

LEXICAL DIFFERENCES 10

"For the foreign speaker of a language who learns this new language as an adult, the words as stimuli probably never function with anything like the same fullness and freedom as they do for a native."¹ This lack of "fullness and freedom" in the use of the lexicon of a second language may result not only from a restricted stock of lexical items but, perhaps more importantly, from an inadequate control of the various ways in which the lexical items are used by native speakers. In the discussion which follows, the term "range" is used to designate this variety of uses which compose a lexical item's integration into the structure of a language. In a contrastive study of lexical items belonging to two languages, it is necessary to determine the ranges which each item exhibits in its respective language, since it is precisely these ranges which will be found to differ and which will therefore form the basis of the contrasts.

SYNTACTIC RANGE

It is commonly assumed by monolinguals that the primary difference between languages consists of the words which are used in each, and that to learn a new language is essentially to learn a new vocabulary which consists of translation equivalents of the lexical items of the native language. Since the monolingual is aware only of the system of his own language, he assumes that it represents the "natural" concatenation of lexical items, and he therefore attempts to impose it upon the items of the foreign lexicon. The lexical items of one language are, however, not subject to the same syntactic regulation as the lexical items of another language. Such problems of syntactic range have been the focus of earlier chapters: they are most particularly illustrated in Chapter 7 (verb classes) and Chapter 9.

MORPHOLOGICAL RANGE

As a student attempts to control a foreign language he must systematically learn the morphological range of new lexical items. Otherwise, his freedom in forming many natural constructions will be limited and, to that extent, non-native utterances will result. It is not adequate, therefore, merely to give words such as trabajar, for example, without also making systematic provision for the student to learn progressively such allied forms as trabajador, trabajoso, trabajado (ADJ), trabajo (NOUN). No derivational

1. Fries (1940), p. 88.

rule can be given by which he can automatically arrive at these forms, but they are nevertheless as vital to the information and understanding of utterances involving the semantic value of trabajar as are those morphological variations which are governed by more or less regular processes, such as the conjugations, imperfective participles, and perfective participles. (Examples have been cited in Chapter 3.)

It is also necessary to take care to prevent the formation of false analogies from previously learned morphological derivations in Spanish: bostezar has a nominal bostezo, but for rozar the nominals are roce, rozadura and rozamiento; sonar has an adjective sonante, but callar has callado; salt is poured from a salero, but coffee is poured from a cafetera; escribir forms escritura, but hablar does not form *habladura. A combination of false analogy and negative transfer may produce *agua corriendo, parallel to agua hirviendo, or, on the model of leña, leñoso, a form *papeloso may be produced.

A different kind of difficulty lies in the fact that some Spanish morphological ranges cover distinctions which in English are expressed by totally different lexical items:

<u>Sabíamos</u> donde estaba.	We <u>knew</u> where he was.
<u>Supimos</u> donde estaba.	We <u>found out</u> where he was.
Lo <u>conocíamos</u> .	We <u>knew</u> him.
Lo <u>conocimos</u> .	We <u>met</u> him.
<u>Teníamos</u> una carta.	We <u>had</u> a letter.
<u>Tuvimos</u> una carta.	We <u>got</u> a letter.

It is obviously inaccurate to list know as the equivalent of saber; it is equally improper to list find out as the equivalent; and to list both know and find out obscures the semantic function of the preterit and imperfect. The traditional statement that in the preterit some verbs "change meaning" is misleading. All verbs "change meaning" according to the tense; in addition, some verbs change their translation equivalents vis à vis English, which is really irrelevant as far as the functioning of Spanish is concerned. Furthermore, the traditional statement is inaccurate, as is illustrated by the following sentences, which do not involve the preterit of the verbs which are customarily mentioned in this regard:

I'll tell you when I <u>find out</u> .	So lo diré cuando lo <u>sepa</u> yo.
When I <u>found that out</u> , I said no.	Al <u>saber</u> eso dije que no.
We'll <u>meet</u> him tomorrow.	Lo <u>conoceremos</u> mañana.
Before <u>recognizing</u> that it was John, I said yes.	Antes de <u>conocer</u> que era Juan, dije que sí.

Conversely to the preceding examples, Spanish exhibits lexical variations which are paralleled by morphological variations in English in another part of the utterance:

Juan <u>está</u> cansado.	John is <u>tired</u> .
Juan <u>es</u> cansado.	John's <u>tiring</u> (-some).
Juan <u>está</u> aburrido.	John is <u>bored</u> .
Juan <u>es</u> aburrido.	John is <u>boring</u> .

Here a morphological habit must be replaced by a lexical habit. However, the alternation of estar and ser has the effect illustrated above only with specific items; the English equivalents are different, for instance, when estar and ser are used with abierto:

Las puertas <u>están</u> abiertas a las 9:00.	The doors are <u>open</u> at 9:00.
Las puertas <u>son</u> abiertas a las 9:00.	The doors are <u>opened</u> at 9:00.
Las puertas <u>se abren</u> a las 9:00.	The doors <u>open</u> at 9:00.

The formal representation of this distinction disappears in the English equivalent when cerrado is used:

Las puertas están cerradas a las 9:00.	} The doors are closed at 9:00.
Las puertas son cerradas a las 9:00.	

