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EDITORIAL NOTE

The present volume brings together a collection of papers focused on cognitive issues in linguistics theory and translation. The first paper, by **Francisco J. Rodríguez Muñoz**, addresses clinical pragmatics issues as explicated in its title: "Discourse Markers and Modal Expressions in Speakers with and without Asperger Syndrome: A Pragmatic-perceptive Approach". The data gathered from 20 informants (plus a control group of another 20 subjects) and discussed by the author is all in Spanish, but the analysis is carried on with numerous references to research done on English discourse markers and modal expressions. Methodologically, the paper integrates pragmatics, corpus linguistics and statistical analysis. The author presents his research as a new approach, in which three main groups of markers emerge as a result of their "perceptive enhancement", which can be enunciative, textual, or interactive, and, respectively, focus on the addresser, the message, or the addressee. Applying this classification allows to better indicate significant differences in the use of discourse markers on the part of Asperger Syndrome patients and people without that medical condition.

The next text by **Chiara Nasti** and **Marco Venuti**, "The Lisbon Treaty and the British Press: A Corpus-based Contrastive Analysis of Evaluation Resources", is partly based on the authors' previous corpus linguistics study of selected metaphors used in the British press and their power in construing the event of the Lisbon treaty ratification and construing or revealing individual attitudes towards the event. The present text further investigates these topics and indicates those evaluative resources that have been found to co-occur with the previously analyzed metaphors, extending the perspective so that to include a description and metaphorically invited attributes of the European leaders.

Agnieszka Wawrzyniak's paper "Cognitive Metaphors of the Mind in *The Canterbury Tales*" presents an analysis of a number of cognitive metaphors culled from Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and pertaining to the concept of mind (e.g. sanity and insanity), heart, and fire. The paper offers a short theoretical introduction and a discussion of different linguistic and psychological approaches to issues related to figurative and literal language use with focus on cognitive linguistics approach to metaphor. The author emphasizes the fact that many apparently similar concepts happen to evoke semantically conflicting metaphors, while concepts that appear to be mutually exclusive can sometimes evoke common associations and thereby similar metaphors, at least as judged by present-day semantics standards.

"On Transmitting Expressiveness in Belarusian-English Poetic Translation" by **Yuliya Sakalova** stays with the topic of literature to indicate various lexical, grammatical, and stylistic problems encountered by Belarusian translators while transmitting aspects of expressiveness of an English poetic source text. The author focuses on basic transformation types, which she illustrates with carefully selected examples. Starting from grammar-oriented structural issues, the author moves towards more abstract pragmatic strategies of adaptation.

In the next paper, **Gianluca Pontrandolfo** and **Stanisław Goźdź-Roszkowski** discuss problems from the interface of language and law. As the title suggests, their focus is on "Exploring the Local Grammar of Evaluation: The Case of Adjectival Patterns in American and Italian Judicial Discourse". Their study brings together English language and Italian data and is based on a 2-million word bilingual comparable corpus of American and Italian judgments. One of the main objectives of the research program behind the paper is to effectively test the applicability of a local grammar to study evaluative phraseology in judicial discourse in English and Italian on the bases of two selected patterns: *v-link + ADJ + that* pattern / *copula + ADJ + che* and *v-link + ADJ+ to-infinitive* pattern / *copula + ADJ + verbo all'infinito* in criminal judgments delivered by the US Supreme Court and the Italian *Corte Suprema di Cassazione*. It is argued that these two patterns represent a viable and efficient diagnostic tool for retrieving instances of evaluative language and that they represent a good starting point for a cross-language analysis of evaluation in specialised discourse. The discussion also highlights selected pragmatic aspects of verbal interactions which emerge in the context of judicial communication.

Finally, **Larisa Iļjinska** and **Tatjana Smirnova** explore specialized register-oriented problems in their paper "Conflicting Tendencies in the Development of Scientific and Technical Language Varieties: Metaphorization vs. Standardization". The authors discuss the relation between meaning and context presenting it as an interactive process that promotes cognition and communication, on both intralingual and interlingual levels. The authors further address the problem of two conflicting tendencies in the development of technical language: metaphorisation and standardisation. As it is indicated, while metaphorical meaning extension can be seen as characteristic of technical vocabulary in all discourse domains, at the same time contemporary development of corpus linguistics facilitates standardization of terms. It is claimed that language users are able to interpret the meaning of new terms and establish relations and interconnections between terms and concepts within a text, and in general in the domain of scientific and technical discourse by identifying selected pragmatic aspects in the text environment, such as its referential, situational, cultural and social context.

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DISCOURSE MARKERS AND MODAL EXPRESSIONS IN SPEAKERS WITH AND WITHOUT ASPERGER SYNDROME: A PRAGMATIC-PERCEPTIVE APPROACH

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Abstract
From a theoretical point of view, this paper offers a new framework for the analysis of discourse markers: a pragmatic-perceptive model that emphasizes the point of the communication process in which such particles become more relevant. Furthermore, this approach tries to give an account of the modal expressions (attenuators and intensifiers) that speakers use in oral speech. The quotients of absolute and relative frequency with regard to the use of textual, interactive and enunciative markers – focused on the message, the addressee and the addresser respectively – are compared in two samples of 20 subjects with typical development and other 20 with Asperger syndrome. The general results of this research suggest that these latter speakers display a suitable command of textual markers, whereas they overexploit the enunciative ones in conversation.

