TRANSLATION HISTORY IN LATIN AMERICA:
A CORPORA-BASED ANALYSIS OF THE STRATEGIES USED BY A LITERARY TRANSLATOR DURING THE 1930-1950S BRAZILIAN PUBLISHING BOOM

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Technological Contributions to Historiographic Research

Historiographic approaches to translation have traditionally relied on paratextual and contextual features of translated texts. Translators' notes, prefaces, letters, statements and other types of documentary evidence of their work make up the sources researchers frequently use to explore different avenues in their historical reconstruction of translators' praxis. Translated texts themselves also inform researchers' surveys albeit less frequently and usually constituting a corpus subject to close observation for selected occurrences to be counted and monitored by the analysts based on their perception and skill to do that. When the object of study consists of a multiplicity of originals and translated texts, the researcher's task becomes even more demanding, particularly owing to the fact that computation of occurrences has to be done extensively through several texts.

The emergence of technological resources such as computer storage facilities and softwares to analyze text databanks has no doubt brought new potentialities to historiographic accounts of translation in a renewed and curious alliance between technology, linguistics and the social sciences. In this respect, corpora-based

studies of translated texts offer a more reliable way of dealing with text and discourse analysis of translations, both in terms of quantitative data retrieval and multiple text processing. Consistently built parallel corpora made up of originals and their translations into another language designed on the basis of historical criteria can offer interesting raw data for discourse analysis of cultural variables playing a part in translation activity. In fact, implementing a discourse approach to corpora-based analyses is one of the main challenges for corpora researchers and historiographers alike, since as Mona Baker points out with regard to corpora approaches:

> Identifying linguistic habits and stylistic patterns is not an end in itself: it is only worthwhile if tells us something about the cultural and ideological positioning of the translator, or of translators in general, or about the cognitive processes and mechanisms that contribute to shaping our translational behaviour. (2000, p.258)

In this paper I would like to pursue the discussion of patterns found in translated texts when analyzed from the perspective of their cultural and historical background. Drawing on extensive research carried out in connection to publishing and translating in two Latin American countries – Brazil and Argentina – during the 1930-1950s period (Pagano, 1996, 2000), I propose an integration of historiographical data and textual insights provided by corpora based studies as a means to further contextualize the study of translated texts. In order to illustrate this point, I present some data from a selection of three crime novels translated by Brazilian writer Érico Veríssimo with a view to observing which strategies were used by the translator and how his choices could be accounted for in terms of the contextual aspects of his work, such as his representation of the prospective readers for the translated texts and of the role those texts of popular fiction were envisaged to play at that time. The aim is to correlate the results obtained through corpora based

studies with data obtained through text analysis and historiographic documentation. A consideration of the socio-cultural and historical contexts frames the perspective adopted to interpret micro and macrodiscursive features of the translated texts.

Érico Veríssimo is here presented as a case study of a Brazilian translator selected from a parallel subcorpus of English originals and translated texts by Argentine and Brazilian translators during the 1930-1950s publishing boom in those two countries. This subcorpus is part of a larger corpus compiled at Faculdade de Letras (FALE), Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG), which has been designed as we shall see below on the basis of historical and linguistic criteria.

The Design of CORDIALL and its Subcorpora

CORDIALL (Corpus of Discourse for the Analysis of Language and Literature) was designed by translation researchers at FALE/ UFMG for use in the investigation of the nature of translated texts from different sources and perspectives. Four subcorpora make up CORDIALL at the moment: a parallel corpus of novels in English translated into Brazilian Portuguese and Argentine Spanish during the 1930-1950s period; a parallel and comparable corpus of novels, short stories and news reports originally written in Brazilian Portuguese and translated into that language in the 1990s, their originals in foreign language included; a parallel corpus of short stories and articles in in-flight magazines for the linguistic pairs English-Portuguese and German-Portuguese; and a monolingual corpus of texts in Brazilian Portuguese belonging to different textual genres. A prospective addition is a subcorpus, currently underway, of translated texts into Brazilian Portuguese and the corresponding TAPs (Think-Aloud Protocols) produced by translators trainees at FALE/UFMG as part of their translation education aimed at awareness of both the process and the product of translation.