The lexical alternation between están and son is represented in English by a lexical and morphological alternation in:

<u>Estaba</u> muerto a las 9:00.	He was <u>dead</u> at 9:00.
<u>Fue</u> muerto a las 9:00.	He was <u>killed</u> at 9:00.

Obviously, then, the statement that ser plus the perfective participle yields the "true passive" whereas estar plus the perfective participle yields the "apparent passive" is inadequate; its validity depends upon the lexical items involved, and in any event the real issue lies in the internal functioning of Spanish, not in the translation equivalents. Furthermore, the student can be given no rule of grammar by which to know automatically that morir has a perfective participle which behaves as though it belonged to a transitive verb or that the perfective participle of the transitive verb cansar does not necessarily yield a passive construction when used with ser, as that of escribir, for example, does. No general rule can tell him that the perfective participle of penetrar is not used in the same way as that of aburrir, or that the adjective penetrating must be translated as penetrante not as penetrado. The perfective participle of die does not behave as that of morir does; the imperfective participle of cansar is not adjectival, as that of tire is, or as is that of hervir in agua hirviendo; penetrar has a form in -nte, but aburrir does not; and so on. These facts are among the properties of lexical items which must be learned item by item and, where possible, class by class as new vocabulary is introduced.

RANGE OF LEXICAL CO-OCCURRENCE

An important range of lexical items consists of other lexical items with which they occur and with which they form composite lexical units. The principle may be illustrated with the following examples, to which the reader may easily add others:

Take:

<u>Take one</u> .	Lo <u>lévese</u> uno.
He doesn't want to <u>take</u> a chance.	No quiere <u>aventurarse</u> .
He <u>took</u> a trip to Chicago.	<u>Hizo</u> un viaje a Chicago.
He <u>took</u> a train to Chicago.	<u>Tomó</u> un tren a Chicago.
He <u>took</u> a friend to Chicago.	<u>Llevó</u> a un amigo a Chicago.

Pass:

They <u>passed</u> a red light.	<u>Pasaron de largo</u> un semáforo.
They <u>passed</u> him on the road.	<u>Lo rebasaron</u> (se <u>cruzaron</u> con él) en el camino.
They <u>passed</u> a law.	<u>Aprobaron</u> una ley.
They <u>passed</u> the potatoes.	<u>Pasaron</u> las papas.
They <u>passed</u> the course.	<u>Quedaron aprobados</u> en el curso.
They <u>passed</u> the dividend.	<u>No pagaron</u> el dividendo.

It is probably fruitless to attempt to determine a "meaning" for take and pass; take a walk, pass the course and other such idioms are profitably left unanalyzed. These composite units exhibit denotative values in the same way as single words do.

GRAMMATICAL RANGE

Not only are lexical items distributed differently to grammatical functions in different languages, but the grammatical functions themselves differ from language to language. This means that the grammatical ranges of lexical items must differ also. The following examples will illustrate the principle involved:

Juan se lastimó.	John hurt himself.
María se lastimó.	Mary hurt herself.
Se lastimaron.	They hurt themselves.
A la guerra sigue la paz.	Peace follows war.
Compró el libro a Juan.	He bought the book from John.
Fue a Chicago.	He went to Chicago.
Compró el libro de Juan.	He bought John's book.
Tiene una carta de Juan.	He has a letter from (of) John(s).
Aprendió francés con el profesor X.	He learned French from Professor X.
Fue al cine con Juan.	He went to the movies with John.
Sí, lo hizo.	Yes, he did it.
Sí lo hizo.	He did (too) do it.
No, no lo hizo.	No, he didn't (either) do it.
Viajó conmigo hasta las seis.	He traveled with me until six.
Viajó conmigo hasta Chicago.	He traveled with me as far as Chicago.
Hasta la profesora quería hacerlo.	Even the teacher wanted to do it.
Haga pintar la casa.	Have the house painted.

Tiene pintada la casa. He has the house painted.
Ha pintado la casa. He has painted the house.

In examining the foregoing sentences, we see that the reflexives himself and herself show agreement of gender and number and that themselves shows number agreement only, whereas in Spanish no parallel agreement occurs. Consequently, it is fruitless to consider that se "means" himself, herself, or themselves (or yourself or yourselves). The Spanish direct object reflexive simply has the function of indicating identity between the subject and object. In Spanish a may perform the function of eliminating one of two possible subjects. In English, the subject is typically fixed by position relative to the verb, not by a lexical function indicator. When the "meaning" of a or se is indicated in a list, it necessarily applies only to certain contexts, which are usually not specified, and is basically fallacious. Se, a, de, con, sí, no, hasta, hacer, tener, and haber as used in the foregoing sentences have semantic functions which are determined by the structure of Spanish, not by their coincidental and essentially irrelevant translation equivalents.

DENOTATIVE RANGE

The area that is generally considered to be the primary area in which words are to be contrasted is referential meaning, which involves the denotations, connotations, and circumstantial ranges of words.