Keywords: Asperger syndrome, discourse markers, modal expressions, perceptive pragmatics.

1. Introduction

Asperger syndrome (AS) is part of the continuum of autistic spectrum disorders, a broad notion that includes individuals with non-functional social behaviour and – specially in AS – with pragmatic communication impairments (Rodríguez-Muñoz 2013). Although the description of AS has been influenced by research on autism, we cannot ignore the particular nature of this disorder. The most important features of AS refer to the literal understanding of language (jokes, humour, double meanings, etc.), but little attention has been paid to other pragmatic features that have been considered intact or undisturbed. That has been the case of discourse markers (DM) and modal expressions (ME).

This study aims to examine the semantic values and pragmatic functions that a set of DM carries out in 40 oral interactions. Twenty of them belong to typical development subjects (TD), whilst the rest belong to AS subjects. The analysis focuses on comparing the absolute and relative frequency of use that these particles have in the oral speech of both groups. The second category that we take into account refers to modality, and we apply the same type of quantitative analysis for the ME used by TD and AS speakers.

DM and ME, limited to attenuators and intensifiers in our study, may involve the addresser, the addressee or both (Schiffrin 1987). According to the organization of pragmatic dimensions suggested by Gallardo (2005, 2006, 2007, 2009), we will propose a synthetic classification for DM depending on their *perceptual enhancement*. Thus, we distinguish between *enunciative*, *textual* and *interactive* markers when they enhance the addresser, the message or the addressee respectively. From this point of view, a pragmatic orientation predominates over others in communication exchanges (Gallardo and Marín 2005).

As Rodríguez-Muñoz (2009a) has pointed out, the conversations of people diagnosed with AS preserve intact a textual property as basic as cohesion. Therefore, we assume that, in general, there will be no significant statistical differences between the relative frequencies of use for both categories (DM and ME).

1.1 Discourse markers and modal expressions

DM are a wide and heterogeneous category whose semantics helps to the interpretation of communicative processes in oral interactions. Contemporary linguistic research has shown a growing interest in these discursive elements. This fact has contributed to a better definition and systematization of them.

The study of DM has arisen from very different perspectives. Nonetheless, all of these can be integrated within a common framework. As Mancera and Placencia (2011) have pointed out, evidence of the multiple approaches that authors have adopted during the last decades is based on the multiple denominations that these linguistic units have received (*connectives*, *pragmatic connectors*, *discourse operators*, *discourse particles* or *markers*).

Halliday and Hasan (1976), without explicitly referring to them as DM, understand that these units are functional categories of language that play a basic role in the cohesive textual level, establishing different relationships among utterances. Schiffrin (1987) denominates DM this kind of linguistic unit (conjunctions, interjections, adverbs and lexicalized phrases) that link and depend on other utterances. Fraser's proposal (1990), as a novelty, emphasizes the distinction between the propositional content (semantics) and the pragmatic meaning of utterances where DM appear.

According to the definition provided by Portolés (1998: 25-26), one of the most mentioned in the field of pragmatic studies in Spanish, DM are invariant linguistic units that do not have a syntactic function and that possess a shared purpose in discourse: to guide inferences in communication according to their morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties.

We cannot ignore, in the case of Spanish DM, key studies that have been developed by authors like Fuentes (1987, 1995, 1996, 2007, 2009), Cortés (1991), Martín-Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), Briz, Pons and Portolés (2008), Cortés and Camacho (2010) or Loureda and Acín (2010).

Before explaining the classification of DM that we accomplish in the current research, we will discuss the main conceptual models that have been considered:

(a) *Syntactic-semantic model*: this model gathers all the theoretical attempts in order to formalize the connective categories that are mainly conceived for the purpose of establishing functional associations between the sentences of a text. These connectors are used to express different logic and semantic relationships:

Addition: ‘and’ (*y*), ‘moreover’ (*además*).
Option: ‘or’ (*o*).
Contrast: ‘but’ (*pero*), ‘however’ (*sin embargo*), ‘although’ (*aunque*) (see Bañón 2003 for details).
Consequence: ‘therefore’ (*por tanto*), ‘so that’ (*así que*).
Cause: ‘because’ (*porque*), ‘since’ (*ya que*).
Explanation: ‘that is’ (*o sea, es decir*).
Time: ‘when’ (*cuando*), ‘afterwards’ (*después*).
Purpose: ‘for’, ‘in order to’ (*para*).
Condition: ‘if’ (*si*).