As already stated, the first subcorpus, on which this paper draws for the examination of a case study, consists of a selection of individual texts, originals and their translations into Brazilian Portuguese and Argentine Spanish, therein included because they were made by well known writers and translators who have left substantial paratextual evidence of their adherence to a certain poetics and ideology of translation during the 1930-1930s period in Brazil and Argentina. This evidence, I would like to argue, can be correlated with recurrent features of their translation praxis, something we can have access to through corpora-based analyses of their translated texts. For the sake of space, I shall take a case study from this subcorpus and attempt an analysis of recurrent patterns in his praxis that may be linked to a view of text production modeled by the historical context in which this takes place.

Any analysis of translators' idiosyncrasies, however, merits a cautionary note. As Baker (2000, p.255) points out in connection to corpora studies of particular translators' styles, a pattern we may ascribe to a translator in particular "may be largely carried over from the source text" he or she is dealing with. Baker's words no doubt echo those of Jorge Luis Borges, who in a seminal essay on translation in 1932 discussed the inherent problem in linguistic and literary matters of "not knowing what belongs to the poet and what belongs to the language". As the case study presented here shows, patterns identified through corpora based analyses of translated texts may be equally ascribed to the poet and the language, both, in turn, seen as inseparable from the socio-historical context in which their production takes place.

Érico Veríssimo: an Editorial Dream at the Service of a Novice Readership

In order to contextualize the work of Érico Veríssimo, the object of our case study here, a brief reference must be made to the

historical and cultural milieu in which he played an active role and which is today regarded as a publishing and translation boom taking place in Latin America, from the 1930s to the 1950s, also referred to as the "golden age of translation".

The decades ranging from 1930 to 1950 saw both in Brazil and Argentina a growing process of industrialization and urbanization. Owing to the favorable balance of trade produced by foreign commercial transactions, the industrial park and labor market were in full expansion, allowing for a rise in the purchasing power of people who had hitherto had little access to consumer goods. A rise in people's personal income therefore meant a rise in consumption and, ultimately, a rise in leisure. Together with labor and economic changes, profound social changes occurred during those decades: social welfare policies brought substantial social legislation to protect the working classes. Maximum work hours, minimum wages, social security benefits, and paid vacations were some of the benefits introduced by the new laws. At a time when the economy was blooming, they introduced the notions of spare time recreation and leisure consumption. In the educational sphere, there were changes in the educational policies adopted by the government to improve basic education and literacy. Reforms of elementary and high school curricula and the growing number of students led to an increasing demand for textbooks and school materials. There were also changes in the reading practices and resources with the establishment of public libraries and mobile libraries and the proliferation of book clubs and reading materials available in all sorts of stores (Lajolo & Zilberman, 1996). A rising number of literate people and students (especially, high school students) meant a rising number of potential purchasers of textbooks and manuals as well as of "leisure" readers of books and magazines (Rivera, 1980/86). Other sources of consumption involved new forms of mass media such as the cinema and the radio, which at the time had the same repercussion television has today. Magazines devoted to the radio and cinema stardom popped up in both countries, while the cinema production of novels

also led to the consumption of the books from which screenplays were adapted.

Unlike the learned readers belonging to a more affluent social class who had hitherto dominated book consumption in Latin America, the new readers were not able to afford imported volumes, which required that in order for them to consume books, these had to be cheap and easy to purchase. Besides, the book had to fulfill not only a school or professional necessity but also a desire for leisure. Light fiction or entertainment books were therefore in demand and started to be widely read, particularly because of their high appeal, their cheap prices, and their availability within readers' everyday surroundings (local bookstores, news-stands and other stores). The translation and publishing *boom* in Argentina and Brazil between the 1930s and the 1950s is therefore linked to the social ascent of some sectors of the middle classes and their access to print media.

Together with these initiatives in education and reading skills development, there was a fertile literary scene, greatly favored by a task that significantly promoted most editorial enterprises: translation. Unbelievably by the time's and even today's standards, some of the publishing houses had a translation section or department and hired translators as part-time or full-time professionals with all the social benefits of other employees at the firms. Again, this policy of concern for translators and their work conditions, which would presumably have a bearing upon their recreation of originals, is highly notable for that task at the time. Brazil's publishing house *Editora do Globo* is famous for having, as early as in the 1940s, a staff of translators hired specifically for that task, a fact which reveals the prominence translation had gained during those decades.

