

DISCOURSE MARKERS IN ADOLESCENT SPEECH: CONTRASTING NATIVE AND
NON-NATIVE UNDERSTANDING, RECOGNITION, AND USE OF SPANISH
REFORMULATION MARKERS

by

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(Under the Direction of Sarah E. Blackwell)

ABSTRACT

Adolescence is a period characterized by innovative language features. For instance, Andersen (2001), who examined the notoriously “teenage” discourse marker *like* in adolescent speech, noted, “Adolescents are innovative at different linguistic levels, . . . which contrasts with the relative linguistic stability of the language of adulthood” (2001:6-8). One way in which teenage talk is distinct from adult speech is it typically contains more discourse markers, including reformulation markers. Reformulation, as a discourse function, serves as a conversational tool for adolescent speakers due to the nature of their speech, which requires more repairs and elaborations (Buysse 2012). The objective of the present study was to examine how 24 adolescent native Spanish speakers and 24 learners of Spanish as a second language (L2) before and after study abroad in Granada, Spain understood, recognized, and used a set of reformulation markers. Specifically, I observed how the participants selected the markers *o sea*

(‘I mean’), *en plan* (‘like’), *digo* (‘I mean’), *quiero decir* (‘I mean’), *de todas formas* (‘anyway’), and *total* (‘in short’), which are traditionally classified as reformulation markers, to complete a cloze test consisting of transcribed Spanish dialogues, demonstrated familiarity with the markers, and used them/or other reformulation strategies in elicited dialogues with a peer. The results of this analysis show that of the six most frequently occurring reformulation markers identified in previous research, the native speaker adolescents preferred the marker *o sea*, followed by *en plan* and *de todas formas*. The learners’ speech, on the other hand, lacked Spanish discourse markers altogether, and a number of speakers interjected English reformulation markers when speaking Spanish. Nonetheless, some learners gained familiarity with the marker *en plan* and incorporated non-lexical Spanish markers (*eh*, *em*) into their speech by the end of the program. Theoretically, the teenage Granada-Spanish speakers’ familiarity with and use of *en plan* provide evidence of an innovative language change attested previously in other varieties of Peninsular Spanish, while learner results suggest that reformulation markers are not readily acquired in short-term immersion programs.

INDEX WORDS: Reformulation, Reformulation Markers; Discourse Markers; Study
Abroad; Adolescent Speech; Spanish

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DEDICATION

For my parents,

Jewell O. Roberts and Theresa M. Roberts

And for my husband,

Dr. Paul J. Achter

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation aims to determine how adolescent native speakers and second language (L2) learners of Spanish comprehend, recognize, and produce the following set of reformulation markers (RMs): *o sea* ('I mean'), *en plan* ('like'), *digo* ('I mean'), *quiero decir* ('I mean'), *de todas formas* ('anyway'), and *total* ('in the end'). The present study adopts the umbrella term *reformulation* to refer to a series of sub-functions that can be explicitly marked in language by lexical expressions, which Del Saz Rubio calls "*discourse markers of reformulation*" or "*reformulators*" (2007:13). In designing the three instruments for this study, I incorporated methodologies from studies on discourse markers (DMs) in the realm of adolescent speech and second language acquisition. Of importance to this study is the understanding that DMs, including RMs, are multifunctional and can operate simultaneously on the textual, interpersonal, and interactional levels of conversation (Stenström 2014).

Although native speaker adolescents use DMs often in conversation, adolescent L2 learners acquire these elements incrementally. For this study, the native speakers' and learners' performance was analyzed in terms of how they selected RMs in a multiple-choice cloze test in which certain RMs were omitted, how they rated their familiarity with these RMs, and how they incorporated these RMs into their speech in an elicited dialogue with a peer. The learners' responses to both the cloze test and familiarity survey and their recorded dialogues were measured at the beginning and end of a one-month study abroad program with the goal of assessing how and the extent to which their knowledge and use of these RMs had changed.

I begin this chapter with an overview of how DMs have been studied and the role they play in an utterance. Then, I present the notion of reformulation and discuss the use of RMs as a subset of DMs. Next, I discuss adolescent speech and elaborate on how RMs equip adolescents, in particular, with a useful discursive tool. What follows is an outline of how pragmatic features have been measured in acquisition studies that have examined learners in a study abroad setting. The chapter ends with a brief description of the three tasks comprising the present study and the objectives and research questions guiding this study.

1.1 Discourse Markers

Since the 1970s, the study of DMs has emerged as a rapidly expanding area of linguistic research. Although historically DMs were regarded as superfluous or optional, scholars have acknowledged them as integral parts of communication. As a result, linguists have conducted an increasing number of studies on DMs in recent years in the fields of pragmatics, semantics, discourse analysis, and second language acquisition. Research over the past four decades has revealed how the incorporation of DMs into one's speech can facilitate the hearer's interpretation of the speaker's intended message and serves as an indispensable communication strategy for native speakers and L2 learners of any language.

For the present study, I adopt Portolés's (2001) definition of DMs, which he describes as "invariable linguistic units that do not exert a syntactic function in the sentence [and] are used to guide the inferences that affect the participants in discourse" (2001:25-26, my translation). This means that DMs can be eliminated without altering sentence grammaticality, and their function is generally described as procedural; that is, DMs "provide instructions to the addressee on how the utterance to which the discourse marker is attached is to be interpreted" (Fraser 1996:186).

Considering these definitions, I view DMs as elements that can aid both the speaker in the delivery of his intended message, and the hearer in her comprehension of the message.

1.2 Reformulation Markers

Reformulation markers form a subset of DMs. Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), Portolés (2001), and Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (2008) offer classification systems for Spanish DMs based on their functions. They identify *reformuladores* ('reformulators') as one category of DMs, and within this category, they classify each RM as having one or more of the following functions: *explicativo* ('explicative'), *de rectificación* ('corrective'), *de distanciamiento* ('distancing'), and *recapitulativo* ('conclusive').

Portolés (2001) defines reformulation as an attempt to offer a new interpretation of the preceding utterance and contends that RMs serve to introduce a clarification, a correction, distancing, or a conclusion drawn from that utterance. For instance, in (1a), a Spanish speaker uses *es decir* ('that is') to clarify, explain, and reword the preceding segment, while in (1b) the speaker expresses a conclusion based on the preceding segment (Portolés 2001:136):

- (1) a. *Juan tiene cuatro hermanos. **Es decir**, dos hermanos y dos hermanas.*
 'Juan has four siblings. **That is to say**, two brothers and two sisters.'
- b. *Juan tiene cuatro hermanos. **Es decir**, nunca está solo.*
 'Juan has four siblings. **That is to say**, he's never alone.'

Portolés distinguishes (1a) from (1b), identifying the explicative reformulation in (1a) as an *acto parafrástico*, and the reformulation in (1b) as an *acto conclusivo*. Additionally, he insists that the utterances surrounding RMs cannot be regarded as equivalents even if the reformulation

following the marker is paraphrastic. Instead, he explains that the reformulation is essentially a new formulation containing additional, necessary information.

1.3 Adolescent Speech

Speakers of all ages use DMs, including English *in other words*, *that is*, and *I mean*, and Spanish *o sea* ('that is'), *es decir* ('that is to say'), and *esto es* ('that is'), all of which are used to introduce reformulations. Yet, teenagers in particular are notorious for incorporating more DMs into their speech. Despite the recognition of the vital role DMs play in conversation, teenagers' use of DMs is still somewhat stigmatized (Andersen 2001, Rodríguez 2002, Stenström 2008, 2014, Jorgensen 2009, 2013). Nonetheless, scholars who study adolescent speech (i.e., speech produced by speakers ages 13 to 19) have shed light on the social and interpersonal functions of DMs in conversation. Jorgensen (2013:151), creator of the *Corpus Oral del Lenguaje Adolescente en Madrid* (COLAm), notes, "[t]he special characteristics of teenage talk like frequent discourse markers, anglicisms, intensifications and taboo words, not only create bonds within their members, but work as identity markers." Moreover, Jorgensen emphasizes that teenagers may use more DMs to reformulate than adults due to the unplanned nature of their discourse. The following excerpt from the COLAm exemplifies a Madrid teenager's frequent DM use (Jorgensen 2009:7, my English translation):

- (2) *Pues yo cuando me pongo muy nerviosaa **en serio** cuando me peleo con mamá o cuándo **en plan** me saca de mis casillas y me pongo **en plan** que nos empezamos a pelear **en plan**.. que nos peleamos.*

‘So when I get very neervous **seriously** when I fight with mom or when **like** she drives me crazy and I get **like** we start fighting **like**.. we fight.’

Jorgensen further points out that heightened insecurities during adolescence can also prompt speakers in this age group to incorporate more DMs, including those typically studied as RMs, such as *en plan* (‘like’ in (2)).

The reformulation function of DMs stands out as a particularly useful tool for adolescent speakers since, according to Jorgensen (2013), spontaneity is “inherent to this kind of talk” (2013:161), and therefore, adolescent speech often includes many readjustments and reformulations. Jorgensen (2013:155) observes that adolescent speech reflects “teenage insecurity and lack of linguistic competence”, which may explain why speakers of this age group more often utilize markers; and, she adds that teenagers are more likely to rebel against standard language practices and experiment with language, resulting in the creation of new expressions. In addition, Stenström (2014:24), who has done significant work on adolescent DM use in Spanish, suggests that adolescents use more markers than adults to help “create an intimate atmosphere and sense of belonging.” She considers these uses of DMs as interpersonal or interactional functions for adolescent speakers.

To more fully account for adolescent speakers’ use of RMs, in addition to Portolés’s (2001) taxonomy, I also adopted Stenström’s (2014) framework, which she used for analyzing pragmatic features in London English and Madrid Spanish teenage talk. Since DMs are typically multifunctional and used innovatively by teenagers, it may be difficult to assign each RM to one functional category. For this reason, Stenström looked at how DMs function at three levels of conversation. By implementing Stenström’s multi-functional approach to examine adolescent

RM use, my analysis considers additional DM functions absent from Portolés's (2001) taxonomy. For instance, Stenström includes the quotative function, in which speakers insert a DM to indicate they will report speech. Given that teenagers often use DMs in this manner, I also consider this function in the present study.

1.4 Second Language Acquisition of DMs and RMs

Previously, studies in second language acquisition (SLA) neglected to examine DM use by second language (L2) learners. However, as acquisition studies began to demonstrate how necessary DMs are in order for learner speech to be considered advanced and sound more native-like, scholars began investigating how both native speakers and learners use this conversational strategy, and how learners acquire them over time. For instance, research has shown that, in general, Spanish speakers use more DMs in Spanish than English speakers do in English (Cuenca 2003), which suggests that the use of DMs by native Spanish speakers plays a more prominent role in their everyday conversations than in those of native English speakers. However, in spite of the numerous DMs (including RMs) that typically appear in adolescent native speakers' discourse, L2 learners rarely use DMs in their L2 as frequently as native speakers do, if at all. Moreover, DMs are rarely taught in the classroom (Hernández 2008) perhaps due to the fact that DMs are highly variable by dialect, generation, gender, etc., unlike many grammatical points included in a standard L2 language curriculum (Hellerman and Vergun 2007). These observations render the study of DM acquisition in L2 Spanish an interesting and valid topic for linguistic research.

Few studies have focused on the acquisition of RMs in spite of the fact that research has shown reformulation to be a strategy that aids learners as they struggle to find a word and

accurately convey their message. Buysse (2012), who compared native and non-native DM use, notes that “[l]anguage learners resort to these strategies because they use more vague terms that require elaboration than their native peers and they are certainly more likely to require repair of their utterances” (2012:1778).

One of the few studies on learner RM use is that of Corino (2016), who investigated the Italian RM *cioé* (‘I mean’) in L2 Italian learners’ written discourse at different acquisition stages. She found that the learners’ L1 minimally impacted their appropriate use of *cioé*, whereas their proficiency in Italian was most influential in achieving a more native-like use of this marker. Corino recommends that L2 learners be exposed to more native-speaker discourse containing DMs like the Italian reformulator *cioé* to gain more native-like proficiency, since, as she contends, reformulation plays a functional-pragmatic role, involving paraphrasing, revising, and recasting a message to render it “more in accordance with the speaker’s communicative goals or intentions” (2016:45).

Acquisition studies on DMs used in L2 speech have mainly centered on the effects that explicit instruction has on students’ pragmatic competence (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei 1998, Bardovi-Harlig 2001, Bardovi-Harlig and Griffin 2005, Hellerman and Vergun 2007, Félix-Brasdefer 2008, Hernández 2008, De la Fuente 2009, Alcón Soler and Guzmán Pitarch 2010, Hernández and Rodríguez González 2013). My interest in L2 learners’ use of DMs stems from the stark contrasts observed between the language to which learners are exposed in a formal, classroom environment and the natural language they encounter while studying abroad. Rarely are DMs explicitly taught, and learners are not usually directed to pay attention to these elements in their L2. Furthermore, when examining L2 speech to determine whether or not learners’ pragmatic competence approximates that of native speakers, studies have shown that

L2 speech typically either lacks DMs altogether, or has fewer DMs which are used for a limited number of functions (Müller 2005, Lin 2016). Additionally, Hernández and Rodríguez-González (2013), who look at pragmatic development at different stages of acquisition, note that the presence of DMs is one of the defining features of advanced-level L2 learner speech. Yet, few studies have compared DM use by L2 learners and native speakers of a language (Müller 2005, Corino 2016), and no study to my knowledge has compared adolescent native Spanish speakers' and L2 learners' recognition of appropriate contexts for, familiarity with, and production of RMs.

Finally, the study of DMs used in L2 speech in a study abroad immersion environment is still an underdeveloped area of research. Some studies have focused on other aspects of pragmatic awareness. For instance, Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998), examined L2 English learners' speech while studying in the U.S. The participants were either speakers of English as a second language residing in the U.S. or learners of English as a foreign language residing in Hungary. They measured the learners' pragmatic awareness by having them carry out a grammatical judgment task in which they had to identify grammatical or pragmatic errors in sentences. After just one month abroad, they found that the learners were able to recognize errors at near-native speaker levels.

More recent studies, such as that of Badstübner and Ecke (2015), have shown that even in a short-term study abroad program, students likely advance one level on the ACTFL proficiency scale (e.g., moving from intermediate-mid to intermediate-high). Therefore, we could expect learners to begin to incorporate DMs into their speech as their proficiency advances. However, to my knowledge, no study to date has looked specifically at RM use in learner speech in a study abroad environment and compared it with that of native speakers. Thus, the present study

contributes to research on how effectively students acquire these discursive elements in this environment.

1.5 Research Questions and Objectives

The present study attempts to contribute to a better understanding of how adolescent native speakers and L2 learners of Spanish 1) understand the contexts surrounding certain RMs in transcribed teenage dialogues, 2) judge their own familiarity with certain RMs, and 3) use those RMs as a conversational tool when conversing with peers. In order to investigate how native speakers and learners of Spanish in this age group recognize appropriate contexts for, are familiar with, and use RMs, I designed and implemented three instruments: a multiple-choice cloze task, a self-assessment task, and a production task. Hernández and Rodríguez-González's (2013) observation that DM learning is incremental inspired the decision to include the multiple-choice cloze task and the self-assessment task in addition to eliciting speech (the production task). The incorporation of these tasks is aimed at capturing the initial stages of L2 Spanish learners' understanding of a select group of RMs in written dialogues. In addition, the tasks measure any gains they may make in their familiarity with these RMs or their incorporation of these RMs into their speech during a short-term study abroad program in Granada, Spain. For the Spanish native speaker participants, the tasks served to determine how Spanish adolescents from Granada might use and understand these expressions. The following research questions guide the present dissertation:

1. For what discourse contexts do the adolescent native speakers and L2 learners of Spanish select *de todas formas* ('anyway'), *en plan* ('like'), *digo* ('I mean'), *quiero decir* ('I

mean'), *o sea* ('I mean') and *total* ('in short') as appropriate in a set of written dialogues, taken from the COLAm, but in which these RMs were omitted? More specifically, to what extent do the native Granada speakers' and study-abroad learners' selections coincide with, or contrast with the markers originally used by the teenagers from Madrid, who produced the dialogues for the original COLAm corpus?

2. How do the native speakers and L2 learners rate their familiarity with these RMs when they are presented in isolation?
3. At what frequency and for what functions do the participants incorporate these RMs and other reformulation strategies and DMs in their oral production when conversing with a peer in an elicited dialogue task?

1.6 Outline of the Dissertation

This chapter has clarified my research objectives and their significance in the field. Additionally, I have presented the rationale behind the study of adolescent and learner speech, reformulation as a focus for this targeted speech community, and the method for eliciting data, while taking into account relevant studies. Finally, I have presented the questions that guide this dissertation.

Chapter 2 first discusses the obstacles associated with defining DMs and the rationale behind adopting the term *discourse marker* instead of other frequently used terms. Next, I present the properties of DMs and review how DMs can be distinguished from other linguistic elements by looking at their word class and syntactic role. I also review how DMs have been studied using grammaticalization theory. Subsequently, I discuss Portolés's (2001) and Portolés and Zorraquino's (1999) classification of DMs according to function-based categories. Then, I detail

the discursive strategy of reformulation as a function of DMs and explain how this particular function has been examined in the discourse of native speakers, learners, and adolescents. Furthermore, I highlight some of the hallmark studies on DMs in Spanish and in adolescent speech. Finally, as the present study also focuses on how RMs are used and understood by L2 learners of Spanish, I review how DMs have been studied with regard to SLA, pragmatic competence, interlanguage, and the effects of immersive study abroad programs.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology used in this investigation. There, I highlight influential studies, such as those carried out by Müller (2005), Jorgensen and López (2007), and Stenström (2014), and I describe the ways in which the present study is based in part on these studies. I also discuss why I opted for a corpus-driven approach and explain how the COLAm corpus was used to gather preliminary data and how it affected my hypotheses. I then elaborate on the experimental design and how it aided in answering my research questions. Finally, I describe the participants, interview format, tasks, data collection process, and coding procedures.

Chapter 4 reports the quantitative results for the three experimental tasks. In this chapter, I look at the Granada-Spanish native speaker tendencies and discuss how the learners' performance changed (or stayed the same) when they repeated the tasks at the end of the program.

Chapter 5 reports the qualitative results for the most extensive task in this study: the elicited dialogue. In addition, this chapter includes a discussion of how the six RMs had been analyzed in previous studies, and compares the use of these markers by the native speaker participants in the present study with their use by teenagers in Madrid, whose speech is transcribed in the COLAm. Furthermore, I identify other DMs and conversational strategies in the data, regardless of their functions, and examine the contextual features surrounding them. I compare the native speaker

data to the learner data to determine the extent to which the learners' elicited dialogues became more like the native speakers' dialogues by the end of their intensive Spanish immersion program.

Finally, Chapter 6 offers some conclusions regarding my initial hypotheses. I also present the limitations of the present study, some implications of the findings, and suggestions for future analyses.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter I first discuss various issues related to the study of discourse markers (DMs) including the terminology used to describe these forms, their defining properties, and the nature of the process of grammaticalization through which these forms become DMs. Next, I address how DMs have been studied as reformulation markers (RMs) and what constitutes a reformulation, as well as how the sub-functions ascribed to RMs differ according to each author's definition of reformulation. I then review the few studies that have focused on either adolescent native speakers' or learners' use of DMs in general and, more specifically, their use of RMs. In this chapter I also discuss the role these markers play in adolescent speech, and how researchers have studied DMs of different types in second language acquisition (SLA).

2.1 Defining Discourse Markers: Terminology

As the study of DMs has gained attention over the past 40 years, researchers have presented myriad terms to refer to these linguistic forms, including *discourse markers*, *discourse particles*, *connectives*, *discourse operators*, *pragmatic markers*, and *coherence markers*. However, scholars have found some of these terms to be problematic, particularly, *discourse particles* and *connectives*, due to disagreement in terms of their classification and functions. As the focus on pragmatics has increased in first language (L1) and second language (L2) studies, *discourse marker* has become the most widely accepted term, as its definition resolves some of the scholarly disputes associated with the terms *discourse particles* and *connectives*.

The term *discourse particle* predominated the research until the mid-1980s. However, since then, many scholars have stopped using *particle* because it was traditionally treated as primarily a syntactic term. This association can be misleading, as DMs are not drawn from one, but rather many grammatical and syntactic classes, including, but not limited to, conjunctions, adverbials, interjections, adjectival phrases, verbal clauses, and prepositional phrases (Hansen 1998, Portolés 2001, Anderson 2001, Aijmer 2002, Cuenca 2003). For instance, Zwicky (1985) initially used the term *discourse particle* in his analysis to make the case for DMs as independent words and distinguish them from clitics. However, he later edited his publication to replace *discourse particle* with *discourse marker* when he found the term *particle* infelicitous in describing this unified class of words. Zwicky (1985:302-303) argued that DMs comprise a heterogeneous group in terms of their syntactic and grammatical classes, but that DMs are considered a unified class in terms of “distribution, prosody, and meaning.” In other words, DMs behave similarly pragmatically while they differ syntactically and according to their grammatical class.

Another reason why scholars have rejected the term *discourse particle* is due to the fact that the word *particle* inherently implies that these linguistic elements are small in size and prosodically dependent (i.e., not accented). Zwicky (1985), Fraser (1999), and Roggia (2012) note that although some DMs are small and uninflected, many DMs are multiword units. And, as Zwicky (1985:303) emphasizes, DMs are most commonly “accented and prosodically separated from their surrounding context by pauses, intonation breaks, or both.” For instance, one of the ways speakers use the DMs *o sea* (‘that is’) and *bueno* (‘well’ or ‘actually’) in Spanish is for the purpose of reformulation (i.e., as RMs). According to Cuenca (2003), RMs generally encode “a discourse function by which the speaker re-elaborates an idea in order to be more specific” (2003:1071). Example (3), from Cuenca (2003:1071), demonstrates how speakers use the RM *o*

sea, a verbal clause, and, example (4), from García Negroni (2009:49), shows how speakers use the RM *bueno*, an adjectival phrase, for two different sub-functions of reformulation:

- (3) *En esta página observamos la presencia de 62 unidades verbales: 51 se hallan en nuestro centenar y otros once verbos no, pues son específicos de la conversación grabada. O sea un 82% de los verbos que se emplean en esa página corresponde a nuestra lista seleccionada.*

‘In this page we observe the presence of 62 verbal units: 51 are included in our 100 and eleven are not, since they typically appear in the recorded conversation. **That is** 82% of the verbs used on this page correspond to our selected list.

- (4) *Lo vi ayer; **bueno** no... antes de ayer.*

‘I saw him yesterday; **actually** no...the day before yesterday.

Cuenca and García Negroni’s examples demonstrate how two expressions from different grammatical and syntactic classes share the broader function of reformulation. Both *o sea* and *bueno* are used by the speakers to introduce a reformulation of what they have just said, but in a better, more precise way from the perspective of the speaker. In example (3), the speaker uses *o sea* as an explicative RM, a sub-function of RMs according to Portolés (2001), to restate “51 out of 62” in terms of a percentage, “82%.” Cuenca (2003:1071) explains this notion as the “equivalence operation” in which speakers are able to express a single idea in two different ways. Essentially, the speaker’s reformulation is an extension of what had already been

expressed. In example (4), the speaker uses *bueno* as a corrective RM, another sub-function of RMs identified by Portolés (2001), to modify the prior part of his utterance so that the hearer will more accurately interpret his message.

As researchers investigating DMs began to classify these expressions according to their pragmatic functions regardless of their syntactic or grammatical class, the term *discourse particle* became less common and the term *discourse marker* gained in acceptance. For instance, *marcador del discurso* has been used in taxonomies of Spanish DMs such as those of Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), Portolés (2001) and Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (2008). Furthermore, Roggia (2012) claims that *discourse marker* is more inclusive, as it more clearly represents expressions from multiple syntactic classes ranging from non-lexical items like *eh*, to multiword units such as *quiero decir*.

Although some authors use the term *connective* to refer to DMs in general (e.g., Blakemore 1987, Fraser 1988, Blakemore 1992), others, such as Portolés (2001), Pons Bordería (2001), and Hansen (1998) distinguish *connectives* as a subset of DMs that semantically and pragmatically link two parts of the utterance. What differentiates *connectives* from DMs is that *connectives* always orient the hearer in both directions (i.e., toward what precedes and what follows the marker). By contrast, non-connective DMs may point solely backward or solely forward. Portolés (2001) and Pons Bordería (2001) claim that only the subset they classify as *connectives* can indicate a semantic and pragmatic relationship between the prior discourse and the upcoming discourse, as illustrated in (5) (Portolés 2001:139, my translation):

- (5) *Luisa es alta y, **además**, bota bien el balón.*

‘Luisa is tall and, **besides**, she dribbles the ball well.’

According to Portolés (2001:139, my translation), if hearers merely had the information, *Luisa es alta* they would likely draw various inferences regarding what one's height enables one to do such as "She will be able to reach the light bulb" or "She plays basketball well." By connecting *Luisa es alta* and *bota bien el balón* with the DM *además* the hearer can conclude that being tall contributes to Luisa's ability to dribble the ball well and, therefore, play basketball well.

Schwenter (1996) distinguishes connectives from other DMs by emphasizing how connectives, such as the RM *o sea*, lead the hearer to consider the information preceding the marker as supporting the conclusion that follows it. For instance, Schwenter demonstrates how the use of *o sea* in the following example introduces a conclusion based on the previous discourse segment:

(6) *León es puro llano.*

'Leon is completely flat.'

O sea que puedes extenderte perfectamente.

'O SEA QUE you can extend yourself (i.e., travel) perfectly.'

(Schwenter 1996:863, citing example from Cortés Rodríguez 1991:56)

Connectives semantically link both parts of the utterance, as in (6), where each discourse segment contributes to the same conclusion regardless of their order. However, referring to all DMs as *connectives* is misleading since DMs can point solely backwards, solely forwards, or in both directions (Blakemore 1987, Schiffrin 1987).

Scholars who prefer the term *discourse marker* most often define these linguistic elements according to their functional-pragmatic role. For example, Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), Portolés (2001), Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (2008) use a discursive model to classify DMs in Spanish according to their communicative function. Portolés's attempt to classify DMs had two aims: to identify a unifying meaning for each marker he identified and to designate all the uses of each marker drawn from a unifying meaning. As Portolés explains, he developed this approach to offer a more precise classification of DMs in response to how speech act theorists had previously defined DMs. Portolés notes that, in Speech Act Theory, DMs are analyzed based on the speech act they introduce, which could include one of the following: a justification, an explanation, a defense, a paraphrase, or a summary, among others. Portolés (2001) dismisses this manner of categorizing DMs and, instead, adopts a functional-pragmatic approach by identifying a unifying meaning of *es decir*, illustrated earlier by examples (1a) and (1b), and repeated here for convenience:

- (7) a. *Juan tiene cuatro hermanos. **Es decir**, dos hermanos y dos hermanas.*
 'Juan has four siblings. **That is to say**, two brothers and two sisters.'
- b. *Juan tiene cuatro hermanos. **Es decir**, nunca está solo.*
 'Juan has four siblings. **That is to say**, he's never alone.'

As Portolés observes, in Speech Act Theory, the DM *es decir* has a different role in sentences (7a) and (7b). Portolés reports that in (7a), the speech act introduced by the marker is a

paraphrase, while in (7b) it precedes a summary. However, Portolés (2001) fuses those two roles into one unifying meaning for this marker. Portolés (2001:136-137) explains:

Desde nuestra perspectiva, sin embargo, se buscará un único significado a es decir y se intentarán explicar los dos usos desde este significado: el miembro que introduce es decir constituye una reformulación que aclara o explica lo que se ha querido comunicar en otro miembro anterior que pudiera ser poco comprensible; esto sucede de dos maneras: volviendo a expresar mejor lo que se acaba de decir, esto es con una paráfrasis (a)--repitiendo el tópico--, o expresando directamente las conclusiones que deberían inferirse del primer miembro (b) comentando un nuevo tópico.

‘From our perspective, nevertheless, we looked for a unifying meaning of *es decir* and tried to explain the two uses from this meaning: the part of the discourse after *es decir* is a reformulation that clarifies or explains what the speaker wanted to communicate in the prior part of the utterance that could have been barely understandable; this happens in two ways: by expressing something that has just been said again in a better way, this is done with paraphrasing (a)—repeating the topic—, or directly expressing the conclusions that should be inferred from the first part (b) by commenting with a new topic.’

Portolés argues that the two separate speech acts, paraphrasing and summarizing, can be subsumed under one function: reformulation. Nevertheless, Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), Portolés (2001), and Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (2008) recognize that DMs are multifunctional and can therefore appear in more than one classification category.

In summary, while there is currently no unanimously accepted term, *discourse marker* has the widest currency in the field and more precisely describes syntactically independent words and phrases that aid in utterance interpretation (Buysse 2012). Therefore, I adopt the term *discourse marker* for the present study. Disagreements regarding what type of word or phrase can potentially be classified as a DM and the primary role a given DM plays in an utterance stem from the subtly different classifications of these forms.

2.2 Properties of Discourse Markers

In addition to a lack of consensus among researchers with regard to their choice of terminology, there is not complete agreement regarding the features considered to be the defining properties of DMs. Furthermore, although certain features are highlighted in many scholars' definitions of DMs, rarely has a marker been excluded from this category due to not having one (or more) of these features. Schiffrin's (1987) pivotal work was the first in-depth analysis of DMs in spontaneous conversation. However, before Schiffrin coined the term *discourse marker* and clarified its role in conversation, Levinson (1983:87) drew attention to some of their most recognizable features:

There are words and phrases in English [indicating] the relationship between an utterance and the prior discourse. Examples are utterance-initial usages of *but, therefore, in conclusion, to the contrary, still, however, anyways, well, besides, actually, all in all, so, after all*, etc. It is generally conceded that such words have at least a component of meaning that resists truth conditional treatment...What they seem to do is indicate, often in very complex ways, is [sic] just how the utterance that contains them is a response to, or a continuation of, some portion of the prior discourse.

Levinson's description provides insight on how DMs behave, but he only recognizes the utterance-initial syntactic position. From her extensive work on DMs, Schiffrin (1987) discovered that although DMs occur most frequently in the utterance-initial position, they also occur medially or finally.

Another defining feature Levinson mentions is DMs' ability to "resist" truth conditions, which is also known as propositionality. In other words, DMs do not contribute to the semantic, core meaning of the utterance. Instead, DMs possess a procedural, instructional meaning, which Portolés (2001:75) describes in his definition as their ability to "guide the inferences that affect

the participants in discourse.” The following sections explore the aforementioned features, namely, syntactic optionality and propositionality, along with other key defining properties of DMs.

2.2.1 Word Class

According to Schourup (1999), a unique characteristic of DMs is the challenge in assigning them a word class. Specifically, he notes that “[DMs] do not constitute a single well-defined grammatical class but comprise a functionally related group of items drawn from other classes” (1999:236). Redeker (1990) argues that it is impossible to assign DMs to a particular word class when research shows that not all words or phrases from a grammatical class function as DMs. With no word class assigned to DMs, researchers define them differently in terms of inclusivity. Some authors exclude certain types of linguistic elements while others do not delimit what kind of items should be subsumed under this category. Fraser (1990), for example, excludes hesitation particles, exclamations, and interjections from the DM category. Portolés (2001) includes exclamations and interjections, and adds vocatives, but makes no mention of hesitation particles. Since what constitutes a DM can depend on the author’s choice of which types of words and phrases to include, some types have been studied as DMs more than others.

Most DMs have a non-DM identical counterpart, which functions according to its grammatical (word) class. For instance, DMs are commonly drawn from the adverbial class. The following examples from Portolés (1998:58) illustrate how the phrase *en cualquier caso* can function as an adverbial, as in (8a) and (8b), but may also be used as a DM, as is the case in (8c):

- (8) a. *Lo haré en cualquier caso.*

‘I will do it in any case.’

- b. *Lo haré en cualquier de los casos que hemos examinado.*

‘I will do it in any of the cases we have examined.’

- c. ***En cualquier caso***, lo haré.

‘**In any case**, I will do it.’

The environment in which *en cualquier caso* functions as an adverbial is distinct from that in which it functions as a DM. For example, the phrase in (8a) can be inflected and combined with other phrases as exhibited in (8b) with *en cualquier de los casos*, whereas the DM *en cualquier caso* in (8c) cannot be modified. Additionally, a word or phrase cannot function simultaneously as a DM and as the non-DM identical counterpart. Instead, they function in complementary distribution.

In addition to examining native and learner understanding and recognition of DMs, this project focuses on examining the functions of certain DMs exhibited in native and learner adolescent speech. When analyzing spoken corpora, it is imperative to consider word class, and to meticulously examine the context to ensure that the examined words or phrases function as DMs, and not as their non-DM identical counterparts (Hansen 1998, Fraser 1999).

2.2.2 Syntactic Independence, Positioning, and Optionality

Scholars describe DMs as heterogeneous with respect to syntax, because speakers insert DMs into various syntactic positions (Schourup 1999). The following example illustrates why DMs are considered syntactically detachable elements (Schwenter 1996:863, citing this example from Cortés Rodríguez 1991:62, my translation):

(9) *Tiene que estar todo, **o sea**, más detallado.*

‘Everything has to be, **like**, more detailed.’

In (9), the removal of *o sea* would not alter the syntactic integrity of the utterance. In other words, the hearer would still be able to accurately process the semantic inferences, and native speakers would consider the sentence grammatical without the presence of *o sea* (Fraser 1988).

Although DMs were once solely associated with the utterance-initial syntactic position, researchers later observed that DMs could occur in the initial, medial, or final position. Fraser (1999:938) illustrates this point with examples of three functionally similar DMs used in different positions:

- (10) a. Harry is old enough to drink. **However**, he can’t because he has hepatitis.
- b. It is freezing outside. I will, **in spite of this**, not wear a coat.
- c. We don’t have to go. I will go, **nevertheless**.

Fraser says the three DMs in (10) have the flexibility to appear in the initial, medial, or final position. This is a feature of DMs, which contrasts with the syntactic constraints of other linguistic elements. Researchers have described DMs as syntactically optional for this reason. However, some linguists challenge the notion of optionality and emphasize that DMs enhance utterance interpretation. Svartvik (1980:171) explains that DMs enrich the effect the utterance has for the hearer claiming, “[i]f [*discourse markers*] are not used appropriately, the discourse

may appear disjointed or awkward, and the speaker boring, impolite, dogmatic, or unfriendly.” Travis (2005:1) maintains that although DMs are regarded as optional, “[they] are essential for smooth interaction.” Moreover, Schourup (1999:231-232) notes that “[e]ven those who regard DMs as optional see them as guiding the hearer toward a particular interpretation.” Thus, with regard to syntax, DMs are optional, but, pragmatically, they serve as necessary conversational tools used strategically by speakers when trying to convey their ideas.

2.2.3 Orality and Propositionality

Native speakers use DMs effortlessly and most often in spoken discourse, and therefore they are considered to be largely a feature of oral communication. In fact, some studies have confirmed that DMs are far more frequent in spoken discourse than in written contexts (e.g., Louwerse and Mitchell 2003, Taboada 2006).

Researchers often refer to DMs’ role in propositionality as one of the unique characteristics distinguishing these linguistic elements from words or phrases of other grammatical classes. The *proposition* is a philosophical notion defined as something that bears truth conditions. DMs have generally been characterized as elements external to the proposition because they do not contribute to the truth conditions of the proposition. For example, in (11) the truth conditions ‘he is rich’ and ‘he saves a lot’ remain true regardless of the DM used (Portolés 2001:22):

- (11) a. *Es rico **pero** ahorra mucho.*
 ‘He’s rich **but** he saves a lot.’
- b. *Es rico y, **por tanto**, ahorra mucho.*
 ‘He’s rich and **therefore** he saves a lot.’

c. *Por un lado, es rico, por otro, ahorra mucho.*

‘On the one hand he’s rich, on the other hand, he saves a lot.’

d. *Es rico y, además, ahorra mucho.*

‘He’s rich and, in addition, he saves a lot.’

e. *Es rico y, claro, ahorra mucho.*

‘He’s rich and, of course, he saves a lot.’

Instead of contributing to the propositional content of an utterance (i.e., the content that can be evaluated as either true or false), DMs help the hearer infer the speaker’s intended meaning, which is beyond the propositional content of each of the utterances in (11). For instance, in (11a) the DM indicates to the hearer that what follows is a counter-argument, while in (11b) the DM communicates that what follows is a result. In (11c), the two DMs organize and structure the information, while in (11d) the DM indicates that what follows is additive information. Finally, in (11e), the DM reinforces the strength of the information that follows (Portolés 2001).

Portolés illustrates the truth-conditionality of other linguistic elements in an utterance with the following example, whereby substituting the verb *ahorra* in (11) with *gasta* in (12) affects the truth conditions (2001:22):

(12) *Es rico pero gasta mucho.*

‘He’s rich but he spends a lot.’

The truth conditions in (11) are no longer true in (12). Summarizing, DMs, unlike other elements in an utterance, do not affect its semantic content, or truth conditions, but they do affect the

procedural, or instructional content. Portolés illustrates how a DM affects the inferences a hearer draws from the utterance in (13) (Portolés 2001:22):

- (13) a. Ana es de Teruel y, *por tanto*, es habladora.
 ‘Ana is from Teruel and, **therefore**, is talkative.
- b. Ana es de Teruel y, *sin embargo*, es habladora.
 ‘Ana is from Teruel and, **nevertheless**, is talkative.

Although the propositions, ‘Ana is from Teruel’ and ‘is talkative’, are unaltered by changing the DM, the inferences in (13a) and (13b) differ. In (13a) the hearer can infer the speaker’s views about people from Teruel, namely, that being “talkative” is a consequence of “being from Teruel.” In (13b), due to the speaker’s use of *sin embargo*, the hearer can infer that “being from Teruel” is not associated with the characteristic of “being talkative.” In other words, the speaker in (13b) believes the association between the two segments to be unexpected.

Andersen (2001:48) points out that, due to their non-propositional, procedural meaning, “[t]here is always a possibility of omitting the marker without depriving the sentence of its conceptual integrity or causing syntactic anomaly.” Fraser (1996:186) describes the procedural role of DMs stating that “[t]hey provide instructions to the addressee on how the utterance to which the DM is attached is to be interpreted.” Consider the following example from Pons Bordería (2003:233):

- (14) A: ¿Es que te estás montando una casa?
 ‘So are you building a house?’

B: *Sí. **Bueno** ya está montada.*

‘Yeah. **Well**, it’s already built.’

The speaker in (14) uses *bueno* to communicate to the hearer that the prior part of the utterance, *Sí*, was incorrect and to consider the upcoming information as a more accurate response. If the speaker omitted *bueno*, the syntactic integrity of the utterance would remain, and the propositional content would be unaltered, but the pragmatic, procedural meaning would be lacking. In fact, without *bueno* to indicate a correction, the hearer might find it more difficult to interpret the speaker’s intended message since the response without *bueno* does not make sense pragmatically.

Blakemore (1992:87) explains the procedural role of a DM saying, “DMs relate the propositional content expressed by the current utterance to assumptions that may or may not have been communicated by a prior utterance.” She adds that DMs delimit the possible interpretations on the hearer’s part by guiding the hearer toward the speaker’s desired intention, as is the case in the following example, in which the speaker uses the English RM *that is* (1996:344):

(15) I want you to meet Simon, **that is**, Sir Simon.

The assumptions communicated via the RM are rooted in the speaker’s attitude. The speaker uses the RM *that is* to add content for accuracy (i.e., it is used as a corrective RM). The speaker is not indicating that one means of reference is equivalent to the other. It is clear that “Simon” and “Sir Simon” refer to the same person. Instead, he uses the RM to indicate that what follows

is the correct way to address Simon formally (Blakemore 1996). Both the non-syntactic and non-propositional properties of DMs support the idea that DMs can be omitted without causing anomaly, but, without DMs, the pragmatic function they carry out is lost.

2.2.4 Discourse Markers and Grammaticalization

Thus far I have shown that DMs are a heterogeneous group in terms of word class and syntactic class, but that they share the feature of non-propositionality. Also, as we have seen, DMs are functional words rather than conceptual, lexical words because the general function of DMs is procedural; that is, they guide the hearer to the intended interpretation of the utterance and are rarely associated with a conceptual meaning. Therefore, all DMs have undergone the process of grammaticalization, albeit to varying degrees. Traugott and König (1991:189) define grammaticalization as “the dynamic unidirectional historical process whereby lexical items in the course of time acquire a new status as grammatical, morphosyntactic forms.” It is worth mentioning, however, that although grammaticalization is rooted in the idea unidirectionality, some scholars, such as Norde (2009), challenge this global claim and contend that the idea of degrammaticalization also exists. Generally speaking, degrammaticalization is a process by which words lose their grammatical, or functional, meaning over time. Given that Norde has found a substantial number of exceptions to unidirectionality in which grammatical items have become more lexical, she concludes that unidirectionality should be regarded as a tendency instead of a constraint on grammaticalization.

Since DMs are grammaticalized forms and do not contribute to propositional content, some scholars claim that DMs lack a conceptual meaning entirely (Hansen 1998, Fraser 1990). Andersen (2001) and Traugott (1999) do not consider lexical transparency a defining feature of

DMs, and instead claim that DMs fall on a grammaticalization cline, described as a scale that places content words at one end and functional words at the other. In other words, some DMs exhibit a greater conceptual meaning, while more grammaticalized DMs encode a mostly, if not wholly, procedural meaning. Hopper (1991:22) points out that there is a general consensus that “conceptual meanings can be ascribed to the principle of grammaticalization” and that “some traces of [a DM’s] original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it.” Traugott (1990) supports this notion and contends that DMs are constantly being grammaticalized and cannot be considered endpoints anywhere on the grammaticalization cline. Other authors, such as Andersen (2001) and Blakemore (1996), maintain that lexical transparency should not be an essential defining feature of DMs given that markers such as *en otras palabras*, which have not been fully grammaticalized, still encode a largely conceptual meaning. Thus, whereas some DMs do not lack a conceptual meaning entirely, many DMs have lost much of their lexical content.

The DMs classified within one functional category, such as reformulation, have undergone varying degrees of grammaticalization, making them notably distinctive from one another (Andersen 2001, Murillo 2004). One can observe the varying degrees of grammaticalization by examining three RMs: *o sea* (‘I mean’) or (‘that is’), *quiero decir* (‘I mean’), and *en otras palabras* (‘in other words’). For example, the DM *o sea* has undergone more grammaticalization than the DM *en otras palabras*. Blakemore (1996:337) explains that the DM *in other words* literally alludes to the process of reformulation and communicates the message “[t]hese are other words for something.” Meanwhile, *o sea*, consists of the conjunction *o* and the third person singular subjunctive form of ‘be’, *sea* (Schwenter 1996). Thus, the DM *en otras palabras* has a clearer conceptual meaning than *o sea*. Therefore, the RM *quiero decir* (‘I want to say’) lies somewhere in the middle of the grammaticalization cline, as it has not lost all of its conceptual

meaning, since it allows for many other variations such as *queremos decir* or *quieres decir* (Fernández Bernárdez 2000). Meanwhile, more grammaticalized DMs, such as *o sea*, do not allow for variations and do not encode a conceptual meaning. Hansen (1998:246) points out that content words, including less grammaticalized DMs such as *in other words*, function as “instructions to access particular areas of one’s store of knowledge in order to set up contextually appropriate representations.” She adds that more grammaticalized DMs like *well* indicate how the hearer should process the information in the utterance. Thus, though expressions such as *in other words* and *well* are similar in that they are DMs, they may affect the inferences of the utterance being interpreted differently due to the level to which they have been grammaticalized.

2.2.5 Discourse Markers and Relevance Theory

The functions of DMs have often been studied within the framework of Sperber and Wilson’s Relevance Theory (1986). Relevance Theory builds on Grice’s (1975) four maxims of conversation but is reduced to a single maxim: be relevant. This theory is a cost-benefit model of human cognition by which discourse is organized to achieve the greatest cognitive effect for the smallest possible processing effort. In other words, the higher the processing effort required to interpret an utterance, the lower the relevance is, and vice versa. Andersen (2001) explains that the more relevant a part of the utterance, the greater the strength of the contextual effects. According to Sperber and Wilson (1986), human cognition in general aims to improve the quantity, quality, and organization of knowledge. Therefore, the listener’s processing resources must lead to the most relevant information in order for the hearer to infer the intent of the speaker and achieve optimal relevance. Sperber and Wilson (1986:41) propose the following strategies in order to achieve optimal relevance for the speaker and the hearer:

Speaker's role: to be relevant and, thus, prevent the hearer from having to put forth unnecessary cognitive effort.

Hearer's role: to use the new information in order to infer what the speaker means on the basis of existing assumptions and principles governing conversation.

These authors state that speakers yearn to achieve a positive cognitive effect by strengthening, revising, or combining an existing assumption with new information in order to yield truth conditions. Speakers lead hearers to the correct interpretation of an utterance, and thus lower processing costs by incorporating DMs into their speech. Andersen (2001:40) points out the effectiveness of DMs stating, "their primary contribution is not as propositional constituents, but they contribute to relevance by telling the hearer how an utterance is to be understood, thus reducing the processing effort that the hearer must employ in utterance comprehension."

Blakemore (1996) uses Relevance Theory to explain the procedural function DMs encode in an utterance. She says DMs delimit the possible interpretations on the hearer's part by most clearly indicating and guiding the hearer toward the speaker's intended meaning. Portolés (2001) also uses Relevance Theory to describe the impact DMs have on utterance interpretation. For instance, Portolés contends that the use of DMs leads the hearer to only draw inferences that the speaker regards as most pertinent and accurate. Corino (2016:45) uses both Blakemore's and Portolés's observations about relevance and RMs to describe their function as "markers of the explicit." She highlights that, due to relevance, a RM "assign[s] a new perspective of interpretation to a prior discourse unit" (2016:46). Therefore, RMs optimize the encoding process for the hearer by allowing the speaker to communicate how the conceptual content should be understood and how it can be manipulated. It is worth noting that although a hearer

can more accurately interpret native speaker speech, L2 learner speech may be more difficult for hearers to process precisely because it lacks the appropriate DMs necessary for successful communication.

2.3 Reformulation and Reformulation Markers

The previous sections detailed how DMs have been studied. This section focuses on one subset of DMs, RMs. Blakemore (1993:107) maintains that speakers use RMs to “facilitate the hearer’s understanding of the original [utterance]” and “more than a strict paraphrase, [reformulation] can imply discourse values such as explanation, specification, generalization, implication, gloss, or summary.” Some studies on RMs have focused on their sub-functions (such as those mentioned by Blakemore), which fall under the umbrella term of *reformulation* (Blakemore 1993, Murillo 2016). Others have highlighted the RMs used in different languages and compared and contrasted their frequencies, degree of formality, and complexity in various discourse genres (Cuenca 2003, Cuenca and Bach 2007).

Inaugural studies on reformulation appeared in French beginning in the 1980s (e.g., Gülich and Kotschi 1983, Charolles and Coltier 1986, Roulet 1987.) Studies in other Romance Languages, such as Italian, began appearing later (e.g., Rossari 1994). Likewise, studies on Spanish RMs (e.g., López Alonso 1990, Cortés Rodríguez 1991, Fuentes Rodríguez 1993, Pons Bordería and Ruíz Gurillo 2001) and English RMs followed (e.g., Blakemore 1993, 1996, 2007, Murillo 2004, Del Saz Rubio 2007). Beginning in the 2000s, contrastive studies on reformulation in English and Spanish were carried out as well (e.g., Cuenca 2003, Del Saz Rubio 2006, Cuenca and Bach 2007, Cuenca and Marín 2009, Murillo 2016a).

In the remainder of this section, I first discuss relevant contributions on the use of RMs in Spanish. Then, I describe Portolés's (2001) classification system for RMs in Spanish. I end this section by highlighting contrastive studies on how this discourse function is realized by speakers in their first and second languages.

2.3.1 Reformulation in Spanish

Reformulation markers are a type of DM and possess a number of sub-functions, which depend on the researcher's definition of what constitutes a true reformulation. The bulk of the earliest works done on reformulation in Spanish include explanation, correction, and conclusion as sub-functions (López Alonso 1990, Cortés Rodríguez 1991, Martín Zorraquino and Portolés 1999, Portolés 2001). However, Pons Bordería (2013, 2017) rejects the notion that the conclusive sub-function pertains to the general idea of reformulation. In response to this proposal, Murillo (2016b) showed support for some of the earlier frameworks, including that of Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999) and Portolés (2001), which include explanation, correction, distancing, and conclusion as reformulation marker sub-functions. Blakemore (1993, 1996), Portolés (2001), and Murillo (2004, 2016) argue that the contents of the discourse preceding a RM facilitates the hearer's interpretation of the conclusive statement that follows the RM.

Murillo (2016b) defends the stance that a conclusion is a type of reformulation by saying that a conclusive reformulation is merely one type of conclusion specific to reformulation that does not entail cause-consequence. She demonstrates this distinction with the following example, where *por tanto* ('therefore') introduces a consequence, while *es decir* ('that is to say') prefaces

a conclusion serving as B's reformulation (or reinterpretation) of A's utterance (2016b:239), adapted from Roulet 1987, my English translation):

- (16) A: *El gobierno no cederá a las presiones.*
 'The government won't give in to pressure.'
 B: *Por tanto / Es decir, ustedes no van a desbloquear el conflicto.*
 'Therefore / That is to say, you are not going to unblock the conflict.'

Murillo also supports Portolés's (2001) inclusion of correction as a reformulation sub-function, which Pons Bordería rejects (2013, 2017). Instead of regarding reformulations as merely restatements, Murillo contends that RMs help reorient the hearer toward what the speaker is trying to convey (Murillo, 2016b:243, my translation):

- (17) *Necesito creer que [quien gobierna] lo hace por juzgarse más capaz que otro de conducir al pueblo que gobierna –o sea, en cuyo nombre gobierna– hacia un mejor derecho y una más alta calidad de vida* (originally from *El Mundo*, April 17, 1995)
 'I need to believe that [those who govern] do it because they think they are more capable than others of leading the people they govern –**I mean**, in whose name they govern– towards better justice and a higher quality of life.'

For the purposes of the present study, I examine markers that can have the corrective and conclusive sub-functions, which have been traditionally categorized under the umbrella category of reformulation by Portolés (2001), whose framework I discuss later in this section.

Most studies on reformulation in Spanish focus on the use of one or more Spanish RMs and do not debate the sub-functions. Instead, these studies identify the sub-functions of markers typically classified as RMs by describing examples found in their data (e.g., López Alonso 1990, Casado Velarde 1991, Fuentes Rodríguez 1993, Bach 1996, Schwenter 1996, Briz 2001, Fernández Bernárdez 2000, Cuenca 2003, Jorgensen 2009, Roggia 2012, Murillo 2016a, Polanco Martínez 2016, San Martín Núñez 2013). The studies reviewed below deal with some of the sub-functions of RMs on which the present study focuses.

Fuentes Rodríguez (1993) analyzed the conclusive reformulation sub-function of several Spanish DMs. She considers reformulation to be an indication of a change in a speaker's discourse perspective. When a speaker reformulates, he modifies the preceding arguments. Fuentes Rodríguez (1993) identifies several reformulation operations, which she calls condensation or denomination, expansion/enumeration or definition, and verbalization or explanation. She illustrates the expansion/enumeration function of *es decir* with the following example (1993:177):

- (18) *Estaban de acuerdo conmigo todos los filólogos presentes. **Es decir**, Antonio, Juan y Eloy.*

‘All the philologists agreed with me. **That is**, Antonio, Juan, and Eloy.’

Here, *es decir* prefaces the enumeration or definition of *todos los filólogos presentes* ('all the philologists present') in the second segment, which is considered the most informative part, "because it is the one that most adequately captures the intention of the speaker or the conditions or expectations of the hearer" (1993:177, my translation).

Schwenter (1996) analyzed three corpora of Peninsular Spanish to identify the functions of *o sea* and to address the difficulties in translating this marker. He describes *o sea* in terms of its connective, epistemic, and metalinguistic functions, as well as its explicative, corrective, and conclusive reformulation sub-functions. For instance, in the following example, besides serving a connective purpose by linking two discourse segments, *o sea* is used to clarify and explain the preceding utterance:

- (19) *Bueno, aunque nací en Murcia, yo: siempre me he considerado alicantina. O sea de Valencia nada y de Cataluña menos.*

'Well, although I was born in Murcia, I always have considered myself as someone from Alicante. **I mean** not from Valencia and from Catalonia even less so.'

According to Schwenter, the utterance introduced by *o sea* more explicitly states the speaker's definition of *allicantina* as an identity. In addition to serving as an explicative marker, Schwenter claims that speakers use *o sea* before introducing a new formulation as a concluding statement, but points out that only the variant *o sea que* has this function, which other scholars have since corroborated (Briz, Pons Bordería, and Portolés 2008).

Schwenter also highlights the epistemic use of *o sea* to reduce speaker commitment and its metalinguistic function as a commentary marker. Furthermore, he notes that depending on the function of *o sea*, its translation equivalents vary. This observation about *o sea* reinforces that it has multiple functions and that various translations exist in order to capture the nuances in each use. For instance, when used epistemically, Schwenter suggests that the English equivalent of *o sea* would likely be ‘maybe’ or ‘I think’, reflecting the speaker’s uncertainty. Meanwhile, its use as an explicative RM is most often translated as ‘that is’, but as ‘so’ when it is used as a conclusive RM. Schwenter concludes that due to the multiple functions and meanings of *o sea*, it represents multiple DMs in English such as *that is*, *I mean*, *so*, *I guess*, or *maybe*.

In her study on a group of RMs in Spanish, Figueras (1999) focused on markers falling under Portolés’s (1998) explicative sub-function of reformulation. Specifically, she looked at *esto es* (‘that is’), *es decir* (‘that is’), *o sea* (‘I mean’), and *a saber* (‘that is’) (Figueras 1999:257). Her goal in analyzing these markers was to provide for a better understanding of their use and, in turn, facilitate discussions of these markers in the L2 classroom. She provides an example with *es decir* to demonstrate how explicative RMs preface more precise information:

(20) *La casa era suya, **es decir**, propiedad de Pedro y María.*

‘The house was theirs, **that is**, property of Pedro and María.’

Figueras explains that the RM indicates to the hearer that what follows it is pertinent information. She emphasizes that, in this case, the possessive *suya* could have been misinterpreted since it could mean ‘his’, ‘hers’, or ‘theirs.’ Thus, the RM marks the introduction of information that can disambiguate the preceding discourse. Figueras concluded that the four

explicative markers were interchangeable in some contexts, but not in all. One difference she noted was in register. For instance, she found that *es decir* was used in more formal speech or writing, while *o sea* is more colloquial and present in oral discourse.

Fernández Bernárdez (2000) analyzed the reformulation function of *quiero decir* ('I mean', lit. 'I want to say') in the *Corpus de Referencia de Español Actual* (CREA) and observed that it is used not only for paraphrasing, but also to avoid ambiguity and make corrections, as in (21) (2000:271, my translation):

(21) *Hoy pasaremos más—**quiero decir**, menos—calor que ayer.*

'Today it is going to be more—**I mean** less— hot than yesterday.'

Here, the speaker marks a repair with *quiero decir* and replaces *más* ('more') with *menos* ('less'.) Fernández Bernárdez describes such uses of this RM as self-initiated and immediate repairs. She also shows how RMs are commonly combined with other markers, typically *o sea* or *bueno*. She claims that combining *quiero decir* with another RM strengthens the reformulation, as illustrated in the following examples (Fernández Bernárdez 2000:271, my translation):

(22) A: *Matilde, entonces, y pasarlo, ¿Qué tal lo has pasado?*

'Matilde, so, going through it, how was it?'

B: *Bien bien bien bien, **o sea, quiero decir** ahora lo estoy pasando*

bien, pero el viaje mal.

Good good good good, **that is, I mean** now I am doing well,

but the trip [was] bad.

(23) *¿Lo utilizas mucho?: nuestro apartamento. Bueno, quiero decir el tuyo.*

‘Do you use it a lot? our apartment. **Well, I mean** your [apartment].’

In both of these examples, the speaker repairs a mistake. In (22) the speaker explains that when she said *bien* she was referring to how she was doing at that moment and not the trip—and that, in fact, the trip did not go well. In (23), the speaker employs the same strategy and repairs the preceding utterance by insisting that the use of *nuestro apartamento* was inaccurate and that instead, the apartment belongs to the addressee.

In sum, the studies reviewed above demonstrate that RMs have been shown to carry out multiple sub-functions, which depend on a speaker’s reflection on and evaluation of the prior utterance. Moreover, although studies, such as those reviewed above, examine individual RMs in Spanish, few have looked at how adolescent speakers use RMs (Corino 2016). This topic merits investigation as previous research on reformulation has shown that speakers reformulate in the context of reinterpretation or re-elaboration, which is a necessary tool for adolescent speakers due to their own insecurities about their speech (Levey 2006, Corino 2016). Furthermore, no studies have compared native speaker to L2 learner use of DMs with a focus on the reformulation functions, which is the aim of the present study.

2.3.2 Classifying Reformulation Markers

Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), Portolés (2001), and Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (2008) provide clear, concise classification criteria for all Spanish DMs according to their functional-pragmatic role. *Reformuladores* are one type of DM. I adopt

Portolés's definition of RMs, which he states as follows: “[r]eformulation markers present a new formulation of a former part of the utterance” (2001:211, my translation). The reformulation function is divided into four subcategories: “explicative, corrective, distancing, or summarizing.” The following table describes each subcategory of RMs according to Portolés (2001:146, my translations). These descriptions are also used in the works of Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999) and Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (2008).

Table 1. Portolés's (2001) Classification of Reformulation Markers

EXPLICATIVE MARKERS introduce a reformulation that serves to clarify or explain what the speaker wanted to say in a previous part of the utterance.
CORRECTIVE MARKERS indicate that what follows should be substituted in place of the first part of the utterance, which is considered to be an incorrect formulation. The reformulated utterance following the marker is a corrected or improved formulation.
DISTANCING MARKERS present a former part of discourse as not relevant.
CONCLUSIVE MARKERS present a new discourse segment as a conclusion or summary of the preceding utterance.

Speakers use the first sub-type of RMs, explicative markers, to disambiguate content from the previous part of the utterance. Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (2008:67) provide the following example of the explicative sub-function, in which the speaker attempts to offer a more precise explanation after *o sea*.

- (24) *Tiene como lengua maternal el español un dos por ciento de filipinos; o sea, un millón de personas.*

‘Two percent of Filipinos speak Spanish as their first language; **that is**, a million people.’

In (24), the speaker seems to have inferred that the hearer was not familiar with the population of the Philippines. Therefore, reformulating the first part of the utterance serves to help the speaker point to an additional representation of the mass of people who speak Spanish, besides the percentage. The formulation *un millón de personas* is more precise than *dos por ciento* considering that the hearer would have to know the general size of a population to fully understand the significance of a percentage. Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (2008) explain that the precision of the reformulation narrows possible interpretations for the hearer and therefore ensures better comprehension. In other words, the RM also conveys that the speaker assumed that the information given before the RM was not sufficient and required further explanation.

The second sub-function of RMs is correction. Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (2008:67) offer the example presented below to illustrate how corrective RMs are used in conversation:

(25) *Llegaré a las siete. **O sea**, a las ocho.*

‘I will arrive at seven. **I mean**, at eight.’

In (25), the person could have misspoken when she said she would arrive at seven. After the RM, the hearer is guided to regard the second discourse segment as more accurate and the part preceding the marker as less accurate or incorrect altogether.

The third sub-function of RMs is distancing. According to Portolés (2001), these markers do not actually indicate that what follows them is a reformulation of a previous discourse segment. Instead, they preface a new formulation “needed for the discourse to continue” (2001:143, my

translation). Portolés (2001:124) presents an example in which the distancing RM *en cualquier caso* ('in any case') allows the speaker to proceed in the discourse with a slight change of topic:

(26) *No es muy inteligente, pero **en cualquier caso** aprobará el examen.*

'He's not very smart, but **in any case** he'll pass the exam.'

Portolés notes that the first part of the utterance can be considered a response to the question *¿Cómo es?* ('What is he like?'). However, what follows the RM cannot be a response to that question. After the RM *en cualquier caso*, the discourse veers from the previous information to communicate that, in spite of the information just received, the hearer should consider what follows the marker as the most relevant and attribute less importance to the first segment.

The last sub-function of RMs is the conclusive or summarizing function, which Garcés Gómez illustrates with the RM *en resumen* ('in sum') (2008:20, my translation).

(27) *El fresno nos ayuda a encontrar el propio ritmo personal, a ser más auténticos y a liberarnos de la opinion de los demás; **en resumen**, a liberarnos de las influencias ajenas.*

'The ash helps us to find our own personal rhythm, to be more authentic and to free us from the opinion of others; **in sum**, to free us from outside influences.'

In (27), the phrase following the marker, *liberarnos de las influencias ajenas*, is a rewording of what preceded it, *liberarnos de la opinion de los demás*. The speaker indicates to the hearer that

the second discourse segment, ‘outside influences’, is a result of the information preceding the marker, ‘other people’s opinions’.

As illustrated in the last four examples, RMs guide the hearer by indicating that what follows the marker is new information, and that the previous discourse segment was ambiguous, incorrect, less relevant, or inconclusive. For the present study, I adopt the classifications and sub-functions of Spanish RMs identified by Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), Portolés (2001), and Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (2008).

2.3.3 Reformulation Studies on L1 and L2

Scholars studying reformulation have also compared the ways in which native speakers of two or more languages mark this function in spoken and written discourse. In addition, some studies (e.g., Müller 2005, Corino 2016) have focused on the difficulties second language learners may encounter when they try to interpret and use RMs appropriately and how a learner’s first language (L1) influences RM use in a second language (L2).

Cuenca (2003) carried out a contrastive analysis of RMs in a corpus comprised of academic prose in Spanish, Catalan, and English including approximately 40,000 words per language. The results from this study showed that Spanish speakers include more RMs (200 occurrences) in their writing than English speakers do in English (92 occurrences), while the results from Catalan fell in the middle (141 occurrences). In addition, there was less variety in the RMs used in English as opposed to Spanish or Catalan. For example, while 8 different markers were found in the English texts, both the Catalan and Spanish texts included 17 different RMs. Cuenca observed that the English prose she analyzed reflected a more formal style, which resulted in the use of more grammatically simple markers, while the Spanish data included more complex,

variable markers, and they occurred at a much higher frequency than in English. Based on these results, Cuenca surmised that cultural variation is exhibited in the particular forms used to carry out discourse functions such as reformulation.

Cuenca and Bach (2007) conducted a cross-linguistic study in which they analyzed the types, frequencies, and functions of RMs used in research publications in Spanish, Catalan, and English. In contrast to Cuenca's (2003) study, Cuenca and Bach analyzed papers that were written transcriptions of oral presentations at conferences or symposia. These authors chose this particular context as they claimed that it typically includes more RMs than formal, written contexts do. In the English texts, RMs served mainly explicative purposes by introducing clarifying information, whereas in Spanish and Catalan, RMs tended to introduce more succinct statements. Furthermore, there was a greater variety of RMs in Catalan and Spanish, and they occurred over twice as frequently in Spanish as in English. Cuenca and Bach concluded that writers in all three languages do not treat the discourse units connected by RMs as equivalents; instead, reformulation allows speakers to reword utterances for greater clarity.

Murillo (2016a) compared the use and functions of English and Spanish RMs in British and Spanish newspapers. She found that RMs appeared more frequently in Spanish than in English and that the Spanish RMs performed a wider variety of functions. For example, *es decir* was used more frequently and for more functions than its English counterparts, *that is* and *that is to say*. Murillo concluded that DMs in different languages are not always functionally the same despite being translation equivalents.

In sum, the cross-linguistic studies reviewed in this section report notable differences in the frequency and type of RMs used in Spanish and English, as well as Catalan. Yet, as these studies examined written and oftentimes more formal language use, their conclusions are not necessarily

generalizable to spoken language, in which DMs are more prevalent, especially in informal discourse (Louwerse and Mitchell 2003, Taboada 2006). They do highlight, however, some important cross-linguistic differences in the number and functions of DMs which may help to explain some of the difficulties that English-speaking learners of L2 Spanish have in their acquisition and use of Spanish DMs.

