

# TOWARDS THE CHARACTERISATION OF A SPECIFIC TEXT TYPE: THE DIMENSION OF SENTENTIAL PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS IN EDITORIALS FROM *EL PAÍS*

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## Abstract

This paper offers an account of *sentential phraseological units* (SPU's) as they appear in *editorials* from the Spanish newspaper *El País*. The corpus comprises 3 entire years of editorials from the newspaper (2002-2004), with a total of approximately 2900 individual texts and 1.34 million words. Details are provided of the frequency of the SPU's in the corpus, the internal and external modification of such expressions, their contribution to discourse organisation, the presence of metalinguistic devices, and so on. The study advocates strict text-type specificity for such descriptions in order to avoid non-differentiated generalisation across disparate text types, together with the use of extensive corpora. The ultimate aim of the research is to explore the possibility of providing a profile for editorials from *El País* on the dimension of the characteristics of SPU's so that empirical comparisons can be established between different *text types* both on the intralinguistic and interlinguistic planes.

## 1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to provide a brief account of the presence and characteristics of proverbs and other sentential phraseological units (henceforth SPU's) in editorials from the Spanish newspaper *El País*. For reasons of transparency and accessibility the complete list of SPU's appearing in the corpus is offered in the appendix. This transparency might not have been possible if the data were hidden away in tables, and so on. It is hoped that other researchers will be able to use this list for their own purposes and perhaps to discover features and patterns of use which may be obscured or overlooked in this short paper.

The general theoretical apparatus adopted in the present study combines an on-line discourse as process approach with many of the basic tenets of corpus linguistics, as we shall see in more detail below. As far as the strictly phraseological aspects of the study are concerned, it will be obvious that I draw frequently on the work of Corpas Pastor (1996 and 2003).

The study is one of a series of analyses of the same corpus (henceforth referred to as PE2002-2004) being carried out by the author, with the emphasis especially on the description of intersentential relations (connectors and alternative means of expression).<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to see parallels in the description of these two separate discourse phenomena in many studies which exist to date, the expression of intersentential relations, on the one hand, and the nature of SPU's, on the other.

Sinclair, the major presence behind corpus approaches to language study over the past three decades, expresses the conviction that for most of the twentieth century the study of language was characterised by an excess of speculation and a severe scarcity of empirical data (2004: 9). Sinclair urges us to trust the text and to engage with language

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<sup>1</sup> See Hyde (in prep.).

at the text face. However, well into the twenty-first century, the implications of this perspective do not seem to have been adopted by all those working in the field of language study. Many descriptions of linguistic phenomena still adopt a static, monolithic approach, isolated from contextual considerations, describing the system rather than the use of the system, focussing on the virtual or potential rather than the actual.

In the study of the expression of intersentential relations there is rarely any strict regard for the pragmatic segmentation of text, and many accounts conflate intrasentential, intersentential and interparagraph manifestations of the phenomenon. The emphasis in many studies is almost exclusively on the role of connectors, ignoring equally if not more important alternative means of expression of this area of discourse meaning. There is often recourse to intuitions with respect to the frequency of different exponents and wide-ranging statements are offered across large expanses of potentially differentiated text types with no consideration for possible variation due to text-type specificity.<sup>2</sup>

Similar characteristics can be seen with many descriptions of proverbs and other SPU's. There is an abundance of inventories of supposedly attested exponents from different historical periods, regional varieties and thematic domains. Static, system-based accounts focus on syntactic and prosodic characteristics, the presence of archaic forms, and the like. General intuitive statements are made with regard to the frequency of the use of proverbs by previous generations compared with today, and so on. Rarely do we find carefully controlled empirical studies to support such statements and strict corpus analyses of text-attested data are few and far between.<sup>3</sup>

What can be done to supplement such limited descriptions? In order to cast some light on these questions and go beyond static, system-based approaches to linguistic phenomena, this study (and parallel studies by the author) insists on the following general design features.

It is necessary to adopt an integrated on-line discourse-as-process approach to the description of linguistic phenomena, including SPU's, in order to discover the multiple and complex strands of meaning expressed by different aspects of language. Scholars such as de Beaugrande (1980 and 1997; de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981), Brown and Yule (1983), van Dijk and Kintsch (1983), Widdowson (1979, 1983a, 1983b, and 2004), and others have been urging us to adopt such an approach for the last two decades and more.<sup>4</sup> De Beaugrande (1980; de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981), for example, advocates a holistic, cognitive, contextualised, interactive and operational approach for what he terms a pivotal text theory.

Studies of this kind should insist on the use of text-attested data in opposition to descriptions based on supposedly system-sanctioned possibilities and the use of invented examples which appeal solely to intuition.

It is necessary to establish strict specification and differentiation of text type in such studies in order to avoid non-differentiated generalisation across disparate text

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<sup>2</sup> For these various factors, see Hyde, all references.

<sup>3</sup> Martínez Marín (1996) and Corpas Pastor (1996 and 2003) make repeated reference to the lack of a solid empirical base to studies in this field.

<sup>4</sup> Widdowson (2007) offers a succinct introductory survey of this field.

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types. In the present study (and projected studies in preparation) the approach adopted is to rigorously limit the corpus and the description to one very specific text-type, editorials from *El País*, and to offer a characterisation or profile of this text type on the dimension of SPU's and other linguistic devices.

While on this point, it is interesting to postulate that the confluence of an integrated approach to discourse as process, with its emphasis on contextually conditioned variation in language, and corpus linguistics, with the huge databases of authentic text which this perspective makes available, should lead naturally to greater text-type specificity in the study of language.

In general, it would seem that relatively broad categorisations of text type such as argumentative texts, academic writing, newspaper register, and so on are likely to be revealed in the last analysis as too undifferentiated. For example, even if we considerably narrow the possible range of variation and take the *Opinión* section from *El País*, just one section amongst at least a dozen within the total newspaper, we will see that this includes several potentially differentiated text types: editorials, letters to the editor, comment articles, articles by the *Defensor del Lector*, interviews with well-known personalities in *Entrevista del Verano*, narrative pieces in a subsection termed *relato*, excerpts from foreign newspapers in the *Revista de la Prensa*.<sup>5</sup> Can we assume, without empirical demonstration, that these subcategories within the broad category of *Opinión* are undifferentiated with respect to one another on the dimension of the expression of SPU's (or any other linguistic phenomenon)?

It would seem reasonable to expect that a higher degree of text-type specificity in our studies of discourse would yield extremely interesting pointers to marked characteristics of variation and differentiation between different categories. The only solution to this question of text-type specificity is, of course, to carry out the empirical research necessary to verify or refute such hypotheses.

For meaningful comparisons to be established, one important requirement of such text-type-specific studies is that they must strive to quantify their data: details such as corpus provenance, extent and composition, characteristics and frequency of the phenomena being described, and so on must be stated precisely.

For the description of many linguistic phenomena, including SPU's, it is necessary to analyse a considerably extensive corpus in order to provide sufficient data, given the relatively low frequency of many attested exponents. It is necessary also to give serious consideration to the consequences of this question for language study in general. If we accept the need for text-type specific surveys, we must contemplate corpora of a far greater magnitude than is generally envisaged today. Hyde (in prep.) notes that if we bear in mind that a complex society such as ours must distinguish at least a thousand different text types (on a conservative estimate), then even corpora such

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<sup>5</sup> The information here is from the CD-Rom version of the newspaper for the years 2000 and 2001. Except for editorials, comment articles and letters to the editor, the remaining subcategories are generally far less frequent and some are restricted to the summer period. Incidentally, it is important to bear in mind here that *El País* undertook a substantial reform with respect to layout and presentation in October 2007. Some of these changes have affected the nature of editorials: position within the total newspaper, the inclusion of a subheading below the headline, generally less space dedicated to this section, and so on. Whether these changes have modified the essential characteristics of editorials from this newspaper remains to be seen.

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as the Bank of English, standing at 650 million words in the year 2006, would offer us the equivalent of a mere 650,000 words for each one of those types. The present corpus (PE2002-2004), for example, at 1.34 million words, provides only 132 cases of SPU's, less than one every 10,000 words. Such considerations on the need for very extensive corpora must lead us to question whether research into many aspects of language can possibly be undertaken by a single individual, for example.