Both in Argentina and Brazil, writers today acclaimed nationally and internationally worked as translators for the emerging publishing houses, their literary careers showing a parallel development between their own writing and their translations. Jorge Luis Borges, Adolfo Bioy Casares, Rodolfo Walsh, Julio Cortázar, Silvina

Ocampo, Alfonsina Storni in Argentina, and Monteiro Lobato, Érico Veríssimo, Mario Pedrosa, Rachel de Queiroz, Cecília Meireles, Graciliano Ramos in Brazil are some of the translators who later became renowned intellectual figures. Through their statements, autobiographies, and memoirs, we learn about the significant role of their translation tasks in their own production and in their choice of poetological affiliations at that time.

Érico Veríssimo can be said to epitomize the multifarious interests and activities typical of some of the intellectuals of the 1930s and 1940s. An editor, a writer, and a translator, Veríssimo was also the orchestrator of an editorial project that purported to push the boundaries of the reading experience for many novice readers in Brazil. At the centre of his project was translation, a task he associated to the need to expand the editorial activities of the then Editora do Globo and to his own aspirations to construct a world library of translated texts in Brazil. Veríssimo referred to his own and his editorial partner's project as a publishing and translation "craze":

> Our publishing craze began to take on a gigantic dimension. Henrique and I kept on working on our editorial plans… "What about launching a collection made up of the masterpieces of world literature? I started to name some of the authors: Stendhal, Poe, Maupaussant, a little bit of Shakespeare, Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Nietzsche. Wow, just fancy that! Nietzsche and Montaigne and Tolstoi and Ibsen. Dickens, of course, and no doubt, Balzac, Madame de Lafayette, Laclos…" "And Plato," added Henrique. (1972, pp.58-59)

In fact, figures concerning the number of translations put out by Editora do Globo during the 1930-1950s period attest to the proportions of Veríssimo's and Bertaso's project. Throughout the statements in his memoirs, letters and essays, Veríssimo reveals a permanent concern about the need to produce texts that could sell

easily and could capture the reader's attention as well as the need
to expand editorial activities taking as many challenges as possible.
As Veríssimo himself declared, more ambitious projects, such as
the translation of the classics demanded funding which only the profit
obtained through best-sellers could provide. This seems to account
for the wide variety of authors and titles translated and published,
some of them definitely more canonical than others. As regards his
ideological positioning regarding the status of the original text and
the overall purpose motivating translation choices, Veríssimo's
account of his translation of Edgar Wallace's *On the Spot* (one of
the novels in our corpus) is highly illustrative:

> Let me take advantage of these remembrances to make a
> confession. I was translating *On the spot*, by Edgar Wallace,
> when, moved by the immense boredom the book brought me, I
> decided to help the author and take some liberties with his
> text, respecting the storyline though changing his style. I
> misbehaved. The novel was published under the title *A morte
> mora em Chicago*. Would it be too pretentious to claim that
> the translated text in Portuguese is much better than the
> original? I don't think so, for they say that Wallace – who did
> not care much for literary form—would dictate to his
> secretaries two stories at the same time, walking to and fro
> and smoking like a chimney, cigarette after cigarette. (1972,
> pp.43-45)

Listening to Érico Veríssimo's voice, reverberating throughout
the paratextual sources available for examination, is actually one
way of approaching the study of his particular ideas and editorial
project. As Baker (2000, p.244) points out, an individual translator's
idiosyncrasies or style can also be deal with through an analysis of
the translated texts themselves as we search for "traces of the
translator's presence in the text". As we shall see below, data
obtained through corpora based analysis of some of the translated
texts by Veríssimo seem to point to recurrent patterns which may

be associated to his view of his own translation project. These, in turn, can provide insights as to the construction of translated Portuguese, that is the kind of Portuguese produced by translators when they translate into that language

The Corporeal Texture of Translated Texts

The three novels translated by Érico Veríssimo chosen here to illustrate the correlation of corpora and historiographic data are the following ones:

> Edgar Wallace's *The Ringer* and its translation into Portuguese *O Sineiro* by Érico Veríssimo, published by Editora Globo in 1931

> Edgar Wallace's *On the Spot* (1930) and its translation into Portuguese *A Morte Mora em Chicago* by Érico Veríssimo, published by Editora Globo in 1934

> Horace McCoy´s *They Shoot Horses, Don´t They?* and its translation into Portuguese *Mas não se Mata Cavalo?* by Érico Veríssimo, published by Editora Globo in the 1940s.