(b) *Discursive model*: for the classification of DM in Spanish, we follow Martín-Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), who include different types according to their communicative functions:
Structuring information: *commenters* (‘well’ [*pues*]), *organizers* (‘on the one hand/on the other hand’ [*por una parte/por otra parte*]), and *digressors* (‘by the way’ [*por cierto*]).
Connectors: *addition* (‘moreover’, ‘furthermore’ [*además*]), *consequence* (‘then’ [*así pues*]), and *contra-argumentation* (‘instead of’ [*en lugar de*]).
Reformulation markers: *of explanation* (‘that is’ [*esto es*]), *of rectification* (‘rather’ [*más bien*]), *of distance* (‘in any case’ [*en cualquier caso*]), and *of recapitulation* (‘in conclusion’ [*en conclusión*]).
Argumentative operators: *intensifiers* (‘in fact’, ‘actually’ [*de hecho*]) and *specifiers* (‘in particular’ [*en particular*]).
Conversation markers: *of epistemic modality* (‘for sure’ [*con seguridad*]), *of deontic modality* (‘all right’ [*de acuerdo*]), *focusers of otherness* (‘man’, ‘look’, ‘listen’ [*hombre*, *mira*, *escucha*]), and *metadiscursives* (‘uh’ [*eh*]).

(c) *Pragmatic-perceptive model*: despite efforts to integrate DM into a coherent taxonomy being more than significant in the former models, it should be noted that all these particles depend specially on pragmatic constraints imposed by the context. Thus, under the title of pragmatic-perceptive model, we will suggest a new paradigm to classify DM.

In this sense, the Genevan model, represented by Roulet et al. (1985), is a basic starting point. It reconciles the semantic properties of DM with the pragmatic functions that they accomplish. The model distinguishes, on the one hand, *textual markers* (which refer to relations of meaning in linguistic messages) and, on the other hand, the *interactive markers* (which depend on the context and on the addressee).

For us, it is necessary to add a third type, *enunciative markers* that relate to the effort that speakers make when they try to organize their linguistic utterances.

It is also critical to link the concept of *modality* to the theoretical construct that we present. Above all, we refer to discursive operations of attenuation and intensification that *attenuators* and *intensifiers* play in oral speech. It should be noted that not only DM perform these functions, but there are other linguistic expressions that speakers use for these purposes.

Actually, we believe that the modality crosses the semantics of textual DM, such as addition particles (e.g., ‘even’ may operate as an intensifier), and interactive ones (e.g., the Spanish conative *¿eh?*, with interrogative intonation, can operate as an attenuator or an intensifier) (Rodríguez-Muñoz 2009b).

It is precisely the theoretical model that we have called pragmatic-perceptive which we take as a reference in our analysis of DM, without discarding some of the ideas that other authors have incorporated to describe the discursive behaviour of these particles often used in conversation.

Therefore, based on the classification of Roulet et al. (1985) for the study of DM, we distinguish two varieties of markers: (a) the textual (or *relational*) and (b) the interactive types. While the first type has to do with establishing semantic relations between statements, the second highlights the interactive function that certain particles perform in communication exchanges.

Retrieving the proposals of Portolés (1998) and Martín-Zorraquino and Portolés (1999), in this study, we associate interactive markers with *conative* and focusers of otherness types; that is, this kind of particle points to the listener during the exchange. Besides the three pragmatic dimensions described by Gallardo (2005, 2006, 2007, 2009), we recognize a third type of marker: (c) the enunciative group that we identify with metadiscursives (Portolés 1998; Martín-Zorraquino and Portolés 1999) and we define them as those which represent speakers' effort when they structure and organize the turns in conversation.

Although the phatic nature is implicit in interactive and enunciative subtypes, since they assure contact between speakers and are concerned with the efficient transmission of information, the first points directly to the addressee, while enunciative markers are used as discourse organizers (Galué 2002) and, in that sense, are more associated with the continuous processing of information.

In short, we welcome the tripartite model defined by Gallardo (2005, 2006, 2007, 2009) in order to apply it to the pragmatic study of DM. From a perceptive perspective, this classification aims to enhance the point of the communication process in which these particles focus: (1) the addresser, (2) the message, or (3) the addressee. Thus, we will refer to enunciative markers, when particles point to the addresser, to textual markers, when pointing to the message, and to interactive markers, when oriented toward the addressee.

Although a large number of interactive markers are also modality markers, we want to include in a separate category, (4) *modals*, not just those that are exactly identified as DM, but other words and linguistic expressions that operate as attenuators and intensifiers.

ME indicate the degree of commitment in relation to the truth that speakers express in their utterances. They are communicative strategies that reduce or increase the strength of the assertions and provide further indications about a speaker's attitude in the communication process (Briz 1995, 1997).

Among the words or linguistic expressions that can possess attenuation values in conversation, we distinguish those that indicate (Mendiluce 2005: 231-233):

(a) *Approximation*: 'nearly' (*casi*), 'around' (*alrededor de*), 'more or less' (*más o menos*), 'approximately' (*aproximadamente*).

(b) *Possibility, probability or doubt*: 'maybe' (*puede ser*), 'possibly' (*posiblemente*), 'probably' (*probablemente*), 'perhaps' (*quizá/s*, *tal vez*).

