida, por exemplo, distingue "equivalência formal e equivalência dinâmica" (Nida *apud* Faria 2010: 91): a equivalência formal teria o objetivo de possibilitar que o leitor percebesse o máximo possível do contexto da língua de partida. A "equivalência dinâmica", por sua vez, defenderia que a relação produzida entre recetor e mensagem na língua alvo resultasse da mesma forma que a relação estabelecida entre o recetor original e a mensagem na língua fonte.

Houbert, no seu artigo "La traduction des termes à fort contenu culturel", distingue ainda "termos para os quais existe equivalência funcional":

> [aqueles] que remetem para instituições e funções consideradas próprias da cultura fonte mas que apresentam no entanto semelhanças suficientes com as instituições da cultura alvo, o que justifica a utilização, na tradução, de denominações comummente utilizadas para designar aquelas, (Houbert 2001: 6)

ainda que não sejam equivalentes perfeitos.

Tais afirmações permitem-nos questionar sobre o rigor da noção de equivalência. Se, nas palavras de Houbert, não existem equivalentes perfeitos, mas somente termos que remetem para objetos ou realidades muito semelhantes nas diferentes culturas, poderemos concluir que a tradução fiel e perfeita é um marco inatingível para qualquer tradutor?

A afirmação de Houbert introduz assim duas componentes cuja pertinência releva ao ato tradutório: a cultura e o destinatário. Nesse limbo em que nos deixa essa

semelhança, e não equivalência, entre culturas e idiomas, como transmitir a cultura do Outro num idioma diferente? Como chegar a um público que também o tradutor desconhece?

Quanto mais estreitamos o nosso objeto de estudo, mais questões surgem: por exemplo, no mundo do espetáculo, em particular na arte do teatro, onde a ação se desenrola a escassos metros do público, onde quase basta esticar o braço para poder tocar os atores, onde a respiração de uns e outros se sente, e onde qualquer movimento é percetível. Nesta proximidade entre o palco e a plateia, os artistas anseiam pelas reações imediatas do público. Aqui, não há lugar para notas explicativas; o tradutor de teatro deve ter atenção redobrada ao público a quem se destina o texto e a toda a circunstância espácio-temporal que se cria *in loco*.

Da importância da cultura em tradução

Para um público menos avisado, para ser tradutor basta conhecer uma língua estrangeira e ter um bom dicionário à mão. Tal conceção está bem longe da realidade. Sabe-se atualmente que, para traduzir, não basta ao tradutor estar munido de ferramentas linguísticas, pois existe uma complexidade de elementos que devem ser tidos em linha de conta para que a tradução consiga exercer o seu papel comunicativo. Um tradutor profissional não se limita a transpor de um código linguístico para outro, é necessário aprofundar o tema que se traduz, pesquisar sobre as condições envolventes à sua produção na língua original e qual o perfil do leitor a quem se destina – tanto na língua fonte como na língua alvo.

Antes de iniciar qualquer processo de tradução, deve ter-se em conta não só o domínio da língua estrangeira para a qual se pretende traduzir, mas também a omnipresença do contexto – influenciado por questões sociais, históricas e políticas - como fator condicionante e influenciador da produção do texto (original). Num determinado tempo e num determinado espaço (situação espácio-temporal, na aceção de Bakhtin) com todas as condicionantes históricas, sociais ou físicas, o contexto revela primazia sobre o texto na altura da escolha de uma dada palavra para criar o discurso pretendido. É este momento tão preciso, envolvido por variados fatores e perceções do mundo, que atua sobre a produção do discurso. Ora, ao traduzir, o tradutor deve respeitar essa situação espácio-temporal embutida no texto original por meio de palavras, e fazê-la refletir-se nas palavras do texto alvo para que o leitor do mesmo apreenda a riqueza da mensagem contida para além das palavras. Assim sendo, o

processo de tradução não se limita apenas a transferir literalmente de um idioma para outro; traduzir significa, ainda, o ato de transferência para idioma diferente do original de todo um contexto espácio-temporal motivado por fatores diversos. Neste sentido, Gouadec defende que existe um processo de transferência cultural anterior ao processo de transferência linguística, ambos imprescindíveis ao processo de tradução: "C'est seulement une fois qu'il sait ce qu'il doit dire que le traducteur organise le contenu et l'exprime dans le code (linguistique) voulu'' (Gouadec 2002: 10). Segundo o mesmo autor, « A substituição **visível** do código linguístico resulta, em profundidade, da substituição **menos visível** dos modos e esquemas de pensamento (…) (Gouadec 2002: 10). Tal conceção fundamenta o princípio de que o tradutor deve dominar modos de pensar da cultura fonte e da cultura alvo, tendo em conta que estará a traduzir de uma comunidade para outra e a apresentar ao leitor da tradução uma cultura alheia à sua. Mas, consegue o tradutor traduzir um modo de pensar? Nesse plano menos visível do texto, está implícita a mensagem cultural, por oposição ao código linguístico que está sempre explícito. Assim, cultura e língua, dois conceitos indissociáveis, transmitem a mensagem de forma oposta.

Ao analisarmos um texto a traduzir, é imperativo fazer uma leitura aprofundada na busca dos seus elementos culturais antes de se proceder à tradução. O tradutor é constantemente confrontado com problemas culturais engendrados pelas escolhas do autor, destinadas aos leitores que partilham a mesma cultura que ele. Se entendermos cultura como o suporte da comunicação humana, entendemo-la como um processo dinâmico baseado numa tradição histórica onde se processa o desenvolvimento pessoal dos indivíduos. Ora, o problema da tradução surge quando o tradutor, enquanto indivíduo membro de uma cultura, tem de compreender os textos a traduzir, pertencentes, geralmente, a outra cultura. Nesse momento, a hermenêutica associa-se à tradução; o tradutor tem de colocar em prática a sua interpretação pessoal e o seu conhecimento da cultura alheia para encontrar o sentido adequado das palavras. Jamais o tradutor conseguirá separar um projeto de tradução da sua perspetiva individual, nem tão pouco da cultura presente nos textos, pois os aspetos culturais estão sempre presentes em qualquer tipo de texto, seja literário, religioso, técnico, ou outro. Desta forma, tal como apresentado, podemos afirmar que a identificação dos elementos culturais presentes nos textos é decisiva para a tradução cumprir o seu papel comunicativo. A função global do texto determina a forma como devemos lidar com os elementos culturais, e deve ser objetivo do tradutor tornar claras as ideologias

da cultura estrangeira, tanto na adequação dessa funcionalidade como na formulação idiomática do texto de chegada. Conhecendo *a priori* o fenómeno da plurissignificação, o tradutor deve envolver-se com a cultura alheia para poder apreender todos os sentidos possíveis de uma palavra e, assim, conseguir desempenhar apropriadamente a sua função comunicativa. Nesta aceção, Nercolini defende uma tradução cultural: "aquela que abarca os demais aspetos da sociedade", e não somente "a tradução textual, literária" (Nercolini 2005: 1).

O tradutor deve saber justificar as suas escolhas quando transpõe a cultura do outro para uma língua e cultura diferentes. Língua, texto e cultura estão intimamente ligados, logo, ao transpor um texto para outra língua, a cultura não pode ficar esquecida. Esse trinómio deve ser mantido, respeitando a cultura de partida e fazendo as adaptações necessárias ao texto para que seja compreendido na cultura de chegada. Nercolini adianta ainda que "a tradução é ferramenta própria de fronteiras, de lugares ou espaços instáveis, aqueles em que há passagem entre culturas" (Nercolini 2005: 2). Esta tarefa "instável" de mediação de culturas leva, em muitos casos, à perda de informação do original, daí a importância de o tradutor estar sensibilizado para a alteridade presente no texto a traduzir, visto que só assim conseguirá diminuir essa perda. A abertura do tradutor ao outro minimiza as barreiras existentes, transformando-as em novos caminhos. Se o termo "cultura" se refere ao *"modo de vida e suas manifestações peculiares numa comunidade que utiliza uma língua em particular como o seu meio de expressão"* (Newmark 1988: 94), o tradutor deve assumidamente ser bicultural para conseguir fazer o seu papel de mediador, mantendo, nas escolhas de tradução, um equilíbrio entre as culturas de partida e de chegada.

Leitura da obra

Foi exatamente esse equilíbrio que procurámos na nossa abordagem tradutória da peça de teatro de Claude Ponti.

La Pantoufle permite-nos conhecer um feto no interior da barriga da mãe, que completa, nesse dia, 9 meses. Este "GRAND BÉBÉ" (Ponti 2006: 7), sempre acompanhado da sua almofada, tem plena noção de que chegou a hora de "[sortir] dehors" (Ponti 2006: 10), portanto, vai experimentar objetos e sensações e colocar questões, tudo isso para se preparar para o mundo exterior.

Observando apenas personagens e dispositivo cénico, ressalta todo um conjunto que se articula com o mundo da imaginação: um bebé e uma almofada que falam, uma caixa de medos, uma pantufa gigante. No entanto, numa primeira abordagem ao texto, revela-se de imediato o caráter potencialmente pedagógico desta peça de teatro infantil: um Bebé Grande, que representa um feto de 9 meses, dentro de uma Pantufa, que representa a placenta, decide sair por uma porta quando esta estiver do seu tamanho. A porta, que aumenta ligeiramente em cada cena, representa a dilatação da vagina, e o momento do parto é representado precisamente na cena em que o Bebé Grande mergulha em direção à luz que entra por essa mesma porta.

Esta peça, ainda que de uma forma bastante divertida, permite abordar diversas problemáticas como a vida, a morte, a velhice ou o sexo – temas que poderiam ser considerados tabu para a criança, mas que não o são na atualidade, tanto na cultura fonte, como na cultura de chegada. Resumindo, Claude Ponti aborda temas sérios, dignos de "gente grande", mas ao seu estilo criativo e prazenteiro. O autor cria frequentemente novas palavras inspirando-se em termos mal pronunciados pelas crianças ou até imaginados por estas, utiliza trocadilhos baseados em referências compreensíveis para os adultos ou realiza verdadeiras amálgamas através da fusão de morfemas ou palavras truncadas.

Processo de tradução

Apesar da riqueza dos neologismos de Claude Ponti, que foram, sem dúvida, um desafio bastante interessante na tradução deste texto, importa destacar as dificuldades surgidas ao nível das implicações culturais e conotativas da linguagem utilizada pelo autor. Por exemplo, * em alguns casos, como na tradução de *"une peur bleue" ou "dos d'âne, hi han!", perdem-se conotações associadas à língua de partida devido à forte componente cultural que estas expressões possuem. Neste tipo de situações somos obrigados a proceder a uma "tradução contornada", ou seja, aquela em que, segundo Conceição Lima (2010: 94), "o núcleo da informação seja contornado, captando-se no entanto, o essencial da mensagem". Portanto, neste contexto, o tradutor deve adotar uma estratégia de tradução dependendo do resultado pretendido que, na perspetiva de Zurbach (2002: 128), "poderá oscilar entre um texto construído de modo a ser identificado enquanto 'estrangeiro' pelo recetor (…) ou (…) como um texto destinado a ser recebido a todos os níveis como *um* original". A presença de marcas linguísticas e culturais desconhecidas nos textos para crianças e jovens nem

sempre deve ser encarada de forma negativa, quer se trate de um texto original, a ser transmitido na sua cultura original, quer se trate de uma tradução, cuja receção se fará na cultura do Outro.

O facto de o jovem leitor se deparar com referências a mundos desconhecidos, através da leitura de obras estrangeiras traduzidas, por exemplo, leva ao desenvolvimento do imaginário do leitor e poderá também motivá-lo a pesquisar sobre assuntos que tenham despertado o seu interesse, aumentando assim a sua cultura geral. Desta forma, o tradutor nem sempre deve apostar na facilidade e na transparência da mensagem textual, pois uma tentativa de clarificação excessiva de marcas linguísticas ou culturais do texto de partida pode levar ao apagamento da cultura do Outro na cultura de chegada. Temos aqui alguns exemplos onde podemos verificar termos mantidos em língua francesa, como "charentaise" e "gruyère", sendo que este último é também exemplificativo de manipulação do texto original através do "acrescento" do substantivo "queijo".

Conclusão

Este artigo procurou evidenciar que a tradução literária significa muito mais do que efetuar meras transferências linguísticas. O tradutor é, de facto, um autor. Mesmo tentando respeitar o estilo criativo e a sonoridade do texto original, existirão sempre influências nas escolhas do tradutor, derivadas da sua interpretação que é condicionada pela envolvente cultural. Aspirando a ser fiel aos pensamentos de um autor, o tradutor não deixa de marcar o texto traduzido pelo seu cunho pessoal, pois a mensagem da tradução não é mais do que a mensagem que o tradutor entendeu, na sua leitura, como sendo a do autor do texto fonte.

Referências

Faria, J. C. (2010). "A Tradução entre a Cruz e a Espada: Fidelidade Versus Traição". *Revelli – Revista de Educação, Linguagem e Literatura 2*(1). Inhumas. 87-100.

Gouadec, D. (2002). *Profession: Traducteur*. Paris: La Maison du Dictionnaire.

Houbert, F. (2001). La traduction des termes à fort contenu culturel: étude de cas. Village de la Justice. http://www.village-justice.com/articles/traduction-termes-fort-contenu-culturel,1216.html (acedido em 30.11.2012).

Lima, C. (2010). *Manual de Teoria de Tradução*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri.

Nercolini, M. J. (2005). A questão da tradução cultural. Revista Idiossincrasia, Portal Literal, Rio de Janeiro. http://portalliteral.terra.com.br/ Literal_2005 (acedido em 30.11.2012).

Ponti, C. (2006). *La Trijolie 1: La Pantoufle.* Paris: L'école des loisirs. Zurbach, C. (2002). *Tradução e Prática do Teatro em Portugal de 1975 a 1988.* Lisboa: Edições Colibri.

Critical thinking in the development of English language teaching materials: a focus on writers' and editors' conceptualisations of unity in diversity

Denise Santos

The University of Reading, UK

denise@denisesantos.com

Research into the development of language teaching materials is scarce, and this study aims to explore this gap by looking at how writers and editors conceptualise critical thinking within the development of English language teaching materials for secondary schools in Brazil. Specifically, this article discusses how those individuals approached unity in diversity (i.e., the premise that diversity – and not uniformity – should be perceived as a unifying principle in social groups) while designing and editing a set of activities meant to develop young learners' critical thinking. The data include a content analysis of the final, printed version of those activities as well as their multiple drafts, with a focus on the changes those materials went through following discussions between co-authors and editors during the materials development process. Written interactions between those key players during the design and editing stages of the materials were also analysed. Data analysis suggests that participants had conflicting positionings in their choices of and approaches to themes to be addressed while developing learners' critical thinking. Findings also point to the fact that language simplification was a key concern during the design of those materials at the expense of pedagogically-oriented decisions assessed against the objectives of those tasks. Recommendations for research and teacher education are outlined at the end of this paper.

Introduction

This paper discusses how the writers and editors of an English language teaching (ELT) textbook series for Brazilian secondary schools conceptualise the notion of critical thinking, drawing on Luke's (2004: 26) definition that "to be critical is to call up for scrutiny, whether through embodied action or discourse practice, the rules of exchange within a social field". Specifically, this article explores the emphases and priorities held by a team of ELT writers and editors while developing materials meant to scrutinise the notion of *unity in diversity*.

Theoretical background

The conceptual root of this study lies at the interface between the spread of English in the contemporary world, the centrality of textbooks in ELT and the multicultural relationships that characterise life in the 21st century. That the English language has achieved an unprecedented spread in the world is a fact that cannot be denied; what remain controversial are the English forms and uses to be prioritised in contexts of teaching and learning that language (Jenkins 2003: 5). In other words, there is no general agreement on the content to be taught in ELT programmes, and different teaching contexts around the globe will necessarily be characterised by different needs and objectives.

Educational policies in Brazil, the focus of this study, highlight the idea that foreign language learning in general, and English learning in particular, involve much more than linguistic development, and the excerpt below illustrates the sociopolitical focus associated with ELT in the country:

> To use a foreign language is a way of acting in the world to change it. However, the absence of critical awareness [about the hegemonic role of the English language in international exchanges] in the teaching and learning process of that language helps to maintain the status quo rather than to cooperate for its transformation. (Brasil 1998: 40, the author's own translation)

Adhering to the quote above, the study reported in this article is also guided by the assumptions that the spread of English is not neutral and that uses of English as a lingua franca are "intricately interconnected" (Kumaravadivelu 2006: 1) with complex

issues involving globalization and empire. The ELT textbook plays a central role in this scenario due to its centrality in English teaching around the world and also due to the fact that those books are mass-produced predominantly by American or British publishers aiming at audiences worldwide. Those "global coursebooks" (Gray 2002) are thus unlikely to foster scrutiny into how, for example, racism, imperialism, economic interests inter alia might be associated with aspects of globalization in the contemporary world.

Gray (2010: 716) discusses "the highly selective representational repertoires [global coursebooks] deploy in the construction of mainly benign versions of a globalizing world" by showing that the representation of the world of work in recent textbooks highlights values of the new capitalism such as individualism, choice and personal fulfilment.   John Kullman's research (reported in Smith et al. 2009: 78) further comments on that point, by arguing that global textbooks put an emphasis on the development of learner narratives emphasizing success and self-esteem at the expense of other understandings of the self.