The ultimate aim of the research outlined in this paper is to explore the viability of providing a characterisation or profile of editorials from *El País* on the dimension of SPU's which will constitute an empirical yardstick for various purposes of comparison, both on the intralinguistic plane (between different text-types within the same language) and the interlinguistic plane (the same text-type across different languages). It is important to stress here that this is a programmatic proposal. It would seem reasonable to expect, at least as a preliminary hypothesis, that differences (or similarities) between text types will be visible on the dimension of the expression of SPU's (and other phenomena), in the types of units which appear in the expression of this aspect of discourse, together with their characteristics, frequency, and so on. The research reported here is a first step in this direction, but many fundamental aspects of this phenomenon are obviously unclear at the moment. Whether PE2002-2004 is large enough to fully address the nature and the frequency of SPU's in editorials from *El País*, or whether this dimension of this text type will show differential characteristics with respect to other text types, both on the intralinguistic and the interlinguistic planes, remains to be seen, along with many other factors. At the moment no parallel studies with the same design features seem to be available for meaningful comparisons to be established with what is presented here. One of the fundamental aims of the present paper is to advocate the undertaking of further such studies in the future.

Obviously, the account of SPU's offered here is but one dimension of editorials from *El País* (as it would be of any other text type). The characterisation of this dimension in this particular text type needs to be complemented by accounts of various other dimensions of editorials from this newspaper, of editorials in general, and of closely related text types such as comment articles and letters to the editor, again both on the intralinguistic and the interlinguistic planes. To mention just a few examples from this very broad field, we need to incorporate relevant contributions from the perspective of macrostructures and superstructures (van Dijk 1980; van Dijk and Kintsch 1983), rhetorical structure theory (Mann and Thompson 1988), critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989/2001) and studies in media discourse (Fairclough 1995), the structural perspective on editorials provided by Bolívar (1994) and on editorials and comment articles by Alonso Belmonte (2004), and so on. Valuable contributions can also be made by more delicate analyses on the dimension of the expression of intersentential relations (connectors and alternative means of expression) such as those offered by Domínguez García (2007) for letters to the editors of Spanish newspapers, by Hyde (all references) for editorials variously from *The Guardian*, *The Economist* and *El País*, or by Elorza Amorós and others (2008) on the use of *But* in

paragraph-initial position in editorials from *The Guardian*.<sup>6</sup> Clearly, all these sundry complementary strands, and more, need to be drawn together for a fuller understanding of the specific text-type which occupies us here.

The remaining sections of this paper address the following aspects of the research in question: examples of the use of SPU's in opinion articles from *El País*; a description of the corpus employed; dimensions of the analysis of SPU's in authentic texts; results from the corpus data on the various dimensions addressed; and conclusions arising from the study.

## 2 Examples of the use of SPU's in opinion articles from *El País*

In order to set the context for the main discussion in this paper, it will be convenient first to consider the following three examples from authentic newspaper texts. For reasons of space, the first two examples include only the first paragraph from each text, whilst the third example is quoted in its entirety.

- (1) a. Paso a Meirás  
14/09/2007  
Lo que mal empieza, mal acaba, dice el refrán. Viene esto a cuento ante la actitud excesivamente altiva y confiada de la saga de los Franco sobre su patrimonio y la conducta comprensiva de los poderes públicos hacia ellos. El último de los incidentes gira en torno al famoso Pazo de Meirás, el castillo que en 1939 el general recibió por su victoria militar de un grupo de empresarios gallegos y gracias a donaciones recaudadas en los ayuntamientos. "Acepto gustoso y exclusivamente por ser un obsequio de mis queridos paisanos", confesó el dictador. Ahora, la familia se opone a que se realice una inspección técnica para determinar si es oportuno declarar el palacete como un bien cultural. Lo consideran una violación a su privacidad y el contencioso está en manos de los jueces.
- (1) b. El último viaje  
José María Mena 30/09/2007  
A todos los cerdos les llega su San Martín. Esto dice el refrán castellano. Pero no se refiere a la tradicional fiesta rural de la matanza del puerco, del día del santo, el 11 de noviembre, sino al optimista vaticinio de que a todos los personajes despreciables les aguarda, inexorablemente, el día de su derrota definitiva. Y es curioso esto, porque, como es sabido, el refrán, como "dicho sentencioso de uso común", según define el diccionario oficial, es expresión

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<sup>6</sup> The last study referred to here is authored by Izaskun Elorza, Jon Hyde, Christopher Moran and Blanca García Riaza, members of the CoDis (Coherencia del Discurso) recognised research group at the University of Salamanca (<http://www.usal.es/~codis/index.php>).

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condensada de experiencia popular, y como tal, generalmente desconfiada y poco dada al optimismo.

(1) c. Tiran más dos tetas...

Marina Klein 28/08/2007

Hoy he plantado la sombrilla al ladito de la ex (en bolas) de mi pareja, y para cuando me quise dar cuenta, ya era demasiado tarde como para desclavarla e irme con la música a otra parte. Nos saludamos con mucha cordialidad, le presenté a mi hijo, al que besó con cariño (y en bolas), y mi chico fue todo lo simpático que se puede ser sin incomodarme teniendo a su ex (en bolas) delante. Su cara de satisfacción (la de él) la atribuí a la autocomplacencia por estar morenito y por haber perdido unos kilos antes del verano. No lo culpo. A uno siempre le gusta estar estupendo delante de un ex pa' que vea lo que se perdió, por activa o por pasiva. Lo que me mosqueó fue que mi hijo (de dos años y medio) tenía la misma cara de bobo que su padre, y como él no tiene que disimular, porque es un niño, no se andaba con rodeos y le miraba fijamente las tetas. "Qué guapa esa niña", decía mientras comparaba al tacto que las mías no podían competir con aquellas, y su padre se pavoneaba entrando y saliendo del agua, cuando, qué raro, él nunca se baña. De toda la vida he pensado que es bonito que el cuerpo caiga y cuelgue como consecuencia del paso del tiempo, pero la ex de mi pareja tiene las tetas operadas, y bien monas que las tiene. Ya estamos en casa. A mi chico aún no se le ha quitado ese rictus bobalicón, mi hijo ha vivido un precoz despertar sexual, y yo busco en mi agenda el teléfono de un par de cirujanos que tengo guardados en caso de emergencia. El año que viene la sombrilla se aguantará entre mis turgentes. ¡Ya está bien, hombre!

All three examples are taken from the daily edition of *El País* from the second half of the year 2007, and thus constitute authentic samples of what is sometimes loosely referred to as newspaper language.

Both 1a and 1b are included in that section of the newspaper which is headed *Opinión*. The first example is from an editorial, the second is from a comment article, from the subsection *Tribuna: Debate*. Both cases would therefore clearly be considered as opinion articles. The third example is from the section headed *Moda*, and is a sample of the quasi-literary comment articles which are a regular feature of the newspaper in question. Whether this last example would justifiably be considered as an opinion article may seem rather less clear than in the case of the first two examples.

The essential thematic content of both 1a and 1c is apparent from what is included above. As we have seen, 1c is the entire text in question, whilst the first paragraph of 1a states the subject matter of the ensuing text sufficiently clearly. 1b revolves around considerations of how tyrants and dictators finally come face to face with justice.

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All three excerpts illustrate the use of a traditional proverb in prominent text-initial position, in 1a and 1b in the canonical form and in 1c in a reduced form together with the metalinguistic device of suspension points which indicate its fragmentary nature. In 1a and 1b the proverb appears in the first sentence of the text, and in 1c it constitutes the title or macroproposition of the text.

In the case of 1c, this macrostructural prominence of the proverb, expressing the title, is clearly reiterated thematically throughout the length of the entire text, most obviously by the use of the repetition of *tetas* on two occasions, the referential expressions contained in *las mías, aquellas, bien monas que las tiene*, the synonymous *mis turgentes*, and more generally by the appearance of schematically related concepts such as *en bolas, que el cuerpo caiga y cuelgue, un par de cirujanos*, and so on. The general tone of the text is rounded off by the use of another SPU, *¡Ya está bien, hombre!*, in the final sentence.

In the case of 1a and 1b, the macrostructural prominence of the proverb is less easy to ascertain. In both cases, the proverb appears in the text-initial sentence rather than the title, and both would seem to function as macropropositions within the first paragraph. In the case of 1b, the relationship between the proverb in question and the title would seem to be more apparent: the demise of tyrants and their eventual comeback. In 1a it is more difficult to say. However, despite this possible macrostructural relationship, in neither 1a nor 1b is there any obvious and apparent lexical and conceptual reiteration throughout the ensuing text of the component elements of the proverb itself of the kind we see so clearly in 1c.