(c) *Relativity or limitation in the validity of data*: 'I think', 'I believe' (*pienso/creo*), 'in my opinion' (*en mi opinion*).
(d) *Indeterminacy*: 'something' (*algo*), 'some' (*algún*), 'certain' (*cierto*), 'a little', 'a bit' (*un poco*).

Among intensifiers, we distinguish words and expressions that indicate (Mendiluce 2005: 238-240):

(a) *Certainty, conviction and security*: 'certainly' (*ciertamente*), 'surely' (*seguramente*), 'obviously' (*obviamente*), 'no doubt' (*sin duda*).
(b) *Necessity and obligation*: 'necessarily' (*necesariamente*), 'must' (*deber*), 'mandatorily' (*obligatoriamente*).
(c) *Importance*: 'main' (*principal*), 'essential' (*esencial*).

Furthermore, we cannot forget that modal mechanisms are not restricted to simple words; thus, we admit parts of a sentence ('or something' [*o algo*], 'or whatever' [*o lo que sea*]) and even complete sentences ('I don't know' [*no sé*]). This position is solidly grounded on the idea that all pragmatic phenomena are coded from the repertoire of linguistic resources covering the different linguistic levels defined by tradition. A good example of this is represented by the modality and, within it, by operations of attenuation that include derivational morphology and syntax. From these bases, we develop our own taxonomy which is summarized in Table 1.

Textual markers These are based on the semantic relationships between statements and are oriented to the message.	*Relational/sentence markers* They indicate *addition, option, contrast, consequence, cause, explanation, time, purpose* and *condition.*
Interactive markers These perform interactive functions and are directed to the addressee.	*Conative/focusers of otherness* They guarantee the effectiveness of communication exchanges.
Enunciative markers These represent the speaker's effort to structure information.	*Metadiscursive markers* They organize information in speech and serve to maintain the turn of speech.
Modal expressions These indicate the speaker's attitude towards his addressee and his own utterances. They manifest the level of commitment that the speaker establishes regarding the truth of his utterances.	**Attenuators** Words and phrases that indicate *approximation, possibility, probability or doubt, relativity or limitation on the validity of the data* and *indeterminacy*.
	Intensifiers Words and phrases that indicate *certainty, conviction and security, necessity and obligation*, and *importance*.

Table 1: DM and ME: classificatory proposal

2. Method

2.1 Subjects

40 native speakers of Spanish participated in this study, 20 of them with AS and 20 without developmental disorders. The clinical diagnosis of AS was validated by the psychologists who assisted in data collection. We also used the *Social Communication Questionnaire (SCQ)* (Rutter, Bailey and Lord 2003) to confirm the presence of an autism spectrum disorder diagnosis. With their parents' written informed consent, participants were videotaped for later analysis.

With respect to the pathological group, 14 subjects with AS were from Asturias (Spain), while the other six came from Valencia (Spain). Data were collected in a person-to-person way in both geographic areas, thanks to the collaboration of the Asturian and Valencian Asperger Associations. The chronologic ages of the patients with AS were between 6 and 15 (M = 11.15); 19 of them were male and we only counted one recording belonging to a Valencian female. At the moment of data collection, subjects were not under any pharmacological treatment.

The 20 subjects without AS were from Almería (Spain), except for a Mexican female. The control group was composed of 11 males and nine females with chronological ages ranging from 12 to 13 years old (M = 12.35). None of them presented psychological or neurological problems, according to the data provided by the Psycho-pedagogical Orientation Department of IES Argar. The oral data of these participants were also collected in a person-to-person way in the capital of Almería (Spain).

2.2 Materials

In order to collect oral data, we designed a graphic support for pragmatic training. The purpose of this instrument was to motivate a semi-oriented and inducted discourse with our participants based on picture description tasks. The support was composed of six illustrated cards with specific contents and independent questions. Thus, the function of the images was the same as a conversational script.

2.3 Procedure

The interviews were carried out in different places. The sample of speakers without AS was collected from the Psycho-pedagogical Orientation Department of IES Argar (Almería, Spain), while the pathological sample was taken in diverse multi-use rooms located in the Asperger Asturias and Asperger Valencia Associations. Before the recordings from the designed tasks in the graphic support, we provided the following general instructions to each subject:

> I am going to show you six illustrated cards and I will pose you different questions about what you are seeing in each picture. For example, I will ask you to put in the place of

some characters or to tell me a short story from the drawings. Please try to refer always to the card number.

We then showed participants each illustrated card and posed the questions that were to be answered orally.

2.4 Corpus

The corpus that supports the present research is divided into two subcorpora. The first, the differential corpus, was formed by 20 audio recordings coming from non-AS subjects and had a total duration of 97.7 minutes. The second corpus of recordings, which belongs to AS subjects, was also formed by 20 recordings. In this case, materials were in audio-visual format and the duration was 149.3 minutes. Oral data were transcribed in ordinary orthography using the basic notation conventions of conversation analysis (see Appendix).