An obvious criticism to such emphasis on representations of a world devoid of problems or complexities in ELT materials is that it may prevent learners from being able to deal with conflict in their interactions in English. Arguably, there are even more problematic risks associated with bland versions of reality presented in ELT materials, and those include the development of learners (that is, *selves*) who may be unable to acknowledge their various identities (e.g., as representatives of a national group, an ethnicity, a religion, an age group, a social class, a profession, and so on), and potentially also unable to perceive *the other* as someone who is equally complex and yet shares a number of characteristics ranging from biological traits (as members of the same species) to personal likes and dislikes, skills, habits and so on. Failure to perceive unity in diversity may lead to what Holliday, Hyde and Kullman (2004: 3) have described as "culturism", a condition that "underlies many of the problems in the world today" and that involves a partial perception of "the other" as a single-faceted individual characterised by one feature (e.g. nationality, ethnicity, religion, age) and who is "different to 'us' in such a way that 'they' are excluded from 'our' 'normal', 'superior' and 'civilized' group."

If ELT is to foster critical awareness (about ourselves, the other, and everybody's participation and interaction in the social world), then it is essential for materials used by Asian male teenagers, for example, to invite reflection about how Africans of the

same age may experience similar issues related to adolescence, may share an interest in the same band or sport, or may have similar routines. In other words, those materials must help those learners to acknowledge that, in spite of their diversity (in their ethnicity and geographical origin) there is unity linking them in important ways (in their age group, hobbies, family structure, and so on).

This article will examine some of those issues, starting with an overview of how the notion of critical thinking has been explored in the development of English language teaching materials. After that, it presents and discusses the results of the study in focus, which involved the analysis of (*1*) the multiple drafts of a set of ELT materials designed for the development of young learners' critical thinking; and (*2*) the written exchanges between co-authors and editors during the development of those materials. This article concludes with some recommendations for materials development and pedagogy.

Critical thinking in the development of ELT materials

Research into how critical thinking is incorporated in ELT materials tends to take the form of reports discussing classroom events when those materials are approached critically (e.g. Benesch 2010; Santos and Fabrício 2006; Wallace 1992). However, it is unclear how writers, editors and other members of development teams conceptualise and operationalise the notion of critical thinking to start with. Unanswered questions include: What themes do materials writers select when designing tasks for the development of critical thinking? How do they incorporate those themes into pedagogical practices? How do they envisage students' work with and through those tasks? What outcomes do they expect to reach from that work? What type of language is expected to be produced during the implementation of those tasks? Do materials writers and editors have similar understandings of those issues? If not, in what areas do those professionals show disagreement? How is disagreement handled?

There is no systematic research into materials development and our current knowledge in that area draws on insights from the few studies exploring that process. Discussing specialist and non-specialist task designers' procedures while developing tasks, Johnson (2000) suggests that designers' knowledge and belief systems may be categorised at two levels: first, designers may be language- or task-oriented depending on whether their focus relies on, respectively, the language output or on the motivation and interest levels generated by the task. Secondly, designers' schemata may be

judged against their emphasis on task function (i.e. everyday situations with an objective, for example describing people), task genre (e.g., information gap or jigsaw) or task frame (bearing a focus on skill development, timing, teacher role or student configuration i.e. pair work/group work etc.) during the design process. Prowse's (1998: 145) account of how writers develop materials highlights a focus on "syllabus, ideas, and procedures" rather than on "learning principles and objectives" in those processes.

Bell and Gower (1998) point out that there may be important mismatches between writers and editors during the development process of a set of materials, and the construction of rubrics illustrates their point: in their materials writing experience, they were not very much concerned in providing detailed rubrics because they felt they "were writing a classbook which would be mediated by teachers" (Bell and Gower 1998: 125). As for their editors, they "overemphasised the need for rubrics to be intelligible to student" (Bell and Gower 1998: 125). Publishers' perspectives in materials development are rare and Donovan (1998) is an exception: in that report of the piloting process of an ELT series for young learners, aspects of appropriateness (of level, of content, of approach), together with the effectiveness of the materials in terms of their expected aims, are mentioned as priorities by the publisher.

The extent to which those perspectives relate, if at all, to tasks designed for the development of critical thinking is not discussed in the literature. That is a central issue in the study herein reported and more will be said about this in subsequent sections.

The study

A country of sharp contrasts, Brazil boasts some impressive statistics including the world's 8th largest GDP and 6th largest labour force (CIA, 2013). In spite of the positive outlook of the current scenario in the Brazilian economy, Brazilians still lack the necessary English skills to take up the opportunities that are to be brought about by forthcoming international events to be held in Brazil (such as the 2014 FIFA World Cup or the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games), as well as by the current demands of the global market more generally. In a survey carried out by Education First (2012), Brazil ranks 46th (out of the 54 surveyed countries) in what they describe as "English Proficiency Index".

The urgent need for the development of English proficiency in Brazil has been acknowledged by Brazilian academics and government officials for several years, and

this point can be illustrated by the recent inclusion of foreign language textbooks in the *Programa Nacional do Livro Didático* (National Programme for Textbooks), a federal government initiative that involves the evaluation, purchase and distribution of textbooks for every pupil attending state schools in Brazil. According to the guidelines for the 2011 National Programme for Textbooks, the first to include foreign languages as a discipline, for a textbook series to be approved it should create opportunities for the "development of autonomy and critical thinking" (Brasil 2008: 61, my translation) and stimulate learners' "identification with other individuals, societies, languages and cultures, promoting the perception of the importance of their own reality in relation to local and global contexts" (Brasil 2008: 61, author's own translation).

The study reported in this article explored the conceptualizations of critical thinking in a section entitled *Let's Stop and Think!* found at the end of each unit in a 4-volume series of textbooks produced for (and subsequently approved by) the 2011 National Programme for Textbooks. In more general terms, the textbook series in focus aimed at the first four years of Brazilian secondary schools (students' age ranging from 10 to 15) in the state sector. During those years, learners were expected to move from beginner to lower-intermediate level in the four language skills and strong focus should also be given in those textbooks to the development of citizenship.

More specifically, the *Let's Stop and Think!* sections had the objective of inviting those learners to observe, describe and challenge the assumptions characterising familiar situations in their social world, engaging in what Dean (1994, as cited in Pennycook 2001:7) described as "problematizing practices". Those sections therefore involved a problem-situation related to the topic of the unit and examples are: in a unit about communication, learners were encouraged to notice and comment on how the same gesture (a thumbs-up) triggered different reactions in different settings including interpretations of being offensive; in a unit about travelling, students were asked to express their opinion about a poster promoting tourism in Brazil by depicting stereotypical images of the country: coffee, football, samba and exotic animals.

A study was then designed in order to identify the main themes emerging in the 40 sections of *Let's Stop and Think!* based on analyses of their multiple drafts as well as of the written exchanges (by e-mail) between the development team (authors and editors). The author's interest in this analysis can be described as a form of *post-hoc* reflective practice (given that the author is one of the two co-authors of the series in focus) within a broader quest for understanding the overall materials development

process. This analysis gains further relevance given that those sections were designed rather unsystematically due to time constraints during the production stage of the materials and decisions tended to be made as the development team moved along in the process.

Earlier findings of the study have been reported in Santos (2013) and a summary of those initial results is given below. The next section presents new findings by examining one theme emerging from the original study (namely, unity in diversity) in depth.

- Five themes emerged in the analysis of the issues proposed for scrutiny in the 40 *Let's Stop and Think!* sections in the series: (*1*) unity in diversity; (*2*) English in Brazil; (*3*) social inclusion and participation; (*4*) individual preferences and worldviews; and (*5*) social values.

- The treatment of those topics involved one of three processes: presentation of a situation displaying different facts and/or views but no conflict; presentation of a situation displaying different facts and/or views and conflict deriving from those differences; presentation of a situation with no different facts nor views, and no conflict. Examples of those situations are, respectively: a friendly classroom conversation in which the students share their opinions about the most important workers in society; a conversation among friends about their musical preferences in which one participant mocks another about the latter's interest in classical music; a reproduction of selected classified ads published in a Brazilian newspaper advertising jobs in which fluency in English was required.

- Most sections involved student discussion about the problem-situation; some involved discussion and reconfiguration of the situation (through the creation of additional scenes or rewriting of the situation presented in the section).

- The authors' main focus during the writing stage (including revisions) resided on language rather than on content. This focus on linguistic adequacy typically involved a concern with the use of appropriate language both in the rubrics and in the remainder of the task. That concern, in turn, typically involved language simplification in order to make the content presented more accessible to learners.

- The editors' interventions in the early drafts varied from nil to seven per section but most comments were found in the first two volumes. Editors' comments

tended to be about the notes for teachers (56%) rather than about the content of the section proper (26%) or the topics chosen for debate (18%).

- The editors' comments about the notes for teachers involved requests for clarification or simplification (leading to more concise notes).

Results: Unity in diversity

Unity in diversity is a theme found in *Let's Stop and Think!* activities across the four volumes in the series and the problem-situations observing that theme deal with these topics: cultural diversity in Brazil and elsewhere; differences and similarities in families across time and space; similarities and differences between teenagers around the world; school dinners in different countries; and teenage fashion in history. In the remainder of this section I discuss how the notion of critical thinking was conceptualised by my co-author and me, as well as by our editors, during the development of an activity meant to problematise the notion of cultural diversity. It is important to note that the activity in focus here was found in the first unit in the first book of the series, which means it provided the first structured opportunity for students to engage in critical thinking in their work with the series.

In its final, printed form, the artwork for this activity consists of a patchwork of human faces representing different ages, sexes and ethnicities framed within a map of Brazil. Students are invited to look at the artwork and discuss: "Are those people similar or different? What do they have in common?". Following the taxonomy described earlier in this report, that activity was categorised as presenting different facts and/or views but no conflict: specifically, diversity was shown through the collage of human images within the map and the activity did not include any additional elements (verbal or non-verbal) suggesting there was conflict within the diversity displayed in the map. The pedagogical outcome expected from the activity was categorised as discussion, only, with no reconfiguration, given that students were asked to carry out a debate about the topic but not to reconstruct the content and ideas presented in the scene in any way.

In the first draft of that section the rubric included an additional comment preceding the two questions for debate, and that comment invited students to "look at the scene" representing such broad range of human diversity – the heading "Brazilians" was added to the scene highlighting the focus on "people" in the section. However, the editors

suggested that the word "scene" in the rubric should be replaced by "map". No further explanations about the reasons for such suggestion were provided.

Arguably, such choices of lexis are not inconsequential and they serve to shed light on authors' and editors' conflicting understandings of the starting points of the critical thinking to be achieved in that section: whereas the authors conceptualised the starting point as a "scene" depicting "people" (and scenes are, by definition, characterised by continuity), the editors might be said to have approached diversity more statically: as a fixed, unchangeable reality framed within a map. Besides, by looking at "a map" only (as opposed to, say, "a scene"), students might miss the focus on human diversity and reorient their attention to aspects of spatial representation: after all, talking about "a scene portraying Brazilians" and about "a map containing Brazilians" involve very different ideas. We eventually managed to reach agreement about the rubric's form by rephrasing its opening as "look at the image", followed by the two questions inviting students to reflect on the people's similarities and differences.

Other comments made by the editorial team about the first draft of that section are indicative of editors' conceptualization of critical thinking more broadly: in general, their concerns had less to do with critical thinking than with rubric length and clarity, including further signposting through the inclusion of headings. In terms of frequency, that section generated almost half of the comments they made in the overall data. This abundance of comments can be attributed to the fact that the section was found in the very first unit in the overall series, which may have triggered the need for so many editorial interventions. In fact, it may well be the case that both editors and authors needed, at that stage, to rethink their own views about the content, format and orientation of the section, given that all the members of the development team were, in a sense, initiating the design process and therefore still refining their ideas.

The quality of editors' comments generated important insights in this post-hoc analysis. Originally, this particular *Let's Stop and Think!* activity was meant to have two parts: the first one would show the Brazilian map displaying the diversity of its population (as described above); the second one was supposed to be a collage showing three youngsters of Japanese ethnic background representing three different nationalities: Brazil, the United States and Japan. It must be noted that the choice of Japan was not random: after all, there are over 1.5 million people with Japanese heritage in Brazil, making it the world's largest Japanese-descendent population out of

Japan, and this profile highlights the importance of the debate around unity in diversity involving the Japanese-Brazilian population in the country.

Altogether, the two parts aimed at proposing a problem-situation that could lead to the exploration of the interplay between unity and diversity in different ways: while the map showed national unity with ethnic diversity, the collage showed national diversity with ethnic unity. From my and my co-author's standpoint, the rationale guiding the inclusion of both scenes was to problematise the mainstream, essentialist "large culture" (Holliday 1999) approach that characterises culture in association with ethnic, national or international groups. We wanted to promote learners' awareness that the label "Brazilians" involves, by definition, complex identities that go beyond ethnic traits. Eventually, and through further reflections, we wanted to stimulate learners' perception about the fact that we may share important traits with other people in the world even if we look different.

Nevertheless, upon receiving the first draft, the editors requested that the latter part should be eliminated on the grounds that "what we can conclude from the second image is not very relevant". Our revised version of that section followed the recommendation for exclusion of the second part not because we thought that it was irrelevant, but because we realised that it might be too much, at that point, to ask learners to tackle those two perspectives at the same time. Our decision then was to resume the discussion on unity and diversity at other points in the series. We felt strongly about that, as we thought that, from an educational point of view, it is imperative to help students perceive that we are not "completely different to" or "exactly the same as" others; this realisation, we believed, is important to raise learners' awareness about social problems such as social exclusion, prejudice, or hate.

However, editors' reactions to the various sections aiming at triggering critical thinking about the interplay between unity and diversity were usually negative. Commenting on a section which showed two teenagers of more or less the same age who described similar interests (in music, in sports) and which was designed to trigger debate about what they had in common, the editors wrote: "Are you sure you want to explore this? Those teenagers have more differences than similarities. Rethink." The fact that the two teenagers came from different parts of the world (one was from Australia, the other one from South Africa) and represented different genders and ethnicities (the former one was a white girl and the latter a black boy) may have contributed to the editors' adverse reaction, in spite of the common grounds found in the teenagers' stated preferences. A

similar comment was made by the editors about the debate expected to be generated by the Brazilian scene displaying ethnic plurality in the country (as described earlier on). Worried about the fact that students were expected to discuss the similarities and differences about the people represented in the scene, they commented: "black people and indigenous people can't be similar". Those examples, altogether, provide further evidence of important differences that emerged in the analysis regarding the ways that editors and authors conceptualised critical thinking about unity in diversity in the social world in the data.

Conclusions and recommendations

This study looked at how a team of writers and editors approached the notion of critical thinking in the context of English language materials being developed for Brazilian learners in secondary school. Specifically, it explored how those individuals approached the theme *unity in diversity*. For the authors, the inclusion of that theme was justified (albeit tacitly) not only by the centrality of the debate surrounding the local vs. the global in the contemporary world, but also by its inclusion in key official documents orienting education in the country. Regarding editors, and considering all the themes proposed for critical thinking in the data, *unity in diversity* was the only theme that generated negative reactions on their part, and those reactions included requests for rethinking or even elimination of the theme.

If authors and writers diverged in the ways they advocated (or not) the theme *unity in diversity*, they seemed to have similar concerns during the design of the related tasks. Both displayed a "language-oriented" (Johnson, 2000) approach during the design process and tended to concentrate their discussions on the revisions needed regarding linguistic simplifications that should be made in order to make the text more accessible. Writers and editors differed in how they projected their need for simplification, though: while the former seemed to have students as their main audience, the latter were primarily concerned with the notes for teachers in their requests for simplification.

An important comment to be made at this point is that, as Bhatia (1983: 45) reminds us, simplifications may facilitate the reading but not necessarily the learning. Bhatia (ibid.) also cautions against the risk of making simplifications which can lead to "easifications". These ideas gain special overtones in the development of critical thinking which, by definition, requires processes that may be simplified but not

necessarily "easified", otherwise they will not promote the problematising practices needed to scrutinise and challenge taken-for-granted assumptions about the world, and participation in it.

Given their global spread and their centrality in teaching, ELT textbooks have the potential scope to promote those practices widely. But if ELT materials are to provide a consistent and coherent support for the development of learners' critical thinking it will be necessary to carry out further research on the decisions made during the design of those materials, as well as on the impact of those decisions in the classroom. This study is a small contribution in that direction.

References

Bell, J. & R. Gower. (1998). Writing course materials for the world: A great compromise. In B. Tomlinson (ed.), *Materials development in language teaching*, 116-129. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Benesch, S. (2010). Critical praxis as materials development: Responding to military recruitment on a U.S. campus. In N. Harwood (ed.), *English language teaching materials: Theory and practice,* 109-28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bhatia, V. K. (1983). Simplification v. easification: The case of legal texts. *Applied Linguistics 4*(1). 42-54.

Brasil. (1998). *Parâmetros curriculares nacionais: terceiro e quarto ciclos do ensino fundamental / língua estrangeira*. Brasília: MEC/SEF.