2.3.4 Theoretical Frameworks

For the present study, I selected two theoretical frameworks to analyze adolescent native and learner Spanish RM use due to their clear criteria. The first is that of Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), Portolés (2001), and Martín Zorraquino and Montolio Durán (2008), which is a classification system for all Spanish DMs according to their function(s) in discourse. This method of classifying DMs—and RMs in particular—was instrumental in my study’s qualitative analysis in that I considered these sub-functions when determining how each of the RMs was used in the dialogues. Within the category of *reformuladores*, they identify each RM as one or more of the following subtypes: *explicativos* (‘explicative’), *de rectificación* (‘corrective’), *de distanciamiento* (‘distancing’), and *recapitulativos* (‘conclusive’).

Portolés (2001) maintains that the utterances surrounding a RM cannot be regarded as equivalents even if the reformulation following the marker is paraphrastic. Instead, he explains that the reformulation is essentially a new formulation, thereby allowing for modifications and re-planning amidst speaking. The manner in which the new information relates to the part of the utterance preceding the RM depends on each RM’s sub-function.

The table below includes the RMs for each subtype identified by Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), Portolés (2001), Martín Zorraquino and Montolio Durán (2008) and a few

additional markers. For instance, I added *en plan* after considering the work by Jorgensen (2009, 2013) and Stenström (2008, 2014) on this marker and its predominant role in adolescent speech. I also added other markers after consulting the specialized DM dictionary, the *Diccionario de partículas discursivas* (Briz, Pons Bordería, and Portolés 2008), and the *Diccionario de marcadores discursivos para estudiantes de español como segunda lengua* (Holgado-Lage 2017).

Table 2. Reformulation Marker Sub-types and Examples

SUBFUNCTION	Examples
EXPLICATIVE	<i>o sea, es decir, esto es, a saber, en otras palabras, en plan, como que, es que, como, etc.</i>
CORRECTIVE	<i>mejor dicho, mejor aún, más bien, digo, quiero decir, pues nada, y nada, etc.</i>
DISTANCING	<i>en cualquier caso, en todo caso, de todos modos, de cualquier manera, de todas formas, de todas maneras, yo qué sé, qué sé yo, etc.</i>
CONCLUSIVE	<i>en suma, en conclusión, en definitiva, en fin, al fin y al cabo, después de todo, en resumidas cuentas, total, igual, etc.</i>

To fully account for how adolescent speakers use RMs, I also adopt the framework Stenström (2014) uses in her studies on pragmatic features of London English and Madrid Spanish teenage talk. Stenström (2014) emphasizes that DMs not only function at the textual level (which includes functions such as planning, reorienting, reformulating, transitioning, framing, and concluding), but also at the interpersonal and interactional levels of conversation, both of which are of utmost importance for adolescents. Stenström (2014) justifies her decision to examine DMs on three levels of conversation by adopting Carter and McCarthy's (2006)

definition of pragmatic markers. This definition indicates that DMs operate outside the structural limits of the clause, encoding speakers' intentions on three levels. First, DMs operate at the level of the text by organizing and monitoring. Second, DMs foster the speaker-listener rapport and indicate interpersonal meanings via hedges and other stance-taking and commitment markers. Third, DMs mark a speaker's intentions at the interactional level via the use of DMs, functioning as opening, continuing, and ending devices (Stenström 2014.)

The majority of DMs, if not all, are multifunctional. However, since teenagers use them in innovative ways, it is impossible to assign each DM to one functional category. Although Portolés's framework is useful for accounting for how DMs function in extracted sentences, Stenström's analysis allows for a more thorough description of adolescent DM use by incorporating the interpersonal and interactional levels of analysis of their use in conversation. Moreover, she includes additional functions for the textual level that are absent from Portolés's taxonomy. For instance, Stenström includes the quotative function of DMs, which are often employed in adolescent speech.

Stenström defines the textual level in terms of both how DMs function within the structure of the utterance and how they act as vital tools for ensuring cohesion and coherence. Analyzing DM use from the perspective of the speaker, Stenström explains that DMs help to organize one's discourse and add meaning beyond the semantic content. Some of the uses of DMs, besides those already mentioned by Martin Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), Portolés (2001), and Martin Zorraquino and Montolío Durán (2008), include connecting, punctuating, self-reacting, stalling, quoting, and intensifying (Stenström 2014).

Beyond the textual level, Stenström (2014:66-67) emphasizes the importance of the interpersonal level, which includes "speaker-listener rapport, involvement, and bonding" and

functions to hedge, mitigate, check for understanding, and engage in metadiscourse. Stenström (2014:93) describes hedging with DMs—an important strategy for adolescent speakers—as essentially communicating, “I don’t want to pretend to know.” Hence, markers that encode this function also perform epistemically, allowing the speaker to assume less responsibility for a preceding statement, and simultaneously protecting both the speaker and the hearer from potential humiliation. When teenagers need to hedge, they often incorporate more DMs into their speech (Stenström 2014). This observation is unlike other integrated morphosyntactic forms. For instance, Kanwit (2015) found that there was a greater use of *dequeísimo* (the non-normative use of *de* with the conjunction *que*) when speakers needed to distance themselves from the propositional content that follows. Stenström notes that *en plan* is one of the most common RMs used for hedging in adolescent Peninsular Spanish. She notes this function with the following example taken from the COLAm (2014:81, my translation):

(28) <ruido de pasos> *están están **en plan** detectives sabes están están así **en plaaan** amiguitos.*

<sound of footsteps> ‘they are they are **like** detectives you know they are they are so **liiike** buddies.’

In (28), the speaker responds to a friend about the conflicting relationship with her parents. On the one hand, the parents are strict with her, but on the other hand, they act as if they were her friends. According to Stenström, speakers use these markers to hedge and stall simultaneously. The stalling function operates when the speaker elongates the vowel in *en plaaan*, but the face-saving maneuver of hedging remains the dominant function. By using *en plan* to hedge, the

speaker reduces her level of commitment to what she is saying—after all, she is criticizing her parents in front of her friend. Thus, the interpersonal functions of RMs are essentially social functions. They allow the speaker to better navigate the conversation while also considering the listener’s reception of the linguistic material. They also aid in anticipating the listener’s reaction. Furthermore, the use of RMs at the interpersonal level creates a greater sense of intimacy between the speaker and hearer—what Stenström suggests may be considered identity markers (Stenström 2014). This strategy is crucial for teenagers since, according to Stenström (2014:12), “of vital importance for the formation of teenage identity is the peer group,” which adolescents tend to establish with “phatic talk richly sprinkled with pragmatic markers.”

The third conversational level at which I analyze the RMs examined in the present study is the interactional level. Stenström describes these markers as opening, continuing, and ending devices. These markers carry out various functions. For instance, they can be used to wind up a discussion, trigger a response, open or close a turn, anticipate objections from the interlocutor, and respond to or involve the interlocutor. When RMs function on this level, speakers practice turn-taking either at the beginning or at the end of an utterance. At the same time, a speaker can use these markers to trigger a response from the listener or to indicate to the listener that she is responding to what had just been said. For instance, Stenström reports that adolescent Spanish speakers often use the RM *eh* to trigger a response, as illustrated in (29), while English-speaking adolescents would not use *eh* or a similar marker, such as *uh* or *um*, for this purpose. The following example shows how *eh* is used at the interactional level (Stenström 2014:13):

(29) A: *Tía esos pantalones te quedan pero geniaaaal eh.*

‘Girl those pants fit you but perfectly **eh**.’

B: *Son los mejores.*

‘They are the best.’

Stenström noted that *eh* was overall ten times more common in the Spanish corpus, the COLAm, than in the English corpus, the COLT (The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language). Since *eh* has been studied as a RM (Roggia 2012), I questioned whether or not the participants in the present study would use any of the six RMs analyzed for this study at the interactional level as defined by Stenström.

It is worth noting that although the interpersonal and interactional levels are somewhat related, subtle differences distinguish one from the other. For instance, the interpersonal level highlights the speaker-listener relationship, while the interactional level occurs throughout the conversation to ensure conversational continuity. Analyzing RM use on the three levels of conversation—textual, interpersonal, and interactional—allowed for a more robust understanding of adolescent DM use in the elicited dialogues, as teenagers’ conversations are often characterized by such socially cooperative strategies.

2.4 Previous Studies on Adolescent Speech

Studies on adolescent speech have multiplied in recent years but still account for few of all studies conducted on DMs in adolescents’ first and/or second language. Adolescent speech, also referred to as “teenage talk” (Rodríguez 2002, Jorgensen 2013) is defined as the speech produced by young people ages 13 to 19. It is distinct from adult speech and characterized by the emergence of innovative features, including novel DM use. Corpora of adolescent speech, including the COLAm, were created to study the language features of adolescents (Nord 2006,

Stenström 2006, Jorgensen 2007, 2009, 2013, Stenström 2014). Although Tagliamonte (2005) observes that discourse-pragmatic changes peak during this developmental stage, suggesting that it is a rich source for DMs. Yet, DM use in adolescent Spanish has received scarce attention. Jorgensen (2007) reported that Madrid adolescents typically use DMs such as *en plan* and *o sea* to hedge and avoid silence while formulating utterances like (28) (2007:103, from the COLAm, my translation):

- (30) *Y queee y nada, y ya, **en plan** típico abrazo, es que lo necesitaba, es que era de necesidad, y salimos y **en plan** en la calle, **o sea**, es que nunca nos vemos en la calle, **o sea**, así **en plan** pocas veces, casi nunca y y y y nada y entonces eeheh.*
- ‘And sooo anyway, and then, **like** the typical hug, because I just needed it, it was just a real need and we went out and **like** on the street, **I mean**, it’s just that we never see each other on the street, **I mean**, so **like** rarely, almost never and and and and well and then uuuhh.’

In (29), also from the COLAm, a Madrid teenager uses the RM *de todas formas* (‘anyway’), before expressing the primary reason for not going out—lack of money (my translation):

- (31) A: *Entonces qué planes tenéis para esta noche uuuy*
- ‘So what plans do you guys have for tonight aaah’
- B: *Es que como llueva yo salir por ahí...**de todas formas** es que no tengo mucha pasta.*

‘The thing is since it’s raining for me go out...**anyway** the thing is I don’t have a lot of dough.’

First, the speaker tries to explain that the rain is deterring her from going out. However, she follows that statement with the RM *de todas formas* and provides a more accurate reason in the second discourse segment. The speaker uses a RM to signal to the hearer to pay attention to the latter part of the utterance because, according to the speaker, it is the most relevant. Furthermore, this example reveals adolescents’ tendency to use RMs before reformulations regarding sensitive topics like finances.

Nordberg (1985) observed that young people express views, values, and feelings more frequently than adults, resulting in their use of more discursive devices like DMs. He explains that affective styles of speech make greater use of communicative devices such as *like* which enable speakers to express their emotional and subjective involvement in what they are saying. However, Levey (2003:24) notes the negative perception associated with English-speaking adolescents’ excessive use of *like*, which can make them sound inarticulate. Jorgensen (2007:96) challenges this view, arguing that markers such as *like* and Spanish *en plan* are very useful in helping teenagers organize turn-taking and plan their utterances, while also “keeping contact with and making the listener more involved.”

The first study to document the use of the Spanish marker *en plan* was that of Nord (2006), who examined its use in the COLAm. She found that teenagers, the overwhelming number of them girls, used *en plan* as RM, a commentary marker, a metadiscursive marker, and a quotative marker. Nord used Martín Zorraquino and Portolés’s (1999) taxonomy to describe the uses of *en*

plan, with the exception of the quotative function, which is absent from their taxonomy. This study is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5 under the section concerning *en plan*.

Jorgensen (2009) expanded on Nord's (2006) analysis of *en plan* by focusing on its interpersonal uses in the COLAm. She maintains that *en plan* is used almost exclusively by Spanish teenagers as a hedge and a social marker of politeness, but also as a metadiscursive marker that serves to shift the focus of the utterance. Moreover, she emphasizes that the face-saving aspect of hedging benefits both the speaker and the hearer, which is important to teenagers because of their insecurities and concern for one another's opinions. For instance, Jorgensen found that upper class girls in Madrid used *en plan* to save face when discussing embarrassing topics, and to distance themselves from a potentially uncomfortable situation, downtone the intensity of an emotion, mitigate excitement, and/or soften an utterance. For example, according to Jorgensen, in (30) the speaker uses *en plan* to mitigate her own excitement about a boy she finds attractive by inserting this marker before *emocionadísima* (2009:97, from the COLAm).

(32) *Entonces nada se puso a sonreír aquel tío y yo en plan yo en plan*

emocionadísima ah porque el tío está pero buenísimo pero buenísimo.

‘So anyway that guy cracked a smile and I like I was **like** really excited ah because the guy is really hot I mean really hot.’

Jorgensen surmises that the hedging function is most important at the interactional level when speakers discuss private, intimate matters. Her study illustrates how the marker *en plan*, which can be used to introduce reformulations (Nord 2006), can also serve social and interpersonal

purposes such as hedging and mitigation.

Previous research indicates that adolescent speech exhibits discourse-pragmatic changes in language use, as evidenced by Spanish teenagers' use of the novel marker *en plan*. As Eckert (1997:52) affirms, “[a]dolescents are the linguistic movers and shakers [...] and as such, a prime source of information about linguistic change and the role of language in social practice.” The present study examines RM recognition, understanding, and use by native and L2 Spanish-speaking teenagers in an effort to shed light on such changes. I sought to discover which markers are used most often, including those that have been replaced by new forms, and/or those that have acquired new pragmatic functions. Levey (2006:436) explains this phenomenon by stating that adolescents are not only users of vernacular forms, but also actively engaged in “socially motivated language change.”

2.5 Second Language Acquisition and Pragmatic Competence

Traditionally, studies on second language acquisition (SLA) focused heavily on learners' acquisition of phonological, morphological, and syntactic forms (Hellerman and Vergun 2007). However, in recent years, researchers have shifted their focus to include more studies on learners' pragmatic competence. According to Hellerman and Vergun (2007), there is a strong need to investigate how learners comprehend and employ these subtle tools. Hernández and Rodríguez-González (2013) note that the tie between DMs and SLA is an underrepresented area of research in their study on how learners acquire DMs at different levels of proficiency. Perhaps this has been partly due to the fact that the absence of DMs does not necessarily result in pragmatic failure. According to Wang (1999), who analyzes pragmatic “errors” in apologies,

pragmatic failure means a learner has committed an error due to cultural misunderstandings or breakdowns.

Kasper and Schmidt (1996) point out that simply identifying pragmatic differences in learner and native speaker speech does not tell us which of those differences may matter in interaction for learners. However, these differences could make their learners' speech sound awkward and less native-like. They note that negative stereotyping of learner speech can occur when learners use DMs that native speakers would not use and/or in a non-native manner. For this reason, Wilkins (1999:14) explains that learners could still be motivated to use DMs like native speakers, because "even if [students] do not attain native-like competence, most learners of English will aim at avoiding judgment of their linguistic behavior." In addition, Shively (2011:1833) studied learners' pragmatic development of requests during a study abroad stay and observed that learners were eager to learn pragmatic norms and aim to use Spanish "like a Spaniard." Most importantly, she found that learners' confidence and identity as a Spanish-speaker increased as a result of learning pragmatic norms while studying abroad. As Cots (1992:169) notes, "success in foreign language learning is graded in terms of how similar the linguistic behavior of the learner is to that of the native speakers of the language." Thus, although learners are unlikely to encounter situations in which their misuse of DMs results in a complete misunderstanding, urging learners to notice how native speakers use DMs and incorporate them into their utterances can result in positive outcomes for them in terms of their confidence in their language skills and ability to communicate effectively.

Learners are able to transfer much of their pragmatic knowledge from L1 to L2 (Andersen 2001). However, Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998) found that learners' realizations of speech acts (such as requests, apologies, suggestions, and refusals) in their L2 are not always as

effective, which means they may not be pragmatically, or culturally, appropriate. Castele and Collewaert (2013) arrived at a similar finding when they conducted an exploratory study to show how native speakers and learners use DMs differently. They observed that learners used *entonces* ('so') more often, while native speakers tend to use *así que* ('so that') before expressing a consequence, as exhibited in the following examples (Castele and Collewaert 2013:554):

- (33) (learner) *Antes de empezar mis estudios de español, quería ir de vacaciones a España y seguir un curso de lengua, para saber si eso me gustaría. **Entonces**, durante las vacaciones de verano, fui al norte de España por dos semanas. Era un viaje de una organización, **entonces**, estábamos en grupo.*

'Before starting to study Spanish, I wanted to go on vacation in Spain and continue with a language course to know if I would like it. **So**, during summer vacation I went to the north of Spain for two weeks. It was an organized trip, **so**, we were a group.'

- (34) (native speaker) *No sabía muy bien cuál de estos momentos escoger para esta redacción **así que** pensando y pensando he decidido escribir sobre cómo nunca olvidaré el día en que nació mi hija.*

'I didn't know very well which of those moments to choose for this essay **so** thinking and thinking I decided to write about how I will never forget the day that my daughter was born.'

The learner's use of *entonces* in (31) does not result in a pragmatic failure. However, Castele and Collewaert (2013:555) observed that learners overused a limited group of markers or used some markers in less appropriate ways. By contrast, the native speakers in their study utilized a wider range of DMs and may have chosen to use a different DM, such as *así que*, for a similar context to that in (32). Overall, they found that learners possessed a narrower range of DMs than native speakers, but the learners' use of DMs became more native-like as they became more proficient in their L2.

Previous studies on learner speech also highlight how learners' DM use differs syntactically from that of native speakers. For example, Hernández and Rodríguez-González (2013) found that learners process and incorporate DMs more successfully and more often in the utterance-initial position than in the middle and final positions. Thus, they claim DMs in the initial position are more salient for learners.

Recent research has also suggested that learner speech may require repairs and re-elaboration due to L2 learners' limited lexicon. Buysse (2012) studied the DM *so* in learner speech and found that DMs can solve language-related problems learners might encounter. For instance, a learner may need to restate, rectify, or clarify an utterance, as illustrated in the following example (Buysse 2012:1774):

- (35) It was about erm. Well this girl and a guy and em they they're in a relationship and er well eventually they break up and the girl decides she wants to have their brain washed **so** she wants to have a brainwash and em. Well then it's really difficult to follow the movie but in the end it's really like oh yeah that's how it went.

In (33), the L2 English learner is unable to elaborate on the events of the movie and uses *so* before restating and attempting to explain what “have a brainwash” means. This example illustrates a learner’s use of *so* to introduce a restatement or reformulation of the previous segment even though the learner in (33) was unsuccessful at clarifying what she meant. Buysse’s findings further support the idea that learners’ have a need to reformulate while speaking their L2. His study also reported that native speakers tended to use *so* as a concluding marker, whereas Belgian learners of English more often use *so* as a RM prefacing an elaboration or a repair.

According to Andersen (2001), the appropriate use of DMs requires native speaker knowledge, and previous research on learners’ acquisition of L2s has shown that some features of learner speech are native-like. For instance, Müller (2005), in her study of DM use by native English speakers and German-speaking English learners, found that the learners’ DM use exhibited some overlap with that of native speakers in terms of frequencies and functions. This finding is not surprising considering that studies on learner DM use have shown that learners use fewer markers while in the process of acquiring the language (Hellerman and Vergun 2007, Hernández 2008, Hernández and Rodríguez-González 2013). In addition, according to the ACTFL proficiency guidelines, the appropriate use of DMs is an indicator of advanced-level proficiency (Hernández 2008). However, interestingly, the learners in Müller’s (2005) study used certain markers at a higher frequency than did the native speakers. For instance, the learner group used the marker *well* excessively and for a wider variety of functions, although they underused *so*, *you know*, and *like* when compared to native speaker speech. Likewise, Andersen, Brizuela, Dupuy, and Gonnerman (1999) found that L2 learners of Spanish tended to use lexical DMs (such as *en otras palabras*) more than native speakers, whereas they used less

grammaticalized DMs (e.g., *o sea*) less often than native speakers. It could be the case that learners avoid less lexicalized DMs considering that these DMs are more difficult to process and translate into their L1 as their meaning is more abstract and procedural. This conjecture can be supported by the findings in Baker and Quesada (2009), who found that L2 learners continue to rely on lexical cues such as adverbials instead of morphology.

Liu (2013) investigated how native English speakers and Chinese-speaking learners of English used DMs similarly and differently in English. He found that the learners not only used DMs at different rates than native English speakers, but that they also used DMs for certain functions that native English speakers did not. For instance, the Chinese-speaking learners used the DM *I think* at a higher rate and for different functions than the native English speakers. Furthermore, the native speakers only used this marker in the initial position, while the learners also used it in medial or final position. Therefore, even though it may seem that learners approximate native-speaker DM norms in terms of the number of DMs they use, the manner in which they use them may mark their utterances as non-native-like.

2.5.1 Communicative Competence

Pragmatic competence forms an essential part of a speaker's overall communicative competence. Canale and Swain (1980) explain that communicative competence consists of grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competence. DMs aid speakers in three of these areas. First, DMs help ensure the speaker produces an appropriate utterance, which forms part of his/her sociolinguistic competence. In the area of discourse competence, speakers use cohesion devices such as DMs that help link utterances and facilitate interpretation. Lastly, DMs

play a role in a speaker's strategic competence in which one may need to repair potential miscommunications that frequently occur in spoken interactions.

In addition, speakers also use strategies such as paraphrasing and repetition. With regard to reformulation, RM use by L2 learners can reflect strategic communicative competence when communication breaks down due to a momentary inability to recall an idea or grammatical form or some other linguistic insufficiency. As Canale (1983) observes, DMs are devices that enhance the effectiveness of the meaning conveyed. For example, when a speaker cannot remember a given form, he/she can paraphrase and link the two parts of the utterance with a RM. Canale further notes that part of a speaker's strategic competence is the "use of pause fillers (e.g., *eh*, *bien*, *enfin*, *alors*) to maintain conversation while searching for ideas or grammatical forms" (1983:251).

Celce-Muria and Dörnyei (1995) point out that communication strategies include repair mechanisms, stalling or time gaining strategies, hesitation devices, and/or repetitions, which are all functions of RMs. They also emphasize the importance of self-monitoring strategies in communication. For instance, a speaker can use a RM as a self-monitoring strategy, allowing for a subsequent correction of or modification in his/her speech, as well as the rephrasing (and often overelaborating) of a message.

L2 learners are still in the process of acquiring effective communication skills. Kasper (1997) recognizes that while some pragmatic knowledge is universal and can be transferred from L1, other parts of pragmatic competence must develop over time. In the process of pragmatic development, learners must be careful not to assume there is always a one-to-one equivalent for a given DM. Wang (1999:127) explains this notion as "a formula working in L1 works in L2", which is essentially L1 transfer. Hernández and Rodríguez-González (2013) found that learners

often assume a DM in L1 functions the same in L2. They also observed that while learners may better understand one-to-one equivalent DMs, even those markers can have distinct uses which are dependent on a specific context and on the speaker's intentions. Furthermore, they noted that while learners may often transfer meanings from L1 to decipher a new DM, they may be limited in understanding alternative uses that do not correspond to the L1 function.

Although learners may possess a high level of grammatical competence, their pragmatic competence may still be in development. Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998:234) postulate that the disparity between learners' and native speakers' pragmatic competence may be attributed to “the availability of input and the salience of relevant linguistic features in the input from the point of view of the learner.” For this reason, study abroad can provide an input-rich environment for learners, provided they have contact with native speakers during their stay. Bardovi-Harlig (2001) notes that even those students with high grammatical competence possess a range of pragmatic competence levels, depending on their experiences with input. For instance, when examining learner speech, one can observe ways in which learners differ from native speakers in terms of how they use different speech acts, content, semantic formulas, or forms to carry out a pragmatic task (Bardovi-Harlig 2005:405). Although Bardovi-Harlig and Griffin (2005) claim that without explicit instruction learners will not acquire pragmatic aspects of a target language on their own, Niezgoda and Röver (2001:67) affirm that “pragmatic competence can increase if there is sufficient input containing enough exemplars of the target feature.”

In his pragmatic fossilization study, Romero-Trillo (2002) explains that while native speakers develop grammatical and pragmatic competence simultaneously, learners may establish grammatical competence before their pragmatic competence is fully developed. He found that adults used fewer markers than children, although the same adults possessed a high level of

grammatical proficiency, which he claims is “worrying because the lack of these devices may prevent them from carrying out their interactions efficiently” (2002:179). Thus, it is important to foster both grammatical and pragmatic competence in order to attain greater overall communicative competence.

2.5.2 Interlanguage

Selinker coined the term interlanguage in 1972. However, prior to the use of this term, Corder (1967) proposed that the acquisition processes for L1 and L2 are fundamentally the same. In other words, the process of language acquisition is systematic for a child acquiring his/her L2 and a learner acquiring an L2. The notion of interlanguage specifically refers to learners' language when it resembles neither L2 nor L1. Instead, interlanguage represents a learner's language at various stages of acquisition while the learner is still in the process of developing competence. Kasper (1997:14) describes the role of interlanguage as follows: “L2 learners do not merely model native speakers with a desire to emulate but rather actively create both a new interlanguage and an accompanying identity in the learning process.” Analyzing interlanguage provides insight into how learners develop the ability to understand and perform pragmatic functions in a target language.

A speaker's L1 can have an influence on interlanguage since L1 transfer of both grammatical and pragmatic knowledge often occurs. For example, Cuenca and Marín (2009) found that native English speakers use RMs in English less frequently than native Spanish speakers use RMs in Spanish. Thus, L2 learners of Spanish may use fewer RMs in Spanish or reformulate less in general if their L1 is English.

Learners' strategies are exhibited in their interlanguage and can reveal errors as they may transfer features from L1 not present in L2. For instance, Liu (2013) found that English-speaking learners of French used the DM *comme* to introduce reported speech, while L1 French speakers did not use *comme* in this way. Although some pragmatic errors that appear in one's interlanguage may result in an utterance being deemed inappropriate, the differences in the use of DMs will not necessarily lead to pragmatic failure. However, Liu (2013) emphasizes the importance of DMs in understanding colloquial speech. She points out that "[o]ne of the functions of DMs is to serve as a hesitation device in colloquial speech and thus they can be indicators of L2 fluency" (2013:16). She supports this position by explaining that learners who underuse some DMs may still sound proficient in the language, but their speech can be perceived as unfriendly or uncooperative.

The present study attempts to examine the mismatch between what learners produce and the interlanguage knowledge they may possess. In other words, learners may know more than their speech production reveals partly due to the desire to retain one's identity. Félix-Brasdefer (2006) explains how learner speech may differ from native speaker speech and a possible reason for why this occurs:

Total convergence to native speaker norms may not be desirable, either from the learner's or from the native speaker's point of view: learners may opt for pragmatic distinctiveness sometimes, always, or depending on context as a strategy of identity assertion. Native speakers may prefer some measure of divergence as it can be understood as a disclaimer to full membership in the target community. (Félix-Brasdefer 2006:156)

As Félix-Brasdefer suggests, learners may feel the need to retain their L1 identities and thus may resist adopting more native-like pragmatic features of their L2. Additionally, he observes that

non-convergence to native speaker norms can result in negative stereotypes about learner speech, even if the alternatives they use are completely comprehensible.

Learners may transfer material from their L1 into the L2, which can result in felicitous or infelicitous communicative encounters (Kasper 1997). However, Kasper (1997) argued over two decades ago that little was known then about the conditions under which learners were likely to transfer pragmatic knowledge from their L1 to their L2. Since then, studies such as Müller's (2005) and Shively's (2011) have shown that learners develop their interlanguage substantially while abroad. Yet, Taguchi (2010:340) claims that examining learners' pragmatic appropriateness while studying abroad is still an underexplored area of research in SLA. She claims that interlanguage has been used to describe a learner's tendencies, but it has not been used sufficiently to describe how a learner's language develops abroad. Furthermore, she notes that "[a]n increasing number of longitudinal studies in interlanguage pragmatics could indicate a growing need to empirically investigate what pragmatics learners actually gain after spending time abroad." Thus, while research on L2 pragmatics has shown that learners develop their interlanguage substantially when immersed with the target language abroad, many questions about the acquisition of L2 pragmatic knowledge remain to be answered.

2.5.3 Study Abroad

Language learners are encouraged to study their L2 in a country where it is the primary local language. In doing so, learners experience language use in an immersive environment and encounter real-life situations in which they can use the L2. Study abroad provides an appropriate environment for examining the extent to which exposure to spoken, authentic, pragmatic information is sufficient to result in learners incorporating DMs into their speech. Cohen and

Shively (2007:190) emphasize the importance of the study abroad context for pragmatic development:

Study abroad is an inviting context for investigating the acquisition of pragmatics given that, in principle, students have access to appropriate pragmatic behavior and native speakers of the target language on a daily basis and therefore should be more likely to make gains than their peers who stay at home.

Cohen and Shively highlight the advantage learners may have in increasing their pragmatic competence by studying a language in an immersive environment. Taguchi (2010) says study abroad proves to be an ideal environment because learners have access to more native speaker pragmatic features. In fact, she claims that pragmatic learning occurs even at the start of a study abroad program when learners already have access to target language models.

Studies have shown that learners can make tremendous gains in their pragmatic abilities studying abroad. Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998) found that after one month abroad learners were able to recognize pragmatic errors almost to the level of a native speaker. Additionally, Davidson (2007) found that learner gains are greatest in an immersion experience. Kanwit (2018) noted that initial studies on the acquisition of variation in a study abroad context reported little growth with respect to grammatical structures. As a result, scholars later shifted their focus to develop methods with which to measure pragmatic gains, which can be observed when learners are exposed to naturalistic input. These methods include contextualized production tasks and production tasks. Nonetheless, Kanwit mentions that a limitation of study abroad research has been the lack of at home control groups. He explains that such a study design would “enable researchers to better differentiate universal processes of acquisition from the effect of region-specific input” (2018:727). Nonetheless, Kanwit emphasizes that the study of variation in learner

pragmatic competence will continue to grow both at home and abroad as scholars focus on what learners actually produce in these environments as opposed to simply analyzing learner errors.

With regard to the L2 acquisition of DMs, DeKeyser (1986) compared acquisition growth for students studying Spanish in Spain and those studying Spanish at home in the U.S. and found that students who spent time in Spain not only benefited from more vocabulary growth, but they also exhibited more native-like use of DMs such as *pues* ('well') and *bueno* ('well'). Dewey (2007) also observed native-like gains in his study on learners of Spanish and French abroad. He notes that the learners in his study tended to advance one level or more in the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) scale during a semester abroad. Therefore, study abroad could provide an advantageous environment to foster the advancement of proficiency levels because it contains rich input with exemplars of the target feature.

Bearing in mind that learners are still in the process of fully developing their communicative competence, they most likely will encounter situations in which they are not fully understood while speaking. Misunderstandings could occur when one-to-one transfer is inaccurate. Therefore, learners may need to restructure utterances. Although the need to reformulate likely increases while abroad, learners may experience difficulties in doing so because they have to self-manage their speech without an instructor there to correct or assist them. Shively (2011) provides evidence for the increased need to self-manage and the challenge learners may face while developing their pragmatic competence abroad. She found that learners in this environment do not receive feedback on pragmatic errors although they do receive feedback for grammatical errors. Davidson (2007:277) alludes to the struggle that learners may face in self-managed learning by pointing out that study abroad is oftentimes U.S. students' first experience

with this type of learning. Therefore, learners' lack of experience with such a skill may cause them difficulties while communicating abroad.

Transferring features from L1 is common practice for L2 learners, but as their time abroad progresses, learners' speech should increasingly resemble native speaker speech. In Shively's (2011) study, students initially transferred L1 pragmatic norms to carry out requests in Spanish. For instance, the learners used "conventionally indirect" statements such as *¿Puedo comprar eso?* ('Can I buy that?'), which are not native-like (Shively 2011:1826). Over time, however, the learners were able to utilize L2 pragmatic norms to make requests in Spanish with the "simple interrogative" statements like *¿Me pones dos cervezas?* (literally 'You give me two beers?') (Shively 2011:1826). In spite of these advances, the learners' Spanish still included non-target forms at the end of the stay abroad. Yet, fortunately, their continued use of L1 (English) pragmatic norms did not cause loss of face, as the students were still able to communicate effectively. In fact, Shively found that the learners had high standards for their own L2 proficiency and that learning pragmatic norms had positive consequences for the learners' self-confidence and their identity as speakers of Spanish.

In spite of the many factors influencing gains in communicative competence while abroad, the extent to which learners abroad develop their pragmatic skills depends greatly on their proficiency level prior to arrival. Researchers have identified L2 proficiency before study abroad as one of the most important factors influencing the development of L2 pragmatics (Bardovi-Harlig 2001, Jeon and Tadayoshi 2006, Hellerman and Vergun 2007, Bella 2012). Xu, Case, and Wang (2009) noted length of residency contributes to a learner's pragmatic development but has less of an impact than proficiency levels.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined and discussed the relevant studies on DMs in general. I have also highlighted the reformulation function as a useful tool via RMs for both adolescent native speakers' and L2 learners' speech. In addition, I reviewed previous studies on L2 learners' development of pragmatic competence and the L2 acquisition of DMs. This literature review indicates that study abroad is an ideal setting in which learners can make pragmatic gains. Keeping these elements in mind, in Chapter 3 I will detail the methodology adopted in the present study in order to answer the research questions outlined in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The objective of the present study is to gain a better understanding of how adolescent native speakers and second language learners of Spanish recognize appropriate contexts for, are familiar with, and use a select group of RMs. In order to achieve this goal, I created three experimental instruments: a multiple-choice completion task, a self-assessment task, and a production task. To create these tasks, I took data from the COLAm that reflected the six most common RMs occurring in that corpus, and then included these RMS in each of the instruments developed in the experimental design. By eliciting data from the native speakers in one session, and from the learners at the beginning and end of a summer immersion program, I set forth to answer the following questions:

1. For what discourse contexts do the adolescent native speakers and L2 learners of Spanish select *de todas formas* ('anyway'), *en plan* ('like'), *digo* ('I mean'), *quiero decir* ('I mean'), *o sea* ('I mean') and *total* ('in short') as appropriate in a set of written dialogues, taken from the COLAm, but in which these RMs were omitted? More specifically, to what extent do the native Granada-Spanish speakers' and study-abroad learners' selections coincide with, or contrast with the markers originally used by the teenagers from Madrid, who produced the dialogues for the original COLAm corpus?

2. How do the native speakers and L2 learners rate their familiarity with these RMs when they are presented in isolation?
3. At what frequency and for what functions do the participants incorporate these RMs and other reformulation strategies and DMs in their oral production when conversing with a peer in an elicited dialogue task?

These research questions correspond to the three tasks carried out for the study and are presented in this chapter in the order in which the participants completed them.

The first task is what I have named the Discourse Marker Completion Test (DMCT), based on Brown's (2001) multiple-choice discourse completion test (DCT) which he designed for his L2 study of English as a second language in Japan. He wanted to examine pragmatic awareness in L2 and maintained that DCTs could elicit oral, written, or multiple-choice responses. I developed the DMCT for the present study by transcribing adolescent Madrid Spanish speakers' dialogues taken from the COLAm and then eliminating the RMs in these dialogues. I then presented the dialogues to participants and instructed them to select the appropriate RMs to complete the dialogues. The purpose of this task was to determine which RMs are preferred by both native speakers and L2 learners.

In the second task, participants completed a survey that was adapted from the one used in Hernández and Rodríguez-González's (2013) study on learner DM familiarity and use. It was specifically designed to collect self-reflections of participants' use of and familiarity with a set of RMs when these were presented in isolation, and to measure participants' awareness of these RMs.

The third task was designed to elicit native Spanish adolescents' and L2 Spanish learners' use of Spanish RMs in conversations with their peers in guided, debate-style dialogic interactions. The dialogues were later transcribed and analyzed to determine the RMs and other reformulation strategies and markers the participants produced with their peers in a controlled setting.

In the following sections, I describe the participants, the preliminary data, and the method for each task.

3.1 Participants

Twenty-four native speakers and 24 L2 learners of Spanish between 14 and 17 years of age participated in the study. The criteria for participation for both groups included a specific age range, first language, and second language experience. Thus, the native speaker participants had to be between 13 and 19 years old; they had to consider Spanish as their L1; and they needed to report that they used only Spanish as the primary means of communication (i.e., no bilingual or heritage speakers could participate in the study). I chose to exclude bilingual speakers since, according to dal Negro and Fiorentini (2014), speakers borrow RMs from L2 into L1 “when contact languages are employed in everyday informal domains by actual bilingual speakers who are used to engaging in language alternation practices” (2014:94). This finding led me to limit the participants to monolingual Spanish speakers because had I included bilingual or heritage speakers, I would not have been able to determine whether or not the participants used RMs due to borrowing from English or because the use reflected how speakers tend to use those RMs only in Spanish.

The 24 adolescent native speakers, all of whom were residents of Granada, Spain, formed the control group. The native speakers attended the same high school in Granada and 22 of them were girls. It was imperative to have a control group made up of participants who spoke the variant of Spanish to which the learners were exposed during their time in the summer immersion program. In addition to the input the learners received from teachers and resident assistants, the program organized social events at which the students interacted with teenagers from different high schools in Granada. Therefore, expected that interacting with native speaker teenagers at social events during the program could influence learners' ability to use conversational strategies, such as DMs.

The 24 adolescent native speakers, all of whom were residents of Granada, Spain, formed the control group. The native speakers had a mean age of 15.4 years, while the learner participants were a bit older with a mean age of 15.7 years. However, unlike the speakers in the COLAm, no participants were under 14 years of age. The native speakers attended the same high school in Granada and 22 of them were girls. For the purposes of comparing the results of the two groups, it was imperative to have a control group made up of participants who spoke the variant of Spanish to which the learners were exposed during their time in the summer immersion program. In addition to the input the learners received from teachers and resident assistants, the program organized social events at which the students interacted with teenagers from different high schools in Granada. Therefore, I predicted that interacting with native speaker teenagers at social events during the program could influence learners' ability to use conversational strategies, such as DMs.

The criteria for participation for the L2 learner group were identical in terms of age, except for the fact that English had to be their L1 and primary language of communication in the home.

were American high school students in an intensive, summer immersion program in Granada; 18 were girls and six were boys. These students agreed to communicate solely in Spanish throughout the program with few exceptions. Their Spanish proficiency levels were determined via a placement exam before beginning the program, and only learners with intermediate and intermediate-high proficiency in Spanish (levels 3 and 4) were selected for participation in the present study. The learners qualified for participation if they were evaluated as intermediate-low/mid/high or advanced-low level learners of Spanish according to the STAndards-based Measurement of Proficiency (STAMP) test and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Proficiency Guidelines. The STAMP placement test is an initial measurement of real-world language ability in reading, writing, and speaking used to inform appropriate placement of middle school, high school, and college students into various levels of language instruction. Additionally, language directors and teachers conducted one-on-one student interviews to further assure proper placement levels. Based on the results of the proficiency test and interviews, students were placed into four groups by proficiency level (levels 1-4). All learner participants came from Levels 3 and 4 since, according to the placement criteria, learners are expected to use DMs, or “connector words,” beginning at the more advanced tier of Level 3. Therefore, I prioritized recruiting students at Level 4 before accepting eligible students from Level 3. Fourteen of the participants placed in Level 3 and nine placed into Level 4. The L2 Spanish learner group results were calculated for 23 participants, as one student left the program early.

3.2 Preliminary Data

Adolescent speech has received scant attention in empirical studies on DMs and reformulation (Jorgensen 2009, Stenström 2014). As a result, I could not rely on previous studies to help formulate my hypotheses with regard to which RMs adolescent speakers would most likely recognize and use. Thus, I consulted a corpus to find out which DMs teenage Peninsular Spanish speakers use most often in their reformulations.

To determine the Spanish RMs the native Granada-Spanish teenagers would most likely be familiar with, I gathered data from the *Corpus Oral de Lenguaje Adolescente en Madrid* (COLAm) because, to my knowledge, no corpus exists on adolescent speech in Granada. This 500,000-word corpus provided me with sufficient data to determine which RMs the Spanish adolescents recorded for the COLAm used most often in their reformulations. The COLAm is one sector of the entire COLA project created by Annette Myre Jorgensen, a scholar from the University of Bergen. Collected from 2002-2004, the COLA represents informal adolescent language in real interactions. According to Jorgensen (2007:96), the COLA corpus is “large enough to reflect teenagers’ speech habits.” The project sought to collect naturally occurring teenage talk from four different varieties of Spanish. Teenagers in Madrid, Buenos Aires, Managua, and Santiago de Chile were given recorders and were instructed to record their conversations with peers of a similar social background for a period of 3 to 4 days (Jorgensen 2013). Although researchers can access all of the COLA corpora to determine the frequency and functioning of individual words or phrases used by adolescent speakers, I only consulted the COLA representing Madrid speech to determine which DMs the present study’s participants would most likely know, and thus incorporate into their conversations for the purpose of reformulation. .

One of the primary goals of the COLA project was to gather recordings of spontaneous teenage talk. The COLA offers valid exemplars of authentic, naturally occurring speech because, unlike in many empirical studies, the methodology avoids the researcher's paradox. In other words, the researcher was not present for the recordings. Instead, the teenagers participating in the COLA project were instructed to carry around recording devices to capture all spoken interactions with their peers. In addition, they were told they should carry out their conversations as if the recording device were not present. Diminishing the effect of the observer's paradox is useful in studies of discourse analysis because, according to Labov (1972:209), it allows researchers "to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed." Although the participants make reference to the presence of a recording device, according to Donohue, Diez and Hamilton (1984) and Fant (1992), research subjects under these conditions will inevitably forget they are being recorded after a few minutes and the speech will become natural.

The COLA conversations were transcribed with a program called Transcriber and are available online at the following website: <http://clu.uni.no/humfak/cola/s9.html>. Jorgensen (2013:153) explains how aspects of the corpus facilitate analysis for the researcher. She contends that the corpus allows for the researcher to observe aspects such as mood, expressions of emotions, and intonation since all the conversations include an audio file with the transcription.

Studies using the COLA corpora to examine adolescent speech have dealt with different amounts of recorded and transcribed data, depending on the year in which the study was conducted. Since its creation, more words have been added to the COLAm and more detailed transcription conventions have been incorporated. For example, Nord (2006) looked at the numerous functions of *en plan*, including reformulation, but was limited to a COLAm corpus

comprised of 200,000 words. When Jorgensen (2013) studied how Madrid teenagers used DMs to hedge or mitigate their utterances, she cited the corpus as having 375,000 words. A more expanded, updated version of the corpus, containing 500,000 words, was completed in June of 2017. However, a few studies have analyzed the data in this corpus (e.g., Jorgensen 2009, Holmvik 2011, Stenström 2014).

The method for gathering preliminary data for the present study included searching the corpus for all markers identified as pertaining to the reformulation category. I considered all reformulation markers included in Martín Zorraquino and Portolés's (1999), Portolés's (2001), and Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán's (2008) categorization of Spanish RMs. However, some refinements were added taking into account analyses of markers used in adolescent speech (e.g., Nord 2006, Stenström 2006, Holmvik 2011, Jorgensen 2013, Stenström 2014) and studies on reformulation (e.g., Cuenca 2003, Cuenca and Bach 2007, San Martín Núñez 2013, Murillo 2016). In other words, I searched for additional markers typically classified as adolescent speech DMs and RMs, which were excluded from Martín Zorraquino and Portolés's (1999) and Portolés's (2001) and Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán's (2008) taxonomies. Markers that appear in the *Diccionario de partículas discursivas del español* (Briz, Pons Bordería, and Portolés 2008) were also considered. First, I searched for all of the DMs in the corpus. Then, keeping in mind that DMs are multifunctional, I examined the contexts surrounding the use of each marker to assure the primary function was reformulation. Next, I tabulated the most frequently occurring DMs used for reformulation. The COLAm search results revealed that the most commonly used RMs by adolescent speakers in Madrid were *o sea*, *en plan*, *digo*, *quiero decir*, *de todas formas*, and *total*.

In the following sections, I illustrate how the preliminary data was incorporated into each experimental task.

3.3 Discourse Marker Completion Task

The Discourse Marker Completion Task (DMCT) is a multiple-choice cloze test consisting of six transcribed dialogues from the COLAm from which the selected RMs were omitted; Figure 1 presents an example of one of the dialogues (see Appendix A for all six dialogues). The instructions the native speakers received were in Spanish, while the learners received them in English. The English instructions stated, “Choose the word you consider the best word/expression for the blank in the context for each dialogue. You may choose more than one answer.”

Figure 1: Excerpt 1

Instrucciones: Elige la palabra que consideres como la mejor palabra/expresión para el espacio en el contexto de cada diálogo. Se puede elegir más de una respuesta.

Situación 1

Hablante 1: tú sueles salir de viaje, por cierto?
 Hablante 2: ji
 Hablante 1: y adónde sueles ir?
 Hablante 2: estuve en Ávila. También este verano en Piedrahita.
 Hablante 1: pero que te vas con tus padres? tus amigos? tu novio?
 Hablante 2: no, _____, con mis amigos.
 Hablante 3: Nosotros de viajeee...cultural.
 Hablante 1: Pues los viajes con los colegas son un desfase.

- A. *de todas formas*
- B. *en plan*
- C. *digo*
- D. *quiero decir*
- E. *por lo tanto*
- F. *o sea*
- G. *total*

This instrument's purpose was twofold: it determined whether or not the participants selected the RMs the Madrid (COLAm) speakers originally used (*o sea*, *en plan*, *digo*, *quiero decir*, *de todas formas*, and *total*), and it revealed that other RMs, in addition to those used in the original corpus, were also acceptable in those contexts.

The native speakers and learners were instructed to choose, from among the six RMs and a distractor (*por lo tanto* 'therefore'), as many markers as they deemed appropriate for each cloze context. The native speakers' completion of the DMCT created a baseline, which enabled me to observe how the learners' responses coincided with or diverged from those of the native speakers. In addition, I aimed to see how the native speaker selections compared with what the Madrid adolescent speakers' in the COLAm actually produced in their conversations with peers.

The purpose of administering the DMCT to the learners a second time was to determine whether or not they made any gains in recognizing and selecting the appropriate contexts of use for RMs after finishing the immersion program in Granada. Therefore, the experimental design included pre- and post-program research phases for the learner group but only one phase for the native speaker group's contribution.

In a pilot test carried out separately from the present study, I asked ten native non-adolescent Peninsular Spanish speakers (i.e., Spaniards not participating in the study and older than 19) which of the set of 6 RMs would work in the cloze contexts in our DMCT, and which markers they would reject. The results from this pilot test revealed that all of these speakers chose either the marker originally used in the COLAm and/or the same alternative marker chosen from the list of six RMs provided in the DMCT. For instance, for Excerpt 1, all ten pilot-test native speakers chose *o sea* (the marker the COLAm speaker used) or *en plan*; and, in the contexts where *o sea* was selected, *en plan* was also judged acceptable, and vice versa. Likewise, in the

context where *dirigo* was chosen, *quiero decir* was also deemed acceptable, and vice versa, while the same was true for *de todas formas* and *total*. Interestingly, yet perhaps unsurprisingly, the responses from the adolescent native speaker participants in the present study closely resemble those from the pilot portion.

The incorporation of a multiple-choice cloze test was inspired by Golato's (2003) discourse completion test (DCT) used to study compliment responses in German, in which she incorporated recordings of naturally occurring speech. Golato criticized traditional DCTs for their inability to illustrate "natural data" and thus their lack of authenticity, since speakers must imagine how they would respond, but their responses "do not reflect real-time interactional sequences" (2003:92). Müller (2005:20) also critiques this method and says "discourse completion tests and role plays ask the learner to *imagine* a communicative situation rather than putting him/her into the situation." In spite of these limitations, Golato recognizes that DCTs are useful "mainly because their simplicity of use and high degree of control over variables lead to easy replicability" (2003:93).

I predicted that the adolescent native speakers in Granada would choose most, if not all, of the same RMs that the adolescent native speakers in Madrid had used in the recorded COLAM conversations. For the learner group, I predicted that their pragmatic competence would improve over the course of the immersion program. Therefore, I expected at least some learners' RM selections would look more like the native speaker selections by the end of their month-long stay.

3.4 Familiarity Survey

Following the DMCT, the participants completed the Familiarity Survey, in which they were asked explicitly about their familiarity with and use of certain RMs, which were presented to them in isolation. Task 2 attempts to measure whether or not the learners in the study had been exposed to certain RMs and felt they understood how to use them.

The participants used the text options in Table (3), inspired by Hernández and Rodríguez-González's (2013) familiarity scale, to report their familiarity with the RMs *o sea*, *en plan*, *digo*, *quiero decir*, *de todas formas*, and *total* at the beginning and end of their study abroad program; the native speakers completed the survey just one time. I provided the instructions and descriptions in English for the learners to ensure full comprehension, and in Spanish for the native speakers.

Table 3. Familiarity Scale

Instructions: Choose the answer that best reflects your familiarity with the Spanish expressions mentioned below:	
1. <i>de todas formas</i>	
A.	I've never heard this expression in conversation before.
B.	I've heard this expression, used in conversation, but I don't understand it.
C.	I've heard this expression and understand it, but I'm not sure how to use it.
D.	I'm familiar with this expression and know how to use it.

Instrucciones: Elige la respuesta que mejor corresponda a tu familiaridad con cada expresión en español.	
<i>1. de todas formas</i>	
A.	Nunca he oído esta expresión.
B.	He oído esta expresión en una conversación, pero no la entiendo.
C.	He oído esta expresión y la entiendo, pero no estoy seguro/a de cómo se usa.
D.	Estoy familiarizado/a con esta expresión y sé usarla.

Hernández and Rodríguez-González (2013) point out that the presence of DMs is one of the defining features of advanced-level L2 learner speech. Bearing in mind learners' incremental acquisition of DMs, they adapted Wesche and Paribakht's (1996) Vocabulary Knowledge Scale to capture the initial stages of DM understanding via self-report. Hernández and Rodríguez-González claim that this instrument serves as an effective tool to measure L2 learner development, even in a short-term immersion program. According to Brown (2001), a survey can lead to a better understanding of student knowledge and perceptions. Brown outlined the types of pragmatic tests used in empirical studies, and refers to a survey assessing familiarity and use of a linguistic element as a type of discourse assessment task.

The objectives of the second task were 1) to determine how the native Granada-Spanish speakers' familiarity with certain RMs compared to that of the L2 learners of Spanish, and 2) to determine how the learners' familiarity with those RMs at the beginning of their immersion program in Granada compared to their familiarity with them at the end of the program.

Although using DMs appropriately is a challenging skill for L2 language learners to master, according to Lazarro Ibarrola (2016:130), native-like DM use is crucial to "becom[ing] a competent speaker of the target language." Hernández (2008:666) explains that, in order to be considered an advanced-level speaker according to the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (1999), a

speaker must “be able to use discourse markers to produce a cohesive and coherent paragraph-length narration.” However, Hernández and Rodríguez-González (2013:7) recognize that differing degrees of knowledge about DMs form part of a continuum. Thus, although learner language may lack DMs, researchers can still assess learners’ developing knowledge of them by looking at degrees of learner familiarity.

I expected the native speakers to rate the RMs *o sea, en plan, digo, quiero decir, de todas formas*, and *total* as highly familiar, particularly given their presence in the COLAm. By contrast, I expected the learners’ familiarity to be lower and to vary, but I anticipated gains by the end of the program. I predicted that the native speaker participants would be highly familiar with the select group of RMs, since I included the most commonly used RMs found in the adolescent Madrid Spanish from the COLAm. I anticipated that the learners would most likely be less familiar with these RMs. However, considering that learners often make pragmatic gains while studying abroad (Bardovi-Harlig 2001), I expected that their familiarity would likely improve over the course of the intensive program.

3.5 Elicited Dialogue

The Elicited Dialogue was inspired by Müller’s (2005) analysis of native and non-native English speakers’ use of DMs. Müller had her participants retell parts of the silent Charlie Chaplin film *The Immigrant* to conversation partners and discuss the 24-minute movie. In addition, Müller’s participants had questions to serve as guidelines or to pose to their conversation partners throughout the discussion. Following Müller, I provided my participants with a list of questions about the discussion topic. However, I did not use a film retell task even though this method has been employed in many studies focusing the pragmatics of L1s and/or

L2s (e.g., Chafe 1980, Redeker 1990, Jucker and Smith 1998, Blackwell 2003, 2009, 2016, Müller 2005, Quesada and Blackwell 2009, Blackwell and Quesada 2012). Instead, I had the participants in my study debate a highly polemic topic that would most likely affect adolescents' incorporation of RMs into their utterances. According to Levey (2003), topics of "high emotional involvement" trigger adolescent speakers to use more vernacular forms such as DMs. Therefore, since the topic of shootings carried out by young people had been in the news at the time, I chose to have my participants discuss gun laws, feelings of safety, and violence in the United States and Spain.

Each participant was paired with a partner. I paired the native speakers randomly and the learners with someone from the same proficiency level (3 or 4). The participants did not know the topic of debate before beginning the task. I first introduced the topic via a seven-slide PowerPoint presentation, which included graphs and numerical data gathered from vox.com, theguardian.com, nationmaster.com, and a video on Youtube from *Eurosnews en español*. The last slide included six questions about the topic upon which the speakers could reflect. I left the six questions on the computer screen during the recording of the debates so that participants could use them to aid in their conversations. All of these materials are available in the appendices.

After the PowerPoint presentation, the pairs of participants were given a recorder and asked to discuss it for three to five minutes. The 36 recorded dialogues, including 12 produced by pairs comprised of the 24 native Granada-Spanish teenagers, and 12 from the paired L2 Spanish learners at the beginning and end of the immersion program, were transcribed verbatim using Spanish orthography and a set of transcription conventions (Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming, and Paolino 1993, see Appendix C). Following Müller, I employed a corpus-driven

approach for the Elicited Dialogue in order to conduct an analysis of all RM tokens present in the data.

The recorded three to five-minute conversations from the Elicited Dialogue task created what Müller (2005:11) refers to as a “small scale corpus.” In order to precisely define the functions of DMs, Müller insists that researchers conduct a manual analysis to examine DMs’ multifunctionality. Such a process is only possible with a small-scale corpus because, according to Sinclair (2001:xi), “the evidence is interpreted by the scholar directly.” In other words, I had the advantage of being able to meticulously observe the use of the DMs in the dialogues by listening to the recordings and knowing the previous input the participants had received regarding the topic. In addition, a group of native speakers from Granada assisted me in the process of transcribing the dialogues and analyzing the use of DMs. Müller cements her support for a small-scale corpus mentioning that the researcher is typically the person who collects the data, and therefore, “s/he can design it to fit his/her purpose, whereas large corpora have to be taken as they are” (Müller 2005:11).

In sum, the procedures for the third task occurred in the following order for each conversation pair: 1) the introduction of the debate topic; 2) the elaboration on the topic via a PowerPoint presentation; 3) the presentation of a YouTube video; 4) the presentation of potential questions in the PowerPoint the participants could use to guide the discussion; 5) a few minutes for each pair to read the questions and reflect before conversing; and 6) the recording of the dialogic interactions of each pair of participants. During the post-program phase, the L2 learner participants repeated the tasks verbatim and had the same conversational partners.

The participants completed the tasks in the described order so that while one group was completing the dialogue, the last task, the next group could begin on the paperwork tasks of the

DMCT and Familiarity Survey. This overlap ensured that I would have enough time with each group since some pairs took more time to initiate their dialogues until they had sufficiently reflected upon the questions presented in the PowerPoint. Nonetheless, the fact that the dialogues occurred after the participants were exposed to the highlighted markers in tasks one and two could have resulted in priming. In other words, the participants could have been aware that I was examining the use of the phrases presented in tasks one and two in the dialogues.

Because the Elicited Dialogue was the last task in the study, the native speakers were given gifts of school supplies and candies from the United States upon completing it. In addition, they received debriefing forms in Spanish, which stated that they had the right to withdraw data at any time. Since all the participants were minors, they also had the right to withdraw data after turning 18 years old. The debriefing forms included explanations regarding information previously withheld (i.e., the purpose of the study). The learner participants received their compensation gifts (items purchased in Granada to commemorate their stay) following the post-program session, in which they completed all three experimental tasks a second time. Upon finishing the program and repeating the study to measure any post-program gains, the learner participants received the same debriefing forms as the native speakers but in English.

In the results section of Chapter 4, I note how the change in the learners' relationship with their partners affected their use of DMs in the Elicited Dialogue. Scholars who have looked at adolescent speech have shown that teenagers highly value the "maintaining and strengthening of [their] social relationships" (Jorgensen 2013:7) and use DMs to "create and maintain intimate contact" (Stenström 2014:14). Furthermore, Jensen and Nutt (2015:203) explain that adolescent girls experience more interpersonal stress than adolescent boys due to differences in the connectivity in the frontal lobe of the brain. Therefore, girls use DMs more often than boys to

maintain their interpersonal relationships. The majority of the participants in the present study (40 out of 48) were girls. . Hence, I expected to find an equal number of DMs in the Granada-Spanish speakers Elicited Dialogues as I had found in the Madrid-Spanish COLAm dialogues. Moreover, a closer relationship with the conversation partner could trigger all adolescent participants to use more DMs with their conversation partners. The change in social distance between the L2 learner conversation partners was relevant in the analysis of their Elicited Dialogues as they were produced both before and after sharing a study abroad experience.

I hypothesized that the native speakers would use the RMs that I had found in the COLAm. However, I expected the learner group to incorporate at least some (and minimally, an increased amount) of the commonly used Spanish RMs into their conversations by the end of the immersion program. Based on what I reported on L2 learner DM studies in Chapter 2, I postulated that the L2 learners would use more explicative or corrective-type reformulations, such as *digo* or *quiero decir* than distancing or conclusive reformulations such as *de todas formas* or *total* due to the nature of their speech, which requires more adjustments. Moreover, I anticipated that learners would use more lexicalized markers such as *quiero decir* than they would more grammaticalized markers, such as *o sea* .

Finally, in order to provide a comprehensive account of how adolescents reformulate their speech, I did not limit the study to only examining the use of DMs typically considered to be RMs. Instead, in the dialogues, I looked at the presence of any DMs indicating a reformulation and any other mechanisms employed such as paraphrasing and repetition, among others.

For the statistical analysis, I performed a standard two-sample t-test to determine if the change from pre-program to post-program was significant for the learners use of DMs in the

Elicited Dialogues. I also used this test to determine whether proficiency level (3 or 4 for the learner participants) was significant in the learners' use of Spanish and/or English DMs.

3.6 Summary

The three experimental tasks designed for the present study allowed me 1) to measure how native speakers and learners completed the transcribed dialogues originally produced by Madrid adolescents, but with the RMs from the original transcript omitted; 2) to determine how they rated their familiarity with DMs in a self-assessment task; and 3) to identify and analyze the DMs they produced in spoken discourse in the Elicited Dialogue task. For the Elicited Dialogue, I considered all DMs used for the purpose of reformulation in Spanish and any other strategies participants employed in order to reformulate, including DMs interjected in English. The following chapter describes the quantitative findings for each task and how they relate to my initial expectations, how and to what extent I was able to answer my research questions, and how the results contribute to a better understanding of adolescent speech, DM functions, and pragmatic development while studying abroad.

CHAPTER 4

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Chapter 4 presents the quantitative results for the three experimental tasks carried out for the present study: 1) the Discourse Marker Completion Task (DMCT); 2) the Familiarity Survey; and 3) the Elicited Dialogue Task. The L2 Spanish learner group results were calculated for 23 participants, as one student left the program early. First, I compare and contrast the responses of the native Granada-Spanish speakers with the L2 Spanish learners' responses for each of the six cloze dialogues in the DMCT. I also discuss both the rate at which learners performed in a native-like manner and the degree of congruency among the native speakers' answers on the DMCT.

For the Familiarity Survey, I summarize the results from the two participant groups and offer possible explanations for the varying degrees of familiarity with the RMs in the survey. Furthermore, I determine the degree to which the learners' familiarity with the expressions changed (or did not change) over the course of the program.

For the Elicited Dialogue Task, I discuss the RMs and the other most frequently occurring DMs the participants incorporated into their speech. Using traditional and weighted formulas, the quantitative results for the Elicited Dialogue also reveal the relationship between the number of words produced by the participants and the number of Spanish and English DMs they produced in the Elicited Dialogues. In presenting this data, I explain which types of words counted as DMs.

4.1 Discourse Marker Completion Task

All the participants read six excerpts from the COLAm for the DMCT and decided which RM or RMs best fit the context of each dialogue. The DMCT responses from the 24 native Granada teenagers were largely the same, but the rate at which they chose the same RMs originally used in the COLAm was not statistically significant ($p>0.05$), as they also selected other markers. For instance, for Excerpt 1, the COLAm Madrid adolescent speaker used *o sea*. However, 16 of the 24 native Granada-Spanish speakers chose *en plan* for this context, whereas only 9 selected *o sea* (four of these participants selected both). Thus, I determined the “native-like selections” for Excerpt 1 based on how many of the native Granada-Spanish speakers selected either *o sea*, *en plan*, or both. Meanwhile, I noted how frequently the learners’ responses coincided with the native speakers’ preferred forms, *en plan* or *o sea*. As exhibited in Table (4), 87.5% of the native speakers’ responses involved their choosing one or both of the two most preferred forms, including the form used in the COLAm, *o sea*, indicated with the asterisk. Although the majority of the learners’ choices were *por lo tanto* and *quiero decir* in the pre-program phase, 30.4% of the learners selected either *en plan* or *o sea*. By the end of the program, more learners selected *en plan* or *o sea* (39.1% of them) even though the majority of them still selected the distractor, *por lo tanto*, in that stage as well. Notably, the learners’ second preferred RM in the post-program phase was *en plan*, which was also a preferred form for the native speakers.

Table 4. Native-Like Selections for Excerpt 1

	Native-Like Selections	First Preferred RM	Second Preferred RM
Native Speakers	87.5% (21/24)	<i>en plan</i>	<i>o sea</i> *
Learners (Pre-Program)	30.4% (7/23)	<i>por lo tanto</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>
Learners (Post-Program)	39.1% (9/23)	<i>por lo tanto</i>	<i>en plan</i>

*Indicates original RM used in the COLAm dialogue.

The upcoming sections present Excerpts 1-6 individually with the results from both participant groups. In the table of responses for each dialogue, the column containing the RM used in the COLAm is both bolded and shaded; and, the column containing the other most frequent form selected by the Granada-Spanish speakers is also bolded. The second table for each dialogue presents the “native-like selections” for all the participants. Since the participants could choose one or more answers, and there were always two pre-determined, preferred answers, the participants’ responses were scored as native-like if their answers coincided with at least one of the native speakers’ preferred forms.

4.1.1 Excerpt 1

In Excerpt 1, the COLAm speaker used *o sea* (‘I mean’) as an explicative and corrective RM. She answers the question of who is going with her on a trip. Her friend asks her if she is going with her parents, friends, or her boyfriend. The speaker replies with no, but then explains that the “no” applies to her parents and boyfriend, but not to her friends. She inserts *o sea* and then clarifies that she travels with her “friends”, one of the choices offered by speaker 1. I chose this

excerpt because the clarifying and correcting functions are common uses of *o sea* (Schwenter 1996), and the context of discussing a trip with friends should be familiar to teenagers.

Figure 2. Excerpt 1

Parte I:

Instrucciones: Elige la palabra que consideres como la mejor palabra/expresión para el espacio en el contexto de cada diálogo. Se puede elegir más de una respuesta.

Situación 1

- Hablante 1: tú sueles salir de viaje, por cierto?
- Hablante 2: ji
- Hablante 1: y adónde sueles ir?
- Hablante 2: estuve en Ávila. También este verano en Piedrahita.
- Hablante 1: pero que te vas con tus padres? tus amigos? tu novio?
- Hablante 2: no, _____, con mis amigos.
- Hablante 3: Nosotros de viajeee...cultural.
- Hablante 1: Pues los viajes con los colegas son un desfase.