These novels were selected because of their affiliation to a particular literary genre, crime fiction, and of their being representative of best-sellers in the 1930-1950s. In order to carry out a corpora-based analysis, a sample varying between 6000 and 8000 words (computed through Microsoft Word's word counter) was taken from the three original novels. The same length of text, that is the equivalent number of chapters, was extracted from their corresponding translations. Those samples of originals and translations were prepared in text format in order to be analysed

with the aid of Wordsmith Tools. The variation in the number of words selected for each novel is directly connected to the need to preserve chapter divisions so as not to work with fragments of these stylistic units.

From the data provided by the application of two Wordsmith Tools — Keywords and Concord —, let us focus on a number of features worth highlighting in connection to Veríssimo's translations. These are statistical data concerning standardized type/token ration, number of sentences and paragraphs and positions of selected items in frequency lists obtained from the texts. Word counts of the most frequent reporting verbs in the novels prompted the alignment of the texts in order to compare their distribution and rendition by the translator. Let us look at these features separately below.

Type/token Ratio

A comparison of the standardized type/token ration for originals and their translations showed in all three cases a higher ratio in the case of the translated texts. The figures for the three novels are as follows:

	TITLE	SAMPLE SIZE	STANDARDIZED TYPE/TOKEN RATIO
Original	*The Ringer*	6360 words	43,83
Translation	*O Sineiro*	6377 words	50,25
Original	*On the Spot*	7403 words	44,83
Translation	*A Morte Mora em Chicago*	8509 words	49,47
Original	*They Shoot Horses, Don't They?*	8311 words	38,60
Translation	*Mas Não se Mata Cavalo?*	8340 words	47,13

Table 1. Standardized type/token ratio in samples of originals and translated texts

Type/token ratio is usually considered an index of lexical diversity in a text. As mentioned earlier, features pointed out by quantitative data can be correlated, on the one hand, to the specificity of the linguistic pairs involved, in this case Brazilian Portuguese - English, and on the other, to translators' idiosyncratic choices in their rendition of the originals. With regard to the former, the statistics for the translated texts in Portuguese revealed a higher number of types and a higher type/token ratio. This can be accounted for, among other things, by the fact that translated texts in languages such as Portuguese conform to linguistic norms such as the avoidance of lexical repetition, a feature more readily welcome in languages as English, which have a higher rate of repetition of lexical words. Thus, repetition in English is rendered into Portuguese through synonymy and other cohesive resources. As to translators' preferences for introducing lexical variety into the translated text, we shall see below in our consideration of reporting verbs that this seems to be also the case with Érico Veríssimo.

Sentences and Paragraphs

Overall, with the exception of *Mas Não se Mata Cavalo?,* figures for the three translated texts show a higher number of sentences and paragraphs when compared to their corresponding original texts. This may point to the need felt by the translator to intervene in the text so as to fragment long sentences and paragraphs. Interestingly, in this respect, the figures obtained for standardized paragraph length reveal a preference for shorter paragraphs in the translated texts (See Table 2). Redistribution of paragraphs is thus a feature found for all three translated texts and this seems to reveal the translator's choices related to his perception as to how the plot of a story should develop. In this sense, this type of occurrence clearly shows individual choices made by the translator in his rendition of the originals.

| | SENTENCES | PARAGRAPHS | STANDARDIZED PARAGRAPH LENGTH |
	TITLE			
Original	*The Ringer*	362	254	21,91
Translation	*O Sineiro*	400	275	20,34
Original	*On the Spot*	438	232	32,11
Translation	*A Morte Mora em Chicago*	476	245	35,41
Original	*They Shoot Horses, Don't They?*	588	319	28,03
Translation	*Mas Não se Mata Cavalo?*	511	348	26,02

Table 2. Sentence and paragraph counts for samples of the originals and the translated texts including Standardized Paragraph Length

Personal pronouns

Another feature revealed by the quantitative data was the low frequency of use of personal pronouns in the Portuguese texts when compared to the English originals. This was considered a feature that reveals awareness on the part of the translator about the specificity of the target language he is dealing with. Studies have yet to be carried out on the basis of comparable corpora in order to verify if translated texts into Portuguese show a higher number of personal pronouns than texts originally produced in that language, a feature observed in the translation products of beginners and translator trainees. The choice of personal pronouns in a translation is also linked to the idea that different patterns of cohesive links seem to operate in different languages. Thus, the repeated use of a personal pronoun in English can be rendered into Portuguese by means of ellipsis or by lexical choices such as proper names or common nouns to refer to a person in particular. This seems to have been among the decisions made by Veríssimo as reflected by the figures in Table 3.