In both 1a and 1b the proverb is followed by a metalinguistic expression which explicitly informs us of the fact that the preceding fragment of text is a traditional proverb: *dice el refrán* and *Esto dice el refrán castellano*, respectively. In both cases, also, this metalinguistic expression is followed by a further metalinguistic expression which offers some kind of justification for the inclusion of the proverb, some kind of explanation for its applicability in the specific context: *Viene esto a cuento ante* and *Pero no se refiere a ... sino a*, respectively. In the case of 1b, the author of the text includes further metalinguistic considerations (in the final sentence of the paragraph: *Y es curioso esto, porque ...*) with respect to broad characteristics of proverbs as generally pessimistic, negative expressions of folk wisdom.

The SPU's contained in 1b and 1c would generally be considered as examples of more colourful proverbs, salt-of-the-earth expressions with potential derogatory and vulgar connotations, and so on, typical of what many consider as the quintessential nature of proverbs. In the case of 1a, it is more difficult to be certain about this.

In short, we have here three exponents of the use of proverbs in authentic newspaper text, three examples which might be deemed to constitute paradigmatic cases of the phenomenon at hand. Yet are these three examples, and the characteristics they portray, in fact typical of the text-type we are interested in? Are proverbs and other SPU's really as frequent in comment articles and editorials as some studies would seem to suggest?<sup>7</sup> Can we group together the three text-types illustrated here and consider them as examples of a single undifferentiated whole? The analysis of SPU's in

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<sup>7</sup> Corpas 1996: 166.

editorials from *El País* offered in this paper is undertaken with the hope of shedding some light on such questions.

### 3 Description of the corpus

The corpus for the present study (referred to throughout as PE2002-2004) comprises three whole years of editorials from the daily edition of the newspaper *El País* (the years 2002, 2003, and 2004), a total of 2932 complete texts and 1,341,875 words. For those wishing to have some more tangible idea of the extent of such a corpus, it is interesting to bear in mind that this is the equivalent of seventeen medium-sized novels (one novel containing 80,000 words on average). For further details of the corpus, see the introduction to the appendix. The corpus was analysed “manually” and concordance software was used merely to control aspects of the data.

Throughout the analysis offered in the present paper, comparisons will sometimes be provided with a parallel corpus study which examines the most frequent proverbs, traditional quotes and commonplaces in two years of *El País* in its entirety, the years 2000 and 2001 (referred to here as P2000-2001). This study is a doctoral thesis which is nearing completion and is being conducted by Nazia Barani under my supervision in the Departamento de Traducción e Interpretación at the University of Salamanca. Briefly, the study aims to establish the frequency of such expressions first by their appearance in widely-available compilations and subsequently (a list of just under 300 such selected SPU’s) in two whole years of the daily edition of *El País* (on CD-Rom). It is not possible to calculate the total extent of this corpus, but approximate estimates would indicate a total of some 40 million words (bearing in mind that 2 years of editorials alone from this newspaper would be approximately 900,000 words). The study also includes a survey of some 200 native speakers of Spanish in order to ascertain their familiarity with the selected SPU’s. The results of this research are still preliminary and most figures from the corpus can only be given approximately. For further details of this study, see Barani (2003 and 2007).

### 4 Dimensions of the analysis of SPU’s in authentic texts

From the outset it is necessary to recognise that there are margins of uncertainty with respect to the analysis of various characteristics of SPU’s in authentic texts, maybe more so with these expressions than with many other linguistic phenomena. Problematic issues include the status of potential expressions as SPU’s or not, the distinction between sentential and non-sentential units, the subcategorisation of these expressions, questions relating to the modification of these units, and so on. As with almost all linguistic phenomena, we are dealing with a continuum. The problems may also be more pronounced if we decide to study the totality of potential SPU’s appearing in a corpus of authentic texts, as is attempted here. If we took a preordained list of established canonical SPU’s and then searched a corpus for the occurrence of only those selected expressions, then the margins of uncertainty might be considerably reduced (ignoring many of the essential characteristics of these expressions in the process, of

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course). These problems will be apparent in many of the occurrences which are listed in the appendix to this paper and in aspects of the discussion here.

The major problem concerns the SPU status of potential expressions. Is the expression part of the phraseological currency? How can we establish the attested and authoritative origin of the potential SPU, the canonical form, both with respect to traditional expressions and more modern quotes and slogans, and so on? Do the classic compilations of the past (and of the present) necessarily help us here? Can we take their evidence as conclusive? How did their authors do their own sociolinguistic surveys, corpus linguistic research, and Google searches?

Problems of this kind can readily be seen in examples of more traditional expressions such as *Cosas veredes* (20), *Todo lo demás es palabrerío* (40), *La mayor humillación del vencido es la magnanimidad del vencedor* (127), *El pasado no tiene vuelta de hoja* (119) or *La realidad estropea la mejor elocuencia* (56). With respect to more modern quotes and slogans, what is the canonical form of potential SPU's such as *Por mala que sea una situación siempre es susceptible de empeoramiento* (50) or *Una huelga general es siempre política* (21)? Does a canonical form in fact exist? Have such potential SPU's actually been stabilised and fixed or are they in the process of becoming part of the phraseological currency? Even more problematic is the status of such cases as *We are the children* (94 and 95) and *Quien contamina, paga* (38). More consideration will be given to this question when discussing the modification of SPU's.

Problems with the borderline between sentential and non-sentential phraseological units can be illustrated with the following examples. The potential SPU *echar la culpa al empedrado* has been excluded here despite the Google-attested existence of *El ciego/cojo siempre echa la culpa al empedrado*. In the corpus this expression occurs twice, on both occasions in non-sentential form. The potential SPU's *poner puertas al campo* and *pedir peras al olmo* have similarly been excluded despite the Google-attested existence of what might be called pseudo proverbs based on the form *No se pueden poner/pedir ...* On the other hand, the following have all been included: *ojo por ojo, diente por diente* (61, 62, 84, 85); *pan para hoy, hambre para mañana* (18); *llover sobre mojado* (7, 13, 36, 37, 48, 79). Obviously, other researchers might have taken different decisions in each of these and similar cases.

SPU's may be subdivided into various classes. Gläser (1998) offers the following subcategories: proverbs, quotations, commandments and maxims, slogans, routine formulae, and commonplaces. Corpas Pastor (1996) offers a similar, somewhat more reduced categorization. No formal attempt will be made here to characterise each of the SPU's which appear in the corpus with respect to these different subcategories. The existence of a continuum is especially noticeable here.

The analysis of the modification, or creative manipulation, of SPU's in the corpus encounters the same margins of uncertainty as were outlined with respect to the delimitation of these expressions immediately above.

In the first place, there are again problems with establishing what should be considered as the canonical form of the unit, and possible variants, in order to decide whether modification is present or not. In the data in the appendix it will be evident that there are some marginal cases which may be open to discussion.

The following typical examples will suffice to illustrate the range of problems involved. In the case of *No hay atajos* (110), are we justified in considering this

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exponent as a reduced form of the Google-attested *No hay atajos para ningún lugar que valga la pena ir?* How do we establish the canonical form, or possible variants, in order to take such a decision? Similarly, in the case of *Más allá de las palabras, los hechos hablan* (101), are we right to consider this as a variant of *Los hechos hablan más que las palabras* (or some other variant of this SPU) or should we label it as a case of combined modification (perhaps to be described as transposition of sentence elements together with substitution)?

Furthermore, to what extent would we be justified in saying that in some respects all such considerations as to attested canonical forms are irrelevant, and that what we should be examining is the cognitive state of both writer and reader in the immediate act of production and reception of the text? Are the writer and the reader conscious, in their respective processing tasks, of the canonical forms of the expressions they use and encounter? Do they actually make the connection? In the case of *Que investiguen otros* (19) and even more obviously of *Que investiguen fuera* (32), are we correct as analysts in assuming that the writer and the reader establish some kind of substitution connection with *Que inventen ellos* (also present in the corpus, in 91)?