Brasil. (2008). Programa Nacional do Livro Didático/PNLD 2011, SEF/FNDE. ftp://ftp.fnde.gov.br/web/livro_didatico/edital_pnld_2011.pdf (accessed 07.09.2013).

CIA. (2013). Central Intelligence Agency: The world factbook. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/br.html (accessed 10.09.2013).

Donovan, P. (1998). Piloting: A publisher's view. In B. Tomlinson (ed.), *Materials development in language teaching*, 149-189. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Education First. (2012). English proficiency index. http://www.ef.co.uk/epi/ (accessed 10.09.2013).

Gray. J. (2002). The global coursebook in English language teaching. In D. Block & D. Cameron (eds.), *Globalization and language teaching,* 151-67. London: Routledge.

Gray, J. (2010). The branding of English and the culture of the new capitalism: Representations of the world of work in English language textbooks. *Applied Linguistics 31*(5). 714-733.

Holliday, A. (1999). Small cultures. *Applied Linguistics 20*(2). 237-264.

Holliday, A., M. Hyde & J. Kullman. (2004). *Intercultural communication: An advanced resource book*. London: Routledge.

Jenkins, J. (2003). *World Englishes: A resource book for students*. London: Routledge.

Johnson, K. (2000). What task designers do. *Language Teaching Research 4*(3). 301-321.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2006). Dangerous liaison: Globalization, empire and TESOL. In J. Edge (ed.), *(Re)locating TESOL in an age of empire*, 1-26. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Luke, A. (2004). Two takes on the critical. In B. Norton and K. Toohey (eds.), *Critical pedagogies and language learning,* 21-29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pennycook, A. (2001). *Critical applied linguistics: A critical introduction.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Prowse, P. (1998). How writers write: Testimony from authors. In B. Tomlinson (ed.), *Materials development in language teaching*, 130-145. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Santos, D. (2013). "This activity is far from being a pause for reflection": An exploration of ELT authors', editors', teachers' and learners' approaches to critical thinking. In J. Gray (ed.), *Critical perspectives on language teaching materials*, 88-110. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Santos, D. & B. Fabrício. (2006). The English lesson as a site for the development of critical thinking. *TESL-EJ / Special Issue: Language Education Research in International Contexts 10*(2). 1-23.

Smith, R., J. Kullman, J. Gray, S. Wharton, D. Santos & A. Pennycook. (2009). Critical approaches to coursebooks. In B. Beaven (ed.), *IATEFL 2008 Exeter Conference Selections*, 78-80. Canterbury: IATEFL.

Wallace, C. (1992). Critical literacy awareness in the EFL classroom. In N. Fairclough (ed.), *Critical language awareness*, 59-92. Harlow: Longman.

Disponibilidad léxica en 30 alumnos de ELE del distrito de Oporto, Portugal: Un proyecto de investigación

Mirta dos Santos Fernández

Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto

mfernandez@letras.up.pt

El principal objetivo de este artículo es presentar un proyecto de investigación que pretende determinar la disponibilidad léxica de 30 estudiantes de ELE del distrito de Oporto (Portugal), que estudian español desde hace tres años en un contexto formal de enseñanza primaria obligatoria, y que frecuentan en la actualidad el 9.º curso de escolaridad. Los informantes, que se encuentran cursando el nivel B1 de español, se dividen en dos grupos homogéneos de 15 estudiantes para facilitar el cotejo de los datos obtenidos. Uno de los grupos de la muestra estudia en un colegio privado ubicado en la ciudad de Oporto, mientras que el otro grupo cursa sus estudios en un instituto público de enseñanza secundaria situado en un pueblo del concejo de Paredes, distrito de Oporto. Además del tipo de centro (público o privado), en este proyecto de investigación hemos considerado también la edad de los informantes y su sexo, como variables independientes. En definitiva, se pretende obtener datos comparativos sobre los vocablos del español que los encuestados tienen más activos en su lexicón mental, en función de los distintos campos semánticos o centros de interés que se les propondrán, y determinar asimismo si las variables independientes contempladas tienen alguna influencia en su disponibilidad y en su riqueza léxica.

Palabras clave: Disponibilidad Léxica, Lexicón Mental, Centros de Interés, Vocablos, Informantes

Lexical availability in 30 Spanish students in the Oporto district of Portugal:

A Research Project

The main purpose of this paper is to present a research project that aims to determine the lexical availability of 30 Spanish students in the district of Oporto (Portugal), that have studied Spanish during the previous three years in a formal education context, from sixth to eighth grade, and who are currently attending the ninth grade. The respondents, who are enrolled in the B1 level of Spanish, are divided into two homogeneous groups of 15 students to make comparison of date more manageable. One sample group of students is from a private school located in Oporto, whereas the other is from a public high school located in a municipality of Paredes, also in the district of Oporto. Besides the type of learning center (public v. private), in this research project we have also taken into account the age and sex of the respondents as independent variables. In short, we aim to obtain comparative data about the Spanish words that are more active in respondents' mental lexicon, depending on the different semantic fields and areas of interest of the tests, and also to determine whether the independent variables have some influence on their lexical availability and richness.

Keywords: Lexical Availability, Mental Lexicon, Semantic Fields, Terms, Respondents

Introducción

Para empezar, nos parece pertinente resaltar que en este artículo, que resulta de la ponencia impartida en el *Encuentro Internacional de Lenguas, Lingüística Aplicada y Traducción*, que tuvo lugar en la Universidad de Évora, en Portugal, los días 6 y 7 de diciembre de 2012, se presenta apenas un proyecto de investigación que pretendemos llevar a cabo en los próximos meses sobre la disponibilidad léxica de dos grupos de quince estudiantes que estudian español como lengua extranjera en el distrito de Oporto (Portugal).

Así, al tratarse de un proyecto y no de una investigación ya concluida, no ofreceremos datos conclusivos, sino que nos limitaremos a presentar el estado de la cuestión en lo que respecta a los estudios de disponibilidad léxica en el mundo hispánico, además de referir los objetivos de nuestro estudio en ciernes, las hipótesis de partida y la caracterización de la muestra.

El estado de la cuestión

En este apartado de nuestro artículo nos acercaremos sucintamente al concepto de léxico disponible, mencionaremos algunos de los principales estudios que se han llevado a cabo en este ámbito y haremos referencia al prometedor *Proyecto Panhispánico*, coordinado por López Morales.

El propósito es dar a conocer esta área de estudio a aquellos lectores que la desconozca, y a aquellos que, sin ser especialistas, sientan alguna curiosidad por esta vía de investigación.

Qué es el léxico disponible

Entendemos por léxico disponible el que un hablante puede activar inmediatamente, en función de las necesidades derivadas de la producción lingüística. Según Samper Hernández (2002), el léxico disponible "está compuesto por aquellas palabras que, sin ser particularmente frecuentes, son evocadas y empleadas en ciertas situaciones comunicativas o para hablar de ciertos asuntos." Dicho de una forma más sencilla, podemos considerar que una palabra es disponible si acude rápida y fácilmente a la mente del hablante cuando se aborda un tema determinado.

Dubois et al. (1998), citados por López Rivero (2008), señalan que el vocabulario disponible es un "conjunto de palabras con una frecuencia baja y poco estable, pero usuales y útiles, que están a disposición del locutor". En la misma línea, López Morales (1984) considera que el vocabulario disponible es el caudal léxico utilizable en una situación comunicativa dada, o, en sus propias palabras, el "conjunto de unidades léxicas de contenido semántico concreto que sólo se actualiza si lo permite el tema del discurso". López Rivero (2008) añade a las definiciones anteriores el hecho de que las palabras disponibles reflejan normalmente un vocabulario de carácter nocional.

Llegados a este punto, nos parece importante hacer referencia a la diferencia que existe entre las palabras frecuentes y las palabras disponibles, ya que a menudo se confunden. Así, el léxico frecuente está constituido por el número de casos en los que se repite un vocablo en una medición o cuantificación. Es decir, las listas de frecuencia se organizan a partir del número de apariciones de los vocablos en el discurso. Por su parte, los diccionarios de frecuencia del español han manejado, desde siempre, la frecuencia como medida de selección de palabras (López Rivero 2008).

A diferencia del léxico disponible, el léxico frecuente es el que posee mayor estabilidad estadística en la lengua y los vocablos ocupan los lugares más altos en los diccionarios de frecuencia, dado que aparecen en cualquier contexto comunicativo, independientemente del tema de conversación.

R. Michéa (1953), citado por Samper Hernández (2002), denomina a los vocablos frecuentes "palabras atemáticas" y a los vocablos disponibles "palabras temáticas". Las listas de palabras frecuentes están encabezadas por unidades gramaticales (preposiciones, conjunciones, determinantes, etc.), seguidas de lejos por verbos, adjetivos y adverbios. En cambio, los listados de palabras disponibles están formados en su mayor parte por sustantivos. La suma de ambas nóminas lexicales, disponible y frecuente, conforma el léxico fundamental de una lengua.

Principales estudios sobre disponibilidad léxica

Los trabajos sobre la disponibilidad léxica se ubican dentro de la léxico-estadística, pero no son las únicas investigaciones que se sirven de sistemas estadísticos para estudiar el léxico (Samper Hernández 2002).

López Morales (1995) incluye dentro de los trabajos basados en la léxico-estadística los diccionarios generales, las listas de frecuencia (a las que ya hemos aludido) y los léxicos básicos.

Los estudios sobre disponibilidad léxica en el ámbito hispánico son relativamente recientes y sólo podemos hablar propiamente de su existencia a partir de la década de los 70. Hoy en día, este tipo de investigaciones es bastante común no sólo en España sino también en Hispanoamérica.

Según Samper Hernández (2002), la historia de la disponibilidad léxica se puede dividir en dos grandes etapas "unidas por un nexo estrecho". Por un lado se sitúan las aportaciones realizadas por Michéa y Gougenheim en los años 50 y 60 en Francia y, por el otro, los estudios llevados a cabo a partir de los años 70, sobre todo en el mundo hispánico.

Así, las primeras investigaciones en este campo de estudio, que sirvieron, además, para sentar las bases metodológicas, acontecieron en Francia hace aproximadamente 60 años y culminaron en la publicación del *Français Fondamental* (Gougenheim et al. 1964). El surgimiento de esta publicación se relacionaba directamente con la intención de facilitar la adquisición de la lengua francesa, tanto a los habitantes de los países

africanos que habían integrado la *Union Française*, como al significativo número de inmigrantes que Francia comenzaba a recibir por aquellos años. Con ese objetivo en mente, Gougenheim y sus colaboradores (Michéa, Sauvageot y Rivenc) se propusieron crear una "lengua de base", limitada a las unidades léxicas y gramaticales esenciales, a fin de garantizar el aprendizaje rápido del francés. (López Rivero 2008)

Sin embargo, al tratar de seleccionar el léxico más usual de esta lengua, Michéa se dio cuenta de que algunas palabras francesas muy conocidas por todos los hablantes alcanzaban una frecuencia tan baja en las listas que sería necesaria su eliminación del francés fundamental. En ese momento se apercibieron de que el criterio de frecuencia no era suficiente para obtener el léxico fundamental de una lengua y decidieron completar los datos de frecuencia con los datos de disponibilidad léxica, teniendo en cuenta que, "cuando una palabra está más disponible para un hablante, este la incluirá antes entre sus respuestas" (Samper Hernández 2002: 9).

A este respecto, López Morales (1999) afirma que

> existe en el lexicón mental una serie de términos que no se actualizan a menos que sea necesario para comunicar una información muy específica. Se trata de un léxico 'disponible', cuyo estudio no puede emprenderse manejando frecuencias, porque este factor es pertinente sólo en el caso de las actualizaciones léxicas efectivas, no de las potenciales. (Citado por López Rivero, 2008:2)

Unos años más tarde el canadiense Mackey (1971) realizó una importante investigación en la que cotejó el léxico disponible de Francia con el de la zona francófona de Canadá. Desde el punto de vista metodológico, siguió los presupuestos de los investigadores franceses anteriormente mencionados, facilitando así el objetivo comparativo que se persigue con este tipo de trabajos.

En el año 1969 N. R. Dimitrijévic llevó a cabo otro trabajo comparativo, en este caso, entre el léxico disponible de Yugoslavia y de Escocia y para ello investigó 11 centros de interés tomando como informantes a alumnos de escuelas secundarias de Edimburgo.

Poco tiempo después surgieron los primeros trabajos sobre disponibilidad léxica en el mundo hispánico, de la mano de López Morales (1973), que se puede considerar el primer especialista que se dedica a este campo de la lingüística. Metodológicamente, las investigaciones de López Morales siguen las pautas marcadas por los investigadores franceses y canadienses. Sus estudios sirvieron de marco a posteriores investigaciones

emprendidas no sólo en diferentes zonas de España, sino también en distintos países de Hispanoamérica (Samper Hernández, 2002).

Muchos de estos investigadores integran el prometedor *Proyecto Panhispánico*, del que vamos a hablar en el siguiente apartado de nuestro artículo.

El Proyecto Panhispánico

En la actualidad, muchos de los investigadores que se dedican al estudio de la disponibilidad léxica en el ámbito hispánico trabajan de forma coordinada a ambos lados del Atlántico en este campo de la léxico-estadística. Existen varios proyectos, pero entre ellos sobresale el ambicioso proyecto coordinado por López Morales, que tiene como objetivo principal conocer el léxico disponible de estudiantes cuya lengua materna es el español y que todavía no han empezado a cursar estudios universitarios. Los resultados de estas investigaciones, que comparten los mismos presupuestos metodológicos (tipo de encuesta utilizada para recopilar los datos, centros de interés que se tienen en cuenta, criterios de edición de los listados y tratamiento estadístico de los datos) serán extremamente útiles para conocer la disponibilidad léxica en nuestra lengua y permitirán la comparación entre las distintas variantes dialectales. Además, los resultados de estos estudios se podrán aplicar a las diversas áreas de la lingüística (López Rivero, 2008).

Los criterios comunes del *Proyecto Panhispánico* se decidieron en una reunión convocada por Maitena Etxebarría (investigadora que estudia el léxico disponible en el País Vasco), que tuvo lugar el 30 de abril de 1999 en Bilbao, a la cual asistió la mayoría de los investigadores españoles de este proyecto.

En dicha reunión, se acordaron pautas comunes para la determinación de la muestra (400 encuestados por área y 20 informantes por cada centro escolar) y se llegó a un consenso sobre las distintas variables que se deberían analizar, tanto en comunidades de habla bilingües como no bilingües (Samper Hernández, 2002). En cuanto a los centros de interés, las normas del *Proyecto Panhispánico* contemplan los siguientes dieciséis, que son los mismos adoptados por Gougenheim en Francia en su primera encuesta (1956):

01. "Partes del cuerpo"
02. "La ropa"
03. "Partes de la casa (sin muebles)"

04. "Los muebles de la casa"

05. "Alimentos y bebidas"

06. "Objetos colocados en la mesa para la comida"

07. "La cocina y sus utensilios"

08. "La escuela: muebles y materiales"

09. "Iluminación y calefacción"

10. "La ciudad"

11. "El campo"

12. "Medios de transporte"

13. "Trabajos del campo y del jardín"

14. "Los animales"

15. "Juegos y distracciones"

16. "Profesiones y oficios"

Samper Hernández (2002) considera que estos núcleos temáticos "representan de un modo bastante fidedigno los sectores semánticos universales". Sin embargo, advierte que no siempre se han utilizado estos mismos campos, y que en algunas investigaciones los centros de interés han sufrido adaptaciones, en función del propósito que se persigue con cada estudio.

De hecho, en nuestra investigación vamos a analizar apenas doce centros de interés, ya que consideramos que algunos de los dieciséis campos propuestos por el *Proyecto Panhispánico* no se ajustan al léxico que enseñamos a nuestros estudiantes extranjeros hasta el nivel B1 del MCER, es decir, su grado de concreción es superior al nivel de competencia lingüística que poseen los estudiantes que vamos a entrevistar.

Los datos obtenidos por los investigadores suelen pasar a integrar *Dispolex*, el banco de datos de disponibilidad léxica (www.dispolex.com), aplicación que permite también el tratamiento estadístico de los datos de forma gratuita y con la garantía de privacidad del material insertado. Esta página web pretende también servir como medio de contacto e información a todas las personas que investigan la disponibilidad léxica o que tienen algún tipo de interés o curiosidad por ella. Los responsables de esta página son José A. Bartol, Natividad Hernández y Sheila Lucas Lastra.

Existe también otro programa informático para determinar la disponibilidad léxica, el programa *Lexidisp*, que surge a través de un encargo que Humberto López Morales

realizó a la Universidad de Alcalá: la creación de un programa informático para el cálculo de la disponibilidad léxica, con el propósito de ponerlo a disposición de la comunidad investigadora internacional. En octubre de 1996 el Instituto Cervantes dio su aval al proyecto, que comenzó así su andadura. *Lexidisp* es una aplicación para Windows y lo que hace, básicamente, es aplicar sobre un conjunto de datos una fórmula matemática desarrollada para obtener el cálculo de la disponibilidad léxica. Este programa también es gratuito y se puede descargar desde la página www.linguas.net.