- A. *de todas formas*
- B. *en plan*
- C. *digo*
- D. *quiero decir*
- E. *por lo tanto*
- F. *o sea*
- G. *total*

I postulated that the Granada-Spanish native speakers would use *o sea* and/or *en plan* in this context, since their functions overlap, although they are not entirely interchangeable (Stenström 2006, 2014). For instance, *en plan* is used as a quotative device (i.e. to introduce reported or reconstructed speech or thoughts) while *o sea* is not (Stenström 2014). The overlapping functions of *o sea* and *en plan* include explaining, repairing, or summarizing the preceding discourse, all of which are sub-functions of reformulation (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés 1999, Portolés 2001, Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán 2008, Jorgensen 2009, Stenström 2014). In addition to reformulation, both markers can be used to hedge, stall, mitigate, and initiate a turn (Jorgensen 2009, Stenström 2014).

The results in Table (5) shown below reveal that the majority of the Granada-Spanish native speaker participants chose *en plan* as appropriate for this excerpt whereas the Madrid speaker used *o sea*. Stenström's (2006) analysis of *en plan* as a "recent phenomenon" could explain these results since the adolescent Granada-Spanish speakers responded in 2016, while the Madrid adolescents were recorded between 2002 and 2004 (Stenström 2014). The second most frequently chosen RM by the native Granada-Spanish participants for this context was *o sea*, the marker used in the original COLAm dialogue.

Table 5. Responses for Excerpt 1 (* indicates the original RM in the COLAm)

	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i>digo</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>por lo tanto</i>	<i>*o sea</i>	<i>total</i>
Native Speakers	0% (0/24)	66.7% (16/24)	12.5% (3/24)	12.5% (3/24)	0% (0/24)	37.5% (9/24)	0% (0/24)
Learners (Pre-Program)	4.3% (1/23)	21.7% (5/23)	4.3% (1/23)	30.4% (7/23)	34.8% (8/23)	13% (3/23)	8.7% (2/23)
Learners (Post-Program)	4.3% (1/23)	26% (6/23)	13% (3/23)	17.3% (4/23)	34.8% (8/23)	13% (3/23)	13% (3/23)

Overall, the learners did not select the markers chosen by the native Granada-Spanish speakers or used by the Madrid speaker in the first excerpt. Furthermore, the change in the rate at which they answered with a preferred native speaker response was not significant ($p>0.05$) between the pre- and post-program test. On the post-test, six learners (as opposed to five on the pre-test) selected *en plan*, the Granada-Spanish speakers' preferred form for this context. It is worth noting, however, that two more markers were selected in the post-test than in the pre-test in Excerpt 1. In fact, the learners chose more markers in the post-test than on the pre-test for all

of the excerpts with the exception of Excerpt 6. This observation would make it more likely that the learners would chose one of the native speaker preferences. Nonetheless, in this excerpt, only one learner improved slightly in his/her ability to recognize how native speakers would select RMs in this context. However, it is worth noting that fewer learners (four as opposed to seven) selected *quiero decir* on the post-program test, making *en plan* (one of the native speakers' preferred forms) the second most frequently selected choice.

The learners' responses differed notably from the native speakers' preferred forms, as, often times, the learners chose neither of them. What is more, a large number of learners (nearly 45%) selected the distractor *por lo tanto* in both the pre-program and post-program tests. For instance, many learners chose *por lo tanto* for Excerpt 1, while no native speakers did so. The native speakers were able to recognize that a RM was necessary in this context and that the consecutive marker *por lo tanto* was not appropriate.

4.1.2 Excerpt 2

In Excerpt 2, the Madrid native speakers originally used the RM *digo* ('I mean') for the context. The first speaker asks the other if she has studied and the second speaker asks 'for what?' The first speaker repeats the question, asking if her friend has studied, pauses, and then clarifies that she is referring to the exam, which one can assume is shared information between the two speakers. After clarifying that she is talking about a specific exam, and not the act of studying in general, she inserts *digo*. As such, she guides the listener to pay attention to the most relevant part of her inquiry, *el examen* ('the exam'). I chose this excerpt with the use of *digo* as a RM, because it is another example of the explicative and corrective sub-functions of RMs and because the topic of conversation is common for teenagers.

Figure 3. Excerpt 2**Situación 2**

Hablante 1: te lo has estudiado

Hablante 2: el qué?

Hablante 1: te lo has estudiado...el examen _____

Hablante 2: no...tía, aún no.

Hablante 1: No. Me lo estudiaré por mi cuenta hombre.

Hablante 3: ya verás no veré el paquete cuando me saque los dibujos mira.

A. *de todas formas*

B. *en plan*

C. *digo*

D. *quiero decir*

E. *por lo tanto*

F. *o sea*

G. *total*

For this context, the majority of the native Granada-Spanish speakers preferred *quiero decir*, followed by *digo*, although one participant selected *en plan*. The learner responses, however, were less similar to those of the native speakers for Excerpt 2 than they were for Excerpt 1.

Interestingly, the two forms preferred by the majority of the learners, *digo* and *quiero decir*, are similar in that they both contain a form of the verb *decir* and are both commonly translated as ‘I mean.’ The inclusion of the verb *decir* (‘to say’) is metapragmatic in that the speaker pauses to refer back to the act of speaking and potential misunderstandings. According to the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (RAE), *digo* is an interjection used to call another person’s (the interlocutor’s) attention. By using a DM with a form of *decir*, the speaker makes a metapragmatic commentary. More specifically, the use of forms of the verb *decir* (*digo*, *quiero decir*) may be considered metapragmatic in that the speaker uses these expressions to refer to her acts of speaking and indicate her reflection on or evaluation of her preceding speech. According

to Bublitz and Hübler (2007), the words used in metapragmatic commentary are metalanguage, which is “a practical means of referring to current discourse or text” (2007:4). In other words, speakers use expressions such as *quiero decir*, *es decir* (‘that is to say’), or *mejor dicho* (‘better said’) for speaking about, and thus demonstrating, their reflections on the communicative interaction. In the context of reformulation, a speaker may essentially use such expressions metapragmatically to comment on the act of adjusting, evaluating, and improving parts of his/her utterance. The table below shows the responses for Excerpt 2.

Table 6. Responses for Excerpt 2

	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i> digo</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>por lo tanto</i>	<i>o sea</i>	<i>total</i>
Native Speakers	0% (0/24)	4.2% (1/24)	41.7% (10/24)	70.8% (17/24)	0% (0/24)	0% (0/24)	0% (0/24)
Learners (Pre-Program)	39.1% (9/23)	4.3% (1/23)	4.3% (1/23)	4.3% (1/23)	13% (3/23)	4.3% (1/23)	39.1% (9/23)
Learners (Post-Program)	43.4% (10/23)	8.7% (2/23)	8.7% (2/23)	8.7% (2/23)	8.7% (2/23)	4.3% (1/23)	47.8% (11/23)

The participants’ choices were considered to be more native-like if they answered using *digo*, the RM used in COLAm, or *quiero decir*, the preferred RM for native speaker participants from Granada. Four native speakers marked two answer choices, indicating both *digo* and *quiero decir* were possible markers for this cloze context. Excerpt 2 showed the highest percentage of native speakers responding similarly, but the learners’ responses revealed a preference for *de todas formas* and *total*, with 39.1% of the learners selecting the former on the pre-test and 43.4% selecting it on the post-test and selecting the latter also 39.1% on the pre-test and 47.8% on the

post-test. The high number of responses for *total* among the L2 learners could be due to their using it lexically to indicate "the complete exam" with the phrase in Spanish *el examen total*.

Excerpt 2 is distinct from Excerpt 1 in that the deleted RM occurred in utterance/turn final position instead of being utterance initial after negation (e.g. “No, ____”) or medial. All DMs can occur in any of these three positions but, according to Hernández and Rodríguez-González (2013), the utterance final position is the least salient environment for learners, and thus likely to be the most difficult context in which to use or interpret DMs. This factor could partly explain the differences between the learners’ choices of RMs and the native speakers’ preferred forms for this context.

At the end of the immersion program, the learners still preferred *de todas formas* and *total* for Excerpt 2. The turn final position (the context where the RM was deleted in Excerpt 2) may have been a less obvious context for the use of a RM for the learners, because it is, in fact, the least frequent context of use for RMs in general. The table below summarizes the native-like responses for all the participants.

Table 7. Native-Like Selections for Excerpt 2

	Native-Like Selections	First Preferred RM	Second Preferred RM
Native Speakers	95.8% (23/24)	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>digo*</i>
Learners Pre-Program	8.7% (2/23)	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>total</i>
Learners Post-Program	13% (3/23)	<i>total</i>	<i>de todas formas</i>

4.1.3 Excerpt 3

In the third excerpt, the native Madrid-Spanish speaker from the COLAm used *quiero decir* ('I mean') or ('I mean to say'). This speaker discusses how she will introduce herself. Wanting to indicate when she will introduce herself, the speaker states 'after the first' (in reference to the academic term). However, because the other speakers in this conversation might not appropriately interpret *después de las primeras* ('after the first'), the speaker adds clarifying information by stating *después de las notas finales* ('after the final grades').

Figure 4. Excerpt 3

Situación 3

Hablante 1: o sea quítatelo antes del verano
 Hablante 2: y vea qué modelo
 Hablante 3: creo que me voy a presentar
 de justo después de las primeras
 de las de las notas finales _____.
 Hablante 4: qué día...qué día
 Esa semana?
 Hablante 3: El puente de mayo se van.

- A. *de todas formas*
- B. *en plan*
- C. *digo*
- D. *quiero decir*
- E. *por lo tanto*
- F. *o sea*
- G. *total*

Excerpt 3 contains a deleted RM in the utterance final position, which (just as in Excerpt 2) could have been harder for the learners to interpret (Hernández and Rodríguez-González 2013). Like the results for Excerpt 2, four native speakers indicated both *quiero decir* and *digo* as possible responses. However, only 11 of the 24 native Granada-Spanish speakers chose *quiero decir*, the RM originally used in the COLAm for Excerpt 3. Without punctuation in the excerpt to indicate pauses, the native speakers could have been confused in their interpreting this

dialogue. Five native speakers chose *de todas formas*, while one native speaker chose both *de todas formas* and *digo*. This finding is noteworthy because no native speaker chose *de todas formas* for the context in Excerpt 2, even though the contexts in which *digo* and *quiero decir* are typically used are similar and often can be used interchangeably (Holgado-Lage 2017).

Table 8. Responses for Excerpt 3

	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i>digo</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>por lo tanto</i>	<i>o sea</i>	<i>total</i>
Native Speakers	25% (6/24)	0% (0/24)	33.3% (8/24)	45.8% (11/24)	8.3% (2/24)	8.3% (2/24)	0% (0/24)
Learners (Pre-Program)	39.1% (9/23)	13% (3/23)	4.3% (1/23)	8.7% (2/23)	21.7% (5/23)	4.3% (1/23)	26% (6/23)
Learners (Post-Program)	30.4% (7/23)	17.4% (4/23)	4.3% (1/23)	26% (6/23)	17.4% (4/23)	17.4% (4/23)	17.4% (4/23)

Significant for Excerpt 3 is the learners' improvement on the post-test. Six of 23 (as opposed to only 2 of 23 on the pre-test) selected *quiero decir* for this context. In addition, fewer learners chose *de todas formas* on the post-test (7 of 23 learners), rendering this result slightly more similar to the native speakers' selection of this marker for Excerpt 3.

Table 9. Native-like Selections for Excerpt 3

	Native-Like Selections	First Preferred RM	Second Preferred RM
Native Speakers	66.6% (16/24)	<i>quiero decir*</i>	<i>digo</i>
Learners (Pre-Program)	8.7% (2/23)	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>por lo tanto</i>
Learners (Post-Program)	30.4% (7/23)	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>

The learners' responses for Excerpt 3 in the post-test more closely reflected those of the native speakers, as more learners chose *quiero decir* as opposed to *por lo tanto* in the post-test when compared to the pre-test.

4.1.4 Excerpt 4

The Madrid-Spanish speaker in Excerpt 4 used *total* ('anyway.') The two discuss weekend plans and speaker 1 asks speaker 2 which she thinks is better, though the context of what she is asking is rather ambiguous. She tries to explain her reasoning but then inserts *total*, a distancing and/or conclusive RM, to indicate that the most relevant information for the hearer is the fact that they will be wandering about on Friday and do not have any definitive plans, but need a place to sleep. I selected this excerpt due to the relevant theme of making plans for teenagers and to illustrate the use of a distancing/conclusive RM, which differed from the first three excerpts.

Figure 5. Excerpt 4**Situación 4**

Hablante 1: y por la mañana nos vamos a casa

Hablante 2: a mí o me llevan a esa paliza o no sé

Hablante 1: pero sabes lo que te digo

Hablante 2: sí

Hablante 1: te parece... es que es mejor

por eso creo porque _____ ese viernes

vamos a estar deambulando por ahí todo

tiradas sin tener nada que hacer igual

y lo único que necesitamos es un sitio para dormir un poquito

Hablante 2: un poquito

A. *de todas formas*

B. *en plan*

C. *digo*

D. *quiero decir*

E. *por lo tanto*

F. *o sea*

G. *total*

The responses for Excerpt 4 were unexpected since both the native speakers and the learners chose a number of RMs. What is more, few native speakers and learners chose the RM the COLAm speaker used, *total*. In fact, the RM *total* was the least frequently chosen marker for all excerpts among all participants for this task. For Excerpts 1-3 and 5, no native speaker chose *total* as an answer to complete the cloze contexts. The table below shows the responses for Excerpt 4.

Table 10. Responses for Excerpt 4

	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i>digo</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>por lo tanto</i>	<i>o sea</i>	<i>total</i>
Native Speakers	58.3% (14/24)	29.1% (7/24)	41.7% (1/24)	8.3% (2/24)	12.5% (3/24)	12.5% (3/24)	16.7% (4/24)
Learners (Pre-Program)	4.3% (1/23)	52.1% (12/23)	21.7% (5/23)	21.7% (5/23)	86.7% (2/23)	0% (0/23)	0% (0/23)
Learners (Post-Program)	8.7% (2/23)	52.1% (12/23)	21.7% (5/23)	26% (6/23)	21.7% (5/23)	0% (0/23)	4.3% (1/23)

In Excerpt 4, the expected RM was *total* but this excerpt revealed the widest range of selections for both native speakers and learners. Four of the native Granada-Spanish speakers selected *total* for Excerpt 4, although more participants in the native speaker group preferred *de todas formas* and *digo* for this context. Interestingly, the learners chose the RM *en plan* to complete this excerpt more frequently than they had for the other five excerpts. From these results, I conclude that the context in Excerpt 4 was the most ambiguous for all the participants, because I found the least amount of congruity among the native speaker responses. Furthermore, Excerpt 4 was the only excerpt in which the marker used in the COLAm, *total*, was not one of the preferred RMs for the Granada-Spanish native speakers. The table below indicates the percentage of native-like responses given by the learners for Excerpt 4. This percentage refers to the frequency at which the learners chose the same RMs selected by the Granada-Spanish speakers and/or those used by the Madrid-Spanish speakers in the original COLAm. Unlike the other excerpts, the marker used in the COLAm was not one of the preferred RMs for the native Granada-Spanish speakers.

Table 11. Native-like Selections for Excerpt 4

	Native-Like Selections	First Preferred RM	Second Preferred RM
Native Speakers	62.5% (15/24)	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>en plan</i>
Learners (Pre-Program)	4.3% (1/23)	<i>en plan</i>	<i>digo or quiero decir</i>
Learners (Post-Program)	8.7% (3/23)	<i>en plan</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>

4.1.5 Excerpt 5

The Madrid native speaker used *en plan* for this context. I chose this excerpt because it involves a love interest, which is a common, intimate topic for teenagers. The speaker here discusses how she is getting involved with a boy in history class. Because she wants to cement her feelings for him, she inserts *en plan* before the phrase *en serio* ('seriously') to reformulate and say she actually really likes him.

Figure 6. Excerpt 5

Situación 5

Hablante 1: espero que no se lo enseñen a los profesores esto
 Je je je
 porque he ido con @nombre en el metro esta mañana
 que le he estado oyendo ahora.
 metiéndome con el de historia
 no _____ en serio a mí el de historia me cae bien
 pero...no la verdad es más que nada para darle
 conversación a @nombre
 y que hablara
 porque claro como está grabando no podía haber mucho momento de silencio, sabes?

Hablante 2: @nombre sabía que estabas grabando?

Hablante 1: no, @nombre no lo sabía.
 Se lo he dicho luego

- A. *de todas formas*
- B. *en plan*
- C. *digo*
- D. *quiero decir*
- E. *por lo tanto*
- F. *o sea*
- G. *total*

For Excerpt 5, the majority of the native Granada-Spanish speakers selected *o sea* or *en plan* as they had for Excerpt 1, although the RM chosen most frequently (by 15 of the 24 native speakers) was *en plan*, the RM used in the COLAm. This context showed a fair amount of congruity, with 87.5% of native speakers picking either *en plan* or *o sea*. This result suggests that the context in Excerpt 5 was clear for the use of these two RMs by native Peninsular Spanish speakers. In contrast, the learners did not respond like the native speakers. Only one learner of the 24 selected a native-like response, *o sea*.

Studies on *o sea* and *en plan* translate both markers as ‘like’, among other possible translations such as ‘I mean’ or ‘that is’, depending on the context (Stenström 2007). Similar to the use of English *like* (D’Arcy 2007), Spanish adolescents’ frequent use of *o sea* and *en plan* is commonly viewed as a bad habit (Stenström 2007). Therefore, these markers may not appear in textbooks or other instructional materials used to teach Spanish to L2 learners. That is, L2

learners of Spanish in the United States may not be exposed to these markers in their learning environments, unless their teachers include these expressions in their classroom speech or teacher talk. Nonetheless, being immersed in the Spanish language while studying abroad in Spain and spending time with native Spanish speakers may expose the L2 learners to these phrases in conversational contexts for the first time. The table below shows the responses for Excerpt 5.

Table 12. Responses for Excerpt 5

	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i>digo</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>por lo tanto</i>	<i>o sea</i>	<i>total</i>
Native Speakers	4.2% (1/24)	62.5% (15/24)	12.5% (3/24)	8.3% (2/24)	0% (0/24)	33.3% (8/24)	0% (0/24)
Learners (Pre-Program)	4.3% (1/23)	0% (0/23)	39.1% (9/23)	39.1% (9/23)	4.3% (1/23)	4.3% (1/23)	17.3% (4/23)
Learners (Post-Program)	4.3% (1/23)	0% (0/23)	34.8% (8/23)	43.4% (10/23)	8.7% (2/23)	4.3% (1/23)	26% (6/23)

The learners' responses diverged more from the native speakers' answers on Excerpt 5 than on the previous four excerpts. For instance, nine learners selected *quiero decir* and nine selected *digo*. This deviation might be due to what follows the blank where the original marker was eliminated. Specifically, in Excerpt 5, the missing RM is followed by *en serio*. Learners might have associated the expression *en serio* as one that follows a form of the verb *decir* ('to say') because, according to the *Real Academia Española* (RAE, my translation), one of the definitions of *serio* is "stern in one's demeanor, in the way of looking or saying." Therefore, the learners may have interpreted the prepositional phrase *en serio* as indicative of a manner of speaking,

therefore selecting the two RMs containing the verb *decir*. Even though Excerpt 5 caused learners the most difficulty, on the Familiarity Survey (task 2), the learners exhibited greater familiarity and understanding of *en plan* at the end of the study abroad program than they did with the other five markers.

Table 13. Native-like Selections for Excerpt 5

	Native-Like Selections	First Preferred RM	Second Preferred RM
Native Speakers	87.5% (21/24)	<i>en plan</i> *	<i>o sea</i>
Learners (Pre-Program)	4.3% (1/23)	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>digo</i>
Learners (Post-Program)	8.7% (2/23)	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>digo</i>

4.1.6 Excerpt 6

The Madrid native speaker used *de todas formas* (‘anyway’) in this context. This marker is most often used as a distancing or concluding RM (Portolés 2001, Holgado-Lage 2017). I chose this excerpt because the two speakers are talking about volunteering an answer to participate in class, another common topic among teens. They are discussing their schoolwork and speaker 1 concludes that the way in which she dictates the answer does not matter because she was not able to find the solution to the problem. Her final conclusion following *de todas formas* is that it will not matter in class.

Figure 7. Excerpt 6**Situación 6**

Hablante 1: es lo que se corresponde
 el que quiera levantar el que quiera hablar
 que levante la mano
 es lo que se corresponde a la página treinta y cuatro
 dime

Hablante 2: lo del libro que nos dijiste

Hablante 1: lo del libro que os dije no lo he podido solucionar

Hablante 3: ah vale

Hablante 1: _____ como lo dicto es igual
 ah vale

A. *de todas formas*B. *en plan*C. *digo*D. *quiero decir*E. *por lo tanto*F. *o sea*G. *total*

The native speakers chose *de todas formas* and *total* most frequently for Excerpt 6. By the end of the program, the learners chose *total* almost as frequently for Excerpt 6 as the native speakers had.

Table 14. Responses for Excerpt 6

	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i>digo</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>por lo tanto</i>	<i>o sea</i>	<i>total</i>
Native Speakers	50% (12/24)	8.3% (2/24)	4.2% (1/24)	8.3% (2/24)	25% (6/24)	16.7% (4/24)	29.1% (7/24)
Learners (Pre-Program)	8.7% (2/23)	4.3% (1/23)	26% (6/23)	21.7% (5/23)	13% (3/23)	39.1% (9/23)	8.7% (2/23)
Learners (Post-Program)	21.7% (5/23)	0% (0/23)	.04% (1/23)	26% (6/23)	8.7% (2/23)	21.7% (5/23)	30.4% (7/23)

Though it may not appear that the learners improved substantially from the pre-program to the post-program test, it is worth noting that, for Excerpt 6, a greater number of learners chose one of the native speakers' two preferred markers, *de todas formas* and *total*, by the end of the program.

Table 15. Native-like Selections for Excerpt 6

	Native-Like Selections	First Preferred RM	Second Preferred RM
Native Speakers	75% (18/24)	<i>de todas formas*</i>	<i>total</i>
Learners (Pre-Program)	17.3% (4/23)	<i>o sea</i>	<i>digo</i>
Learners (Post-Program)	52.1% (12/23)	<i>total</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>

Like Excerpt 4, the native speakers' responses were less uniform for this excerpt than for Excerpts 1, 2, 3 and 5. These results suggest that cloze test items involving the use of distancing/concluding markers, such as *total* and *de todas formas*, may require more contextual information so that study participants can better recognize and interpret the discourse contexts surrounding the appropriate use of these markers.

4.1.7 Conclusions

For each excerpt, a majority of the native speakers found one or two markers acceptable. For instance, for Excerpt 2, 13 native speakers chose only *quiero decir*, 6 chose only *digo*, and 4 chose both. Thus, they selected *quiero decir* 17 times and *digo* 10 times altogether for this context. Table (16) demonstrates that the most frequently chosen RM was *en plan*, though this result may be skewed because *en plan* was overwhelmingly preferred for Excerpts 1 and 5. The

two most frequently chosen markers by the native Granada-Spanish speakers for each excerpt are shaded in the tables below.

Table 16. Summary of Native Speaker Selections

Excerpt # (COLAm RM)	<i>o sea</i>	<i>digo</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>total</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i>de todas formas</i>
Excerpt 1 (<i>o sea</i>)	9	3	3	0	16	0
Excerpt 2 (<i>quiero decir</i>)	0	10	17	0	1	0
Excerpt 3 (<i>digo</i>)	2	8	11	0	0	6
Excerpt 4 (<i>total</i>)	3	1	2	4	7	14
Excerpt 5 (<i>en plan</i>)	8	3	2	0	15	1
Excerpt 6 (<i>de todas formas</i>)	4	1	2	7	2	12
Total	26	26	37	11	41	33

Table 17. Summary of Learner Selections Pre→Post

Excerpt # (COLAm RM)	<i>o sea</i>	<i>digo</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>total</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i>de todas formas</i>
Excerpt 1 (<i>o sea</i>)	3→3	1→3	7→4	2→3	5→6	1→1
Excerpt 2 (<i>quiero decir</i>)	1→1	1→2	1→2	9→11	1→2	9→10
Excerpt 3 (<i>digo</i>)	1→4	1→1	2→6	6→4	3→4	9→7
Excerpt 4 (<i>total</i>)	0→0	5→5	5→6	0→1	12→12	1→2
Excerpt 5 (<i>en plan</i>)	1→1	8→9	9→10	4→6	0→0	1→1
Excerpt 6 (<i>de todas formas</i>)	9→5	6→1	5→6	2→7	1→0	2→5
Total	14→14	22→21	29→34	23→32	22→24	23→26

Although the learners' selections generally did not reflect the native speakers' choices, some of their responses were similar across the groups. For instance, one of the markers most frequently selected by both the native speakers and the learners, regardless of the context, was *quiero decir*, as this marker was chosen 37 times by the native speakers and 29 times pre-program and 34 times post-program by the learners. This finding suggests that the participants accepted a range of contexts for the use of this marker. This could also mean that the environments in which the other markers are used are more limiting in terms of how many markers they would deem acceptable in those contexts.

Table (18) indicates how many learners chose the expected RMs (the original COLAm marker, or the other RM most frequently selected by the Granada-Spanish speakers, besides the COLAm marker).

Table 18. Summary of Learner Selections

Excerpt # (COLAm RM, other selected RM—Granada)	Native-like Selections Pre- test	Native-like Selections Post- test	Gains in Native-like selections
Excerpt 1 (<i>o sea, en plan</i>)	7/23	9/23	2
Excerpt 2 (<i>quiero decir, digo</i>)	2/23	4/23	2
Excerpt 3 (<i>digo, quiero decir</i>)	3/23	7/23	4
Excerpt 4 (<i>total, de todas formas</i>)	1/23	3/23	2
Excerpt 5 (<i>en plan, o sea</i>)	1/23	2/23	1
Excerpt 6 (<i>de todas formas, total</i>)	2/23	6/23	4

Although I anticipated that the learners would pick at least one of the two RMs preferred by the native speakers, the learners' selections coincided with the expected RMs at a rate of 11% pre-program and 13% post-program. Thus, the learners' responses were still far from similar to the native speaker responses.

4.1.8 Discussion

I only included a few lines of discourse from the COLAm for each excerpt in order to shorten the time needed for participants to complete the cloze task. Had I used more of the original COLAm transcriptions for each of the excerpts, the participants would have needed more time to read them, and each pair of participants had only around 20-30 minutes to complete all three tasks. Considering the less than 100% agreement rate for the native speakers, I conclude

that both groups would have benefited from receiving more contextual information for each excerpt. In addition, part of the variability for both the native speaker and the learners could be that they may have felt pressure to choose different forms, since they had 6 options to choose from. Nonetheless, additional information could have aided in their interpretations in the form of a short introduction regarding the topic of conversation, added context before and after the presence of the highlighted RM, or background information about the speakers in the conversational exchanges. Providing more context is important, especially when presenting oral discourse in the form of written discourse, where many of the cues present in speech are missing. In addition, because each of the markers that the participants could choose to complete each cloze context were RMs (with the exception of the distractor *por lo tanto*), the meanings and functions were closely related (or possibly the same). Therefore, the participants may have had difficulty discerning subtle, if any, distinctions among the available choices. Yet, the native speakers chose different RMs for each context, highlighting the subtle differences they may have discerned in the use of a particular marker in each dialogue.

Given the learners' responses in this task, it was apparent that they were not able to easily select the expected RMs used in the original COLAm conversations and/or those preferred by the native Granada-Spanish speakers in any of the excerpts. Because I anticipated that the respondents would select two RMs out of the seven options (the RM originally used in the COLAm and the one most frequently selected by the native speaker participants besides the original marker), a random guesser should have been correct on 2 out of 7 occasions, or at least 29% of the time. Instead, the learners' responses coincided with the expected RMs at a rate of 15/138, or 11% of the time for pre-program task, and 18/138, or 13% of the time for post-program. Interestingly, no RM was selected significantly more often in either phase.

Generally speaking, there is not enough evidence in these results to claim that the four-week Spanish immersion program helped students to respond in a more native-like manner on this cloze test. For instance, for Excerpt 2, 23 native speakers chose *quiero decir* and/or *digo*, whereas only two learners selected one of these markers in both the pre- and post-program phases. However, some learners' responses became more native-like by the end of the program, showing an increase in the number of students responding like native speakers in the post-program phase. Most noteworthy were Excerpts 3 and 6, in which four additional learners selected one of the native speaker preferences at the post-program stage.

Overall, the learners' responses on the DMCT were not similar to the native speakers' choices, and none of the results were statistically significant with a p-value greater than 0.05. Yet, the learners' selections in the post-program treatment were slightly more native-like. A majority of the native speakers (78.5%, on average) selected the same two markers (*o sea* and *en plan* for excerpts 1 and 5; *digo* and *quiero decir* for 2 and 3; and *total* and *de todas formas* for 4 and 6). However, only 56% of the native speakers chose the original marker from the COLAm for all six excerpts. One explanation for this result may be that the DMCT cloze dialogues were transcriptions of spoken discourse and thus lacked contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982) such as intonation, pauses, and other features of spoken discourse. According to Golato (2003:110), "[a] preferred method of data collection would involve the audio- and video-taping of spontaneous, naturally occurring data." In other words, like the learners, the native-speaking participants may have selected RMs without full understanding of the cloze contexts, because the excerpts were written transcriptions of spoken dialogues. Secondly, the native speakers often selected two markers with very similar meanings and functions for a given cloze context. For instance, where the COLAm speakers used *en plan*, 15 Granada-Spanish speakers selected *en*

plan, but 8 selected *o sea*. Often, the RMs *en plan* and *o sea* can be used for the same functions. Additionally, because the markers provided as options were RMs with similar meanings and functions (except for the distractor *por lo tanto*), it was unsurprising that, in several cases, the native-speaking participants found more than one marker to be appropriate for a particular cloze context.

4.2 Familiarity Survey

The Familiarity Survey attempted to determine whether or not the participants had been exposed to six RMs and understood how to use them. The participants rated their familiarity with the RMs in isolation (i.e. not in the context of a dialogue). However, I did not ask the participants to explicitly identify the functions of the six RMs.

4.2.1 Native Speaker Results

Overall, the native Granada-Spanish speakers were familiar with the RMs in the Familiarity Survey, albeit to varying degrees. I hypothesized that the native speakers would be highly familiar with each of the selected RMs, as they were extracted from authentic adolescent speech, which was transcribed in the COLAm. The results demonstrate that all of the native speakers reported high familiarity with, and knew how to use, *de todas formas*, *quiero decir*, and *o sea*. The expressions *en plan* (91.6%, 22 out of 24) and *total* (87.5%, 21 out of 24) were very familiar to most of the participants, while *digo* (63%, 15 out of 24) was slightly less familiar to a third of the group and completely unfamiliar to one member.

Table 19. Native Speaker Familiarity Survey Results

	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i>digo</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>o sea</i>	<i>total</i>
Unfamiliar (<i>I've never heard this expression in conversation before.</i>)	0% (0/24)	0% (0/24)	4.1% (1/24)	0% (0/24)	0% (0/24)	0% (0/24)
Somewhat Unfamiliar (<i>I've heard this expression, used in conversation, but I don't understand it.</i>)	0% (0/24)	4.1% (1/24)	0% (0/24)	0% (0/24)	0% (0/24)	0% (0/24)
Rather Familiar (<i>I've heard this expression and understand it, but I'm not sure how to use it.</i>)	0% (0/24)	4.1% (1/24)	33% (8/24)	0% (0/24)	0% (0/24)	12.5% (3/24)
Very Familiar (<i>I'm familiar with this expression and know how to use it.</i>)	100% (24/24)	91.6% (22/24)	63% (15/24)	100% (24/24)	100% (24/24)	87.5% (21/24)

I discuss the RMs tested in the Familiarity Survey in pairs, which reflect and correspond to the RMs selected by the native speakers on the DMCT. For example, based on the native speakers' preferred choices for each of the dialogues in the DMCT, whenever they chose *en plan* they also often selected *o sea*, whereas *digo* was selected most often with *quiero decir*, and *total* was frequently selected with *de todas maneras*, and vice-versa. Interestingly, 100% of the native speakers reported being very familiar with one of the two markers in each of these pairs: *o sea* and *en plan*, *digo* and *quiero decir*, and *de todas formas* and *total*.

Quiero decir and *digo*

The RM *digo* was the least familiar item to the native speakers, while all of them marked *quiero decir* as highly familiar, even though, according to Portolés (2001) and Cuenca and Bach (2007), both RMs are used for correcting or improving a previous discourse segment. However, Holgado-Lage (2017) claims that a difference in formality distinguishes the two, as *digo* is less formal than *quiero decir*. Interestingly, two participants (A and B) commented to the investigator (K) that they never use *digo*.

- (36) A: *¿Digo? Yo nunca diría eso.*
 ‘Digo? I would never say that.’
- B: *Yo tampoco.*
 ‘I wouldn’t either.’
- A: *Eso diría mi abuela.*
 ‘My grandma would say that.’
- K: *¿Qué dirías tú?*
 ‘What would you say?’
- A: ***En plan.***
 ‘En plan.’

Although this finding is surprising for native speakers, the familiarity survey was the second task. Therefore, the participants had just completed the DMCT and most likely could intuit that the study focused on the use of these phrases as markers. Nonetheless, the only information the participants received was that I, the investigator, was interested in learning about teenage language.

The results of the Familiarity Survey for the RM *digo* and the conversation presented in (34) suggest that *digo* may be used more often by older Spanish speakers, whereas *en plan* would be the Granada teenagers’ RM of choice. Jorgensen (2009) identified *en plan* as the only DM used almost exclusively by teenagers, and the comments by the two Granada teenagers in (34) provide further evidence that this marker may be largely, though perhaps not exclusively, a teenage phenomenon.

O sea and en plan

All the native speakers reported high familiarity with *o sea*, and all but two were familiar with, and reported using, *en plan*. While previous studies identified *en plan* as a typical marker in adolescents' conversational Spanish, these studies only focused on Madrid Spanish data collected from 2002 to 2004 (Nord 2006, Jorgensen 2009, Stenström 2014). The findings suggest that currently, while teenage speakers from Granada are familiar with the RM *en plan*, they are more familiar with *o sea*. As indicated by the results of the Familiarity Survey and the anecdotal evidence in (34) above, most of native Granada adolescents who participated in the present study are familiar with, and report that they use, the RM *en plan*. Nevertheless, two speakers did not rate *en plan* as highly familiar, including one speaker who rated it as somewhat familiar (Native speaker number 17=NS17) and another (NS5) who rated it as rather (but not very) familiar. Neither native speaker used *en plan* in the third task, the Elicited Dialogue. However, NS5 selected *en plan* for the DMCT for two of the excerpts whereas NS17 did not select it at all. This suggests that NS17 most likely was only somewhat familiar with this marker.

At the time of Jorgensen's (2009) publication, she indicated the use of *en plan* had not received sufficient attention in the literature on DMs. Furthermore, *en plan* was neither included in Martín Zorraquino and Portolés's (1999) taxonomy nor in Jorgensen and Martínez López's (2007) adaptation of Martín Zorraquino and Portolés's taxonomy to reflect adolescent Madrid Spanish. What is more, the studies identifying *en plan* as a typical marker in adolescent speech (Nord 2006, Jorgensen 2009, Stenström 2014) analyzed data collected from 2002 to 2004. However, the native Granada-Spanish speakers' responses on the Familiarity Survey suggest that currently, teenage speakers from Granada are quite familiar with the RM *en plan*, but are more familiar with *o sea*.

Upon gathering preliminary data for the present study, I analyzed 401 tokens of *en plan* in the COLAm. Stenström (2006:1) reported on the lack of research on *en plan* in 2006 claiming at the time, “it [was] not mentioned in current Spanish dictionaries such as Sanmartín Saez’s *Diccionario de argot* (2004) or on the Internet.” In fact, to Stenström’s knowledge at the time, the only mention of *en plan* as a DM was in Magni Nord’s (2006) master’s thesis at the University of Bergen. Jorgensen (2009) revisited her analysis on Madrid adolescents’ use of DMs in 2009, and found that girls use *en plan* as an RM or to hedge. By contrast, she found that boys do not use *en plan* as a DM at all; instead, boys only used *en plan* as an adverbial. Since almost all the studies on this marker have focused on adolescent speech, its use by speakers of other age groups has not been determined. Nonetheless, the Granada-Spanish adolescents’ attested familiarity with *en plan* suggests that this marker is more widespread in Spain and may characterize the speech of younger generations in regions of the country outside of Madrid.

De todas formas and *total*

All the native speakers reported high familiarity with *de todas formas*, although only 87.5% were very familiar with *total*. Holgado-Lage (2017) claims that the informal RM *total* is comparable in function to the more formal expressions *de todas formas* and *de cualquier manera* (both are distancing RMs meaning ‘anyway’), and that what follows *total* is a conclusion, one of the sub-functions identified by various authors as pertaining to the umbrella function of reformulation.

Results from the survey suggest that *total* is slightly less familiar to the native speakers, which may help explain why it was also the least chosen marker in the DMCT, besides the fact that it must occur before a conclusion. Likewise, *de todas formas* typically occurs before a

conclusion or to distance and indicate that what follows the marker is the most relevant (Holgado-Lage 2017).

4.2.2 Learner Pre-Program Results

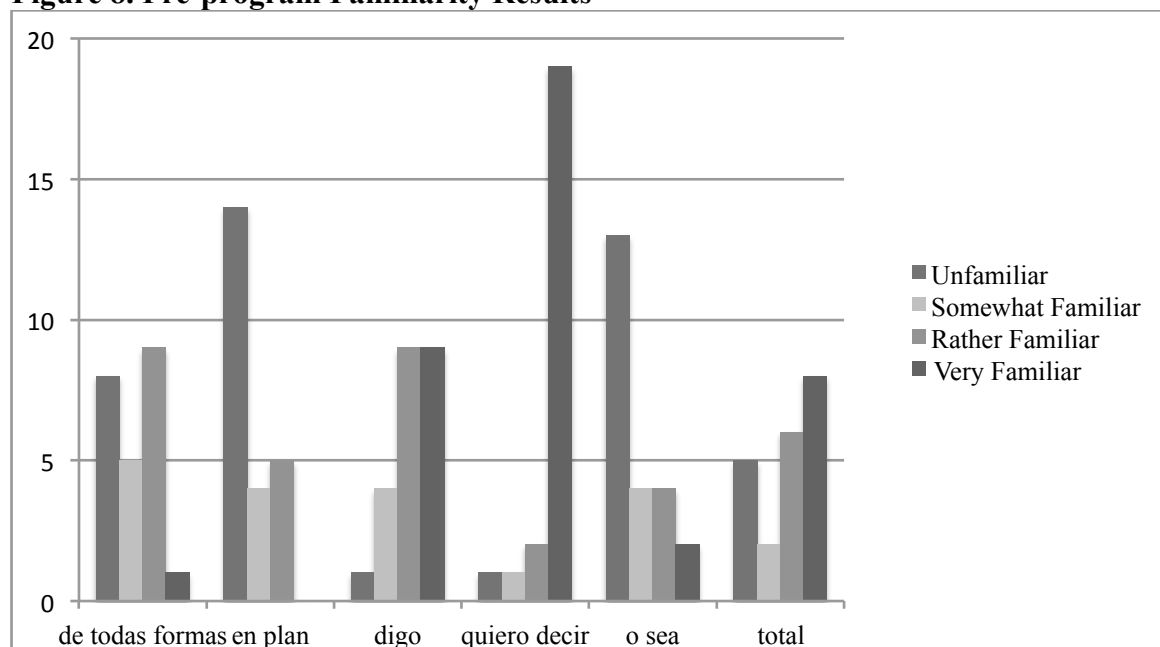
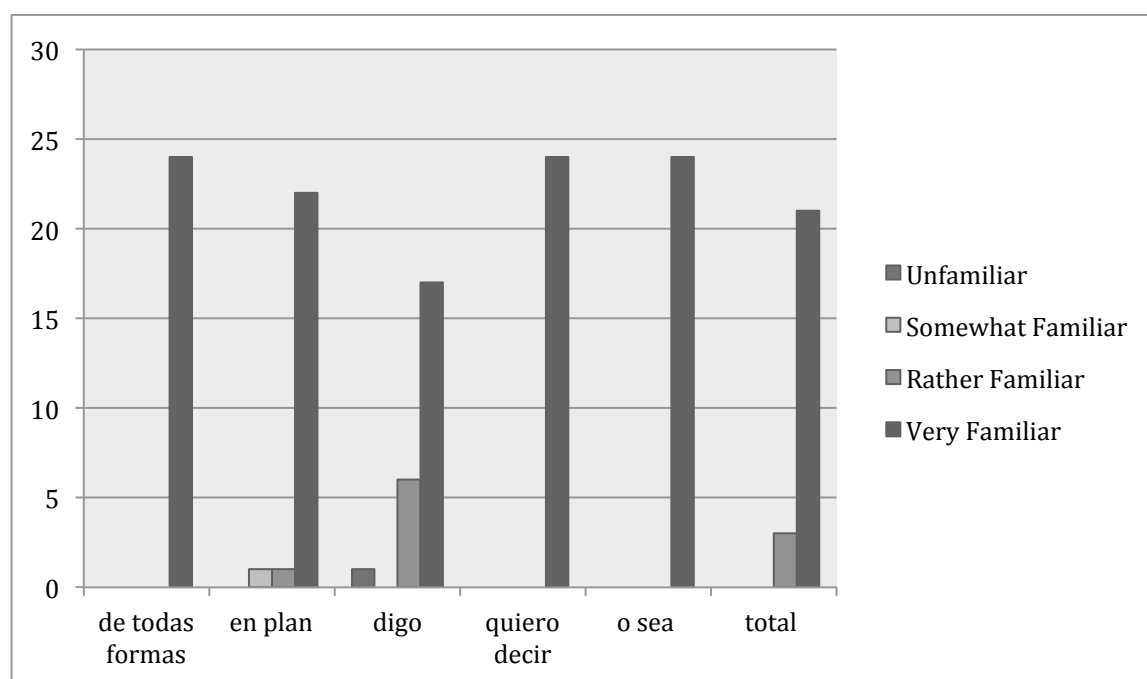
I hypothesized that the learners would be more familiar with the RMs whose translation to English was more literal. For instance, I expected learners to be more familiar with *quiero decir*, as they may have interpreted its literal meaning, ‘I want to say’, and less familiar with *o sea*, whose translation equivalent is never literal. The results revealed that the learners were most familiar with the RM *quiero decir* in the pre-program survey. According to Andersen’s (1984) “One to One Principle”, learners often equate a language unit with one function and meaning. Although *quiero decir* generally corresponds with the RM ‘I mean’ in English (Cuenca and Bach 2007), Jiang (2000) notes that at early stages of DM acquisition, learners often interpret L2 expressions in terms of their literal L1 translation equivalents. Therefore, the learners may have interpreted this DM as conveying its literal English meaning ‘I want to say’, because they may have recognized *quiero decir*, two common lexical items in Spanish that can be easily translated literally into English, whereas this is not the case with *o sea*, since its translation as a DM is never literal.

Table 20. Pre-Program Familiarity Survey Results

	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i> digo</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>o sea</i>	<i>total</i>
Unfamiliar	34.7% (8/23)	60.8% (14/23)	4.3% (1/23)	4.3% (1/23)	56.5% (13/24)	21.7% (5/23)
Somewhat Unfamiliar	21.7% (5/23)	17.4% (4/23)	17.4% (4/23)	4.3% (1/23)	17.4% (4/23)	8.7% (2/23)
Rather Familiar	39.1% (9/23)	21.7% (5/23)	39.1% (9/23)	8.7% (2/23)	17.4% (4/23)	26.1% (6/23)
Very Familiar	4.3% (1/23)	0% (0/23)	39.1% (9/23)	79.2% (19/23)	8.7% (2/23)	34.8% (8/23)

The learners were not as familiar with *digo* as they were with *quiero decir*, and they were least familiar with *en plan*, as 14 of the 23 respondents identified it as unfamiliar in the pre-program survey. In addition, because *en plan* as a DM has been observed primarily in the speech of younger Peninsular Spanish speakers, the learners in the present study may not have been exposed to this RM much, if at all, before studying abroad in Spain. They were also largely unfamiliar with *o sea* (13 considered it unfamiliar and 4 considered it somewhat unfamiliar), although, unlike *en plan*, it is used by all Spanish speakers regardless of age. This may explain why two learners rated *o sea* very familiar.

The pre-program responses for the RMs *de todas formas*, *total*, and *digo* showed the least amount of consensus among the learners in their responses in the Familiarity Survey, although the majority of the learners reported some familiarity with these markers. The fact that two of these markers share cognates in English (‘form’ for *de todas formas*, and ‘total’) may have also led respondents to report familiarity with these markers

Figure 8. Pre-program Familiarity Results**Figure 9. Native Speaker Familiarity Results**

The two figures above show how almost all the native speakers were familiar with the selected RMs, but the learners were most familiar with *quiero decir* followed by *digo* and *total* in the pre-program phase.

4.2.3 Learner Post-Program Results

I expected the learners' familiarity with the RMs would increase after their one-month immersion program. The learners made gains in familiarity with the two markers they rated as “unfamiliar” in the pre-test, *en plan* and *o sea*, though especially with *en plan*. While they all expressed that *en plan* was unfamiliar in the pre-program phase, in the post-program survey, 3 were somewhat familiar, 12 were rather familiar, and 2 were very familiar with it. With regard to *o sea*, 13 learners were unfamiliar with it in the pre-program stage; however, only 10 were unfamiliar with it in the post-program stage and 4 reported they were very familiar with *o sea* after completing the immersion program.

Several learners also gained familiarity with *de todas formas*, possibly because it is more commonly used in both spoken and written Spanish. Whereas 8 of the 23 learners were unfamiliar with *de todas formas* in the pre-program survey, in the post-program, 5 reported being somewhat familiar, 9 were rather familiar, and 1 was very familiar with it as exhibited in Table (21) below.

Table 21. Post-Program Familiarity Survey Results

	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i>digo</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>o sea</i>	<i>total</i>
Unfamiliar	13% (3/23)	26.1% (6/23)	0% (0/23)	0% (0/23)	43.4% (10/24)	4.3% (1/23)
Somewhat Unfamiliar	17.4% (4/23)	13% (3/23)	17.4% (4/23)	4.3% (1/23)	17.4% (4/23)	17.4% (4/23)
Rather Familiar	47.9% (11/23)	52.1% (12/23)	26.1% (6/23)	8.7% (2/23)	21.7% (5/23)	34.8% (8/23)
Very Familiar	21.7% (5/23)	8.7% (2/23)	56.5% (13/23)	87% (20/23)	8.7% (4/23)	39.1% (9/23)

Table (22) indicates how many learners moved from one familiarity category to another over the course of the program. The DMs were ranked from least familiar (*en plan*) to most familiar (*quiero decir*) by averaging both the pre-program and post-program scores, using the scale {unfamiliar=0, somewhat familiar=1, rather familiar=2, very familiar=3}. The learners' average increase in familiarity with each RM represents the average change in familiarity for all 23 students by the end of the program. For example, in the case of *en plan*, the learners' average pre-program familiarity level was 0.609 (i.e. less than 1 or "somewhat familiar"). By contrast, their average post-program familiarity level was 1.435 (>1) for *en plan*, and thus more than "somewhat familiar." The number of students who gained familiarity from any lower level to a higher level ranged from 1 for *quiero decir* to 12 for *en plan*. There was not much development for *o sea* as 43.4% of the learners were still unfamiliar with this marker.

Table 22. Summary of Improvements in Learners' Familiarity

Discourse Marker	Pre-program Average	Post-program Average	Average Increase	#Gain Familiarity
<i>en plan</i>	0.609	1.435	0.826	12
<i>de todas formas</i>	1.130	1.783	0.652	10
<i>o sea</i>	0.783	1.130	0.348	5
<i>total</i>	1.783	2.087	0.304	5
<i> digo</i>	2.130	2.391	0.261	6
<i>quiero decir</i>	2.696	2.826	0.130	1
Average	1.521	1.942	0.420	6.5

The table above summarizes the results by ranking the DMs according to the learners' responses, from the least familiar expression (*en plan*) to the most familiar one (*quiero decir*).

Notwithstanding, the relative ranking of the DMs in terms of which marker was most familiar to which was least familiar from the pre-program to post-program was almost identical.

4.2.4 Discussion

The results of the third task show that the native speaker participants indicated high familiarity with the RM *quiero decir*, and it was the marker with which the learners were most familiar. The learners were least familiar with *o sea*, but five learners gained familiarity with this marker by the end of the program. The learners also made significant gains in familiarity with *en plan* and *de todas formas*. The fact that not all the native speakers were very familiar with three of the markers was surprising. My conjecture is that, having just completed the DMCT, the native speakers intuited that I (the investigator) was examining the use of these phrases as markers. Thus, perhaps they were reporting whether they use these markers in conversation instead of whether they understood them. As native speakers, they should all understand the meaning of the individual words comprising each marker.

4.3 Elicited Dialogue

As I described in Chapter 3, spoken dialogues were elicited from the native Granada-Spanish speakers and the L2 learners in conversation pairs (see section 3.5 of Chapter 3 for details on the elicitation method used). The 36 recorded dialogues, including 12 produced by pairs comprised of the 24 native Granada-Spanish teenagers, and 12 from the paired L2 Spanish learners at the beginning and end of the immersion program, were transcribed verbatim using Spanish orthography and a set of transcription conventions (Du Bois et al. 1993, see Appendix E, F, G, and H).

Subsequently, I determined the total number of words produced by the native speakers in their dialogues and in the two sets of learner dialogues elicited before and after completing the immersion program. The database created consists of 12 transcribed dialogues from 12 pairs of native speakers (11,103 words) and 12 transcribed dialogues from the 12 pairs of learners in a pre-program (6,546 words) and another 12 elicited in the post-program phase (7,218 words). The learners' per person word count increased slightly from an average of 273 words pre-recording to an average of 314 words post-recording. Yet, the number of total DMs for both sets of learner recordings was about the same. Not surprisingly, the native speakers averaged more words than the learners at 463 words per person and used more DMs.

Table 23. Word Count for the Elicited Dialogue Task

	Total Word Count	Avg. Number of Words per Speaker
Native speakers	11,103	463
Learners Pre-Program	6,546	273
Learners Post-Program	7,218	314

4.3.1 General Results

Both the native speakers and the learners used fewer DMs than I expected, given that previous research has shown that teenagers are notorious for incorporating many DMs into their speech. I expected to observe more markers in the learners' dialogues by the end of the program, but this was not evidenced in the results. The native speakers did not use many of the common RMs that occurred in the COLAm. For instance, they did not use *digo*, *quiero decir*, or *total*. The learners, however, used none of the common RMs in the COLAm and, overall, used only a few Spanish DMs (e.g., *entonces*, *pues*, *bueno*) in both pre-program and post-program recordings.

Notably, some learners used more English DMs in the post-program recordings than in their pre-program dialogues.

The learners in the pre-program stage used from 0 to 16 Spanish DMs and averaged 2.3 DMs per conversation pair. The range increased slightly in the post-program stage to 0 to 20 DMs and averaging 2.9 per pair. In other words, the difference in the learners' frequency of use of DMs in the pre- and post-program dialogues was very low. Contrastingly, the number of English DMs the learners used in both the pre- and post-program dialogues was much greater. The learners used from 2 to 61 English DMs per conversation in the pre-program stage (averaging 29.9 per conversation pair), and from 3 to 55 DMs per conversation in the post-program stage (averaging 26.7 per dialogue pair). The native speakers used from 6 to 55 DMs per conversation with an average number of 26.65 DMs per conversation pair—a rate of native Spanish DM use that nearly matches the learners' rate of English DMs used. This finding suggests that the teenage learners needed to incorporate DMs into their speech while communicating in Spanish during the dialogue task, but were restricted by their limited ability to use Spanish DMs and resorted to inserting DMs in their L1.

Table 24. Ranges and Averages of Discourse Markers per Dialogue

	Range in number of discourse markers (Spanish)	Average number of discourse markers (Spanish)	Range in number of discourse markers (English)	Average number of discourse markers (English)
Native Speakers	6-55	26.65	N/A	N/A
Learners Pre- Program	0-16	2.3	2-61	29.0
Learners Post- Program	0-20	2.9	3-55	26.7

4.3.2 Non-Lexical Items as Discourse Markers

As explained in Chapter 2, scholars disagree as to what type of word constitutes a DM. Some scholars count non-lexical items and interjections as DMs while others do not. Most of the DMs used by the native speakers in the present study were actual Spanish words or phrases as opposed to non-lexical items such as *eh* and *em*. In contrast, most of the DMs used by the learners were non-lexical items from English such as *uh* and *um*. Laserna, Seih, and Pennebaker (2014:328) differentiate non-lexical items from lexical DMs by referring to the former as “filled pauses” though they place both types in a larger category called “filler words.” They explain that the purpose of filled pauses is to inhibit turn taking, to hesitate and allow the speaker to gather or process complex thoughts, or to indicate the speaker’s difficulty formulating his/her next utterance. In addition, García-Amaya (2015) reports on learners in an overseas immersion program and their use of filled pauses, which he considers lexical or non-lexical items. He found that learners who took part in a study abroad in which they were not permitted to use their L1 at all not only used more filled pauses by the end of the program, but the time between the filled

pauses decreased, making their speech sound more native-like. Crucially, García-Amaya includes the use of non-lexical items in the target language as an indicator of fluency.

Although not all definitions of DMs include non-lexical items, I follow Portolés's (2001) definition of DMs for this study, which includes *eh* as a DM. What is more, filled pauses containing expressions such as *eh* can function very similarly to RMs, as speakers frequently use filled pauses when they face difficulties in the conversation and need to reformulate (Christenfeld 1994), or when the topic of the conversation is unfamiliar (Bortfeld, Leon, Bloom, Schober, and Brennan 2001). Table (25) shows the frequency of use of non-lexical items in both Spanish and English in the three sets of transcribed elicited dialogues.

Table 25. Non-Lexical Discourse Marker Totals

	Spanish Non-Lexical DMs	English Non-Lexical DMs
Native Speakers	105	0
Learners Pre-Program	15	721
Learners Post-Program	38	500

The Spanish non-lexical DMs were *eh*, *em*, and *uf*, while the English non-lexical DMs were *uh*, *um*, *ae**h*, and *oh*. First, from the results in Table (25), we can see that the learners did not use nearly the number of Spanish non-lexical DMs—in neither the pre- nor post-program dialogues—as the native speakers in either pre- or post-program dialogues. However, surprisingly, the learners used almost seven times as many non-lexical items in English (721 instances at the pre-program stage and 500 instances post-program) as the native speakers did in Spanish (105 items). This could be partially explained by Christenfeld's (1994) observation that speakers use these items when facing difficulties, which was more likely to be the case for the learners than

for the native speakers; that is, the learners may have often struggled to complete the dialogue task in Spanish. In addition, the learners were recorded in the school while still participating in the L2 Spanish immersion program. By contrast, the native speakers were recorded in their high school, but they had already finished the school year, and went to the campus solely to take part in the study. Thus, the recording environment may have been more relaxed for the native speakers than for the learners. For the pre-program phase of the study, the learners had only been in Spain for two days and had just completed a few days of placement tests. The combination of jet lag and pressure to excel in the program could have caused anxiety. When I compared the pre- and the post-program dialogues, I observed that learners more than doubled the number of Spanish non-lexical items they used, and their use of English non-lexical items decreased by 31%.

4.3.3 Words or Phrases as Discourse Markers

In addition to using non-lexical English items in the Elicited Dialogues, the learners used the English DMs *like*, *so*, and *actually* in both their pre-program and post-program conversations.

Table 26. Spanish and English Lexical Discourse Markers

	Spanish Discourse Markers	English Discourse Markers
Native Speakers	525	0
Learners Pre-Program	38	21
Learners Post-Program	30	114

Overall, the learners used fewer Spanish DMs and more English DMs in the post-program phase. By the end of the program, the learners' use of Spanish DMs decreased by 21.1% and

their use of English DMs increased more than five times.. However, this result does not accurately reflect all of the participants' habits, for only 9 of 23 learners used English DMs in their dialogues in the post-program phase. Thus, although the learners somewhat approximated the native speakers' frequency in use of Spanish non-lexical items, they used fewer lexical Spanish DMs in the post-program phase of the study, and their dialogues appeared to become less native-like over the course of the program.

4.3.4 Native Speakers Results

The 12 pairs of native speakers used only the RMs *o sea*, *en plan*, and *de todas formas* in their conversations. No native speaker used *quiero decir*, *digo*, or *total*. The most frequently occurring RM of the six was *o sea*, which was used for the explicative, corrective, and conclusive RM sub-functions. Of the 37 occurrences of *o sea* in the native speaker data, 24 were RMs. In addition to *o sea*, the native speakers also used *en plan* for the explicative and conclusive sub-functions of RMs, both of which Portolés (2001) identifies as common reformulation sub-functions. When *en plan* and *o sea* were not used to reformulate, they were used as hedges to hesitate or soften utterances when speaking about sensitive, potentially uncomfortable topics. In any case, reformulation constituted the main function for the three Spanish markers used by the native speakers.

Table 27. Functions in the Native Granada-Spanish Speaker Data

Function	<i>o sea</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i>de todas formas</i>
Explicative RM	29.7% (11/37)	40% (4/10)	0%
Corrective RM	24.3% (9/37)	0% (0/10)	0%
Distancing RM	0% (0/37)	0% (0/10)	100% (3/3)
Conclusive RM	10.8% (4/37)	30% (3/10)	0%
Hedge/Mitigate	16.2% (6/37)	30% (3/10)	0%
Other	18.9% (7/37)	0% (0/10)	0%

Of the 10 occurrences of *en plan* in the native speaker data, 7 were used as RMs. Eight of the native Granada-Spanish speakers, all girls, used *en plan* in their dialogues, and it was the second most commonly used RM in the native-speaker dialogues. Similar to *o sea*, *en plan* can perform a conclusive function, while also marking the end of a turn.

The third marker the native speakers most frequently incorporated into their dialogues was *de todas formas* (‘anyway’.) San Martín Núñez (2013) analyzed the use of *de todas formas* in Santiago de Chile and grouped it with *de todo caso* (‘in any case’), *igual* (‘anyway’), and *de todas maneras* (‘anyway’.) The *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (RAE, my translation) describes its meaning as ‘without interest’, indicating that *de todas formas* marks the previous utterance as less important, and indicates that the following utterance is more relevant. Portolés (2001) names this sub-function *distanciamiento* (‘distancing’), whereby the speaker

distances herself from a less interesting topic and changes the focus of the conversation with a new formulation.

Although the markers *o sea*, *en plan*, and *de todas formas* were the most frequently occurring RMs in the native speaker data, the Granada-Spanish speakers used other DMs more frequently. These results show that the token *pues* ('well') was the most frequently utilized marker in the data, occurring 152 times, and rendering it a substantially more frequently used marker than *o sea*, which had 37 tokens. The next most frequently occurring DM in the data set was *es que* ('the thing is') at 56 tokens.

Next, using a second method of analysis, I determined the most frequently occurring weighted DMs. If I compared the total number of DMs used by all the participants, an accurate portrayal of the DMs used most frequently would not necessarily be obtained because some participants produced many more words than others. Thus, a weighted method ensures that these participants' DMs do not count more than those used by participants who spoke fewer words. I applied the following formula before summing:

Figure 10. Weighted Formula

$$\sum \frac{\text{Average Total Spanish DmWords}}{\text{Total Spanish DmWords}(i)} \times \text{DM}(i) \text{ for participant}(i)$$

For the 24 native speakers, the average number of words per speaker was 463 and the average number of DMs was about 26. Weighting it this way, the results of the most frequently used DMs were *pues* ('well') at a total of 166 times for all the native speaker dialogues, *a ver* ('let's see') at 50 times, and *es que* 'the thing is' at 47 times. The listing only considers Spanish words

or phrases. If I had considered filled pauses such as *eh* (at 81 tokens), this expression would be the second most commonly used marker by both methods.

4.3.5 Learner Results

The learner data set consists of 24 transcribed dialogues elicited from 12 pairs of learners in the pre-program phase (6,360 words), and again from the same 12 pairs of learners in the post-program phase (7,218 words). There were small, but noteworthy, differences between the pre-program and post-program recordings, despite the fact that, in the post-program dialogues, the learners' speech was still not very native-like in terms of Spanish DM usage. The average number of Spanish DMs used per speaker for the learners did not approximate that of the native speakers by the end of the program. Furthermore, the learners did not use any of the RMs examined in this study. Approximately 90% of the markers the learners used were in English. Recall that before starting the study abroad program in Granada, the learners were determined to have one of two levels of proficiency in Spanish, and that 14 of 23 students were from Level 3, while 9 were from Level 4 at both the pre-program and post-program stages of the study.

Table 28. Mean Number Spanish Discourse Markers per Speaker

	Pre-program	Post-program
Native Speakers	26.25	N/A
Learners Level 3	1.27	3.79
Learners Level 4	3.78	1.69

I expected the learners in Level 4 to use more DMs than those in Level 3 in both phases, because according to the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines, learners use more “connector words” at the

intermediate high level. Level 4 in the immersion program corresponded to intermediate high levels and advanced low levels. Even though the Level 4 learners used more DMs than the Level 3 learners in their pre-program dialogues, their use decreased in the post-program phase. The mean number of DMs per speaker increased by 198.4% for learners in Level 3, while the mean number of DMs per speaker decreased by 55.2% for learners in Level 4. This result can be explained by the fact that many of the learners, particularly those students in Level 4, used more English DMs in their post-program dialogues than in the pre-program dialogues.

The standard deviations for the two proficiency levels in the pre-program stage were very different (2.63 versus 5.04). Therefore, the standard two-sample t-test required a modification to determine whether there was a statistically significant difference between the mean of each group. With the modification, the null hypothesis would apply, meaning there is no association between the two quantities if the mean of the total Spanish markers spoken by the participants in Level 3 was the same as that of Level 4. The one-sided alternative hypothesis would apply if the mean Spanish DM use of the Level 4 students was greater than the mean score of the Level 3 students. While the evidence corresponds to this hypothesis ($3.780 > 1.267$), the small sample size and large standard deviations lead to an insignificant result, as shown in Table (29) and Table (30) below.

Table 29. Summary Statistics for Spanish DMs by Proficiency Level (Pre-program)

Proficiency Level	Size (n)	Sum	Mean	Standard Deviation
3	14	19	1.267	2.63
4	9	34	3.780	5.04

Table 30. Two-sample t-test Results by Proficiency Level (Pre-Program)

t-statistic	Degrees of freedom	p-value
-1.3847	10.663	0.0972

The table above shows that the p-value is 0.0972, which is larger than 0.05. Thus, the null hypothesis applies, indicating that there is no statistically significant difference between the frequency of use of Spanish DMs in proficiency Level 3 and Level 4 based on the pre-program data.

The standard deviations of the two groups in the post-program stage also look very different (5.70 vs. 2.29), again requiring a modified two-sample t-test (degrees of freedom=18.461 instead of 22) to determine whether there was a statistically significant difference between the mean of each group. As already noted above, the null hypothesis would apply if the mean total number of Spanish DMs spoken by the Level 3 students were the same as that of the Level 4 students, while the one-sided alternative hypothesis would apply if the mean DM use of Level 4 students were higher than that of the Level 3 students in the post-program phase. In this case, the sample means were reversed when compared with the pre-program results. The Level 3 students had a higher mean of Spanish DMs than the students in Level 4. Therefore, the one-sided alternative hypothesis could not apply. Perhaps the decrease in the number of DMs used by the Level 4 students was due to the fact that many students incorporated more English DMs into their post-

program dialogues, therefore eliminating opportunities to use Spanish DMs.

Table 31. Summary Statistics for Spanish DMs by Proficiency Level (Post-program)

Proficiency Level	Size (n)	Sum	Mean	Standard Deviation
3	14	53	3.79	5.70
4	9	15	1.69	2.29

Table 32. Two-sample t-test results by Proficiency Level for (Post-Program)

t-statistic	Degrees of freedom	p-value
1.2435	18.461	0.8854

With a p-value higher than 0.05, the results indicate no statistically significant difference between the two proficiency levels regarding the mean number of Spanish DMs used in the post-program treatment.