Secondly, problems also arise with identifying the precise class of internal modification which is involved in each particular case (addition, reduction, etc.). Again, this depends in part on what is considered to be the canonical form of the SPU in question. But it also depends on the nature of the modification itself, even when the canonical form is more or less apparent, especially in those cases where the modification is pronounced. The decisions here are especially difficult with respect to the subcategories of reduction, grammatical modification, and the combination of modifying procedures. Most such problematic cases here have been considered as a combination of modifying procedures. As examples of the type of problems outlined in this paragraph, it will suffice to merely point to numbers 8, 46, and 60 in the appendix. Although all decisions here have been taken to the best ability of the author, it is obviously important to bear in mind the difficulties which have been outlined in the previous paragraphs when assessing some of the data which are offered here.

Whilst on this point, it is interesting to consider such questions from the perspective of corpus searching in general. It has been pointed out here that the present corpus was analysed manually, using concordance software merely to control some aspects of the data. If research is done with a larger untagged corpus, relying solely on concordance software to locate occurrences of the phenomenon being studied, then inevitably some interesting examples may be overlooked. This is especially true when considering pronounced internal modification of SPU's and it is by no means clear that there will necessarily be some irreducible nucleus of the SPU to allow identification by search mechanisms. The following example from P2000-2001 was missed by the search procedure and only came to light by chance.

- (2) Esos salones del baile llamados El Elíseo están hoy más frecuentados que nunca. Tenemos desde el hortera de a pie –ciertos ejecutivos- a los horteras estelares, luminarias del universo catódico, feraz espejo de nuestros males. Destacan por su ubicuidad un tal Ernesto Neyra y un tal Antonio David. Como algunos otros, su prestigio procede de haber frecuentado coños famosos, de los cuales se vieron expulsados. Ellos son listos y de

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aquella frecuentación les ha salido un vitalicio. A coño usado, televisión nueva. Y si uno fue bailarín y el otro heroico pone-multas de la Benemérita ahora son pollitos pera con ínfulas de Beau Brummell en atuendos que les vienen anchos. (000811, p. 38)

The SPU in this case is a very pronounced modification of the SPU *A rey muerto, rey puesto* but, as we see, there is no irreducible lexical connection between the modified form and the canonical form.<sup>8</sup>

Corpas Pastor (1996: Ch 6 and 2003: Ch 3) draws attention to the role of SPU's in the discourse organisation of texts. A SPU which constitutes the headline of a text obviously expresses the top-most macroproposition of that particular discourse and has a vital role in its macrostructural organisation and processing, cataphorically activating relevant schematic knowledge, and so on. The same can be said of SPU's which occur in the first sentence of a text-initial paragraph or, on a more local scale, when a SPU occurs in paragraph-initial position within any other paragraph. Similar considerations can be applied, this time anaphorically, to SPU's which occur in a text-final sentence or, again in more local terms, in a paragraph-final sentence. SPU's in these positions acquire special prominence within the discourse. However, as we shall see more fully in the following section of this paper, such considerations need to be treated with certain reservations. The macrostructural prominence of such SPU's seems to be guaranteed if the SPU occupies a sentence to itself or, perhaps less so, if it occurs at the beginning of an initial sentence or at the end of a final sentence. However, on many occasions the expression may appear in the middle of the corresponding sentence, along with several other propositional elements, and in such cases it is much more difficult to be certain of any claim to macrostructural prominence for the SPU itself, especially if it occurs in a reduced form.

In the three examples of SPU's in opinion articles from *El País* given earlier in this paper we have already seen typical uses of metalinguistic devices which may appear in the environment of SPU's in authentic texts: phrases such as *dice el refrán*, justifications for the applicability of the SPU such as *viene esto a cuento*, suspension points to indicate the fragmentary nature of the exponent, additional observations with respect to the folk wisdom contained in proverbs such as those expressed in the final sentence of the excerpt in 1b, and so on. A wide range of such metalinguistic devices may appear in the immediate environment of SPU's in authentic texts, with particular expressions being accompanied by one, two, three, or even more such devices. A survey of such devices can be found in Fernández-Sevilla (1983). More detailed attention will be given to this phenomenon in the following section of this paper.

Finally, it will be convenient to draw attention here to some of the limitations of the present study. The emphasis throughout is on providing a profile of editorials from *El País* on the dimensions of the characteristics which have been addressed in the preceding pages, providing figures for those characteristics along with relevant considerations when this is seen to be necessary. However, there is no space in this short paper to address all these issues in more depth, many of which are extremely complex. For similar reasons, no consideration is included here of functional aspects of

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<sup>8</sup> See Corpas Pastor (2003: 91-92) for further considerations on such problems.

the speech act interpretation of SPU's in context, nor of cognitive questions of the discourse processing of these expressions, to mention just a couple of obvious examples.

## 5 Results

In all, 132 cases of SPU's have been identified in the corpus. This represents a frequency of less than one SPU every 10,000 words. Are SPU's relatively frequent in editorials from *El País*? Do they occur more or less frequently than in other subcategories of the *Opinión* section of this newspaper (comment articles, letters to the editor, and so on) or compared with whatever text-type?

The following partial evidence is available from P2000-2001. All those selected SPU's which appear in the *Opinión* section of the newspaper for those years were examined to establish how many appear in each of the different subsections. The figures were as follows: 92 cases for comment articles, 57 cases for letters to the editor, and 25 cases for editorials (the other subsections of *Opinión* yielded negligible results). But, of course, as we shall see on more than one occasion, we should not jump to conclusions on the evidence of such gross figures. It would be necessary to calculate the total number of words included in each of these three subsections for the whole of the two years, exactly what texts are included in each subsection and so on, and this is not possible with P2000-2001. It would also be necessary to examine the different types of SPU's which appear in each subsection, their range of characteristics and so on. Having said that, the figures given here do offer interesting pointers to possible variations and further research in this area would certainly seem to be justified.

If we examine the nature and characteristics of the SPU's in PE2002-2004, we will observe a marked absence of the more colourful kinds of expressions so often associated with the quintessential nature of proverbs, those with potential derogatory and vulgar connotations. There is certainly nothing like *A todos los cerdos les llega su San Martín* or *Más tiran dos tetas...* which appear in the examples given earlier in this paper. The nearest we get to such expressions in the corpus is probably *De aquellos polvos, estos lodos* (73, 131, 132). But, in general, it is clear that the nature of the SPU's in the corpus is neutral and restrained, as in fact one would expect from the editorials of a prestigious newspaper of this kind.

It is interesting to note that of the 132 SPU's in PE2002-2004 there is only one case of the use of an archaic form: *Cosas veredes* (20). In P2000-2001, of the just over one thousand cases identified, there is one single instance of the obvious use of an archaic form: *Donde fueres, haz lo que vieres*, with one other possible form in *Lo que natura no da Salamanca no presta*.

With regard to modification, of the 132 cases of SPU's included in the appendix, 63 are judged to be in the canonical form.<sup>9</sup> 69 cases are thus considered to be modified forms of SPU's, giving the following respective percentages: 47.7% for canonical forms

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<sup>9</sup> These are as follows: 4, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 57, 64, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 83, 87, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 100, 102, 103, 105, 112, 116, 118, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, and 131.

and 52.3% for modified forms (but see further considerations immediately below). In P2000-2001 approximately 45% of the total occurrences of the selected SPU's showed some presence of internal modification. Of the modified forms in PE2002-2004, the following percentages correspond to each subcategory of modification: addition 1.4% (only one case); reduction 20.3% (14 cases); substitution 24.6% (17 cases); grammatical modification 15.9% (11 cases); combination of procedures 37.7% (26 cases). There were no examples of fusion in the corpus.

It is interesting to note that the gross figures given here for the respective percentages of canonical and modified forms are obscuring at least one important aspect of the expression of SPU's in the corpus. This concerns the nature of these expressions when they occur in the headline or title of an editorial. There are 30 cases of SPU headlines in the corpus, 23% of the total.<sup>10</sup> (See further details below.) As might be expected, due to the cryptic, telegraphic nature of headlines, the presence of modification in headline SPU's is especially pronounced, with 25 out of the total 30 (83%) showing some such feature, and with only 5 cases displaying what has been considered as the canonical form (26, 94, 97, 112, 129). Of these 25 modified forms, 6 are cases of substitution, 9 of reduction, and 10 of the combination of procedures (8 of which contain an element of reduction).

If we exclude headline SPU's from the gross calculations of modified versus canonical forms in the corpus, the percentage of modified forms would drop from 52.3% to 41.3% (44 cases out of a total 102 non-headline SPU's).