Contrary to what might be assumed from an examination of standard vocabulary tests, we cannot conclude that a student "knows the meaning" of a lexical item such as abrigo merely because he translates Me puse el abrigo as I put on my overcoat. For the native speaker, abrigo has a different referential range from that which overcoat has for the student. If the student is taught that abrigo "means" overcoat, as though that were the end of the matter, he will be perplexed by such perfectly native utterances as Esperemos al abrigo de este árbol; Esperemos aquí al abrigo de la tempestad, not to mention morphological extensions of the word, as in No quisieron desabrigar a los huérfanos. Only in a very limited and certainly non-native way does the student "know the meaning" of abrigo if he has learned only that it means overcoat.

Textbooks often take into account the differing ranges of words in Spanish and English in the more obvious instances, such as corner and esquina, where the former does for both inside and outside corner, whereas the latter denotes only an outside corner. Less obvious instances are, however, most frequently left unmentioned; such words as tarjeta or mesa are translated in lists as card and table, and the instances in which these words are not denotatively equivalent are ignored. The result is that the "same kind of distortion that we can observe in the sounds of the speech of a non-native speaker also occurs in the meanings he is trying to convey. . . . Similarly, when the non-native speaker of a language listens to the language as spoken by natives, the meanings that he grasps are not those that the native speakers attempt to convey, but those of the system of the language of the listener."²

2. Lado (1957).

A striking example of this semantic short-circuiting is to be seen in the actually observed newspaper translation of:

This politician has only recently begun to make the headlines.

as:

Este político sólo recientemente ha comenzado a hacer los titulares de los periódicos.

Each of these sentences is grammatical in its own language, but the Spanish shows that the translator has grasped from the English the meaning of make, not within the semantic structuring of this word in English, but within the semantic structuring of its "equivalent" in Spanish. As a result, the meaning of the sentence is distorted. A more accurate translation would have been:

Este político sólo recientemente ha comenzado a figurar en los titulares de los periódicos.

With a similar sentence we can illustrate an important point about lexicon and structure: meanings of lexical items are highly dependent upon the structure in which they occur, and this structure is often not apparent in writing:

The Joneses made Mary's party last Sunday.

This group of words is susceptible of various meanings in speech, where we are forced to use an intonation pattern and, consequently, to indicate something about the constituent structure. Sometimes, as in the third interpretation of this sentence given below, the utterance may remain ambiguous even when we know the intonation pattern. In such an instance, the larger context, consisting of the situation in which the utterance is made or of utterances which precede or follow, may clarify the meaning:

- (1) The Jóneses máde Máry's pártý lást Súnday†
- (2) The Jóneses máde Máry's pártý lást Súnday†
- (3) The Jóneses máde Máry's pártý lást Súnday†

These sentences may be translated as follows:

- (1a) Los Jones pudieron asistir a la fiesta de María el domingo pasado.
- (2a) Los Jones hicieron un éxito de la fiesta de María el domingo pasado.
- (3a) Los Jones hicieron durar la fiesta de María el domingo pasado.

or

El domingo pasado sí que los Jones pudieron asistir a la fiesta de María.

By structure we do not necessarily mean suprasegmental structure, which is critical in the example given above. Get, for instance, varies in translation equivalents according to the classes of lexical items with which it occurs in these sentences:

- (1) He got there.

- (2) He got the book.
- (3) He got sick.

These are translatable as:

- (1a) Llegó allá.
- (2a) Consiguió el libro.
- (3a) Se enfermó.

Just as the monolingual assumes that the syntax of his language represents the "natural" concatenation of its elements, in the same way he assumes that its vocabulary represents the "natural" labels for the elements of his experience. Therefore, as he begins to learn a new language, he expects to find in it lexical items which correspond exactly to those of his native language. However, the content of experience differs from culture to culture (cultures, in fact, are demarcated by differences in the content of experience), and the structuring of that content differs from language to language. There is, therefore, no reason to expect that a given lexical item in the native language will have an exact equivalent in the target language.

As an example of a difference in the content of experience, we may consider the English word minister. By and large, the content expressed by this lexical item does not exist in the culture of the Spanish-speaking world. In standard Spanish, ministro designates a cabinet official, whereas a Protestant minister is more likely to be referred to as a misionero, since his work in most Spanish-speaking communities will have more of the characteristics of missionary work than that of the established local ministry. Neither word, then—misionero nor ministro—expresses the content of minister. In Spanish-speaking areas within the United States where ministro has come to designate an ecclesiastical minister it also retains its meaning of cabinet official.

Even where very similar contents appear to exist in two language areas, one-for-one correspondence of lexical item to content is not to be expected. This lack of correspondence is the rule, not the exception. The meaning which is attached to words is a product of custom, and this custom is often highly localized, so that from community to community the referents of a given word often vary notably (not to mention idiolectal variations). Restricting ourselves to standard literary English and Spanish, and observing only enough examples to illustrate the principle, we consider below some typical incongruities of meaning:

English work:

- (1) He went out to look for work.
- (2) This is Falla's last work.
- (3) They are out of work.
- (4) She gave the students some work.

The probable translation equivalent of the first two sentences is reasonably certain; to be sure of the meaning of the second two sentences, we would have to know the circumstances in which they were uttered. The first of these could mean that they have no job, or it could mean that although they are being paid they have run out of tasks. The last

sentence could mean that she gave them homework, or that she gave them an opportunity to earn some money. The Spanish translations which are most likely for the first two sentences, then, are:

- (1) Salió a buscar trabajo.
- (2) Esta es la última obra de Falla.

whereas for the last two sentences, the probabilities are in favor of:

- (3a) Están desempleados.

or:

- (3b) No tienen qué hacer.

and:

- (4a) Ella puso deberes a los estudiantes.

or:

- (4b) Ella dió empleo a los estudiantes.