Since the learners did not use any of the six RMs originally identified and predicted to occur for reformulation purposes in the elicited data, I applied the two formulas to determine the most frequently occurring DMs in their dialogues. Using the weighted method, the most frequently used marker in the pre-program data set was *pues* ('well') with 6 tokens, followed by *entonces* ('so') with 5 instances, and *así* ('like that') with 3 cases for the pre-program data set. By the summation method, the top DM was *entonces* (14), followed by *pues* (5), and *por eso* ('that's why') (5). The non-lexical marker *eh* was the most frequently used filled pause by both methods.

For the post-program data set, the most frequently used marker by the weighted method was *por eso* (8 tokens), followed by *entonces* (7 tokens) and *pues* (6 tokens). By the summation

method, the top marker was *entonces* (12), followed by *por eso* (10) and *pues* (5). Unlike the pre-program data, the most frequently occurring non-lexical item was *em* (22), followed by *eh* (16).

The presence of Spanish DMs is still shown to be very rare in the learners' dialogues when compared with their use in the native speakers' dialogues. The largest frequency observed (14 for *entonces*) is the total number of times *entonces* was used overall by 24 speakers, yielding an average of 0.583 uses per speaker. In comparison, the native speakers used *pues*, the most commonly occurring DM in their discourse, at an average of about 6.33 times per speaker. Therefore, there is a large difference in the use of DMs even by the program's most advanced learners (Level 4). What is more, comparing the pre-program to post-program data does not yield many results since learners used DMs so seldomly in both phases.

I expected the learners in Level 3 to insert more English DMs than those in Level 4. Thus, I examined whether proficiency level had an effect on the number of English DMs used. The tables below show the results for English DMs for each proficiency level and whether or not the results were statistically significant.

Table 33. Summary Statistics for English DMs by Proficiency Level (Pre-Program)

Proficiency Level	Size (n)	Sum	Mean	Standard Deviation
3	14	499	33.27	21.37
4	9	243	27.00	13.96

Table 34. Two-sample t-test Results by Proficiency Level (Pre-Program)

t-statistic	Degrees of freedom	p-value
0.8680	21.745	0.3949

From the results presented in table above, we can see that the p-value is 0.3949, which is larger than 0.05. The null hypothesis applies, and I conclude that there is no statistically significant difference between the frequency of English DMs in proficiency Level 3 and Level 4 in the pre-program data. It is worth noting that a linear regression model could have been a more appropriate measure to determine if the proficiency level had any correlation to the learners' RM use. However, this method was not chosen since the results from the two groups were not different enough in terms of their proficiency.

Finally, whereas most of the DMs used by the native Spanish speakers were lexical expressions, most of the DMs used by the learners were filled pauses. However, a few learners exhibited some gains with regard to more native-like marker use in the post-program data. For example, five learners used the Spanish non-lexical hesitation marker *em* (instead of English non-lexical *um*) more in the post-program recordings, and four learners used *eh* (as opposed to English non-lexical *uh*) more in the post-program recordings. As a result, these learners used fewer English non-lexical items in the post-program recordings, appearing to substitute non-lexical English markers with Spanish ones.

Additionally, for each of the 23 learners, I looked at the value difference to see if there was an appreciable change from the pre- to post-program dialogues. Most of the learners (16 of them) did not use *em* or *eh* on either occasion. However, seven of the learners used *em* 20 more times and *eh* 15 more times in the post-program dialogues. It was not appropriate to perform a paired-difference t-test for either DM, considering the differences are not normally distributed.

As with the native speakers, I could have performed permutation tests to determine whether or not speakers in the same pair tended to use similar markers, but it was clear from examining the data that no significant differences would be found. For example, for the pre-program's most common Spanish DM, *entonces*, 19 of the 24 speakers did not use this DM, while the other five used it between 1 and 5 times. If there were any sort of association, one would expect some of these five speakers to be in the same pair. However, each was paired with a partner who never produced a lexical marker. There was simply no evidence of speakers influencing their partners' use of DMs (whether lexical or non-lexical) at either the pre-program or the post-program points.

4.4 Summary and Conclusions

The rate at which the native Granada-Spanish speakers used the marker *en plan* was the same as the rate observed in the COLAm (0.9 occurrences per 1000 words), although use of *o sea* and *de todas formas* was substantially more frequent in the Granada-Spanish speakers' dialogues than in the COLAm speakers' discourse. The native Granada-Spanish speakers did not use *digo*, *quiero decir*, or *total* at all. Instead, the Granada-Spanish speakers inserted other markers such as *pues*, *a ver*, and *es que* for multiple purposes, including reformulation. For the most part, these native speakers used the markers *en plan*, *o sea*, and *de todas formas* in the same way they were used in the COLAm. The one exception is the quotative function, for which the

COLAm speakers inserted *en plan* whereas the native Granada-Spanish speakers did not. It is worth noting that the dialogues did not lend themselves to using reported or quoted speech, which could explain this discrepancy.

The learners' speech became somewhat more native-like in terms of some speakers' Spanish non-lexical markers. However, the post-program recordings revealed that the learners had the need to insert RMs into their speech, but without having a reserve of Spanish RMs in their lexicon, they relied on English DMs. It could be that the input the learners received during their experience abroad lacked instances of native speaker discourse containing the RMs investigated in the present study. It also could be the case that the learners did not focus on or notice the use of these markers, as they do not contribute to the propositional meaning of the utterances in which they occur.

CHAPTER 5

QUALITATIVE RESULTS

In this chapter, I discuss the results from the Elicited Dialogues by detailing the textual, interpersonal, and interactional features surrounding the use (or non-use) of the RMs *o sea*, *en plan*, *de todas formas*, *quiero decir*, *digo*, and *total*. The native speaker participants used three of the six RMs I originally predicted would characterize adolescent speakers' reformulations, while the second language learners used none of them. Since the learners used few Spanish RMs overall, I also discuss alternative strategies the learners employed to reformulate their use of English RMs.

Each section outlines previous studies on each of the six RMs and presents how the adolescent native speakers and learners used them. Furthermore, I relate the results of the Elicited Dialogue Task to the findings from Tasks 1 and 2: The Discourse Marker Completion Test and the Familiarity Survey. This chapter ends with some hypotheses regarding why learners could be generally unfamiliar with RMs and DMs. To close, I provide brief analyses of four intermediate-level Spanish college textbooks to examine students' potential lack of exposure to these expressions.

5.1 *o sea*

The most frequently occurring RM was *o sea*, which was used at the textual level for the explicative, corrective, and conclusive sub-functions of reformulation. Of the 42 occurrences of *o sea* in the native speaker data, 24 were RMs. At the interpersonal level, there were 14

occurrences; at the interactional level, there were 7 instances of *o sea* (recall that markers can function in all three levels of conversation simultaneously). Only the native speaker participants used this marker, and they used it more often than the speakers in the COLAm had in the 2002-2004 version of the corpus. The representation of *o sea* in the present study was 3.14 times for every 1000 words. This rate was substantially higher than what was found in the COLAm, which came to 2.71 times per 1000 words.

5.1.1 Previous Analyses of *o sea*

The RM *o sea* has received considerable attention in the literature on Spanish DMs. In fact, there is notably more research on *o sea* than on the other five RMs highlighted in this study (e.g., Cortés Rodríguez 1991, Schwenter 1996, Cuenca and Bach 2007, Jorgensen 2013, Stenström 2014, Pons Bordería 2016). This could be explained by the fact that speakers in all Spanish-speaking regions use *o sea*, and it is used by both adults and teenagers alike. By contrast, *en plan* as a DM is thought to be used exclusively by Peninsular Spanish teenagers. Furthermore, speakers tend to group *o sea* with other DMs, which contributes to its high frequency in conversation (Schwenter 1996, Jorgensen 2013, Stenström 2014).

Although *o sea* is currently a pragmatically-motivated phrase, it stems from the non-DM counterpart used as an adverbial expression, the word class from which the majority of DMs derive. Yet, Schwenter (1996) claims that *o sea* retains none of its adverbial meaning. Consisting of the conjunction *o* ('or') and *sea*, the subjunctive first- and third-person form of the verb *ser* ('to be'), *o sea* is a highly grammaticalized DM, meaning that it enacts a mostly, if not wholly, procedural meaning. In other words, it gives instructions to the hearer on how to interpret the utterance beyond the semantic meaning of the words. Such DMs contrast with less

grammaticalized DMs, such as *en otras palabras* ('in other words'), which are clearly linked to their conceptual, semantic meaning.

The phrase *o sea* has been translated in English as 'that is', 'like', 'well', and 'I mean', among other renditions. Portolés (1998) claims that *o sea* is synonymous with *es decir* ('that is to say'), an expression that provides "a better understanding or explain in a different manner what had already been expressed" (RAE 2018, my translation). According to www.wordreference.com, while *o sea* is similar to the phrase *esto es* ('that is') and *es decir*, it is often produced in more informal contexts. The RAE dictionary provides additional English equivalents distinguished by levels of formality, starting from the informal 'I mean' to the more formal expression 'or rather.' In the middle of the formality spectrum, *o sea* is often translated as 'in other words.' On the www.wordreference.com forums, members respond to inquiries about *o sea*, declaring that "[i]t's better to say *es decir* than *o sea*¹." Another member of the forum explains that "spoiled girls usually say *o sea* many times in conversation²," which illustrates the unfavorable perception speakers can have regarding the use of this phrase. In any case, the functions of *o sea* are so extensive that it is difficult to provide sufficient translation equivalents or synonymous markers to represent the versatility of this expression (Schwenter 1996).

It is significant to point out that the *Diccionario de partículas discursivas* (Briz, Pons, and Portolés 2008) defines *o sea* as a phrase used to explain or clarify a previous part of the discourse. Furthermore, Briz et al. (2008) distinguish *o sea* from *o sea que* ('I mean that') by saying that the former is used for the explicative sub-function while the latter is used for the

¹ <https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/o-sea.823/>

² <https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/o-sea.57446/>

conclusive sub-function of reformulation. The data from the Elicited Dialogues provide examples of *o sea* and *o sea que* that confirm this claim.

Holgado-Lage published the *Diccionario de marcadores discursivos para estudiantes de español como segunda lengua* with the objective of classifying DMs according to acquisition levels and function(s) so that educators could use the dictionary for L2 Spanish students. She maintains that *o sea* is an intermediate marker for learners, similar to *es decir* and *vamos* ('I mean') and is primarily used to reformulate. She also reports that only in recent years has *o sea* been used as a tag; yet, she claims speakers currently use this marker less often than before due to the stigma surrounding its use. In fact, she notes the negative perceptions associated with the use of *o sea* and warns against using it because it is both overused and stigmatized (Holgado-Lage 2017).

Utilizing Portolés' reformulation sub-functions, San Martín Núñez and Guerrero González (2016) examine the use of a group of RMs, including *o sea*, in Chilean speech. Their analysis is based on Portolés's (2001), Martín Zorraquino and Portolés's (1999) and Martín Zorraquino and Montolío Durán's (2008) four reformulation textual sub-functions. However, instead of focusing on one age group, they take a variationist approach and examine the use of RMs by speakers ages 20 to 55 and older, looking at differences in distribution according to gender and educational backgrounds. This study found that, in addition to the explicative and conclusive reformulation sub-functions, the Chilean speakers in their study used *o sea* for the corrective reformulation sub-function. In fact, they found this use more prevalent than the conclusive sub-function in their corpus of Chilean speech. Additionally, the speakers most likely to use the corrective *o sea* were younger (20-34), male, and possessed the highest level of education.

Schwenter's (1996) study looks at the connective, epistemic, and metalinguistic functions of *o sea*. Schwenter explains that in using this marker, the speaker makes the linking of the two parts of the utterance explicit to the hearer. However, this *connective* use only applies to the explicative and corrective reformulation sub-functions. When the speaker wants to introduce a new formulation and offer a concluding statement, Schwenter notes that only the variant *o sea que* is employed. At the interpersonal level, Schwenter identifies the epistemic use of *o sea* to reduce speaker commitment.

Stenström (2014) aims to illustrate how DMs serve as productive tools in teenagers' conversations on three levels of conversation. She finds that teenagers use *o sea* at the textual level as a connective (i.e., to link two segments) and to reorient (or reformulate) the preceding segment, but also at the interpersonal level to hedge or soften an utterance, and to start, restart, or end a turn at the interactional level. She points out that the hedging function of *o sea* is a defining feature of this marker, although it is seen by the public as superfluous, similar to the hedge *like* in English (D'Arcy 2007, Stenström 2014). Jorgensen (2009:97) defines a hedge as, "a mitigating device used to lessen the impact of an utterance by softening its strength/intensity or straightforwardness." Research on adolescent speech has shown that teenage insecurity leads to increased instances of hedging. Teenagers use this strategy in order to distance themselves and to avoid taking a definitive stance (Levey 2003, 2006). In addition, the sensitive and often taboo nature of teenagers' conversation topics can trigger more hedging. Stenström (2014:10) adds that the most common teenager conversational topics are "romance, sex, parties, drinks, drugs, smoking, body care, fashion, music, pastimes and hobbies, race relations, and not least school." Such topics may be considered taboo or potentially embarrassing, thus, lending themselves to an increased need to hedge.

Hedging is tied to reformulation because speakers use it when they struggle for words. For these reasons, I felt it necessary to include the interpersonal functions when examining RM use by adolescent speakers. Jorgensen (2009:98) emphasizes that a hedge protects the speaker, explaining, “[t]he face-saving aspect is especially important in youthtalk because of the speaker's insecurity and concern about the other's opinion.” Saving face is important for all speakers, but especially for adolescent speakers.

In addition to serving as an explicative, corrective, and conclusive RM, *o sea* is also used as a planning device (Schwenter 1996), which, according to Stenström (2014), is similar to hedging, thereby functioning at the interpersonal level (Cortés Rodríguez 1991). Since speakers use *o sea* to plan their upcoming speech, this RM often occurs in incomplete structures, and it commonly occurs with other DMs in conversational discourse. The planning function of *o sea* closely relates to its use at the interactional level of conversation to start, restart, continue, or end a turn, as illustrated in the following example from Stenström (2014:98, my translation):

(37) *Claro es que esa es la cuestión o sea.*

‘Of course, this is the issue **I mean.**’

Stenström (2014) claims that when speakers use *o sea* to mark the end of an utterance, it has a minimizing effect while simultaneously functioning at the interpersonal level as a hedge.

In sum, previous studies demonstrate that *o sea* is used as a RM to further explain, clarify, disambiguate, and restate information presented in the preceding utterance or discourse segment (Schwenter 1996, Portolés 2001, Martín Zorraquino and Portolés 1999, Stenström 2014, and Holgado-Lage 2017). However, more research is needed on the use of *o sea* as a hedge—one of

its functions at the interpersonal level, and how it is used meta-linguistically at the interactional level. In the following section, I detail how the native speaker participants used *o sea* in the Elicited Dialogues.

5.1.2 *o sea* in Elicited Dialogues

The following table summarizes the uses of *o sea* at the three levels of conversation:

Table 35. The Functions of *o sea* in the Elicited Dialogues

Level of Conversation	Textual: 24	Interpersonal: 19	Interactional: 7
Sub-functions and number of occurrences	Explicative: 11 Corrective: 10 Conclusive: 3	Hedging: 15 Planning: 4 Quotative: 0	Start: 0 Continue/Reorient: 6 End: 1

Textual Level

At the textual level, the native Granada-Spanish speakers most often used *o sea* for the explicative and corrective RM sub-functions. The following example from one native speaker pairing illustrates Portolés's (2001) explicative use of *o sea* for the sub-function of clarification:

(38) A: . . . *aquí en España no había ningún caso que sí que hay gente que tiene navajas y tal [pero una...]*

‘. . . here in Spain there wasn't a single case that yeah there are people that have knives and stuff [but a...’]

B: [*ya pero,*]

[‘yeah but,’]

A: *pistola eh: o sea es mucho más fácil matar a alguien con una pistola.*

‘gun eh: **I mean** it’s much easier to kill someone with a gun.’

In (38), speaker A talks about how there is violence in Spain, albeit with knives as weapons instead of guns. After B interjects an overlapping *ya pero* (‘yeah but’), A employs *o sea* before clarifying that the two are not equally dangerous. Notably, although they discussed both Spain and the U.S., the native Granada-Spanish speakers tended to insert more RMs when addressing U.S. gun-related issues, perhaps due to insecurities about how this highly contested topic gets played out in other countries.

The native speakers also used *o sea* for correction, which is another of Portolés’s (2001) reformulation sub-functions. As a corrective RM, *o sea* appears in incomplete structures and serves the speaker as a repair marker. The speaker in (39) uses *o sea* for correction upon realizing her preceding utterance is inaccurate. In (39), *o sea* prefaces the speaker’s elaborated intentional message.

(39) *Pues mira yo he visto en redes sociales un una nota, o sea un mensaje de Whatsapp que le ponía en la discoteca esa de Orlando que le ponía un hijo a su madre ‘mamá él viene ya voy a morir te quiero mucho.’*

‘So, look I have seen on social media a a note, **I mean** a Whatsapp message that they showed from that nightclub in Orlando that some boy had written to his mom saying, ‘mom he’s coming and I’m about to die I love you very much.’

The speaker in (39) uses *o sea* before more accurately identifying the medium of communication used. Here, the speaker corrects herself, conveying that she meant to say a Whatsapp message instead of a note.

Speakers also had to discuss the issue as it related to both Spain and the United States, which triggered corrections for accuracy. At times, they corrected deictic references, such as *aquí* ('here') in (40), which necessarily referred to the location of the speakers while they were producing the dialogue.

- (40) *A ver yo creo que sí está está bastante relacionado que haya muchísimas más armas aquí que o sea en Estados Unidos que en España.*

‘Well I think that it’s rather related that there are many more guns here **I mean** in the United States than in Spain.’

Here, the speaker intended to say there are more guns in the U.S., but deictic *aquí* could only refer to the place where she was speaking: Spain.

The third use of *o sea* at the textual level was the conclusive RM sub-function. Speakers used *o sea* to conclude their stances on guns, as evidenced in (41):

- (41) *Y si también como hay mucha gente que está en desacuerdo de eso de quitar las armas por lo menos también...que no se les venda armas a cualquier persona sino que se reduzca o sea. Por ejemplo que no me parece bien lo de las armas pero si no que a mayores de edad por lo menos, o sea que, me parece mal.*

‘And yes also since there are a lot of people that disagree with that about taking away guns at least also they could not sell guns to any person rather they could reduce **like** for example it doesn’t seem right to me this whole gun thing but they could at least sell it only to older people **the thing is** it doesn’t seem right.’

This speaker inserts *o sea* twice, once before elaborating with an example and again to preface and mitigate her negative conclusion. This speaker discusses the situation in the U.S. before inserting *o sea*, which also serves at the interpersonal level to mitigate her statement and avoid fully committing to her suggestions. After offering a few options, she inserts *o sea*, then concludes with her own evaluation—namely, that the situation displeases her. When speakers use RMs for the conclusive function, they often simultaneously mark the end of their turn, which indicates its use at the interactional level of conversation.

Interpersonal Level

The second most common function for *o sea* was its use as a hedge at the interpersonal level of conversation. *O sea* seems to have been used by the native speakers to not sound too assertive about a topic that was not entirely familiar to them. Stenström (2014) claims that teenagers use DMs to indicate uncertainty so they can approach a sensitive topic in a cautious manner. The participants expressed their uncertainty or reluctance to take a definitive stance using phrases like *por lo que sé y lo que oigo* (‘from what I know and what I hear’) and *es que allí no sé si es verdad* (‘the thing is there I don’t know if it’s true’), thus communicating their lack of experience regarding both the U.S. and their personal knowledge about the topic. The following excerpts from the dialogues also reveal the speakers’ hesitancy to commit to their statements.

(42) *...por lo que sé y lo que oigo...*

‘...from what I know and what I hear...’

(43) *...y en los Estados Unidos **pues** no sé si me sentiría segura porque nunca he ido pero el tema ese de las armas me asusta un poco...*

‘...and in the United States **well** I don’t know if I would feel safe because I have never been, but the topic of guns scares me a little bit...’

(44) *Sí no sé **bueno** y en Estados Unidos **pues** no lo sé porque no he estado allí.*

‘Yeah I don’t know **well** and in the United States **I mean** I don’t know because I haven’t been there.’

(45) ***Es que** allí no sé si es verdad...*

‘**The thing is** there I don’t know if it’s true...’

(46) ***A ver** a mí sí me gustaría ir a Estados Unidos pero por turista por turismo... no el tema de las armas sí me da más cosilla no sé...*

‘**Well** I would like to go to the United States but for tourist for tourism no the topic of guns yeah it gets to me I don’t know...’

(47) *...pero como es otra cultura y eso **pues**...*

‘...but since it’s another culture and everything **well**...’

Other statements such as *pero como es otra cultura y eso pues* ('but since it's another culture and everything well') distance speakers from their statements, revealing tinges of unfamiliarity with the topic. Furthermore, phrases such as *me da cosilla* ('it gets to me') reveal a speaker's discomfort with the topic at hand. In sum, all speakers alternated talking about Spain and the U.S., but inserted more RMs, and expressed reservations in taking a definitive stance when the conversation turned to U.S. For instance, in (48) the speaker conveys her negative perception of the ongoing gun violence in the U.S.:

- (48) *Y a mi también me parece algo **o sea** una locura ¿no? Porque es como si ahora todos nos ponemos aquí a matarnos así porque sí, porque tú me caes mal, pues te mato y ya está pues no y eso no es así.*

'And to me it seems like something **I mean** madness, right? Because it's like if now we all start killing each other like that because yeah, because I don't like you well then I'll kill you and that's it well no and that no it's not like that.'

The speaker in (48) inserts *o sea* before stating that it is *una locura* ('madness'), which could be perceived as either a bold statement or as an insulting word to describe a situation present in one's country of origin. Following this assessment, she inserts the tag question *¿no?* ('right?'), bringing the interlocutor closer to her. This choice establishes solidarity and softens her statement. After all, to use such a strong word without a DM could appear assertive. Furthermore, the speaker hedges by saying *algo* ('something') before inserting *o sea*, taking time

to formulate her thoughts and downplay her statement since she communicated a negative assessment about a country in which she does not reside.

Hedging is the most stigmatized use of many DMs such as *o sea* and *like* (D'Arcy 2007, Holgado-Lage 2017). Stenström and Jorgensen (2009) point out that hedging not only mitigates one's utterance, but also gives the speaker time to process (or plan) one's thoughts toward proceeding with an utterance. The next example also illustrates the use of *o sea* to hedge:

- (49) *Pues a ver yo pienso que que el hecho de que haya armas en Estados Unidos pues tsk o sea que eh violencia iba a haber igualmente aunque no hubiese armas pero si tú a ti desde pequeño te inculcan que puedes tener un arma que puede- que no es malo utilizarla y tal y pues tsk contra pues claro que la gente que vea que pues como hacerlos más violentos pienso yo.*

‘Well the thing is I think that that the fact that there are guns in the United States well tsk **like** eh violence is going to be there anyway even if there weren't guns but if you if you since you were little if they instill in you that you can have a gun that you can- that it's not bad to use it and stuff and well tsk by contrast well of course the people that see that well like to make them more violent I think.’

Here, the speaker employs a number of strategies to hedge. First, she inserts *pues* (‘well’) in the initial position of her group of DMs, which indicates hesitation since what follows is a negative statement (Stenström 2014). Then, she uses *tsk*, an exclamation, which could trigger the use of more DMs to hedge since, according to Schwenter (1996), *o sea* is often grouped with other DMs that carry out similar functions.

Interactional Level

According to Stenström (2014:51), speakers use DMs at the interactional level to “open, continue, and end a conversation.” Since two of the documented uses of *o sea* are to reorient and reformulate before proceeding and to mark the end of one’s ensuing utterance as a tag (Stenström 2014, Holgado-Lage 2017), I was interested to determine how speakers use this marker to continue and end a conversation. The continuing function accompanies hedging because a speaker may need time to reframe ideas when discussing sensitive or less familiar topics. Example (50) illustrates the use of *o sea* to restart and reframe an utterance at the interactional level of conversation:

(50) A: *Tampoco entiendo que: a lo mejor no puedan conseguir alcohol que: a ver, sí, es una droga y también es malo, pero...(TSK) mm sea tan complicado conseguir allí alcohol y un arma puedan conseguirla como si fuera comida.*

‘I also don’t understand: how I mean they can’t get alcohol it’s like, yeah, it’s a drug and it’s also bad, but...(TSK) mm for it to be so complicated to get alcohol there and a gun you can get it as if it were food.’

B: *Pero de todas formas o sea eso mismo digo pero que eh: lo de Orlando no hubiera pasado ni tampoco lo de la universidad que: también me, me parece que, pasó en la universidad y también en muchos colegios y lo de que entra un estudiante y está loco y se pone matar a gente (TSK) o una persona que es totalmente ajena a al sitio donde se va a matar, pues que*

yo creo que si no fuera porque se permitían las armas y eso no hubiera pasado porque aquí en España no había ningún caso que, sí, que hay gente que tiene navajas y tal [pero una]...

‘Yeah anyway **I mean** that’s what I’m saying but that uh: the thing in Orlando wouldn’t have happened neither would have that thing in the university that: also seemed to me, to me, it happened in the university and also in many schools and the thing about a student entering and he’s crazy and he starts killing people (TSK) or a person that is totally far from from the site where they are going to kill, I mean what I believe is that if it weren’t for because if they didn’t allow guns and that stuff it wouldn’t have happened because here in Spain there wasn’t a single case, yes, there are people that have knives and stuff but a...’

In (50), speaker B begins her statement with *pero*, perhaps to offer a counterpoint to what speaker A had said. The RM *de todas formas* following *pero* is generally used as a distancing marker in order to indicate both that the previous utterance is less relevant and what follows should be prioritized. However, instead of offering a new formulation following *de todas formas*, speaker B uses *o sea* to restart so that she can convey to her partner that she agrees with the conjecture that is fairly easy to obtain a gun in the U.S. By saying *eso mismo digo* (‘that’s what I’m saying’), she underscores the point. Following this group of markers, the speaker offers a new formulation—namely, the hypothetical situation of the absence of guns in American schools and universities. Then, she goes back to discuss Spain, not speaking hypothetically, but rather asserting that there was not a single case of this violence in her country. Accompanying the

continuing interactional function is the planning, interpersonal function. The speaker also uses *o sea* here as a planning device until she could produce a new formulation (Stenström 2014).

In addition to marking the beginning of a turn, a speaker can use *o sea* to mark the end of an utterance. According to Holgado-Lage (2017), this usage of *o sea* as a *coletilla* ('tag') is a recent, innovative use. On the other hand, the use of *o sea* as a hedge has declined in recent years due to being highly stigmatized and overused. In (51), the speaker does not pause until she finishes and then marks the end of her turn with *o sea*.

- (51) *Em deberíamos de darle un vuelco totalmente a todo porque realmente lo que estamos haciendo favorece un mal el hecho de que em todo lo que genera la posesión de armas es todavía más más negativo que lo que podemos llegar a crear sin armas o sea.*

'Um we should totally overturn everything because what we are actually doing is supporting something bad the fact that um everything that generates the possession of guns is still more negative than what we can eventually create without guns **I think.**'

Stenström explains that when *o sea* is used as a tag, the English equivalent could be 'I think', because it is reflecting a degree of uncertainty and mitigation. On the other hand, Briz (1998) says it has a reinforcing effect at the end of one's utterance because it ends the turn. Relating to the interpersonal level, Schwenter suggests that a more accurate translation into English could be 'maybe' or 'I guess' because the speaker is expressing a level of uncertainty through the use of *o*

sea. In addition, Schwenter suggests ‘so’ as a possible equivalent of *o sea* in the utterance final position, which helps to conclude the ideas expressed.

Stenström notes that when teenagers use *o sea* to end their turn, it has a minimizing effect. Although the common teenage hedge *like* in English can also be used to minimize, *like* does not occur in this utterance final position. Instead, D’Arcy (2007:399) explains that *like* occurs in two distinct syntactic positions: “on the left-edge of a noun phrase or on the left edge of a lexical verb.” Although ‘like’ is one common translation equivalent of *o sea*, the uses of these two markers do not overlap entirely. From a cross-linguistic perspective, assigning a set number of translation equivalents can prove difficult when considering the overall multifunctionality and evolution of DMs. Moreover, the diversity of meanings of *o sea* can help explain why learners struggle to understand its numerous functions in everyday conversation.

In sum, the native Granada-Spanish teenage speakers used *o sea* on all three levels of conversation, although the explicative and corrective RM functions (textual) and hedging (interpersonal) function were the most prevalent. On the Discourse Marker Completion Test (DMCT) the majority of the native speakers chose *o sea* in the two contexts in which they also selected *en plan*. In spite of the fact that these two markers are similar, *en plan* encompasses some functions, such as the quotative function, that *o sea* does not. The native speakers reported a high familiarity with *o sea* in the second task while the learners appeared to be largely unfamiliar with *o sea* and unaware of its functions. This could explain why none of them used this expression.

5.2 *en plan*

The native speakers used *en plan* a total of 10 times in the Elicited Dialogues. Of those, seven were RMs and three were hedges. In addition, they used *en plan* as a continuing or reorienting marker at the interactional level. Eight speakers out of 24, all girls, used *en plan* in their dialogues. Although the native speakers used *en plan* noticeably less often than *o sea* (10 times versus 42), the rate at which they used it (0.9 times per 1000 words) is the same rate found in the COLAm. It was the second most commonly used RM of the six highlighted in this study.

5.2.1 Previous Analyses of *en plan*

Although *en plan* appeared at the same rate of 0.9 times per 1000 words in both the COLAm and the Granada data, it has received less attention in the literature on Spanish DMs. The scarcity of studies on *en plan* could be due to a number of factors: 1) it is a relatively “new” DM; 2) it has only been documented in Peninsular Spanish; and 3) it was first believed to be the only DM used exclusively by teenagers (Jorgensen 2009). Stenström and Jorgensen’s 2002 creation of the COLAm shed light on the emergence of this typically “teenage” DM. They observed the pragmatic use of *en plan*, which is distinct from its adverbial counterpart (i.e., the use of the phrase not as a DM), similar to the use of *de manera* (‘in this manner’) or *como* (‘like’). Thus, they postulated that teenagers in Madrid pioneered the pragmatic use of *en plan* even though its use as an adverbial had been documented in the *Corpus de referencia de español actual (CREA)* and *Corpus diacrónico de español (CORDE)* corpora since the 1950s (Nord 2006). Research on the use of *en plan* is limited because no study has examined the use of *en plan* outside of Spain. Even within Spain, most studies have only focused on its use by adolescent speakers in Madrid (Nord 2006, Jorgensen 2009, Stenström 2014).

The RM *en plan* consists of the preposition *en* ('in') and the noun *plan* ('plan'), which, according to the RAE, signifies "*actitud o propósito*" ('attitude or purpose'.) The RAE (2018, my translation) provides the following example:

(52) *Todo se llevó a cabo en plan amistoso.*

'Everything was carried out in a friendly manner.'

The RAE labels this expression "colloquial;" the function the RAE example describes is of the non-DM counterpart of *en plan*, that is, as an adverbial. On www.wordreference.com, *en plan* is listed as an adverbial to mean *con cierta actitud* ('with a certain attitude'), translated as 'as' or 'like'. These translations may lead a learner to conflate *en plan* with *como*, which Nord (2006) claims is completely synonymous to *en plan*. In the forums on www.wordreference.com, members translate *en plan* as 'that is' or 'namely', both RMs in English³. One member even describes it as *una muletilla que no significa prácticamente nada* ('a crutch that practically means nothing'), suggesting some people see this marker as filler. Nowhere in the definition of *en plan* on www.wordreference.com does it mention the quotative use. Nonetheless, a few members mention this use on the forum, providing the following example and translation:

(53) *Estuvo toda la noche **en plan** me quiero ir a casa.*

'All night he (or she) was **like** I want to go home.'

Other members also mentioned the parallels between *en plan* and English *be like*.

³ <https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/en-plan.3113770/>

Unlike *o sea*, *en plan* is excluded from current dictionaries of Spanish DMs, such as Briz, Pons Bordería, and Portolés's (2008) *Diccionario de partículas discursivas* and Holgado-Lage's (2017) *Diccionario de marcadores discursivos para estudiantes de español como segunda lengua*. Furthermore, *en plan* does not appear in earlier taxonomies of Spanish DMs, such as Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999); Portolés (2001); and Martín Zorraquino and Montolio Durán (2008).

Under the direction of Jorgensen, Nord's (2006) thesis on *en plan* was the first publication to examine the use of *en plan* as a DM. Before discussing its current use, Nord consults the CREA and the CORDE corpora to find the earliest instances of this expression used as an adverbial, as well as to determine its geographical distribution. Nord noticed a stark difference in the representation of *en plan* in Spain in comparison to Latin American countries. Spain accounts for 82.95% of the cases of *en plan* followed by Mexico with 4.69% of the total instances. Furthermore, she noticed that the use of *en plan* had continually increased in Spain from 1950-2005, whereas its use essentially plateaued in other Spanish-speaking countries. In fact, in the COLA-project where Jorgensen, Stenström, and Nord tracked its use in Madrid, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, and Guatemala City, they only observed *en plan* used as a DM in the Madrid corpus (the COLAm).

In his 2006 study, Nord examines the 173 occurrences of *en plan* (compared with 330 cases of *o sea*) and analyzes the contexts surrounding their use in the COLAm. She finds that *en plan* was used considerably more often by girls (94%) than boys (6%). Moreover, the majority of these cases were from upper-class speakers (the class differences were determined by the zones in which they attended school). Regarding age, 87% of the cases were from 15-16- year olds, with the remaining cases from younger speakers.

Nord adopts Martín Zorraquino and Portolés's (1999) taxonomy as part of her theoretical framework to provide the first descriptive analysis of the use of *en plan* in her corpus. According to her findings, the uses of *en plan* belong to three categories: a RM, an information structurer (a continuing or reorienting marker), and a metadiscursive marker. However, she notices that Martín Zorraquino and Portolés taxonomy does not include the quotative function. Given that her study was the first to examine *en plan*, and because none of the markers outlined by Martín Zorraquino and Portolés included that function, it is not surprising that she overlooked the quotative function of *en plan* in her study. Since Jorgensen (2009) and Stenström (2013) have highlighted the quotative function of *en plan* in more recent years, I considered this use in my analysis of the Elicited Dialogues.

Nord observes that *en plan* functions in the same manner as *o sea* does when it is used as an explicative RM, and these two markers can employ the same function when used consecutively. Comparing *en plan* to the English *like*, Nord claims that the use of *en plan* as a quotative marker makes it similar to *be like* in English, thereby distinguishing it from *o sea*. As a quotative marker, *en plan* can both substitute the verb *decir* and allow for direct quotes. Nord (2006) claims that this method of using direct speech is an active strategy teenagers use specifically because it makes the conversation flow more quickly, or in other words, gives the conversational flow *más energía* ('more energy'.) Furthermore, Nord explains that the speaker is able to be imaginative in what she says; therefore, it is not necessary to be entirely precise in his/her reporting.

Nord outlines two other functions for *en plan*: as a metadiscursive marker and as an information structurer. These functions particularly serve adolescent speakers because of the rapid pace of youth conversations, frequent turn taking, and potential hesitation or insecurities they have about their speech. In turn, she explains, teenagers feel the need to protect their image

and their relationships; that is, they fill any spaces in the discourse with markers. As a metadiscursive marker, *en plan* enables speakers to continue the conversation while they plan their upcoming discourse. This planning is one of the ways *en plan* functions at the interactional level of conversation.

As an information structurer, Nord explains that *en plan* helps pave the way for a new topic of discussion (a new formulation). As such, she notes that *en plan* is commonly both in the initial position and grouped with other DMs. The use of *en plan* gives the speaker time to formulate the upcoming utterance and signals to the hearer (the interactional function) that the speaker is going to continue speaking in spite of having difficulty formulating utterances.

Finally, Nord states that *en plan* can introduce a conclusion. This use of *en plan* is yet another parallel to *o sea*. Prior research on *o sea* shows that it is always accompanied by *que* when it fulfills the conclusive reformulation sub-function (Schwenter 1996, Briz et al. 2008). Nord finds the same to hold true for *en plan*. Indeed, the only function of *en plan* Nord does not explicitly discuss is its use as a hedge. Even though she describes its function to save face and protect the speaker, she does not specify hedging as one of the primary functions of *en plan*, which differs from other studies which did find that *en plan* was used as a hedging marker (Jorgensen 2009, Stenström 2014).

After the development of the COLAm, Stenström (2007) reports on the recent emergence of *en plan*, pointing out two ways in which *en plan* differs from *like*. First, *en plan* appears less frequently in Spanish than *like* does in English. Second, *en plan* mostly appears in the utterance initial and utterance final positions, whereas *like* appears in a multitude of syntactic positions. Acknowledging that a marker only observed in adolescent speech could be negatively received, Stenström comments:

To the question of whether the use of *like* and *en plan* reflect a bad habit. Well, to some extent. Especially when overused. But they are both very handy for the speakers involved in the conversation, since they work both on the discourse strategic level, both as an organizer of the turn and a planning device and on the interactional level, keeping contact with and making the listener more involved (2007:10)

Stenström recognizes how *en plan* works on multiple levels of conversation—it is never meaningless.

Following Stenström, Jorgensen (2009) focuses on *en plan* in the COLAm as a hedge and considers its distribution among social classes and gender. Unlike Nord, who only looks at 173 instances, Jorgensen examines 275 occurrences, to account for more words having been added to the COLAm. Jorgensen describes *en plan* as a device for politeness and mitigation. Her objective was to focus solely on the hedging function of *en plan* in terms of adolescent speech, for *en plan* is a “typical teenage phenomenon” (2009:3). Additionally, Jorgensen points out that although teenagers tend to use DMs more than adults, they do not have many of their “own” DMs, making *en plan* significant. No study at the time of her publication, however, had looked at this marker in adult speech. Therefore, there was no point of comparison to determine if adults had used it. There are documented instances of *en plan* in the CREA and CORDE, but those instances are not accompanied by the ages of the speakers; therefore, no conclusions regarding use among post-adolescent speakers can be made.

Jorgensen (2009:4) focuses on *en plan* as a hedge and highlights two features of this marker: “1) as a strategy of linguistic distance and 2) as a social approach.” For the social approach, Jorgensen emphasizes that the face-saving aspect of hedging benefits both the speaker and the hearer, which is important in adolescent speech because of their insecurities and concern for another’s opinion. Teenagers feel the need to avoid being wrong or corrected by others, which is

why they practice hedging. If the person is proved wrong, the speaker can assert that it was only an approximation. In her findings, Jorgensen concludes that boys do not use *en plan* as a DM; they only use it as an adverbial. Mostly (92%) upper class girls use *en plan* as a hedge. Specifically, Jorgensen finds that upper class girls use *en plan* to save face from an embarrassing statement, to distance oneself, to downtone the intensity of an emotion, to mitigate excitement, and to soften the utterance. All these functions, Jorgensen explains, relate to the speaker's need for politeness. At the same time, Jorgensen says girls tend to be more cooperative and hearer-oriented in their speech; girls are simply more concerned with how their message will be received. These features of girls' speech explain the increased need to hedge.

In 2014, Stenström revisits her analysis on how Madrid teenagers used DMs in the COLAm, crafting a more thorough analysis of *en plan* than previous studies. She considers how every instance of *en plan* functions on all three levels of conversation, allowing tokens to appear in multiple categories. Stenström claims that *en plan* is primarily used by *pijas*, or “upper class girls.” This word choice of *pijas* is interesting since it translates to ‘snob’, ‘posh’ or ‘preppy, high class’, according to www.wordreference.com. Such translations invoke judgment, which is why www.wordreference.com cites the word *pijo/a* as *despectivo* (‘pejorative’.)

Similarly, negative evaluations have been used to describe the English *like*. D’Arcy (2007), who studies the history of *like* as an adverbial and as a DM, debunks the claim that the San Fernando Valley Girls are responsible for all pragmatic uses of *like*, as well as other myths surrounding the stigmatized marker. D’Arcy (2007:388) finds this claim was too broad to make conclusions, cultivated only “by popular consensus.” First, D’Arcy explains that people believe that girls use it more often due to the term valley girls (like *pijas* in Spanish). However, she makes clear that only certain functions are favored by girls, such as the quotative function

(2007:412). This may also hold true for *en plan* since Jorgensen found that girls used *en plan* to hedge, while boys did not, and the quotative function is a sub-function of hedging. D'Arcy finds that other uses, such as the use of *like* to approximate, is independent of gender. Finally, adults use *like* for other vernacular functions, but since vernacular forms are stigmatized, speakers under the age of 30 prefer them while older speakers tend to be critical of them (even though they use them).

The results from Stenström's (2014) analysis show that *en plan* is used to hedge, quote, and stall—and that *be like* is the most equivalent pair in how the markers' functions overlap entirely from one language to the other. Similar to Nord, she finds upper class girls use them more; however, unlike Nord, Stenström finds more instances from the 14-15 age group rather than the 15-16 age group. Boys do not often use *en plan*, but the ones who do are younger (14-15 years old).

Rodríguez Abruneiras (2015) looks at the grammaticalization of *en plan* by observing the uses in the CREA, CORDE, and COLAm. Specifically, she is interested in seeing how the phrase *en plan de* evolved to *en plan*. After consulting the CREA and CORDE, she limits herself to the oral database only in the CREA and the COLAm. Rodríguez Abruneiras distinguishes *en plan de* from *en plan* by explaining that the former is an adverbial and the DM variant only exists with the latter, *en plan*. She concludes that as *en plan* continues to grammaticalize, the variant *en plan de* will appear less and less frequently in speech. She underscores the need to collect oral data for Latin America since CORDE and CREA are mostly textual, with no audio files. In fact, in the CREA and CORDE, 70% of the cases were of *en plan de* and not *en plan*. This finding is not surprising since Jorgensen, Stenström, and Nord document that its use as a DM *en plan* originated in Madrid youthspeak. Rodríguez Abruneiras reports that the use of either variant is

limited to the adverbial function in Latin American speech.

Finally, Rodríguez Lage (2015) performs a study that explores the use of *en plan* in an area outside of Madrid, via a wider range of ages. She looks at the use of *en plan* in Galician Spanish among speakers of various age groups, comparing the uses of *en plan* as an adverbial with those as a DM. To test this, she omits the marker in utterances to see if they would still be considered grammatical. If the sentence lacked grammaticality, she determined that *en plan* was an adverbial. Rodríguez Lage explains that in cases of an adverbial, *en plan* could be replaced with *rollo* ('thing') or *como* ('like') while functioning as a DM, it could not.

Rodríguez Lage (2015) draws parallels between *en plan* and *like*; similar to Stenström, she points out both their unique ability to function as quotative markers and the way that both of these markers differ from *o sea*. Returning to *like*, she draws attention to the function of *en plan* to fill silences when speakers are uncomfortable, or when they intend to keep on talking but need time to process (the continuing, interactional function). Rodríguez Lage (2015) identifies a total of 126 occurrences of *en plan* out of 645,308 words. Thirty-seven percent of the cases she found were used as a quotative marker, 18% were as a hesitation marker/stalling/hedging, 14% were a focus or description marker, and 13% were as an explicative reformulator. When *en plan* was used as a hesitation marker, it was often grouped with other markers, which were most often *eh*, but also *mm*, *bueno* ('well'), and *entonces* ('so'). Even though Rodríguez Lage's study includes in her study older age groups than included in previous studies conducted on this marker, she does not report the particular functions by age group. Instead, she presents the functions for all the groups. It is worth noting that, of her 126 occurrences, 119 (95%) were from speakers 20-34, only 3 were from speakers 35-54, and only 4 were from speakers 55 and older. What is more, 116 (92%) of her cases were from women and 10 (8%) from men. With so few occurrences

attested among men, Rodríguez Lage contends that she cannot make any conclusions about how men use it differently from women without more data.

In sum, the few studies on *en plan* provide far more insight into how teenagers use this marker than how it is used among adult speakers.. It has been documented as a RM, an interpersonal hedge, and an identity marker between peers. We have less information regarding how boys and older speakers use *en plan* because of the limited amount of data available with these groups.

5.2.2 *En plan* in Elicited Dialogues

Similar to *o sea*, the native speakers used *en plan* for the explicative and conclusive sub-functions of RMs. However, unlike the uses of *o sea*, *en plan* did not serve as a corrective RM. When *en plan* was not used to reformulate an utterance, it was used as a hedge to hesitate or to soften utterances dealing with sensitive, potentially uncomfortable topics, as identified by Jorgensen in the COLAm (2009). In addition, *en plan* was used as an interactional marker to reorient and/or continue the conversation. All 10 occurrences of *en plan* were uttered by girls. However, only 4 boys of 24 participants took part in the study. Therefore, in this study, I am not able to reach any conclusions regarding differences due to gender. Table (35) summarizes the uses of *en plan* on all three levels of conversation.

Table 36. Native Granada-Spanish speakers' use of *en plan* in the Elicited Dialogues

	Textual	Interpersonal	Interactional
Number of occurrences and sub-functions	Explicative: 4	Hedging: 3	Open: 0
	Corrective: 0	Planning: 0	Reorient/Continue: 2
	Conclusive: 3	Quotative: 0	End: 0

Textual Level

Of the 10 occurrences of *en plan* in the transcriptions, 8 girls used it for reformulation as shown in the following example. Here, the speaker is responding to the question “Do you feel safe on the street in Spain?”:

- (54) *Sí, además yo creo que esas armas no son, (TSK), armas **en plan** pistolas o escopetas, yo qué sé son más cuchillos y cosas de esas.*

‘Yeah, also I think that those weapons are not, (TSK), weapons **like** guns or shotguns, what do I know they are more like knives and things like that.’

This speaker uses *en plan* before refining what she means by *no son armas* (‘they aren’t weapons’). Specifically, this speaker stresses that the word *armas* signifies something different in Spain than the word “weapons” does in the U.S.

Example (55) illustrates the use of a RM to paraphrase. The speaker does not need to elaborate; rather, she restates the same idea before and after uttering *en plan*. Her repetition could serve either for emphasis or to address her hearer’s unfamiliarity with the term *autodefensa*:

- (55) *Y yo creo que es bueno tener autodefensa **en plan** poder defenderte si te pasa algo malo por ejemplo cuando vas a tu casa por la noche pues no siempre estás muy seguro pero yo creo que habría que tener clases de o sea de defenderse físicamente pero con el cuerpo no con un arma.*

‘And I think it’s good to have self-defense **like** be able to defend yourself if something bad happens to you for example when you go to your house at night I mean you aren’t always very safe but I think that you would have to take classes of of like to defend oneself physically but with your body not with a gun.’

Example (56) is an example of a RM being used to both introduce new information and to elaborate on a prior part of the utterance. Here, what follows *en plan* is not a paraphrase of what had been said, as it was in (55). Instead, the speaker explains in detail what she meant when she said *que exijan más* (‘they should demand more’). She explains what the act of requiring more (to purchase a gun) would entail, *que pidan documentos* (‘they should ask for documents’), and elaborates further that guns should not be so easily accessible:

(56) *Sí que que exijan más que **en plan** pidan documentos y cosas de esas y no den tan fácilmente las armas.*

‘Yes, and they should demand more **like** they should ask for documents and things like that and not give out guns so easily.’

The last use of *en plan* is the conclusive function. In (57), the speaker is responding to the question of whether violence is related to the accessibility to guns:

(57) *Sí, bueno...y yo qué sé lo la violencia está relacionada con las armas yo creo que sí porque cuando la gente tiene acceso a a los medios donde puede hacer daño a la gente. Pues: yo creo que la la violencia está más como (TSK) más permiti- eh:*

*bueno...no más permitida pero tú le estás dando a la gente los medios para que haya más violencia entonces no estoy (TSK) **en plan** yo creo que sí está relacionado.*

‘Yeah, well...and what do I know the the violence is related to guns I think that yes because when people have access to to mediums where they can endanger people. Well: I think that the the violence is more like (TSK) more permitte- uh: well... not more permitted but you are giving people the tools for there to be more violence so I’m not (TSK) **like** I think it is related.’

Here, the speaker may be reluctant to take a stance and instead, identifies a relation between the two issues. However, after giving various reasons, she finishes her statement by inserting *en plan*, perhaps to imply, softly, that she does believe the two are related.

Interpersonal Level

Example (58) is a response to the question “Do you feel safe in the United States?” The speaker hesitates with *en plan* before reformulating her answer and expressing an opinion. According to Stenström (2014), “We hedge when we do not want to take full responsibility, we are uncertain, we don’t want to play the expert, and we don’t want to hurt the listener” (2014:84). This use is illustrated in (58):

- (58) Pero (TSK) por lo que sé y lo que oigo pues no: **en plan** no me: eso de que la mitad de la población tenga armas, no me, no me pone...**en plan** no me gusta.

‘But (TSK) from what I know and what I hear well no: **like** to me: it doesn’t that the fact that half of the population has guns, to me it doesn’t, it doesn’t make me... **like** I don’t like it.’

The speaker is clearly struggling to express her stance on guns, as indicated by the elongated *no* followed by *en plan*. Subsequently, she repeats *no me* as if to start to say *no me gusta* (‘I don’t like it’), before inserting *en plan*, concluding that she does not like that people have access to guns. Like *o sea*, *en plan* can perform a conclusive function. The native Granada-Spanish speakers used *en plan* exclusively when discussing guns in the U.S. This controversial context could have heightened their insecurities, possibly because they knew that I (the investigator) am from the U.S. and would later listen to these recordings.

The next example exhibits the hedging function, which can accompany the reformulation function. Here, however, I identify hedging as the main function of *en plan* in the utterance for (59):

- (59) *Ya, mm hm y también es bueno que dicen también los videojuegos y la televisión que también **en plan** que influyen en la violencia pero contra si...si tú a una persona le das un arma que con la que puede decidir la si una persona vive o muere pues...no es lo mismo que si a lo mejor tú estás viendo un videojuego y ves que matan a uno. Si tú no tienes el arma para matar pues tú no vas a matar a nadie.*

‘Yeah, mm hm and also it’s also good that they say videogames and television that also **like** they influence violence but it’s something else if...if you give

someone a gun with which that person can decide if someone lives or dies well... it's not the same as if like you are looking at a videogame and you see they kill someone. If you don't have a gun to kill well then you aren't going to kill anyone.'

In example (59) the speaker is responding to the question "Do videogames influence violence?" She inserts *en plan* to hedge her utterance which has the effect of mitigating her claims. This use mitigates her utterance. The speaker is therefore indicating to the hearer that she is less committed to the notion that videogames and television effect violence. The use of *en plan* softens her assertion. Following her statement with *en plan*, she compares her previous assertion with a new formulation: access to guns inspires violence. She explains that if a person has access to a gun—if a person, that is, has the ability to decide whether a person lives or dies—it is not the same as playing a videogame. Her explanation includes two example scenarios involving access to a gun and the influence of videogames, which further cement her mitigated statement. To her, seeing something in a videogame is not the same as taking action. In other words, access to guns has a stronger influence on violence than videogames or television do. To summarize, the speaker in (59) uses *en plan* to orient the hearer so she can communicate her position more clearly. *En plan* enables the hearer to more easily comprehend the speaker's assessment, as do her supporting example scenarios following the incorporation of the RM.

Interactional Level

I have already presented the next example, but now I will highlight the use of *en plan* at the interactional level. First, the instance of *en plan* in the middle of the utterance serves as a

continuing marker. The speaker is having trouble proceeding, which is indicated by her repetition of *no* and *no me*. Before giving a definitive answer regarding her feelings about the issue, she inserts *en plan* and then provides then provides a statistic to support her point. Instead of stating how she feels, she backtracks and restates the topic, *eso de que la mitad de la población tenga armas* ('the fact that half of the population has guns') and uses *en plan* in an interactional way at the end of her statement:

- (60) Pero (TSK) por lo que sé y lo que oigo pues no: **en plan** no me: eso de que la mitad de la población tenga armas, no me, no me pone...**en plan** no me gusta.
 'But (TSK) from what I know and what I hear well no: **like** to me: it doesn't that the fact that half of the population has guns, to me it doesn't, it doesn't make me... **like** I don't like it.'

The conclusive use of *en plan* at the end of this utterance and before her final statement, *no me gusta*, illustrates its use at the interactional level and also marks the end of the speaker's turn.

The native speaker participants tended to use RMs when the focus of the conversation turned to the U.S. This tendency may be because the majority of the native speaker participants have never been to the U.S. Therefore, their ideas were distanced assertions based on what they had heard in the news and from friends. In (61) the speaker uses *en plan* to continue the utterance while distancing herself from an unfamiliar topic.

- (61) *Claro, además yo bueno pienso igual que tú y creo que allí @ la mayoría de las casas están como muy muy @ o sea que no están concentradas en un único*

*lugar entonces mm como que allí las calles no están tan- no hay tanta gente eh: De hecho la gente va sobre todo en coche entonces si alguien, por ejemplo, por la noche va corriendo por allí pues: creo que puede sentirse más inseguro que aquí porque aquí eh: te vas cruzando gente por la mañana eh: todo el rato te vas cruzando gente....aunque sea allí en algunos barrios la verdad que **en plan** puede pasar a lo mejor algún coche y tú por ahí solo y te puedes encontrarte con cualquier persona y puede tener un arma. Entonces yo creo (TSK) que a veces si se pueden sentir un poco más inseguros en ese sentido.*

‘Of course, in addition I well I think the same as you and I believe that there @ the majority of the the houses are very very @ I mean that aren’t concentrated in one area so mm like that there the streets are not as there aren’t as many people uh: In fact the people go usually by car so if someone, for example, at night goes running around there well: I think that you could feel less safe than here because here uh: you run into people in the morning uh: all the time you run into people... although there in some neighborhoods the truth is that **like** you can pass like some car and you are there alone and you can find yourself with anyone who could have a gun. So I think (TSK) that sometimes you could feel a little more insecure in that sense.’

The use of *en plan* in (61) allows the speaker to communicate an assertion without fully committing to the ideas. Moreover, her use of *puede* (‘it could be that’) and *a lo mejor* (‘maybe’) following the marker indicates an additional level of uncertainty.

The native speakers used *en plan* in ways already documented in other studies. Contextually, it makes sense that the quotative function did not appear in the data since the speakers were not recounting previous conversations. The native speakers also did not use *en plan* to approximate a quantity (i.e., give an estimation of a quantity following the use of *en plan*). *En plan* was the second most common RM used by the native speaker group and the marker selected most often by the native speakers overall for the DMCT. However, the learners had difficulty interpreting the context surrounding this marker in the first task. Yet, the learners made the most gains in familiarity with this marker (12 learners made gains in their level of familiarity with *en plan*). While most native speakers rated this marker as highly familiar, not all of them did.

5.3 *de todas formas*

One native speaker used another marker in addition to the six that were selected for the present study: *de todas formas* ('anyway'). This speaker used it three times for its distancing reformulation function. This marker appeared at a rate of .27 times per 1000 words for all the Granada data, which is much higher than the rate at which it appeared in the COLAm (0.04 times per 1000 words).

Table 37. Native speakers' uses of *de todas formas* in the Elicited Dialogues

	Textual	Interpersonal	Interactional
Number of occurrences and sub-functions	Explicative: 0	Hedging: 3	Open: 2
	Distancing: 3	Planning: 0	Reorient/Continue: 0
	Conclusive: 0		End: 0

5.3.1 Previous Analyses of *de todas formas*

The Spanish RM *de todas formas* has not been investigated as much as *o sea*, and yet this marker often appears in taxonomies and dictionaries of Spanish DMs. Unlike studies on *en plan*, studies on *de todas formas* do not detail which age groups tend to use this marker more or less often. Furthermore, with the exception of San Martín Núñez (2013), no study focuses on this marker as it is used in a particular region. San Martín Núñez (2013) studies the use of *de todas formas* in Santiago de Chile, grouping it with *de todo caso* (‘in any case’), *igual* (‘anyway’), and *de todas maneras* (‘anyway’), focusing on their function as distancing reformulators.

Pons Bordería and Ruíz Gurillo (2001) carry out a synchronic analysis of *de todas maneras* and markers that function similarly, including *de todas formas*. They found that these markers are used primarily as *connectives* to introduce or negate an alternative, add an alternative, or to introduce a new topic (2001:319). The RAE (2018) describes *de todas formas* as an indicator of speaker disinterest (i.e., distancing). This function casts the previous utterance as less important. Likewise, Portolés (2001) places *de todas formas* in the *distanciamiento* (‘distancing’) sub-function category of RMs whereby the speaker distances herself from a less interesting topic and changes the focus of the conversation with a new formulation.

Holgado-Lage (2017) includes *de todas formas* in her dictionary of Spanish DMs for second language learners. She claims that *de todas formas*, *de todas maneras*, and *en cualquier caso* are similar markers, and are used “to indicate that it does not matter how, independent of the circumstances, what follows is what occurred.” (2017:74, my translation). She provides the following example:

(62) A: ¿Encontraste la raqueta o te dejo la mía?

‘Did you find the racquet or should I lend you mine?’

B: *No la encontré pero **de todas formas** creo que no voy a ir, estoy cansada.*

‘I didn’t find it but, in any case, I think I am not going to go, I am tired.’

Holgado Lage (2017) specifies that *de todas formas* is also similar to *de cualquier manera* (‘anyway’), *digas lo que digas* (‘say what you say’), *en cualquier caso* (‘in any case’), *para bien o para mal* (‘for better or for worse’), *sea como sea* (‘be that as it may’), *se mire como se mire* (‘turn out how it turn out’), and *total* (‘in short’). She claims it is usually not learned until the intermediate level of difficulty for learners.

Briz, Pons Bordería, and Portolés (2018) include *de todas formas* in their *Diccionario de partículas discursivas*. The definition they provide is also the definition for *de todas modos*: “it presents a segment of discourse as the most pertinent for the continuation of discourse as opposed to anterior options, be it explicit or implicit” (2018, my translation). They provide the following example:

(63) *No es imprescindible que dejéis de matar. Lo verdaderamente importante es la negociación. O sea: seguid matando hasta que la consigáis. Iban **de todas formas**, a continuar haciéndolo.*

‘It’s not essential that you all stop killing. The truly most important [thing] is the negotiation. In other words, keep killing until you get it. They were going to keep doing it, **anyway**.’

What precedes *de todas formas* are possible options and what follows is the speaker's preferred option.

According to www.wordreference.com, *de todas formas* is an adverbial, an expression to mean 'in any case' or 'anyway,' synonymous to *a pesar de todo* ('in spite of everything'). The following example is from this website (my translation):

(64) *Sé que no te caigo bien y que nuestra relación ha tenido sus problemas; **de todas formas** deberías tratarme con respeto.*

'I know that you don't like me and that our relationship has had its problems; **in any case** but you should treat me with respect.'

In the forums on www.wordreference.com, a member states that this marker can discount, ignore, or put aside something that has just been discussed⁴. In other words, the marker's distancing function enables speakers to change a subject that they deem does not fit the context.

5.3.2 *De todas formas* in Elicited Dialogues

There were only three instances of *de todas formas* in the Elicited Dialogue data. In the first instance, the speaker has just responded to her partner, who said the presence of guns in people's lives which starts in childhood makes people more violent. She finds her own statement insufficient and uses *de todas formas* to mark the preceding utterance as less relevant, drawing attention to the statement following the marker:

⁴ <https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/de-todos-modos-de-todas-formas.1457453/>

- (65) *Sí. Y que luego que tengan armas en Estados Unidos pues: a ver es verdad que tienen la excusa de que es para protegerse a sí mismo cuando van por la calle o cuando alguien le puede, yo que sé, agredir, yo que sé, pero...**de todas formas** si no hubiera personas con armas no necesitarían no tendrían la necesidad de tener también un arma ellos mismos.*

‘Yes. And then the fact that they have guns in the United States well: the thing is it’s true they have the excuse that it is to protect yourself when you go out in the street and someone can, I don’t know, assault, I don’t know, but...**anyway** if there were not people with guns they wouldn’t need they wouldn’t have the necessity to also have a gun themselves.’

According to Portolés (2001), distancing RMs like *de todas formas* introduce a new formulation “needed for the discourse to continue” (2001:143, my translation).

In (66) the speaker uses *de todas formas* for two purposes: as a distancing marker and to initiate a turn. Speaker A begins her statement with *de todas formas* in a response to speaker B’s stance on the relationship between videogames and violence. Speaker A generally agrees with speaker B that videogames affect violence. However, speaker A does introduce a counterpoint: videogames cannot be the only cause of violence. The RM *de todas formas* fosters this counterpoint by guiding the hearer (speaker B) toward an alternative point of view.

- (66) A: ***De todas formas** yo creo que los videojuegos y las películas y todas las cosas donde puede salir violencia no puede ser una cosa que influyan demasiado porque es inevitable verlo todos los niños lo ven, y eso no es una excusa para decir bueno... pues normal que haya salido tan violento. No eso es por culpa de*

que hay armas y que lo ven una cosa normal, eso de tener un arma y yo creo que eso se tendría que prohibir.

‘In any case I think that videogames and movies and all those things from which violence can come it can’t be a thing that they influence so much because it’s inevitable to see it all the kids see it, and that’s not an excuse to say well...ok [it’s] normal for him to come out so violent. No that’s because there are guns and that they see it as a normal thing, that having a gun and I think that they would have to ban [them].

B: *Exacto. Porque a ver, aquí en España también hay violencia y vemos videojuegos y vimos, vemos en las películas y en la tele que hay muchas peleas y tal...pero si aquí tú no tienes un arma pues que no es lo mismo a lo mejor puedes pegar a alguien pero no matarle. Entonces tampoco entiendo que a lo mejor no puedan conseguir alcohol que a ver sí es una droga y también es malo pero (TSK) mm sea tan complicado conseguir allí alcohol y un arma puedan conseguirla como si fuera comida.*

‘Exactly. Because I mean, here in Spain there is also violence and we see videogames and we saw, we see in the movies and on TV that there are many fights and stuff like that....but if you don’t have a gun here well than it’s not the same like you could hit someone but not kill him. So I don’t understand either like they can get alcohol that I mean yeah it’s a drug and it’s also bad but (TSK) mm to be so complicated to get alcohol there and a gun you can acquire as if it were food.’

A: *Pero de todas formas o sea eso mismo digo pero que eh: lo de Orlando no hubiera pasado ni tampoco lo de la universidad que: también me, me parece que, pasó en la universidad y también en muchos colegios y lo de que entra un estudiante y está loco y se pone matar a gente (TSK) o una persona que es totalmente ajena a al sitio donde se va a matar, pues que yo creo que si no fuera porque se permitían las armas y eso no hubiera pasado porque aquí en España no había ningún caso que, sí, que hay gente que tiene navajas y tal [pero una]...*

‘Yeah anyway **I mean** that’s what I’m saying but that uh: the thing in Orlando wouldn’t have happened neither would have that thing in the university that: also seemed to me, to me, it happened in the university and also in many schools and the thing about a student entering and he’s crazy and he starts killing people (TSK) or a person that is totally far from from the site where they are going to kill, I mean what I believe is that if it weren’t for because if they didn’t allow guns and that stuff it wouldn’t have happened because here in Spain there wasn’t a single case, yes, there are people that have knives and stuff but a...’

The latter part of (66) includes the third instance of *de todas formas*. The speaker uses *de todas formas* again to initiate a turn, grouping it with other markers (*pero, o sea, eso mismo digo, pero que, and eh*). Speaker A contradicts what speaker B had said to communicate that regardless of the reasons given, without the instrument (i.e., guns), these tragedies would not have occurred.

De todas formas was the third most common RM used by the native speaker group. With regard to Task 1, the context for *de todas formas* did not lead many native speakers or learners to choose this marker in the DMCT. However, all the native speakers rated *de todas formas* as

highly familiar in the Familiarity Survey. In addition, following *en plan*, this marker represented the most gains in familiarity for the learners by the end of the program (10 learners reported a higher level of familiarity in the post-program phase). However, with only three instances of *de todas formas* in the data, all produced by the same speaker, an analysis of a larger corpus of adolescent Spaniards' conversations would be needed to reach any reliable conclusions regarding its use among this population.