	TITLE	PRONOUNS *HE - ELE*	PRONOUNS *SHE - ELA*	PRONOUNS *I - EU*
Original	*The Ringer*	169	57	93
Translation	*O Sineiro*	36	19	34
Original	*On the Spot*	228	43	41
Translation	*A Morte Mora em Chicago*	63	16	24
Original	*They Shoot Horses, Don't They?*	65	95	350
Translation	*Mas Não se Mata Cavalo?*	30	47	105

Table 3. Data concerning use of personal pronouns extracted from Frequency Lists of samples of originals and translated texts

Assuming an operational correlation between the pronouns *he/ele, she/ ela* and *I/eu,* we can notice a sharp difference between originals and their translations. In the case of McCoy's novel, *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?,* the high frequency of the pronoun *I* in the original (it must be borne in mind this is a first person narrative) finds a low figure in the translated text, corroborating differences in use as pointed out by Maia (1998). Of the three pronominal instances, the first person singular is perhaps the most reliable in this case, since pronouns *ele* and *ela* in Portuguese could also be used to render instances where English uses the pronoun *it.* However, text alignment corroborated the lower frequency figures for he and *she* in the translated texts and showed that the translator uses different cohesive resources to render personal pronouns in his translation.

Selected feature: reporting verbs

Departing from an initial count of number of instances of the reporting verb "say" in its most typical tense and form as a reporting

element (first or third person singular, past tense), we can observe in the table below a sharp difference between the occurrences of this verb in English and its appearance in the translated texts.

Original	*The Ringer*	52 said
Translation	*O Sineiro*	42 disse
Original	*On the Spot*	46 said
Translation	*A Morte Mora em Chicago*	21 disse
Original	*They Shoot Horses, Don't They?*	201 said
Translation	*Mas Não se Mata Cavalo?*	57 disse

Table 4. Number of occurrences of *said* and *disse* in the samples of originals an translated texts

Again, alignment of the texts showed the translator's choices concerning the rendition of this lexical item in English by means of ellipsis and lexical synonymy in Portuguese. "Começou", "continuou", "falou", "hesitou", "exclamou", "contou", "retrucou" are some of the items chosen by the translator in order to replace "said" both to avoid excessive repetition, intolerable according to the norms of the Portuguese language, and also possibly to add different nuances to the narration, which seem to point to what Tannen (1988) described as the use of reporting verbs to create involvement on the reader's part with the plot of the story. It is interesting to notice that the choice for a particular reporting verb in the translated text seems to be linked to a careful consideration of the context of the report structure in the original text. Thus, for instance, if a long interaction is presented in the novel, where the original text makes use of a series of repeated "said", the translator opts for reporting verbs that indicate a time sequence: "começou", "continuou", etc. A search carried out using the Concord tool in Wordsmith Tools allowed us to check the contexts in which many of these verbs were used and to verify if they were in fact being used as reporting verbs (See Figures 1 and 2 below). Another feature

worth pointing out is the rich lexical variety of reported verbs found in the translated texts, signaling all sorts of emotions and attitudes on the part of the interlocutors: "sorriu", "exclamou", "retrucou", "desconversou", "avisou", "contou", among several others.

Figure 1. Results obtained through Concordance to verify use of "começou" as a reporting verb

Figure 2. Results obtained through Concordance to verify use of "continuou" as a reporting verb

Discourse Analysis as a Bridge between Corpora Findings and Translation Context

Our *corpora*-based study was supplemented with a textual analysis of the originals and translations of the novels. This was based on Mona Baker's insights into translation processes at different textual levels (Baker, 1994) and her corpora-based hypotheses concerning distinctive features of translated texts (1993, 1995, 1996a, 1996b), namely . *explicitation* (spelling things out or adding information), *simplification* (producing simpler cohesive patterns and lexical or syntactic features) and *normatization* observance of target language norms exclusively). The aim was to categorize recurrent patterns of lexical, grammatical and cohesive choices, which provided evidence of translation strategies developed by the translators in order to deal with the rewriting of the originals according to their perception of their potential readership.