In the plural, work takes on a new set of translation probabilities:

- (5) They went up to see the works.
- (6) He wanted to see the works.
- (7) Water got into the works of his watch.
- (8) He went to the Bureau of Public Works.

The denotative value of work and works, it is apparent, varies within a set range according to the context (but we must not confuse this variation according to context with that produced by lexical co-occurrence in the formation of "idioms"). Further, the context which establishes the probable meaning of a lexical item is not always fixed by the other items in the utterance; the situational context may indicate to the speaker that a word with a wide range of possible denotations in a given linguistic context will, with a high degree of probability, be understood to have the specific denotation desired (i.e., that the hearer will respond to the same situational clues). In the last four sentences given above, we see that works in (5) is only partly restricted in meaning by the linguistic context. Considering only the problems of meaning which affect the translation into Spanish we see that some of the possible equivalents are:

- (5a) Subieron a ver la fábrica (usina, mecanismo, movimiento, obras).

and that movimiento is probably excludable, since a situational context in which one would go up to see a movement of a watch is unlikely (though possible). In (6), we find no such restriction; movimiento is a quite likely equivalent. In (7), we find that only mecanismo and movimiento are possible, and that movimiento is the more specific of the two for the linguistic context here provided. In (8), the linguistic context restricts the list of probable equivalents to obras.

We have purposely left unmentioned such utterances as:

- Shoot the works!
- Give him the works!

equivalents of which, such as ¡Juega el todo por el todo! and ¡Lléname la canasta! are appropriate only in the proper situational context. In instances such as these, one must consult also the facts of the culture in order to select the proper expression.

Turning now to another aspect of lexical contrasts, we may consider the following pair of utterances:

Quiere abrigarse el sol (especialmente en Ecuador).
He wants to warm up in the sun.

Quiere abrigarse del sol.
He wants to protect himself from the sun.

In order to understand the denotative range of *abrigarse*, it is necessary to work within the meanings of these Spanish utterances rather than within the denotative range of either *warm up* or *protect*. But the student's natural tendency is precisely to work within the semantic structure of his native language, and if *abrigar* is presented to him as meaning both *to protect* and *to warm*, his tendency will be to remember one of these equivalents and to forget the other; his own semantic structuring tends to reject both meanings in a single lexical item. In current practice, he will likely learn only one of the meanings in the first place, and this will be *to protect*.

Another aspect of intra-language structuring is seen in "opposites." The opposite of *thin*, for example, may be *thick*, *heavy*, *chubby*, and so on, depending on the circumstances. With reference to the gauge of the substance of an artifact, for instance, we may say:

This metal is thinner (lighter).

the opposite of which is:

This metal is thicker (heavier).

The Spanish equivalent of *thin* here may be *delgado*. The opposite of *delgado* most likely to be learned by students is *gordo*, others being *grueso*, *espeso* and so on. The proper selection of a Spanish translation for *thicker* in the second sentence above is conditioned by *metal*; if we substitute for this latter word *chocolate*, the translation of *thicker* may be *espeso* or *grueso*, of which the latter refers to solid and liquid chocolate whereas the former refers to liquid only. In at least one dialect area of Spanish (Quito, Ecuador), the second English sentence given above may be translated as *Este metal es más doble, grueso* tending to refer to the circumference of such an object as a stick of wood or to the opposite of *fino*. If we replace *metal* by *boy* in that English sentence, we must select *heavier*, *fatter*, *stouter*, or the like to the exclusion of *thicker* (unless we are speaking in a very specialized sense), and the Spanish opposites of *delgado* become *gordo*, *rechoncho*, and so on (note that *Ese muchacho es más pesado* would be susceptible of an undesired meaning here: *That boy is more of a nuisance*).

These phenomena stem from the fact that one member of any given pair may occur in a given context whereas the other possibly may not. *Bright* and *dull* may occur as "opposites" in the following contexts, for example:

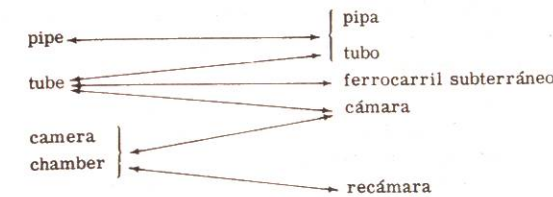
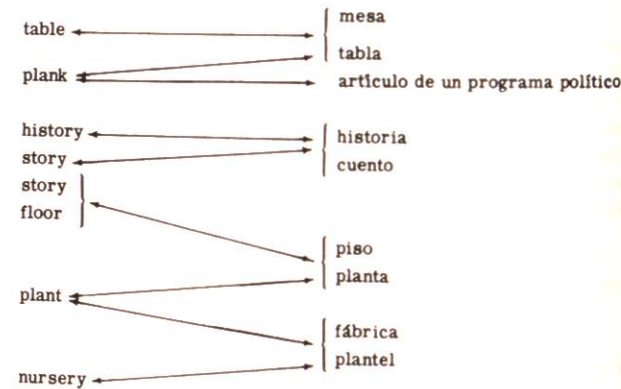
The boy is (bright, dull).
It's a (bright, dull) color.