5.4 *quiero decir*

In the COLAm, the speakers used this marker at a rate of .07 times per 1000 words, while none of the native speakers used *quiero decir* in their dialogues. The absence of *quiero decir* occurred in spite of the fact that all the native speaker participants reported 100% familiarity with this phrase in the second task. What is more, the highest percentage of learners reported familiarity with *quiero decir* (79.2% in the pre-program stage and 87% in the post-program stage); however, the learners also did not use this marker.

5.4.1 Previous Analyses of *quiero decir*

The Spanish RM *quiero decir* has appeared in some comprehensive accounts of Spanish DMs (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés 1999). With the exception of Fernández Bernárdez (2000), however, most studies that mention *quiero decir* do not focus on it exclusively in the way studies have detailed the uses of *o sea* and *en plan*. Furthermore, *quiero decir* is more often considered a written DM than a spoken one. Fernández Bernárdez explains that speakers use *quiero decir* when they decide a previous utterance did not satisfy the conversation's communicative needs. The speaker can decide that what was uttered was not sufficient or the interlocutor can make

known the need for the speaker to complete what was said, give a more precise statement, or correct (i.e., reformulate) the utterance. Fernández Bernárdez calls the reformulation function of *quiero decir autorreformulariones* ('self-reformulation') since the speaker has agency. With that agency, the speaker can better explain what was said, thereby managing rapport in the interaction and avoiding the interlocutor's interjection that the preceding discourse segment was insufficient.

In the case of *quiero decir*, Fernández Bernárdez (2000:264) names two possible types of reformulation: immediate and delayed. For immediate reformulations, the speaker reformulates her utterance immediately after saying something, whereas with delayed reformulations, the speaker continues talking only to reformulate later in the utterance. In (67), the reformulation is immediate while in (68), it is delayed (Fernández Bernárdez 2000:269, my translations).

(67) ...odio a mi madre, perdón, **quería decir** a mi suegra.

'...I hate my mother, pardon, **I meant to say** my mother-in-law.'

(68) A: ¿Puedo fumar?

'Can I smoke?'

B: Es Usted muy dueño.

'You are very much the owner.'

A: **Quería decir** del suyo (señala la cajetilla) Me he dejado la cajetilla en la habitación.

'**I meant to say** from yours (points to the pack). I left my pack in my room.'

Fernández Bernárdez defines *quiero decir* a “marker that prototypically introduces paraphrastic self-reformulations” (2000:263, my translation). Significantly, she also points out that there has been disagreement regarding whether this phrase is in fact a DM. Since every DM also has a non-DM counterpart (most often as an adverbial, which I discuss in Chapter 2), some phrases are currently used only as a DM (i.e., *o sea*) while others are used as both a DM and as its counterpart (i.e., *en plan*).

Fernández Bernárdez clarifies that when this phrase functions as a DM, it is used between weak or strong pauses, however the punctuation might not always illustrate this pause. She indicates this phenomenon in the following examples (2000:267):

- (69) *Me impide dar cuenta exacta del suceso, **quiero decir**, con palabras científicas.*
 ‘I’m unable to recount exactly what happened, **I mean**, in scientific terms.’
- (70) *Porque alguna vez tiene que pasar. **Quiero decir**: ya tengo veinticinco años. No voy a pasarme toda la vida viviendo con ellos.*
 ‘Because it has to happen sometime. **I mean**: I’m already 25 years old. I’m not going to spend my whole life living with them.’

The newest reformulation is the one that helps keep the conversation going. Like Schwenter’s description of the *connective* function of *o sea*, Fernández Bernárdez asserts that *quiero decir* can act as a connective to link semantically utterance A with utterance B. Furthermore, she defines markers like *quiero decir* as regressive reformulators because they point backwards to

previous utterances while other markers, such as *en cualquier caso*, guide the interlocutor forward to subsequent utterances.

Holgado-Lage (2017:240) names *quiero decir* an informal expression that paraphrases or specifies or improves/corrects a preceding utterance. This expression's primary function is reformulation; similar markers include *o sea*, *digo*, *miento* ('I'm lying'), *que diga qué diga* ('say what you say'), and *rectifico* ('I repeat'). Holgado-Lage (2017) points out that *quiero decir* is most often introduced and learned at the intermediate level of difficulty for learners.

Briz, Pons Bordería, and Portolés (2008) do not include *quiero decir* in their dictionary. According to the RAE, the verbal expression *quiero decir* means "to signify, indicate, or give understanding to something" (my translation). On www.wordreference.com, the equivalent of *quiero decir* is 'I mean;' they cite it as an "expression" that can include "prepositional phrases, adverbial phrases, or any other expression." It is worth noting that *o sea* is also translated as 'I mean' on www.wordreference.com. In the forums, a member indicates that *quiero decir* is an informal expression, viewed negatively in written prose⁵. The website www.wordreference.com provides the following definition to illustrate its use:

(71) ¿Cómo estás? **Quiero decir**, ¿Te encuentas mejor ya?

'How are you? **I mean**, are you better yet?'

In (71), the question *¿te encuentras mejor ya?* essentially asks *¿cómo estás?*, but in a more precise manner.

⁵ <https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/digo-o-sea-quiero-decir.110208/>

Since *quiero decir* is not a fixed expression (because it allows variants of the phrase), it can also express plurality with *queremos decir* ('we mean') or time with the preterit *quise decir* ('I meant') or the imperfect *quería decir* ('I meant'). Its variability distinguishes *quiero decir* from other DMs because it is less grammaticalized (Hopper 1991). Nonetheless, Fernández Bernárdez explains that even when *quiero decir* functions as its non-DM counterpart, *quiero decir* always communicates a “*sentido reformulador*” ('reformulator feeling'). Fernández Bernárdez claims that *quiero decir* allows for other forms through the process of lexicalization, or the process by which fixed forms gradually acquire variants.

5.4.2 *Quiero decir* in Elicited Dialogues

As stated, no native speakers or learners used the exact phrase *quiero decir* in the Elicited Dialogues. They did, however, use variants of this marker. In the following example, a speaker used *no quiero decir* for clarification:

- (72) *A ver... yo creo que sí está está bastante relacionado que haya muchísimas más armas aquí que: o sea en Estados Unidos que en España y yo creo que eso pues (TSK) hace que allí se cometan más crímenes **no quiero decir** que una persona por tener un arma en su casa que vaya a ser un asesino que vaya a cometer ningún crimen pero que (TSK) puede haber un accidente. Por ejemplo, yo vi en las noticias una vez que un niño pequeño tenía un arma que se habían dado a sus padres y sin querer creo que mató a su madre y obviamente el niño de tres años no va a tener ninguna intención pero un accidente lo puede tener cualquiera y*

él... si no fuese legal el niño no hubiera tenido ningún arma con lo cual pues esas muertes pues se evitan.

‘Well...I think that yes it’s it’s pretty related that there are many more guns here than: I mean in the United States than in Spain and I think that that well (TSK) makes it so there they commit more crimes **I don’t mean** that a person is going to become a murderer because of having a gun in the house or that the person is going to commit a crime but that (TSK) there could be an accident. For example, I saw in the news one time a little kid had a gun that his parents had given him and by mistake I think that he killed his mother and obviously a three-year-old kid isn’t going to have any intentions but an accident can happen to anyone and he...if it weren’t legal the kid wouldn’t have had a gun with which well those deaths could be prevented.’

In (72), the speaker used *no quiero decir* before describing in more detail her stance regarding the connection between the number of guns and incidences of violence in the U.S. and in Spain.

In (73), a native speaker used *no pienso decir* in the same way speakers use *quiero decir* to hedge and repeat. She makes a bold, potentially threatening statement when she asks herself if they are going to change the current situation with guns. She prefaces her disbelief by saying *no pienso decir*.

(73) *Hombre, es que: yo no comprendo cómo después de lo que está pasando y que sigue pasando que eso se siga permitiendo. Pero que... pero es que no, **no pienso decir**, vamos a cambiarlo ¿No? ¿O qué?*

‘Man, the thing is: I don’t understand how after what’s happening it keeps happening that they keep allowing it. But that...but the thing is no, **I don’t mean** we are going to change it, right? Or what?’

After using *no pienso decir* as part of her subsequent hedges, the speaker includes her conversation partner (the interactional level) by using two tag questions.

In the next example, one of the learners used *quiero decir* in its non-DM use. During her struggle to find the right words she asked herself *¿Qué quiero decir?* (‘what do I want to say?’). Prefacing this expression was her reflection about her own speech, asking herself how to say something in Spanish. Her asking *sí? sí?* after using the word *seguridad* demonstrates her worry over the correct word while at the same time asking her partner to corroborate her word choice.

- (74) *[Pero es] es muy interesante porque mi compañero de del cuarto me dijo que la: ¿Cómo se dice en español cuando una persona mata a un otra persona ¿sí?, en una protesta ellos fueron en o estaban en el mili- ¿militario?, ¿militar?, ¿sí?, So muchas personas que quien lucha para una un país ellos tienen armas porque es su trabajo ¿sí? Y es y yo creo, yo creo que: es muy interesante que fue dos escenarios cuando una persona que es...es uh una persona que es está muy enojado ellos tienen armas porque es su trabajo ¿sí?, Y yo creo que es esta situación es diferente de los otros problemas en el mundo. Y en los Estados Unidos también porque yo creo que es es es específico ¿no?, ¿sí?, Pero yo creo que me siento seguro y seguridad ¿sí? ¿sí?, Me siento seguridad en mi mi cómo*

se dic- ¿qué quiero decir?, Me siento seguridad en mi estado sí? pero yo puedo comprender lo- los opiniones de los otros perso- las [otras,]

‘[But it’s] very interesting because my roommate told me that the how do you say in Spanish when a person kills another person. Yes? At a protest they were in or they were in the mili- military? military? Yes? So many people that who fight for a a country they have guns because it’s their job yes? And it is and I think I think that it is very interesting that there were two scenarios when a person is is uh a person that is is very mad they have guns because it’s their job yes? And I think that it is this situation is different than the other problems in the world and in the United States also because I think that it is it is it is specific, right? Yes? But I think that I feel safe and security yes? Yes? I feel security in my my how do you sa- **what do I want to say?** I feel security in my state yes? But I can understand th- the opinions of the other peop- the [others].’

The speaker here could have inserted other RMs when she said *como se dice en español* and *cómo se dic-* before inserting a form of *quiero decir*. Her reluctance to utter a word of which she may be unsure points to the need for reformulation.

The lack of *quiero decir* in the Elicited Dialogue data was surprising since it was the marker the learners rated as the most familiar; all of the native speakers rated it as highly familiar. I suspect the lack of *quiero decir* results from the ways teenagers craft informal and playful conversations; they do so with less formal markers. Nonetheless, there were some similar forms of this more variable marker. On the DMCT, the native speakers paired *quiero decir* with the

same contexts in which *digo* was used. However, neither RM showed up in the Elicited Dialogue data.

5.5 *digo*

The absence of *digo* in the Elicited Dialogues was surprising since the COLAm speakers used this marker .27 times per 1000 words. Both the native speakers and the learners in the Familiarity Survey deemed this marker less familiar. In the DMCT, the native speakers chose this marker, which coincided with the COLAm original speech, but the learners had difficulty knowing whether to choose this marker or *quiero decir* (the two preferences by the native speakers) in the utterance final position.

5.5.1 Previous Analyses of *digo*

The representation of *digo* in the literature on Spanish DMs is similar to that of *quiero decir* . It is included in comprehensive accounts of Spanish DMs, but, unlike *o sea* and *en plan* , no studies are exclusively focus on its use.

Torres (2002) looks at how Puerto Rican speakers used *digo* among other markers; she compares its use to the English *I mean* , which she frames as an equivalent. She names *digo* a “participation marker,” which refers to the interpersonal and interactional levels of conversation. Interpersonally, the marker indicates a sense of intimacy with interlocutors—namely, that they belong to the same speech community. The results show that all of the groups (ranging from Spanish dominant to bilingual to English dominant) still prefer the English *I mean* , using it more than 50% of the time while speaking Spanish. At the interactional level, she explains that *digo* indicates the interlocutor’s involvement in the conversation and, at the same time, establishes

common ground. The results from this study establish that the Spanish dominant group use *digo* more than the other three groups, although *I mean* remains in use more for bilingual speakers.

San Martín Núñez and Guerrero González (2016) examine RMs in Chilean Spanish; they use the framework of Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999) and Portolés (2001) to classify *digo* under their reformulation sub-functions. The speakers they examine represent all genders, social classes, ranging in age from 20 to more than 55. San Martín Núñez and Guerrero González (2016) labeled *digo* as an RM for correction along with *mejor dicho* ('better said') and *más bien* ('better said'). For the corrective function, however, their results show that speakers used *o sea* much more often. They found more instances of *digamos* ('we mean') for correction than they did for *digo* . Even though *digo* can also be used for the explicative RM function, San Martín Núñez and Guerrero González found the speakers in their corpus used *o sea* most often for this function, followed by *digamos* and *es decir* .

Briz, Pons Bordería, and Portolés (2008) do not include *digo* in their *Diccionario de partículas discursivas* . They also do not include *quiero decir* , but they do include phrases with the verb *decir* such as *es decir* ('that is to say') or *por así decir* ('said like that'). Holgado-Lage (2017:83) claims that *digo* is an informal oral expression used as a corrective RM. Like *quiero decir* , reformulation constitutes *digo* 's primary function. This expression, unlike *quiero decir* , is at the advanced level for learners; Holgado-Lage rates *quiero decir* at the intermediate level. This assessment dovetails with the learners' own familiarity with this marker. 87% of the learners were highly familiar with *quiero decir* at the end of the program while only 56.5% were highly familiar with *digo* . Similar markers include *quiero decir* and *rectifico* .

According to the RAE, *digo* is an interjection that expresses surprise or astonishment; it can also express that something is clear, evident, and that the speaker has no doubt. On

www.wordreference.com, there is no individual entry for *digo*. In the forums, members say it is equivalent to *o sea*, *quiero decir*, and *I mean* in English⁶. Curiously, under the entry for the English *I mean*, *quiero decir* appears as the only Spanish translation.

5.4.2 *Digo* in Elicited Dialogues

Even though no participants used *digo* as a DM, it was still used by the native speakers as non-DM counterparts, with the variants *eso mismo digo* ('that's what I'm saying') and *no digo que* ('I don't mean that') and *ya digo* ('I mean'). As is the case with *quiero decir*, I contend that *digo* still carries a reformulative function even when it is not being clearly used a DM. Like *quiero decir*, it seems to have variable forms that clitics can be added to, as demonstrated in the following example.

- (75) A: *Exacto. Porque a ver, aquí en España también hay violencia y vemos videojuegos y vimos, vemos en las películas y en la tele que hay muchas peleas y tal...pero si aquí tú no tienes un arma pues que no es lo mismo a lo mejor puedes pegar a alguien pero no matarle. Entonces tampoco entiendo que a lo mejor no puedan conseguir alcohol que a ver sí es una droga y también es malo pero (TSK) mm sea tan complicado conseguir allí alcohol y un arma puedan conseguirla como si fuera comida.*
- 'Exactly. Because let's see, here in Spain there is also violence and we see videogames and we saw, we see in the movies and on TV that there are many fights and stuff like that....but if you don't have a gun here well

⁶ <https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/digo.291578/>

then it's not the same like you could hit someone but not kill him. So I don't understand either like they can get alcohol that I mean yeah it's a drug and it's also bad but (TSK) mm to be so complicated to get alcohol there and a gun you can get one as easily as food.'

B: *Pero de todas formas o sea **eso mismo digo** pero que eh: lo de Orlando no hubiera pasado ni tampoco lo de la universidad que: también me, me parece que, pasó en la universidad y también en muchos colegios y lo de que entra un estudiante y está loco y se pone a matar a gente (TSK) o una persona que es totalmente ajena a al sitio donde se va a matar, pues que yo creo que si no fuera porque se permitían las armas y eso no hubiera pasado porque aquí en España no había ningún caso que, sí, que hay gente que tiene navajas y tal [pero una]...*

'Yeah anyway I mean **that's what I'm saying** but that uh: the thing in Orlando wouldn't have happened neither would have that thing in the university that: also seemed to me, to me, it happened at the university and also in many schools and the thing about a student entering and he's crazy and he starts killing people (TSK) or a person that is totally unrelated to to the site where they are going to kill, I mean what I believe is that if it weren't for because if they didn't allow guns and that stuff it wouldn't have happened because here in Spain there wasn't a single case, yes, there are people that have knives and stuff but a...'

In (75), speaker B inserts *eso mismo digo* with other markers to begin her turn and stall while she figures out what to say. Simultaneously, she uses this expression to agree with what speaker A has just uttered. What follows, *eso mismo digo*, is a new formulation. That is, despite what speaker A had just said, and despite speaker B agreeing with A, she introduces a new formulation that she finds more pertinent and convincing for the topic at hand. Considering this expression followed *de todas formas*, *eso mismo digo* adds to the speaker's need to disregard the previous utterance. And yet, as a politeness marker, *eso mismo digo* contributes to the interpersonal part of the utterance. Speaker B inserts *eso mismo digo* to avoid undermining her partner before introducing a new formulation.

In (76), the native speaker B uses *no digo que* to hedge, distancing herself from committing to the assertion that violence cannot occur in Spain.

- (76) A: *Claro. Que no sea que quiere un arma porque me apetece tener un arma que es que tendrías que tener una razón para tener un arma, ya si eres policía pues...pues tiene una razón pero si eres una persona normal que vas a guardar tu arma para para nada porque es que no te va a pasar nada pero, yo que sé, y eso. Que yo creo que deberían de ver otras otras formas de de vida que vean que aquí que es que se vive muy bien @ y ya está.*

‘Of course. It shouldn’t be that [a person] wants a gun because I feel like having a gun the thing is you should have to have a reason for having a gun, like if you are a police officer well...well [that person] has a reason but if you are a normal person so you are going to keep your gun for for

nothing because the thing is nothing is going to happen but, what do I know, and stuff like that. I think that they should see other other lifestyles they should see that here the things is we live really well @ and that's it.'

B: *Seguros por lo menos*

'Safe at least.'

A: *Eso es que nosotros podemos caminar por la calle sin ningún tipo de peligro es que **no digo que** no pueda pasar algo pero...*

'That's it that we can walk down the street without any type of danger I mean, **I'm not saying that** something can't happen but...'

B: *Pero que es muy difícil que vayas por la calle y alguien te saque un arma sabes que (TSK) pasar te puede pasar pero un arma no te...es que no.*

'But it's really difficult for you to go down the street and have someone pull a gun on you, you know? (TSK) something could happen to you but a gun no...no way.'

In (77) the speaker discusses the act of debating. She refers to the fact that she had already said there were many types of violence and uses *ya digo* to intensify her stance:

(77) *Em: en cuanto a la violencia, si está relacionada con las armas...y mm yo creo que no siempre puede haber que violencia de género o o sea hay muchos tipos de violencia yo no creo que que todos los tipos de violencia estén relacionados con las armas. Porque **ya digo**, hay muchos tipos, por ejemplo, yo puedo llegar y pegarle a alguien y no necesitar ningún arma.*

‘Em: as far as if violence is related to guns...And mm I think that there doesn’t always have to be domestic violence or, like there are many types of violence, and I don’t think that all types of violence are related to guns. Because **I mean** there are many types, for example, I can show up and hit someone and I don’t need any type of gun [for that].’

Evidenced both here and in Chapter 4’s anecdote regarding *en plan* and *digo*, younger speakers do not use *digo* as often as they use other markers, such as *o sea*. A comparison of adolescent speech in a variety of registers would help determine if younger speakers today use this marker at all.

5.6 *total*

Neither the native speakers nor the learners used *total* in the elicited dialogues. Moreover, *total* was the least chosen marker on the DMCT. Familiarity with this marker was more evenly distributed among the answer choices for participants in both groups. Nonetheless, the learners did show some increase in familiarity by the end of the program. This marker appeared in the COLAm at a rate of .04 times per 1000 words.

5.6.1 Previous Analyses of *total*

Of the six RMs I analyze, the Spanish RM *total* is the least represented in the literature. Castele and Collewaert (2013) investigate *total* in conjunction with similar markers used by native speakers and learners. Both the native speakers and learners had to produce written texts of about 600 words responding to the prompt *Nunca olvidaré el día en que...* (‘I will never

forget the day that...'). The authors claim that *total* acts as a conclusive marker in reformulations and they identify it as an informal marker used in oral or written discourse. However, they report that native speakers prefer *total*, or similar markers such as *en fin*, in written contexts only. This observation contradicts their description of such markers, which they describe as generally reserved for a more informal, oral setting. They provide two examples below (Castele and Collewaert 2013:554, my translation) of *total* used by native speakers in a more formal context.

- (78) *Sentado nuevamente pero apreciando todos los paisajes, las calles que se veían cuando salíamos de Madrid, los trenes que llegaban de quién sabía dónde, si **total**, conocíamos pocas ciudades en ese entonces de la tierra de los toros y el flamenco.*

‘Seated again but appreciating the scenery, the streets they were seeing when they were leaving Madrid, the trains that were arriving from who knows where, if **all in all**, we got to know few cities at that time in the land of bulls and flamenco.’

- (79) *Nos volvimos más humanos, aprendimos de todos porque todos traíamos algo distinto dentro, **total**, veníamos de distintos lugares, era normal que todos hablemos diferente.*

‘We became more human, we learned from everything because we all brought something distinct inside, **in the end**, we came from different places, it was normal for us to talk differently.’

In (78) the speaker uses *total* before offering a conclusive statement about her trip to Spain. Example (79) is a bit different. In (79), *total* functions both as a conclusive and as an explicative RM. The speaker uses *total* to communicate that the entire prior part of the discourse can be explained in a summative moment: ‘we come from different places.’ At the same time, the information following *total* explains or clarifies what contributed to the differences in their experience. The fact that the learners in their study used more formal markers could be because they carried out the experimental tasks in a school, whereas the native speakers did not. All the present study’s experimental tasks were conducted in a school so that all the participants would be in the same environment.

Even though Castele and Collewaert only offer “summarizing” as a possible function of *total*, Holgado-Lage (2017) adds that *total* overlaps in the reformulation category as an explicative or conclusive RM, mirroring *o sea*, *es decir*, and *en plan*. Holgado-Lage (2017) reports that this informal, oral marker introduces a conclusion, summary, or explanation (2017). She claims *total* is an intermediate-level marker for learners, making it similar to *de todas formas* (‘anyway’), *de todas maneras* (‘anyway’), *digas lo que digas* (‘say what you say’), *en cualquier caso* (‘in any case’), *para bien o para mal* (‘for better or for worse’), *sea como sea* (‘be what it is’), *se mire como se mire* (‘anyway’). Finally, Holgado-Lage notes that *total* is often followed by the word *que* to indicate that the person will continue narrating. This point illustrates its use as a continuing marker at the interactional level of conversation.

Though the RAE does not specify when definitions pertain to a word or phrase’s usage as a DM, it does provide examples illustrating the pragmatic role, most often cited as its adverbial function. For instance, the entry for *total* states that when this expression is used as an adverb, it

means “in conclusion, to summarize, in sum” (RAE, my translation). They offer the following example:

(80) ***Total***, *que lo más prudente será quedarse en casa.*

‘In the end, the most cautious (reasonable) [decision/option] would be to stay at home.’

The RAE does not provide further context for the example above. We can imagine, however, that the speakers using *total* in this context had just been debating whether to stay home. Upon reaching a conclusion (e.g., staying at home instead of going out), the speaker inserts *total* to indicate to the hearer that she has arrived at a decision based on the gathered evidence. Based on this assumption, *total* facilitates the speaker’s capacity to communicate that she has found a resolution, solidifying that the topic does not need to be discussed further.

Generally, most scholars agree that *total* functions primarily as a RM. However, this marker’s level of formality is somewhat contested. Some scholars, such as San Martín Núñez and Guerrero González (2016), claim that *total* is a RM only in terms of oral discourse, even though Castele and Collewaert have shown that native speakers also use it in written, formal contexts.

Although *en plan*, *quiero decir* and *digo* were absent in Briz, Pons, and Portolés’s (2008) *Diccionario de partículas discursivas*, *total* has an entry. According to Briz et al (2008), *total* indicates the speaker will offer a conclusion based on the prior discourse. www.wordreference.com also includes an entry for *total*, stating the meaning is “*resumiendo*” (‘summarizing’). *Total* is named a colloquial phrase via the following translations: ‘in the end,

‘and so’, ‘all in all’, ‘in short’, and ‘to sum up.’ The following example was taken from www.wordreference.com to illustrate a typical use of *total*.

(81) ***Total***, *que al final solo vamos a la fiesta tú y yo.*

‘**In the end**, it turns out only you and I are going to the party.’

In example (81), we can presume the speakers had been discussing who was going to attend the party with them. The speaker inserts *total* upon arriving at a conclusion: only she and the other person were going together. A learner who consults www.wordreference.com can observe how *total* is used in this way to signal a conclusion. However, by only offering one English translation in this example, the understanding of the various ways *total* functions is inhibited. In the example, *total* is translated for the English-speaking learner as ‘in the end.’ The Spanish sentence also has the phrase *al final*, which could also be translated as ‘in the end.’ Another possible translation for *total* in such a circumstance would be ‘it turns out’ or simply ‘turns out.’ Rarely are learners offered a multitude of translations for DMs, making it more difficult for them to understand DMs’ multifunctionality.

As mentioned, few publications detail the use of *total*. Portolés includes *total* as one of the examples in his taxonomy of Spanish DMs. He classifies *total* in the fourth category of RMs, the summarizing function, and groups *total* with *a suma* (‘in sum’), *en conclusión* (‘in conclusion’), *en definitiva* (‘finally’), *en fin* (‘in the end’), *al fin y al cabo* (‘at the end of it all’), *después de todo* (‘all in all’), *en resumidas cuentas* (‘in the end’), *igual* (‘all the same’), etc. (2001:143, my translations). In addition, speakers group *total* with other DMs before introducing a conclusion, such as “*bueno, total*” or *es que* or *al final* (Holgado-Lage 2017).

5.6.2 *Total* in Elicited Dialogues

I am unable to report any functions from the data collected from the Elicited Dialogues since no participants used this marker. Moreover, *total* was one of the RMs that a few (3) native speakers rated as merely somewhat familiar, whereas 100% of the native speakers rated *o sea*, *quiero decir*, and *de todas formas* as highly familiar. Likewise, the native speakers and learners faced difficulty in interpreting the context surround the use of this markers in the DMCT.

On a speculative note, perhaps the native speakers did not use *total* in their dialogic interactions since the setting was a school and therefore more formal. The topic of conversation could have set a more formal or academic tone. Additionally, *total* is a conclusive marker and the speakers in COLAm tended to use it in informal storytelling. The native Granada-Spanish speakers might have felt that *total* was too informal to use in such a context and/or that they were not able to properly sum up the reasoning behind their opinions on guns and violence. This could be because the Spanish participants expressed that they felt distanced from the topic since guns are not readily available in Spain.

Since scholars say that the use of *total* as an adverb is colloquial and informal (Holgado-Lage 2017), it is probable that learners had not been exposed to the discursive function of *total*. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the learners had been exposed to this marker since it is mostly used in oral discourse and not written.

5.7 Learner Results and Strategies

The results show that there were small yet noteworthy differences between the two dialogue sets. In spite of possessing an intermediate to advanced level of Spanish and participating in a

month-long immersion program in Spain, the learners did not use any of the Spanish RMs highlighted in the present study. Rather than insert RMs, the learners relied on alternative strategies to reformulate, some of which native speakers used as well. I end this chapter by presenting the other DMs participants used for the purpose of reformulation (apart from the six highlighted RMs) along with the tactics the participants employed such as metapragmatic commentary, repetition, using a marker in English, or non-lexical markers in lieu of inserting a marker in Spanish.

5.7.1 Metapragmatic Commentary

Instead of inserting RMs, the learners employed several strategies to reformulate, including metapragmatic commentary. Speakers use metapragmatic language to talk about and reflect upon the interaction, thus allowing them to “intervene in ongoing discourse” (Bublitz and Hübler 2007:4). According to Blackwell (2016), metapragmatic expressions serve to monitor, to comment on, or to assess “the appropriateness of one’s own or another speaker’s discourse, expressing a negative or positive attitude toward a portion or aspect of the discourse—a function often subsumed under the broader umbrella term *evaluation*” (Blackwell 2016:619). The learners interjected this type of commentary during their dialogues to communicate to their partners that they could not remember a word—they needed to reformulate to find another way to state their ideas.

The learners in (82) discuss situations in which violence commonly occurs, including a frightful interaction they had with a stranger while in Spain. Speaker B knows her partner cannot remember the word for newspaper in Spanish. She overlaps and signals she understands A,

saying *sí sí* ('yeah yeah'), thereby indicating that there was no need for A to reformulate. In addition, B's speech overlaps with A's when A says she cannot remember the word.

(82) A: *Yo estoy um un poco yo tengo un poco miedo más ahora [que...]*

'I am a little bit I am a little afraid more now [than...']

B: [Sí.]

['Yes.']

A: *Um la primera vez que hablamos.*

'The first time we talked.'

B: *Sí*

'Yes'

A: *Porque*

'Because'

B: @

@

A: *Es, es, un situación real en no es no es algo que lees sobre en el, el, um,*

(TSK) uh @ yo no [puedo recordar la palabra]

'It's it's a real situation in it's not it's not something you read about in the
the um (TSK) uh @ **[I can't remember the word.]**

B: [Sí sí.]

['Yes yes.']

A: [₂Ahora]

['Now.']

B: [₂*Entiendo.*]
 [‘I understand.’]

Learners can benefit from conversational practice with a partner who speaks their L1 because both speakers face similar communication difficulties and need to negotiate meaning by searching for words in their L2. This negotiation of meaning between cooperative conversation partners, which includes metapragmatic commentary, is especially helpful in study abroad contexts, as learners face the challenges of speaking in their L2 and not being able to use their L1. This strategy was especially important here because the participants were not permitted to say a word in English if they did not know how to say the word in Spanish. Notably, however, this strategy can also be observed between native speakers and learners. Kanwit (2014) found that in the case of a reformulation due to a self-initiated repair, the hearer would communicate when he/she understood and no further reformulation was necessary. Additionally, as is exhibited in example (82) with the laugh pulse @, the participants in Kanwit’s study used laughter to create solidarity and soften the misunderstandings.

In the next example of the post-program phase, speaker B has trouble remembering what they talked about during the pre-program recordings. Speaker A assists her partner by assenting with the non-lexical item “mm-hm.”

(83) A: *Ok um yo no recuerdo lo que oh ok ok @.*
 ‘Ok um I don’t remember what oh ok ok @.
 B: @.
 @.

- A: *Yo recuerdo yo recuerdo ahora.*
 ‘I remember I remember now.’
- B: *Ok. ¿cuál pregunta quieres hablar sobre?*
 ‘Ok. What question do you want to talk about?’
- A: *No sé no sé um.*
 ‘I don’t know I don’t know um.’
- B: *Yo creo que hablamos en la [uh]*
 ‘I think we talked in the [uh]’
- A: *[mm hm.]*
 [‘mm hm.’]
- B: *Primera.*
 ‘First’
- A: *Sí*
 ‘Yes’
- B: *Vamos a hablar: @ um ok*
 ‘We are going to talk @ um ok.’

Partner B says “mm hm” to communicate to her partner that she remembers what they discussed the first time. This assurance helps her partner arrive at the right word. It also establishes camaraderie in a conversation where they are both likely nervous to be speaking a second language while being recorded. Interactional participation builds camaraderie among teenagers, especially in vulnerable situations. When a learner would explicitly express that they could not remember something, the other learner would often resort to body language and other non-verbal

cues to help her partner continue. Alternatively, the conversational partner would also laugh, as evidenced in (83) with the laugh pulse @ (Du Bois et al 1993).

Per program expectations, the learners knew they could not resort to English in any situation. In (84) the speaker cannot remember the word for *environment*. She attempts to come up with the Spanish word and her intonation rises, indicating doubt. She follows by saying she does not know the word, so she reformulates the concept of “environment” with the word *sentir*, which she means as a “feeling” to communicate a similar meaning.

- (84) *Um me siento um el mismo segura en España y en los Estados Unidos um pero um...me siento más cómoda con las personas cuando estoy hablando con alguien que um no conozco uh aquí en España. Y um: pienso que um hay un diferente **um um environmento?** Um no sé la palabra pero um um hay un different sentir aquí aquí.*

‘Um I feel um the same safe in Spain and in the United States um but um I feel more comfortable with people when I’m talking with someone, I don’t know uh here in Spain and um I think that um there is a different **um um environmento?** Um I don’t know the word but um um there is a different feeling here here.’

The hearer is also an English-speaker from the U.S.. Therefore, she will most likely understand that her partner was searching for the word “environment” when she uttered the incorrect cognate *environmento*. The participants in this immersion program knew they needed to resort to alternative ways of explaining things when they did not know the word, as illustrated again in (85):

(85) A: *Sí y la televisión [sí sí.]*

‘Yeah and T.V. [yeah yeah].’

B: *[Sí sí] el media es muy otro para armas y sin
armas es y videojuegos.*

[‘Yeah yeah] the media is very other for guns and without
guns it is and videogames.’

A: *Uh yo no sé videojuegos porque muchos videojuegos um tiene armas de
medieval um y con yo no sé la palabra @ en español es uh.*

‘Uh I don’t know videogames because many videogames um have
medieval weapons um and with **I don’t know the word @** in Spanish it is
uh.’

B: *Sí [###]*

‘Yes [###].’

A: *[Sí sí sí tú sé.]*

‘[Yeah yeah yeah you know.]’

B: *Sí yo sé.*

Yeah, I know.

When a learner cannot think of a word, the conversation partner is sometimes able to intuit what that word may be because they both speak the same L1 and can augment the L1 with contextual cues. This advantage lowers the learners’ need to reformulate. In (85), instead of explaining the word, B indicated to A that she knew what she meant, signaling no reformulation was necessary

and A could continue. The interpersonal relationships among interlocutors assist L2 learners since they can indicate understandings or misunderstandings to one another and intuit what one partner means to communicate.

5.7.2 Non-Lexical Items

In both the pre- and post-program dialogues, learners used more non-lexical English markers such as *uh* and *um* than they used lexical DMs (in either Spanish or English). However, in the post-program dialogues, learners used more non-lexical Spanish markers such as *eh* and *em*, as illustrated in (86).

- (86) *...entonces es necesitas hacer diferentes cosas para parar eh reducir disminuir esta violencia porque si estamos hablando sobre hombres locos eh: pienso que el mejor el mejor uh lo mejor para pararlos...pararles son los background checks.*
 ‘...so it’s you need to make different things to stop eh reduce decrease this violence because we are talking about crazy men eh: I think that the best the best uh the best to stop them...stop them are the background checks.’

This learner did not use any non-lexical Spanish markers in the pre-program treatment, so this development is one way in which some learners’ speech became more like that of the native speakers. Furthermore, he reformulated his speech without using RMs. Instead, he offered additional words, attempting step-by-step to more accurately reflect his intentions. For instance, he first says the verb *parar* (‘to stop’), then corrects himself with *eh*, followed by *reducir* (‘reduce’), and then *disminuir* (‘decrease’).

Other times learners realized they could not remember a word, during which they processed, stalled, and ultimately inserted non-lexical English markers. At such points, they either abandoned the idea all together or reformulated, as is the case in (87):

(87) A: *Me siento ahora me siento @ segura porque y- yo sé que ahora es mucho mucho más **um** tienen mucho más cuidado aquí.*

‘I feel now I feel @ safe because I- I know that now it is much much more um they are more careful here.

B: *No tú debes tú debes **uh uh** tú puedes **uh** dec- **uh** hablar si quieres.*

‘No, you shouldn’t you shouldn’t uh uh you can uh sa- uh speak if you want.’

In this example, speaker A cannot come up with an adjective to follow *es mucho más*, perhaps needing the word for “unsafe.” Instead, she inserts *um* and then changes her verb to say *tienen*, most likely because it can combine with *cuidado* to mean “take caution.” Speaker B also has difficulty coming up with a word for “say” or “speak.” At first, she begins to utter *decir* and surrounds this word with *uh*. Then, she changes to *hablar*. The hearer can note here that the speaker has located the word to best communicate her intention as the speaker ceases to insert non-lexical items and points to her conversation partner with *si quieres*.

Finally, some speakers exhibited improvement in their use of the Spanish non-lexical item *eh* by the end of the program, but they still continued to use English non-lexical items, as evidenced in (88):

- (88) *Personas tienen el derecho porque fue necesario para la seguridad porque fue en el frontiro **uh** en la frontera **eh** hubo había muchos muchos peligros y: no fue muy seguro pero ahora en en este día **eh** en el siglo **uh** ven- veintiuno **eh** para mí no no necesitas una arma.*

‘People have the right because it was necessary for security because it was on the border **uh** on the border **eh** there were there were many many dangers and: it wasn’t very safe but now on on this day **eh** in the two- twentieth century **eh** in my opinion you don’t need a gun.’

The speaker in (88) enacts many self-corrections. First, he mistakenly says *frontiro* instead of *frontera* and inserts *uh* in between the two. Afterward, he corrects that error, continuing to monitor his verb tenses. While modifying his speech, he uses *eh*. In this case, *eh* also functions as a hedge, especially in the last instance when he uses *eh* to preface his opinion on this controversial topic.

5.7.3 Repetition

While repetition was more prevalent in the learners’ discourse, speakers from both groups used this strategy for planning the upcoming discourse. In (89) a learner repeats her verbs to buy time to formulate a new idea. Similarly, in (90) a native speaker uses this strategy, but repeats a more complex phrase while struggling to come up with a solution to complete her sentence.

- (89) *Um yo creo que yo creo que **está está** en el constitución pero es es interesante porque **hay hay hay** una punta donde está demasiado y yo creo que debe haber más seguridad um.*

‘Um I think that I think that **it’s it’s** in the constitution but it’s it’s interesting because **there are there are there are** a point where it is too much, and I think that there should be more security um.’

- (90) *Claro. por eso el tener un arma ya me creo mucho más riesgo a a que, a que te pase algo y luego yo sinceramente creo que **el poseer armas eh: debe el poseer armas debe de ser mm: algo como muy exigente y que no todo el mundo una persona cualquiera la pueda tener.***

‘Of course. That’s why having a gun I personally believe there is much more risk that, that something would happen to you and then honestly I think uh: **that owning a gun uh should be owning a gun should** be mm: something like very strict and that not everyone a persona any can have.’

It is worth mentioning that Stenström (2014) contends that stalling, including the repetition of words as exhibited in (89) and (90), accompanies hedging and also allows the speaker to plan the upcoming discourse.

5.7.4 Discourse Markers in English

The English RM *like* often accompanies repetition and can indicate that the speaker is searching for the right words. *Like* signals a need for time to formulate the next utterance.

D'Arcy (2007:395) acknowledges that *like* carries out “important and palpable social functions in face-to-face interactions.” The context of the Elicited Dialogue and the sensitive topic they were asked to debate may have led learners to incorporate more DMs to hedge for the same reasons that native speakers did.

In (91) speaker A inserts many English DMs even though these speakers used fewer English markers in the pre-program dialogues. Once A starts to use English markers, such as *how about*, *like*, and *so*, B follows suit, using *well* and *like*. The debate topic was certainly highly emotive, but given these participants’ personal experiences regarding a lack of safety in Spain, the need to hedge became more pressing. B uses *like* after a truncated s-, which most likely was the word “situations” or “scenarios.” Instead of uttering the s- word in English, the speaker inserts *like* and uses a similar word in Spanish, *incidentes*, so as to remain in the target language.

(91) A: *Sí o no ¿cómo? ¿sobre qué? um oh **how about** ¿te sientes segura aquí en España? ¿Por qué? en **like** en comparación **so** ¿Qué piensas?*

‘Yes or no how? About what? Um oh how about do you feel safe here in Spain? Why? In like in comparison **so** what do you think?’

B: *Um **well** yo siento segura en España pero um no uh tan segura **like** como en el principio porque había um s- **like** [incidentes].*

‘Um well I feel safe in Spain but um not uh as safe like as in the beginning because there was um s-like [incidents].’

A: [###]

[###]

B: ***Like** hay **um** un incidente **uh**...cuando una chica, un, un mujer **uh** tenía un arma y **um** y **like** es **um** estaba cerca de un grupo de chicas de este programa. Y **um** también **like** el situación ayer...cuando **um** hay **um** un hom- había un hombre **like** muy loca que **um** que dijo que **like** que: uh tení- tenía un bomba y por eso **like** no pienso que **like um** alguna paí- **um** alguna lugar es **like um** completamente segura. Pero **like** yo pienso que **um like**, yo siento más seguro todavía en España de en los Estados Unidos.*

‘**Like** there is **um** an incident **uh**...when a girl, a, a woman **uh** had a weapon and **um** and **like** it’s um she was near a group of girls from this program and **um** also **like** the situation yesterday when **um** there is **um** a ma- there was a man like very crazy that **um** that said that **like** that **uh** he ha- he had a bomb and that’s why **like** I don’t think that **like um** some coun- um some place is **like** um completely safe but like I think that **um like** I feel safer still in Spain than in the United States.’

Example (91) is from the post-program data. In the pre-program dialogue, speaker B did not use *like* at all, while speaker A used it 15 times. However, in the post-program dialogue, each of them used *like* over 35 times, befitting the circumstance because they were recounting frightening personal experiences their classmates had endured, all of which triggered the use of

more English DMs. Since these learners lacked discursive devices in their L2, they inserted *like* from their L1 to compensate for their discomfort. In addition, the speaker in (91) inserted *like* after speaker A had first done so. To D'Arcy (2007:395), such uses of *like* operate at the interpersonal level by generating "a sense of sharing and intimacy between interlocutors." The *priming effect* may explain how the frequent use of *like* by one member of this dialogue pair promoted subsequent and repeated use of *like* by her partner. Along those lines, Gries (2005) investigates types of syntactic constructions more susceptible to priming. He explains that the *priming effect* refers to when speakers are more likely to use an expression if it has already been uttered. Gries's study focuses on which verbs are most responsive to priming. Thus far, however, the *priming effect* has rarely been studied in the context of DMs, with the exception of Schweinberger (2015:170) who claims that "it appears very plausible that priming is relevant in the context of both the study of discourse markers and the study of ongoing language change." Specifically, he was looking at the *priming effect* as it occurs with the DM *like*. He found that the use of *like* was significantly affected by priming.

Several learners seemed to use *like* in the way that native Spanish speakers use *o sea*: for the explicative, corrective, and conclusion reformulation sub-functions. In example (92) the learner could have used Spanish RMs, but chose to use *like* instead.

- (92) *Y...en otros países como España y en Europa no hay, **like** hay problemas con armas pero no de **like** (TSK) bastante or no bastante no de, del, efecto de los Estados Unidos.*

‘And...in other countries like Spain and in Europe there aren’t *like*... there are problems with guns but no of *like* (TSK) rather or not so much not to to the effect of the United States.’

Following *like*, the speaker retracts her first statement and self-corrects, which makes clear that she does not equate Europe’s problems with gun violence with the problems in the United States.

In (93) the speaker corrects an exaggeration, heatedly saying a 10-year old can buy a gun. She quickly backpeddles, specifying perhaps someone a little older, maybe a 13-year old.

(93) A: *Mm hm también es interesante que en los Estados Unidos no podemos comprar un Kinder un Kinder egg.*

‘Mm hm also its interesting that in the United States we can’t buy a Kinder a Kinder egg.’

B: @ [sí]

@ [yeah]

A: *[Un huevo] de Kinder pero un niño de diez *like* trece años puede, puede comprar una arma.*

[‘A Kinder egg] but a 10-year-old kid like a 13 year-old can, can buy a gun.’

This instance of *like* demonstrates the approximate function, which Spanish speakers perform with *en plan* and *o sea*. The speaker can approximate the quantity of something of which the

person is unsure. Both Rodríguez Lage (2015) and Stenström (2014) recognize this approximator function as it relates to hedging since it helps avoid fully committing to an assertion.

The marker *be like* has a quotative use in a similar way that *en plan* does in Spanish. In the next example, the speaker reports speech and inserts *es like*. In (94), the learner uses *like* as a quotative marker, an approximator, and as a hedge. The first instance of *like* is considered an approximator because the phrase *es like* would be equivalent to the approximator *be like* in English used to quote. We also know *like* is being used in this manner since it follows the Spanish phrase *dijo que* ('he said that') used to report speech.

(94) A: *Mm hm. Pero alguien nos dijo que es **like** no es muy común que hay un incidente con vio- violencia.*

'Mm hm but someone told us that it's **like** it's not very common for there to be an incidente with vio- violence.'

B: *Mm hm.*

'Mm hm.'

A: *En España **like** los incidentes que pasó esta semana...**like** no ahora.*

'In Spain **like** the incidents that happened this week...**like** not now.'

The first two instances in (94) of *like* exemplify hedges, allowing the speaker to stall to come up with the right words. The last instance, however, is as an explicative DM. This speaker is trying to clarify that what happened that week does not represent a general feeling of safety or violence in Spain.

In (95) the speaker used *like* as an explicative RM. She reformulated *no conozco la gente aquí* ('I don't know the people here') with *todas las personas son um desconocidos* ('all the people are strangers').

- (95) *Sí y aquí en Granada yo sé que es un una ciudad muy seguro y um cuando yo salgo de del colegio yo sento muy seguro pero pienso que si yo um: yo si yo viviera aquí yo tendría más seguridad o me sentiría más seguro porque no conozco la área muy bien entonces pienso que me siento seguro en mi ciudad porque conozco muy bien y conozco la gente. Y aquí tengo un poco más miedo porque no conozco la gente aquí y no conozco **like** todas las personas son um desconocidos cuando estoy caminando por la ciudad.*

'Yes and here in Granada I know that it's a very safe city and um when I leave the school I feel very safe but I think that if I um: I if I lived here I would have more security or I would feel safer because I don't know the area very well. So I think that I feel safe in my city because I know it very well and I know the people. And here I am a little more scared because I don't know the people here and I don't know **like** all the people are um unknown when I'm walking in the city.'

In other instances, the learners did not reformulate at all. They struggle to come up with a word, but instead of reformulating, they question if they were using the right word, as evidenced in (96). Their rise in intonation indicates their discomfort with this uncertainty.

(96) *Porque mi mejor amiga fue, like um (TSK) muy [involvido?]*

‘Because my best friend was, like um (TSK) very involved?’

In these examples, the speaker abandons altogether the goal of communicating the idea in Spanish, opting instead to use English to construct the word. In (96) the speaker could not come up with the word for ‘involved’ so she attempted to guess the word in Spanish while unsure of her conjecture.

In the next example the speaker wanted to say the word “population,” but could not come up with the word in Spanish:

(97) *Mm hm pero like uh creo que like like en comparación en like violencia por po-like popules es like es más grande en los Estados Unidos como like Alejandro dijo o no me siento más seguro aquí que muchas muchos lugares en los Estados Unidos.*

‘Mm hm but like uh I think that like like in comparison with like violence by po-like popules it’s like it is bigger in the United States as like Alejandro said or I don’t feel safer here than many many places in the United States.’

With her first use of *like*, the speaker in (97) hedges as she tries to construct a word. When she realizes her word is most likely not the Spanish one, she inserts *like* and reformulates to say ‘it is bigger’ since she cannot remember the word for population.

In (98), the speaker started to say the entire name for the acronym NRA in Spanish. However, instead of continuing to attempt to describe it, possibly because this organization does not exist in Spain, she simply said NRA with an English pronunciation of the letters:

(98) *Yo, yo creo que **like** la problema...**like** la problema con armas ahora sea un **like** debate de dinero porque las, **like** empresas grandes **like uh:** la asocia- **like** NRA **um like** paró **uh like um @ like um** no permitió gente a coger **uh** información sobre **um yeah, ok.***

‘I, I think that like the problem...**like** the problem with guns now is a **like** debate about money because the, **like** big companies **like uh:** the associa- **like** NRA **um like** stopped **uh like um @ like um** it didn’t let people get **uh** information about **um yeah, ok.**’

If her conversation partner had not been from the United States, she may not have understood what the other speaker was referring to with the use of that acronym.

One learner used the English DM *actually* as a corrective RM. In (99), the speaker was responding to the question of whether violence is related to access to guns. She starts off by saying it is slightly related, but then she changes her stance. She uses *mm* to hedge her stance, and then she inserts *actually* before saying she does not think they are related.

(99) *Um um pienso que un poco de la vio- **actually mm** no pienso que la viol- violencia um está relacionada con los armas porque um es más normal en los Estados Unidos um para tener armas y um tener en su casa es más normal y um*

puede hacer más problemas um um y sí tre- creo que um si um hay menos armas um um habría menos um crimen crimen? um porque um la um que está normal um puede cambiar.

‘Um um I think that a little bit of the vio- **actually mm** I don’t think that violence is related to guns because um it’s more normal in the United States um to have guns and um have in your house it’s more normal and um you can have more problems um um and yes tre- I think that um if um there were few guns um um there would be less crime crime? Um because um the um that it’s normal um it can change.’

The number of English markers was surprising since the learners did not otherwise incorporate any English words while speaking Spanish. It is possible that they were not aware they used so many English words.

5.7.5 Other Spanish Discourse Markers

Lastly, I present an example with some of the Spanish markers the learners used in their utterances. In the pre-program stage, there were 14 cases of *entonces* (‘so’), 5 of *por eso* (‘that’s why’), 5 of *pues* (‘well’), and 3 of *bueno* (‘well’). In the post-program stage, there were 12 cases of *entonces*, 0 of *bueno*, 5 of *pues*, and 10 of *por eso*. Yet, in comparison to the native speakers, these numbers are minute. The following is an example of a learner’s speech that incorporated both *entonces* and *bueno*.

- (100) *Pienso que: uh **entonces** primero um pienso que la ley en la uh constitución no: uh no está muy claro para todos. Y um si uh la gente puede uh comprarlos uh las los arm- las armas y um pero también um pienso que mucho de la vio- violencia es- está relac- relacionada con lo- las armas. **Entonces** uh pienso que uh uh pienso que necesitará um los cheques de su um su em **bueno** la- necesitará um hay a ver a los cheques de su:*

‘I think that uh **so** first um I think that the law in the uh constitution no uh it’s not very clear for everyone and um if uh people can uh buy them uh the the gun the guns and um but also um I think that much of the violence is is related to guns **so** uh I think that uh uh I think that it would need um checks of own’s um own’s em **well** th- it would need um you would have to look at checks of own’s...’

First, the speaker uses *entonces* to hedge, but this marker is not a typical hedging DM; it is most often a consecutive marker (Portolés 2001). In the final part of the utterance, the speaker tries, but fails, to come up with the word for background. During this processing, he inserts non-lexical markers along with *bueno*.

Overall, the learners did not use many Spanish DMs in their conversations, even at the end of the immersion program. In fact, some of them used more English markers in the post-program recordings. The learners had to complete many placement tests at the end of the program; it is possible that the combination of physical exhaustion (there was no air conditioning and every day reached over 100 degrees Fahrenheit at the time of the post-program recordings) and stress affected their performance in their L2.

5.8 Discussion

5.8.1 Textbook Analysis

I carried out a brief textbook analysis to gain insight into how learners are exposed to DMs. I looked for the representation of this study's six highlighted RMs in four college-level intermediate Spanish textbooks: *Anda*, *Dos mundos*, *Imagina*, and *Portales*. The following table shows the few markers that these textbooks feature.

Table 38. Reformulation Markers included in Textbooks

	<i>Anda</i>	<i>Dos mundos</i>	<i>Imagina</i>	<i>Portales</i>
Reformulation markers	• <i>o sea</i> • <i>(Lo que) quiero decir</i>	• <i>o sea</i> • <i> digo</i>	N/A	N/A

In the textbook *Dos mundos*, *o sea* is translated as ‘that is,’ but that entry includes no explanation. In the same textbook, the RM *digo* is presented as ‘I mean.’ Only in one textbook, *Anda*, was there an explanation of discursive devices. Titled *estrategias comunicativas* (‘communicative strategies’), the introduction to DMs states the following (*Anda*: 372):

When speaking you will occasionally need to clarify or elaborate what you are saying. Perhaps your listener(s) did not understand you; perhaps you felt you did not express yourself exactly as you wished, or perhaps you do not know the exact words or way to express what you want to say. Finding another way to say what you mean is known as *circumlocution* and is a technique and skill that is important when communicating. Use the following expressions to begin your clarification, elaboration, or restatement.

Es decir... That is to say...

O sea... That is...

(Lo que) quiero decir... What I mean...

Es que... It's that... The fact is that...

En otras palabras... in other words...

With the exception of *o sea* and *quiero decir*, and *digo*, none of the other 6 markers were included in the textbooks *Anda*, *Dos mundos*, *Imagina*, and *Portales*. The presentation of *quiero decir* prefaced with *lo que* ('what') shows the variability of this marker. The fact that exposure to these markers happen so seldomly in classroom settings may be one reason why the learners did not integrate these markers, or many at all, into their utterances.

5.8.2 Conclusions

The native speaker results provide evidence of discourse-pragmatic changes in the Granada teenagers' use of RMs, particularly in their increased use of *o sea* and *de todas formas*. Additionally, the data presents the first insight into teenagers' use of *en plan* outside of Madrid. That said, the data suggests the need to further investigate how reformulation is expressed by adolescent speakers of L1 and L2 Spanish, as well as by speakers of other age groups and social and geographical varieties of Spanish, as well as other languages. An analysis of a larger corpus of dialogical discourse would also shed more light on the effects of discursive factors, such as discourse topic and priming, in the general use of RMs and DMs.

If the environment in which the Elicited Dialogues occurred had been less controlled, perhaps more DMs would have appeared in the data. For example, if the participants could have taken the devices and recorded themselves on their own, they would have possibly used more DMs in their speech.

The learners' lack of DMs in their dialogues, even after a short-term immersion program, is most likely due to a lack of exposure or focus on such forms before or during the study abroad. I therefore posit that L2 teaching resources should incorporate more authentic native speaker

discourse, particularly adolescent speech, to illustrate important discourse features and strategies of native speakers, such as the use of DMs for reformulation. Hellerman and Vergun (2007:177) support my findings, arguing that “[l]anguage samples from everyday conversation between fluent speakers of the target language should be used to highlight [discourse markers’] appropriate use and to show why they do not occur in some registers and why they may not occur in the students’ language textbooks.” Greater exposure to real-life conversational interaction could facilitate L2 acquisition of these discourse elements, which native speakers use successfully in everyday conversation.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Research Questions

The research questions for this study aimed to contribute to a better understanding of the manner in which adolescent native speakers and L2 learners recognize a select group of six common RMs in Spanish, use these RMs in conversation, and understand contexts in which these RMS are commonly used. The first research question asked which of the six RMs—*de todas formas*, *en plan*, *digo*, *quiero decir*, *o sea* and *total*—the adolescent native Granada-Spanish speakers and L2 learners of Spanish would choose to insert into written dialogues from which RMs had been omitted.

The results for the DMCT showed that, on average, 78.5% of the native speakers deemed the same two markers acceptable for each written dialogue. These written dialogues were transcripts of conversations from the COLAm, and it is noteworthy that only 56% of the native speakers in my study chose the original marker from the COLAm for all six excerpts. Instead, a majority of the native speakers found the original RM, as well as an additional (similar) RM, acceptable for each context. These results suggest that the native speakers perceived the contexts in which each pair of RMs was used as somewhat similar. For instance, in the context for which they selected *o sea*, they also selected *en plan* (and vice versa). The same held true for *quiero decir* and *digo*, and for *total* and *de todas formas*. It is worth noting that the last pair of markers, *total* and *de todas formas*, showed the least amount of agreement among the native speakers' selections. The difference in agreement with this pair in comparison to that of *o sea* and *en plan* as well as

quiero decir and *digo* is likely due to the fact that *de todas formas* and *total* are the least similar. Though both of these markers are used to conclude, *de todas formas* is also used to distance, but *total* is not. By contrast, *quiero decir* and *digo* are documented as having the same functions with merely a slight difference in register, as Holgado-Lage (2017) claims that *quiero decir* is more formal than *digo*. The addition of a statement of ability/desire provides a certain amount of mitigation, which lends formality. In the same vein, *o sea* and *en plan* exhibit all of the same functions with one exception: speakers generally do not use *o sea* as a quotative marker while they do use *en plan* for this function (Stenström 2014). I contend that if the native speakers had received additional contexts in which these markers were used to highlight some of the subtle differences (such as the quotative use for *en plan*), the majority of them may have preferred one marker for each dialogue instead of two.

The Discourse Marker Completion Test has a limitation: written transcriptions of spoken dialogues may not provide the reader with enough contextual information in order to determine the marker originally used in the conversation, especially since many of the markers possess similar functions. Because of the spontaneous manner in which the COLAm data was collected in comparison to the present study, (i.e., the teenagers carried recorders with them and captured conversations with their peers), the conversations in the Madrid corpus are more naturally occurring than are conversations in the controlled setting of the present study. Therefore, it may have been more difficult for the participants in the present study to interpret the full meaning in these dialogues by merely reading written transcripts. For future studies of this nature, I would recommend providing the participants with the audio files to accompany the written transcriptions of the dialogues, if available.

The learners' responses on the DMCT deviated greatly from those of the native speakers. While I determined that the native speakers could have benefited from more contextual information for each dialogue, this change would be even more impactful for the learner group. Even a comparison of the pre-test to the post-test results showed no significant changes in their ability to choose native-like responses. In some cases, nonetheless, a few RM selections more closely reflected native speaker responses by the end of the program. In spite of not rendering significant results, it is noteworthy that in three of the excerpts, one of the learner preferences was also one of the native speaker preferences. For instance, in Excerpt 1, one learner preference was *en plan*, for Excerpt 3, one learner preference was *quiero decir*, and for Excerpt 6, one learner preference was *total*, which were all native speaker preferences as well.

A second limitation is that a one-month stay may be too short to measure change in the learners' ability to determine which RM would best suit written dialogues. For future studies, I suggest giving the participants a discourse completion task (DCT) in which the participants could create their own example(s) to illustrate how each marker is used in conversation. The native speakers could judge learner responses to determine if they sound native-like. Inspired by Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei's (1998) study in which they tested if learners were able to recognize pragmatic violations after a month abroad, my proposal would be to have future participants create their own contexts in which each RM is used. Then, both the native speakers and learners could judge these examples with the goal of recognizing pragmatic violations.

The second research question dealt with how the native speakers and L2 learners rated their familiarity with the RMs: "very," "rather," "somewhat," or "not" familiar. The native speakers were "very" familiar with only three of the markers: *o sea*, *quiero decir*, and *de todas formas*. I expected the native speakers to rate all of the markers as "very" familiar, but the results from the

survey and the anecdote about the use of *digo* show that *digo* is less familiar to younger speakers as a DM. While a substantial number of native speakers (9) did not rate *digo* as “very” familiar, only 3 speakers did not rate *total* as “very” familiar and 2 did not rate *en plan* as “very” familiar.

The learners, on the other hand, rated *quiero decir* as the most familiar. This finding is expected given its closer connection to the conceptual meaning ‘I want to say’ than the marker *o sea* , which the learners rated as less familiar (Fernández Bernárdez 2000, Schwenter 1996). The learners made the most gains in familiarity with the marker *en plan* . This result could be attributed to the fact that *en plan* belongs exclusively to Peninsular Spanish, and the learners may not have had exposure to it before studying abroad in Spain.

Considering that the learners in the present study made gains in their familiarity with this group of RMs (according to their own reflections), it appears that, in general, the learners have an emerging knowledge of these RMs in spite of the fact that they did not use any of the markers in the Elicited Dialogues (see below). These results can be explained by examining the observations of Hernández and Rodríguez-González (2013) in their study of students’ recognition of DMs at differing stages of acquisition. With regard to RMs, the learners in their study were most familiar with *es decir* and least familiar with *o sea* . These authors note that in the initial stages of DM acquisition, the learners search for a correlation between a DM’s meaning and the translation in L1, which may explain why the learners in the present study were most familiar with the marker *quiero decir* and least familiar with *o sea* . Nonetheless, the learners made the most gains in familiar with two markers that have a cognate in English: *en plan* and *de todas formas* .

The fact that some of the learners used 3 of the markers in a more native-like manner on the DMCT and made gains in familiarity ranging from 5 to 12 per level of familiarity for five of the

six markers shows that the learners grew increasingly aware of these RMs by the end of their study abroad immersion program. I recorded only one gain in familiarity for *quiero decir*; however, most of the learners rated this marker as highly familiar at the start of the program. In any case, since many of the learners did not respond to the DMCT dialogues in a more native-like manner and remained at the same level of familiarity in the Familiarity Survey, I concluded that learner understanding and recognition of these RMs can develop while studying abroad, but slowly. In addition, knowing that the learners started at slightly different proficiency levels and their willingness to speak and be exposed to only the target language most likely differed, not all the learners progressed in their abilities to understand and recognize the contexts that surround these RMs.

The last research question pertained to the frequency at which and for what functions the participants incorporate these RMs into their dialogues when conversing with a peer. Surprisingly, the native speakers only used three of the six RMs found in the COLAm. They used *o sea*, *en plan*, and *de todas formas* mainly for reformulation but also to hedge. However, they did not use *en plan* for one of the well-documented, stereotypically “teenage” uses of this marker, the quotative function. Although the native speakers did not use *digo*, *quiero decir*, or *total*, one speaker used the phrase *ya te digo* (‘I’m telling you’) for emphasis. The other most common markers found in the teenagers’ dialogues were *pues* (‘well’), *entonces* (‘so’), *es que* (‘the thing is’), *bueno* (‘well’), *claro* (‘of course’), and *a ver* (‘well’).

The learners did not use any of the highlighted RMs in this study. In fact, they used few lexical Spanish DMs overall. By the end of the program, the learners inserted more English markers into their dialogues than they had at the pre-program stage. Some of the most common English markers they used were *like*, *so*, *actually*, and the non-lexical items *uh* and *um*. The

manner in which the learners used *like* mimicked the way native speakers use *o sea* to reformulate and hedge. Thus, I postulate that if the learners had more Spanish RMs in their lexicon, they would likely benefit from using these markers to reformulate as their use of English RMs showed their need for this conversational tool. Although overall there were few advances in speaking more native-like, a few learners exhibited an increase in the number of Spanish non-lexical items in their speech by the end of the program. There were 15 occurrences of *eh* and *em* as opposed to *um* and *uh* in the pre-program stage. By the post-program stage, there were 38 occurrences of *eh* and *em*. There was also a slight increase (700-word increase) in the word count from pre-program to post-program. This finding suggests that the learners are making progress in their overall language skills but not yet with their use of RMs.

6.2 Summary of Results

The following tables summarize the results for each of the three experimental tasks. The first table shows how often the native speakers chose the same markers for each of the dialogues on the DMCT. The first, bolded marker is the one originally used in the COLAm.

Table 39. Percentages of agreement in the DMCT responses

	Excerpt 1 <i>o sea</i> or <i>en plan</i>	Excerpt 2 <i>quiero</i> <i>decir</i> or <i>digo</i>	Excerpt 3 <i>digo</i> or <i>quiero</i> <i>decir</i>	Excerpt 4 <i>total</i> or <i>de todas</i> <i>formas</i>	Excerpt 5 <i>en plan</i> or <i>o sea</i>	Excerpt 6 <i>de todas formas</i> or <i>total</i>
Native Speakers	87.5%	92.5%	62.5%	62.5%	87.5%	75%
Learners Pre-Program	30.4%	8.7%	8.7%	4.3%	4.3%	8.7%
Learners Post-Program	39.1%	8.7%	8.7%	8.7%	4.3%	13%

The bolded percentages represent the dialogues in which the learners' responses were slightly more native-like by the end of the program.

Table (40) compares the percentage at which the native speakers and learners rated each marker as very familiar on the Familiarity Survey.