In general, it would seem to be the case that the internal modifications in the corpus are in some ways rather neutral and restrained, tending more towards the literal than the creative, compared with many examples from P2000-2001 and other text types. The most pronounced example of creative manipulation is certainly *A la quinta, el vencido* (1), but on the whole such obviously creative forms do not seem to be as prevalent in PE2002-2004 as in other discourse types.<sup>11</sup>

External modification seems to be relatively infrequent in the corpus and, again, is notably restrained. The only cases which have been identified are the following: 64, 70, 100, 103, 105, 116 (and maybe 98). As has already been noted, there are certainly no cases of the obvious lexical and conceptual reiteration throughout the entire text of the component elements of the proverb itself of the kind we see so clearly in example 1c above.

As far as discourse organisation is concerned, it has already been pointed out that SPU's occur in headlines on 30 occasions, 23% of the total occurrences of SPU's in the corpus.<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to observe that in P2000-2001 this figure is a mere 2.5% (25 headline SPU cases of a total of just over one thousand occurrences of the selected SPU's studied in the corpus). This might suggest that SPU's occur in headlines of editorials in *El País* up to 10 times more than in the generality of texts from the

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<sup>10</sup> These are as follows: 1, 19, 24, 26, 32, 33, 41, 43, 46, 53, 59, 60, 61, 65, 74, 78, 86, 94, 97, 99, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 120, 123, 129.

<sup>11</sup> The headline refers to the political situation in Argentina in January 2002 and the choosing of the fifth president in the space of two weeks. The second intended meaning of *quinta* would then be something like "country residence".

<sup>12</sup> These are again: 1, 19, 24, 26, 32, 33, 41, 43, 46, 53, 59, 60, 61, 65, 74, 78, 86, 94, 97, 99, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 120, 123, 129.

newspaper in its entirety. However, it is also important to bear in mind that 30 headline SPU's out of a total of 2932 texts is only 1.02% for the total number of headlines in PE2002-2004.

There are 6 cases of SPU's in text-initial position, in the first sentence of an editorial (17, 47, 62, 64, 100, 130). On 3 occasions this is a reiteration of the SPU already occurring in the headline (46+47, 61+62, 99+100). SPU's in text-final position, in the last sentence of the editorial, are found on a total of 18 occasions. (2, 10, 12, 15, 34, 35, 40, 57, 71, 73, 88, 108, 116, 118, 121, 126, 131, 132). On 2 occasions (86+88, 120+121) this is a reiteration of a SPU already contained in the headline, and these are obviously especially notable examples of macrostructural integration and organisation, with the reiteration of the SPU's bringing the text full circle at its conclusion.

It is interesting to observe that the SPU *De aquellos polvos, estos lodos*, which occurs 3 times in the corpus (73, 131, 132), appears in a text-final sentence to itself on all three of those occasions.

There are 13 cases of SPU's occurring in a paragraph-initial sentence, excluding the first paragraph (25, 30, 42, 45, 50, 52, 54, 63, 72, 83, 84, 89, 119), and 20 cases of SPU's appearing in a paragraph-final sentence, excluding the final paragraph (4, 6, 11, 22, 38, 44, 51, 55, 56, 69, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85, 95, 104, 106, 111, 117).

As was noted in the previous section, gross figures for text and paragraph position (excluding headlines), such as those given in the previous paragraphs, should be treated with some caution, however. If we examine occurrences 30 and 131 from the appendix, we will immediately appreciate the problem at hand. In case 131, the SPU is given whole sentence status to itself and we can clearly argue for macropropositional prominence in this case. However, in case 30 the SPU is hidden away within the sentence, as it were, accompanied by several other propositional elements. In this case it is much more difficult to argue for any kind of macropropositional prominence for the SPU itself. It seems to be an almost chance occurrence, with no special role to play in the discourse at that point. It would seem that in order to analyse macrostructural and macropropositional prominence we need a much more delicate and refined conceptual apparatus than mere counting of text and paragraph initial or final position.

One other factor which should also be taken into account here are those cases of SPU's which are given whole sentence status to themselves even when the sentence in question is not in paragraph-initial or final position. It would seem that such cases also have some claim to macropropositional prominence, especially if we bear in mind that semantic paragraphs may not necessarily coincide with orthographic paragraphs. Clear cases with this characteristic are the following: 3, 28, 29, 37, 66, 70, 76, 92, 96, 98, 101, 122, 125, and 127.

With respect to metalinguistic devices, the corpus data show that individual occurrences of SPU's may be accompanied by one, two or even three metalinguistic devices. In all, 31 of the 132 SPU's described here are accompanied by one or more such devices, giving a gross figure of 23.5% of the total number of SPU's in the corpus. In P2000-2001 approximately 27% of the total occurrences of SPU's showed some presence of metalinguistic devices. A brief synopsis will be given here for the range of devices which appear in the data.

It is interesting to observe that what might be considered as the prototypical metalinguistic device, expressions such as (*como*) *dice el refrán* which appear in

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examples 1a and 1b given earlier and which explicitly refer to the status of the accompanying SPU as a traditional proverb are almost totally absent in PE2002-2004. In the entire corpus there are only two cases of explicit mention of the term *refrán*. The first of these appears in the following paragraph-final sentence: *También esta explicación es defendible, aunque suene al conocido refrán 'ponerse la venda antes de la herida'* (020302a). Despite the explicit use of the term *refrán* by the author of the text here, it will be immediately apparent that this is a non-sentential phraseological unit (*locución*) and for this reason it is excluded from the data given in this paper. The second case appears in the following: *Como dijo ayer Aznar, quien siembra vientos recoge tempestades. Aplíquese el refrán*. (66).

Expressions such as *proverbio*, *máxima*, *adagio*, *sentencia*, and so on are totally absent from the present corpus, although they do appear in P2000-20001. There is one occurrence of *dicho*, which seems to be motivated by the fact that the author considers the proverb in question to be a foreign expression, probably unknown to his readers: *reza un dicho anglosajón*, together with the use of inverted commas (75). Expressions such as *frase*, *eslogan*, and so on occur in the following: *frase tópica* (105), *frase lapidaria* (47), *antiguo eslogan* (116), and *latiguillos* (87).

Other expressions which may arguably function in a similar way are the following: *uno de los más célebres estribillos* (95), *filosofía* (14), *espíritu* (91), *criterio* (102), *consigna* (103), *táctica patentada* (52), *respuesta* (81). However, although these expressions have been included here as exponents of metalinguistic devices, they are probably situated on the borderlines of this phenomenon. We will not go deeper into this question here.

Metalinguistic devices which invoke the widespread consensual nature of SPU's appear in the following cases: *suele decirse que* (127), *como dicen los más viejos del lugar* (21), and *como suele decirse en el argot futbolístico* (57). Numerous occurrences illustrate the use of inverted commas (4, 38, 39, 46, 47, 75, 83, 87, 95, 105) and italics (42, 49, 52, 80). The definite article, which seems to confer an especially substantive character to the SPU is found with the following: 49, 52, 62, 80, 81, 84, 85, 128 – four cases are with *ojo por ojo* and two with *y tú más*. Allusion to the supposed truth of SPU's is found on only one occasion: *En pocos casos está tan claro que* (77).

All the metalinguistic devices which have been mentioned here appear in P2000-2001. However, there are several devices which appear in that corpus but which are totally absent in PE2002-2004. These include the use of suspension points (which we saw in example 1c earlier in this paper), instances of expressions such as *aquello de* which refer to the traditional consensual nature of proverbs, the use of adjectives such as *sabio* or nouns such as *sabiduría* which allude to the supposed wisdom of proverbs, and so on. In PE2002-2004 there are no cases of expressions which justify the applicability of the SPU in a particular context, such as *Viene esto a cuento ante* and *Pero no se refiere a ... sino a* which we saw were present in examples 1a and 1b above. Neither were there any cases of metalinguistic references to broad characteristics of proverbs as generally pessimistic, negative or malevolent expressions such as we saw in example 1b.

It was stated earlier that the number of occurrences accompanied by one or more metalinguistic devices was 31 out of a total of 132 SPU cases in the entire corpus, 23.5%. However, once again this gross figure may be obscuring important

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characteristics of the use of SPU's in editorials from *El País*. There seem to be marked differences between the frequency of metalinguistic devices accompanying more modern expressions, quotes and slogans and so on, if they are compared with more traditional SPU's. The establishing of any strict dividing line for this distinction will almost certainly be open to dispute. However, for the sake of argument, let us single out the following occurrences for inclusion in the category of modern, non-traditional expressions: 17, 21, 38, 39, 46, 47, 50, 53, 54, 57, 59, 83, 87, 89, 94, 95, 105, 116, and 123. This gives 19 cases of non-traditional SPU's compared with 113 cases of more traditional expressions.