2.5 Data analysis

For location and labelling of the words, we used the textual analysis tool *Simple Concordance Program (SCP)*, version 4.0.9, which allowed us to introduce a quantitative important nuance into our study. This analysis responds to the prevalence of DM and ME depending on the number of records in the texts. *Word List* application generated a list of words (or word groups) ordered by frequency from which we worked. In corpus annotation, we used the application *Concordance*, because we considered dividing the word lists into two types: ambiguous and unambiguous. It is essential to observe the context that precedes and follows them. Unambiguous words, such as *y* (‘and’) or *pero* (‘but’) were located and labelled automatically from the list of frequencies. However, ambiguous words, those that can take more than one meaning in the texts, as *bueno* (‘well’), that can function in Spanish as a DM or as an adjective, require greater processing cost and detail. Nonetheless, the size of our corpus allowed us, in all cases, to conduct validation of words manually. Finally, we contrast the numerical results generated by the *Simple Concordance Program (SCP)* with *AntConc*, version 3.2.1w, that we applied as a criterion of reliability in our study.

3. Results

3.1 Textual markers

As Table 2 and Figure 1 reflect, after comparing the results on the use of textual markers in oral speech of TD and AS speakers, we found that, in terms of absolute frequency, there was a slight predominance of these units in the group of subjects with AS. However, the relative frequency (n_i), obtained by dividing the absolute frequency of the various types of units used by the total number of words (8.883 in the TD group and 10.397 in the AS group), indicated the opposite (n_i = 0.1089 in TD, and n_i = 0.0975 in AS), even though the values were not statistically significant. From a qualitative point of view, we note that the repertoire of textual markers and, consequently, the type of semantic relations that are established in oral speech were more varied in the group of AS speakers.

Textual markers		
Semantic relation	**Linguistic codification**	
	TD	**AS**
Addition	*y* [‘and’] (401) *e* [‘and’] (3)	*y* [‘and’] (391) *además* [‘moreover’] (2) *e* [‘and’] (1) *hasta* [‘even’] (1) *incluso* [‘even’] (1)
Subtotal	404	396
Option	*o* [‘or’] (67)	*o* [‘or] (51)
Subtotal	67	51
Contrast	*pero* [‘but’] (14) *aunque* [‘although’] (1)	*pero* [‘but’] (45) *aunque* [‘although’] (2) *sin embargo* [‘however’] (1)
Subtotal	15	48
Consequence	*pues* [‘thus’] (257) *entonces* [‘thus’] (28) *así que* [‘so that’] (1)	*pues* [‘thus’] (157) *entonces* [‘thus’] (37) *así que* [‘so that’] (3)
Subtotal	286	197
Cause	*porque* [‘because’] (103) *es que* [‘it’s just that’] (6)	*porque* [‘because’] (178) *es que* [‘it’s just that’] (10) *ya que* [‘since’] (5)
Subtotal	109	193
Explanation	-	*o sea* [‘that is’] (4) *vamos* [‘well’] (3) *es decir* [‘that is’] (1)
Subtotal	0	8
Time	*cuando* [‘when’] (22) *luego* [‘later’] (19) *después* [‘afterwards’] (12) *al final* [‘in the end’] (4)	*después* [‘afterwards’] (34) *cuando* [‘when’] (19) *luego* [‘later’] (15) *al final* [‘in the end’] (3)
Subtotal	57	71
Purpose	*para* [‘for’, ‘in order to’] (14)	*para* [‘for’, ‘in order to’] (27)
Subtotal	14	27
Condition	*si* [‘if’] (15)	*si* [‘if’] (23)
Subtotal	15	23
TOTAL	967	1014

Table 2: Textual markers used in the oral speech of subjects with TD and AS ordered by absolute frequency