But *dull* in *This knife is dull* has two "opposites": *This knife is bright* and *This knife is sharp*, and the meaning of *dull* varies accordingly as it is the opposite of *bright* and of *sharp*; its translation into Spanish is *deslustrado* (*deslucido*) and *embotado* (*desfilado*) in these two situations. Thus, the translation of these entire sentences is:

El muchacho es vivo (listo, inteligente, alegre, etc.)
Es un color vivo (subido, claro, transparente, etc.)
Este cuchillo está {
embotado (desfilado, etc.).
brillante (reluciente, etc.).

That is, each member of such pairs as we are discussing may have its own set of applicable contexts, and these may be different in each of the two languages being contrasted. The student must be taught, therefore, to use the lexical items of the target language within their own semantic structuring and not to impose upon them the semantic structuring of items of his native language.

Frequently it will be found that where a lexical item of English overlaps with a lexical item of Spanish, one or the other of these items extends its range to that of another or other items in the other language. One example is *corner*, which overlaps with *esquina* but also extends its range to cover *rincón*. Conversely, *paquete* overlaps with *packet* (*package*), but also covers *cartón* (of cigarettes, matches, etc.). Thus, if one asks for a *paquete* of cigarettes, he will, in some areas, receive ten pack(et)s, whereas if he asks for a *paquete* of gum, he will receive five sticks, not a carton. A few further examples of incomplete overlapping are:



Such incomplete overlapping results in a maze of difficulties for the student, and a dictionary is frequently of no help to him. Often a more detailed explanation is required.

"Deceptive cognates" also present a severe problem for the student, but even more baffling to him are the partly deceptive cognates. With these, the meaning which the student would surmise them to have exists well enough, but it is frequently rare, whereas a meaning which he would not suspect is frequently common. The following Spanish words are listed with their rare, but expected, English equivalents:

ponderar	ponder
fresco	fresh
apreciar	appreciate
intervenir	intervene
realizar	realize
denunciar	denounce
conjurar	conjure
efectuar	effect

These same words appear in the following sentences with meanings which the student may well not expect:

No necesito ponderar ante ustedes la valía de este caballero.	I needn't dwell upon for you the worth of this gentleman.
Se levantaba una brisa fresca.	A cool breeze was beginning to blow.
Apreciaron el valor de las cinco piezas en mil sucres.	They appraised the five pieces at a thousand sucres.
Usted podrá intervenir en el gran sorteo de la Farmacia Colón.	You will be able to take part in the big lottery of the Colón Pharmacy.
Necesitamos de la cooperación todos para realizar esta magna obra.	We need everyone's cooperation to to carry out this great task.
Se ha denunciado hoy en el Senado la aprobación de tres proyectos de ley.	The approval of three bills was announced in the Senate today.
Los bomberos lograron conjurar el incendio sólo después de conflagrados de edificios vecinos.	The firemen succeeded in bringing the fire under control only after two neighboring buildings had been set afire.

Tomó la palabra el fiscal para justificar los gastos efectuados. The treasurer took the floor to justify the expenses incurred.

But it is not only denotative incongruity of lexical items in the two languages which produces difficulties for the student. There are other, often more subtle, differences in the employment of words than those which we have indicated in the foregoing considerations. The modes of expression differ in the one and the other language as a function of the total differences of linguistic structure combined with differences in culture, and are usually subsumed under the rather vague rubric of the "genius" of the language. Such differences are in large part parallel to those which exist between fashions of dress, of food, of architecture, of social behavior, of literature, of politics, and so on, and are to be learned, ultimately, through intimate contact. They undoubtedly go beyond the most generous boundaries of textbooks. Frequently a good student will formulate sentences in Spanish which are grammatically impeccable but which nevertheless lack "native quality" precisely because the mold of the thought is typically English. Below are a number of sentences in Spanish with their translations. Note the quite different styles and the oddness which would result if the Spanish style were carried over into English or vice versa:

En la tarde de ayer, chocó un carro sin chofer en forma violenta contra la pared de la casa número 568 de la calle Salazar.	Yesterday afternoon a driverless car smashed into the wall of a house at 568 Salazar Street.
Un violento choque de un automóvil contra un poste se produjo en la mañana de ayer.	An automobile collided violently with a telephone pole yesterday morning.
El peso del granizo hizo ceder muchos tumbados, causando daños de consideración.	The weight of the hail caused many roofs to cave in, causing considerable damage.
Sus heridas no son de gravedad.	His injuries are not serious.
Se salvó oportunamente al refugiarse detrás de una columna.	He saved himself in the nick of time by ducking behind a post.
Estuvieron trabajando toda la mañana con abnegada y sacrificada labor.	They spent the whole morning working without thought for themselves.
El cuerpo de bomberos tuvo en la tarde de ayer una destacada actuación cuando concurrió a salvar muchas propiedades y vidas de ciudadanos.	The Fire Department performed outstandingly on a call yesterday afternoon, saving much property and the lives of many citizens.
Los policías tuvieron que realizar varios disparos para detener a los prófugos.	The police had to fire several shots in order to stop the escapees.
El chofer borracho por fin dio con su humanidad en los calabozos de la jefatura de tránsito.	The drunk driver finally wound up in jail.