A series of recurrences were detected and these, in turn, were classified into patterns related to possible strategies used by the translators in order to deal with the rewriting of the novels. They were labeled as *awareness of target language specificity*, *choice of a colloquial register*, *additions and explanations*, *preservation of foreign cultural references*, *non-translation and omission*, *redistribution of paragraphs*, *changes in the theme-rheme structure* and *cultural shifts.*

The translated texts analyzed revealed a careful work on the part of the translator and his awareness of major discursive differences between English and Portuguese. This can be seen in the omission of pronouns in the translations when these were not demanded by the pragmatics of the text in Portuguese, a feature we discussed in the section above.

The translator opts for using an overall colloquial register, accessible and familiar to the Brazilian reader. The translated text reads fluently and presumably attracts the reader's attention thanks to its idiomaticness. The decision to opt for a colloquial register

can also be seen in the treatment the translator gives to direct and indirect speech. Depending on the style of the originals, the translator displays a careful arrangement of direct, indirect and free indirect speech. Sometimes, direct speech is preserved together with some marks of oral discourse.

Despite the choice for an overall colloquial register, inconsistencies can be observed, particularly when the language used in direct speech is more formal than the speech in the originals.

Additions and explanations found in the text may be related to explicitation as one of the features pointed out by *corpora* studies in connection to the translated text. Translators tend to make the language of the original more explicit in their translation so that ambiguity is reduced. Likewise, sometimes, the translator takes pains to spell out cultural references or associations that the mere translation of an item might not convey so clearly to the new readership: Counterbalancing the option for explicitness and explanation, the translator sometimes leaves cultural references as they appear in the original. This is the case with measurements.

A feature of the texts analyzed is the presence of English words, left unstranslated. Very rarely are these words explained through a footnote. Generally, they are used as lexical items that the reader may be familiar with or understand through the context in which they appear. Sometimes lexical items and phrases are altogether omitted, possibly because they are not very relevant to an understanding of the plot of the story: A distinctive feature of the translated texts analyzed in our study and one that is also corroborated by corpora findings is that they reveal a different distribution of paragraphs from that of the originals. Sometimes the translator splits a paragraph in the original into several in his translation. Also there are times when the translator blends in a single paragraph information that was split into different paragraphs in the original text.

The changes observed in theme-rheme distribution characteristically point to non-literalness as a strategy for translation.

In this sense, they reveal the translators' concern for fluency and idiomaticness, as pointed out above.

Interestingly, the translated texts reveal cultural adaptations of some items in the original, which, again, point to the translators' concern about fluency and colloquialism.

The data obtained through *corpora* analysis together with the results of the analysis of the most relevant features of the translated texts from a text perspective allow us to reach the conclusions below.

The translations present some of the features pointed out in the literature as being typical of translated texts, such as higher type/token ratio, a tendency to explicitness and explanation, and a concern for approximating the translated text to the norms of the target language. Contrary to expectations concerning the transfer of source language features to the target text, the present corpus shows awareness on the part of the translator about natural patterns of cohesion in their mother tongue.

Most of the results of our textual analysis seem to corroborate results from our corpora analysis and historiographical research. During the 1930-1950s period, translators were aware of the new readership they were addressing and they took pains to produce colloquial, fluent narratives in the target language. Register inconsistencies can be observed, but, by and large, changes in theme-rheme structure, redistribution of paragraphs and information and careful rendition of idiomatic expressions point to a predominating colloquial register.

Conclusion

Overall, the integration of historiographical, corpora based and text analysis data pursued in this study proves insightful in that it brings into a socio-historical analysis information about the performance of a translator and the translation product itself. As already stated, historiographical accounts of translation have mainly

worked with socio-historical data and relegated textual analyses of translated texts to secondary importance. The incorporation of *corpora*-based data no doubt contributes to the kind of research pursued, which undoubtedly signals the need for complementariness between different research approaches and methodologies for the analysis of translated texts in their contexts of production and reception. Conversely, insights provided by historiographical research contribute to corpora-based studies in what Baker and other theorists have been announcing as the urgent call for more discourse oriented analyses of computer generated data.

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