Nuestro proyecto de investigación

Este apartado de nuestro artículo se reserva para la presentación de los objetivos principales y secundarios del estudio sobre disponibilidad léxica que pretendemos llevar a cabo, así como para la explicitación de las hipótesis de partida y la caracterización de la muestra.

Objetivos

Esta investigación tiene como objetivo principal presentar, analizar y cotejar los resultados de una encuesta sobre disponibilidad léxica aplicada a 30 alumnos de Español como Lengua Extranjera (ELE) del distrito de Oporto (Portugal). Como ya hemos mencionado, la muestra se divide en dos grupos constituidos por 15 alumnos cada uno, a fin de facilitar el objetivo comparativo.

En lo que concierne al análisis de los resultados, quizás la parte más significativa de los trabajos sobre disponibilidad léxica, desarrollaremos exhaustivamente los datos cuantitativos, sin descuidar la presentación de los aspectos cualitativos que consideremos más relevantes en esta investigación.

En cuanto a los objetivos secundarios de nuestro trabajo, son los siguientes:

- Ofrecer la cantidad absoluta y relativa de respuestas válidas aportadas por los informantes que conforman los dos grupos de la muestra en cada centro de interés.
- Ofrecer la cantidad absoluta y relativa de vocablos aportados por los informantes que conforman los dos grupos de la muestra en cada centro de interés.
- Analizar y comparar la incidencia de las variables elegidas (sexo, edad, tipo de centro) en los distintos centros de interés, tanto en lo que respecta a la cantidad de palabras válidas aportadas por los informantes como en lo que respecta al número de vocablos.

- Señalar y comparar los cinco primeros vocablos más frecuentes en cada centro de interés según los datos computables aportados por los informantes que conforman los dos grupos de la muestra.
- Comentar desde el punto de vista cualitativo los hechos que resulten más relevantes a partir de los resultados cuantitativos obtenidos.
- Describir pormenorizadamente los criterios de edición de los datos seguidos en esta investigación.

Hipótesis de partida

Como señala López Rivero (2008:44), "la relación que se establece entre el investigador y la realidad que se propone acometer no es ingenua, sino mediada, condicionada de antemano por una serie de premisas previas, unas hipótesis de trabajo iniciales que configuran a priori la intencionalidad que el investigador proyecta sobre esa realidad a acometer".

Teniendo en cuenta esta consideración previa, nos proponemos comprobar la validez de las siguientes hipótesis:

1. No tiene por qué existir coincidencia entre los centros de interés que presentan mayor número de palabras y los que presentan mayor número de vocablos.
2. Existe relación asociativa entre la variable "sexo" y la cantidad de palabras y vocablos aportados por los informantes.
3. Existe relación asociativa entre la variable "tipo de centro de enseñanza" (público o privado) y la cantidad de palabras y vocablos aportados por los informantes; en concreto, los informantes que estudian español en el centro privado aportarán más palabras y vocablos.
4. No existe relación asociativa significativa entre la variable "edad" y la cantidad de palabras y vocablos aportados por los informantes.
5. Existe relación asociativa entre la lengua materna de los informantes (portugués) y el tipo de errores ortográficos plasmados en las palabras y vocablos aportados por los mismos.

Caracterización de la muestra

El universo muestral de esta investigación está constituido por 30 alumnos de ELE, divididos en dos grupos de 15 estudiantes, que estudian español como lengua extranjera en contexto escolar en dos colegios distintos ubicados en el distrito de Oporto (Portugal). En ambos centros educativos la materia de "Español" forma parte del plan curricular de estudios y se oferta como asignatura optativa.

Todos los informantes cursan el 9.º curso de la enseñanza básica portuguesa (equivalente a nuestro 3.º de la E.S.O.) y estudian español desde 7.º curso, es decir, desde hace dos años, por lo que presuponemos que están cursando el nivel B1 del MCER. Sus edades están comprendidas entre los 13 y los 14 años.

Quince de los informantes son estudiantes del *Colégio do Rosário*, un centro educativo privado de élite situado en la ciudad de Oporto, y los otros quince cursan sus estudios en la *Escola Secundária de Vilela*, ubicada en la localidad de Vilela, perteneciente al concejo de Paredes, que, a su vez, integra el distrito de Oporto. Esta localidad, eminentemente rural, dista aproximadamente 30 kilómetros de Oporto capital.

El *Colégio do Rosário* es propiedad del Instituto de las Religiosas del Sagrado Corazón de María en Portugal, una institución religiosa vinculada a labores misioneras. La oferta educativa de este colegio abarca desde la educación infantil hasta el bachillerato. Se trata de un centro educativo de élite, muy conocido no sólo en la ciudad de Oporto sino en todo el país, pues sus alumnos suelen ocupar los puestos más altos en los *rankings* de resultados académicos a nivel nacional. A pesar del alto precio de las mensualidades, es un colegio muy solicitado por los padres de los alumnos de clase media-alta de la ciudad, y es tal la demanda que las inscripciones tienen que hacerse con aproximadamente ocho años de antecedencia.

Por su parte, la *Escola Secundária de Vilela* presenta un perfil de alumnado muy diferente. Ubicada en una comarca rural deprimida, aquejada por fenómenos como el desempleo y el despoblamiento, este instituto forma parte de un *Agrupamento de Escolas* que, en su conjunto, ofrece estudios desde la educación infantil hasta el bachillerato. Los alumnos que cursan estudios en este instituto raramente concluyen la educación obligatoria, cuyo límite en Portugal, desde hace unos años, está establecido en el curso equivalente a 2.º de Bachillerato en España. Es palpable la desmotivación de la mayoría de los alumnos en lo que respecta a sus estudios, desmotivación que, a su vez, suele ser reflejo del desinterés manifestado por los padres en lo que concierne a la trayectoria académica de sus hijos. Por consiguiente, suelen ser frecuentes los problemas de indisciplina, lo que dificulta la labor del profesorado. Pese a las dificultades, el cuerpo docente de la *Escola Secundária de Vilela*, lucha con entusiasmo y ahínco por sacar adelante el proyecto educativo del centro.

Inicialmente pasamos encuestas a todos los integrantes de ambas clases (16 alumnos en el *Colégio do Rosário* y 21 en la *Escola Secundária de Vilela*) y posteriormente realizamos una selección a fin de analizar apenas quince encuestas por grupo.

En cuanto a las particularidades de la muestra, cabe señalar que uno de los potenciales informantes del grupo de la *Escola Secundária de Vilela* padecía Síndrome de Asperger, motivo por el que la tutora de la clase decidió que no debía contestar a la encuesta. Por su parte, en el grupo del *Colégio do Rosário* había un informante con Síndrome de Tourette, que, no obstante, contestó a las encuestas, puesto que su tutora consideró que su exclusión podría resultar contraproducente. Sin embargo, finalmente tuvimos que excluir su contribución al estudio, por la ilegibilidad de los datos por él aportados.

Respecto a las variables que se han tenido en cuenta en esta investigación, no coinciden con las que suelen ser consideradas en los trabajos de disponibilidad léxica realizados con alumnos de español lengua extranjera, a saber, "conocimiento de otras lenguas", "lengua materna" y "nivel de conocimientos de español", sino que hemos optado por analizar las variables clásicas contempladas en la mayoría de los trabajos hispánicos, realizados a informantes nativos: edad y sexo de los informantes y tipo de centro (público o privado) en el que estudian.

Consideraciones finales

En el futuro nos gustaría cotejar nuestra investigación con otras que se puedan realizar en Portugal a fin de obtener resultados más fiables y contrastados sobre la disponibilidad léxica de los alumnos portugueses de ELE. Es indudable que conocer el caudal léxico del que disponen nuestros alumnos, puede ayudarnos a programar didácticamente el aprendizaje del vocabulario y a poner en marcha estrategias destinadas a mejorar su competencia léxico-semántica, en caso de que sea necesario.

Referencias

Colégio do Rosário (2013). *Compromisso educativo.*
http://www.colegiodorosario.pt/CNSR/compeducativo.aspx (accedido el 18 de agosto de 2012).

Dimitrijévic, N. (1969). *Lexical Availability. A new aspect of the lexical availability of Secondary School children*. Heidelberg: Julius Gross Verlag.

Dispolex — Base de Datos de Disponibilidad Léxica (2003). http://www.dispolex.com/info/el-proyecto-panhispanico (accedido el 25 de agosto de 2012).

Escola Secundária de Vilela (2012). *Projeto educativo 2013-2016.* http://www3.esvilela.pt/o-projecto-aev (accedido el 13 de agosto de 2013).

Etxebarría Arostegui, M. (1996). Disponibilidad léxica en escolares del País Vasco: variación sociolingüística y modelos de enseñanza bilingüe., *Revista Española de Lingüística 26*(2). 25-28.

Gougenheim, G., R. Michéa, P. Rivenc y A. Sauvageot. (1956). *L´élaboration du français élémentaire. Étude sur l´établissement d'un vocabulaire et d'une grammaire de base*. París: Didier.

López Chávez, J. y C. Strassburguer Frías. (1991). Un modelo para el cálculo del índice de disponibilidad léxica individual. En H. López Morales, *La enseñanza del español como lengua materna*, 12-15. Río Piedras: Universidad de Puerto Rico.

López Morales, H. (1973). *Disponibilidad léxica de los estudiantes de San Juan.* Madrid. MS.

López Morales, H. (1984). *Enseñanza de la lengua materna. Lingüística para maestros de español*. Madrid: Playor.

López Morales, H. (1995). Los estudios de disponibilidad léxica: pasado y presente. En *Boletín de Filología de la Universidad de Chile (Homenaje a Rodolfo Oroz) 35*. 10-13.

López Morales, H. (1999). *Léxico disponible de Puerto Rico*. Madrid: Arco Libros.

López Rivero, E. (2008). *Estudio de disponibilidad léxica en 43 estudiantes de ELE*, Memoria de Máster. Universidad Antonio Nebrija: Departamento de Lenguas Aplicadas.

Mackey, W. M. (1971). *Le vocabulaire disponible du français*. París. Bruselas. Montreal: Didier.

Moreno, F., Moreno J. E., y García de las Heras, A. (1995). Cálculo de disponibilidad léxica. El programa Lexidisp. *Lingüística 7*, ALFAL.

Samper Hernández, M. (2002). Disponibilidad léxica en alumnos de español como lengua extranjera. Málaga: *Monografías de ASELE 4*.

Origins and Motivations of Animal Metaphors

Mitra Shahabi

Maria Teresa Roberto

University of Aveiro, Portugal

mitra.shahabi@ua.pt

mariateresaroberto@ua.pt

In this study the goal was to find how animal-related words originated in language. For this purpose the metaphorical expressions of two languages, English and Persian, were analyzed within the framework of *The Great Chain of Being* by Lakoff and Turner (1989) and metaphorical highlighting by Kövecses (2002) and their sources of emergence were looked for through the histories or folk knowledge of these two cultures, based on which the animal metaphors were obtained. Three types of animals were considered in this study: animals with high frequency in forming metaphors, popular animals, and animals in metaphors with high frequency of use. We discovered 21 sources on which animal metaphors are based: habit, behavior, shape, size, power, poetry, rhyme, alliteration, euphemism, intensifier, prompted word, importation, event, saying, fable, story, religion, belief, folklore, game, and tradition. They were categorized under three groups: a) animal features (English 49.45% and Persian 53.61%); b) culture (English 45% and Persian 36.39%); and c) language-specificity (English 2.78% and Persian 0.84%). Accordingly, the most productive source of metaphor in both languages is 'culture' and the least productive is 'language specificity'.

Keywords: Animal Metaphor*, The Great Chain Metaphor*, Metaphorical Highlighting

Introduction

Animals or parts of their bodies are productively used when addressing people, as the metaphorical conceptualization of abstract human characteristics (Kövecses 2002: 17).

What is interesting is that animals usually act the same all over the world but the figurative meaning of some animal names differs from one language to another. Therefore, it can be postulated that besides physical characteristics, behavior, and habits of animals, some other features must play a part in the emergence of animal metaphors. This raises the question: how can the **universal** physical outward appearance and behavior of animals lead to some **non-universal** metaphors in different communities? The hypothesis was studied through an attempt to discover the origin of animal metaphors that can explain the reason of different figurative meanings of animals across languages and cultures.

Background

According to Kövecses (2002: 124), humans attribute human characteristics to animals and then reapply these characteristics to humans. That is, the "human-based animal characteristics" are used to understand human behavior. Kövecses (2002) argues that understanding human attributes and behavior through animal attributes and behavior results in the generation of animal metaphors; that is why we have the conceptual metaphor *people are animals.* In this regard*,* Lakoff and Turner (1989) also refer to the metaphor *the great chain of being*. The metaphor is a hierarchy of Humans, Animals, Plants, Complex objects, and Natural physical things, and their relationship to each other. In this metaphor, there are two conceptual mappings: the mapping of animal traits onto humans and the mapping of human traits onto animals. As Talebinejad and Vahid Dastjerdi (2005: 136) put it, in the first mapping "higher-level human attributes and behavior are conceived of in terms of lower-level, nonhuman attributes and behavior of animals, plants, complex objects and natural physical things". Therefore, human attributes and behavior are often understood metaphorically via attributes and behavior of animals. Martsa (2003) states that aspects of animal life, such as habitat, size, appearance, behavior, and relation to people, provide a body of knowledge about animals.

It is worth mentioning that the mappings between two concepts, according to the principle of *The Maxim of Quantity* (the fourth component of the conceptual construct of *the great chain of being*) and the principle of *metaphorical highlighting* (Kövecses 2002), is partial. That is, when it is said that *humans are animals,* it does not mean that a person is similar to an animal in all aspects; however, one or some of the animal features get mapped onto one or some of the human features. Martsa (2003: 5) believes

that "[i]t is only the essential, culturally and psychologically salient properties, such as behavior, internal states, desires, emotions, limited cognitive abilities of animals that are mapped onto humans, and, consequently, it is these properties that are lexicalized in the form of various linguistic constructions" (cited in Talebinejad and Vahid Dastjerdi 2005).

What stands out is that two languages may use two different animal names associated with the same figurative meaning (*elephant* in English and *camel* in Persian representing enduring hatred) or one animal term illustrating different meanings in different languages (*turkey* means *stupid* in English, but *hypocrite* in Persian). Al-Hasnawi (2007) explains that this variation in metaphorical expressions and their figurative meanings is due to the fact that the users of each language map the particular conceptual domain of their own world differently.

In this study, we assumed that the physical or behavioral characteristics of some animals can only explain some aspects of how animal-related words acquire their metaphorical meaning, at least useful in providing explanations for universal expressions. In order to understand how animals are metaphorized and conceptualized, animal metaphors in two different languages, English and Persian, were compared and analyzed.

Method

Through analysis of the metaphorical expressions and a comparative study of the animal metaphors in both languages we expected to understand what motivates the metaphoric applications or interpretations of animal symbolism.

In English, we used *Speaking of Animals: A Dictionary of Animal Metaphors* by Palmatier (1995), and in Persian, the following sources were used: Amini´s (2010) داستانهای امثال /dastanha-ye amsal/ [The Stories of Proverbs]; Rahmandoost´s (2010) مثل فوت کوزه گری های فارسی و داستان های آن /foot-e koozegari: masalha-ye farsi va dastanha-ye an/ [Blow on Pottery: Persian proverbs and stories]; and Partovi-Amoli (1994) ریشه های تاریخی امثال و حکم /risheha-ye tarikhi va amsal-o hekm/ [The Historical Source of Apothegm].

The metaphors were selected based on three criteria:

1) The high frequency of the animal in metaphors: those animals that are used in a wide range of idiomatic expressions or proverbs, either in English or Persian, or in both languages.

2) The familiarity of the animal, although the animal is not a productive source of metaphors in both English and Persian.

3) The frequency of use of the animal metaphor: the metaphors which belong neither to the first nor the second group, but as they are regarded as popular metaphors, formed one part of this study.

The number of metaphorical expressions (with a distinct meaning) for each animal is representative of the number of connections between animal names and their metaphorical meanings which have been recognized for each in both languages.

In total, 47 animals were studied; the number of the decoded animal metaphors was 515 in English and 321 in Persian. The number of metaphorical expressions found for each animal in both languages is presented in Table 1.

No.	Animal	English total metaphors	Persian total metaphors
1	Ant	3	8
2	Bat	4	0
3	Bear	13	4
4	Bee	8	1
5	Bird	20	3
6	Bitch	4	0
7	Bug	13	0
8	Bull	19	0
9	Camel	2	16
10	Cat	37	14
11	Chicken	14	2
12	Cock/Rooster	9	6
13	Cow	8	17
14	Crab	3	1
15	Crocodile	1	1
16	Crow/Raven	9	11
17	Dog	47	45
18	Donkey/Ass	11	50
19	Dove/Pigeon	10	3

No.	Animal	English total metaphors	Persian total metaphors
20	Duck	4	1
21	Eagle	7	3
22	Elephant	6	6
23	Fish	24	5
24	Fly	5	5
25	Fox	11	4
26	Goat	4	10
27	Goose	9	0
28	Hen	9	9
29	Horse	32	14
30	Lamb	7	2
31	Lion	17	14
32	Monkey/Ape	18	2
33	Mouse/Rat	25	10
34	Owl	5	2
35	Ox	4	3
36	Parrot	3	2
37	Pig	17	2
38	Rabbit	11	3
39	Sheep	13	2
40	Snake	9	14
41	Sparrow	1	5
42	Tiger	8	0
43	Toad/Frog	4	4
44	Turkey	6	1
45	Turtle	0	3
46	Wolf	11	12
47	Worm	9	1
	Total	515	321

Table 1 – Number of Connections between Animal Names
and their Metaphorical Expressions in both Languages

Study

In this study, the animal metaphors were found to have emerged from 21 sources, categorized into three groups: animal characteristics, traits, or its parts (habit, behavior, shape, size, and power); language specificity (poetry, rhyme, alliteration, euphemism, intensifier, prompted word, importation); and culture (event, saying, fable, story, religion, belief, folklore, game, and tradition). In the following, a brief definition of each source is provided.