To speak or write like a native, one must be able to exploit the stylistic resources of Spanish. When thoughts are cast in English molds and then uttered in Spanish, even though with faultless grammar, those resources of Spanish are not exploited, and the result tends to be insipid. Only painstaking observation and imitation of Spanish models can overcome this fault.³

CONNOTATIVE RANGE

The connotative values of lexical items are another source of distortion, and they are likely to be elusive. They are often quite different for different speakers of the same language, and they frequently vary according to context. Nevertheless, it is possible to determine connotations of lexical items about which a large degree of agreement can be found among native speakers, and these connotations must form a part of the information which is given to the student.

The connotative values of lexical items such as *siesta*, *reja*, *criada*, *empleomanía* and *afternoon nap*, *window bars*, *servant*, *patronage seeking* correspond uniquely to the respective cultures in which the languages function. The intimate bond between language and culture which is illustrated by these few words makes culture an integral part of what must be taught in language classes.

Graveyard and *cementerio*, for example, may in some contexts be equivalents, but the different connotative ranges are immediately apparent if *Forest Lawn es un famoso cementerio* is translated as *Forest Lawn is a famous graveyard*. The range of connotations carried by *amiga* is much wider than that of *friend*, and only in restricted contexts does it come close to being the equivalent of *girl friend*. The specialized connotations of *tú* in various contexts differ from region to region in the Hispanic world, and these connotations must be obtained in English by a variety of means. *Usted* and *vos* have specific values in relation to the regional customs regarding *tú*. The single pronoun *you* used to translate these Spanish forms obscures their value. The deliberate concealment of the "familiar" pronouns and verb forms in many textbooks amounts to a wholly undesirable distortion of the student's reaction to *usted*. The connotative range of *usted* is simply not that of *you*, and this fact cannot be ignored. *Señora*, *esposa* and *mujer* may in appropriate contexts all denote *wife*, but the social implications may differ considerably. The exclamations *¡Jesus!* and *¡Jesús!* produce dramatically different connotative effects in their respective languages. Given the literal denotation of *entrañas*, expressions such as *un amigo entrañable*, *hijo de mis entrañas*, and the like carry connotations which are not present in English equivalents.

We have mentioned above that connotative values often vary considerably from speaker to speaker. This is because each individual's experiences and, consequently, the associations which he makes between words and ideas are necessarily different. Viewed in the broad sense, however, the connotations of a lexical item depend on the culture in

3. For an example of a rather thorough contrastive analysis of style, see Jean-Paul Vinay and J. Darbelenet, *Stylistique Comparée du Français et de l'Anglais; Méthode de Traduction*, Paris: Didier; Montreal: Beauchemin, 1958. This is the first volume of a projected *Bibliothèque de Stylistique Comparée*.

which they are applied. Listed below are a number of items in Spanish with frequently used "equivalents" in English. Note the striking difference of emotive effect which they produce in their respective languages:

iglesia	church
policía de tránsito	traffic cop
estudiante universitario	university student
funcionario público	public servant
finca	farm
alumna universitaria	coed
almacén	department store
perro	dog
balcón	balcony
fuelle de soda	soda fountain

These lexical items have unique effects in their own cultures. In what Hispanic culture does *iglesia* evoke the white frame, single-steeped church of New England or the modernistic houses of worship of Hollywood? The resident of La Paz cannot possibly experience the same psychological reaction to *policía de tránsito* as the user of the Los Angeles freeways does to *traffic cop*. Nor can one who has taught in universities of Latin America and the United States feel that *estudiante universitario* really translates *university student*. Neither can one who visits on business a city hall and a *casa municipal* feel that *funcionarios públicos* and public servants have much in common outside the covers of a dictionary. Only technically is a *finca* a farm, and an *alumna universitaria* a coed. The connotations of *almacén* and *department store* may be somewhat closer for a resident of Buenos Aires and a resident of Los Angeles, but certainly the former calls to the mind of no *Guayaquileño* the escalators, elevators, glass showcases, and carpeted floors which attend a San Franciscan's reaction to the latter. And the child of Quito, where *perros* are almost exclusively ferocious nuisances that bark behind grilled gates, cannot possibly understand the emotional overtones of *Fido*, *Rex*, *Spot*, *Duke*, or just plain *dog*. *Balcony* to most high-school students in the United States is either the place to sit in the movies or a stage prop in a school play, with none of the same evocative value which *balcón* has for the youth of colonial Hispanic cities. The *fontes de soda* which spring up rather forlornly (in American eyes) in the cities of Latin America can never be true *soda fountains*, no matter how much chrome and marble they may be adorned with.

The reader can continue the list as far as the resources of each language and culture permit. But, it must be remembered, it is not linguistic differences that give *Christmas* and *Navidad*, *presidential elections* and *comicios presidenciales*, *market* and *mercado*, and the like such different connotative values; it is the different cultures to which these lexical items belong. Consequently, it is easy to understand the somewhat bored mystification with which so many students contemplate the literature of Spanish which they are often prematurely plunged. There they fight, not only the linguistic differences, which they might be expected to overcome, but also the tremendous cultural differences which are implied in almost every word they read. Nonetheless, literature is a

prime vehicle of cultural information; it can contribute importantly to the student's acquisition of a native "feel" for words in the target language precisely by exposing something of the connotative range of words in the context of the culture.