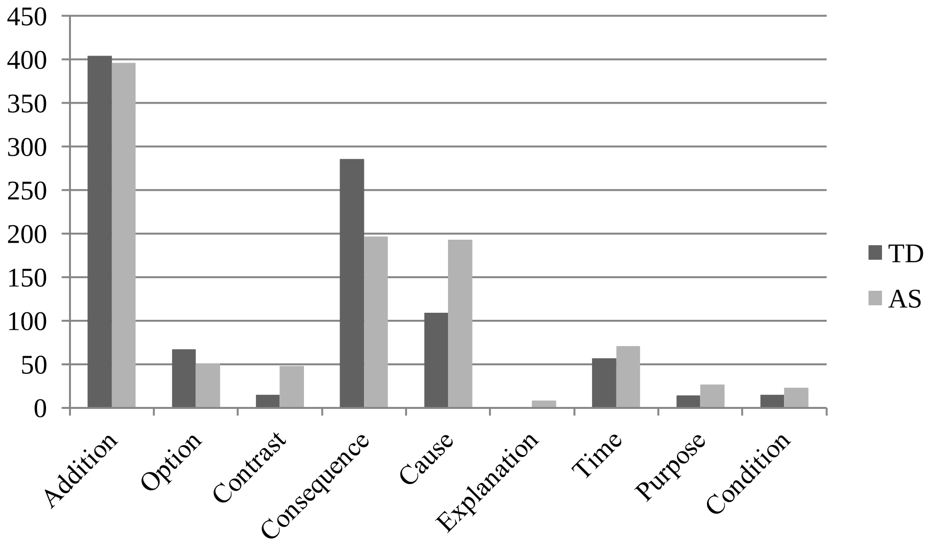

Figure 1: Semantic relations ordered by absolute frequency

3.1.1 TD speakers

According to the quantitative data that emerged from our analysis, in the sample of speech from participants without AS, we found that the most frequent semantic relationship established between their utterances was addition (420 records). The conjunction *y* (‘and’) (401) was the most productive marker in conversations. Besides coordinating additively with other utterances, its basic discourse function is to mark the continuity of enunciation, suggesting different semantic nuances: contrast, cause, consequence or time (Porroche 2009: 98-99).

The second type of semantic relationship that took on a greater role in our sample was consequence (286 records), specially represented by the marker *pues* (‘thus’, ‘then’) (257) that adopts different phonetic variants in conversations: *pues* (147), *puees* (7), *pueees* (2), *pos* (97), *poos* (3), *pooos* (1). As Martín-Zorraquino and Portolés (1999) argue, the most common discursive marker in spoken Spanish is the adverb *pues* that inserts an informative comment which refers to a preceding discourse segment.

In other words, the marker *pues*, unlike others such as *y*, apart from establishing the continuation of the enunciation, is used to draw attention to the new information (*comment*) and, therefore, it adds some data about the content expressed before (*topic*) (Porroche 2009: 102). In short, as a marker of consequence, it introduces inferences of earlier discourse segments and provides novel information.

Although it is possible to distinguish two basic values for the marker *pues*, consequence and cause (Miche 1994; Porroche 1996), no examples of use of the latter could be found in our corpus. The consequence value, equivalent to *entonces* (‘then’)

(28), is the most recurrent one in our TD sample. It usually appears in the initial position of utterances and after a pause [1]:

[1] **JCS:** ***pues*** *me asustaría, / saldría nadando y cuando se descubriera, /* ***pues*** *ahí yo también me reiría porque es una [broma=]*
JCS: **then** I'd be scared, / I would go swimming and when I realized, / **then** there I'd also laugh because it's a [joke=]

On the other hand, the absence of other consecutive markers is quite striking, such as *por (lo) tanto* ('therefore'). The expression of causality (109 records), as with the consequence relationship, finds also a primary correlate in the Spanish conjunction *porque* ('because') (103). Our TD participants discarded similar connectors such as *ya que*, *puesto que* or *pues* with causal value. Regarding the position of this marker, the general trend is for it to appear inside utterances, as occurs in [2]:

[2] **JBC:** *que este esté enfadada(d)o* ***porque*** *han perdido (VIÑETA 1), este,* ***porque*** *están a punto de ganar (VIÑETAS 2 Y 3), y este,* ***porque*** *está perdiendo el otro equipo (VIÑETA 4) §*
JBC: that this is angry **because** they have lost (VIGNETTE 1), this, **because** they are about to win (VIGNETTES 2 AND 3), and this, **because** the other team is losing (VIGNETTE 4) §

The DM *es que* ('it's just that') (6), according to Terrádez (2001), is one of the most common in colloquial Spanish and its main task is to introduce an explanation or justification, as in [3] where the speaker has difficulty retrieving a word referring to the facial expression of one of the characters in the vignettes (*anomie* that, in this case, is not pathological, but seems to be related to lexical poverty):

[3] **PLM:** *en la once, tris- enfado, / en la doce, tristeza, / en la treceee→ // eeeh ///(5'')* ***es que*** *no sé una palabra quee ponerle pa(ra) [quee-=]*
PLM: in the eleven, ang- anger, / in the twelve, sadness, / in thirteeen→ // uuuh /// (5'') **it's just that** I don't know how to choose a word foor- for this feeling /

The optative relationship (67 records) is exclusively restricted to the use and functionality of the marker *o* ('or'), a disjunctive conjunction which always introduces an alternative. It is curious that the contrastive semantic relationship is barely represented by 15 contrastive DM in our sample of TD speakers (15 records). The adversative conjunction *pero* ('but'), common in the inner position of utterances, is the most productive, against the concessive conjunction *aunque* ('although') that is performed only once in [4]:

[4] **CBC:** ***aunque*** *no tiene manchas de nada (SE REFIERE A LA NIÑA DE LAS VIÑETAS QUE NO MUESTRA INDICIOS DE SER LA CULPABLE) (E Y CBC SE RÍEN) /*
CBC: **although** they aren't stained (HE REFERS TO A GIRL THAT DOES NOT APPEAR GUILTY) (E AND CBC LAUGH) /

Markers indicating temporality (57 records) do not go beyond the typical in oral speech: *cuando* ('when') (22), *luego* ('later') (19), *después* ('afterwards') (12), *al final* ('in the end') (4). It is noteworthy that the adverb *finalmente* ('finally') is never used by our participants without AS. The low productivity of temporal markers in the development of the narrative sequences reveals a certain scarcity in the use of these kinds of connectors. Indeed, as organizers, these markers have the common aim of structuring information by drawing on different points of the time axis.