- *Habit:* The inborn or inherent qualities of an animal form its essential characteristics. The metaphor *a rabbit* (a prolific breeder) refers to couples who produce approximately one child per year.

- *Behavior:* How an animal may frequently react and respond to some stimuli in a particular situation. The metaphor *a bat out of hell* means to leave a place suddenly.

- *Shape:* The outward look of the animal. The metaphor *eagle-like nose* is applied as a pejorative description for a person with a hooked nose.

- *Size:* The size of the animal, either large or tiny. The Persian metaphor شترمرغ /shotormorgh/ [camel + hen] is a name for "ostrich".

- *Power.* The Physical strength of an animal, either powerful or weak. The Persian metaphor خرزور/khar-zoor/ [donkey + power] means "strong".

- *Event:* A particular occurrence; something occurred in a certain place or in a particular time. The metaphor کله گرگی/kaleh-gorgi/ [the wolf-head], signifying authorized or strong document(s), is derived from an event in the past.

- *Saying.* An expression of wisdom, especially a proverb or apothegm formed some metaphors. The metaphor *chicken scratches*, which means illegible handwriting. It is a saying based on the fact that a page of illegible handwriting looks like a plot of barnyard ground that a flock of chickens has tracked up all day while scratching for food.

- *Fable.* A short tale to teach a moral lesson; animals or objects are used as the characters of the story. *To nourish a snake in your bosom* drives form an Aesop fable.

- *Story:* Any narrative (except fables), either true or fictitious. *A lady-or-tiger situation* is a metaphor emerged from the short story entitled *The Lady or the Tiger*.

- *Religion:* Religious ideas, beliefs, and practices, or statements directly extracted from the holy books. The metaphor *to go from hero to goat* means to go from success to failure and refers to the biblical scapegoat on whom disgrace and exile are bestowed.

- *Belief*: Beliefs, ideas, principles, and anything accepted as true formed some metaphors. The Persian metaphor پیه گرگ به خودش مالیده /pih-e gorg be khodash malideh/ [he has rubbed wolf's tallow on himself] refers to a person whose behavior and action repels others. In the past, they believed that if wolf's tallow is rubbed on somebody, he will be hated by the others from then on.

- *Poetry:* Some popular expressions, mentioned for the first time by poets in their poetry. The expression *when pigs fly*, which means never, is based on a line from the poem *The Walrus and the Carpenter*.

- *Rhyme:* The presence of the animal is just for the sake of creating rhyme. The metaphor *a legal eagle*, which means *lawyer*, owes its existence more to rhyme than to any resemblance between an eagle or a lawyer.

- *Alliteration*: The repetition of the initial letters is the reason behind the collocation of the words in the expressio*n, such as copycat* (i.e., a mimic or impressionist).

- *Folklore:* A story or legend which is attached to a particular place, group, activity, etc. *A cat has nine lives* is part of medieval folklore.

- *Game:* An amusement or the material used in playing certain games. The metaphor *in a pig's eye* (i.e. never!) has a reference to a parlor game.

- *Euphemism:* A less offensive or an indirect word is used, in order to prevent offensive words, such as *to water the horse* applied when somebody wants to urinate.

- *Intensifier:* The animal term plays the role of an intensifier, such as *dog-cheap*, which means extremely cheap.

- *Prompted word:* An expression wrongly taken for an animal metaphor. The

expression *bullshit* is most likely related to the Old French "boul" which means *fraud* or *trickery*.

- *Imported:* A metaphor, originally belonging to another language, been transmitted to one language. The metaphor *a sacred cow* has been derived from the Hindu religion.

- *Tradition:* Customs and traditions belonging to a particular country, people, family, or institution. The metaphor جلوی کسی گاو به زمین زدن /jelo-ye kasi gav be zamin zadan/ [to kill a cow in front of somebody], is a long-time tradition, to welcome a very dear person, specially coming after a long absence or from a very far place.

Result

The observed total sources based on animal characteristics and traits or on animal parts were of 267 (49.45%) in English and 193 (53.61%) in Persian (Table 2); while the rest of the sources figure 273 (50.56%) cases in English and 168 (46.67%) in Persian. In other words, about half of the sources giving origin to metaphors are a reflection of prototypical actions performed by animals or their physical characteristics and about 37% to 47% sources interpreted are not based on animals´ characteristics, behavior, or parts, but rather on culture (Table 3) and language specificity (Table 4). Culture-bound sources cover a very much wider area (45% in English and 36.39% in Persian) than language-specific ones (about 2.78% in English and 0.84% in Persian).

Language	Sources						
	habit	behavior	shape	size	power	total	%
English	110	97	39	15	6	267	49.45
Persian	99	46	12	25	11	193	53.61

Table 2 –-Sources Based on Animal Traits or Physical Characteristics

Language	Sources								
	saying	event	fable	religion	belief	story	game	folklore	tradition	total	%
English	160	43	17	8	9	4	1	1	0	243	45.00
Persian	65	25	16	14	8	0	2	0	1	131	36.39

Table 3 –Culture-Bound Sources

Language	Sources								
	prompted word	rhyme	euphemism	poetry	alliteration	intensifier	imported	total	%
English	4	4	2	1	1	1	2	15	2.78
Persian	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	3	0.84

Table 4 –Language-Specific Sources

Besides these sources, three English metaphors, whose origins were not definitely presented, and 12 English and 33 Persian metaphors with no explanation about their bases, were detected. To sum up, the sources are presented in Table 5 and Figure 1.

Sources	Languages	Number	Percentage
Animal´s features	E.	267	49.45%
	P.	193	53.61%
Culture	E.	243	45.00%
	P.	131	36.39%
Language	E.	15	2.78%
	P.	3	0.84%
Others	E.	15	2.77%
	P.	33	9.16%

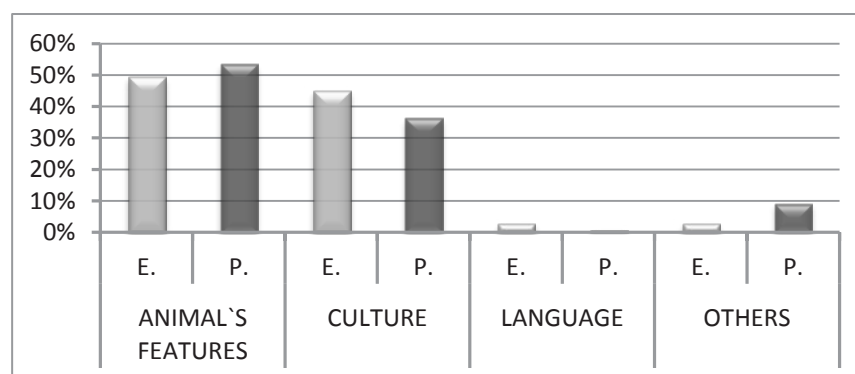**Table 5** – The Sources of Animal-Related Metaphors and the Percentages

Figure 1– The sources on which animal metaphors are based, in English and Persian

Conclusion

In analyzing the origins of animal metaphors in both the English and Persian languages, 21 sources were found, from which only 5 sources had an association with the physical and behavioral features of animals. This supported the hypothesis regarding the fact

that only some animal metaphors were drawn from animal features and that there should be some other reasons behind the formation of the remaining metaphors. The sources were classified under three categories:

- *Animal features*: habit, behavior, shape, size, and power;
- *Language-specificity*: poetry, rhyme, alliteration, euphemism, intensifier, prompted word, and importation;
- *Culture*: event, saying, fable, story, religion, belief, folklore, game, and tradition.

An estimation of the quantitative analysis showed the number of metaphors based on these three major sources as follows:

- *Metaphors based on animal´s features*: 267 cases (49.45%) in English and 193 cases (53.61%) in Persian;
- *Culture-bound metaphors*: 243 cases (45%) in English and 131 cases (36.39%) in Persian;
- *Language-specific metaphors*: 15 cases (2.78%) in English and 3 cases (0.84%) in Persian;
- The most productive sources were "saying" [English: 160 (29.63%), Persian: 65 (18.33%)], "habit" [English: 110 (20.37%), Persian: 92 (25.55%)], and "behavior" [English: 97 (17.96%), Persian: 53 (14.44%)].

Acknowledgement

References

Al-Hasnawi, A. (2007). A cognitive approach to translating metaphors. *Translation Journal*, *11*(3). http://translationjournal.net/journal//41metaphor.htm (accessed 04.04.2009).

Amini, A. (2010). داستانهای امثال [The stories of proverbs]. Iran, Tehran: Ferdos.

Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lakoff, G. & M. Turner. (1989). *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Martsa, S. (2003). Conceptual mappings in the ethnobiological categorization of animals. Paper presented at the International Conference of The Researching and Applying Metaphor. Paris, 3-5 September.

Shahabi, M. & M. T. Roberto. (forthcoming). Metaphorical application and interpretation of animal terms: A contrastive study of English and Persian, *International Journal of Contrastive Linguistics*.

Palmatier, R. (1995). *Speaking of animals: A dictionary of animal metaphors*. Westport, CT, & London: Greenwood Press.

Partovi-Amoli, M. (1994). *ریشه های تاریخی امثال و حکم* [The historical source of apothegm]. Iran, Tehran: Sanaii.

Rahmandoost, M. (2010). *فوت کوزه گری/ مثل های فارسی و داستان های آن* [Blow in pottery: Persian proverbs and the stories]. Iran, Tehran: Madresse Publication.

Talebinejad, R. and H. Vahid Dastjerdi. (2005). A cross-cultural study of animal metaphors: When owls are not wise! *Metaphor and Symbole 20*(2). 133-149.

Wierzbicka, A. (1992). *Semantics, culture and cognition: Universal human concepts in culture-specific configurations*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bilingüismo y Multilingüismo en Asturias:
Cómo se ve afectado el español

Elba Suárez Fuentes

Universidade de Évora/ Universidad de Oviedo

elbasufu@gmail.com

La situación lingüística de Asturias es bastante compleja teniendo en cuenta que se mantienen dos lenguas autóctonas — el gallego-asturiano y el asturiano — así como el castellano. Desde el punto de vista sociolingüístico, se divide a la población en tres bloques (d'Andrés 2002: 77): el de los unilingües castellanos, el de los bilingües y el de los unilingües asturianos. Llera Ramo y San Martín Antuña (2003: 91) señalan que el número de hogares donde se habla castellano es el mayoritario, con un 75,6% (53,6% monolingüe + 22,5% bilingüe), frente al 43,2% de hogares en los que se habla el asturiano, bien sólo (20,7%), bien acompañado del castellano. Esta situación de contacto de lenguas conlleva interferencias lingüísticas entre ambas. Estudiosos de la lengua se hacen eco de estas interferencias tanto del lado asturiano como d'Andrés (2002: 77) que observa que "munchos falantes usen un asturianu tan entemecíu col castellanu, que-yos lleva xera determinar a qué llingua pertenez la so fala personal" como del lado castellano: Martínez Álvarez (1968: 7) escribe que "el observador no especialista podrá preguntarse si aquí se habla 'asturiano' castellanizado o 'castellano' asturianizado". Se analizan aquí las consecuencias que dichas interferencias tienen, en la morfosintaxis del español de los hablantes asturianos, más concretamente en el utilizado en Internet por los autores de ocho blogs de temática diversa.

Palabras clave: Sintaxis, Morfología, Dialectología del Español, Blogs, Bilingüismo.

Bilingualism and Multilingualism in Asturias:
How it affects Spanish

The linguistic situation of Asturias (in the north of Spain) is quite complex since there are two local languages — Galician-Asturian and Asturian — as well as Spanish. From the sociolinguistical point of view, the Asturian population can be divided into three groups (d'Andrés 2002: 77): i) Spanish monolinguals, ii) bilinguals and iii) Asturian monolinguals. According to Llera Ramo and San Martín Antuña (2003: 91), Spanish is spoken in most of the households — 75.6% (53.6% monolinguals households and 22.5% bilingual households) — while Asturian is spoken in less than half of the Asturian households (43.2% in total, 20.7% only Asturian). This language contact situation entails linguistic interferences between both languages. Linguists remark this, not only from the Asturian point of view, like d'Andres (2002: 77), who found that "lots of speakers use such a strong mix of languages that they are not able to classify their own speech as one language or the other"; but also from the Spanish side, as in Martínez Álvarez (1968: 7), who found that "[a] non-specialized observer could ask himself which language is spoken here: an Asturian Spanish or a Spanish Asturian". In this paper the consequences of these interferences in the grammar are analyzed for the Spanish spoken by Asturians, specifically the Spanish used on the Internet by the authors of eight different blogs.

Keywords: Syntax, Morphology, Spanish Dialectology, Blogs, Bilingualism.

Introducción

En este trabajo me propongo llamar la atención sobre cómo el multilingüismo de Asturias afecta al español que los asturianos utilizan en la red, representado por las entradas subidas a ocho blogs de temática diversa. Para ello, comenzaré hablando sobre las situaciones de lenguas en contacto, a continuación explicaré la situación lingüística de Asturias y, para finalizar esta introducción, trataré algunas consideraciones sobre la lengua en Internet.

Lenguas en contacto

Dado que el número de fenómenos y situaciones provocados por el contacto de lenguas es inabarcable en el propósito que nos ocupa, a continuación nos vamos a centrar en aquellos fenómenos lingüísticos que nos interesan para el desarrollo de este trabajo: el bilingüismo social y los procesos que éste desencadena: las situaciones de bilingüismo y diglosia que a su vez desencadenan la muerte de una de las lenguas.

El bilingüismo social (Casado Fresnillo 2009: 282), "se da en las sociedades en las que se hablan dos o más lenguas" y puede ser (Thomason 2001: 4) simétrico o asimétrico. Se trata de un bilingüismo simétrico o mutuo cuando dos o más lenguas conviven en una sola comunidad, y es asimétrico cuando los hablantes de una lengua de una comunidad tienen que aprender la lengua del otro grupo, pero éstos no tienen que aprender la otra. Este tipo de bilingüismo es especialmente común cuando el grupo de hablantes bilingües de la lengua subordinada está tomando la lengua del grupo monolingüe. Un concepto estrechamente relacionado con el de bilingüismo es el de diglosia: el bilingüismo es el dominio en una sociedad tanto de una lengua A como de una lengua B en todas las funciones comunicativas mientras que la diglosia es la distribución funcional de la lengua A (alta) y B (baja) en una sociedad.

Cuando el contacto de lenguas es muy intenso (Thomason 2001: 223) se produce la "muerte" de una de las lenguas. Crystal (2000: 79) secuencia la muerte de una lengua en tres etapas: en la primera hay una presión inmensa para que se hable la lengua dominante; dicha presión desemboca en la segunda etapa, caracterizada por un periodo de bilingüismo emergente, durante el cual los hablantes aumentan su competencia en la nueva lengua al mismo tiempo que la mantienen en la vieja, hasta que el bilingüismo comienza a declinar y los hablantes pierden competencia en la vieja lengua. Así se llega a la tercera etapa, en la que la generación más joven pasa paulatinamente a ser más competente en la nueva lengua y consideran su primera lengua menos relevante para sus nuevas necesidades. En esta etapa aparecen a menudo un sentimiento de vergüenza al usar la vieja lengua en todas las generaciones, los padres la utilizan cada vez menos con sus hijos o delante de ellos y el número de familias que usan la vieja lengua va disminuyendo y, además, los niños no la utilizan entre ellos

A su vez, Sasse (1992 en Thomason 2001: 225) propuso un modelo teórico sobre la muerte de las lenguas con tres apartados que interactúan entre sí: el escenario exterior, el funcionamiento del habla o el comportamiento en el habla de los hablantes de la lengua "agonizante" y las consecuencias estructurales en esta misma. Entre las

consecuencias, nos parece especialmente relevante que una variedad de la lengua mayoritaria influida por la lengua original del grupo minoritario persiste en la reciente comunidad monolingüe.

Asturias

El Principado de Asturias es una comunidad autónoma del noroeste de España. Su población en 2011, se sitúa en 1.081.487 habitantes, de los que más de la mitad (54,24%) habitan en los concejos de Avilés, Gijón y Oviedo, que pertenecen a la zona central de la región. La situación lingüística es peculiar, puesto que en ella se habla: gallego-asturiano, asturiano y español.

El gallego-asturiano es la lengua tradicional más occidental, hablada entre los ríos Eo (que marca la frontera con Galicia) y Navia. Debido a su carácter de lengua-de transición o lengua-puente entre el gallego y el asturiano, recibe multitud de nombres. Desde el punto de vista gallego, se trata de gallego exterior, mientras que debido a sus características propias, los hablantes tienden a llamarla "fala".