CIRCUMSTANTIAL RANGE

Expressions appropriate to a given circumstance often differ in content in Spanish and English. For example, an arrow indicating the flow of traffic may carry in English the words *one way*, but in Spanish the expression may be merely *circulación* (although *una vía*, possibly a *calque* from English, is making headway). A green traffic light may be accompanied in English by the word *go*, while in Spanish it is accompanied by *sigu*. The English traffic direction *yield* (right of way) is given in Spanish as *preferencia* or *preferencial*, with an arrow indicating the direction of traffic with the right of way. When handing a person a book, one may say in English, *Here's the book*; in Spanish the expression would likely be, *Aquí tienes el libro*. Of a lead that is the wrong size for a pencil one might say in English, *This lead won't work*, and in Spanish, *Esta mina no sirve*. English *Your books are lying on the table* becomes in Spanish *Tus libros están en la mesa*. *Don't pull my leg* becomes *No me tomes el pelo* in appropriate circumstances.

The student who has learned through oversimplification that *I'm sorry* is expressed in Spanish as *Lo siento*, will, unless he is further instructed, use this phrase in situations where native speakers would not. For example, if one steps on another's toes in a crowded bus, he might apologize by saying *I'm sorry*. In Spanish, *perdón* is the expression which would be used. If after one has stepped on another's toes, the victim complains, *¡Me pisó Ud. el pie!* the expression *lo siento* becomes appropriate. In English, when leaving a conversation momentarily, one uses *Pardon me*, or *Excuse me*, and in Spanish *Con permiso*. But this Spanish expression is nevertheless not the equivalent of the English expressions. For example, consider the impression created if a lady getting into a bus were suddenly to fall into the lap of a gentleman passenger as the bus started up and excuse herself with the expression *¡Con permiso!*

There are some uses of linguistic patterns observable in the speech of non-native speakers of Spanish which cannot be called ungrammatical but, rather, inappropriate to the circumstances in which they are used. For example, the expressions *No, thank you*; *it's fine here* and *No, gracias, está bien aquí* are both perfectly grammatical. But, owing to differences in the structure of the two languages, *it* functions here as impersonal whereas the subject of *está* is personal. Consequently, the Spanish expression would be inappropriate in such a circumstance as when one is offered a more comfortable chair. The English in this instance could remain the same, but the Spanish obligatorily must be personal: *No, gracias; estoy bien aquí*. On the other hand, both these expressions (*it's fine* and *está bien*) are appropriate when, for example, one has a heavy package on his lap and someone offers to put it away. Here, however, neither *it* nor the subject of *está* is impersonal. Similarly, *I like it here* and *Me gusta aquí* are both grammatical, but an American is likely to use the latter in circumstances where it is inappropriate. The Spanish expression translates the English only if *it* is the referent of a specific identifiable antecedent. Thus, if two persons are moving furniture and one says of the piano, *I like it here*, *Me*

gusta aquí is an appropriate translation. But if two persons are discussing, let us say, a city and one says *I like it here*, *Me gusta aquí* is not an appropriate translation.

In English, we say, *I'll go to your house tonight* and *I'll come to your house tonight* in the same outward circumstances, although it is true that the orientation of the speaker may differ as he chooses one or the other of these expressions. In Spanish, *Iré a tu casa esta noche* is more likely to be used unless the speaker is at the moment in the house referred to and planning to return that night. Similarly, in a telephone conversation one might say to his wife, *I'm coming home immediately*. In Spanish, **Vengo en seguida a casa* would seem quite strange; *Voy en seguida a casa* would be the appropriate expression. On the other hand, both *I'm going home soon* and *Voy pronto a casa* are appropriate if the one who is speaking is not at his home.

The preceding example would seem to indicate that Spanish is more precise in differentiating the notions of going (to a place) and coming (from a place), but, as a counterexample, we may cite *¡Siga!* This is used to mean either *Come ahead* or *Go ahead*, two expressions which apply to distinctly different situations in English. The English term *Continue*, which, logically, could be used to cover both notions is not used, for example, when asking someone to come into a room, whereas *Siga* is quite appropriate in this circumstance.

Some of these differences apply universally in the Spanish-speaking world. *Go (and) find it*, for example, is universally *Ve a buscarlo* (i.e., *hunt for* is substituted). But *Tengo que dar un examen* in some regions means *I have to take an exam*; in other places, it means *I have to give an exam*. In any event, grammaticality is not the only issue in the correct use of language; the accurate selection of grammatical utterances appropriate to given circumstances is also important.

In the preceding discussion we have attempted to delineate the types of problems that arise in the acquisition of mastery over the lexicon of Spanish by students whose native language is English. It has not been possible, of course, to give more than a few examples of each type of problem which we have discussed. If the teacher and the student are aware of the general nature of lexical differences, the specific pitfalls can be more easily avoided.