Lastly, the semantic relations of purpose and conditionality are represented by only two markers: *para* ('for') (14) and *si* ('if') (15) respectively. For the explanatory semantic relationship, we do not find any representative connector either.

3.1.2 SA speakers

According to the data provided from the analysis of textual markers in our sample of AS speakers, the most productive semantic relationship in the oral speech of this group of subjects is the additive one (396 records), with the conjunction *y* ('and') (391) – plus its contextual variant *e* (1), before words starting with ***i-*** in Spanish – which receives the highest frequency of use. Other particles included in this category are *además* ('moreover', 'furthermore'), *hasta* (2) and *incluso* ('even') (1). The latter two DM show similar discursive behaviour, since they emphasize an element which corresponds, inside the utterance, to an extreme value in a gradient:

[5] **AFB:** *sí, /* ***<u>hasta</u>*** *le pegaría una patada o algo /*
AFB: yes, / **<u>even</u>** I'd kick or something /

[6] **AFB:** *mal,* ***<u>incluso</u>*** *iría a pegarle y le diría* hijo de puta, *y le pego /*
AFB: bad, **<u>even</u>** I'd go and hit him and say *motherfucker,* and hit him /

In [5] and [6], we check how the particles *hasta* and *incluso* ('even') introduce information that would be at the peak of a gradation, and at the same time the content that these markers present is less expected and more informative.

Quantitatively, the consecutive relationship is the second which has the greatest representation in conversations (198 records). Specifically, *pues* (157), with a consecutive value (similar to 'then') is the most employed, followed by *entonces* (37) and *así que* (3) ('so that').

The causal relationship (193 records) lies, in numerical terms, very close to the previous one. It is the causal conjunction *porque* ('because') (178) which has the more increased productivity in our AS sample, followed far behind by *es que* (it's just that) (10) and *ya que* ('since') (5). This last conjunctive phrase is a link unit that exhibits similar behaviour to *porque* [7]:

[7] **ACR:** *mal↓, / me sentiría mal↓, /* ***<u>ya que</u>*** *es una broma un pocoo- / un poco mala,* ***<u>ya que</u>*** *echar sal a un- a un líquido sabría bastante mal §*
ACR: bad↓, / I'd feel bad↓, / **<u>since</u>** that's a joke a littlee- / a little practical, **<u>since</u>** mixing salt with a- with a liquid it'd taste quite bad §

At the same time, we get 71 records for textual markers through which AS participants express temporal relationships in their oral speech: *después* ('afterwards') (34) is the most usual adverb, followed by *cuando* ('when') (19), *luego* ('later') (15), and *al final* ('in the end') (3).

The disjunctive *o* (‘or’) is used on 51 occasions. It is closely followed by contrastive relations (48 records). To the adversative conjunction *pero* (‘but’) (45) belong the vast majority of occurrences. Two particles complete this category: *aunque* (‘although’) (2) and *sin embargo* (‘however’) (1). The last conjunctive phrase introduces a member in the utterance that presents a contrary conclusion which we can infer from the above argument, as shown in [8]:

[8] **BFG:** *eso, hay algunas probabilidades de que-, bueno, de que vaya a ese sitio tod- / todas juntas y s-, ¡ay!, mira, hayy una posibilidad de que primero desde es- desde la señora de- acalorada con- con el hombre de la compra haya una pequeña posibilidad, una diminuta posibilidad (BFG APRIETA EL PULGAR Y EL ÍNDICE DE LA MANO IZQUIERDA) de que vayan al mismo sitio y, **<u>sin embargo</u>**, sus expresiones son diferentes, lo que quiere decir, no sé, otra cosa /*
BFG: that, there are some probabilities that-, well, that they go there a- / altogether and s-, ah!, look, there is a possibility that first from th- from the lady of- the hot lady with- with the man doing the sales there is a small chance, a tiny possibility (BFG SQUEEZES THE THUMB AND FOREFINGER OF THE LEFT HAND) they go to the same place and, **<u>however</u>**, their expressions are different, which means, I don’t know, other thing /

In relation to purpose and conditional relationships, we only find one textual marker for each semantic category: the preposition *para* (‘for’) (27) and the conjunction *si* (‘if’) (23) respectively.