El asturiano (D'Andrés 2002: 77) se nos presenta como uno de los resultados modernos a que llevó la evolución peculiar del latín hablado en las distintas zonas del occidente europeo, un conjunto de trazos peculiares que lo individualizan frente a las lenguas vecinas (el gallego y el castellano).

El territorio donde se habla el asturiano se extiende (Cano González 2002: 27) "por el oeste de León, de Zamora y por Miranda en Portugal; por Cantabria, este de León, de Zamora, Salamanca y Extremadura. Frente a esto, el extremo oeste de Asturias, aproximadamente entre los ríos Eo y Navia, constituye una zona de transición […] En el oriente, el río Purón, al este de Llanes, y el límite entre los concejos de Cabrales y Peñamellera Alta marcan la frontera del asturiano y las variantes cántabras"

La situación actual del castellano en Asturias, según los resultados reflejados en la encuesta de Llera Ramos y San Martín Antuña (2003: 91), es la siguiente: el 53,6% de asturianos tiene el castellano como primera lengua, y un 22,5% es bilingüe castellano/asturiano. Además, el 98,7% de la población, "entiende, habla, lee y escribe" castellano (Llera Ramos y San Martín Antuña 2003: 132).

La convivencia de las lenguas autóctonas con el castellano, hace que autores como D'Andrés (2002: 77) dividan a la población de Asturias en tres bloques: el de los unilingües castellanos, el de los bilingües y el de los unilingües asturianos. En Llera Ramo y San Martín Antuña (2003: 91) se divide a los asturianos en "tres sectores

mayoritarios: dos de cada diez entrevistados (20,7%) tienen al asturiano como la lengua que se hablaba en su casa de niños, algo más de otros dos de cada diez (22,5%) provienen de hogares bilingües donde se hablaba tanto asturiano como castellano y, finalmente, algo más de cinco de cada diez (53,6%) tienen sus orígenes en hogares castellano-parlantes. El número de hogares donde sólo se habla castellano, por lo tanto, es claramente mayoritario, doblando al de aquellos donde sólo se habla asturiano. Si a esto unimos aquellos que han crecido en hogares bilingües, nos encontramos con que tres cuartas partes de los entrevistados (75,6%) aseguran haber tenido el castellano como lengua de su familia durante su niñez, bien sea en solitario o junto con el asturiano, mientras que sólo algo más de dos de cada cinco (43,2%) afirman haberse criado en hogares donde el asturiano, bien en solitario o junto con el castellano, era la lengua familiar".

En relación a las situaciones que veíamos antes, según d'Andrés (2002: 78) "n'Asturies dase claramente un bilingüismu socialmente desequilibráu […] dando llugar al fenómenu que tamién recibe'l nome de diglosia". Esta situación de bilingüismo conlleva interferencias lingüísticas entre las dos lenguas, que en Asturias (d'Andrés 2002: 79) recibe el nombre de "amestáu". Autores muy diferentes se hacen eco de estas interferencias tanto del lado asturiano, como d'Andrés (2002: 77) cuando dice que "munchos falantes usen un asturianu tan entemecíu col castellanu, que-yos lleva xera determinar a qué llingua pertenez la so fala personal", como del lado castellano Martínez Álvarez (1968: 7), "el observador no especialista podrá preguntarse si aquí se habla 'asturiano' castellanizado o 'castellano' asturianizado".

La lengua en Internet

Existen, obviamente, numerosos estudios sobre la lengua en Internet, casi todos ellos publicados en inglés. El que sienta las bases para todos los estudios posteriores, si bien no es el primero, es Crystal (2001: 17), donde se acuña el término "netspeak" (*ciberhabla* en la traducción española) para referirse al tipo de lengua usada en Internet que muestra características que son exclusivas de la red. Pero el debate principal que Crystal (2001) intentó resolver es si la lengua cibernética es lengua escrita o lengua hablada. Su conclusión (2001: 28) es que el *ciberhabla* presenta características típicas tanto de la lengua escrita como de la lengua oral, si bien (Crystal 2001: 45) en algunos medios como las páginas web se acerca más a la lengua escrita que en otros como pueden ser los chats. Por esto, considera los textos electrónicos como un tercer medio.

Por otro lado, Baron (2008: 4) señala que el acceso a la red nos ha convertido a todos en autores y que toda esta escritura está trayendo un renacimiento epistolar que está mejorando nuestras habilidades lingüísticas y la lengua en sí misma. Una buena prueba de ese renacimiento epistolar lo encontramos en los blogs que son (Baron 2008: 100) una evolución de las Cartas al Director y responden a la necesidad que ha existido siempre en la sociedad occidental de que la gente anónima tenga un sitio en el que hablar y expresar sus ideas, es decir, son zonas de expresión individual. El origen de ambos estaría en el "rincón del orador" (speaker's corner), es decir, en aquellas zonas donde se permite hablar a cualquier persona que se dirija a un público. A este grupo pertenecerían también los "talk – shows" o programas de entrevistas de la radio que posteriormente se trasladaron a la televisión, aunque en este caso los intervinientes anónimos suelen contar desgracias o accidentes haciendo que los oyentes se sientan más cómodos al empatizar con la desgracia ajena e incluso que se sientan más felices. En cualquier caso, cualquiera de estos espacios es un lugar para que personas anónimas, "normales", puedan expresar sus ideas, preocupaciones y pensamientos. Por esto, en el Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas (PDP, RAE 2005) se prefiere para los blogs los términos *bitácora*, *ciberbitácora*, o *ciberdiario*. El autor de un blog (Baron 2008: 120) puede ser cualquier persona que tenga acceso a Internet y puede decir lo que le plazca. Es por esto que consideramos la lengua de los blogs como una muestra de lengua familiar y coloquial, aunque el autor redacte el contenido previamente y pueda editarlo cuantas veces desee.

Se calcula que en España hay poco más de 29 millones de usuarios de Internet, que equivalen al 71,80% de la población (Instituto Cervantes 2009: 45). En Asturias, el 63,9% de los hogares tiene acceso a Internet (INE 2011) y 531.399 personas habían utilizado Internet en los últimos tres meses (INE 2011); de esas personas, un 28,1% habían leído y emitido opiniones sobre asuntos de tipo social o político en lugares de la red, el 42,4% habían enviado mensajes a chats, grupos de noticias o foros de discusión on-line, el 13,9% habían creado una página web y el 28,8% habían colgado textos, juegos, imágenes, películas o música en sitios de Internet. El problema es que la encuesta del INE habla de hogares asturianos pero no recoge las lenguas en las que se producen esos envíos a la red, pero estos datos sirven para hacernos una aproximación sobre qué hacen los asturianos en la red y cuántos asturianos tienen acceso a la red.

Interferencias en la morfosintaxis del asturiano en blogs escritos en español

El objetivo principal de esta investigación es analizar las interferencias que se producen con el asturiano en blogs escritos en español. Para cumplir este objetivo nos planteamos dos hipótesis: la primera es que los asturianos cuando escriben en Internet usando el castellano utilizan rasgos y variaciones del estándar del español de España debido a la interferencia con las lenguas tradicionales, especialmente con el asturiano. La segunda hipótesis es considerar los blogs como una fuente útil para estudiar el habla online de una comunidad.

El método de trabajo para conseguir mis objetivos consta de varios procedimientos diferentes y entrelazados entre sí: búsqueda de bibliografía adecuada al tema, creación del corpus leyendo las entradas que han aparecido en estos ocho blogs recientemente y análisis del mismo:

www.cuartodelariera.blogspot.com

www.misperendengues.blogspot.com

www.requexudelaxana.blogspot.com

www.enolallende.blogspot.com

www.fredoviedosurf.blogspot.com

www.caborana.blogspot.com

www.gatuderibadesella.blogspot.com

www.todourbies.blogspot.com

Resultados

En primer lugar es necesario tener en cuenta que no todas las entradas de todos los blogs difieren de la misma manera del estándar del español de España. Los textos varían entre un español "más asturianizado" y un español más cercano al estándar, tanto en un mismo blog, como se puede ver en el ejemplo (1):

(1) *Como podeis ver a Musin le gustó mucho el colgante de puntos y lo queria para el (^_^) estaba engatao en que fuera suyo a toda costa y no hubo manera de sacar una foto en la que no saliera el (^_^) así que Xixo cuando vengas a verme no lu traigas porque seguro que te lu intenta quitar (^_^) por fin se terminaron los regalinos de*

puntos jejejejejeje si no me equivoco creo que este pone punto y final a la saga colorista punteada jajajaja junto con el colgantin iba un libro de steampunkery de Christi Friesen. (RequexudelaXana 09/12/2011)

Como en blogs diferentes, como en los ejemplos (2) y (3):

(2) *El martes de campu empezo muy prontu para el Gatu de Ribadesella, a les doce y media habia que estar en casa de nuestro compañero de equipo Dario, pero se llego mas tarde. Y es que esti dia fue la ostia, la gente se lo paso muy bien , gracies a la colaboracion de la sidra que habia a esgaya , por supuestu.Este dia tambien servia para saber que harian los compañeros respecto a su carrera futbolistica. (*GatudeRibadesella 15/06/2011*)*

(3) *Una breve entrada para agradecer los comentarios. Os debo visitas y respuestas que espero ir cumplimentando en breve... Perdonadme. Quiero dejaros un patrón y comentaros varias cosas sobre este proyecto. En cuanto pueda me pongo con ello. Besos y gracias. Me presta un montón leeros.* (MisPerendengues 21/02/2012)

A continuación pasaré a enumerar y ejemplificar escuetamente algunos rasgos lingüísticos característicos del asturiano que se pueden encontrar en los blogs. Estas características del español en contacto con el asturiano aparecen en diversas publicaciones que se pueden consultar en la bibliografía, aunque no queremos dejar de mencionar aquí a Borrego Nieto (1996), otros autores también han aportado su granito de arena al estudio del español de Asturias. Además, quiero recordar que tan solo se trata de rasgos morfosintácticos puesto que están tomados de textos escritos.

— Uso del sufijo diminutivo -*in*. En el ejemplo (1) podemos ver varios diminutivos como "Musín", "colgantín"... El plural masculino puede ser en -*ines*, o en -*inos*, como en (1) "regalinos". Muchas veces produce metafonía como en "piquiñina". (Elrequexudexana 01/01/2013)

— Sufijo -*al* para los árboles frutales. Además tienden a ser femeninos (4) "muchas cerezales":
(4) *También había muchas cerezales y mamá y papá comieron algunas! Y hasta unas pocas de fresas encontramos!* (Enolallende 29/06/2011)

— Las construcciones partitivas son diferentes al español estándar y con "poco" hay concordancias no esperables como la de (4) "unas pocas de fresas".

— Tiende al cierre vocálico final: (2) "campu", "prontu", "Gatu", "esti"…

— El neutro de materia es especialmente notable en los adjetivos postnominales que concuerdan con sustantivos femeninos. Esta construcción parte de la base de la diferenciación entre sustantivos contables y no contables, junto al hecho de que los adjetivos tienen una triple flexión que en la zona central de Asturias sería: -u para masculinos contables, -a para femeninos contables y -o para masculinos y femeninos incontables. Tanto en el ejemplo (5) "la hierba ya ta metío" y (6) "harina blanco" podemos ver que ambos autores saben que el género de la palabra es femenino:

(5) *Los praos ya tan segaos y la hierba ya ta metio en los payares.* (Todourbies 08/10/2012)

(6) Por cierto, dicen que la harina integral, como la de escanda/espelta ligan peor, así que recomiendan mezclar con harina blanco. (Misperendengues 05/05/2012)

— Las palabras terminadas en -as, principalmente plurales femeninos y desinencias verbales, y en -an, mayoritariamente desinencias verbales, se cierran en -es y -en respectivamente: (2) "les", "esperen" (Gatuderibadesella 11/08/2011)

— Morfología verbal típica del asturiano, especialmente en la tercera persona del singular, como en (7) "ye"…

(7) *Lo más miedoso ye la consulta y la terrible gripe. ¿Dónde tará esperándome?* (Todourbies 23/09/2012)

— Preferencia por las formas simples con un claro dominio del perfecto simple sobre el compuesto como en (8) "terminé" en lugar de "he terminado".

(8) *Terminé el cuadro de punto de cruz que empezara allá por el mes de noviembre.* (Misperendengues 21/05/2012)

— Cuando se usa el pretérito perfecto compuesto puede haber el matiz de repetición típico del asturiano aunque no se utilice el auxiliar *tener* como en (10) "han seguido".

— El pluscuamperfecto, que en el estándar es una forma compuesta, coincide con la forma latina original: (8) "empezara" en lugar de "había empezado".

— En el futuro próximo se omite la preposición: (9) "iba acudir" en lugar de "iba a acudir"

(9) *Al acto inaugural, como no podía ser de otra manera – menudo son ellos – iba acudir la máxima autoridad regional que se desplazaba en aquellos momentos desde la capital, Oviedo [...].* (Caborana 16/10/2011)

— Vigencia de contracciones tanto del artículo (12) "vera'l embarque" como de preposición y artículo (10) *en el* es "nel",

(10)*Esta es la ultima entrada nel blog y quiero agradecer a los que me han seguido.* (GatudeRibadesella 12/07/2012)

— Omisión de la preposición *de* tras palabra que termina en vocal (12) "a la vera'l embarque".

— Uso del artículo ante determinante posesivo:

(11) *Hoy me tocó paseo con los titos Roci y Marcos y la mi amiga Yara.* (Enolallende 25/03/2012)

— Uso de pronombres del asturiano de todo tipo: relativos, posesivos, personales...

(12) *Lugar onde nos concentraremos. A la vera'l embarque.* (Caborana 13/03/2012)

(13) *Pueden causar en Yoli (so má) y en JJ (mio pá) [...]* (Enolallende12/02/2012)

(14) *Nun haber garrao los numerinos que vos ofrecieron.* (Caborana 08/01/2013)

— Colocación enclítica de los pronombres personales en oraciones afirmativas sean interrogativas (15) o no (16):

(15) *Chemón [...] no dejaba de anunciar: ¿asústete? né* (Caborana 16/10/2011)

(16) *De la reseña ya se encargará nuestro Cronista. Que, habelu, hailu.* (Caborana 13/03/2012)

— Además, cuando la colocación enclítica se produce detrás de un verbo en infinitivo, éste pierde la -r final como en (16) "habelu" y en (17) "celebralo".

(17) *El caso es que hoy para celebralo me he dado un minibaño de 50 minutos.* (Fredoviedosurf 21/12/2013)

Conclusiones

Con lo que hemos visto hasta ahora, podemos afirmar que los blogs escritos por asturianos en español presentan interferencias con el asturiano que alejan su lengua del estándar del español de España; pero el nivel de "alejamiento" o "cercanía" de

dicho estándar no es uniforme ni constante y varía de blog en blog y de entrada en entrada.

Es especialmente interesante la variación en el plano morfosintáctico, puesto que hay multitud de fenómenos que se trasvasan de una lengua a otro en todos los ámbitos (morfología nominal y verbal, sintaxis…) con fenómenos tan característicos de la distinción diatópica del castellano como los diminutivos y tan exclusivos del español de Asturias como la colocación de los pronombres o el neutro de materia.

Por todos estos motivos, consideramos que los blogs son válidos para el análisis del habla online de una comunidad aunque no deberían ser la única fuente de una investigación, puesto que aunque representan un estilo de habla familiar y distendido, no dejan de ser un texto escrito que el autor hace y rehace y que puede editarse en cualquier momento después de su publicación.

Referencias

Academia de la Llingua Asturiana — ALLA (2006): *Informe sobre la fala o gallego-asturianu. Una perspectiva hestórica, social y llingüística*. Uviéu: Asturgraf. http://www.academiadelallingua.com/ (accedido 24.01.2012)

Alarcos Llorach, E. (1991). *Estudios de Gramática Funcional del Español*. Madrid: Editorial Gredos.

_____ (1999). *Gramática de la Lengua Española*. España. Real Academia Española – Espasa Calpé.

Alvar, M. (dir.). (1996). *Manual de dialectología hispánica. El Español de España.* Barcelona: Ariel.

Álvarez, A. I. (2005). *Hablar en Español: La cortesía verbal, La pronunciación del español estándar. Las formas de expresión oral*. España: Ediciones Nobel – Ediuno.

Álvarez Martínez, M. A. (1989). *El Pronombre I: Personales, Artículo, Demostrativos, Posesivos*. España: Arco Libros.

Andrés, R. de. (1993). *Allugamentu de los pronomes átonos col verbu n'asturianu*. Uviéu: Departamentu de Filoloxía Española.

_____ (2002). La llingua asturiana na sociedá. En Academia de la Llingua Asturiana, *Informe sobre la llingua asturiana, 77-103.* Uviéu: Asturgraf. http://www.academiadelallingua.com/ (accedido 16.12.2011).

Baron, N. S. (2008). *Always on. Language in an Online and Mobile World,* New York: Oxford University Press.

Borrego Nieto, J. (1996). Leonés. En M. Alvar (dir.), *Manual de dialectología hispánica. El Español de España, 139-158.* Barcelona: Ariel.