In the case of traditional expressions, the number of SPU occurrences accompanied by one or more metalinguistic devices is 19 out of a total of 113 cases, 16.8%. In the case of non-traditional expressions, the number of SPU occurrences accompanied by one or more metalinguistic devices is 12 out of a total of 19 cases, 63.1%.

The distinction which is made here has been presented with obvious reservations and any conclusions can only be tentative. It would certainly be necessary to approach this question in far more depth, to establish finer distinctions, bearing in mind further factors such as the possible differential frequency of metalinguistic devices in headlines or in routine formulae, and so on. Even so, it is interesting to offer some speculation with regard to the findings offered here.

The higher density of metalinguistic devices accompanying non-traditional SPU's may be explained by the fact that these expressions are considered by the author of the editorial in each case to be less established, less clearly part of the phraseological currency. This might explain the presence of inverted commas, expressions referring to the nature and the provenance of these SPU's, and so on. In the case of traditional SPU's, the lower density of such devices may be explained by the other side of the same coin. Such expressions are considered to be part of the phraseological currency and thus less in need of the accompanying support of such metalinguistic features.

However, it is also possible that the lower density of metalinguistic devices accompanying traditional SPU's is related to general characteristics of these expressions which have already been noted. It has been pointed out that there seems to be a marked absence in the corpus of those SPU's, and more specifically traditional proverbs, which may have derogatory and vulgar connotations, and so on. It has also been observed that the modification of SPU's, both internal and external, in the corpus is notably neutral and restrained. This absence of derogatory and vulgar connotations in general may point to the possibility that the authors of the editorials in the corpus do not feel the need for those devices which help to establish mitigation in the use of SPU's. They do not need to distance themselves from the potential force of connotationally-loaded expressions by invoking the authority of folk wisdom with expressions such as *como dice el refrán*, and so on.

However this may be, the important point here is that the presence of metalinguistic devices seems to be a differential phenomenon and, like other aspects of SPU's which we have seen in this paper, it cannot be treated at face value as a blanket phenomenon.



## 6 Conclusions

This paper has offered a series of considerations which may help to establish a profile of editorials from *El País* on the dimension of the expression of SPU's. The analysis has been offered in the hope that such an approach will enable rigorous comparisons with other text types to be carried out in the future, both on the intralinguistic and the interlinguistic planes.

It has been noted that there exist certain difficulties and margins of uncertainty in the study of this phenomenon. Most of these difficulties revolve around the problem of the identification of attested prototypical expressions and possible variants of many potential SPU's in order to establish their status as units of this kind. The same problem was found in distinctions between sentential and non-sentential units, and with decisions as to the presence and characteristics of different kinds of modification.

The SPU's which appear throughout the corpus seem, in general, to be notably neutral and restrained. There is a total absence of more colourful proverbs, with potentially derogatory, offensive or vulgar connotations, which certainly may appear in other discourse types. The same can also be said for the internal modification present in the data. External modification is almost totally absent from the corpus.

SPU's in headlines are seen to be present in 23% of the total number of SPU occurrences in the corpus and internal modification is especially frequent here. Headlines with SPU's were found to be notably more frequent than in the generality of other text types from the same newspaper, maybe as much as ten times more.

It was observed that metalinguistic devices are more frequent with what may be considered non-traditional SPU's (modern quotes, slogans, and so on) compared with traditional SPU's. The main reason for the lower density of such devices with traditional SPU's may be the neutral and restrained nature of these expressions and accompanying internal modification in the corpus, making it less likely for distancing mitigation (appeals to folk authority with expressions such as *como dice el refrán*) to be necessary in this text-type.

The analysis in this paper has been carried out within the framework of a series of design features which were advocated for research into the nature of SPU's (and presumably for the study of many other linguistic phenomena). Perhaps the main recommendations are strict text-type specificity and the quantification of data in such studies in order to avoid undifferentiated accounts across disparate text types. One consequence of such an approach is that, given the relatively low frequency of SPU's in the corpus, less than one case every 10,000 words, it would seem necessary to study even larger corpora than has been the case here. Such an approach would entail profound changes to the way we address the study of language at the moment.

Is the occurrence of SPU's in editorials from *El País* more or less frequent than in other text types? To what extent are their characteristics on various dimensions similar or different with respect to the expression of SPU's in other kinds of discourse? These questions can only be answered if profiles similar to that offered here are made available for other text types but, as we have seen, no such parallel studies with the same design features seem to be available at the moment. Until such studies are produced, it will obviously be impossible to appreciate in their true light the possibly differential characteristics of SPU's as they have been profiled in this paper.

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As was pointed out in the introduction to this study, the characteristics of SPU's in editorials from *El País* obviously constitute only one dimension amongst many of this particular text type. What has been outlined here needs to be complemented by other approaches to various dimensions of the same and related text types if we are to achieve a fuller appreciation of the nature of such manifestations of human discourse. Although comparisons of the characteristics of SPU's in other text types are not possible at the moment, the present study provides some pointers to the possibility that the dimension of SPU's in different text types may provide a sufficiently delicate level of analysis to be able to establish differential descriptions.

If we seriously aim to extend and refine our analyses of language phenomena, if we purport to establish a rigorous relationship between our descriptions and textual reality, if we intend to claim pedagogical application for the results of our research, and so on, then it would seem that we have no choice but to adopt the kind of approach which is proposed in this paper.

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## Appendix

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The appendix provides the entire list of SPU's which appear in the corpus, including some cases which are not so clear, which have been included precisely to enable other researchers to make their own decisions. The expressions appear in strict chronological order, following the date of publication and the order of appearance on each day.

It is important to stress here that the corpus was assembled from the Internet version of the newspaper and frequent discrepancies exist between this version and the published paper version or that version which is in PDF format and also available on the Internet. These discrepancies affect the order of editorials on any particular day, but never with respect to the day of publication. Discrepancies also exist with respect to paragraph divisions. Where the Internet version differs from the PDF version with respect to paragraph divisions, the decision was taken to follow the PDF version – some paragraph divisions in the Internet version were clearly counterintuitive, and obviously non-intended. Obvious errors have also been corrected to the best of the author's ability (missing accents, spelling infelicities, and so on), but this never affects the content.

The annotation at the beginning of each entry in the appendix should be interpreted as follows: 020103b (the first entry) refers to the second editorial from 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2002, and so on. In those cases which are annotated "anob" this indicates the fact that on this particular day there was only one (extended) editorial published. Throughout this paper reference is made to particular occurrences by the number which is given at the beginning of each example.

Where applicable, entries are also followed by an indication of what might be termed discourse position: headline, editorial-initial sentence, editorial final-sentence, paragraph-initial sentence, paragraph-final sentence. Where there is no such indication, this means that the entry in question does not occupy these discourse positions. On a few occasions, where this clearly does not affect the use of the expression, some particularly long sentences have been shortened (indicated by "...") in order not to occupy too much space unnecessarily.

The SPU's together with possible metalinguistic devices in each case have been underlined to make them stand out more clearly.

1. -020103b - A la quinta, el vencido (headline)
2. -020103b - Duhalde está obligado a convencer a los argentinos de que no hay salida sin dolor. (ed-final sentence)
3. -020111c - Las apariencias, sin embargo, a veces engañan.
4. -020113a - Algunos con la amargura añadida de haber escuchado aquel terrible 'ancha es Castilla' con que un alto dirigente político les invitó a marcharse. (parag-final sentence)
5. -020119a - Habrà que tener cuidado de que el remedio no sea peor que la enfermedad.
6. -020125c - Lo lógico hubiera sido sacar adelante esa ley antes del 1 de enero, cuando se consumaron las transferencias, pero más vale tarde que nunca, y lo importante ahora es que el Parlamento y las comunidades alcancen el mayor consenso posible. (parag-final sentence)
7. -020129a - En este caso llueve sobre mojado.
8. -020130a - Pero si apela a poderes básicos del Estado, como es el caso de los jueces, para que no apliquen o apliquen de determinada manera las leyes sobre el divorcio, abandona su terreno -el de Dios- para invadir el del César- el Estado-.
9. -020131b - Es un prejuicio de todos los partidos sostener que las divergencias deben lavarse en casa.
10. -020224c - Irak puede que pague un día por haberse dotado de armas de destrucción masiva, pero con China lo más que puede hacer Bush es ir a pedir que, por favor, no vaya derramando por ahí una tecnología que, como las armas, seguro que la carga el diablo. (ed-final sentence)
11. -020307b - ¿Será esta enésima ocasión la vencida para que los jueces cumplan y hagan cumplir esa exigencia legal, acabando con una de las prácticas que más contribuyen al colapso judicial? (parag-final sentence)
12. -020328a - Si eso no es motivo suficiente para reconducir sus distintas lecturas mediante una reunión en la cúpula, que venga Dios y lo vea. (ed-final sentence)
13. -020421a - Llueve sobre mojado, porque el peso no deja de depreciarse contra el dólar y durante los últimos días al menos media docena de protestas en diferentes lugares del país han acabado violentamente.