To give the student control of a lexical item, it is necessary to put him in command of the various ranges which it possesses, for it is in these ranges that the differences of behavior between an English word and a Spanish word are to be apprehended. The eventual full and systematic delineation of these ranges is made necessary by three tendencies shown by the student as he studies a new linguistic system: 1) the projection of the patterns of his native language upon the units of the target language, 2) the failure to assimilate patterns not parallel to those of his own system, and 3) the formation of incorrect analogies based upon observed patterns in the target language.

It is not practicable, of course, to present at one time all the ranges of each new lexical item. However, provision must be made to cover in a systematic progression the largest practicable number of these most important features and at least to warn the student of others which may not have been covered, including those ranges possessed by

the Spanish item but not by the English equivalents. Above all, when a new Spanish item is introduced, the student must be told which ranges of the English equivalent(s) offered are not covered by it. These equivalents are chosen only because some part of their ranges in some way or other overlaps with some part of some range of the Spanish items, but they are rarely if ever wholly congruent.

POLITZER, ROBERT L. AND CHARLES N. STAUBACH. TEACHING SPANISH: A LINGUISTIC ORIENTATION. WALTHAM, HAMSHIRE: BLAISDELL, 1965, pp. 165-8.

with the meanings of their individual components in other situations: for example, one must contrast *vez* in *una vez*, *tres veces*, et cetera, with the expressions *de vez en cuando*, *en vez de*, and *cada vez más*; and where an element appears in several idioms, as does *vez*, the several expressions must also be used in contrast.

(B) TEACHING OF "COGNATES"

So far we have considered English and Spanish similarities and overlaps only as a problem, as sources of interference. There is, of course, little doubt that the existence of cognates (words similar in form and meaning in both languages) is also a great help which must be exploited to the fullest. In the teaching of cognates two situations should be distinguished: teaching them as "active vocabulary" and teaching them for recognition purposes as passive reading vocabulary. In the first situation they are likely to constitute a special pronunciation problem. The similarity in form intensifies English interference—the possibility of English reaction to Spanish orthographic symbols, as, for instance, the reflex /ʃan/ instead of /syon/ in such words as *comunicación* and *extensión*. In either situation it is helpful to point out to the student the general pattern of cognate correspondence, but it is only in the passive reading situation that the student should be encouraged to rely on that pattern alone. Cognates taught for active use should be taught in connected speech patterns and in active production, and the student should be warned against the active use of any cognate that has not been expressly presented in the vocabulary materials. The pattern of correspondence between Spanish and English words to be presented here allows the student who is reading Spanish to deduce the meaning of Spanish words within a context. They are not predictors which enable the student to make up his own "cognates" for active use.

In many cases the Spanish words and English words are orthographically identical or differ only in minor spelling patterns, which do not create any problems in identifying the Spanish "cognates," such as English *mortal*, Spanish *mortal* or English *responsible*, Spanish *responsable*.

Some of the more important cognate patterns in the realm of noun or adjective endings are (omitting all those which are orthographically identical):

English	Spanish	Examples
-ace	- <i>acio</i>	palacé— <i>palacio</i>
-ade	- <i>ada</i>	brigade— <i>brigada</i>
-ance, -ancy	- <i>ancia</i>	abundance— <i>abundancia</i>
-ant	- <i>ante</i>	constant— <i>constante</i>
-arian, ary	- <i>ario</i>	centenarian— <i>centenario</i>
-ence, -ency	- <i>encia</i>	tendency— <i>tendencia</i>
-ent	- <i>ente</i>	accident— <i>accidente</i>
-ice	- <i>icio</i>	precipice— <i>precipicio</i>
-ion	- <i>ión</i>	infusion— <i>infusión</i>
-ism	- <i>ismo</i>	socialism— <i>socialismo</i>
-ist	- <i>ista</i>	artist— <i>artista</i>
-mony	{ - <i>monia</i> - <i>monio</i>	ceremony— <i>ceremonia</i> patrimony— <i>patrimonio</i>
-tion	- <i>ción</i>	station— <i>estación</i>
-ty	- <i>dad</i>	charity— <i>caridad</i>
-y	{ - <i>ia</i> - <i>ía</i>	academy— <i>academia</i> energy— <i>energía</i>

The above list is only partial—perhaps twice as many more ending correspondences for nouns can be given. A list for adjectives would be nearly as long. We confine ourselves to a few very common patterns:

-ant	- <i>ante</i>	abundant— <i>abundante</i>
-arious, -ary	- <i>ario</i>	precarious— <i>precario</i> ordinary— <i>ordinario</i>
-ct	- <i>cto</i>	perfect— <i>perfecto</i>
-ent	- <i>ente</i>	confident— <i>confidente</i>
-ite	- <i>ito</i>	infinite— <i>infinito</i>
-ive	- <i>ivo</i>	intensive— <i>intensivo</i>
-ose	- <i>oso</i>	verbose— <i>verboso</i>
-ous	{ - <i>oso</i> - <i>o</i>	luminous— <i>luminoso</i> continuous— <i>continuo</i>

There are also some patterns of correspondence among verbs. A great many English verbs which end in an orthographic ("silent") -e, that is, which end in a consonant sound, correspond to Spanish verbs of the -*ar* conjugation: *examinar*, *inspirar*, *causar*, *curar*, *combinar*.