Cano González, A. M. (2002). Evolución lingüística interna del asturiano. En Academia de la Llingua Asturiana, *Informe sobre la llingua asturiana, 27-58.* Uviéu: Asturgraf. http://www.academiadelallingua.com/ (accedido 16.12.2011)

_____ (1999). Normalización e normativización do asturiano hoxe. En F. Fernández Rei y A. Santamarina Fernández (eds.), *Estudios de Sociolingüística Románica. Linguas e variedades minorizadas, 107-132*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

_____ (1994). La lengua asturiana. En J. A Mases [Coordinador] (1994). *Enciclopedia de la Asturias Popular, 115-144.* Lugones: La Voz de Asturias.

Crystal, D. (2001). *Language and the Internet.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____ (2000). *Language Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Escandell Vidal, M. V. (2009). *El lenguaje humano.* Humanes, Madrid: Editorial Universitaria Ramón Areces y UNED.

Fernández Rei, F. (1999). A situación do galego en Galicia e no Occidente de Asturias, de León e de Zamora. En F. Fernández Rei y A. Santamarina Fernández (eds.). (1999). *Estudios de Sociolingüística Románica. Linguas e variedades minorizadas, 11-26*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

Fernández Rei, F. y Santamarina Fernández, A. (eds.). (1999). *Estudios de Sociolingüística Románica. Linguas e variedades minorizadas*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

García Arias, X. Ll. (2002). La escritura medieval asturiana. Academia de la Llingua Asturiana. *Informe sobre la llingua asturiana.* Uviéu: Asturgraf. 59-68. http://www.academiadelallingua.com/ (accedido 16.12.2011).

_____ (2002). Breve reseña sobre la lengua asturiana. Academia de la Llingua Asturiana. *Informe sobre la llingua asturiana.* Uviéu: Asturgraf. 15-23. http://www.academiadelallingua.com/ (consultado 16.12.2011).

_____ (1996). La lengua asturiana. En E. M. Fernández Álvarez (dir.). *Gran Atlas del Principado de Asturias. Atlas Cultural, 292-304.* Oviedo: Nobel.

García Corgo, A. Mª y M. Loza López (2001). Pareyes léxiques surdíes por interferencia diglósica. Estudiu na parroquia de Box (Uviéu). *Lletres Asturianes 79*. 7-23.

González Riaño, X. A. (2002). La llingua asturiana na sociedá. Academia de la Llingua Asturiana. *Informe sobre la llingua asturiana.* Uviéu: Asturgraf. 105-109. http://www.academiadelallingua.com/ (accedido 16.12.2011).

INE. (2011). *Encuesta sobre equipamiento y uso de tecnologías de la información y la comunicación en los hogares*. http://www.ine.es/jaxi/menu.do?type=pcaxis&path=/t25/p450&file=inebase&L=0 (accedido 08.01.2012).

Instituto Cervantes. (2009). *El español una lengua viva*, disponible en http://www.elpais.com/articulo/cultura/espanol/mundo/goles/Roja/elpepucul/20100619elpepucul_2/Tes (accedido 15.09.2013)

Lapesa, R. (1981). *Historia de la lengua española.* Madrid: Gredos.

Llera Ramo, F. J. y San Martín Antuña, P. (2003). *II Estudio sociolingüístico de Asturias 2002.* Uviéu: Academia de la Llingua Asturiana.

Martínez, J. A. (1989). *El Pronombre II: Numerales, Indefinidos y Relativos*. España: Arco Libros.

_____ (1994a). *Propuesta de Gramática Funcional*, Madrid: Istmo.

_____ (1994b). *Funciones, Categorías y Transposición*. Madrid: Istmo.

_____ (1994c). *Cuestiones Marginadas de Gramática Española*. Madrid: Istmo.

Martínez Álvarez, J. (1996). Las hablas asturianas.En M. Alvar (dir.). *Manual de dialectología hispánica. El Español de España, 119-133.* Barcelona: Ariel.

_____ (1968). *Bable y Castellano en el concejo de Oviedo*. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, *Archivum XVII* (separata).

Moure, José Luis. (2002). Unidad y variedad en el español de América. II Congreso Internacional de la Lengua. Fernández Rei F. http://cvc.cervantes.es/obref/congresos/valladolid/mesas_redondas/moure_j.htm (accedido 21.08.2013).

Navarro, M. (2006). La Frecuencia de los Relativos en el Habla de Valencia (Venezuela)**.** *Boletin de Linguistica* [online] *18* (25). 66-99. Fernández Rei F. http://www.scielo.org.ve/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0798-97092006000100003&lng=es&nrm=iso

Neira Martínez, J. (1981). «El bable» en J. Cueto Alas [Director] (1981) *Enciclopedia Temática de Asturias VI Lengua y Literatura.* Gijón: Silverio Cañada. 19-35

Paolillo, J. C. (2001). *Analyzing linguistic variation. Statistical models and methods*. Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

Thomason, S. G. (2001). *Language Contact. An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

A aprendizagem do léxico em português como L4 segundo a língua de apresentação

Teresa Maria Wlosowicz

Polonia University, Czestochowa, Poland

teresamaria@poczta.onet.pl

O presente estudo é uma análise do papel da língua de apresentação dos equivalentes de palavras portuguesas (L4) na memorização dessas palavras. O estudo foi realizado com nove participantes que receberam uma lista de quinze palavras com os equivalentes em polacos, ingleses e alemães (cinco palavras em cada grupo). Uma semana mais tarde preencheram as lacunas em frases que serviam de contexto. Três outros estudantes que tinham estado ausentes e não tinham recebido a lista ficaram num grupo de contrôle. Como mostram os resultados, a maioria das respostas foram semanticamente correctas e os erros (por exemplo, "tagela" em vez de "tigela") indicam o fenómeno da palavra debaixo da língua. O facto das respostas geralmente corresponderem ao contexto indica que a busca era dirigida pelo significado. Contudo, o segundo teste chi-quadrado, não houve diferenças significativas entre as palavras apresentadas com os equivalentes nas línguas diferentes, provavelmente porque o grupo era demasiado pequeno, as línguas não são semelhantes ao português e a busca das palavras era baseada no significado e não na forma. Porém, é possível que as palavras portuguesas fossem rapidamente integradas no léxico plurilingue, sem ficarem dependentes dos equivalentes com os quais tinham sido apresentadas.

Palavras-chaves: léxico plurilingue, representação das unidades lexicais, busca de palavras no léxico mental

Vocabulary learning in Portuguese as L4 according to the language of presentation

The purpose of the present study has been an investigation of the role of the language of vocabulary presentation in the learning of Portuguese (L4) lexis.

The study was carried out with nine participants who received a list of fifteen words with Polish, English and German equivalents (five words in each group). A week later, they filled the blanks in sentences which served as a context. Three other students who had been absent and had not received the list became a control group. As the results show, most of the responses were semantically correct and the errors (for example, "tagela" instead of "tigela") indicate the tip-of-the-tongue phenomenon. The fact that the responses generally fitted in the context indicates that the search was driven by the meaning.

However, according to the chi-square test, there were no significant differences between the words presented with equivalents in the different languages, probably because the group was too small, the languages are not related to Portuguese, and the lexical search was based on meaning rather than on form. Still, it is possible that the Portuguese words were quickly integrated into the multilingual lexicon, without being dependent on the equivalents they had been presented with.

Key words: multilingual lexicon, representation of lexical units, word search in the mental lexicon

1. Introdução

O alvo deste artigo foi uma investigação da aprendizagem do léxico em português (L4) segundo a língua da apresentação do vocabulário. A aprendizagem é definida aqui não só como a memorização, mas também a capacidade dos estudantes de usarem as palavras em contexto. As perguntas de pesquisa foram as seguintes: Primeiro, que palavras os participantes memorizarão melhor: as palavras apresentadas com os equivalentes polacos (L1), ingleses (L2) ou alemães (L3)? Segundo, como é que os participantes pesquisarão as palavras na memória: segundo a forma lexical ou segundo o significado?

Tomando em conta os mecanismos da aprendizagem do léxico pelos aprendentes plurilingues (Herwig 2001), partimos da hipótese que a língua de apresentação do vocabulário pudesse influenciar as ligações entre as palavras e, por conseguinte, a memorização e a recuperação delas da memória. Ao mesmo tempo, como é impossível

ter acesso directo ao conteúdo do léxico mental, é necessário examiná-lo através da produção das palavras, incluindo os erros tanto semânticos e sintácticos, como ortográficos e morfológicos.

2. A organização do léxico mental plurilingue

Em geral, o léxico mental plurilingue é muito complexo e a sua organização depende consideravelmente do contexto de aquisição, das estratégias de aprendizagem, do nível de competência na língua alvo, etc., por isso Cieślicka (2000: 52) fala de uma "interconexão variável" ("variable interconnection").

Já em 1953, Weinreich propôs uma divisão do bilinguismo em três tipos segundo a organização conceitual e lexical: o bilinguismo composto, em que as palavras (significantes) da L1 e da L2 estão ligadas a conceitos (significados) comuns. No bilinguismo coordenado, as palavras da L1 estão ligadas aos conceitos específicos da L1, enquanto as palavras da L2 estão ligadas aos conceitos específicos da L2. Finalmente, o bilinguismo subordinado é, no geral, uma etapa na aprendizagem da L2, onde as palavras não têm acesso directo aos conceitos, mas somente através dos seus equivalentes na L1 (Weinreich 1974 [1953]: 9-11). Contudo, esta divisão não é absoluta e uma pessoa pode ter na sua mente signos representados de uma maneira composta e outros representados de uma maneira coordenada ou até subordinada (Weinreich 1974 [1953]: 10). No caso dos plurilingues, estas relações são ainda mais complexas. Por exemplo, no estudo de Abunuwara (1992), a relação entre a L1 e L2 era semi-coordenada e a entre a L2 e L3 era coordenada (Abunuwara 1992: 320).

Porém, as línguas não estão completamente integradas, nem completamente separadas. Segundo o modelo de Herwig (2001), baseado na hipótese dos subsistemas (Paradis 1985 apud Herwig 2001: 116), todas as línguas de uma pessoa plurilingue constituem os subsistemas de um sistema maior, onde as ligações entre os elementos da mesma língua são mais fortes do que as ligações entre os elementos das línguas diferentes. Ao mesmo tempo, as unidades lexicais estão representadas de uma maneira distribuída e as suas propriedades semânticas (as conotações, a valência semântica, etc.), morfológicas, sintácticas, etc. encontram-se em vários nódulos (Herwig 2001: 121-123). Por conseguinte, as ligações entre os *cognatos* são tão fortes, porque as suas representações estão ligadas não só no nível semântico, mas também a nível formal.

Quanto ao desenvolvimento dos léxicos das línguas diferentes no léxico mental plurilingue, a L2 é no início uma extensão da L1, onde as palavras da L2 estão ligadas aos seus equivalentes na L1. Com o tempo e o aumento da competência, as conexões entre as palavras da L2 e as da L1 ficam mais fracas, e a L2 torna-se um subsistema do sistema bilingue mais independente da língua materna. O desenvolvimento dos léxicos das línguas consecutivas (L3, L4, etc.) é semelhante, mas as palavras não estão necessariamente ligadas aos equivalentes na L1, mas, por exemplo, aos equivalentes na L2, se a L2 e a L3 são mais próximas (Herwig 2001: 116-117).

Podemos também supor que as palavras de uma língua, por exemplo, a L4, podem ser ligadas aos seus equivalentes em várias línguas (L1, L2 e L3) segundo, por exemplo, a semelhança formal ou semântica, ou as duas, o contexto em que as palavras foram aprendidas, etc. Com certeza, seria mais provável que uma pessoa que falasse polaco (L1), inglês (L2) e espanhol (L3) estabelecesse as mais conexões entre o português e o espanhol. Contudo, se as L1, L2 e L3 são pouco próximas da L4, como neste estudo, as palavras podem ser ligadas a qualquer língua que tenha cognatos com a L4 (aqui, as mais conexões seriam provavelmente estabelecidas entre o português e o inglês), ou, se não tiver ligações com a lingua no contexto da qual as palavras foram apresentadas (por exemplo, se um estudante polaco aprendesse português durante uma estadia na Alemanha, as palavras portuguesas poderiam ser ligadas aos equivalentes alemães). No geral, podemos supor que, quanto mais línguas houver no sistema plurilingue, tanto mais variável será a interconexão entre elas.

Além disso, os equivalentes lexicais nem sempre são idênticos nos níveis sintáctico e conceitual. Frequentemente, os conceitos na L1, L2, L3, etc. só se sobrepõem parcialmente, como, por exemplo, "glass" (copo) em inglês e "stakan" em russo. Enquanto um *glass* deve ser de vidro, um *stakan* pode ser também de plástico ou de cartão (Pavlenko 2009: 139). Para tomar em conta essas diferenças, Pavlenko (2009: 146-148) propôs o Modelo Hierárquico Modificado, baseado no Modelo Hierárquico Revisto de Kroll e Stewart (1994 apud Pavlenko 2009).

Segundo Kroll e Stewart (1994 apud Pavlenko 2009: 143-144), há ligações fortes entre as palavras da L2 e da L1 (e mais fracas na direcção oposta), e também entre as palavras da L1 e os conceitos subjacentes, mas as ligações entre as palavras da L2 e os conceitos são mais fracas, o que explica a necessidade de traduzir da L1 no uso da L2, e para a L1 na compreensão da L2 (Talamas, Kroll e Dufour 1999). Ao mesmo tempo, os principiantes mostram muitas interferências no nível formal, o que indica que se

baseam na forma lexical mais do que no significado (Talamas et al. 1999: 56). Contudo, com o aumento da competência linguística, os aprendentes baseam-se cada vez mais no significado e ficam cada vez mais capazes de recuperar as informações semânticas das palavras da L2 (Talamas et al. 1999: 54-56).

O Modelo Hierárquico Modificado de Pavlenko (2009) apresenta uma divisão das representações conceituais em três partes: as categorias partilhadas pela L1 e L2, as categorias específicas da L1 e as específicas da L2. Assim, a força das ligações entre as palavras e os conceitos depende da categoria dos conceitos; por exemplo, as palavras da L2 estão fortemente ligadas às categorias específicas da L2, às categorias partilhadas (com certeza, quando o bilingue já é capaz de lexicalizar conceitos directamente na L2, sem passar pela L1) e aos equivalentes na L1, enquanto as suas ligações às categorias específicas da L1 são fracas e baseadas na transferência da L1. Todavia, o léxico mental bilingue não é estável, mas é restruturado durante o desenvolvimento conceitual (Pavlenko 2009: 147-148).

Vemos então que há diferenças notáveis entre as palavras consideradas equivalentes e que também há conceitos que não existem numa das línguas e têm que ser traduzidos aproximadamente, o que pode levar a erros de transferência negativa. Pavlenko (2009: 139) dá o exemplo de "privacy" (privacidade) em inglês, traduzido em russo por "odinochestvo" (solidão); esta tradução foi aceitável no contexto em que um homem invadiu a privacidade de uma mulher, mas, se a associação fosse memorizada, poderia lever a erros onde o aprendente usaria "privacy" no sentido negativo da "solidão".

De facto, está provado que a transferência das informações representadas nos lemas da L1 leva a erros no caso de diferenças. Segundo Levelt (1989 apud Wei 2003: 65), uma unidade lexical compõe-se de um lema e de um lexema. No lema estão representadas as suas propriedades semânticas e sintácticas, e no lexema estão representadas as propriedades formais (fonológicas e ortográficas). Quando a competência lexical do aprendente é insuficiente para exprimir o significado alvo, ele é frequentemente obrigado a impor um padrão de lexicalização disponível que é, contudo, errado, baseado numa transferência negativa. Por exemplo, um chinês (L1) usou em inglês (L3) a forma "eat medicine" (comer medicamentos) sob a influência do japonês (L2) (Wei 2003: 65). Erros de transferência negativa ocorrem também no nível sintáctico, sobretudo no uso de verbos cujas propriedades sintácticas diferem de uma língua para outra (Wei 2003: 66).

Segundo Hall e Ecke (2003: 71), este mecanismo de aprendizagem das línguas estrangeiras é perfeitamente natural, porque a capacidade humana de categorizar informações novas está baseada na similaridade com as representações existentes do conhecimento. Por esta razão, eles propuseram o Modelo Parasitário, segundo o qual as novas palavras são rapidamente integradas numa rede lexical com a mínima redundância para ficar disponíveis para a comunicação (Hall e Ecke 2003: 77). No geral, as ligações inicialmente estabelecidas são revistas em resposta aos sinais no input, mas isso não acontece sempre, porque também é possível a fossilização das informações inferidas dos lemas da L1 (ou, no caso da L3, também da L2) (Hall e Ecke 2003: 78-79).

Em resumo, apesar das diferenças na descrição das representações lexicais e conceituais, todos os modelos do desenvolvimento e da organização do léxico mental bi- e plurilingue admitem, por um lado, a existência de conexões e de interacções entre as unidades lexicais das línguas diferentes e, por outro lado, uma restruturação das representações iniciais, baseadas na transferência da L1, L2, etc., sob a influência do input na língua alvo.