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14. -020421a - Entre las dos filosofías en cuestión -que cada palo aguante su vela o que los contribuyentes de todo el mundo apoyen a los de los países en dificultades- ahora corresponde la segunda.
15. -020421b - El fútbol no es gratis y miente quien diga lo contrario. (ed-final sentence)
16. -020424a - Sobre todo la impresión de que era el pez chico el que se comía al grande.
17. -020501b - Cuando Alemania se resfría, Europa estornuda. (ed-initial sentence)
18. -020503c - Un impuesto finalista puede contribuir a suscitar un mayor equilibrio entre el pan para hoy y el hambre para mañana.
19. -020504b - Que investiguen otros (headline)
20. -020509a - Quizás la mayoría del Consejo temiese que el reingreso del juez prevaricador a la carrera judicial con sus antecedentes penales a costas -¡cosas veredes!- quedase varado en el Supremo, lo que hubiera frustrado su deseo de servir cortésmente al Gobierno en un asunto en que ha puesto todo su empeño.
21. -020525a - De modo que existen motivaciones políticas en las posturas de ambas partes y nada de raro hay en ello, porque, como dicen los más viejos del lugar, una huelga general es siempre política.
22. -020529c - Pero rectificar es de sabios. (parag-final sentence)
23. -020611b - Intentar vencer sin convencer sería un reconocimiento de impotencia que el Gobierno no dejaría de aprovechar para ganar el pulso que se inicia después de la huelga.
24. -020613a - Lo que ha sembrado (headline)
25. -020613a - El Gobierno está cosechando lo que ha sembrado. (parag-initial sentence)
26. -020615a - Se hizo lo que se pudo (headline)
27. -020615a - Ni hubo diseño genial sobre la pizarra, ni motor del cambio, ni heroico comportamiento del pueblo español: se hizo lo que se pudo a partir de una voluntad mayoritaria de evitar los peores errores del pasado.
28. -020618a - Las comparaciones con lo sucedido en España resultan obvias, además de odiosas.
29. -020619b - Pero para este viaje, es decir, para establecer que una denuncia es infundada, no se necesitan normalmente cinco años de investigación sumarial y decenas de miles de folios de diligencias sumariales.
30. -020621anob - El Gobierno, convencido de que quien da primero da dos veces, tenía diseñado previamente un guión del fracaso de la huelga general y no estaba dispuesto a que la realidad se lo modificase. (parag-initial sentence)
31. -020622c - Pero más vale tarde que nunca, y la última instancia judicial de EE UU acaba de apostar por la decencia en un fallo trascendental, seis votos contra tres, al considerar inconstitucional la aplicación de la pena de muerte a los retrasados mentales.
32. -020627c - Que investiguen fuera (headline)
33. -020705a - Vino nuevo en odres viejos (headline)
34. -020708b - En el pecado lleva la penitencia. (ed-final sentence)
35. -020710anob - Aunque ha sido mucho más el ruido de la preparación de la crisis que las nueces de los cambios, el resultado revela hasta dónde había llegado el nivel de inquietud que despertaba el dontancredismo practicado por Aznar, como si el futuro de su partido en el poder estuviese asegurado para siempre por la naturaleza. (ed-final sentence)
36. -020713a - La excepcionalidad de estas relaciones dificulta la salida a esta crisis, en la que llueve sobre mojado.
37. -020719a - Llovía sobre mojado.
38. -020807c - La mayor parte de la multa, 42 millones, está destinada a restituir los costes de limpieza y reposición de la zona afectada, en aplicación del principio de que 'quien contamina, paga'. (parag-final sentence)
39. -020807c - Sería deseable que se impusiera el principio de 'quien contamina, paga', sea quien sea el que finalmente se considere responsable.
40. -020810b - Todo lo demás es palabrerío. (ed-final sentence)
41. -020827a - Cada cual en su sitio (headline)
42. -020830b - Lo que Straw ha propuesto, como *scout* de su primer ministro ante el más que probable referéndum sobre el euro del año próximo, es que hay que entronizar en una Constitución 'la preeminencia de los Gobiernos nacionales' sobre cualquier instancia de poder de la Comunidad, Comisión o Parlamento; es decir, quieta, non movere, que cualquier arranque federalizante no es de recibo para un

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Gobierno, cualquier Gobierno, insular por antonomasia, como es siempre el de Londres. (parag-initial sentence)

43. -020907b - Oslo descansa en paz (headline)

44. -020912c - Aunque no sea lo mismo predicar que dar trigo, hacer populismo o gobernar, si los ex ministros liberales no son como los de Carintia, que cambien de casa. (parag-final sentence)

45. -020924c - Dos no discuten si uno no quiere, y el fútil incidente no merece solemnizarse. (parag-initial sentence)

46. -021008a - El 'rectifazo' (headline)

47. -021008a - Manuel Fraga acuñó una frase lapidaria para zaherir a los gobiernos de Felipe González: 'Los socialistas sólo aciertan cuando rectifican'. (ed-initial sentence)

48. -021009b - Lo segundo es que se tomen medidas de seguridad más realistas que las aplicadas esta vez, porque, además, llueve sobre mojado: en marzo, el derbi sevillano estuvo a punto de acabar en tragedia tras el lanzamiento en el campo del Betis de 13 bengalas contra los hinchas del conjunto rival.

49. -021009c - Sería un despropósito desempolvar la política del *divide y vencerás*, que convierte en contradictorias y enfrentadas ambas relaciones.

50. -021115b - Por mala que sea una situación siempre es susceptible de empeoramiento. (parag-initial sentence)

51. -021124b - Seguramente han sido los reiterados pronunciamientos políticos de los obispos vascos los que han aconsejado a la Conferencia ir más allá de lo obvio, la condena del terrorismo, para entrar en terrenos políticos a fin de evitar acusaciones de otorgar callando ante un tema sobre el que, afirman, "no se puede ser neutral". (parag-final sentence)

52. -021128a - Ante tanta imprevisión y dejación de responsabilidades, el Gobierno recurre a su táctica patentada del *y tú más*: el Gobierno socialista lo hizo peor durante la catástrofe del *Mar Egeo*, hace diez años. (parag-initial sentence)

53. -021210a - ¿Acierta cuando rectifica? (headline)

54. -021210a - Fue Fraga quien en su día acusó a los socialistas de acertar sólo cuando rectificaban. (parag-initial sentence)

55. -030122c - Podrán legítimamente los sevillanos dolerse de que a la tercera no fuese para ellos la vencida. (parag-final sentence)

56. -030207b - A veces, la realidad estropea la mejor elocuencia. (parag-final sentence)

57. -030208b - Como suele decirse en el *argot* futbolístico, el partido no ha hecho más que empezar y el resultado es incierto. (ed-final sentence)

58. -030217b - Nunca es tarde si a esa necesidad de coordinación de la política presupuestaria se responde atendiendo a la posición cíclica de cada economía, la evolución de su deuda pública y, en última instancia, a sus necesidades de capitalización y convergencia real.