Table 40. Percentages of “very familiar” Responses

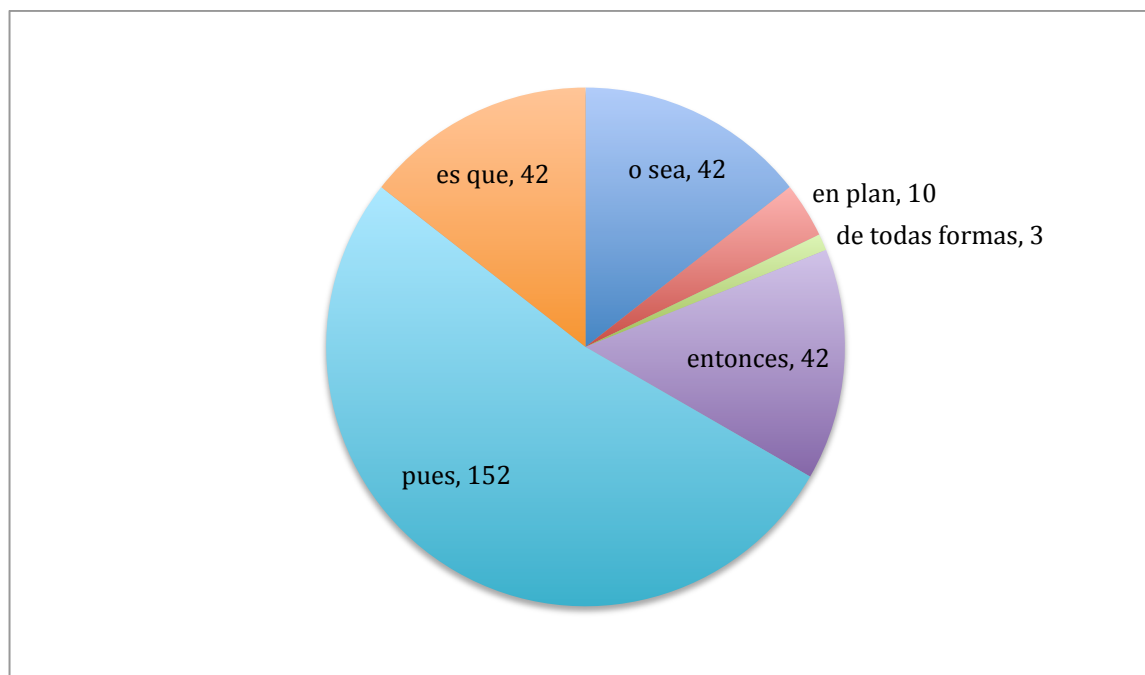
	<i>o sea</i>	<i>en plan</i>	<i>de todas formas</i>	<i>quiero decir</i>	<i>digo</i>	<i>total</i>
Native speakers	100%	91.6%	100%	100%	63%	87.5%
Learners Pre-Program	8.7%	0%	4.3%	79.2%	39.1%	34.8%
Learners Post-Program	8.7%	8.7%	21.7%	87%	56.5%	39.1%

As evidenced by the data, the learners gained familiarity with almost every marker, with the exception of *o sea*. What is more, although it does not appear from this table that the learners gained significant familiarity with the marker *en plan*, over 60% of them reported that they were “not familiar” with this marker at the beginning of the program; by the end, only 26% of the learners were “not familiar” with *en plan*. The other learners indicated an increase in familiarity, with the majority of the learners (52%) marking *en plan* as “rather familiar.” Overall, the learners gained the most familiarity with *en plan*, followed by *de todas formas*. The learners increased in familiarity the least with the marker *quiero decir*.

Figure (11) indicates the RMs the native speakers used in the Elicited Dialogues. It includes the six RMs highlighted in this study and compares the use of those markers to the three other

most commonly used DMs uttered in the Elicited Dialogues. The numbers beside the markers represent the total number of times each of these markers was used.

Figure 11. The most common RMs and other DMs produced by native speakers



As the figure above illustrates, the use of the RMs *en plan* and *de todas formas* was minimal in comparison to *pues*, *es que*, and *entonces*. The native speakers' use of *o sea* was comparable to *es que* and *entonces*. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that the native speakers' use of *en plan* was equal to the Madrid speakers' use of *en plan* in the COLAm, .9 times per 1000 words. In addition, the incidence of *de todas formas* in the present study was more than that of the COLAm, but this result is skewed as it was only used by one speaker. Interestingly, the representation for *o sea* was also higher than it was in the COLAm, contrary to what Holgado-Lage (2017) found. Holgado-Lage claims that *o sea* is used less of late, but the present study's

results refute that claim. *O sea* was used 3.14 times per 1000 words while in the COLAm it was less at 2.71 times per 1000 words.

The next two figures indicate the most common Spanish DMs used by learners in Elicited Dialogues, pre-program and post-program.

Figure 12. The most common DMs produced by the learners (Pre-program)

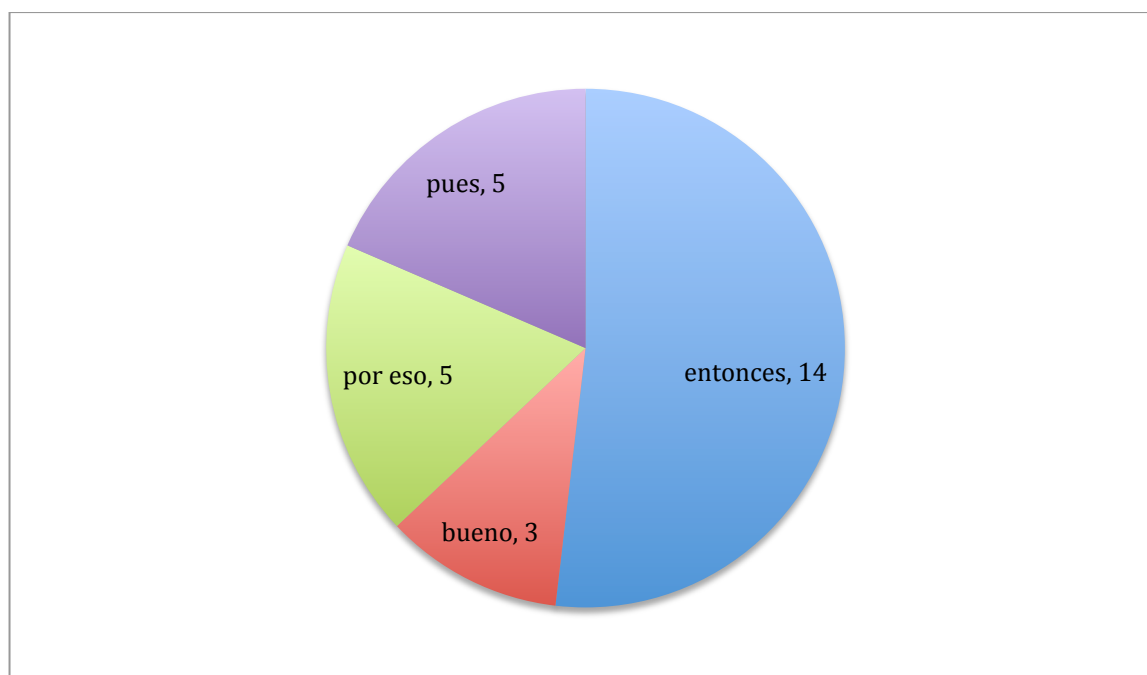
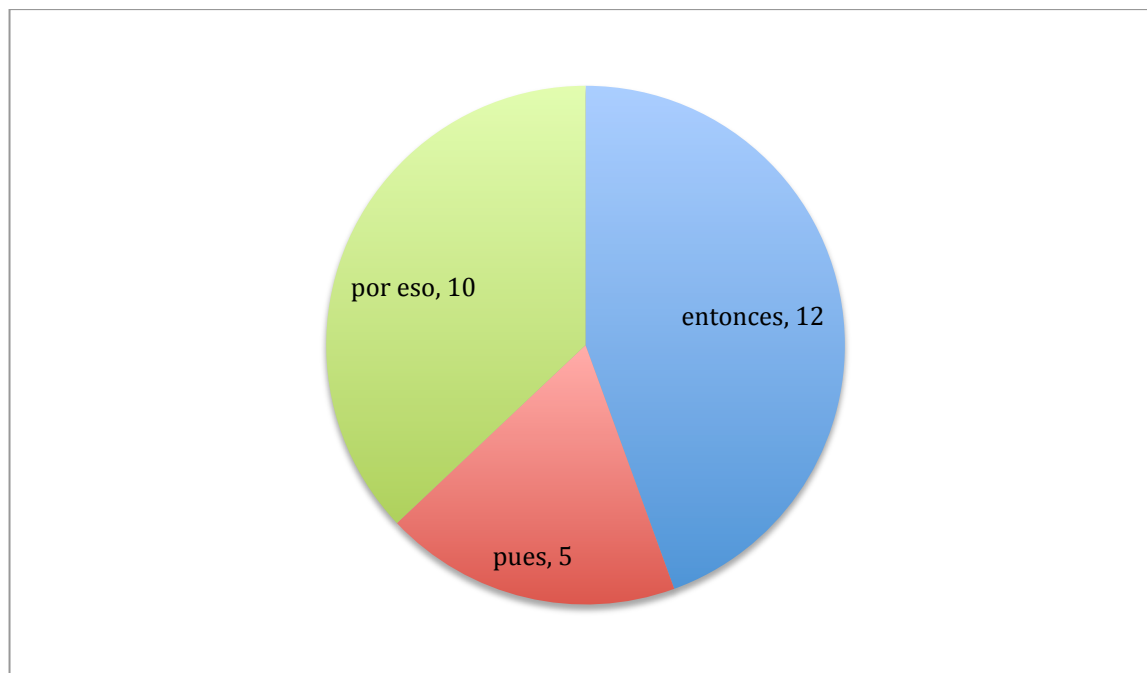


Figure 13. The most common DMs produced by the learners (Post-program)



The learners used fewer lexical Spanish DMs (i.e., discounting *eh* and *em*) and more English lexical DMs in their dialogues in the post-program phase than they had at the pre-program phase. Both the native speakers and the learners used *pues* and *entonces* but the numbers for the learners is small in comparison to that of the native speakers. It is worth noting that ten learners used zero Spanish DMs in both the pre-program and post-program phase. In other words, only 14 of the 24 learners incorporated Spanish DMs into their speech at either phase (some students incorporated multiple DMs into one elicited conversation). Thus, the frequency at which the learners used DMs differs greatly from native speaker tendencies.

6.3 Potential Task Effects

The format of each of the tasks inevitably affected how the participants responded. For the DMCT, the cloze-test dialogues were written transcriptions of spoken discourse. Erman (1999) compared adult speech to adolescent speech and showed that adolescent speech tends to be

produced in chunks or incomplete ideas. The DMCT transcribed dialogues underscore this finding. Most of the lines are incomplete thoughts, which require the reader to understand prior inferences uttered in a previous discourse segment or otherwise already known among the interlocutors. In fact, in Erman's study, the adolescent speakers rarely signaled that they were at a loss of words or needed more time to plan their upcoming utterance. As a result, Erman concluded that adolescent speakers "tend to produce stream of continuous talk which comes out in fluent chunks involving only a minimum of hesitation and repair-work" (1999:1353). The stream of continuous talk represented in the DMCT dialogues could have contributed to the difficulty all the participants had in deciding which RMs would fit each context. To counteract this effect, future studies might present the dialogues with the RM included in the context and ask the participants to explain how they believed each marker was used. I would then also ask the participants if any additional RMs would work in that particular context. I would include more contextual information such as a short blurb to introduce each dialogue and let the participants hear the audio file for each one. My goal in this study was to measure the participants' understanding of the contexts surrounding the use of each RM, but I have concluded that providing them with this additional information and a different format (i.e., with the RM included) would better measure this skill in future studies.

For the Familiarity Survey, I also contend that providing more contextual information to surround the highlighted expressions could produce a more accurate portrayal of the participants' familiarity with these markers. The Familiarity Scale adapted from Hernández and Rodríguez-González (2013) and Wesche and Paribakht (1996) was a useful tool in order to have the participants self-evaluate their knowledge. However, since most, if not all, DMs also have a non-DM counterpart (often as adverbial), asking the participants if they were familiar with these

expressions may not necessarily measure whether they were familiar with the discursive functions of these phrases. Furthermore, it may have been difficult for the participants to conceptualize how these phrases fit into spoken discourse without an example of how they are used. To offset these limitations, Hernández and Rodríguez-González (2013) provided formal instruction and/or input flood (written input containing the target forms) on all of the DMs and compared the results of these groups with a control group to determine if either of these methods had an impact on the participants' use of familiar DMs and new DMs. They found that the group that received explicit instruction used new DMs more efficiently in the post-test than the group that just received the input flood. The control group did not use any new DMs. In the present study, I predicted that being abroad and being immersed with other native Spanish-speaking teenagers would provide the learners with ample input to significantly increase their recognition of these markers. However, this input came in the form of spoken discourse. Therefore, evaluating familiarity with the RMs in written form could have yielded inaccurate self-reflections of understanding and use of these markers. Even native speakers who are accustomed to using these markers in dialogues may not see them often in written form. Future studies might provide additional contextual information to illustrate the use of these markers either by accompanying written dialogues with audio files or videos. Student's reports of familiarity with RMs presented in such contexts may yield more accurate results.

The topic chosen for the Elicited Dialogues—namely, comparing gun violence and safety in the United States with Spain—was intended to trigger more vernacular forms, such as DMs, since topics of high-emotional involvement can have this effect for adolescent speakers. In addition, this task occurred after the participants had already been exposed to the selected RMs in the previous two tasks, which could have resulted in priming. The results indicate, however,

that priming did not necessarily occur as the native speakers only used 3 of the 6 markers and the learners used none. Nonetheless, the topic chosen did affect the participants' utterances. For instance, the native speakers' assertions conveyed expressions of concern that the information they had received was often from second-hand sources. Therefore, they may have felt more removed from the topic, which may have limited their use of DMs in general. The learners, on the other hand, were much more knowledgeable regarding the conversation topic and they discussed personal experiences and reactions. After the study, some of the native speakers recommended that the topic of debate be something more relevant for people in Spain, such as immigration. While familiarity with the topic was an advantage for the learners, they struggled to come up with terminology in the dialogues. Therefore, I am confident that the learners could have benefited by having a list of vocabulary words about the topic. In addition, I find it would be beneficial to have the native speakers and the learners mimic the method of recording conversations used in the COLAm. In other words, instead of participating in an Elicited Conversation in an unnatural setting, they could take the recording devices on their own with their friends and capture more natural, spontaneous conversations. Such an approach may allow the researcher to observe speakers' use of DMs at a higher frequency than is possible in a controlled setting.

6.4 Discussion of how the Results Relate to the Hypotheses

I hypothesized that in the DMCT, the native speakers would choose the same RMs originally uttered in the COLAm. A majority of the native speakers did choose those markers, but their responses also showed a preference for one additional, similar marker for each dialogue. For instance, in the context in which most native speakers preferred *o sea*, several others selected *en*

plan instead; for the context in which most native speakers preferred *en plan*, several others selected *o sea* instead. I hypothesized that the learner results would more closely resemble the native speaker responses by the end of the program. This conjecture proved to be true, but only for a few learners and only with the markers *quiero decir*, *en plan*, and *total*. The majority of the learners' responses deviated from those of the native speakers.

For the Familiarity Survey, I anticipated that the native speakers would judge their own familiarity with all six of the RMs as "very familiar." They did so with *o sea*, *quiero decir*, and *de todas formas*. There were a few who rated *en plan* and *total* as "rather" or "somewhat" familiar, and *digo* was the marker the greatest number of the native speakers marked as the least familiar. In fact, one native speaker rated *digo* as "not familiar" while 8 native speakers only rated *digo* as "rather familiar." I believe the participants' results could have been affected by the way the tasks were presented. For instance, if the markers had been presented in context and the participants had been asked if they were familiar with the use of the markers in said context, I am confident the results for the native speakers would have been different. Furthermore, one might provide the option "and it means _____" for each marker for the learner group and ask the native speakers how often they use them, instead of only asking if they are familiar with them.

I hypothesized that the learners' familiarity with the group of RMs would increase by the end of the program. I found it noteworthy that their familiarity increased the most with the marker *en plan* because it was the only marker of the 6 observed solely in Peninsular Spanish. The fact that the learners were residing and studying in Spain for the first time may explain why this marker was the one that they noticed in conversation more by the end of their stay. Furthermore, while markers such as *quiero decir* and *digo* can be found in written discourse, *en plan* and *o sea* are more prominent in oral discourse. Therefore, it makes sense that the learners were more familiar

with *quiero decir* and *digo* at the start of the program and increased in their familiarity with the other markers as they received more input of spoken discourse while living abroad.

For the Elicited Dialogues, I anticipated that the native speakers would use all of the RMs found in the COLAm. However, they did not use *quiero decir*, *digo*, or *total*. The learners did not use any of the RMs found in the COLAm and used few Spanish DMs overall. It is worth noting that, after the study, many of the learner participants communicated to me informally that they spoke Spanish for less than 10% of the time during the program because, as they explained, the policies regarding the language pledge were less strict than they had been in previous years. Nevertheless, I also believe the conversation topic limited the number of DMs that all the participants used. Moreover, had the participants been introduced to the topic beforehand and had they prepared their discourse, I believe they would have used more markers. Lastly, I believe the learners lacked the vocabulary for discussing the topic and the native speakers lacked significant, personal experience with the topic. I conclude that, with a slightly different design, the study results may have more confirmed my hypotheses more conclusively.

6.5 Conclusions and Future Directions

My conclusions are based on the limited amount of data obtained from the three tasks and a small sample size. Regarding the participants, I elected to only include monolingual speakers of Spanish for the native speaker group and monolingual speakers of English for the learner group in the present study. This decision served to prevent bilingual speakers' transfer of DMs from L2 into L1. However, for future studies, considering that the learners will never be monolingual speakers of Spanish, an appropriate comparative group for learners of Spanish could be native Spanish speakers with a comparative level of English as their L2. In fact, Ortega (2009) argues

that monolingualism should be disregarded as an organizing principle in SLA studies. Instead, she recommends an approach called usage-based SLA in which the focus veers from monolingualism as the “best” kind of linguistic competence.

Although reformulation is an important strategy for all speakers, adolescents use it more than older speakers due to their spontaneous and informal speech style, their need for face-saving, and their desire for camaraderie. RMs enable them to indicate the need to reformulate messages, to explain or correct a previous utterance, to mark distance from a previous topic in order to take up a new one, or to recap the preceding discourse.

Teenagers also use RMs and other DMs to hedge when discussing sensitive topics. Stenström (2008) explains that two of the most common RMs attributed to teenagers, Peninsular Spanish *en plan* and English *like*, are used recurrently “when the speaker struggles to find the words or doesn’t know how to proceed” (2008:115). Therefore, RMs serve as structural and interpersonal tools even as they may be perceived as making teenagers sound inarticulate or incoherent.

While *en plan* was the most often selected marker in the DMCT by the Granada-Spanish native speakers, two of them did not rate it as “very familiar.” However, it was the marker with which some learners gained greatest familiarity. The fact that *en plan* occurred just as frequently in the Granada teenagers’ dialogues as it was in the COLAm (produced between 2002-2004) is suggestive that this marker is gaining ground among teenage Peninsular Spanish speakers in other regions of Spain and is particularly salient for young people. These results also suggest that more studies should be conducted on this underexplored Spanish marker, particularly studies investigating its use in spontaneous native speaker discourse. Furthermore, since other research examining *en plan* refer to it as the only DM used exclusively by teenagers in Spain, future

studies should determine whether Spanish speakers in different age groups, both in Spain and in other Spanish-speaking countries, use this marker and, if so, how they use it.

O sea is often overly attributed to teenage speech in the way that D’Arcy (2007) explains is the case for *like* in English. The misconception that teenagers overuse and misuse *o sea* is explained by D’Arcy, who asserts that the most stigmatized and negatively evaluated use of *like* is as a hedge. But the hedging function serves as an important interpersonal tool for all speakers. It is not the case that adult speakers fail to use *o sea* to hedge. Rather, teenage speech simply exhibits more hedging and more DMs than adult speech because teenagers need to connect interpersonally and mitigate their utterances more than adults do. In addition, teenage speech tends to be more spontaneous, triggering the need to reformulate, reorient, and restate. The results indicate that the teenage native speakers did not use *o sea* in a distinct way when compared with documented uses of this marker by adult speakers. However, the Granada teenagers did use this marker more than the COLAm speakers did. The difference may be that teenagers use this marker at a higher frequency for certain functions, such as hedging.

According to Jensen, a professor of neurology, and Nutt, a science journalist, adolescence has been defined by “self-feeling, ambition, exaggeration, and excess” (2015:128). Teenagers’ need to connect with their peers and protect themselves from saying anything incriminating, as well as their tendency to take risks and experiment with the language, affect their increased use of hedges and RMs. A marker such as *o sea* allows them to modify their utterances and identify with their peers. Its space in conversation is therefore not meaningless, but, rather, highly productive for adolescents. Moreover, its versatility ranges from reformulation by paraphrasing at the textual level to turn-taking and downtoning at the interpersonal and interactional levels. Other RMs serve these purposes as well and learners could benefit from having these markers as

tools when they feel the need to pause and rephrase. The learners' use of English DMs while speaking Spanish is evidence that they need instruction or, at the very least, more exposure to Spanish DMs. Given the importance of DMs for teenagers, more research is merited in this area of Second Language Acquisition.

For future studies, learner DM understanding, recognition, and use could be measured with the modifications that I have suggested for the three tasks employed in this dissertation. For a written cloze exercise, sufficient contextual input should be provided. To gauge native speaker and learner familiarity, the participants could rate their familiarity with the markers in context and create their own examples. To elicit speech, the teenage participants could record themselves on their own with their peers and be given a list of recommended topics. In addition, research could focus on the presence of DMs in pedagogical materials and examine whether learners receive any explicit instruction regarding markers in their courses. For example, the Spanish immersion program with which I conducted the present study in 2015 now has a different model for interactions between native speakers and learners. Currently, students participating in this program in Granada spend half of their day with native-speaker teenagers from a local high school program. In addition, some of the students live with families instead of their peers. For future studies, one could investigate how input from native speaker teenagers and from families variously affects learner DM use.

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APPENDIX A

Language Background Questionnaire

Spanish questionnaire for the native speaker participants

Instrucciones: Elige la respuesta que mejor corresponda a tu experiencia.

1. Llevo _____ años estudiando el inglés como segunda lengua.

- | | |
|-----|------|
| <1 | 7-8 |
| 1-2 | 9-10 |
| 3-4 | 10+ |
| 5-6 | |

2. Empecé a aprender inglés

- con 4 años o menos (de edad)
- con 5 años-10 años (de edad)
- con 11-13 años (de edad)
- con 14-18 años (de edad)

3. En mi casa hablo inglés.

- Nunca
- A veces
- A menudo
- Con frecuencia
- Con mucha frecuencia

4. Las personas en mi casa hablan inglés.

- Nunca
- A veces
- A menudo
- Con frecuencia
- Con mucha frecuencia

5. He tenido experiencia con el inglés por viajar.

- Nunca
- Una vez
- 2-3 veces
- 4 o más veces

6. He tenido experiencia con el inglés por el internet, música, la televisión, el cine/películas, etc.

- Nunca

A veces
 A menudo
 Con frecuencia
 Con mucha frecuencia

7. Fuera del aula, hablo otras lenguas (ni el inglés ni el castellano)

Nunca
 A veces
 A menudo
 Con frecuencia
 Con mucha frecuencia
 ¿Cuál/es lengua(s)? _____

8. Me siento cómodo/a hablando inglés.

Estoy muy de acuerdo
 Estoy de acuerdo
 Estoy un poco de acuerdo
 Estoy un poco de desacuerdo
 Estoy de desacuerdo
 Estoy muy de desacuerdo

English questionnaire for the learner participants

Instructions: *Circle the answer that best applies to you.*

1. I have taken a Spanish class or been studying Spanish for the following number of years:

<1	7-8
1-2	9-10
3-4	10+
5-6	

2. The earliest that I started learning Spanish was in:

Pre-school
 Elementary school
 Middle school
 High school

3. I spoke the Spanish language in my home growing up:

Never
 Sometimes
 Often
 Frequently
 Very frequently

4. People in my household spoke Spanish growing up:

- Never
- Sometimes
- Often
- Frequently
- Very frequently

5. Prior to taking part in the MMLA Granada program I had exposure to the Spanish language through traveling.

- Never
- One time
- 2-3 times
- 4 or more times

6. I have had exposure to the Spanish language through media (television, film, radio, internet, music).

- Never
- Sometimes
- Often
- Frequently
- Very frequently

7. Outside of the classroom, I speak other languages (besides English or Spanish).

- Never
- Sometimes
- Often
- Frequently
- Very frequently
- Which language(s)? _____

8. I feel comfortable speaking in Spanish

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

APPENDIX B

Discourse Marker Completion Test

*Instructions: Choose from the following expressions (**de todas formas, en plan, digo, quiero decir, por lo tanto, o sea, total**) what you consider to be the most appropriate filler word(s) for the blank in the context. You may choose more than one answer.*

1. (o sea)

- A: Tú sueles salir de viaje, por cierto?
 B: ¡¡
 A: y adónde sueles ir?
 B: estuve en Ávila. También este verano en Piedrahita.
 A: pero que te vas con tus padres? tus amigos? tu novio?
 B: no _____ con mis amigos.
 C: Nosotros de viajeee...cultural.
 A: Pues los viajes con los colegas son un desfase.

2. (digo)

- A: Te lo has estudiado?
 B: el qué?
 A: te lo has estudiado...el examen _____.
 B: no...tía, aún no.
 A: No. Me lo estudiaré por mi cuenta hombre.
 C: ya verás no veré el paquete cuando me saque los dibujos mira.

3. (quiero decir)

- A: o sea quítatelo antes del verano
 B: y vea qué modelo
 C: creo que me voy a presentar
 de justo después de las primeras
 de las de las notas finales _____.
 D: qué día...qué día
 Esa semana?
 C: El puente de mayo se van.

4. (total)

- A: y por la mañana nos vamos a casa
 B: a mí o me llevan a esa paliza o no sé

- A: pero sabes lo que te digo
 B: sí
 A: te parece... es que es mejor
 por eso creo porque _____ ese viernes
 vamos a estar deambulando por ahí todo
 tiradas sin tener nada que hacer igual
 y lo único que necesitamos es un sitio para dormir un poquito
 B: un poquito

5. *(en plan)*

- A: espero que no se lo enseñen a los profesores esto
 Je je je
 porque he ido con @nombre en el metro esta mañana
 que le he estado oyendo ahora.
 metiéndome con el de historia
 no _____ en serio a mí el de historia me cae bien
 pero...no la verdad es más que nada para darle
 conversación a @nombre
 y que hablara
 porque claro como está grabando no podía haber mucho momento de
 silencio, sabes?
 B: @nombre sabía que estabas grabando?
 A: no, @nombre no lo sabía.
 Se lo he dicho luego

6. *(de todas formas)*

- A: es lo que se corresponde
 el que quiera levantar el que quiera hablar
 que levante la mano
 es lo que se corresponde a la página treinta y cuatro
 dime
 B: lo del libro que nos dijiste
 A: lo que libro que os dije no lo he podido solucionar
 C: ah vale
 A: _____ como lo dicto es igual
 ah vale
 página treinta y cuatro.

APPENDIX C

Familiarity Survey

*Spanish survey for the native speaker participants**Parte II:*

Instrucciones: Elige la respuesta que mejor corresponda a tu familiaridad con cada expresión en español.

1. de todas formas

- A. Nunca he oído esta expresión.
- B. He oído esta expresión en una conversación, pero no la entiendo.
- C. He oído esta expresión y la entiendo, pero no estoy seguro/a de cómo se usa.
- D. Estoy familiarizado/a con esta expresión y sé usarla.

2. en plan

- A. Nunca he oído esta expresión.
- B. He oído esta expresión en una conversación, pero no la entiendo.
- C. He oído esta expresión y la entiendo, pero no estoy seguro/a de cómo se usa.
- D. Estoy familiarizado/a con esta expresión y sé usarla.

3. digo

- A. Nunca he oído esta expresión.
- B. He oído esta expresión en una conversación, pero no la entiendo.
- C. He oído esta expresión y la entiendo, pero no estoy seguro/a de cómo se usa.
- D. Estoy familiarizado/a con esta expresión y sé usarla.

4. quiero decir

- A. Nunca he oído esta expresión.

- B. He oído esta expresión en una conversación, pero no la entiendo.
- C. He oído esta expresión y la entiendo, pero no estoy seguro/a de cómo se usa.
- D. Estoy familiarizado/a con esta expresión y sé usarla.

5. *por lo tanto*

- A. Nunca he oído esta expresión.
- B. He oído esta expresión en una conversación, pero no la entiendo.
- C. He oído esta expresión y la entiendo, pero no estoy seguro/a de cómo se usa.
- D. Estoy familiarizado/a con esta expresión y sé usarla.

6. *o sea*

- A. Nunca he oído esta expresión.
- B. He oído esta expresión en una conversación, pero no la entiendo.
- C. He oído esta expresión y la entiendo, pero no estoy seguro/a de cómo se usa.
- D. Estoy familiarizado/a con esta expresión y sé usarla.

7. *total*

- A. Nunca he oído esta expresión.
- B. He oído esta expresión en una conversación, pero no la entiendo.
- C. He oído esta expresión y la entiendo, pero no estoy seguro/a de cómo se usa.
- D. Estoy familiarizado/a con esta expresión y sé usarla.

English survey for the learner participants

Part II:

Instructions: Choose the answer that best reflects your familiarity with the Spanish expressions mentioned below.

1. *de todas formas*

- A. I've never heard this expression in conversation before.

- B. I've heard this expression used in conversation, but I don't understand it.
- C. I've heard this expression and understand it, but I'm not sure how to use it.
- D. I'm familiar with this expression and know how to use it.

2. *en plan*

- A. I've never heard this expression in conversation before.
- B. I've heard this expression used in conversation, but I don't understand it.
- C. I've heard this expression and understand it, but I'm not sure how to use it.
- D. I'm familiar with this expression and know how to use it.

3. *digo*

- A. I've never heard this expression in conversation before.
- B. I've heard this expression used in conversation, but I don't understand it.
- C. I've heard this expression and understand it, but I'm not sure how to use it.
- D. I'm familiar with this expression and know how to use it.

4. *quiero decir*

- A. I've never heard this expression in conversation before.
- B. I've heard this expression used in conversation, but I don't understand it.
- C. I've heard this expression and understand it, but I'm not sure how to use it.
- D. I'm familiar with this expression and know how to use it.

5. *por lo tanto*

- A. I've never heard this expression in conversation before.
- B. I've heard this expression used in conversation, but I don't understand it.
- C. I've heard this expression and understand it, but I'm not sure how to use it.
- D. I'm familiar with this expression and know how to use it.

6. *o sea*

- A. I've never heard this expression in conversation before.
- B. I've heard this expression used in conversation, but I don't understand it.
- C. I've heard this expression and understand it, but I'm not sure how to use it.
- D. I'm familiar with this expression and know how to use it.

7. *total*

- A. I've never heard this expression in conversation before.
- B. I've heard this expression used in conversation, but I don't understand it.
- C. I've heard this expression and understand it, but I'm not sure how to use it.
- D. I'm familiar with this expression and know how to use it.

APPENDIX D

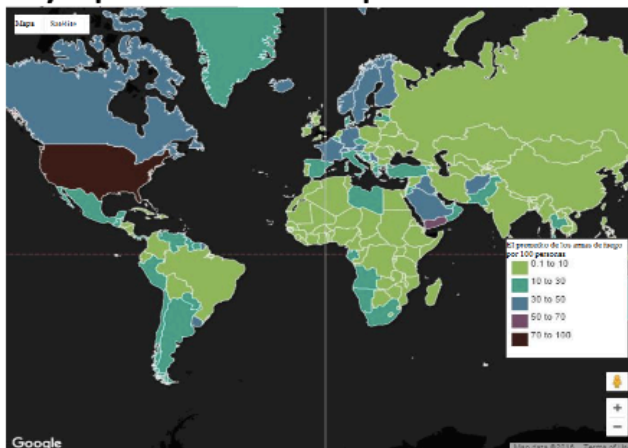
Elicited Dialogue Presentation of Information

- Ya sabemos que hay **muchas más armas** en los EEUU en comparación con España y que es un **gran tema del debate** en la política

El país		% de los homicidios por arma	El número de los homicidios por arma	El promedio de las armas por cada 100 personas	El promedio total de todas las armas
España		21.8	90	10.4	45.000.000
EEUU		60	9146	88.8	270.000.000

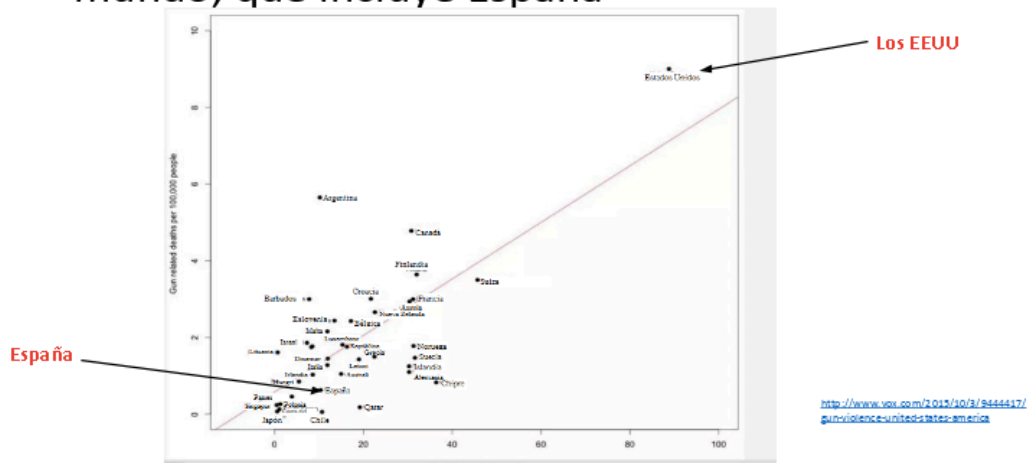
<http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2012/jul/22/gun-homicides-ownership-world-list#data>

- En España hay **menos** armas que en los EEUU y que en otros países de Europa



<http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/interactive/2012/jul/22/gun-ownership-homicides-map>

- Hay **más muertes relacionadas** con las armas en los EEUU que en muchos de los países del mundo, que incluye España



En general, la gente en España se siente más segura caminando en la calle y hay menos crimen. ¿Por qué es así?

	España 	Estados Unidos 
Miedo al crimen > Se siente seguro caminando solo > Por la noche	69.07 Clasificada 19ª, 65% más de los EE.UU.	41.84 Clasificada 60ª,
Crímenes violentos > Crimen de arma > Armas por cada 100 personas	10.4 Clasificada 59ª,	88.8 Clasificada 1ª, 13 veces más que España.
Total crímenes	923,271 Clasificada 18ª,	11.88 millón Clasificada 1ª, 9 veces más que España

<http://www.nationmaster.com/country-info/compare/Spain/United-States/Crime>

Youtube Video presented

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iRjntyM75ZY>

Preguntas para reflexionar para hablar con un compañero/a:

1. ¿Te sientes **seguro/a** aquí en España? ¿Por qué? ¿Te sientes **seguro/a** en los Estados Unidos? ¿Por qué?
2. La violencia está relacionada con los armas. ¿Sí o no? ¿Por qué? Qué opinas, ¿si hubiera menos armas, habría **menos crimen**?
3. ¿Crees que los estadounidenses deben tener **el derecho** de tener un arma o deberíamos cambiar la constitución y/o las leyes? ¿Por qué?
4. ¿Qué podríamos hacer para **reducir la violencia** en los EEUU?
5. En España también hay violencia como en todos los países, pero hay menos armas. ¿Por qué crees que hay menos violencia en España **en comparación** con los Estados Unidos?
6. ¿Crees que hay **otros factores** que influyen la violencia? Por ejemplo, los videojuegos, la televisión, el internet, etc.

APPENDIX E

Transcription Conventions (Du Bois et al. 1993)

Lag (Prosodic length)	:
Truncated Word	wor—
Pause, untimed (>150 milliseconds)	...
Overlap (single)	[]
Overlap (double)	[₂]
Laugh pulse	@
Click	(TSK)
Unintelligible	###
Terminative	.
Continuative	,
Appeal	?
Truncated Intonation Unit	—

APPENDIX F

Elicited Dialogue Transcriptions (Native Speakers)

- The participants are numbered NS1-NS24 for the native speaker group.

- NS1: *¿Ya?. Vale pues: cuando yo: voy por la calle aquí en España....eh: Sé que es más difícil que me encuentre con una persona con armas porque aquí para conseguir un arma o licencia de arma es más difícil. (TSK)...Pero también sé que a veces eh: para que exista: una para que exista violencia o crimen...No hace falta que solo sea...o sea un arma (TSK) de fuego, como, sea una pistola, sino también puede ser un arma blanca como una navaja o un cuchillo. ¿Y tú?. ¿Qué piensas?.*
- NS2: *Sí, a ver, es verdad...que: hay mucho más crimen en Estados Unidos que aquí en España...Pero: creo que si se reduce: la posición de arm- de armas en Estados Unidos a lo mejor podrían llegar a estar un poco más seguros en las calles. Aunque también es verdad que aquí en España...eh: hay mucha hay mucha violencia...eh: por armas blancas...eh: y creo que hay incluso más que en Estados Unidos eh: en Estados Unidos. Entonces (TSK) también es verdad que: no me siento del todo segura aquí en España. Aunque no, aunque haya menos armas de fuego. Entonces eh: también eh: a ver....el el hecho de que tenga muchas más armas hace que haya mucha. Hace que haya mucha más violencia. Entonces al haber más violencia pues...obviamente hay muchos más crímenes por esta...por esta causa.*
- NS1: *Sí yo pienso igual yo creo que también (TSK) la violencia está relacionada con las armas. Y: por ejemplo allí en Estados Unidos si hubiera menos...menos armas seguramente sería uno de los países más seguros...porque: aquí en España tenemos (TSK) bastantes crímenes como has dicho de armas blancas y: no hay y apenas hay armas de fuego. Pero si allí hubiera menos armas de fuego seguro que habría muchísimo menos crímenes.*
- NS2: *Em...em vale a ver pues: es que: (TSK) a ver...yo pienso que: eh deberían controlar pues eh: en un mínimo de edad...el derecho de tener un arma porque sí es verdad...que allí eh: suele haber con más frecuencia el que puedan entrar a tu casa o... Entonces necesitas con que defenderte pero a lo mejor pienso que: eh: gente o niños de dieciséis diecisiete años pues que a lo mejor no deberían tener un arma o que hicieran (TSK) eh: algún tipo de: permiso para que gente...eh: normal en su vida diaria pueda defenderse sin necesidad de...o sea a gente...o eso todo el mundo.*

NS1: *Pues:*

Investigadora: *Oh sí ok. Sí sí.*

NS1: *Eh: bueno yo pienso mas o menos igual que tú y creo que...para que tuvieran podrían obtener la licencia para un arma: de fuego...pues yo que s-...deberían de tener como un (TSK) un test psicológico porque a lo mejor eh: una persona puede ir a pedir un arma... o sea comprar un arma... pero claro (TSK) a lo mejor esa persona pues: tiene lo que sea o puede tener algún problema entonces (TSK) o un trauma de algun, de algo que le haya ocurrido. Entonces creo que sería mejor que hicieran como unos tests para ver si...para ver si no tienen un trauma o algún problema.*

NS2: *Luego está por ejemplo...cuando mataron a John Lennon en Nueva York en la puerta de su casa con un arma. Si a lo mejor él hubiera tenido...una...un arma para defenderse o a lo mejor la otra persona que es...no está como he dicho no está...no está...capacitado mental, mentalmente para tener un arma pues a lo mejor hubiera pasa- no hubiera pasado eso y no hubiera matado a una persona importante así porque podría pasar.*

NS1: *Sí como también ocurrió hace poco en Orlando. ues: eh: (TSK) también mediante un arma de fuego mataron a...a bueno, muchas personas y claro...yo creo que....(TSK) igual que si a esa persona hubieran hecho un test o: hubieran visto que a lo mejor esa persona pues (TSK) tiene un trauma o lo que sea por es por ello...era hizo: aquello lo que hizo en Orlando...pero a lo mejor si...(TSK) hubieran controlado mejor eh: su licencia o a lo mejor si cada equis tiempo la renovaran y vieran que esa persona no tiene nada porque a lo mejor al momento de...(TSK) que compra el arma está bien, pero al tiempo pues...puede: sufrir lo que sea y entonces pues deberían hacer un control de nuevo.*

NS2: *Y: también es verdad entre la gente de España, Estados Unidos tiene muchísimo más violencia y mucho más crimen por: eh posesión de armas. Entonces em también es verdad...que: eh: sí sé como hemos dicho antes si se redujeran las armas a lo mejor habría menos violencia. Pero: es que: eh también pienso que allí a al tener armas pues piensan que a lo mejor que: pueden hacer muchas más cosas o que son...(TSK) como más: más importantes por tener armas y se sienten como más: eh: no sé como más fuertes. Entonces aquí creo que hay menos violencia porque al no tener un arma es como más: no es tan fácil planear un a...un ataque o asaltar a alguien en mitad de la calle porque aquí eh: sobre todo: en ciudades céntricas pues: la gente sale mucho y hay mucha gente en la calle. Entonces es difícil que te encuentres alguien en una calle solo y que puedas hacerle algo o atacarle sin que nadie te vea.*

NS1: *Claro, además, yo bueno pienso igual que tú y creo que...allí (TSK) la mayoría de: las casas están como muy...muy (TSK) o sea...que no están concentradas en*

un único lugar entonces um como um que allí las calles no están tan...no hay tanta gente eh: de hecho la gente va sobre todo en coche entonces si alguien por ejemplo por la noche va corriendo por allí pues: yo creo que puede sentirse más inseguro que aquí porque aquí eh te vas cruzando gente por la mañana. Eh: todo el rato te vas cruzando gente aunque sea allí en algunos barrios la verdad que en plan....puede pasar, a lo mejor, algún coche y tú por ahí solo y te puedes encontrarte con cualquier persona y puede tener un arma. Entonces yo creo(TSK) que a veces si se pueden sentir un poco más inseguros en ese sentido.

NS3: *Em vale pues: yo aquí en España...eh: me siento seguro....Porque: comparado allí como en Estados Unidos...eh: aquí la tráfico o la compra de armas eh: tienen que tener unos permisos eh: estrictos. Y: creo que aquí en España... en ese sentido estamos como más seguros.*

NS4: *Sí es que....a ver si tú tuvieses que pensar que puedes salir en la calle. Y cualquier persona puede tener un arma...o sea, es que realmente eh no valoramos lo que realmente tenemos aquí porque...o sea tú sales a la calle y puedes tener más o menos la certeza de que no va a haber nadie que tenga un arma en el bolsillo vamos a ver...###*

NS3: *Claro, obviamente a: aquí en España a lo mejor en Estados Unidos pues: es por armas pero aquí en España es por personas que están un poco idas de la cabeza pero: obviamente el riesgo pues es mucho menor porque vamos...de todo te puede pasar pero no vamos a comparar en un país que las armas son legales.*

NS4: *Claro. Porque a ver también hay muchos tipos de violencia porque o sea no toda la violencia está relacionada con armas. Pero um o sea...lo más común es que um (TSK) es que en cuanto hay un arma en juego ya pues como que casi todo es como violencia violencia porque (TSK) de de otro tipo yo que sé yo creo que si te pega o cualquier cosa pues: puedes al menos retenerlo pero que en cuanto una persona tiene un arma ya eh: como...*

NS3: *Claro. Por eso el tener un arma ya me creo_mucho más riesgo a: que a que te pase algo y: luego yo sinceramente creo que el poseer armas eh debe el poseer armas debe de ser mm algo como muy exigente. Y que no todo el mundo una persona cualquiera la pueda tener*

NS4: *Claro. Es que, vamos a ver, es verdad que aquí por ejemplo en España está lo de la: las pistolas estas de balinas.*

NS3: *Claro. Sí sí.*

NS4: *Pero es que o sea real... incluso para tener una pistola de esas tienes que tener unos requisitos.*

NS3: *Claro.*

NS4: *Entonces o sea realmente allí es que esas leyes que haya o lo que sea se deben de cambiar porque si no es que cualquier persona tú imagínate y yo me peleo contigo y ahora te odio un montón y voy, compro una pistola y te mato. Y nadie me pregun... a ver @ nadie me pregunta nada o sea es que la podría comprar perfectamente. Y es lo que ha hecho este tío, sin necesitar una identificación siquiera.*

NS3: *Claro. Yo una de las cosas que me chocó allí en Estados Unidos o sea ya las sabía pero cuando fui me dijeron que era verdad y que es que si tú: aunque imagínate que estás una noche se te va la cabeza y viene alguien a tu casa. Si tú matas a esa persona y con un arma tú em no, estás absuelto por el simple hecho de que está en tu territorio. O sea no te pasa nada y a mí eso me chocó mucho porque claro eh claro también está en mi casa ya lo puedo matar.*

NS4: *Joe: Pero a veces también es mucho de porque si las leyes de allí son así es que un poco de sentido común y: de de ética y moral decir y es que eso no es así o sea pero es que: y más ahora con el tema de las elecciones y todo eso que... que hay más lío en plan...quién va a cambiar y todo eso*

NS3: *Claro.*

NS4: *Por ejemplo yo lo de lo de la esta el tiroteo en Orlando a ver me afectó un montón. Que, el que dice que llega la persona y o sea el hombre este llega y puede matar ya a todo el mundo porque porque no respeta a los gays o sea vamos a ver o sea yo no respeto a a: los rubios y cojo y los mato porque no quiero?. Vamos a ver, o sea y es que encima de todo puedes llegar y acceder a cualquier arma sin identificación siquiera pero es que....¿qué clase de país es ese?.*

NS3: *A mí me tocó mucho el de el tiroteo en Connecticut de que un hombre se metió en un colegio y mató a todo el que pillaba.*

NS4: *Pero es que... (TSK) hombre se supone que las cosas que ocurren pues la gente como que ya va aprendiendo... y después de todo eso decimos o sea después de lo que ha pasado siguen permitiendo las armas pero es que, para cambiar eso hay que cambiar la constitución o cosas de esas*

NS3: *Si está en el número la ley número dos de la constitución creo, o algo de eso.*

P4: *Que...que podemos poseer armas.*

NS3: *Si, en Estados Unidos. Yo creo: hay otros factores como por ejemplo em: (TSK) la situación actual del mundo. O que: a lo mejor no vivimos en una sociedad tan*

civilizada como nosotros creemos pero: mientras haya armas va a haber muerte

NS4: *Ya. Hombre y que: por ejemplo también lo de que haya videojuegos donde la gente los compre para pegarles tiros a un hombre o:*

NS3: *Ya. Pero: creo que eso no no influye porque yo soy una persona que juega a esos videojuegos y Yo no cojo y te mato un tiro...y te meto un tiro en la calle eso es como esté la cabeza de los demás porque también los padres tienen que regular eso. Pero...*

NS4: *Ya.*

NS3: *Hay personas y personas.*

NS4: *Hombre, es que yo no comprendo como después de lo que está pasando y sigue pasando que eso se siga permitiendo pero es que no pienso decir vamos a cambiarlo no ¿O qué?.*

NS3: *El problema es que luego cuando pasan un par de meses ya este tema se va a olvidar y cuando pase otra vez.*

NS4: *Ya. Pero es que exacto pero cuando vuelva a ocurrir pues otra vez bum bum bum pues joder déjalo ya.*

NS3: *Habrá que hacer un referendum como los catalanes*

NS4: *@ Muy bien...@*

NS5: *Pues: yo eh: aquí en España... me siento segura pero.... es porque eh: es el sitio donde nací y eso. Entonces mm conforme han pasado los años pues no he visto que haya demasiado vio- violencia pero es normal que: por ejemplo em: no tengo muchas ganas de ir a Estados Unidos por lo del tema de la violencia*

NS6: *Exacto. ### Sí.*

NS5: *Sí y: porque a ver, puede ser más seguro, más seguro porque tengan armas y eso pero hay gente que no está muy bien.*

NS6: *Y hace mal uso, entonces,*

NS5: *Claro. Y yo creo que deberían tener un poco restringido eso.*

NS6: *Sí. Cambiar alguna ley o algo.*

- NS5: *Sí. Tipo pedir el DNI o preguntarle antes de que compren un arma.*
- NS6: *Mucho.*
- NS5: *Pues: ...preguntarle si tiene algún problema.*
- NS6: *Un trastorno.*
- NS5: *Un trastorno o algo. @*
- NS5: *Oi: @ y... y... entonces pues... a lo mejor, así pues, sí se reduciría.*
- NS6: *Si a no ser que existía también por las armas.*
- NS5: *Y lo del tema de de que los videojuegos y ...*
- NS6: *Eso si puede influir un poco.*
- NS5: *Pero, yo creo que depende de la persona porque por ejemplo...*
- NS6: *Y del rato que estés jugando.*
- NS5: *Claro.*
- NS6: *Porque eso me ha pasado a mí alguna vez de estar mucho jugando al Assassin Creed o cualquiera de estos que te acabas de los nervios pero hay que relajarse antes de,*
- NS5: *@ Es que... a ver... hay personas que sí tienen cabeza y que piensan antes de y hay otras que no, entonces....*
- NS6: *Exacto.*
- NS5: *Y: porque a lo mejor han tenido algún problema en la vida. Y también eso influye un poco en que hagan esos crímenes y todo, porque por ejemplo lo de en los colegios: que ha habido alguna matanza y eso em... yo creo que es porque el chico que lo hizo sufrió Bullying o algo.*
- NS6: *Exacto. Puede ser. Habría que estudiarlo.*
- NS5: *Mm y: además es que en en Estados Unidos no en todos los sitios está creo. Creo que no o sea hay en estados que sí.*
- NS6: *Sí. Y tiene más armas y eso.*
- NS5: *Pero hay en otros que no.*

- NS6: *Está más con: más*
- NS5: *Sí.*
- NS6: *Más controlado. Eso.*
- NS5: *Creo...no sé.*
- NS6: *Yo creo que también pero no sé.*
- NS5: *Pero como es otra cultura y eso pues.*
- NS6: *A ver... a mí si me gustaría ir a Estados Unidos pero por turista por turismo no:, el tema de las armas sí me da más cosilla no sé.*
- NS5: *A mí es que no sé pero el terrorismo y eso.*
- NS6: *Exacto.*
- NS5: *Y eso cómo que no. A ver en todos los sitios hay pero,*
- NS6: *Exacto.*
- NS5: *Que no sé.*
- NS6: *@*
- NS5: *Y además como son estados muy grandes y eso pues,*
- NS6: *No se sabe donde puede tocar tampoco eso @ es aleatorio.*
- NS5: *@ Sí si has tenido mala suerte pues*
- NS6: *Ya ves, no sé.*
- NS5: *Pero es que deberían hacerse algo así:*
- NS6: *Sí algún cambio en la ley o algo tampoco se puede ir dando armas ahí venga toma @*
- NS5: *Claro. Porque es que... también hay casos en los que bueno que yo he escuchado casos en los que eh por ejemplo un niño pequeño mató a su madre con un arma sin querer. Y también hay que esconder las armas. @*
- NS6: *Ya ves que miedo no puedes dejar ahí venga toma.@*

- NS5: *Y no sé, que más.*
- NS6: *Um... pues: ... a ver, lo de Orlando no sé al final que fue lo del caso ese, por el tío que era.*
- NS5: *Creo que era porque al principio era gay. Pero creo que se empezó a hacer homófobo o algo así y entonces por eso hizo. Y también es que a lo mejor se tendría que restringir un poco lo de Internet...no sé.*
- NS6: *¿El que?.*
- NS5: *Porque yo creo que: se metería en páginas así de estas violentas y: y entonces pues eso ayuda.*
- NS6: *Hombre que tien... también o sea si estás en un club el que esté de seguridad que controle un poco más también no sé hombre...si entra el tío ahí y empieza a disparar a todo el mundo pues no, pero: si puedes vigilar un poco.*
- NS5: *Es que em: a lo mejor también habría que poner más seguridad.*
- NS6: *Exacto.*
- NS5: *Tipo más policías por la calle y eso...pero también los policías:*
- NS6: *Hombre yo,*
- NS5: *Yo he visto algunos,*
- NS6: *En Estados Unidos los policías tampoco.*
- NS5: *Porque con lo de personas de color y eso.*
- NS6: *Sí.*
- NS5: *Han matado ya a algunos y y además creo a personas inocentes.*
- NS6: *Sí sí.*
- NS5: *Que mataron a personas que no:*
- NS6: *Que sí que lo veían y los mataban y les empezabaneso sí salía en las noticias.*
- NS5: *Que también hay que tener cuidado.*
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- NS8: *Em: ¿Te sientes seguro aquí en España?.*
- NS7: *(TSK) Pues no sé eh: sí porque em: hay veces que no porque por ejemplo si voy por la noche sola pues me da miedo pero si voy sola sí pero si voy acompañada no me da miedo.*
- NS8: *¿Y te sentirías segura en los estados si vivieras en los Estados Unidos?.*
- NS7: *No he estado entonces no sé. No sé si me sentiría segura.*
- NS8: *¿Crees que la violencia está relacionada con las armas?.*
- NS7: *La mayoría de las veces sí. Porque: sí. La gente no sé... no para y no no se para a hablar con otras personas entonces recurren a las armas.*
- NS8: *¿Y: crees que hay otros factores que influyen en la violencia?.*
- NS7: *Pff. No sé. Eh...eh: a lo mejor um te enseñan cosas que no: son buenas y que y que: ayudan a: a tratar mal a otra gente pero no sé em: ¿Crees que los estadounidenses deben tener el derecho de tener un arma?.*
- NS8: *Pues: (TSK) es que es una una pregunta difícil porque a lo mejor si hay más violencia y en caso de defensa propia pues a lo mejor se podrían usar las armas pero yo creo que sí se reduce el número de armas pues también se podría reducir eh: la violencia y hubiese menos muertes.*
- NS7: *¿Por qué crees que hay menos violencia en España en comparación con los Estados Unidos?.*
- NS8: *Pues yo creo que fundamentalmente em: (TSK) porque en España tenemos menos armas y: em la gente tiene como otra visión de la muerte y la violencia y eso. Y aquí en España yo creo que no sé. A lo mejor se agrede más físicamente y no tanto con armas. A ver... em: mm ¿Qué podríamos hacer para reducir la violencia en Estados Unidos?.*
- NS7: *Pues: reducir la venta de armas no venderle al primero que que veas porque así los locos pues empiezan a...matar o algo así.*
- NS8: *Sí. Y yo creo que se debería como implantar una edad mínima pues para poder comprar armas por ejemplo...a lo mejor un niñ- (TSK) un adolescente un niño con dieciocho años pues ya puede tener un arma y a lo mejor no tiene la cabeza bien amueblada y a lo mejor se pone a darle tiros a porque se enfada con un amigo. Entonces yo creo queee deberían establecer una edad pues (TSK) para poder vender las armas mm bueno. ¿Y en España crees que hay crímenes más crímenes con armas?.*

- NS7: *A ver en España hay muchos crímenes con armas. Y la mayoría por ejemplo de la violencia de género es con armas pero emm en comparación con Estados Unidos em: en Estados Unidos se utilizan muchos más armas para los crímenes.*
- NS8: *Sí además yo creo que...esas armas, (TSK), no son armas en plan pistolas o escopetas, yo qué sé son más cuchillos y cosas de esas. Entonces...no sé que son cosas que uno (TSK) puede tener en su casa (TSK) y no hace falta ir a comprar un cuchillo para matar a alguien (TSK)...em: yo que sé mm: ¿Cómo te sientes cuando ves que ha ocurrido un asesinato con armas de fuego en Estados Unidos?.*
- NS7: *Pues: igual que aquí cuando pasa aquí pues.. me...me duele pues allí igual porque al al fin y al cabo estamos haciendo daño a gente inocente y a gente que no se merece el daño.*
- NS8: *¿Y te influye ver... em esos hechos por la televisión a la hora de pensar en irte a Estados Unidos que te dé un poco más de miedo?.*
- NS7: *A ver...no, porque yo siempre he tenido ganas de ir a Estados Unidos y em: yo pienso que si voy: a ver un poco sí pero si voy con mi familia y voy con..no sé, no tengo tanto miedo.*
- NS8: *Sí.*
- NS7: *¿A ti?.*
- NS8: *(TSK)Pues: no sé. A mí sí que me influye un poco sobre todo en las zonas donde em: (TSK) televisan lo que ha pasado pues: a lo mejor en esas zonas concretas pues... si me da un poco más de miedo pero, por lo general yo creo que Estados Unidos a pesar de todas las armas (TSK) que tiene y todos los crímenes que se producen (TSK) pues: es un país que más o menos tiene una buena seguridad y si eres inocente y no haces nada y no te metes con nadie pues yo creo no tienes por qué. Aunque siempre hay locos sueltos y no se sabe.*
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- NS9: *Es que la verdad es muy fuerte.*
- NS10: *¿Empiezas hablando tú?.*
- NS9: *Vale...¿Qué piensas sobre las armas?.*
- NS10: *Bueno Juan Miguel, ¿Tú qué opinas sobre las armas en general?.*
- NS9: *A ver... a mí las armas no me gustan. Y: yo pienso que en Estados Unidos, bueno y como hemos visto en l- en la presentación que hay más armas en Estados*

Unidos que en España. Y, yo creo que: sí se relaciona que haya más violencia y más muertes allí y no me gusta que haya ni que a los dieciochos años ya puedas tener tu...tu propia arma en Estados Unidos cosa que aquí en España no puedes tener sino que tienes que tener mucho permiso y todo que allí también tienen, pero que a los dieciocho ya es legal y no sé. A ti que...¿Tú que opinas?.

NS10: *A ver... yo creo que sí está bastante relacionado que haya muchísimas más armas aquí que: o sea, en Estados Unidos que en España y yo creo que eso pues: (TSK) hace que allí se cometan más crímenes, no quiero decir que una persona por tener un arma en su casa que vaya a ser un asesino que vaya a cometer ningún crimen pero, que: (TSK) puede haber un accidente. Por ejemplo, yo vi en las noticias una vez que un niño pequeño tenía un arma que se habían dado a sus padres y sin querer. Creo que mató a su madre y obviamente el niño de tres años no va a tener ninguna intención pero un accidente lo puede tener cualquiera y él si no fuese legal el niño no hubiera tenido ningún arma. Con lo cual pues: esas muertes pues se evitan.*

NS9: *¿Y tú dónde te sientes más segura en España o en Estados Unidos?.*

NS10: *(TSK) A ver...*

NS9: *Bueno...*

NS10: *Yo, estuve de intercambio y yo allí no me sentí insegura en ningún momento. Y aquí pues: tampoco es que esté que me sienta segura al 100 por ciento todos días pero, sí que es verdad que yo no tengo miedo cuando salgo a la calle. Sí, tengo precaución por la noche cuando voy sola a mi casa o lo que sea o mis padres me dicen de recogerme porque el miedo les da a ellos. (TSK) Y: que como yo me voy a ir allí el año que viene a Estados Unidos a estudiar todo este año pues (TSK) a ver no tengo miedo pero sí que me impone un poco eso de que allí las armas sean legales. ¿Tú crees que la violencia está relacionada con las armas?.*

NS10: *Pues: yo creo que sí está relacionada. Pero que como tú lo has dicho antes no está siempre: que por tener un arma ya no eres un asesino que también puede ser por protección. Y aquí en España, pues: mucha gente también tiene armas en sus casas sobre todo viejecillos para, para por si entran en la casa o algo que no sé. Como la presentación también nos ha enseñado que en Estados Unidos hay más armas y hay más asesinatos y aquí en España no hay tantos y hay menos asesinatos pero yo creo que eso también depende de la persona.*

NS9: *Claro.*

NS10: *Y de la edad a la que tiene un arma.*

NS9: *Sí. Yo creo que las armas deberían estar (TSK) ba- más controladas. O sea quién las puedan comprar porque si es una persona si es un policía si es del*

ejército o cosas así bueno. Y tú puedes tener...a ver, que yo no querría tener un arma pero que no creo que (TSK) ya por tener un arma pues eso que vayan a ser un delincuente pero tampoco creo que sea necesario que sea legal porque eso es algo que puede hacer mucho daño.

NS10: *¿Y crees que hay otros fa-- factores que influyen en la violencia como son los videojuegos y la televisión y todo eso?.*

NS9: *Sí, porque muchos adolescentes están acostumbrados a ver gente disp- los videojuegos y las películas ver a la gente a disparar, ver guerra, ver violencia. O sea los videojuegos son muy violentos y eso muchas veces hace que la gente tenga otra visión de la realidad que no es...Por ejemplo yo vi, en en Barcelona hubo un caso de un niño que era estaba siempre con los videojuegos del Call of Duty y todo eso que suele ser bastante violento y le y esto fue en España no fue con un arma de fuego fue con una no sé algo que tenía como una flecha o algo así.*

NS10: *Sí con un arco ¿No?.*

NS9: *Con un arco creo que mató a un profesor y eso.*

NS10: *Ya, yo también lo-*

NS9: *No hace falta que las armas sean legales para eso, pero: también sucede (TSK) y en los videojuegos pues claramente tuvieron una gran influencia.*

NS10: *Sí que como en los videojuegos pues: no hay límite de edad o que a lo mejor se lo compra por ejemplo mi hermano mayor pues tiene un Call of Duty o alguno de esos. Y mi hermano de tres años pues cada vez mi hermano se pone a jugar lo ve y al final él se pues... también a le gusta jugar y verlo y ya lo ve normal eso.*

NS9: *Claro.*

NS10: *Y no, no es normal. ¿Y: cómo afectan tu opinión con lo de las matanzas de Sandy Hook, Orlando y Newtown?.*

NS9: *Pues: eso sí. Eso que está directa- directamente relacionado con las armas porque fue...fueron atentados con armas vamos hasta donde yo sé ¿No?.*
Entonces, yo creo que si las armas no hubiesen sido legales en ese momento que sé yo. Creo que sí podría haber evitado a lo mejor si que hubiese habido: muerte o (TSK) a lo mejor con armas blancas pero es mucho más difícil matar a muchas personas con ese tipo de armas.