3. Os fenómenos da transferência e da interferência

Como já foi mencionado, o léxico mental plurilingue é dinâmico e encontra-se num estado de evolução permanente. Contudo, além da restruturação causada pelo input, também ocorrem várias interacções que podem levar a erros de performance antes que a competência. Se bem que a transferência negativa e a interferência sejam as vezes consideradas como sinónimos, Herdina e Jessner (2002: 29) distinguem estes dois fenómenos. Segundo eles, a transferência é o processo estável e bastante previsível de transferir informações (estruturas gramáticas, significados, etc.) da L1 à L2 (ou, por exemplo, da L2 à L3). A transferência é positiva quando resulta em estruturas correctas, e negativa quando induz em erros. Ao contrário, as interferências são interacções dinâmicas entre as línguas, que não podem ser reduzidas a uma só língua.

Contudo, além da transferência estratégica, ou seja o processo de fornecer palavras ou estruturas da L1 quando não se conhecem as da L2, existe também a transferência automática e subsidiária (Farch e Kasper 1986: 58-60). Os dois últimos tipos são muito parecidos, mas, diferentemente da transferência automâtica da L1, a transferência subsidiária comporta uma combinação do saber declarativo na L1 e do conhecimento da interlíngua e pode resultar, por exemplo, no uso do verbo alvo numa forma

incorrecta, como *swimmed em inglês, se o verbo na L1 for regular (Faerch e Kasper 1986: 60). Como sugeriu a presente autora (Wlosowicz 2008/2009: 411), as transferências e as interferências podem, porém, estar relacionadas umas com as outras. No geral, as interferências como interacções dinâmicas podem causar uma transferência automática, em que elementos de uma língua aparecem na outra. Não obstante, é possível que as interferências possam levar ao uso da transferência estratégica, se bloquearem a estrutura ou a palavra alvo e forçarem o falante a usar uma palavra ou uma estrutura transferida da L1 (ou da L2, etc.).

Além disso, não só podem ser transferidas palavras ou estruturas inteiras, mas também partes de palavras, tais como morfemas ou fonemas. Dewaele (1998) mostrou que as invenções lexicais dos alunos comportavam "misturas" interlinguais de morfemas, por exemplo, *imprinter, uma combinação de "print" (imprimir) em inglês e "imprimer" em francês (Dewaele 1998: 483-484). Isso mostra que as palavras não são representadas e recuperadas como unidades inteiras, mas que, devido à representação distribuída, podem ser parcialmente recuperadas ou "montadas" de morfemos de línguas diferentes. De facto, a recuperação das palavras do léxico mental nem sempre é perfeita, também na língua materna, o que mostra o fenómeno de ter "uma palavra na ponta da língua". Contudo, a recuperação das palavras também não é aleatória: no geral, os falantes lembram-se da extensão das palavras, do início e do fim delas, o que Aitchison (1994: 134) chama "o efeito da banheira" (*the bathtub effect*), porque o início e o fim são salientes como a cabeça e os pés de uma pessoa na banheira.

Visto que o léxico mental plurilingue é uma rede complexa de diferentes elementos representados de uma maneira distribuída, podemos supor que também na produção das palavras em português como L4 haja interferências dinâmicas que levam ao uso de palavras erradas ou compostas de morfemos mais ou menos imprevistos.

4. O estudo

O estudo foi realizado com doze estudantes polacos (L1) de filologia inglesa (L2) que estudavam alemão (L3) como especialização adicional e tinham um curso de português (L4). Como estudantes do quarto (6 pessoas) e do quinto ano (6) de filologia inglesa, já se encontravam num nível avançados de inglês (C1-C2), bastante avançados em alemão (B1-B2) e a começarem (A1-A2) português.

Contudo, só nove estudantes participaram na parte principal do estudo, que consistia na aprendizagem de uma lista de palavras portuguesas e na produção delas uma

semana depois. Os três outros, que estavam ausentes quando foi distribuída a lista, participaram no teste da produção das palavras como grupo de controle.

O alvo do estudo era a aprendizagem de quinze palavras portuguesas apresentadas com os seus equivalentes polacos, ingleses e alemães (cinco palavras em cada grupo – cf. Anexo 1). Então, tratava-se da primeira etapa da aprendizagem do léxico, sem a aquisição de unidades lexicais "quasi nativas", preenchidas de informações extraídas do contexto. A lista não continha palavras identicas, para não facilitar demasiado a tarefa, mas por outro lado, as palavras eram bastante básicas, tomando em conta o nível da competência dos participantes em português. De facto, houve também um par de falsos amigos, "uma pasta – eine Mappe" (uma pasta para documentos). "Eine Paste" em alemão também significa "uma pasta", mas no sentido de uma substância. O que é interessante é o facto que "eine Mappe" é também um falso amigo da palavra "mapa" em polaco, o que criava a possibilidade de interpretar "uma pasta" como "um mapa".

Era possível que os alunos com um nível excepcional de consciência metalinguística pudessem estabelecer outras associações para facilitar a aprendizagem, mas isso não lhes foi sugerido. Por exemplo, apesar da palavra "pálido" estar apresentada com o equivalente polaco "blady", teriam podido associá-la com "pale" em inglês, e a mesma possibilidade existia no caso do par "desespero – Verzweiflung", que podia ser associado com "despair" em inglês. Ao mesmo tempo, a palavra "murmurar" foi apresentada com o equivalente "to whisper", mas se alguém tivesse pensado no verbo inglês "to murmur", teria podido memorizar o verbo mais facilmente. Todavia, os estudantes não foram informados desta possibilidade, para deixá-los usar as suas próprias estratégias de aprendizagem.

Uma semana mais tarde, os participantes receberam uma lista de quinze frases com lacunas onde deviam inserir as palavras com base no contexto (cf. Anexo 2). Os resultados foram avaliados da maneira seguinte: as respostas correctas eram as que não continham nenhum erro semântico (eram as palavras da lista, apropriadas para o contexto da frase), nem formal (sobretudo ortográfico, como era um teste escrito). Não obstante, se a palavra alvo foi usada no contexto correcto, apesar de uma forma morfossintáctica incorrecta (o presente em vez do passado, etc.), a resposta foi aceite, porque era um estudo sobre o vocabulário e não sobre a gramática. Pelo contrário, palavras não incluídas na lista (por exemplo, "ficou em casa" em vez de "ficou pálido"), ou palavras com erro na forma lexical (por exemplo, "palido", "toussa" em vez de "tossia") foram classificadas como incorrectas. Se bem que as palavras não incluídas

na lista tivessem podido ser aceites, partimos da hipótese que os participantes provavelmente não as tinham memorizado. (De facto, erros deste tipo eram frequentes no grupo de controle.) Além disso, as lacunas deixadas pelos participantes também foram classificadas como respostas incorrectas.

Os Quadros 1 e 2 mostram as respostas correctas e incorrectas segundo a língua de apresentação e segundo a palavra alvo, no grupo que recebeu a lista e no grupo de controle respectivamente.

	Palavras	Respostas	
		Correctas	Incorrectas
Equivalentes polacos	tossir	6	3
	uma fita	4	5
	um carteiro	7	2
	um carrinho	6	3
	pálido	4	5
Equivalentes ingleses	meias	8	1
	uma tigela	8	1
	uma cenoura	3	6
	mumurar	8	1
	descontraído	3	6
Equivalentes alemães	uma pasta	7	2
	o desespero	5	4
	regar	7	2
	uma panela	4	5
	ousado	4	5

Quadro 1: Respostas do grupo que recebeu a lista

	Palavras	Respostas	
		Correctas	Incorrectas
Equivalentes polacos	tossir	3	0
	uma fita	0	3
	um carteiro	1	2
	um carrinho	1	2
	pálido	1	2

	meias	1	2
Equivalentes ingleses	uma tigela	1	2
	uma cenoura	2	1
	mumurar	2	1
	descontraído	0	3
Equivalentes alemães	uma pasta	2	1
	o desespero	0	3
	regar	2	1
	uma panela	3	0
	ousado	1	2

Quadro 2: Respostas do grupo de controle

O terceiro quadro contém os números globais de respostas correctas e incorrectas segundo a língua de apresentação (só no grupo que recebeu a lista).

Respostas	Equivalentes polacos	Equivalentes ingleses	Equivalentes alemães
Correctas	27	30	27
Incorrectas	18	15	18

Quadro 3: Respostas correctas e incorrectas segundo a língua

Como mostram os resultados, no geral os participantes memorizaram e reproduziram as palavras muito bem, e geralmente melhor do que o grupo de controle. O número das respostas correctas é maior do que o das incorrectas no caso das palavras apresentadas com os equivalentes polacos, ingleses e alemães. A maior diferença aparece nas palavras apresentadas com os equivalentes ingleses; talvez elas tenham sido mais fáceis de aprender, mas para a explicação deste efeito é preciso uma investigação num grupo maior, com mais palavras.

Contudo, no teste chi-quadrado da relação entre a língua de apresentação e o número das repostas correctas e incorrectas, feito segundo as instruções de Brown (1988: 112-113), $\chi^2 = 0,568$, com df=2 e p<0,1, o que significa que as diferenças entre as línguas de apresentação não são significativas. As razões podem ser as seguintes: Primeiro, o grupo era substancialmente pequeno (cf. Brown 1988: 112-113). Segundo, nenhuma

das línguas era semelhante ao português. Terceiro, como o contexto estava dado, mas as frases estavam numa ordem diferente do que as palavras na lista, os participantes deviam lexicalizar os conceitos alvos e é provável que tenham procurado no léxico mental as palavras com os significados apropriados e não os equivalentes das palavras polacas, inglesas e alemãs.

Para o grupo que recebeu a lista, as palavras mais fáceis de utilizar foram "meias", "tigela" e "murmurar", seguidas por "carteiro", "pasta" e "regar" (cf. Quadro 1). Ao mesmo tempo, as palavras mais difíceis foram "cenoura" e "descontraído", e também "fita", "pálido", "panela" e "ousado" (cf. Quadro 1). É possível que a fonte da facilidade tenha sido a forma das palavras, que eram bastante fáceis de memorizar, também graças às associações possíveis (por exemplo, carteiro – carta, murmurar – to murmur, meias – meia (hora)). A palavra "pasta", apesar de ser um falso amigo, provavelmente foi fácil de memorizar graças à sua forma já conhecida aos estudantes.

No caso das palavras "fita" e "ousado" cinco pessoas deixaram lacunas (de facto, no grupo de controle ninguém forneceu a palavra "fita"), provavelmente porque as palavras eram difíceis ou de memorizar (sobretudo o equivalente alemão de "ousado", "kühn", não se usa muito nos contextos que encontram os estudantes), ou de inserir nos contextos ("... adesiva" podia parecer ser, por exemplo, cola e não uma fita). Também é possível que o equivalente polaco de fita, "taśma", tenha sido associado com uma cassete de música e por isso os estudantes não encontraram nenhum contexto correspondente. Quanto a "cenoura", quatro pessoas deixaram lacunas, provavelemente por causa da sua forma lexical; uma destas pessoas escreveu "c", o que indica que tinha uma ideia da palavra na mente. Pelo contrário, as outras palavras foram difíceis sobretudo pelas razões ortográficas, como mostram as formas "palido" sem acento e "descontraido" em vez de "descontraído".

Finalmente, os erros mostram que, no geral, os participantes tinham uma ideia das palavras, por exemplo, "*tagela", "*ceneura", "*cartador", "*patela", etc. Isso confirma o "efeito da banheira" de Aitchison (1994), porque as palavras erradas eram tão longas como as palavras alvos, tinham o mesmo início e/ou fim, e frequentemente também o mesmo padrão de vogais.

5. Conclusão

No geral, o estudo indica que na altura do teste as palavras já estavam bastante integradas no léxico mental, porque o seu uso não dependia da língua de apresentação, mas do contexto da frase. Contudo, os problemas com a palavra "fita" sugerem que a ambiguidade da palavra "taśma" em polaco tenha podido levar à criação de uma representação incompleta ou até errada. Isso prova que as ligações lexicais podem ser pouco fiáveis se as palavras da língua alvo não foram aprendidas num contexto apropriado.

Quanto às perguntas de pesquisa, primeiro, as palavras apresentadas com os equivalentes ingleses parecem ter sido memorizadas o melhor. Todavia, como não houve diferenças significativas entre os três grupos de palavras, não se pode concluir que os resultados dependessem da língua de apresentação. Segundo, como a maioria das respostas foi correcta, podemos supor que, de facto, a pesquisa das palavras foi baseada no significado e não na forma lexical. Contudo, na produção das formas lexicais foi também observado o fenómeno da "palavra na ponta da língua", quando as formas lexicais foram só parcialmente recuperadas.

Visto que o grupo foi muito pequeno, seria aconselhável fazer estudos semelhantes com grupos maiores, também com outras combinações de línguas, mais ou menos aparentadas.

Agradecimento

Referências bibliográficas

Abunuwara, E. (1992). The structure of the trilingual lexicon. *European Journal of Cognitive Psychology 4*(4). 311-322.

Aitchison, J. (1994). *Words in the mind. An introduction to the mental lexicon.* Oxford & New York: Basil Blackwell.

Brown, J. D. (1988). *Understanding research in second language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cieślicka, A. (2000). The effect of language proficiency and L2 vocabulary learning strategies on patterns of bilingual lexical processing. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics 36*. 27-53.

Dewaele, J. M. (1998). Lexical inventions: French interlanguage as L2 versus L3. *Applied Linguistics 19*(4). 471-490.

Faerch, C. & G. Kasper. (1986). Cognitive dimensions of language transfer. In Kellerman, E. & M. Sharwood-Smith (eds.), *Crosslinguistic Influence in Second Language Acquistion,* 49-65. Oxford, Toronto, Sydney & Frankfurt: Pergamon Press.

Hall, C. & P. Ecke. (2003). Parasitism as a default mechanism in L3 vocabulary acquisition. In: Cenoz, J., Hufeisen, B. & U. Jessner (eds.), *The multilingual lexicon*, 71-85. Dordrecht, Boston & London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Herdina, P. & U. Jessner. (2002). *A dynamic model of multilingualism. Perspectives of change in psycholinguistics.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Herwig, A. (2001). Plurilingual lexical organisation: Evidence from lexical processing in L1-L2-L3-L4 translation. In Cenoz, J., B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner (eds.), *Cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition: Psycholinguistic perspectives,* 115-137. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, Ltd.

Pavlenko, A. (2009). Conceptual representation in the bilingual lexicon and second language vocabulary learning. In Pavlenko, A. (ed.) *The bilingual mental lexicon. Interdisciplinary approaches,* 125-160. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Talamas, A., Kroll, J. & R. Dufour. (1999). From form to meaning: Stages in the acquisition of second-language vocabulary. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 2*(1). 45-58.

Wei, L. (2003). Activation of lemmas in the multilingual mental lexicon and transfer in third language learning. In Cenoz, J., B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner (eds.), *The multilingual lexicon*, 55-70. Dordrecht, Boston & London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Weinreich, U. (1974 [1953]). *Languages in contact. Findings and problems.* Oitava edição. The Hague/Paris: Mouton.

Wlosowicz, T.M. (2008/2009, publicado em 2011). *Les Influences Interlinguales sur la Compréhension des Textes dans la Troisième Langue: Une Approche Cognitivo-Pragmatique*. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Atelier National de Reproduction des Thèses.

Anexo 1: A lista das palavras utilizadas no estudo

1. tossir – kaszleć

2. uma fita – taśma

3. um carteiro – listonosz

4. um carrinho – wózek na zakupy

5. pálido - blady

6. meias – socks

7. uma tigela – a bowl

8. uma cenoura – a carrot

9. murmurar – to whisper

10. descontraído – relaxed

11. uma pasta – eine Mappe

12. (o) desespero – (die) Verzweiflung

13. regar (plantas) – (Pflanzen) gießen

14. uma panela – ein Topf

15. ousado – kühn

Anexo 2: A lista das frases utilizadas no estudo

1. Quando ouviu a notícia, o Miguel ficou _____.

2. A Ana deu leite ao seu gato numa _____.

3. Tens de _____ as flores com mais frequência, para que não se sequem.

4. Os documentos estão na minha _____.

5. O Filipe está sempre _____; parece nunca se preocupar de qualquer coisa.

6. A Joana fechou o pacote com uma _____ adesiva.

7. Quando a criança estava doente, _____ muito.

8. A Emília fez uma sopa deliciosa, com tomates e _____.

9. Com estes sapatos, deverias usar _____.

10. O _____ já veio? Espero por uma carta importante.

11. À vista dos resultados do exame, a Marta chorou de _____. Não estava admitida à universidade.

12. 'Não fales tão alto! Alguém pode ouvir-nos', _____ o conspirador.

13. A Sofia era uma típica dona de casa. Gostava de andar no supermercado, colocando produtos no seu _____.

14. Não comas directamente da _____. Toma um prato.

15. Como te atreveste a dizer ao director toda a verdade? És realmente muito _____!

UNIVERSIDADE DE ÉVORA
ESCOLA DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS
DEPARTAMENTO DE LINGUÍSTICA E LITERATURAS

Aprolíngu@s
Associação Portuguesa de Professores de
Línguas Estrangeiras do Ensino Superior

RecLes?
Associação de Centros de Línguas
do Ensino Superior em Portugal