59. -030219a - Sabe, pero no contesta (headline)

60. -030222a - El Papa y el César (headline)

61. -030306b - Ojo por ojo (headline)

62. -030306b - El ojo por ojo se enseñorea de Oriente Próximo. (ed-initial sentence)

63. -030312b - Pero para avanzar hacia la paz en Oriente Próximo se necesitan dos, y nada hace pensar, retórica aparte, que el nuevo Gobierno de Ariel Sharon, fronterizo con el extremismo, esté preparado para retirar a su ejército de las ciudades ocupadas, hacer concesiones territoriales a cambio de seguridad o parar los asentamientos israelíes. (parag-initial sentence)

64. -030314b - Las prisas suelen ser malas consejeras, y más aún cuando se trata de la guerra o la paz. (ed-initial sentence)

65. -030327a - Vientos, tempestades (headline)

66. -030327a - Como dijo ayer Aznar, quien siembra vientos recoge tempestades. Aplíquese el refrán.

67. -030416b - En democracia, a veces con dificultades, quien la hace la paga.

68. -030421b - Dan para reflexionar, aunque las comparaciones sean odiosas, las diferencias entre Euskadi y Quebec.

69. -030426b - ... los nuevos empresarios quieren menos trámites legales para crear compañías o disponer de capital inmediato para ejecutar sus proyectos, y no cartillas para abrir cafeterías así que pasen 20 años, ... (parag-final sentence)

70. -030627a - Nunca llueve a gusto de todos, y menos cuando al campo se refiere.

71. -030702a - Aquí no ha pasado nada. ¿O sí? (ed-final sentences)

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72. -030805c - Más vale tarde que nunca. (parag-initial sentence)
73. -030809a - Y de aquellos polvos, estos lodos. (ed-final sentence)
74. -030812a - Más vale tarde (headline)
75. -030815c - "Quien tiene un martillo tiende a verlo todo con forma de clavo", reza un dicho anglosajón invocado en vísperas de la guerra de Irak para explicar la inclinación belicista de Bush.
76. -030829b - El tiempo lo dirá.
77. -030905a - En pocos casos está tan claro que una cosa es predicar -reformular leyes- y otra dar trigo: poner medios para resolver los problemas y sobre todo atender a las personas que llegan en estado de extrema necesidad a nuestras costas.
78. -030905c - Mejor prevenir (headline)
79. -030915a - Llueve sobre mojado, pues la década que lleva Suecia en la UE, donde entró por pura conveniencia más que por convicción, ha coincidido con tales recortes por razones que nada tienen que ver con esta incorporación, sino con la necesidad de hacer frente a una competencia globalizada. (parag-final sentence)
80. -030919c - ... ha incumplido el mandato constitucional del pluralismo, escudándose en el y tú más de los anteriores Gobiernos ... (parag-final sentence)
81. -030921b - La respuesta a esa situación ... ha sido la realista del más vale algo que nada y rehuir la polémica sobre ... (parag-final sentence)
82. -030924c - Es evidente que para ese viaje huelgan balances y análisis objetivos sobre el funcionamiento del jurado puro durante sus siete años de vigencia. (parag-final sentence)
83. -030928a - Ya entonces el propio jefe del Pentágono, Donald Rumsfeld, acudía a términos bíblicos, pero ajenos a todo sentido moderno de la justicia, para afirmar que "la ausencia de la prueba no prueba su ausencia". (parag-initial sentence)
84. -031005b - El ojo por ojo arrasa cualquier posibilidad de convivencia en Oriente Próximo. (parag-initial sentence)
85. -031016a - Si son rarísimos los ataques deliberados a extranjeros en el ojo por ojo entre palestinos e israelíes, ésta es la primera vez ... (parag-final sentence)
86. -031026b - A las urnas, madrileños (headline)
87. -031026b - ... han prestado argumentos -o pretextos- a quienes se escudan en ellos para confirmar prejuicios que se expresan en latiguillos como "todos son iguales" o "la política, para los políticos".
88. -031026b - A las urnas, madrileños. (ed-final sentence)
89. -031102b - Hacienda no somos todos. (parag-initial sentence)
90. -031105c - Presumiblemente, la sangre no llegará al río en la reunión del Ecofin, porque Bruselas no pondrá en arresto domiciliario a las economías más poderosas de la UE.
91. -031110c - La autosatisfacción gubernamental contrasta con la persistencia de ese espíritu de que inventen ellos.
92. -031116c - Rectificar es de sabios.
93. -031118b - Si a la tercera va la vencida, es la hora de aunar esfuerzos, dentro y fuera, para lograr que Serbia pueda formar parte de la Europa previsible, sin la amenaza permanente del abismo.
94. -031122c - 'We are the children' (headline)
95. -031122c - We are the world, we are the children ("Somos el mundo, somos los niños"), dice uno de los más célebres estribillos del cantante. (parag-final sentence)
96. -031203a - De todo hay en la catástrofe de Irak.
97. -031214b - Así no es plan (headline)
98. -040104c - Y, sin embargo, se mueve. Todo.
99. -040109a - Casa quiere (headline)
100. -040109a - El casado casa quiere, y también, con más motivo, el no casado que quiere casarse, o simplemente independizarse de sus padres. (ed-initial sentence)
101. -040114b - Más allá de las palabras, los hechos hablan.
102. -040116a - Ello hace que algunas comunidades acepten en ocasiones arreglos que consideran insatisfactorios bajo el criterio de que más vale algo que nada.
103. -040124b - No es que el Gobierno ignore lo que dice la UE, pero considera más rentable la consigna -que parece diseñada para alguien como Rajoy- de que si algo va bien es mejor no mover nada. Pero para que siga yendo bien hay que cambiar, advierte Bruselas.

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104. -040213c - No hace mucho que empresarios e intelectuales lusos todavía alertaban sobre una supuesta amenaza española, que para unos remitía a recelos seculares y otros concretaban en miedo a que el pez más grande acabe condicionando la vida del más pequeño. (parag-final sentence)
105. -040215b - Porque, tal como dice la frase tópica "no hay democracia sin demócratas", habría que apostillar "sin demócratas vigilantes".
106. -040218b - Pero lo óptimo puede estar muy lejos de lo real y su imposición como modelo puede cercenar derechos de adultos y de niños en vez de garantizarlos. (parag-final sentence)
107. -040314anob - Más que nunca: a las urnas, ciudadanos (headline)
108. -040406c - Pero nunca es tarde para acometerlas. (ed-final sentence)
109. -040409a - Más ruido que nueces (headline)
110. -040422a - No hay atajos (headline)
111. -040422a - No hay atajos. (parag-final sentence)
112. -040426c - Suráfrica, y van tres (headline)
113. -040430a - Sevilla va a la montaña (headline)
114. -040609a - Mucho mejor que nada (headline)
115. -040622b - Kioto obliga (headline)
116. -040705b - Lo pequeño es bello, decía un antiguo eslogan. Y orgulloso, aplicado y eficiente. (ed-final sentences)
117. -040711a - Primero trató de desviar la atención sobre aspectos secundarios, después entró en la vía de la sobreactuación e incluso de la provocación y ahora, si hacemos caso a las insinuaciones de Zaplana, se plantea incluso abandonar la comisión con la esperanza de que el ruido sea más fuerte que la verdad de los hechos. (parag-final sentence)
118. -040719b - Ya era hora. (ed-final sentence)
119. -040802c - Pero el pasado no tiene vuelta de hoja y éste es el momento de minimizar los daños. (parag-initial sentence)
120. -040808b - El fuego no tiene patria (headline)
121. -040808b - El fuego no tiene patria. (ed-final sentence)
122. -040809c - Ni tanto ni tan calvo.
123. -040828a - El cóndor ya no vuela (headline)
124. -040910b - Su silencio puede generar la confusión de que quien calla otorga. Ha llegado el momento de pasar del talante a la concreción.
125. -040922a - El tiempo lo dirá.
126. -040929a - El tiempo dirá si esta restricción, la preservación del equilibrio presupuestario a ultranza, es realista para una economía que tiene una relación entre gasto público y PIB de las más bajas de la UE. (ed-final sentence)
127. -041015b - Suele decirse que la mayor humillación del vencido es la magnanimidad del vencedor.
128. -041114a - Ello asustó y dividió a los dirigentes locales, que optaron por el sálvese quien pueda.
129. -041120c - Hágase la luz (headline)
130. -041126a - El que no se consuela es porque no quiere: el portavoz del Grupo Socialista dijo ayer que lo "políticamente importante" de la votación sobre la reforma del sistema de elección de jueces era que "el PP se ha quedado solo frente a todos los demás grupos". (ed-initial sentence)
131. -041209c - De aquellos polvos, estos lodos. (ed-final sentence)
132. -041229a - Tal vez de aquellos polvos vienen ahora estos lodos. (ed-final sentence)