NS10: *Claro y: espérate que iba yo a decir que yo y que yo creo que también para vender las armas tienen que hacer más,*

NS9: *Control.*

- NS10: *Sí, más control. Y más seguimiento, ¿No?. Enseñar, los papeles y ver que ya eres mayor de edad que firmes un formulario y ya está que,*
- NS9: *Claro. Yo creo que no...no sé.*
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- NS11: *Pues...a ver... yo pienso que: que el hecho de que haya armas en Estados Unidos pues (TSK), o sea...que eh: violencia iba a haber igualmente aunque no hubiese: armas pero: si tú a ti desde pequeño te inculcan que puedes tener un arma que no es malo utilizarla y tal y pues: (TSK) contra pues, claro que la gente que vea que pues como hacerlos más violentos pienso yo.*
- NS12: *Sí, y que: luego que tengan armas en Estados Unidos pues... a ver...es verdad que tienen la excusa de que es para protegerse a sí mismo cuando van por la calle, o cuando alguien le puede...yo que sé...agredir yo que sé pero de todas formas si no hubiera personas con armas no necesitarían no tendrían la necesidad de tener también un arma ellos mismos.*
- NS11: *Exacto.*
- NS12: *Para poder defenderse.*
- NS11: *Y: Yo que sé...la gente como que no se da cuenta de que mm a ver... o sea cogen y entran en un colegio se ponen a matar gente en una discoteca así pero por simple gusto. Entonces no sé si...si eso impone aquí que nunca pasa de cojo y me meto en un sitio a matar gente con la pistola pues como aquí nunca pasa o sea si allí pasa matan a gente y que prácticamente todos los años hay videos de ese tipo pues deberían estar prohibidas las armas porque puede cogerla cualquier loco y decir bueno...pues...ya está nos ponemos aquí a a matar porque porque está loco...o sea: tampoco creo que él piense en lo que hace, ¿No? Pero si si tú no le das acceso a tener un arma pues seguramente no no haya ningún incidente de este tipo.*
- NS12: *Pero también...de todas formas si en alguna casa tienen los padres un arma pues: el niño chico que yo que sé que tenga 5 años o 6 puede coger el arma. Y puede matar a alguien él solo se puede dar en el pie porque eso ha pasado un montón de veces.*
- NS11: *Ya. Mm hm. Y también es bueno que dicen también los videojuegos y la televisión que también en plan que influyen en la violencia pero...contra si si tú a una persona le das un arma que con la que puede decidir la si una persona vive o muere pues no es lo mismo que si a lo mejor...tú estás viendo un videojuego y ves que matan a uno. Si tú no tienes el arma para matar pues...tú no vas a matar a nadie.*

- NS12: *De todas formas yo creo que los videojuegos y las películas y todas las cosas donde puede salir violencia no puede ser una cosa que influyan demasiado porque es inevitable verlo todos los niños lo ven, y eso no es una excusa para decir bueno... pues normal que haya salido tan violento. No eso es por culpa de que hay armas y que lo ven una cosa normal, eso de tener un arma y yo creo que eso se tendría que prohibir.*
- NS11: *Exacto. Porque a ver....aquí en España también hay violencia y vemos videojuegos y vimos, vemos en las películas y en la tele que hay muchas peleas y tal. Pero si aquí tú no tienes un arma pues: que no es lo mismo a lo mejor puedes pegar a alguien pero no matarle. Entonces...tampoco entiendo que a lo mejor no puedan conseguir alcohol que a ver, sí, es una droga y también es malo pero y mm sea tan complicado conseguir allí alcohol y un arma puedan conseguirla como si fuera comida.*
- NS12: *Pero, de todas formas, o sea...eso mismo digo, pero que eh: lo de Orlando no hubiera pasado ni tampoco lo de la universidad que también me, me parece que pasó en la universidad y también en muchos colegios. Y lo de que entra un estudiante y está loco se pone matar a gente. O una persona que es totalmente ajena a, al sitio donde se va a matar. Pues: que yo creo que si no fuera porque se permitían las armas y eso no hubiera pasado porque aquí en España no había ningún caso que si que hay gente que tiene navajas y tal pero una pistola eh: o sea.*
- NS11: *Ya pero,*
- NS12: *Es mucho más fácil matar a alguien con una pistol-*
- NS11: *Además también pienso que...o sea eh: que si tienes arma de fuego el suicidio puede ser mucho más fácil porque a lo mejor pues: yo qué sé, a la hora de suicidarse si tú no tienes un arma pues no sé que um: por muchas ganas que tengas de morir, pues...siempre va a haber algo que digas no no me puedo matar pero si tienes una pistola pues dices me pego un tiro @y ya está.*
- NS12: *Y luego la gente que tiene problemas psicológicos que no es que se matan a si mismo sino que matan a los demás por gusto o por lo que sea. Pues: es algo malísimo porque claro, no sé si los que eh: cogen las armas se tienen que pasar por un test psicológico o algo así creo que no se pasan por un test psicológico. Y yo creo que eso es importante porque si la persona a la que le das el arma tiene problemas psicológicos es que puede hacer cualquier cosa.*
- NS11: *Exacto. Y además en los colegios puede ser el hombre ese que entró o puede ser que él tuviera una mala experiencia en el colegio. Y entonces coge y entra allí con un arma y: y mata a los niños. Pues mira yo he visto en redes sociales un una nota, o sea un mensaje de Whatsapp que le ponía en la discoteca esa de Orlando que le ponía un hijo a su madre mamá él viene ya, voy a morir. Te quiero mucho.*

Entonces...pues, que no hay derecho de tú salgas a la calle con miedo de decir mm me puede matar, me puede pasar cualquier cosa.

NS12: *Y yo creo que es bueno tener autodefensa, en plan poder defenderte si te pasa algo malo por ejemplo cuando vas a tu casa por la noche pues: no siempre estás muy seguro. Pero yo creo que habría que tener clases de... de o sea de defenderse físicamente pero con el cuerpo, no con un arma.*

NS11: *Exacto.*

NS12: *Porque claro. O sea, si tú tienes miedo o lo que sea y que vayas por la noche que te saquen una navaja o lo que sea pues: yo creo que es mucho mejor ir a clases de...de defenderte antes que coger un arma porque puedes matar a alguien.*

NS13: *Pues, a ver @ yo aquí en España sí me siento segura porque... no hay tanto crimen como allí y no sé al caminar pues no hay nadie que tú pienses que: te pueda matar sí no sé y en los Estados Unidos pues, no sé si me sentiría segura porque nunca he ido pero el tema ese de las armas me asusta un poco.*

NS14: *Es que...también el...el que aquí no sean legales pues te da más tranquilidad porque sabes que la gente no puede ir con un arma por la calle...y: así como así.*

NS13: *Y yo creo que la violencia sí está relacionada con las armas porque yo creo que la gente compran las armas para sentirse segura pero yo creo que es...se les va la cabeza si compran armas y por eso creo que hay más crimen allí.*

NS14: *Yo creo que... no deberían de tener el derecho de tener un arma cualquier persona. Y que si que se debería de cambiar la verdad.*

NS13: *Pues: @ pues: yo creo que también porque (TSK) tener: el derecho de un arma no es bueno porque que que una persona yo que sé de nuestra edad puede manejar un arma tan fácilmente no no.... Se puede acabar mal o sea no sé... se le puede ir la cabeza alguna vez y por tener un arma puede ir a: puede yo que sé matar a una persona así como así, @*

NS14: *@*

NS13: *Mm a ver, María hablas tú.*

NS14: *Habla tú ahora.*

NS13: *Que para reducir la violencia en Estados Unidos tendríais que reduc—o sea...no se podría permitir las armas porque es que no sé....no @*

- NS14: *Es que, a ver... violencia hay en todos lados pero no es lo mismo que tengas armas a que no las tengas entonces pues ahí se ve el número de muertes por la violencia de armas y todo eso.*
- NS13: *Que: a ver, luego yo creo que sí, hay otros factores que influyen la violencia. Por ejemplo el internet los videojuegos creo que también porque los videojuegos estos de: del Call of Duty @ o cosas de esas. Pues, siempre influyen un poco pero no creo que en España haya gente que por jugar esos videojuegos se no puedan hacer no pueden cometer un asesinato ni nada porque es que no pueden conseguir un arma fácilmente. Sin embargo allí a cualquier persona que, que: vea estos videojuegos se o piense que puede hacer algo así puede conseguir un arma fácilmente y puede hacer lo que quiera.*
- NS14: *Yo creo que también otros de los factores es como lo que tú ves en tu familia porque si tú ves que desde siempre se han permitido las armas, y que cualquiera puede obtener un arma y tal y lo puede sacar y, hacer lo que sea y que eso está legalizado, pues: (TSK), como que te acostumbras en parte a ello entonces no sé creo que es uno de los otros factores como que está normalizado.*
- NS13: *A ver @ mm no sé...que yo creo que también los estadounidenses se deberían de haber el estilo de vida que tenemos aquí pues, que aunque que a lo mejor ellos se sienten más seguros teniendo armas pero que pueden ver perfectamente que en España sin tener armas nos sentimos más seguros que allí así que,*
- NS14: *Porque hay muchos de ellos que tienen armas como para protegerse de los demás que tienen armas. Entonces, como que si nadie tiene armas pues: mucha gente tampoco tendría para no tener que defenderse entonces eso. Evitaría mucha violencia.*
- NS13: *Y si también como hay mucha gente que está en desacuerdo de eso de quitar las armas por lo menos también...que no se les venda armas a cualquier persona sino que se reduzca o sea. Por ejemplo que no me parece bien lo de las armas pero si no que a mayores de edad por lo menos, o sea que, me parece mal.*
- NS14: *Sí que, que exijan más que en plan pidan documentos y cosas de esas y no den tan fácilmente las armas.*
- NS13: *Claro. Que no sea que quiere un arma porque me apetece tener un arma que es que tendrías que tener una razón para tener un arma, ya, si eres policía pues, pues, tiene una razón pero si eres una persona normal que vas a guardar tu arma para para nada porque es que: no te va a pasar nada pero: yo que sé...Y eso que yo: creo que deberían de ver otras otras formas de: de vida que vean que aquí que es que se vive muy bien @ y ya está.*
- NS14: *Seguros por lo menos.*

- NS13: *Eso es que nosotros podemos caminar por la calle sin ningún tipo de peligro es que no digo que no pueda pasar algo pero,*
- NS14: *Pero que es muy difícil que vayas por la calle y alguien te saque un arma sabes?, que (TSK) pasar te puede pasar pero un arma no, te es que no.*
- NS13: *Yo...por lo menos no he visto nunca una en mi vida no.*
- NS14: *Yo tampoco. @*
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- NS16: *Bueno. ¿Tú te sientes segura aquí en España?.*
- NS15: *Sí. Porque allí en Estados Unidos hay más armas, y hay más violencia que en España.*
- NS16: *Yo también. Porque: al haber una política diferente en un país y en otro eh: por ejemplo en España como para comprar un arma tienes que probar tienes que hacer un: una serie de procedimientos como probar tu edad y todo eso. Y allí no se hace son más propensos a: a realizar crímenes. @*
- NS15: *Claro. Eh: La violenc- ¿Tú crees que la violencia está relacionada con las armas?.*
- NS16: *Sí, porque si: no hay armas no, no puede realizar un crimen. Es más difícil.*
- NS15: *Claro. Yo pienso lo mismo.*
- NS16: *Um ¿Crees que por ejemplo los videojuegos y eso afectan y la televisión?.*
- NS15: *Yo creo que sí porque si un niño desde pequeño está jugando videojuegos que son mayores para su edad de violencia de armas eso va a afectar a su desarrollo y cuando sea más mayor...mm posiblemente tenga algo que ver en lo que quiera hacer: con su vida y cosas así.*
- NS16: *Yo estoy muy cómoda viviendo aquí en Granada porque sé que: mm: yo puedo ir por la calle y no voy a tener ningún problema que a ver...que puede haberlo pero que: va a ser más difícil que si estoy allí. Porque todo el mundo tiene un arma la mayoría de la gente y deberían cambiar allí las leyes para que no: se pued- acceder tan fácilmente a una.*
- NS15: *Claro. Y: en España: hay más violencia como en otros países pero hay menos armas. Mm: y: en cuanto a ese tema podríamos: reducir la violencia en Estados Unidos....pues: cambiando las leyes y no permitiendo: comprar a menores de edad y a tan fácilmente la gente las armas.*

- NS16: *Y concienciando también a la gente porque allí es algo que lo ven muy normal y aquí es algo que nos escandaliza porque no lo vemos tan a menudo.*
- NS15: *Sí.*
- NS16: *Y: está relacionado con las armas porque: si hubiera un arma habría también menos crimen pero también depende de la persona porque: si alguien está mal de la cabeza aquí en España también va a realizar el crimen como él quiera.*
- NS15: *Claro. Eso también influye mucho desde pequeño porque si tú vives en una sociedad que desde: con la edad: que tengas puede ir comprando armas y vas viendo eso por la calle, quieras o no, te va a influir, de mayor.*
- NS16: *Por ejemplo, mi tita que es estadounidense contaba que: allí había miedo a salir a la calle. Bueno, estaba acostumbrada desde pequeña no pero aún así ella que ha venido a España ha visto el contraste entre un sitio y otro pues se ha dado cuenta de que allí es peligroso porque no sabe en cualquier momento te puede pasar cualquier cosa y aquí en España es más diferente.*
- NS15: *Claro, es que: es diferente el sistema de allí en Estados Unidos que aquí en España eh: ¿Tú crees que allí en Estados Unidos...deberían: eh: tener las armas así de fácil?.*
- NS16: *No deberían hacerles exámenes para comprobar si están bien de la cabeza y: si tienen la edad y de todo.*
- NS15: *Claro. @*
- NS16: *Porque por ejemplo en lo en las matanzas de Sandy Hook, Newtown, y Orlando era por...por ese problema porque: tenían armas y a lo mejor no no estaban capacitados para ello y es algo que en España no pasaría tan fácilmente porque no...no se accede a ellas tan fácilmente.*
- NS15: *Claro. Y: muchas veces la violencia está relacionada con las armas porque la mayoría de los crímenes y hechos sucedidos relacionados con ese tema son por la causa de armas.*
- NS16: *Y eso lo vemos mucho en la televisión y en Internet porque....a ver deberían cambiar esa política... y también las cosas cambiarían pero si una persona quiere realizar un crimen lo va a hacer igualmente, pero si desde pequeños han sido educados con esa mentalidad pues difícilmente lo vamos a cambiar.*
- NS15: *Claro. Si esa tema debería cam- deberían de ser radical y: cambiar hacer un cambio radical porque como esto siga así en otros países va a va a ser más influyente en los próximos años.*

- NS16: *Mm: yo les diría a la gente de Estados Unidos que se manifiesten en contra de: de esta política y que intenten cambiar las cosas y podrán vivir más seguros y que vengan a visitar España.*
- NS15: *@ Claro @ y: deberían hacer cambios en el sistema, las leyes, el gobierno y no dejar tan fácilmente comprar armas y así disminuiría la cantidad de: violencia y de muertos.*
-
- NS17: *Vale. Pues, a ver, en cuanto a lo de si me siento segura aquí en España mm: yo no sé yo siempre me he sentido segura yendo por la calle, cierto es que: eh: siempre tienes miedo de que te pase algo tipo que te atropelle un coche o que: llega algún loco y: y: haga un atentado. Pero eso algo que ese miedo a un atentado ha llegado más bien con lo ha pasado en París eh: Con lo que está pasando ahora con el terrorismo. Entonces, yo qué sé que: es algo que se ha incrementado ahora pero anteriormente yo no yo no me he sentido insegura yendo por la calle em:, ¿Tú qué piensas?*
- NS18: *Yo: también me siento aquí en España muy segura cuando voy por la calle yo sola o con amigas. Aunque a parte de lo que haya pasado en los atentados que hayan hecho me sigo sintiendo segura en España. Y hace dos años también estuve en los Estados Unidos y: me sentía segura igual que en me sentía igual que...en España.*
- NS17: *Em: en cuanto a la violencia si está relacionada con las armas... mm: yo creo que no siempre. Puede haber que violencia de género o...o sea hay muchos tipos de violencia. Yo no creo que: que todos los tipos de violencia estén relacionados con las armas porque: ya digo hay muchos tipos. Por ejemplo, yo puedo llegar y pegarle a alguien y no necesitar ningún arma.*
- NS18: *Sí yo pienso igual que tú. Eh: y yo creo que si: hubiese menos armas no tiene por qué haber menos crimen porque hay muchos tipos.*
- NS17: *Además yo creo que aquí en España en la total tipos de violencia que más se da es la violencia de género o sea que,*
- NS18: *Sí.*
- NS17: *Luego um ¿que si los estadounidenses deben de tener el derecho de tener un arma? Mm: a ver, yo creo que eso es algo que debería de cambiarse, porque yo sé que en todos los estados a lo mejor no es lo mismo, pero que en unos estados haya más peligro que, que la gente vaya con el miedo de oye que: a lo mejor um: este tío va con un arma y me puede disparar y... y... ya la tenemos tenemos aquí un,*

- NS18: *Sí hay tendrían que cambiar la ley.*
- NS17: *Yo creo que que algo debería cambiarse porque: ya un poco también la gente quiere seguridad cuando va por la calle entonces,*
- NS18: *Em: como así,*
- NS17: *Pues...yo creo que para reducir la violencia en los Estados Unidos habría que cambiar también la ley. Y: Buenas Ey qué haceís?. Un vídeo, José, que estamos grabando una cosa. Eh:, bueno,... a ver, hombre yo creo que: en cuanto a lo de Sandy Hook no sé mucho. ¿Sandy Hook era una persona o era el sitio? Vale, ¿y era de también del estado islámico? Vale pues: hombre yo creo que en este caso. De lo de Orlando eh: esto no fue creo que esto es más bien problema de del estado islámico que no es que sea un estadounidense que por culpa de la ley em: que por culpa de la ley que tuviera armas y empezara a matar gente que no que fue algo que el hecho del terrorismo pues es culpa del terrorismo y: para reducir la violencia en Estados Unidos pues.*
- NS18: *Cambiar las leyes y:*
- NS17: *Cambiar la ley, no sé.*
- NS18: *Yo creo que en España hay menos violencia porque: tampoco las leyes tampoco permiten tener las armas y hay diferentes leyes que en Estados Unidos a lo mejor más seguras y:*
- NS17: *Yo creo que también mm se debe a la población porque Estados Unidos es un país probablemente de los más poblados del mundo. Y: y: saber dirigir un país con tanta gente yo creo que tiene que ser difícil vamos: que:*
- NS18: *Sí.*
- NS17: *No sé, yo...es mi opinión y: ¿Crees que hay otros factores que influyen en la violencia?. En cuanto a la última pregunta yo creo que sí que,*
- NS18: *Algunos videojuegos.*
- NS17: *Sí. Que hay gente que comienza a jugar a videojuegos y se les va a la cabeza con los videojuegos y: eso... y: Pues ya como conclusión yo creo que lo que más hemos sacado las dos que esto de las armas en Estados Unidos es algo que debería de cambiarse porque creemos que afecta a la población que es un peligro, pero no siempre pero no creo que en todos los estados estén permitidas las armas pero yo creo que si un país quiere seguridad,*
- NS18: *Necesita cambiar las leyes ponerlas más seguras, sí.*

NS17: Y:

NS19: *Bueno, pues: yo sí me siento segura en España. Porque: no sé. (TSK) Puede... depende también de la zona que vayas. Em: (TSK) te sientes más seguro ¿No? Por ejemplo, en una zona comercial, una zona donde hay mucho tránsito, pues: yo sí me siento segura por la noche.*

NS20: *Yo también me siento segura en España. Porque: aparte de que hay bastante seguridad por la policía y: son: sitios muy transitados donde hay mucha gente y normalmente las cosas suceden: en sitios donde no hay nadie que son más deshabitados pero son (TSK) fuera de la ciudad.*

NS19: *Sí. No sé...Bueno: y en Estados Unidos pues no lo sé porque no he estado allí.*

NS20: *Yo tampoco he estado.*

NS19: *Pero (TSK) por lo que sé y lo que oigo pues no en plan no me: eso de que la mitad de la población tenga armas no me: no me pone: en plan no me gusta.*

NS20: *Yo tampoco me sentiría segura porque eso de de saber que hasta,*

NS19: *Tu vecino.*

NS20: *Un adolescente o: es que tu vecino de al lado puede tener un arma, pues: si algún día,*

NS19: *Se le va la cabeza o algo.*

NS20: *Se le cruzan los cables o algo y se enfada pues: @ pues puedes tener un problema. @*

NS19: *@ Sí. Bueno y: yo qué sé, lo la violencia está relacionada con las armas yo creo que sí porque: cuando la gente tiene acceso aaa a los medios donde puede hacer daño a la gente...pues: yo creo que la la violencia está más como (TSK) más permiti- eh bueno, no más permitida pero tú le estás dando a la gente los medios para que haya más violencia entonces no estoy (TSK) dando y yo creo que sí está relacionado.*

NS20: *Yo también pienso que está relacionada porque por ejemplo aquí necesitas licencia y eso y hace que las personas como que tenga la cabeza más asentada ¿no? que no: (TSK) que allí como lo nuevo y lo normal es tener una arma y es algo normal para ellos algo que aquí no lo es.*

- NS19: *Y bueno yo que... si hubiera menos armas pues yo creo que habría muchísima menos violencia porque la gente no: no tendría: esos medios ni ni yo que sé no yo creo que no cometería actos que luego se arrepentirían porque muchas veces no la gente no piensa lo que hace. Y más si tienes un arma en tus manos, y no valoras la vida de la gente.*
- NS20: *Y yo también pienso que: si hubiera menos armas habría menos crimen. Porque: no tiene el instrumento por el que puedes matar fácilmente a una persona*
- NS19: *Mm: a ver...yo creo que todo el mundo tiene derecho a: yo qué sé a poder defenderse pero uff tener el derecho a a un arma uff es que,*
- NS20: *Y además a cualquiera arma.*
- NS19: *Es que a cualquiera exactamente si hubie- si fuese como aquí en España que tuvieses que necesitas una licencia o un permiso (TSK) en plan que no fuese: tan fácil conseguirlo pues supongo que sí pero es que allí no sé si es verdad o no pero creo los puedes comprar en el supermercado (TSK) y todo no yo creo que no.*
- NS20: *Y yo también creo que no que no tienen derecho de tener cualquier arma. Porque aquí...claro. Tienes tu licencia sí y puedes tener un arma pero de (TSK) de un que sea concreta ¿Sabes?.*
- NS19: *Por ejemplo para,*
- NS20: *No puede ser cualquier.*
- NS19: *Por ejemplo para cazar.*
- NS20: *La que sea,*
- NS19: *Para cazar o si tú eres cazador en recintos pues puedes tener un arma pero tampoco la puedes tener creo que en vías publicas.*
- NS20: *Pero tienes tu identidad de que eres cazador y que la utilizas solo para eso.*
- NS19: *Sí y: pues: mi opinión a lo de las matanzas de Orlando y Newtown pues: uff horrible. Porque es como eh: la persona está imponiendo sus ideas a las demás y no lo hace a base de el diálogo o de hablar los unos con el otro lo hace a base de la fuerza incluso de matar y amenazar y me parece horrible.*
- NS20: *Y a mí también me parece algo....o sea una, locura ¿no? Porque es como si ahora todos nos ponemos aquí a matarnos así porque sí, porque tú me caes mal, pues te mato y ya esta pues no y eso no es así.*

- NS19: *Y pues para reducir la violencia pues yo: sería pues...implantar medidas que no hiciesen (TSK), que no permitiesen conseguir armas tan fáciles y que yo que sé que hubiese más (TSK) que no niego el trabajo de la policía @ pero que la policía sí, yo que sé, pues tuviese más, controlasen más las ciudades y a la gente que tuviese armas.*
- NS20: *Y yo pienso que podría haber un cambio de constitución o de las leyes porque eso sobretodo es la que implanta de verdad la orden en allí en un país.*
- NS19: *(TSK) Pues: hay menos violencia en España porque hay yo creo porque no la gente no tiene un fácil acceso para conseguir las armas y porque bueno que tú-- (TSK) también está armas blancas lo que tú has dicho lo de los cuchillos que también puedes conseguirlos fácilmente y pero no yo creo que: no hace el mismo daño ¿sabes? Y: (TSK) y no sé porque:*
-
- NS22: *¿Te sientes seguro o segura aquí en España?. ¿Por qué?. Vale. A ver,*
- NS21: *Yo sí me siento segura en España. Pues, porque llevo viviendo aquí toda mi vida. Y: nunca me ha pasado nada o nunca le ha pasado nada a mi familia que ha que pueda afectar su seguridad. Entonces pues, a lo mejor cuando pase ya dejó de sentirme tan segura, pero por ahora la verdad es que me siento muy segura, ¿Y tú?*
- NS22: *Hombre, yo: hay momentos en los que no me siento tan segura porque hay que tener siempre un límite de seguridad y tener cuidado por donde andas porque por ejemplo si vas a una fiesta, eh: y acabas a las, cinco de la mañana tienes que tener muy seguro por donde vas caminando y con que gente vas caminando. Bueno, ¿Te sientes seguro/segura en Estados Unidos?. ¿Por qué?.*
- NS21: *Pues: yo nunca he estado en Estados Unidos, @ así que no sé si me sentiría segura o no. Pero: es cuestión de probarlo, a lo mejor sí o a lo mejor no. Yo creo que sería muy diferente a cómo me siento aquí en, en España porque además de que es otro país, también la situación es diferente y lo que ves en las noticias también te influye mucho.*
- NS22: *Yo: por ejemplo, en, Estados Unidos me sentiría más segura respecto al terrorismo porque allí no hay tantos atentados de terrorismo que en Europa, los que se han dado últimamente eh: dos. La violencia está relacionada con las armas, ¿Sí o no?. ¿Por qué?.*
- NS21: *Eh: en algunos casos sí. Pero: no siempre porque también hay violencia que puede ser con las palabras, que yo creo que eh: que yo creo que algunas veces, algunas veces puedes hacer mucho más daño con palabras ¿No?, (TSK) A ver, claro. Si le disparas o a lo mejor con armas, le haces daño físico ¿No?, Pero nunca se tiene en cuenta el daño lo que es sentimental lo que puede pensar una*

persona, y no solo con armas sino con las manos y... pero la mayoría de las veces es con las armas, en los atentados y en esas cosas. ¿Y tú, qué piensas?.

NS22: *Vale. Yo creo que también eh: un cincuenta por ciento porque además de utilizar armas eh: la gente también puede estar en momentos...no sé. Que: que no saben actuar y utilizar otro tipo de objetos o cosas @ eh: ¿Qué opinas, si hubiera menos armas habría menos crimen?.*

NS21: *Yo creo que si dejara de haber armas, la gente encontraría otra forma de seguir cometiendo.*

NS22: *Sí.*

NS21: *El crimen, no...no dejaría de existir.*

NS22: *Sí, yo también creo que la gente comenzaría a... a hacer sus propias armas. @*

NS21: *Exactamente.*

NS22: *Eh: tres. ¿Crees que los estadounidenses deben tener el derecho de tener un arma cualquier o deberíamos cambiar la constitución y/o las leyes?. ¿Por qué?.*

NS21: *Es que eso es muy relativo porque: si a lo mejor si te sientes más seguro con un arma en tu casa, pues, (TSK) mira pues tenla, ¿No?, pero es que es muy peligroso tener un arma a lo mejor poner una alarma de seguridad o algo así pero a mí es que: las armas mm, me dan mucho miedo.*

NS22: *Yo creo que sí. Sí, deben de tener el derecho de tener un arma pero para utilizarla en defensa propia porque...por ejemplo, si una persona va a tu casa a robarte o yo qué sé a intentar secuestrarte, tú tú debes de tener un derecho para poder defenderte para poder atacarle. Pero por ejemplo aquí en España, ese deber creo que no está permitido y si tú... no sé, vas a una casa a robar y además, te matan, el propietario de la casa iría a la cárcel y entonces no...no lo veo lógico em: ¿Por qué? Bueno ya lo he dicho... cuatro ¿Cómo afectan tu opinión eventos como las matanzas de Sandy Hook, Orlando, etc., en cuanto a este tema, qué podríamos hacer para reducir la violencia en los Estados Unidos?*

NS21: *A ver, yo creo que no todo el mundo que tenga armas la usa de una mala manera, realizando atentados y cosas así, ¿No?.*

NS22: *Sí.*

NS21: *Pero es verdad que te influye mucho porque dices bueno si a lo mejor no hubiera tenido un arma no habría causado tanto... Lo que causó, tanto miedo. Y para reducir la violencia pues eliminar las armas a lo mejor puede ser una buena*

solución o intentar hacer más hincapié en lo que son las palabras...desde tanto con la mano y con las armas.

NS22: *Yo creo que en estos momentos lo que hace la gente respeto a esto. Huy, ¿Está lloviendo?*

NS21: *Sí sí sí.*

NS22: *Vale. Lo que hace la gente en este momento es...eh: políticamente atacar en vez de la defensa propia yo creo que no sería no estaría legal utilizarla ¿entiendes? ¿Qué podríamos hacer para reducir la violencia?. Pues: eh: poner como si fuese una ley para las armas y tenerlas controladas; quién tiene cada arma y cómo la utiliza y revisar, hacer una revisión cada año. Cinco, en España también hay violencia como en todos los países pero hay menos armas. ¿Por qué crees que hay menos violencia en España en comparación con los Estados Unidos?.*

NS21: *Yo pienso que es porque en Estados Unidos...se han dado muchos más casos de atentados contra la seguridad de las personas, entonces a lo mejor pues Estados Unidos está como más a la defensiva, y se sienten más desprotegidos y quieren intentar tener algo de defensa,*

NS22: *Sí.*

NS21: *Como has dicho tú antes de armas, a lo mejor en España si se dan tantas situaciones como son en los Estados Unidos haya muchas más armas.*

NS22: *¿Por qué crees que hay menos violencia en España en comparación? Realmente no lo sé. @ No lo sé. a lo mejor la forma de ser de las personas eh: la forma de expresarse.*

NS21: *También.*

NS22: *De revindicar.*

NS24: *Tírale.*

NS23: *¿Qué, yo? @ Em: vale eh: sí me siento más segura en España. Pero no he estado en Estados Unidos, así que no no es que pueda opinar mucho. Pero, sí es verdad que em: que respecto a otros países eh: Estados Unidos em: presenta un poco el índice de violencia muchísimo más alto. Pero el hecho, de que cualquier persona puede llegar a tener un arma. Entonces eh: si ya aquí en España que con otros recursos, se llega a la violencia, se llega a a asesinatos, si llega a atracos, y a otros otros efectos así de de la violencia el: el: hecho de tener armas y que puedan poseerlas todo todo tipo de gente pues como que favorece más.*

- NS24: *Pues: yo también pienso que en España aquí la seguridad pues: realmente la tenemos como algo, ¿Sabes?. Cotidiano. Porque: sí que es verdad que en otros países a lo que vas por la calle y vas teniendo un poquillo de miedo y Estados Unidos si es verdad que tampoco he estado físicamente pero lo que he podido ver en los documentales en las películas etc. Eh: si es verdad que el acceso a armas está menos regulado que aquí, que aquí, vamos...es que lo raro es que una persona tenga un arma y allí lo raro es que una persona no tenga un arma. Y creo que esto si puede llegar a incrementar la violencia porque aquí como no te peleas con un palo o con un cuchillo tampoco hay muchas pistolas como para disparar y allí incrementa muchísimo el número de muertes yo creo por el hecho de tener una pistola porque realmente es muchísimo más fácil llegar a un contacto físico o a una pelea teniendo un arma que con un contacto físico persona a persona.*
- NS23: *Y no solo eso sino que, a un hombre por ejemplo le da un brote psicótico entra en un colegio y se lía a disparar a la gente, así:*
- NS24: *Porque puede porque tiene una pistola.*
- NS23: *Porque tiene un arma.*
- NS24: *Por ejemplo sí.*
- NS23: *Y eso, yo creo que deberíamos de darle un vuelco totalmente a, a todo. ¿Por qué lo pones así?*
- NS24: *Por eso. ###*
- NS23: *Deberíamos de darle un vuelco totalmente a todo porque realmente lo que estamos haciendo es favorecer un mal. El hecho de que em: todo lo que genera la posesión de armas es todavía más, más negativo que lo que podemos llegar a crear sin armas o sea,*
- NS24: *¿Y si hubiera menos armas habría menos crimen?. Yo: [creo que sí, totalmente.]*
- NS23: *[Creo que sí, totalmente.]*
- NS24: *Porque el arma como ya he dicho es que es una facilidad más que tienes para: para discutir para: llegar a un conflicto y para> hacer más daño de hecho porque los efectos que tiene un arma también son muchísimos más letales que los que puede tener cualquier otro tipo de contacto o agresión, ¿Me entiendes? Entonces si yo creo que si hubiera menos armas definitivamente habría menos crimen sí.*
- NS23: *De hecho mm eh: ahora con lo que estamos viviendo con lo del terrorismo y demás em: favorece muchísimo más el....*

- NS24: *Venga dale*
- NS23: *@ Em: el terrorismo por el hecho de que aparte de que no hay tantos controles eh: en Estados Unidos cualquier persona puede llegar a tener un arma y entrar en cualquier lado y hacer eh: el caos en un segundo y eso aquí en España la verdad que yo creo que nunca ha habido algo así. Eso: bueno, si a lo mejor si ha habido un atraco en algún tipo pero no armas es bastante inusual.*
- NS24: *Aquí la: La mayoría de las armas en España de hecho las armas son ilegales ¿sabes? aquí de hecho las armas que tienes las puedes comprar y puedes tener tu licencia aquí como no sea contrabando raro es que tengas un arma a no ser que sea de caza o algo así sí vale emm ¿Crees que los estadounidenses deberían tener el derecho de tener un arma?*
- NS23: *No.*
- NS24: *En absoluto.*
- NS23: *Es que deberíamos de darle una vuelta a todo porque la verdad... el hecho de que la gente pueda tener en las manos.... Es que: como que ya es como el primer paso.*
- NS24: *Ya, con que la gente tenga un arma porque sí, vale. Pero ya hacerlo como un derecho también sería como...*
- NS23: *Obligado.*
- NS24: *Exacto. Sería un poco como pft ahora, eh: para reducir la violencia en Estados Unidos ¿tú crees que podríamos llegar a hacer?. ¿Qué podemos hacer?*
- NS23: *Eh: quitar el derecho al arma y así que muy poca gente pueda llegar a tener un arma.*
- NS24: *Es que yo creo que también, sí.*
- NS23: *La policía aún un poco más.*
- NS24: *Es que también yo creo que eso incrementa muchísimo que.*
- NS23: *No.*
- NS24: *Tú puedes realmente tener una pelea con un policía.*
- NS23: *[Pero]*

- NS24: *[Por tener tu arma]*
- NS23: *Si puede reducir puede que la violencia no se reduzca pero pero igualmente eh: el hecho de que quiten las armas en Estados Unidos.*
- NS24: *[Sí que eso reduzca]*
- NS23: *[Hace que reduzca]*
- NS24: *Sí por eso te digo.*
- NS23: *Mayoritariamente los problemas que vienen de gente no son porque una persona se levanta y elabora un plan y ala, voy a matar gente por doquier no son gente que realmente está loca. Yo lo veo así.*
- NS24: *¿Tú crees que un factor que puede influir en la violencia es un trastorno mental entonces?*
- NS23: *Sí, fácil.*
- NS24: *Pues puede ser*
- NS23: *No, no, no todo el mundo es tan anormal o piensa tan sumamente mal como para decir..... ala*
- NS24: *Yo creo que también que tiene también que ver con la educación que se le da a una persona porque si tú por ejemplo a una persona le das una educación basada en la paz y en las no armas por mucho que él quiera llegar por sus medios va a ser muchísimo más difícil que sí, ya.*
- NS23: *Pero dudo que si esa persona que busca la paz no quiere no quiere que... vamos, que no busca ningún mal, dudo que esa persona lleve un arma en su casa.*
- NS24: *Pero si tiene la posibilidad de tenerla como cualquier otra persona.*
- NS23: *Pero: para que la tienes si tú buscas la paz. No quiero armas: pero tengo un arma.*
- NS24: *Porque también María También podría ser algo social ¿sabes? Igual.*
- NS23: *Sí.*
- NS24: *Que aquí todo el mundo tiene:*
- NS23: *Por eso.*

NS24: *Venga, fuma pues vamos a fumar. Pues: tengo una pistola, vamos a tener una pistola. ¿Me entiendes? @*

NS23: *@ Pero no por eso ya porque [todo el mundo tiene.]*

NS24: *[Ya claro que no.]*

NS23: *Tiene que tener un arma.*

NS24: *Por eso digo que si es una persona pacífica y tal.*

NS23: *No tiene un arma @*

NS24: *Oh ¿Sí? ¿Quién sabe? Lo mismo la tienes de autodefensa.*

NS23: *No la tiene y ya.*

NS24: *¿Se va?.¿Ya está?.*

APPENDIX G

Learner Pre-Program Elicited Dialogues (Transcriptions)

All the learners are labeled LPR for the learner pre-program dialogues from 1-24.

- LPR1: *¿Te sientes segura aquí en España?*
- LPR2: *Sí: porque uh yo he visto muchas policías. Uh cuando: yo caminando: uh en la ciudad. ¿Y tú?.*
- LPR1: *Uh: un poco menos porque es, uh un país nueva para mí.*
- LPR2: *Sí.*
- LPR1: *Y uh...no sé las uh las [personas]*
- LPR2: *[Mm.]*
- LPR1: *[₂Las calles.]*
- LPR2: *[₂Sí], uh, ¿Te sientes seguro en las Estados Unidos?*
- LPR1: *Uh...en mi pueblo sí, pero no en los ciudades grandes.*
- LPR2: *Sí, yeah [también.]*
- LPR1: *[Porque] hay mucha violencia allí.*
- LPR2: *Sí sí.*
- LPR1: *Uh.*
- LPR2: *Uh, sí, yo: pienso que um, la violencia está re- relacionada?, con las armas porque*
- LPR1: *Sí.*
- LPR2: *Um uh más violanc-...violencia um... es en está... en la la Estados Unidos [y no en]*
- LPR1: *[Sí sí.]*

- LPR2: *España*
- LPR1: *Uh la mayoría de um (TSK) problemas con los leyes uh y uh cuando personas matar?, es con usualmente*
- LPR2: *@ Sí.*
- LPR1: *No es gracioso?, ### es um es con armas.*
- LPR2: *Armas, sí.*
- LPR1: *Um ¿Crees que los estadounidense deben tener el derecho de tener un arma o deberíamos cambiar la constitución y/o las leyes? ¿Por qué?.*
- LPR2: *Um no creo que los estu-...estadundienses deben tener um el derecho porque... cuando el constitución um escribaba?, escribada?, es sí um tiene uh tienen los [militia]*
- LPR1: *[más de] un razón para,*
- LPR2: *[sí sí]*
- LPR1: *[¿tener armas]]*
- LPR2: *[¿y con um]]*
- LPR1: *[porque el país] um estaba muy,*
- LPR2: *Sí sí y um tienen um pequeños grupos con solidados?,*
- LPR1: *Sí sí sí.*
- LPR2: *Sí that um que necesitaban las armas.*
- LPR1: *Y uh sí Inglaterra era el enemigo.*
- LPR2: *Sí @ [um]*
- LPR1: *[um]*
- LPR2: *¿Cómo afectan tu opinión eventos las mantanzas de Sandy Hook, Orlando, Newtown etc. en cuando e este tema?.*
- LPR1: *Um n- uh... no... estaba... nunca, yo nunca estaba pro: armas*

- LPR2: *Sí*
- LPR1: *pero los eventos um de Sandy Hook y Orlando son muy...uh*
- LPR2: *Tristes*
- LPR1: *Son muy, muy tristes.*
- LPR2: *Sí sí yeah yo también.*
- LPR1: *Y, uh... era una sorpresa.*
- LPR2: *Sí especialmente Orlando.*
- LPR1: *Sí.*
- LPR2: *Sí um en España también hay violencia como en todos los países?, pero hay menos armas ¿por qué crees que hay menos violencia en España en comparación con los Estados Unidos?*
- LPR1: *Porque hay menos armas [en España.]*
- LPR2: *[Sí @]*
- LPR1: *Uh ¿Crees que hay otros factores que influyen la violencia?*
- LPR2: *[Um]*
- LPR1: *[Por ejemplo] los videojuegos, la televisión, el internet...*
- LPR2: *Um no: pero,*
- LPR1: *Yo me [acuerdo]*
- LPR2: *[Es] sí es muy common?,*
- LPR1: *Común.*
- LPR2: *Común, um en la los Estados Unidos um y los niños ven: a: la tele*
- LPR1: *[sí]*
- LPR2: *[y]*
- LPR1: *No, uh en mi opinión no es...porque hay videojuegos*

LPR2: *Sí um,*

LPR1: *Muchos niños...*

LPR2: *Juguen.*

LPR1: *Jueguen juegan juegan los.*

LPR2: *Sí sí.*

LPR3: *Bueno, eh: me siento muy seguro aquí [en Granada.]*

LPR4: *[Sí sí] yo también.*

LPR3: *Este... yo sé que este sitio es muy turístico y: ese barrio es muy seguro y: no es representara a todo España, pero me siento muy seguro aquí.*

LPR4: *Sí yo también pero en los Estados Unidos es dependiente en en lugar n- en,*

LPR3: *[Sí.]*

LPR4: *[En las partes] de una de unas ciudades es no está seguro pero otros sí.*

LPR3: *Sí yo estoy seguro que es lo mismo en España y: uh no estamos en un, en una parte de la ciudad mal y: entonces no podemos uh decir mucho sobre este su- sujeto. Uh, pero uh, yo pienso que la violencia sí está relacionada con con las armas en, uh en un lugar.*

LPR4: *Pero en los Estados Unidos hay muchas: más armas.*

LPR3: *Sí.*

LPR4: *Muchas:*

LPR3: *Uh.*

LPR4: *y.*

LPR3: *Es es difícil um decir si una persona debe tener el derecho de tener una arma o no?, Uh yo pienso que: cuando: fue el año mil seiscientos o setecientos sesen- setenta y: seis [sí,]*

LPR4: *[Mm hm.]*

- LPR3: *Personas tienen el derecho porque fue necesario para la seguridad porque fue en el frontiro, uh en la frontera eh: hubo, había muchos muchos peligros y: no fue muy seguro pero ahora en en este día aeh en el siglo uh ven- veintiuno eh: para mí no no necesitas una arma.*
- LPR4: *Sí. Para obtener un un arma es muy fácil en los Estados Unidos n-,*
- LPR3: *[sí]*
- LPR4: *[Necesita] ser más difícil para...para obtener una arma,*
- LPR3: *Sí. Y sobre los los las matanzas que en los Estados Unidos es, es importante tener en cuenta que las... matanzas son diferentes de los uh de violencia normal yo pienso que para parar las man- matanzas necesitamos poner uh: leyes más es- estrictos sobre uh el background check eh eso pertenece más a las matanzas que a violencia normal pero, para violencia normal aeh necesito necesitamos uh... poner nuevas leyes más estrictos en efecto.*
- LPR4: *Sí lo mismo para mí. Uh los background checks no sé que se vuelven?, ¿Entiendes?.*
- LPR3: *Mm no: [re]*
- LPR4: *[te]*
- LPR3: *[Repítelo] por favor.*
- LPR4: *[Que]no sé que los background checks chequean.*
- LPR3: *[Sí sí]*
- LPR4: *[Para]*
- LPR3: *Sí tú no piensas que los background checks trabajan porque: tal vez quizás eh: personas pueden uh circunventar?, eh este?.*
- LPR4: *No no no no sé que que la- que los background checks preguntan a la persona quien quiere comprar un arma. So, no puedo hablar mucho sobre sobre eso.*
- LPR3: *Bueno aeh mm sí creo que hay otros factores que influyen a la violencia uh videojuegos no mucho, porque yo pienso que mucha gente saben que un videojuego solo es un [videojuego,]*
- LPR4: *[Sí eso] sólo eso [no es real]*

- LPR3: *[2No es realidad] uh pero tal vez quizás la televisión o el internet quizás pueden mm cam- cambiar eh el mente de muchas personas y: sí.*
- LPR4: *No nunca he, nunca he deseado tener una arma so no pa- no enti- no entiendo mucho sobre sobre ese sí.*
- LPR3: *Um, yo pienso que uh yo yo creo que la razón?, Porque España tiene menos menos violencia,*
- LPR4: *Sí.*
- LPR3: *Eh: en comparación con los Estados Unidos es porque el l- principal el principal uh cosa es porque hay uh hay menos armas en mi opinión.*
- LPR4: *### Y creo que es el segundo amend- segundo amendment sí?.*
- LPR3: *Sí sí.*
- LPR4: *Que que en está los armas. También no sé que ha- yo sé que generalmente es es el se- el segundo amendment, es la el segundo amendment es pero pienso que necesita más difícil generalmente generalmente.*
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- LPR5: *Um me si- um me siento um seguro a- aquí en España y en los Estados Unidos. Um, probablemente porque vivo en una ciudad pequeña y: um, no hay mucho violencia en um mi barrio?, Um, pero también cuando estoy en un ### ciudad más grande uh, uh, me siento seguridad también uh porque ma- mis parentes, um...mm uh, enseña:? a mí um...uh, tener mucho um, um... um uh te- uh tener um.... no: um... tiene- tengo medio uh sobre personas*
- LPR6: *Um, me s- uh siento seguro en uh, aquí en España porque um....uh, uh, menos uh armas um en España uh, que armas en uh USA- ustados Unidos EEUU um y um a veces en uh los Estados Unidos uh no no uh, uh, me no sienta seguro porque uh... más v- violencia um porque armas um... gentes uh... uh per--... personas que no: deben um te- tener um armas uh tienes uh, lo tienes y uh, más violence porque um este problem problema.*
- LPR5: *Sí um el número de armas en los Estados Unidos es un grande problema. Um y uh cuando um la problema en Orlando um ocurrié un, um, mes?, pasado?, um un reacción común fue um, necesitamos más armas um para defender uh los personas que um... que muerten um pero no pienso que eso es uh la solución porque um necesitamos más preguntas antes uh, de com- compra--compiendo un ar- arma.*

- LPR6: *En mi opinión um... es un gran problema porque uh, uh el gobierno de Estados Unidos uh no puede um, todos uh... más um, organizions um, tiene um, influencia sobre el gobierno y n- uh lo uh el influencia es no buena para la la uh gente de uh Estados Unidos.*
- LPR5: *Um sí yo entiendo el argumento que um... uh el segundo uh... um... ¿dónde está la pregunta sobre uh la constitución?*
- LPR6: *Mm.*
- LPR5: *Um oh sí sí sí. Um uh sí uh yo entiendo uh em el argumento para um um mantener uh los armas en los Estados Unidos, porque uh de um la constitución de los Estados Unidos um no: estoy de acuerdo uh con uh... es- con um... uh todos las personas um pueden uh tener armas, pero yo entiendo que es uh está unos de los um re- unos de las reglas, um uh de um nosotros uh país pero um necesitamos más, uh mm, reglas um para obtener.*
- LPR6: *Um para número uh tres, um, es un buena idea um que cambiar la constitución um per- uh sino que sino uh... el gobierno uh, nunca um es- es- escrito más um a la constitución um uh... no un buen um... solución a a un problema este problema.*
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- LPR7: *Pienso que: uh entonces primero um pienso que la ley en la uh constitución no: uh no está muy claro para todos. Y um si uh la gente puede uh comprarlos uh las los arm- las armas y um pero también um pienso que mucho de la vio- violencia es- está relac- relacionada con lo- las armas. Entonces uh pienso que uh uh pienso que necesitará um los cheques de su um su em bueno la- necesitará um hay a ver a los cheques de su:*
- LPR8: *Background?*
- LPR7: *Sí. Y um, todos uh y el estado de su mente?, Y um si um, si eres una persona muy violento en el pasado, o no y um también los uh @ lo siento. Y también a las personas uh muchas de las personas que um tienes armas no, no um, no entienden a usarlos entonces pienso que um...pienso que los um los clases de um como usarlos...um necesitará um estar mandatorio. Claro, cuando una persona uh decid- uh decidieron uh comprar un arma?, Sí.*
- LPR8: *Sí y en mi opinión, um, yo sé que muchas personas en los Estados Unidos piensan que um es su derecha...tener un arma?, Pero la constitución um fue fui fue um creído hace tres um centuras y así um mucho ha cam- cambiado um y: Por eso las um las personas no deben um defenderse mucho um como en la diecisiete centura.*

- LPR7: *Sí. Um: @ también pienso que muchos de los um de los actos viol- uh violentos en los Estados Unidos son c- uh con las armas. Entonces si...um si el gobierno um uh pone otros leyes en um con uh otros leyes de los armas em los actos violentos puede um puede uh a bajar sí @ puede bajar a bajar a b- ### no sé pero entonces pienso que esto.*
- LPR8: *Y: um también las matanzas de Sandy Hook Orlando y más uh mucho um más um ellos fueron, los...um niños quien um fue mataron pero el gobierno um no, no quiere uh cambiar las reglas y um porque el congreso dice que la constitución um no um dice eso y um por eso las personas...que um...tienen mucho um influencia deben cambiarlas...leyes, las leyes.*
- LPR7: *Sí, también en um la historia recién uh reciente um hay mucho más um actos violentos con las armas. Y antes de esta um...esta uh siglo uh no no um había muchas personas que uh...que tienen que um tenían armas pero y- um y también no uh había muchos actos de violencias con los ar- las armas y um en los a a años pasados a a años pasados uh los números uh uh continua a um sí ### @ Lo siento.*
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- LPR9: *Um siento que estamos seguro en España. Porque: es um el sol es um tiene más tiempo...en el cielo?.*
- LPR10: *Sí.*
- LPR9: *Um, en los Estados Unidos...tenemos la: el derecho de tener armas porque es en um: @ los amendments.*
- LPR10: *Sí.*
- LPR9: *Y: um es posible que: los noches no tienen...uh luces en los Estados Unidos.*
- LPR10: *Sí.*
- LPR9: *Que no sentemos...um seguro porque: uh tenemos miedo del noches.*
- LPR10: *Sí, um en España, en España siento seguro, um como no pienso que um voy a morir sien- uh tengo miedo de que voy a perder dinero o algo así pero um no pienso que voy a morir en y en los Estados Unidos uh la mayoría del del tiempo me siento seguro pero como hace dos meses um...había un ataque en uh UCLA en la universidad en California. Y um...y yo vivo muy cerca a la universidad y me sentía...o tenía mucho miedo entonces cuando hay ataques en los Estados Unidos, tengo miedo y hay ataques um hay com- um están comunes en, en los Estados Unidos.*

- LPR9: *Sí. um violencia posiblemente es como porque...uh los Estados Unidos um es joven.*
- LPR10: *Sí.*
- LPR9: *Y tiene un historia de violencia.*
- LPR10: *Sí.*
- LPR9: *Y recordemos lo.*
- LPR10: *Sí. Sí, um pienso que um hay menos violencia con armas en España porque...um no es como parte de la cultura um usar armas para um como en los Estados Unidos um se usan armas para um un deporte y para divertirse. Y no sé pero no pienso que es um la cultura en España como en los Estados Unidos.*
- LPR9: *Sí. Um porque los armas no están en la cultura [aquí.]*
- LPR10: *[Sí.]*
- LPR9: *En es...uh una cosa que tenemos cuchillos.*
- LPR10: *Sí.*
- LPR9: *Por la violencia.*
- LPR10: *Y también pienso que el número de um...los ataques están um o hay más ahora. Y pienso que um los videojuegos y la televisión um influyen el número porque um... um niños um pueden ver cosas violentas a en cuando están muy jóvenes y es como normal ver ataques y um personas muertas entonces no es muy raro um...ver personas que están muertos.*
- LPR9: *Y um ellos posiblemente um jueguen jueguen videojuegos y um mate personas o,*
- LPR10: *Sí entonces cuando tene- cuando ellos tienen armas en la vida real um parece como un videojuego como no es real y puedes como tener otra vida com- uh sí*
- LPR9: *Mm um ¿piensas que es necesario cambiar las leyes en los Estados Unidos?*
- LPR10: *Um, sí pienso que um... el en...um pienso que lo- los estadounidenses um uh en um pienso que los estadounidenses pueden tener el derecho de um...tener armas en su casa pero las ley- las leyes pueden deben ser más estrictos como um llevarlos o um fuera y para que um las,*
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- LPR11: *¿Quieres empezar con pregunta dos?*
- LPR12: *Um...con sí con pregunta dos so: la violencia está relacionada con las armas- ¿Sí o no, por qué?*
- LPR11: *Ay, creo que no. Porque uh creo que es más como um el lugar que vi- vives. Porque en España like, los calles son más pequeños y la gente uh...caminan a muchos a muchos lugares y por eso ven, ven uh...pueden pueden ver otras personas muy frecuentemente que los Estados Unidos con los calles grande y quien manejan uh todo.*
- LPR12: *Uh...yo estoy um de desacuerdo porque um...yo pienso que hay un diferencia entre personas con un arma y personas sin un arma es inevitable con um que personas con armas son más peligrosos como, personas sin armas y: yo pienso que necesitamos cambiar la constitución uh... para, para uh tener re- reglas más estrictos para los armas.*
- LPR11: *Sí, estamos de acuerdo sobre like um cambiar la constitución pero no creo que es: uh eh cierto que personas quien uh tienen um armas son más um violence like son más agresivos porque like por supuesto hay es uh hay algunos pers- algunas personas quien solamente quiere un...una arma para proteger su casa y toda pero um necesitamos reglas para like cada persona comprar. Entonc- por eso um... las personas quien solamente quiere proteger tu mismo uh pueden obtener pero las personas quien son agresivos no pueden.*
- LPR12: *Y: ¿cómo cómo vamos a saber la diferencia como la entre las personas que...um quieren armas para proteger su casa y las personas que quieren armas para violencia?.*
- LPR11: *Sí, sí, buena pregunta. Es like no es está simple es pero generalmente debes debemos uh tener reglas sobre um si tienes un uh historia con violencia no puedes no debes poder um... comprar un una arma sí?.*
- LPR12: *Sí sí estoy de acuerdo. Y um ¿Te sientes más segura en los Estados Unidos o en España?.*
- LPR11: *Creo que en España porque uh...mm solamente hace casi cuatro días que estoy aquí pero todavía siento más um: comfortable aquí porque uh: hay la gente parece más amable y like siempre hablan contigo en los calles y like sí entiendes?*
- LPR12: *Sí. También en los periódicos siempre hay um hay cosas sobre la violencia en los Estados Unidos y nunca um nunca leo en los um periódicos de España que hay mucho violencia y es un um es un razón porque yo siento más uh...más segura en España.*

LPR11: *Sí pero hay menos crimen aquí. Entonces no tenemos no tienen um revistas que se dice violencia en España. Y like creo que hay menos um violencia aquí porque uh los personas like conocen a un otro like generalmente porque ellos v-...um like ver a las otras personas like casi um todos los día- todos las días todos los días pero en like en los Estados Unidos no no comunicamos.*

LPR12: *Oh so, así que piensas que much- uh más personas están amigos y por eso...no quieren @ ma- matar.*

LPR11: *Sí sí sí. so hay menos sí uh porque no hay más violencia aquí de porque hay menos uh armas se dice el PowerPoint.*

LPR12: *Sí sí.*

LPR11: *Entonces, eso...uh muestra que um las personas aquí saben cómo usar un arma una arma correctamente [sí.]*

LPR12: *[###]*

LPR11: *Entonces, like...uh podemos más violencia pero no es porque tenemos más armas.*

LPR12: *Es porque um sa- sabai- uh porque saban como usar una @ una arma?.*

LPR11: *No, no, no pero uh pueden y mm ### ellos ellos saben cuando deben usarlo.*

LPR12: *Oh.*

LPR11: *Lo usarla.*

LPR12: *S- así que piensas que es necesario para tener um...clases.*

LPR13: *Uh...me sie- me siento seguro aquí en España porque la gente n- no tiene mu- uh tan muchas armas como en los Estados Unidos y también hay hay muchos ataques en los Estados Unidos pero no hay muchos uh en España.*

LPR14: *Sí um: me siento seguro aquí en España porque um no p- porque no uh veo muchos armas y en el los Estados Unidos yo veo muchos muchos armas.*

LPR13: *Uh me sien- me siento seguro en los Estados Unidos donde yo vivo porque yo pienso que no nadie quiere ata- atac- atacarme y pero a veces cuando estoy caminando por un...una ciudad muy grande no no me siento muy seguro.*

LPR14: *Sí cuando um... adonde yo vivo um hay menos personas y menos personas y no um s- sí en no en las personas no um son uh agresivos? y um [cuando.]*

- LPR13: [Sí.]
- LPR14: *Yo estoy en una ciudad es diferente uh,*
- LPR13: *Estoy de acuerdo uh...pienso que sí la violencia está relacionada con las armas porque uh los esta- estadatisticas dicen que hay más armas y también más violencia en los Estados Unidos que en España y pienso que si si nosotros podemos uh...reducir el número de armas en los Estados Unidos pode- podemos reducir la violencia también*
- LPR14: *S: sí um uh...u...um las personas um uh dicen personas mate personas pero no es posible mate personas um sin armas y:*
- LPR13: *Sí pien- pienso que: uh los estadounidenses no deben uh tener el derecho de tener una un arma porque en mi opinión no pueden hacer buenas cosas con con armas el solo el resultado el um va a estar violencia.*
- LPR14: *Yo pienso que um, las personas no: tienen el derecho porque um cuando el derecho um cuando la constitution um está um hecho um pers- las personas necesitan um armas para um para para otros países um ahora no necesitan um para um d- otros países um y pero no es posible um...parar las armas um... porque um n- las personas um tiene muchas armas y no es posible um,*
- LPR13: *Eliminar todos todas las armas.*
- LPR14: *Sí en sí y um las personas um obtienen um armas um sin uh permiso de la uh um [de la]*
- LPR13: *[pienso] que una uno de los problemas en los Estados Unidos es que hay muchas culturas y diferentes y todo- todas las personas no uh...no tienen los mismos sentimientos uh pie- pienso que hay menos violencia en España porque hay menos personas y hay menos diversidad diversidad?, En en el país,*
- LPR14: *Sí um...podríamos um podríamos um no yo no sé que um lo que um hacer para um redusar la violencia en los Estados Unidos es un difícil um...problema.*
- LPR13: *Estoy de acuerdo.*
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- LPR15: *¿Qué tu opinión que armas?.*
- LPR16: *No me gustan las uh las armas en general.*

- LPR15: *En general en California no es necesario para especialmente en mi ciudad porque mi ciudad es el um...diez uh...seguridad ciudad en todos Estados Unidos es muy interesante que mucha gente es conserva- conservativo es no es necesario para armas y otros qué?.*
- LPR16: *Pues, en Carolina del norte es más una manera de vida para, para,*
- LPR15: *¿En serio?.*
- LPR16: *Sí.*
- LPR15: *Aw es uh...las armas automáticas es muy muy mal armas pequeñas es uh bien para personas seguridad y seguro uh es bien para todos chicos y chicas y uh... armas automáticas no es bien es muy muy mal porque morir todos gente.*
- LPR16: *Uh...los niños er, los estudiantes en mi escuela uh, se encan-*
- LPR15: *¿Encanta?.*
- LPR16: *Tan,*
- LPR15: *¿Armas?*
- LPR16: *Sí.*
- LPR15: *Uh: yo no, yo no sé por qué si yo uh aprendí a usar armas y no me gusta es muy um fuerte. Para mí es un um es un acción muy muy um enfadada y: no e- no es... bien para la gente norma- normal y um es acción muy con enfadada y morir y no es bien um ¿Qué tú crees uh a la pregunta seis?.*
- LPR16: *Mm otro otros factores son,*
- LPR15: *¿Pobre y rico posiblemente?*
- LPR16: *Sí y la televisión [sí sí.]*
- LPR15: *[Sí sí] el media es muy otro para armas y sin armas es,*
- LPR16: *Y videojuegos,*
- LPR15: *Uh yo no sé videojuegos porque muchos videojuegos um tiene armas de medieval um y con yo no sé la palabra @ en español es uh,*
- LPR16: *Sí [###]*
- LPR15: *[Sí sí sí tú sé]*

- LPR16: *[₂Sí yo sé]*
- LPR15: *[₂Uh] está bien ¿Por qué videojuegos para ti?.*
- LPR16: *Mm como videojuegos, videojuegos como ¿Call of Duty?.*
- LPR15: *[Sí.]*
- LPR16: *[Y] uh...mi hermano suele juga:lo los videojuegos [pero,]*
- LPR15: *[Tiene] mucha violencia en el persona.*
- LPR16: *A veces.*
- LPR15: *Es mm [####]*
- LPR16: *[Y] por eso no me gusta uh [los]*
- LPR15: *[Me gusta] videojuegos con no armas [y,]*
- LPR16: *[Sí]*
- LPR15: *Con armas es muy enfadada y tiene muchos um jóvenes y s- es influencia muy larga en cerca um cerca de mm uh: lugares en Estados Unidos (TSK) um uh ¿Qué es cua- número cómo? Si el um eventos como Sandy [Hook y]*
- LPR16: *[Sí]*
- LPR15: *Ontario [y otros]*
- LPR16: *[Sí]*
- LPR15: *[₂paí-]*
- LPR16: *[₂####]*
- LPR15: *¿Tú um quieres sin armas todas?*
- LPR16: *Sí um*
- LPR15: *(TSK) para mí yo creo que un opinión similar y en los Estados Unidos porque es en el leal documentos no es um sin armas uh nunca? nunca porque uh armas en el constitution y: es um im- imposible para uh ¿llover? No no yo no sé la palabra para uh uh,*

- LPR16: *¿Cambiar?*
- LPR15: *Cambiar, sí es muy difícil.*
- LPR16: *Sí pero mm es tiempo,*
- LPR15: *[Para cambiar?]*
- LPR16: *[Necesitamos] cambiar.*
- LPR15: *Sí. Es yo creo que un um un expla- es muy difícil y el inspecciones inspecciones de armas de uh personas es muy importante porque el sandy hook um...uh lo el um chico que tiene armas y um ¿tuve? tuve uh tuvo armas um porque tu madre.*
- LPR16: *Sí.*
- LPR15: *Y no es um seguro para tu familia y (TSK) y otras personas um tiene armas cerca de niños no es bien...es muy muy mal es ugh.*
- LPR16: *El mundo está cambiando y necesitamos cambiar necesitamos cambiar las leyes leyes ahora.*
- LPR15: *Sí sí sí las reglas es un poquito uh...viejo uh,*
-
- LPR18: *Um ¿Te sientes seguro aquí en España? ¿Por qué? ¿Te sientes seguro en los Estados Unidos? ¿Por qué?*
- LPR17: *Pues aquí en España me siento muy seguro porque no...no pienso que hay todas las cosas que me me podría matar. Pero en los Estados Unidos me siento seguro pero ver todas las cosas en las noticias sobre las matanzas eso me astuta y quizás yo prolement- yo probablemente estoy seguro pero no me así porque siempre estoy viendo toda la traje? ¿Qué está pasando?*
- LPR18: *Mm.*
- LPR17: *¿Y tú?*
- LPR18: *Sí @ uh yo pienso que me siento muy muy seguro en España pero las coch- los coches de taxis en España ay ay ay @ Yo pienso yo pienso que voy a morir por coche aquí porque uh en los Estados Unidos tenemos una calle para coches y un parte del calle para las personas que caminando ¿sí? Están caminando y aquí hay partes del calle los dos ¿sí?*

- LPR17: [###]
- LPR18: *[Necesitamos] compartir pero es muy difícil um muchas veces um: pero sí um en si habla- uh hablamos sobre crime- crimen uh yo pienso um: que no hay más en Granada pero no sé um en general porque es mi tercer día aquí [@]*
- LPR17: *[Mm hm] la otra Cosa es en los Estados Unidos si hay tantas personas que tienen armas. No sé porque piensan que los necesitan porque siempre lo dicen pues yo necesito protegerme si un si un la- si un si un ladrón entra mi cosa y necesito protegerme pero el ladrón probablemente solo tiene un cuchillo o si o...si tiene arma si tenemos muchas más restricciones en las armas es probable que tú no vas a tener una arma pero,*
- LPR18: *Mm hm.*
- LPR17: *El ladrón no va a tener una arma tampoco.*
- LPR18: *Sí. Yo sé pero um yo tengo una pregunta sobre el información porque yo sé uh yo soy de San Francisco [y,]*
- LPR17: *[Sí.]*
- LPR18: *Tenemos muchas violencia de gangs [en Oakland.]*
- LPR17: *[Sí sí sí.]*
- LPR18: *Y um las los barrios cerca del sí de la ciudad y um aeh yo pienso que puedes correcto sí en este ejemplo sí por qué necesitamos armas pero um mucha de la información es posib- es posible es no es legal es ilegal ¿sí? armas de tráfico [en,]*
- LPR17: *[Sí.]*
- LPR18: *Uh en nuestro país pero um también es legal para matar a una persona si entra- ello- a ellos entraron tu casa y ellos no podí- uh podían eso esto po- po- poder eso sí? um y es una excusa para [usar]*
- LPR17: *[s-]*
- LPR18: *Armas en la casa ¿sí?*
- LPR17: *Y eso pienso que es una buena punta porque yo sé en Maryland a personas que piensan que las armas son superguay @ [y que,]*
- LPR18: *[@]*

LPR17: *Siempre siempre quieren usarlos y le gustan tener tenerlos y: y n- no entiendo por qué porque e- el poder de matar es algo que nunca nunca querría tener es como en la sociedad n- no sé si es no sé si no valoramos la vida o ¿Qué? pero necesito- pienso que necesitamos pensar por otra vez en como en como nos dirigimos [en la sociedad]*

LPR18: *[;m hm] es muy interesante también porque um armas están en nuestra cultura. También porque en los Estados Unidos y el mundo porque en la como se dice en español the Olympics hay uh... deportes con armas el biathlon necesitamos esquiar y usar una um un arma para est- uh ser el the champion sí? [um,]*

LPR17: *[Campeón.]*

LPR18: *Sí sí um so están nuestra cultura pero en los Estados Unidos hay el second amendment también y muchas personas usa- uh usaron esto como una excusa también necesito armas porque está en el constitución y necesitamos usando um... necesitamos usarlos [um.]*

LPR17: *[Sí.]*

LPR18: *Muchas veces.*

LPR17: *Sí yo encuentro eso muy muy...no muy tonto pero tonto. Porque: yo pienso que es antiguo uh no necesitamos las las bandas de personas con sus con sus [armas]*

LPR18: *[Mm hm.]*

LPR17: *Que protejan a un un pueblo porque tenemo- ya tenemos la policía tenemos tenemos el gobierno que puede protegernos pero: hay algunas que @ que piensan que necesitan las armas para protegerse del gobierno pero no entiendo su razonamiento.*

LPR18: *Sí sí.*

LPR17: *Pero también uh.*

LPR19: *Sí uh. ¿Quieres empezar con la pregunta [###]?*

LPR20: *Um yo me siento seguro...segura en los Estados Unidos y en Granada porque en los Estados Unidos uh vivo en un pueblo muy pequeño. Y: no hay muchas personas. So no hay mucha violencia también um pero vivo muy cerca de San*

Francisco y cuando yo voy a San Francisco yo uh me siento mucho menos segura.

LPR19: *[Pero aquí] um en Granada es una ciudad uh: muy similar de San [Francisco.]*

LPR20: *[Mm hm] es.
Muy pequeña, ¿sí?.*

LPR19: *Sí sí.*

LPR20: *Granada?.*

LPR19: *Sí sí. Granada um en um la commoción y los coches um: y uh yo me siento mucho más seguro aquí en Granada de uh de San Francisco.*

LPR20: *A mí uh yo vive yo vivo en Portland, Oregon.*

LPR19: *Mm hm sí.*

LPR20: *Y es una ciudad más grande de Granada y también uh: ¿De dónde eres?.*

LPR19: *Uh de San Francisco.*

LPR20: *Sí sí es más grande no no es más grande.*

LPR19: *[Sí sí.]*

LPR20: *[De San Francisco] pero es una ciudad um...uh es una ciudad grande.*

LPR19: *Sí.*

LPR20: *Y no siento um seguro segura en mi en mi ciudad porque um: @ yo um la escuela um mi escuela en mi escuela hay muchas personas quien son muy @ están muy emocionadas para te gustan ellos um me gustan mucho las armas [y a mí no,]*

LPR19: *[###]*

LPR20: *Me gusta porque um: y no ok no siento uh segura cuando un amigo @ no es un amigo.*

LPR19: *Sí.*

LPR20: *Pero cuando un otro persona en mi escuela um: eh está está hablando de nuestros uh nuestros armas y él es un joven.*

LPR19: *Sí.*

- LPR20: *Él no en mi opinión él no...no debe no debe él no debe um uh usar la- las armas [pero,]*
- LPR19: *[Sí.]*
- LPR20: *Él él él puede y um en mi opinión no es correcta.*
- LPR19: *Sí sí también.*
- LPR20: *Ok. @*
- LPR19: *@ Está bien uh y: sí yo creo que en los Estados Unidos um deben tener derechos más uh um duros o no sé um porque es con los números de la violencia en España y los Estados Unidos es claro que mucho más en [Estados Unidos.]*
- LPR20: *[Y los] números n- los números. no mentiras.*
- LPR19: *Sí [sí.]*
- LPR20: *[y] cuando um um cuando hay más armas hay más um cri- crimen.*
- LPR19: *Sí.*
- LPR20: *Y no es un un men- mentira.*
- LPR19: *Sí sí sí.*
- LPR20: *Um también um: las reglas de [las armas.]*
- LPR19: *[Sí.]*
- LPR20: *En los Estados Unidos um están basando del un país de muchos años en el pasado y [ahora.]*
- LPR19: *[y.]*
- LPR20: *Em el país es muy um...el país um he he cambi- cambiado mucho.*
- LPR19: *[Sí.]*
- LPR20: *[Y las] reglas las y también las las re- @*
- LPR19: *Es difícil.*

- LPR20: *Reglas necesitan cambiar.*
- LPR19: *Sí [en el país.]*
- LPR20: *[Necesitan cambiar.]*
- LPR19: *Sí.*
- LPR20: *Cambiar.*
- LPR19: *Sí sí y sí porque no es una tema del pasado es sí muy um...es de ahora.*
- LPR20: *Sí.*
- LPR19: *Y ¿qué más? Ok.*
- LPR20: *¿Cómo afectan tu opinión?.*
- LPR19: *Sí. Mm otros factores que influyen la violencia um...pienso que la educación es importante porque en las en los Estados Unidos um: en mi escuela no hablan mucho de um de la violencia y de las armas.*
- LPR20: *Sí.*
- LPR19: *Y si hay más educación sobre eso [###]*
- LPR20: *[En mi opinión] um educación es la solu-
[₂solution?] @*
- LPR19: *[₂sí ###]*
- LPR20: *Solución para muchos problemas en,*
- LPR19: *[Sí.]*
- LPR20: *[Nuestro mundo.]*
- LPR19: *[Sí.]*
- LPR20: *[Y um] por ejemplo he...he estoy muy triste um sobre um eventos como Sandy Hook, Newtown y Orlando porque son ### son disastres?*
- LPR19: *Sí.*
- LPR20: *Pero no...no van a cambiar nada.*

- LPR19: *[Sí.]*
- LPR20: *[Y] eso es muy extraño [en mi opinión.]*
- LPR19: *[Sí] cada vez cuando algo como esos uh pasó.*
- LPR20: *Mm hm.*
- LPR19: *Todo el mundo todo el país de los Estados Unidos um: son triste pero hay algo en el futuro*
- LPR20: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPR19: *[Que va] a pasar y sí nadie va a [cambiar.]*
- LPR20: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPR19: *Sí y educación es [la solución.]*
- LPR20: *[¿Sabes] um la sistema de de Australia?*
- LPR19: *No ####.*
- LPR20: *Ok pues um... Australia era um muy similar a los Estados Unidos antes um y antes de un desastre como Sandy Hook um y después um las reglas um las reglas eran más...más duras y ahora no hay nada armas en [el país.]*
- LPR19: *[Oh sí?]*
- LPR20: *Y es um creo que el crimen um está está menos.*
- LPR19: *Sí.*
- LPR20: *Sí.*
- LPR19: *Sí es buena sí.*
-
- LPR22: *@ Hola um: @ ¿Te sientes segura aquí en España?*
- LPR21: *Mm. Eh cuando um sí um... me siento segura aquí en España um porque um las personas um uh s- um son simpáticas para mí y estoy en un grupo un grupo grande [um,]*
- LPR22: *[Sí] yo estoy de uh acuerdo aquí en España las personas son muy tranquilas y muy simpáticas y ellos um es es un diferente uh sentido en el aire*

aquí como en los Estados Unidos. Um: muchas veces en la noche yo tengo miedo de andar en los calles pero um aquí yo he uh caminado por en las calles en las noches pasada y me siento muy segura porque todas las personas están haciendo sus cosas y no están preocupande- preocupado con mí sí.

LPR21: *Sí. Y: um en las noticias en los Estados Unidos uh uh escu- escuchaba mucho y um hay más muertes en um las noticias um uh que aquí en España*

LPR22: *Sí. Aquí yo no he estado aquí por mucho tiempo pero yo no oí mucho sobre um: homicidios de uh de los armas. Pero en los Estados Unidos hay muchos también y los son muy grandes como los que están ocurriendo en Orlando y también y en las escuelas y no solamente es um: tengo miedo en en la calle pero a veces en unos um...escuelas porque no solo no hay um personas que están protegiéndonos.*

LPR21: *Sí sí. Um para um uh: uh la próxima uh... pregunta um aeh pienso que um la violencia está relacionada con las armas um porque um cuando está más armas um está más oportunidad para um mate algunos.*

LPR22: *Sí. Y creo que en los Estados Unidos um para mantener una arma es más común y en los estados es un tipo de pasatiempo no es solamente es para proteger uh nos y creo que más personas tienen los oportunidades a usarlos en maneras no buenas.*

LPR21: *Y cuando no está um uh exámenes para um para si la persona que um quiere comprar um la um el arme es or necesitas el arme uh: el arma y también um: aeh es en um...la mejor condición para comprar la arma um está relacionada con las armas.*

LPR22: *Sí y creo que aquí no es tan um tan frecuente para personas a tener una arma porque no usan para cosas um como pasatiempos es más para proteger um sus cuerpos y también en los Estados unidos hay una ley que proteger el posesión de tener un arma pero no sé si aquí hay un ley para um tener una,*

LPR21: *Sí. Um uh uh uh creo que um los estadosunidenses uh mm uh debe tener el derecho de tener una arma pero um necesitas um algunas leyes para um uh um restric- uh [restriccion-]*

LPR22: *[Restricciones]*

LPR21: *Sí para las personas.*

LPR22: *Yo estoy de acuerdo.*

LPR24: *Um y- @*

- LPR23: *Al mismo tiempo? o*
- LPR24: *No tú debes tú debes uh uh tú puedes uh dec- uh hablar si quieres*
- LPR23: *Como*
- LPR24: *Sí sí sí @*
- LPR23: *@ Um estoy segu- uh siento segura en España y en los Estados Unidos pero siento segura en los Estados Unidos porque vivo en un pueblo que es más segura de los ciudades en*
- LPR24: *[Sí]*
- LPR23: *[Uh] en la país*
- LPR24: *Sí um me siento seguro uh más en los Estados Unidos solo porque yo vivo en los Estados Unido y es uh yo conozco a [los]*
- LPR23: *[sí]*
- LPR24: *Estados Unidos pero pero si yo um si yo um vivía aquí entonces probablemente um @ uh*
- LPR23: *[Más de ###]*
- LPR24: *[Sentía me] más uh seguro segura aquí*
- LPR23: *Sí*
- LPR24: *Que en los [Estados Unidos]*
- LPR23: *[Porque] España tiene los leyes de contra- uh de los [control]*
- LPR24: *[Mm]*
- LPR23: *[De] los arm- [armas?]*
- LPR24: *[Y]*
- LPR23: *No sé*
- LPR24: *[Sí y] yo yo um yo me siento um más seguro en los Estados Unidos porque yo vivo en en los no sé como se dice no vivo en la ciudad*
- LPR23: *Sí sí*

- LPR24: *Um pero yo vivo yo vivo cerca de una ciudad [pero no]*
- LPR23: *[sí yo también]*
- LPR24: *En la ciudad*
- LPR23: *Sí*
- LPR24: *No sé la palabra pero yo uh yo vivo a- fuera fuera la ciudad um y no hay no hay mucho violencia*
- LPR23: *Sí*
- LPR24: *en en um en mi*
- LPR23: *Pueblo?*
- LPR24: *donde donde sí mi mi pueblo*
- LPR23: *Pero los pueblos como Sandy Hook y Newtown pienso que son pueblos uh seguros [seguras]*
- LPR24: *[seguros]*
- LPR23: *Pero los incidentes que ocurrieron*
- LPR24: *Sí sí la violencia*
- LPR23: *Porque no uh los esta- los Estados Unidos no tiene leyes del con el restricto de armas*
- LPR24: *Sí.*
- LPR23: *[Restricción]*
- LPR24: *[Um] sí y el el segundo la segunda pregunta or sí um yo yo creo que la violencia está relacionada.*
- LPR23: *Sí.*
- LPR24: *Con las [los armas]*
- LPR23: *[También]*
- LPR24: *porque en los Estados Unidos alguien puede comprar un*

- LPR23: *Sí.*
- LPR24: *Pistola [o un]*
- LPR23: *[Sí muy] peligroso.*
- LPR24: *Un um @ arma de fuego.*
- LPR23: *Sí.*
- LPR24: *Y pues no alguien pero,*
- LPR23: *Sí.*
- LPR24: *Sin sin [bastante,]*
- LPR23: *[más de ###]*
- LPR24: *Sin bastante de um trabajos de hojas de papel,*
- LPR23: *Sí.*
- LPR24: *Um alguien puede comprar.*
- LPR23: *Sí.*
- LPR24: *Un un uh...un [arma]*
- LPR23: *[Arma]*
- LPR24: *Y aquí no en España yo no compré um no compré com- comprendé la el vídeo mucho.*
- LPR23: *Sí.*
- LPR24: *Pero yo creo que el um el locutor dice dijo que um hay...hay más armas en los Estados Unidos.*
- LPR23: *Sí.*
- LPR24: *Y yo y no...hay tanto mucho um tantos muchos crimen- crímenes aquí.*
- LPR23: *Sí.*
- LPR24: *S- así um yo creo que la violencia está relacionada con [los,]*

- LPR23: *[Sí.]*
- LPR24: *Armas.*
- LPR23: *Sí uh también uh y el próximo.*
- LPR24: *Mm.*
- LPR23: *No uh: creo que los estadounidenses deben tener el derecho de tener un arma.*
- LPR24: *Yo tampoco yo [tampoco,]*
- LPR23: *[Um] sí.*
- LPR24: *Yo sé que es en...el en el el @ uh: no sé la palabra el um el constitución?*
- LPR23: *Sí sí.*
- LPR24: *Um pero...pero yo uh pero es es más fácil para comprar un un,*
- LPR23: *Sí.*
- LPR24: *Arma um,*
- LPR23: *Y.*
- LPR24: *Hay mucho crimen.*
- LPR23: *Sí.*
- LPR24: *En los Estados Unidos.*
- LPR23: *Sí. Y muchos de los uh muchos de los otros países tienen leyes leyes que prohibido uh las armas o,*
- LPR24: *Mm.*
- LPR23: *Pero no prohibido las armas pero a a: a todos las personas.*
- LPR24: *Sí y o solos um solo el policía puede puede [um,]*
- LPR23: *[Sí.]*
- LPR24: *Tener un arma.*

LPR23: *Sí.*

LPR24: *Um, yo creo yo creo que um que yo sé que los los esta- los person- las personas en los Estados Unidos.*

APPENDIX H

Learner Post-Program Elicited Dialogues (Transcriptions)

- All the learners are labeled LPO for the learner pre-program dialogues from 1-24.

- LPO2: *¿Te sientes segura aquí en España? ¿Por qué? ¿Te sientes segura en los Estados Unidos? ¿Por qué?*
- LPO1: *Sí: yo me siento segura aquí en España um aunque um...un hombre oh aunque un incidente de anoche ocurri porque es pero está bien.*
- LPO2: *Sí [sí].*
- LPO1: *[Yo me] siento seguro y los Estados Unidos sí porque yo conozco los Estados Unidos.*
- LPO2: *Sí.*
- LPO1: *¿Y tú?*
- LPO2: *Um me siente like...un poco menos segura aquí porque um,*
- LPO1: *Sí.*
- LPO2: *Anoche like fue muy um interesante.*
- LPO1: *Sí.*
- LPO2: *Um [pero,]*
- LPO1: *[####]*
- LPO2: *Me senté um segura en los Estados Unidos porque yo vivo en un ciudad muy pequeña y no hay muchas.*
- LPO1: *Sí.*
- LPO2: *[Problems.]*
- LPO1: *[Yo también.]*
- LPO2: *Sí [um.]*

- LPO1: *[Um] la violencia está relac- relacionada con las armas ¿Sí o no?*
- LPO2: *Um: yo pienso que sí porque los Estados Unidos tiene um muchos muchas armas y much- muchos muertes.*
- LPO1: *Y much- sí mucha violencia.*
- LPO2: *Sí.*
- LPO1: *De las armas.*
- LPO2: *Sí.*
- LPO1: *Um um ¿Sí hubiera menos armas habría menos crimen?*
- LPO2: *Mm, yo pienso que posiblemente no menos crimen pero like men- menos muertos.*
- LPO1: *Sí.*
- LPO2: *Porque like crimen um puede um ser like un: ladrón.*
- LPO1: *Sí.*
- LPO2: *@ y um pero like hay muchos muerto.s*
- LPO1: *Sí estoy de [acuerdo.]*
- LPO2: *[####]*
- LPO1: *Um pero en el empiezo del programa Alejandro dijo que no hay muertas um: con armas aquí pero hay muertas con cuchillos. @*
- LPO2: *Sí sí.*
- LPO1: *Pero y yo pienso que n- n- si um habría menos muertos?*
- LPO2: *[Sí]*
- LPO1: *[Pero] el porque criminales son malos y [@]*
- LPO2: *[@]*
- LPO1: *Y van a ser or van a hacer todos.*
- LPO2: *[Sí]*

- LPO1: *[Que] quieren,*
- LPO2: *¿Crees que los estadudienses deben tener el derecho de tener un arma or deberíamos cambia- cambiar la constitución? Las leyes.*
- LPO1: *@*
- LPO2: *¿Por qué?*
- LPO1: *Um yo creo que no es la derecha el derecho de una um un una persona de um: los Estados Unidos porque en la cuando la constitución um ha escrito no sé ha escrito um hay más um neces- eh fue más necesario.*
- LPO2: *Sí.*
- LPO1: *Para tener un arma.*
- LPO2: *Sí.*
- LPO1: *Porque el evolución:*
- LPO2: *Sí.*
- LPO1: *Sí pero ahora no uh...es un constitución que puedo que puede ser más flexible.*
- LPO2: *Sí estoy de acuerdo um.*
- LPO1: *¿Cómo @ afectan tu opinión eventos como las matanzas de Sandy Hook, Newtown, Orlando, etc. en cuanto a este tema? ¿Qué podríamos hacer para reducir la violencia en los Estados Unidos?*
- LPO2: *Um no sé yo pienso que los um eventos like uh apoyeron mi mente de armas porque like um no: pienso que es un derecho.*
- LPO1: *Mm hm.*
- LPO2: *Yo pienso que hay demasiada armas armas en los Estados Unidos.*
- LPO1: *Sí.*
- LPO2: *Pero no sé um deberíamos para reducir violencia no sé.*
- LPO1: *Pues probablemente um para reducir violencia [en los.]*
- LPO2: *[Sí.]*

- LPO1: *Estados Unidos necesitamos or no necesitamos no tener armas.*
- LPO2: *Sí sí pero es muy difícil.*
- LPO1: *Sí sí sí.*
- LPO2: *Porque muchas personas.*
- LPO1: *Sí.*
- LPO2: *[Tienen]*
- LPO1: *[Sí] necesitamos um restricciones más Fuertes.*
- LPO2: *Sí.*
- LPO1: *Como chequeas de.*
- LPO2: *Sí.*
- LPO1: *No sé.*
- LPO2: *Y [no.]*
- LPO1: *[Sí.]*
- LPO2: *Más shows de armas sí porque like tú uh puede comprar.*
- LPO1: *Sí [es.]*
- LPO2: *[en]*
- LPO1: *Muy fácil.*
- LPO2: *Sí sí.*
- LPO1: *Como en Walmart.*
- LPO2: *@*
- LPO1: *Tú puedes.*
- LPO2: *Um en España también hay violencia como en todos los paí- países pero hay menos armas ¿Por qué crees que hay menos violencia en España en comparación que los Estados Unidos?*

- LPO1: *Pues es un país más pequeño y: um y no um.*
- LPO2: *Sí.*
- LPO1: *Tienen armas y.*
- LPO2: *Um mucho mucho mucho: de la gente aquí son turistas.*
- LPO1: *Sí sí.*
- LPO2: *Entonces like...turistas no quiere like robar alguien like.*
- LPO1: *Sí y la mayoría de los crímenes aquí son um como pickpocket.*
- LPO2: *Sí sí.*
-
- LPO3: *Vale uh para mí eh no me lo ha cambiado mucho ese...ese experiencia eh: porque eh es el relación lo lo que ya he ya he pasado uh que menos, menos armas producen una sociedad menos violenta y más seguro. Pero uh es también sí y me siento seguro aquí en España. Y no solo yo uh he oído muchas otras personas muchos otros estudiantes uh que que dijeron después de los eventos de ayer y todo con con el hombre loco.*
- LPO4: *@*
- LPO3: *Que tuvo no sé pero después de todo eso ellos, ellos dijeron que yo prefiero eh: estar aquí porque eso es más seguro que Nueva York o algo, algo otro pa- lugar y yo estoy de acuerdo es que eso es un hay hombres loco- hombres locas pero.*
- LPO4: *@*
- LPO3: *Locos pero no, no esos eso pasa en todos los lugares hay, hay hombres locos en todos los lugares y no pasa nada y para mí no: yo pienso que ese es un lugar muy seguro y no solo aquí pero en toda España.*
- LPO4: *Sí. En otros países es mucho uh: peor entonces es- estoy contento que puedo que puedo estar aquí para estudiar en España.*
- LPO3: *Sí. Eh: podemos hablar sobre em no sé mucho porque ya lo ya lo hemos discutido mucho de eso pero eh: Otros factores que influyen la violencia uh, eh pienso el mismo el mismo de de uh el primero es que videojuegos.*
- LPO4: *[Sí videojuego.]*

- LPO3: *[Televisión] internet videojuegos quizás un poco pero eh: n- es n- que nos enseñan que um armas son quizás no son no son tan malos que son solo juego. Y eso aumenta no no es vale pero y la televisión no no no pienso que es es tan tan mal como los video, los videojuegos porque en la televisión personas saben que: es una película no estás en el primero persona que... que eso que pienso que eso es importante porque puedes ver que ellos que usan las armas, son profesionales y... y como eso pero en los videojuegos en muchos muchos videojuegos estás en primera persona.*
- LPO4: *[Sí eso.]*
- LPO3: *[Entonces]es que piensas que lo, lo puedes usar lo, lo no lo, pasa nada y es muy fácil pero en realidad no no es es muy difícil y puedes y también no en videojuegos nos enseñan que no pasa no pasa nada si [algo malo pasa.]*
- LPO4: *[Sí sí.]*
- LPO3: *Pero también eso no es no es real no no pas- eso no es verdad en la realidad.*
- LPO4: *Sí en los e- juego muchos videojuegos en casa y entonces yo sé que hablas sobre y em sí es exactamente es como no pasa nada te mato y continuo con mi con mi videojuego es. @*
- LPO3: *Sí.*
- LPO4: *Es todo.*
- LPO3: *Sí, sí eso es todo y en realidad no.*
- LPO4: *[No.]*
- LPO3: *[No] es el mismo no es el mismo um ¿Qué podríamos hacer para reducir la violencia en los Estados Unidos?*
- LPO4: *No es [una pregunta fácil.]*
- LPO3: *[Es un es un es una] pregunta muy difícil @ pero.*
- LPO4: *Yo sé.*
- LPO3: *Es difícil porque violencia como como discutimos antes violencia y uh mm personas que quieren matar a muchas personas son cosas diferentes entonces es necesitas hacer diferentes cosas para parar eh reducir disminuir esta violencia porque si estamos hablando sobre hombres locos eh: Pienso que el mejor el mejor uh lo mejor para pararlos...pararles son los background checks pero no*

eso va a parar una ladrón o una pandillero eh de comprar una pistola porque él no está loca él proba- quiere hacer violencia. Entonces es diferente pero, ¿Qué piensas tú?

LPO4: *Um los background checks no son los mejores opcion- las mejores opciones pueden parar muchas personas pero no todos como,*

LPO3: *[Sí.]*

LPO4: *[Vemos eso] entonces uh: sí es una opción pero no sé que debemos hacer pero tiene que hacer unos cambios.*

LPO3: *Sí y la gran pregunta ¿Si hubiera menos armas habría menos crimen? Es,*

LPO4: *Mm.*

LPO3: *Es, es difícil pienso pienso que sí eh depende de lugar pienso que en ciudades. Claro. ienso que no es tan importante en los lugares rurales uh pero,*

LPO4: *Es dependiente en,*

LPO5: *Um me siento um el mismo segura en España y en los Estados Unidos um pero um... me siento más cómoda con las personas cuando estoy hablando con alguien que um no conozco uh aquí en España. Y um: pienso que um hay un diferente um um environment? Um no sé la palabra pero um um hay un different sentir aquí aquí.*

LPO6: *Sí también um: me siento el mismo en los Estados Unidos y aquí en España porque hay más armas en los Estados Unidos pero aquí en Europa en general hay mucho violencia con @ no sé en español um en the Middle East y en París y recientemente en Nice y Turkey sí.*

LPO5: *Um, um pienso que un poco de la vio- actually mm no pienso que la viol- violencia um está relacionada con los armas porque um: es más normal en los Estados Unidos um para tener armas y um tener en su casa es más normal y um puede hacer más problemas um, um y sí tre- creo que um si um hay menos armas um um habría menos um crimen crimen? Um porque um la um que está normal um puede cambiar.*

LPO6: *(TSK) @ Um no: yo n- ### creo que uh los estados estadounidenses no deben tener el derecho de tener una arma en su casa porque después de todos los um problemas en escuelas con armas en Sandy Hook y el cine en Colorado es la proba- TSK el problema es aumen- está aumentando?, aumenten-?, @ um...y necesitamos parar la lo siento.*

- LPO5: *Um: yo entiendo um, el argumento que: um...todas las personas en los Estados Unidos um tienen el derecho de tener un arma. Pero pienso que necesitamos muchas más um regulaciones en las armas en los Estados Unidos.*
- LPO6: *Sí.*
- LPO5: *Y um pienso que um los ejemplos de Sandy Hook y actualmente hay muchos um eventos durante estamos aquí en los @ Estados Unidos y tengo miedo para regresar a mi casa un poco. Y um pienso que um personas necesitan um más reglas um antes de obtenido un arma.*
- LPO6: *Uh sí es la el derecho. Está en los Bill of Rights sí?, pero um es muy peligroso ahora en en el mundo que nosotros vivimos uh una un cambio es necesario.*
- LPO5: *Y um: creo que um un influencia grande ahora es um el internet.*
- LPO6: *Sí.*
- LPO5: *Porque y otra um socia-media social.*
- LPO6: *@*
- LPO5: *Sociales?, Um porque personas pueden leer sobre um que está ocurrien- uh y um puedes um tener ideas y um otras personas como.*
- LPO6: *Sí la influencia de ISIS y otras personas es muy fuerte en la Red.*
-
- LPO7: *Em: ahora tengo los em mismos em no sé pienso el mismo de de um antes pero siento seguro en los Estados Unidos pero siento muy muy muy seguro aquí porque Granada y España y Europa en general es más en en mi opinión es más um no @ no necesario em seguro pero em como todo la cult- uh la cultura y las personas y la gente um hay pienso que hay um más crimen con los terroristas. Uh: más de las personas en en la comunidad o algo um pienso que hay diferentes cosas que hay en lo- entre los dos um: porque en los Estados Unidos em frecuen-, eh frecuentemente hay muchas personas con armas y um en las escuelas o en las calles y em especialmente en este mes um: que ha pasado um había muchas muchas cosas con um personas con armas y la policía y um muchas personas. Pero también aquí y um no um en España en Europa y um muchos ataques de terrorista y una diferencia pero, @*
- LPO8: *Sí en Estados Unidos um: cualquier persona puede tener un arma pero en Europa es muy diferente eso es muy importante en los um ataques que pasan entre Europa como España y um Estados Unidos y también uh: el crimen la violencia está relacionada con las armas en Estados Unidos porque una persona que*

quiere un arm- una arma puede ir a una tienda de armas y comprar una arma. Pero si una persona en um: en España quiere un arma hay muchos o en Europa quieren un arma hay muchos niveles de um para comprarlo y...y por eso muchas personas que que son um que tienen un prob- problema o son un poco en- en- enfermos o algo como eso en Europa no um no tienen su meta con un arma y sí.

LPO7: *Y también estoy de acuerdo con ese: um, pienso que la violencia sí está um relacionada con las armas porque en los Estados Unidos um cualquier persona puede um puede comprar una arma en a un a una edad @ bien no no importa pero em en Europa hay muchas más em reglas para eso y pienso que em si los Estados Unidos tiene más reglas y regla- um: uh regulaciones. Y algo como eso um em sería más seguro para comprarlo em: No, no sé para todo um todo em el el crimen y algo como ese pero si hay em si las personas um verifican que um: las personas que quieren um comprar una arma um no tienen muchos problemas o um em enfermedades de mente, o en algo como ese pienso que es...eh sería más mejor que um todas las reglas ahora porque no hay mucho @ Y um sí hay algo en em en los derechos um de los Estados Unidos pero @ también no está claro si es um...todas las personas en general pueden tener una arma um o u- solo las personas para una guerra pero ese también es muy controversial pero pienso que más reglas pueden um ayudar mucho.*

LPO8: *Uh: sí estoy de acuerdo que reglas puede ayudar y um: mi opinión sobre las matanzas de Sandy Hook, Newtown y Orlando y muchos otros um es porque estas matanzas ocurrieron en Estados Unidos. Pero no había no hay pasado algo como eso que es um tan grande en España que es um que tantos personas saben de y um o en Europa como en um que no es un ataque terrorista porque los ataques terroristas son no son: cosas que las personas en las comunidades han um... hechos son muchas veces un grupo diferente y en Estados Unidos es, es un problema que es más grande um...con los armas de con tu vecino tener un- una arma que um un grupo teniendo un arma porque el vecino es más um, más cerca y tú no sabes cuando el vecino puede usar su arma y eso.*

LPO9: *Um sí: um días pasado hay un hombre con la cuchillo, el cuchillo sí?*

LPO10: *Sí.*

LPO9: *Y: a la violencia con cuchillos en España es mm: (TSK) posiblemente un mejor idea cuando uh: estás en la situación porque hay solamente uno y um menos que el persona tirolo es uno.*

LPO10: *Sí um, sí cuando yo yo estaba muy cerca al hombre que tenía el [cuchillo.]*

LPO9: *[Mm hm.]*

- LPO10: *Con el coche y um yo tenía mucho miedo de de: los cuch- cuchillos porque no son familiars.*
- LPO9: *Mm hm.*
- LPO10: *Y fue muy muy cerca pero también no like no sabía que era una una un problema los cuchillos en España entonces tenía mucho miedo y um como um abrió uh um la experiencia abrió mis ojos. Y um porque puedo ver que hay diferentes formas de violencia (TSK) violencia no solamente las armas.*
- LPO9: *Mm hm. Sí uh no tengo um miedo de armas porque estoy en el club de de tiro en mi escuela.*
- LPO10: *Sí.*
- LPO9: *So, así es familiar a mí.*
- LPO10: *Sí.*
- LPO9: *Um pero hablé con una otra persona aquí y ella um tiene miedo de mi hobby con las armas sí?*
- LPO10: *Oh: sí no sé um pienso que los eventos que han pasado por el todo el mundo um yo tengo más miedo pienso um aquí en España que yo um tendría en California donde vivo porque estoy más cerca a los um incidentes. Y por eso um tengo más miedo um porque es muy cerca pero también um pienso que esa ciudad y este país es más seguro y el programa um está asegurando que tenemos um ellos tienen nuestra seguridad en mente [entonces.]*
- LPO9: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO10: *Está bien.*
- LPO9: *Sí um no sé mucho de um la: periódicos y: nunca es no es un parte de mi día así aquí hay más mm de normal de la violencia en el mundo pero tristemente es casi normal.*
- LPO10: *(TSK) [Sí.]*
- LPO9: *[La violencia.]*
- LPO10: *Sí um...lo siento.*
- LPO9: *@ Mm: y el hombre con la el cuchillo fue un irregular?*
- LPO10: *Uh sí una cosa irregular.*

- LPO9: *Sí.*
- LPO10: *Sí.*
- LPO9: *Um y no es diferente con los Estados Unidos porque hay más violencia [con.]*
- LPO10: *[Sí.]*
- LPO9: *Armas y posiblemente cuchillos pero es más fácil a tener armas.*
- LPO10: *Sí.*
- LPO9: *Mm con mercados negros o: simplemente en la tien- tienda de armas*
- LPO10: *Sí y aquí en Granada yo sé que es un una ciudad muy seguro y um cuando yo salgo de del colegio yo sento muy seguro pero pienso que si yo um: yo si yo viviera aquí yo tendría más seguridad o me sentiría más seguro porque no conozco la área muy bien entonces pienso que me siento seguro en mi ciudad porque conozco muy bien y conozco la gente. Y aquí tengo un poco más miedo porque no conozco la gente aquí y no conozco like todas las personas son um desconocidos cuando estoy caminando por la ciudad.*
- LPO9: *Pero si tú hablas con alguna persona todas las personas son simpáticos.*
- LP10: *Sí.*
- LPO9: *Sí y:.*
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- LPO11: *Sí o no ¿cómo? ¿sobre qué? um oh how about ¿te sientes segura aquí en España? ¿Por qué? en like en comparación so ¿qué piensas?*
- LPO12: *Um well yo siento segura en España pero um no uh tan segura like como en el principio porque había um s- like [incidentes]*
- LPO11: *[####]*
- LPO12: *Like hay um un incidente uh...cuando una chica, un, un mujer uh tenía un arma y um y like es um estaba cerca de un grupo de chicas de este programa. Y um también like el situación ayer...cuando um hay um un hom- había un hombre like muy loca que um que dijo que like que: uh tení- tenía un bomba y por eso like no pienso que like um alguna paí- um alguna lugar es like um completamente segura. Pero like yo pienso que um like, yo siento más seguro todavía en España de en los Estados Unidos.*

- LPO11: *Mm hm. Pero alguien nos dijo que es like no es muy común que hay un incidente con vio- violencia.*
- LPO12: *Mm hm.*
- LPO11: *En España like los incidentes que pasó esta semana...like no ahora.*
- LPO12: *Mm hm.*
- LPO11: *No son um muy comun.*
- LPO12: *Mm hm.*
- LPO11: *Y like nunca pasó aquí so like es.*
- LPO12: *Sí pero like en los Estados Unidos um nosotros uh vimos que: like hay muchos um problemas con armas sobre like la policía a las personas negras y las personas negras a la policía like por um respue- respuesta y um esos problemas like um me hace tener mucho miedo.*
- LPO11: *Mm hm like pero por la noches yo sien- me siento más segura aquí porque hay muchas personas cerca y es muy*
- LPO12: *Mm hm.*
- LPO11: *Like es un pequeño ciudad o ciudad pequeña so like es muy eh @ tú no estás like sola mucha [de la.]*
- LPO12: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO11: *Mucho del tiempo so si algo mal like era pasar um like hay gente,*
- LPO12: *También el ambiente aquí like es diferente porque like no es, like...una casa con like un familia de cuatro es like...un escuela um grande y like muchas veces es difícil para um para entrar mi propio uh dormitorio.*
- LPO11: *@*
- LPO12: *Porque like um el puerta siempre está cerrada.*
- LPO11: *Uh: yo entiendo pero um en like la vida real de la gente de España también like sus vidas son muy diferentes de las vidas en uh los Estados Unidos estuve pensando sobre eso porque esas posib- es posible que esa es un una razón porque like hay menos violencia porque like las familias son más cercas y like hablan juntos más.*

- LPO12: *Mm hm.*
- LPO11: *Tienen tiempo para relajarse y en los Estados Unidos um familias like usualmente son separadas y like no no muy cerca y como lo con cada de Uds.*
- LPO12: *Sí sí. Estoy de acuerdo pero like también um España es un país like más pequeña y por eso like like no hay like un probabilidad like muy grande que um like hay más violencia en España de like en los Estados Unidos.*
- LPO11: *Mm hm. Pero like uh: creo que like like en comparación en like violencia por po-like popules es like es más grande en los Estados Unidos como like Alejandro dijo o no me siento más seguro aquí que muchas muchos lugares en los Estados Unidos.*
- LPO12: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO11: *[Probablemente] tiene razón.*
- LPO12: *Yo pienso que es la culpa de um las leyes de las armas y la um las empresas grandes que like venden armas porque like yo um leí un statistico um que dijo que um en una semana en los Estados Unidos hay más violencia con armas que en veinte like um más violencia con armas con muchas personas en una semana en los Estados Unidos um que en veinte años en Canadá.*
- LPO11: *Mm hm.*
- LPO12: *Y like los um las leyes um de armas en generación muy estrictos y por eso yo pienso que necesitamos cambiar los leyes para um para crear crear una ambiente más segura.*
- LPO11: *Yo, yo creo que like la problema...like la problema con armas ahora sea un like debate de dinero porque las, like empresas grandes like uh: la asocia- like NRA um like paró uh like um @ like um no permitió gente a coger uh información sobre um yeah, ok.*
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- LPO13: *Uh voy a empezar uh me siento un poco menos seguro aquí en España después de los eventos de en la semana pasada pero en general me siento muy muy seguro aquí en España porque la gente no tiene muchas armas.*
- LPO14: *Sí um es el mismo para mí um pero um mucho mucho acontecimientos um en el mundo um no me siento um seguro um en todos um los países [ahora.]*
- LPO13: *[Sí.]*
- LPO14: *Pero um en España es meno- es me siento más seguro de muchos países.*

- LPO13: *Sí. Me siento seguro en mi casa y en en mi barrio en los Estados Unidos pero hay hay partes diferentes de los Estados Unidos en Washington D.C. Por ejemplo y like...yo sé que no no debo caminar allí porque es demasiado peligros- peligroso.*
- LPO14: *Sí um um aquí um yo puedo caminar en um el centro de la ciudad pero cuando yo estoy um en los Estados Unidos um: donde yo vivo um yo no puedo caminar con um con um solamente mi um sí. @*
- LPO13: *Yo pienso que violencia está uh relacionada con las armas pero uh en Francia el el mes pasado uh uh el hombre no no usó armas para para matar muchas personas en- entonces hay muchas muchas uh maneras diferentes para hacer para uh hacer ataques.*
- LPO14: *Sí um también no es importante um que las personas um en um de la um la paí- el país um no teng- um no tienen armas porque los um los ataques son um afu- um um son afuera de uh son um de personas afuera de um el país no que [no.]*
- LPO13: *[Sí.]*
- LPO14: *Viv- vive.*
- LPO13: *Yo yo pienso que en los Estados Unidos uh: mucho de la violencia uh está rela- relacionada de ideas diferentes de cu- like culturas diferentes y uh sí like religiones religiones diferentes*
- LPO14: *[Sí.]*
- LPO13: *[En] los Estados Unidos porque hay...hay mucha diversidad yo pienso que mucho más diversidad en los Estados Unidos que en España porque hay más personas.*
- LPO14: *Sí. Um sobre el derecho de tener un arma es difer- yo tengo una opinión diferente ahora porque no muchas veces un poco um de todos. Pero um muchas veces um no um no es porque las personas de el país te- um tienen armas es porque muchas personas que no um viven en el país um tienen armas.*
- LPO13: *Sí y solo en el mes pasado mi o- mi opinión ha cambiado mucho porque ha- había muchos ataques en en Orlando y y Baton Rouge y también Francia y alrededor del mundo, you know?*
- LPO14: *Sí um aunque um no hay ataques en España um um todos todo el tiempo es posible y.*
- LPO13: *Sí.*

- LPO14: *Es menos posible aquí de los Estad- em que en los Estados Unidos yo pienso pero, yo no sé.*
- LPO13: *Sí yo yo pienso que el gobierno de los Estados Unidos debe pasar uh leyes diferentes para sobre sobre posesión de de armas porque en mi opinión u- una persona no puede, no puede ayudar la población con una arma s- ellos solamente pueden, pueden matar personas con...con una arma entonces yo pienso que uh: el gobierno debe pasar leya- leyes nuevas para...para proteger la las personas la gente.*
- LPO14: *Sí. Es es un muy buena muy buena punta um.*
- LP13: *Uh: yo pienso que um hay menos violencia en España porque hay menos hay menos ar- like armas. Y violencia tienen uh están muy relacionada porque es es más fácil uh hacer al- algo uh con violencia si si tienes una arma y yo no yo no puedo matar a al- alguien sin una arma o algo como este.*
- LPO14: *Um yo um.*
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- LPO16: *Ok.*
- LPO15: *Um una vez aquí uh es @ es horrible porque hay un ataque en Turkey.*
- LP16: *Sí.*
- LPO15: *En Francia y otros países es horrible y a- hoy no me gusta armas más um...de el primer tiempo en el mes porque hay horrible um cosas.*
- LPO16: *Y en hay más en los Estados Unidos.*
- LPO15: *¿Qué ocurrió en los [Estados.]*
- LPO16: *[Como.]*
- LPO15: *Unidos?*
- LPO16: *Um New Orleans Nueva [Orleans.]*
- LPO15: *[¿Qué?]*
- LPO16: *Um, Dallas.*
- LPO15: *¿Qué que: ? Yo tengo [un.]*
- LPO16: *[Sí] es un es un desas- es un desastre.*

- LPO15: *Hay un hay uh una cosa uh...ocurrado en, uh Baton Rouge.*
- LPO16: *Sí yo pienso que [sí.]*
- LPO15: *[¿Qué?] ¿Qué?*
- LPO16: *Es [triste.]*
- LPO15: *[¿Qué es] ocurrido?*
- LPO16: *Um pienso que hay un shooting.*
- LPO15: *Sí.*
- LPO16: *Sí con l- la polic- policía [policía.]*
- LPO15: *[Sí] y hombres no sé.*
- LPO16: *Sí sí sí en todos los lugares y [solamente.]*
- LPO15: *[Ah.]*
- LPO16: *En.*
- LPO15: *Mm pienso que los ambos [um.]*
- LPO16: *[Mm.]*
- LPO15: *Sí.*
- LPO16: *Es horrible y también es muy difícil para la policía porque necesitas um mantenga seguridad.*
- LPO15: *Sí.*
- LPO16: *En el país y @ es muy muy difícil para una um crear un equilibrium y no es un no hay un mm es muy muy difícil porque no hay una solución muy muy obvio.*
- LPO15: *Sí sí.*
- LPO16: *Y porque la policía necesitas mantener seguridad y también los um gen- la gente de e- Estados Unidos u otro países necesitas.*
- LPO15: *Más.*

- LPO16: *Sí or.*
- LPO15: *Menos.*
- LPO16: *Sí.*
- LPO15: *Uh: uh tiempos para armas y es muy muy difícil @ no me gusta.*
- LPO16: *Y triste.*
- LPO15: *Sí las matas- ah, ah sí um el uh... uh tres yo pienso que si los Estados Unidos es más derecho en el um armas porque hay armas um y uh...conservativos.*
- LPO16: *Sí.*
- LPO15: *Es muy um...es mismo mucho tiempo porque los conservativos um: uh pienso que es más importante para tiene armas porque es un parte de constitución y los personas en la izquierda piensan que es um: piensan que es um no necesitas armas y liberals y conserva- uh tivos um mucho tiempo viven en diferente países [países.]*
- LPO16: *[Sí.]*
- LPO15: *Es diferente para todos porque no tienen la misma experiencia de [vida.]*
- LPO16: *[Pero] a- ahora estamos viviendo en en otro tiempo um: si um la gente debe uh tener er sí el derecho pero no todos.*
- LPO15: *En um mi ciudad es muy muy derecho porque es muy conservativo y mucha gente son um @ uh: pienso que es ri- rico?, ¿Mucho dinero?, um y: no tiene la misma experiencia de personas que um experiencian um violencia y otros es muy muy difícil y para otras personas en el campament- campo campesino experiencia experiencian vida diferente es difícil porque Estados Unidos y el lucho con armas es difícil porque es un país y también es un continent ¿Continento?, A la mismo tiempo porque es más grande y larga y.*
- LPO16: *Pero no es justo um uh la gente está mur- muriendo por no razón.*
- LPO15: *Sí.*
- LPO16: *Sí? @ Yo no sé.*
- LPO15: *Sí. Es horrible no no...no me gusta armas y también el um...uh en Turkey ahora es muy muy horrible porque um el uh failed coo um: y ahora no hay derechos y*

otros porque es muy conservativo porque necesitas um conservar um el government?, (TSK) pienso que es government no es super bueno.

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- LPO17: *Mm pues: yo me sigo sintiendo seguro aquí um...y después de de la persona en la calle con la bomba o la bomba. Él dijo @ pero yo sé que hay personas que hacen cosas que están un poco locos o un poco un poco extraño pero todavía me siento seguro porque eh son son son acontecimientos muy distintos muy que no pasen con mucha frecuencia.*
- LPO18: *Mm hm y yo creo que hay personas que están locas en todos los países en el mundo sí?.*
- LPO17: *Mm hm.*
- LPO18: *Porque no podemos hacer nada sobre esto necesitamos buscar y encontrar los personas que hicen cosas locas pero,*
- LPO17: *[Sí sí sí.]*
- LPO18: *[No podemos] hacer nada cuando están en Granada y hay una persona que dije que uh...dijo yo tengo piel piel que es un una bomba pero no podemos hacer nada sobre esto.*
- LPO17: *Sí pero también hay aquí...hay aquí menos armas porque tienen un un estado mucho más que leal aquí que en los Estados Unidos. Pero en los Estados Unidos um: han pasado muchas cosas me hacen sentir un poco inseguro, yo no sé, pero cosas como la matanza de persona en la policía entonces la respuesta a esta cuando pers- cuando um miembros de la fuerza de policía um han sido matados.*
- LPO18: *Mm hm.*
- LPO17: *Pienso que necesitamos tener menos armas en los Estados Unidos pero bien [####].*
- LPO18: *[Pero es] es muy interesante porque mi compañero de del cuarto me dijo que la: ¿Cómo se dice en español cuando una persona mata a un otra persona ¿sí?, en una protesta ellos fueron en o estaban en el mili- ¿militario?, ¿militar?, ¿sí?, So muchas personas que quien lucha para una un país ellos tienen armas porque es su trabajo ¿sí? Y es y yo creo, yo creo que: es muy interesante que fue dos escenarios cuando una persona que es...es uh una persona que es está muy enojado ellos tienen armas porque es su trabajo ¿sí?, Y yo creo que es esta situación es diferente de los otros problemas en el mundo. Y en los Estados Unidos también porque yo creo que es es es específico ¿no?, ¿sí?, Pero yo creo que me siento seguro y seguridad ¿sí? ¿sí?, Me siento seguridad en mi mi cómo*

se dic- ¿qué quiero decir?, Me siento seguridad en mi estado sí? pero yo puedo comprender lo- los opiniones de los otros perso- las [otras,]

LPO17: *[Sí.]*

LPO18: *personas en los otros estados que se sienten muy muy peligroso.*

LPO17: *Sí sí sí.*

LPO18: *Sí, pero para mí me siento muy seguro.*

LPO17: *Sí pero también se relata de como un ambiente donde la violencia es muy prevalante.*

LPO18: *Mm hm.*

LPO17: *Donde...donde siempre hay siempre viste siempre siempre va a haber.*

LPO18: *Mm hm.*

LPO17: *Y eso me astuta un poco, yo no sé.*

LPO18: *Yeah.*

LPO17: *Um.*

LPO18: *Pero.*

LPO17: *Sí.*

LPO18: *Como eventos como Sandy Hook y eventos como cuando es una persona que su trabajo [no es,]*

LPO17: *[Sí.]*

LPO18: *Con armas yo creo que es muy importante para recordar que ellos son están un poquito locos ¿sí?, Y yo creo que podemos hacer y construir leyes para esto porque yo creo que es no es o es necesario para este muerto.*

LPO17: *Sí.*

LPO18: *Yo creo que el pedido de la vida.*

LPO17: *Sí [entonces,]*

LPO18: *[es una lástima]*

- LPO17: *Dado eso y dados todos los ejemplos de las matanzas que hemos visto ya en los Estados Unidos casi nada ha cambiado. Todo el el mismo todo es igual y seguimos viviendo con astuta con um con la sabiduria con lo que ya pasaron.*
- LPO18: *Mm hm.*
- LPO17: *Puede suceder ###.*
- LPO18: *Pero yo tengo amigos en casa que digen...dicen que ellos se sienten más seguro cuando ellos tienen armas en sus casas.*
- LPO17: *Sí.*
- LPO18: *Y esto es muy interesante porque no puedo.*
- LPO17: *Mm hm.*
- LPO18: *No puedo.*
- LPO17: *Mm hm.*
- LPO18: *No puedo...no puedo [comprenderlo.]*
- LPO17: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO18: *Porque no tengo armas en mi casa.*
- LPO17: *Sí.*
- LPO18: *Pero ellos dic- dicen que yo estoy más seguro con armas. Y es muy interesante porque en Oakland, California yo vivo muy cerca de Oakland...la policía no puede responder a una aeh llama de crima en su casa si no estás en su casa si hay un la- la- uh ladrón en su casa y no tú no estás en su casa. No va la policía no va a ir.*
- LPO17: *Hm.*
- LPO18: *Y esto es muy interesante porque muchas personas están muy enojado porque él es...aeu un poquito loco pero hay mucha crima.*
- LPO17: *Mm hm.*
- LPO18: *Y ellos no pueden hacer nada sobre eso.*
- LPO17: *Mm hm.*

LPO18: *Y ellos no pueden hacer nada sobre eso.*

LPO19: *Es interesante que la primera pregunta es ¿Te sientes seguro o segura aquí en España?*

LPO20: *Sí.*

LPO19: *Y todas las personas antes de: este programa empiez- um: empezó um dijo es muy, muy seguro en [España.]*

LPO20: *[Sí.]*

LPO19: *Pero ayer dos hace dos días, ¿sí?*

LPO20: *Sí.*

LPO19: *Era un...like un hombre loco.*

LPO20: *Sí.*

LPO19: *En plaza nueva.*

LPO20: *[Sí.]*

LPO19: *[Como] tres cuatro cuabras de nosotros.*

LPO20: *Mm hm.*

LPO19: *Y ahora es como [mm.]*

LPO20: *[Sí.]*

LPO19: *No sé si yo siento segura.*

LPO20: *Mm hm y sí, el primer día yo recuerdo que ellos dicen...dijeron que um no hay uh crimen muy seriosa.*

LPO19: *[Mm hm.]*

LPO20: *[Y es] solo con dinero um...pero pienso que todavía siento seguro porque uh yo no estaba en los lugares donde esos.*

LPO19: *Mm hm.*

- LPO20: *Um situaciones estaban pero um: pero no sé yo todavía siento um muy seguro cuando yo estoy en la ciudad y más de algunas otras ciudades en los Estados [Unidos.]*
- LPO19: *[Mm hm] estoy de acuerdo uh: con eso pero después de del evento con las chicas y el hombre loca que dijo, él dijo yo tengo una bomba.*
- LPO20: *[Sí.]*
- LPO19: *[Y] por fa- like por favor puedo pasar yo necesito poner mi bomba en plaza nueva.*
- LPO20: *[Sí.]*
- LPO19: *[Y ahora] es like...yo sé él si e- solo es una un hombre [loco.]*
- LPO20: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO19: *De Granada y no es.*
- LPO20: *Sí.*
- LPO19: *La primera vez pero las chicas unas chicas en este programa um pensaban que ellas like van a morir este día y por eso es [más,]*
- LPO20: *[Sí.]*
- LPO19: *Serio ahora.*
- LPO20: *Sí sí yo estoy de acuerdo y también en todos los um situaciones en el mundo es difícil te um sentir seguro en cada ciudad en el mundo porque hay eventos cada semana [casi.]*
- LPO19: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO20: *Que esto pasando y es terrible.*
- LPO19: *Y también con nuestra tecnología es más fácil saber toda las cosas [malas.]*
- LPO20: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO19: *Que están pasando.*
- LPO20: *Sí.*

- LPO19: *En el mundo cada día y es creo que um esa um es es mal para nuestro nuestra salud.*
- LPO20: *Sí yo también porque en las noticias uh me gusta ver las noticias en la en la tele y nunca oigo algo feliz es siempre um lo que está pasando con las armas las la violencia.*
- LPO19: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO20: *[Y] es terrible [sí.]*
- LPO19: *[O] también hay videos de gatos...gatitos @*
- LPO20: *@*
- LPO19: *Quien están tocando el piano.*
- LPO20: *[Sí]*
- LPO19: *[Pero] no hay cosas entre los dos extremos.*
- LPO20: *[Sí.]*
- LPO19: *[Y] por eso creo que necesitamos um....cambiar la sistema de noticias.*
- LPO20: *Sí sí también.*
- LPO19: *¿Qué más tenemos?*
- LPO20: *Ym no sé sí y cuando es noticias sobre humanos es siempre lo que estamos haciendo um...or cuando estamos peleando [entre,]*
- LPO19: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO20: *humanos y nunca cuando estamos ayudando*
- LPO19: *Y también hay muchos para- hay muchos problemas pero no hay muchas soluciones.*
- LPO20: *Sí.*
- LPO19: *Pues hay pero no: oímos sobre las soluciones.*
- LPO20: *Sí.*
- LPO19: *Y por eso todos nosotros estamos um tenemos miedo.*

- LPO20: *Sí um es verdad es como [estamos.]*
- LPO19: *[#]*
- LPO20: *Hablando en clase um nadie quiere decir por qué nadie quiere um: ofrecer una solución solo um hablar sobre las problemas. No nadie habla sobre las causas.*
- LPO19: *Mm hm ¿qué más? @ o: tenemos la tenemos el derecho tener una un arma?.*
- LPO20: *Sí.*
- LPO19: *[¿Qué piensas?.]*
- LPO20: *[Yo pienso] sí um no sé yo estoy pensando en eso porque las elecciones en los Estados Unidos ahora y yo pienso que porque hay muchas um: situaciones en que las armas son um...no están ayudando la situación pienso que las leyes deben ser más um estrictos.*
- LPO19: *Mm hm.*
- LPO20: *Porq- pero no sé porque um: no creo que todos las leyes deben cambiar y cuando nosotros cambiamos algunos leyes personas quieren cambiar muchas otras y es sí.*
- LPO19: *Mm hm también es interesante que en los Estados Unidos no podemos comprar un Kinder, un Kinder egg.*
- LPO20: *@ [Sí.]*
- LPO19: *[Un huevo] de Kinder pero un niño de diez like trece años puede, puede comprar una arma.*
- LPO20: *Sí.*
- LPO19: *Y por eso posiblemente tenemos el derecho tener armas pero niños [n- no.]*
- LPO20: *[Sí.]*
- LPO19: *Es no es correcto [###]*
- LPO20: *[Sí es una] contradicción.*
- LPO19: *Mm hm un problema.*

- LPO20: *Sí y um: pienso que es un contradicción porque hay algunas leyes que restringen lo que podemos hacer porque es mala para nuestra salud pero hay otras cosas que yo pienso que um son mucho más peligrosos. Pero no hay ningún uh: ley que limitar eso.*
- LPO19: *Mm hm necesitamos reglas más um...um no sé la palabra en español pero todas las reglas necesitan um um estar like similares.*
- LPO20: *Sí.*
- LPO19: *Para.*
- LPO20: *Sí.*
- LPO19: *Cuál cuando po- podemos hacer.*
- LPO20: *Mm hm.*
- LPO19: *Y cua- cual no podemos hacer.*
- LPO20: *Sí las pienso que las leyes necesitan estar de acuerdo con [los otras leyes.]*
- LPI19: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO20: *¿Sí?, porque hay muchas contradicciones.*
- LPO19: *@ España o,*
-
- LPO21: *Um uh para la pre- uh: para la primera pregunta yo no sé me siento la misma que la uh primera semana pero cuando um que pasa aeh lunes o martes. Yo creo es un poquito extraño y un poquito menos or me siento un poquito me- menos segura que um normal.*
- LPO22: *Sí yo estoy de acuerdo yo uh: me siento el mismo como um el principio pero a veces cuando yo oí sobre cosas como [la persona,]*
- LPO21: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO22: *En la calle es un poco como [no sé,]*
- LPO21: *[₂Mm hm]*
- LPO22: *Pero um creo que Granada es un lugar muy muy seguro y hay personas locas todo el mundo y por eso.*
- LPO21: *Sí.*

- LPO22: *Debe ocurrar.*
- LPO21: *[Sí.]*
- LPO22: *[onde] [2nosotros estamos]*
- LPO21: *[2estoy de acuerdo] con eso.*
- LPO22: *Sí [um,]*
- LPO21: *[Um] uh para la segunda pregunta uh yo creo que en um si es la violencia está relacionada con las armas pero en Fran- uh Francia cuando el hombre um condujo um,*
- LPO22: *Mm hm.*
- LPO21: *El camión es en ju- es es como una arma pero,*
- LPO22: *Sí es un diferente tipo de,*
- LPO21: *Sí.*
- LPO22: *Ataque esto es más de terroristic- terroristica? pero en lugares como en los Estados Unidos hay pequeños crímenes um con los armas.*
- LPO21: *[Sí]*
- LPO22: *[y] es diferente como los grandes que no son um porque like tienen um armas es más de los ideas y um el querer para poder.*
- LPO21: *Sí es verdad mm, uh yo no sé para la um tercera pregunta pero um hay algunas veces um los estadosunidenses deben tener el derecho para arma pero um muchas personas no necesitan yo creo [porque]*
- LPO22: *[sí] es like (TSK) hay sí hay una posibilidad yo creo es un buena idea pero muchas veces no es un buen un posibilidad grande.*
- LPO21: *Sí yo estoy de acuerdo. Creo que si nadie tiene el acceso de arma no es un problema es cuando hay personas que pueden accesarlos. Y ellos no están bien en la mente or tienen um...un un querer para hacer algo molestadado a una otra persona y por eso creo que em por por mucho de los um cosas personas no deben tener pero en unos estados los armas son como un, like deporte?.*
- LPO22: *Mm hm.*

- LPO21: *Y por eso um sería un poco difícil para cambiar los leyes porque hay mucha controversial dad ###*
- LPO22: *Mm..uh um para la próxima pregunta yo creo que um aeh hay las armas en las or las armas son porque um las personas um mataron todas lo la gente or @@@ las personas es porque um s- um or eran un poquito loco.*
- LPO21: *Sí.*
- LPO22: *Y um no aeh pueden pensar en yo no sé @ en la mente correcta y:*
- LPO21: *Sí.*
- LPO22: *Si hay un [mente correcta.]*
- LPO21: *[sí] ellos fueron personas que no deben tener el [acceso.]*
- LPO22: *[sí.]*
- LPO21: *A las armas pero ellos pueden tener porque no hay leyes muy escritos um: en unos lugares para el acceso a las armas. Y por eso mal cosas ocurren en el mundo... Sí um para la última pregunta creo que hay hay otros um factores para la violencia como los que están pasado cuando nosotros um ha estamo- hemos estado aquí como en Francia y estos son de grupos uh más grandes que tienen el querer para tener poder o hacer un mensaje al mundo.*
- LPO22: *También en la muchas películas tiene violencia y también algunas programas de televisión y um a veces yo creo que es un el factor um muy fuerte.*
- LPO21: *Sí.*
- LPO22: *### personas.*
-
- LPO24: *Um... yo no recuerdo lo que... Oh. Ok, ok. @*
- LPO23: *@*
- LPO24: *Yo recuerdo. Yo recuerdo ahora. Ok. ¿Cuál pregunta quieres hablar sobre?.*
- LPO23: *No sé. No sé. Um:*
- LPO24: *Yo creo que hablamos en la [uh...]*
- LPO23: *[Mm hm.]*

- LPO24: *Primera.*
- LPO23: *Sí.*
- LPO24: *Vamos a hablar: @ Um. Ok.*
- LPO23: *@ Voy a empezar (TSK) um...*
- LPO24: *El el [tercer es,]*
- LPO23: *[sí]*
- LPO24: *[₂interesante]*
- LPO23: *[₂oh] ¿Quie-, cuál cuál @ pregunta quieres?.*
- LPO24: *Uh ¿Cree- crees que Estados [Unidos]*
- LPO23: *[Ok.]*
- LPO24: *deben tener el derecho de tener un arma?.*
- LPO23: *Oh sí.*
- LPO24: *Um... Yo creo que... Yo creo que.... Está, está, en el constitución pero es, es interesante porque hay, hay, hay, una punta donde está demasiado?. Y yo creo que debe haber más seguridad [um]*
- LPO23: *[Sí]*
- LPO24: *Sí. @*
- LPO23: *Y estamos en un tiempo, más uh, desarrollado de cuando la [constitución]*
- LPO24: *[Mm.]*
- LPO23: *Fue [escribiendo,]*
- LPO24: *[Mm hm.]*
- LPO23: *y las leyes [₂son]*
- LPO24: *[₂sí]*
- LPO23: *muy diferentes y...*

- LPO24: *Son muy diferentes y hay situaciones hoy que no: los las personas quien escribieron el constitución nunca... nunca... uh, podían imaginar porque es*
- LPO23: *Sí [sí.]*
- LPO24: *[es] muy diferente hoy. Y yo creo que... No creo que debemos cambiar la constitución pero yo creo que debemos um cambiar las reglas y,*
- LPO23: *Las leyes [sí.]*
- LPO24: *[sí] las leyes y deben deben ser más um @ apretados sobre sobre um quien puede comprar,*
- LPO23: *[Sí.]*
- LPO24: *[Una] arma*
- LPO23: *Y...en otros países como España y en Europa no hay, like hay problemas con armas pero no de like (TSK) bastante or no bastante no de, del, efecto de los Estados Unidos.*
- LPO24: *Sí.*
- LPO23: *Porque los, las, leyes son más estricto y no solo quien pueda puede comprar?.Una arma pero like para que es el utilizado del arma y: like los diferentes sí no sé.*
- LPO24: *Sí sí sí sí um.*
- LPO23: *Quiero hablar sobre número uno.*
- LPO24: *¡Sí!*
- LPO23: *Porque los eventos de uh el día antes de ayer.*
- LPO24: *Sí sí da-*
- LPO23: *[Sí.]*
- LPO24: *[Sí.]*
- LPO23: *Porque mi mejor amiga fue, like um (TSK) muy [involvido?]*
- LPO24: *[Sí.]*
- LPO23: *[2Yo...]*

- LPO24: *[No sé.]*
- LPO24: *Me siento ahora me siento segura porque y- yo sé que ahora es mucho mucho más um tienen mucho más cuidado [aquí]*
- LPO23: *[Sí.]*
- LPO24: *Y cuando vamos en la ciudad vamos a tener um (TSK) monitores con nosotros pero [todavía]*
- LPO23: *[Sí.]*
- LPO24: *Yo estoy um...un poco, yo tengo un poco miedo más ahora [que,]*
- LPO23: *[Sí.]*
- LPO24: *Um la primera vez que hablamos*
- LPO23: *Sí.*
- LPO24: *Porque.*
- LPO23: *@*
- LPO24: *Es, es, un situación real en...No es no es algo que lees sobre en, el, el, um (TSK) uh @ yo no [puedo recordar la palabra.]*
- LPO23: *[Sí sí.]*
- LPO24: *[₂Ahora.]*
- LPO23: *[₂Entiendo.]*
- LPO24: *Pero es es en nuestras vidas.*
- LPO23: *Sí.*
- LPO24: *Y [es]*
- LPO23: *[sí]*
- LPO24: *Es um, [₂real]*
- LPO23: *[₂Pensé] que siento segura en España antes pero no sé si fu- um: eso fue mi like uh sentimiento antes porque cuando el evento [uh:]*

- LPO24: *[Sí.]*
- LPO23: *Pasado pero no sé.*
- LPO24: *Pero yo yo creo que este evento um es este evento puede um (TSK) pasar en en los Estados Unidos.*
- LPO23: *[Sí.]*
- LPO24: *[o] aquí o en,*
- LPO23: *Todos los lugares.*
- LPO24: *en [cualquier,]*
- LPO23: *Es [posible]*
- LPO24: *Exactamente y yo no sé es es no es no es muy um no hay un pos- uh probabilidad muy alto pero,*
- LPO23: *Sí*
- LPO24: *Pasó aquí y puede puede pasar um en un otro lugar también.*
- LP23: *sí*
- LPO24: *So, yo no sé si me siento seguro más en um los Estados Unidos o aquí porque siempre hay una,*
- LPO24: *Sí.*
- LPO23: *Proba- uh posibilidad que algo... algo puede pasar.*
- LPO24: *Sí como like Dallas qué pasó en.*
- LPO23: *Sí.*
- LPO24: *Algunos sitios.*
- LPO23: *Y no definitemente no siento más seguro en Españ- en los Estados Unidos pero es un poco triste porque no no puedo sentir seguro like en,*
- LPO24: *Sí.*
- LPO23: *@ No es la verdad [pero,]*

LPO24: *[sí]*

LPO23: *[₂Pero,]*

LPO24: *[₂Sí.]*

LPO23: *No sé like puedo puede vivir su vida en medio?, o like...solo ir con el flow @*

LPO24: *Sí. Yo creo que la gente.a*