Explanatory relationships are expressed through the phrases *o sea* (4) and *es decir* (1) (‘that is’). Both have the same function in communication; indeed, it is the explanatory value, not the consecutive one, which prevails in our conversational examples:

[9] **IGL:** *y en la **núme ero cu u atro** se está riendo, **<u>o sea</u>**, contento §*
IGL: and in **num ber fo ur** he is laughing, **<u>that is</u>**, happy §

[10] **DCF:** *el niño, porque le gastó un timo, le hizo un timo, **<u>o sea</u>**, lo timó §*
DCF: the boy, because he was ripped off, he was ripped off, **<u>that is</u>**, he was ripped off §

[11] **BFG:** *veamos, eeh el niño eh va a una tienda en la que venden camiones por un euro, / uno cada un euro, claro está, / pero el niño no tiene blanca, / **<u>o sea</u>** quee vaa- // vaa hacia su abuela, le pide dinerito, un euro, / a ella no le importa un eurito de nada, / y se compra el camión §*
BFG: let’s see, uuh the boy uh goes to a shop where they sell trucks for one euro, / each one one euro, it’s clear, / but the boy has no money, / **<u>that is</u>** that he goo- / he gooes to his grandma, he asks for a little money, one euro, / she doesn’t care about one little euro that’s nothing, / and he buys the truck §

In [9] and [10], *o sea* introduces a clarification about the content that both speakers express in the preceding segment. It is not the case of BFG who exposes through this same phrase a consequence of what was previously expressed in [11].

Finally, *vamos* (close to ‘well’) plays, as DM, the corrective function of reformulation and has similar behaviour to the explanatory phrases *o sea* and *es decir* in

Spanish. In the words of Fuentes (2009: 347), this form leads to conclusions, the inferences or implications from the previous comments or information [12]:

[12] **MBF:** *a ver, espera, ¿eh?, // un chico quee- que va a una tienda, **vamos**, a un kiosco, y ve un camión, bueno, este camión verde era el que quería al final, / ve un camión verde y lo quiere [comprar=]*
MBF: alright, wait, eh?, // a boy thaat- that goes into a shop, **well**, he goes to a kiosk, and he watches a truck, well, this green truck is what he wanted in the end, / and he watches a green truck and he wants to [buy it=]

3.2 Interactive and enunciative markers

As shown in Table 3, the differences of use between interactive and enunciative markers are not extreme. However, we notice that these particles are more frequent and varied in our AS sample. Nonetheless, the most significant difference is found in the number of the enunciative markers that they use, clearly higher in the pathological group.

Interactive markers		
Related to addressee	**TD**	**AS**
	¿no? [‘isn’t that so?’] (13)	*¿no?* [‘isn’t that so?’] (14) *hombre* [‘man’] (8) *oye* [‘hear’] (2) *¿eh?* [‘eh?’] (1)
TOTAL	13	25
Enunciative markers		
Related to addresser	**TD**	**AS**
	mm [‘hum’] (60) *eh* [‘uh’] (11) *bueno* [‘well’] (6)	*bueno* [‘well’] (81) *mm* [‘mm’] (54) *eh* [‘uh’] (50)
TOTAL	77	185

Table 3: Interactive and enunciative markers used in the oral speech of subjects with TD and AS ordered by absolute frequency

3.2.1 TD speakers

Interactive markers, with conative function, which appeal directly to the addressee in conversation – in all our cases, the interviewer – and fulfil the task of maintaining contact with this, are not too abundant in our sample of TD speakers and are specified in a single marker: *¿no?* (‘isn’t that so?’) (13 records).

As Rodríguez-Muñoz (2009b) has pointed out, *¿no?* and *¿eh?* (‘eh?’) share a functional equivalence in oral speech. There is only one example where *¿eh?* constitutes an independent question with the meaning of *¿cómo?* (‘how?’). We cannot accept this variant as a DM [13]:

[13] **TCC:** (INATENTA) **<u>¿eh?</u>** / en la cinco, que- que el niño quiere ir a comprar↑ / juguetes y // cómics y to(do) eso §
TCC: (INATTENTIVE) **<u>eh?</u>** / in five, that- that the boy wants to go shopping↑ / games and // comics and so on §

Therefore, the marker *¿no?* is the only one that manifests conative behaviour in our interactions, always maintaining its shape and interrogative intonation in the final position of utterances. Under this first value, this particle allows the semantic commutation with other markers such as *¿(me) entiendes?*, *¿(me) comprendes?*, ('do you understand (me)?') *¿me sigues?* ('do you follow me?'), *¿sabes?*, ('do you know?'), *¿vale?* ('okay?') or *¿sí?* ('yes?'), as shown in [14] and [15]:

[14] **AGR:** *pues esa (VIÑETA 10) estáá- tiene calor,* ***<u>¿no?</u>*** *((y)) aquí (VIÑETA 11) este está enfada(d)o, / este está triste (VIÑETA 12), / este está un poco desorienta(d)o (VIÑETA 13), / este está feliz porque está escuchando música (VIÑETA 14) y este también (VIÑETA 15) §*
AGR: so that (VIGNETTE 10) iis- is hot, **<u>isn't that so?</u>** ((and)) here (VIGNETTE 11) this is angry, / this is sad (vignette 12), / this is a bit disoriented (vignette 13), / this is happy because she is listening to music (VIGNETTE 14) and this one too (VIGNETTE 15) §

[15] **PBH:** *pues un niño que va a una juguetería,* ***<u>¿no?</u>****, a un puesto de juguetes, / y no tiene dinero, / entonces va corriendo y le pide dinero a su abuela, / y se compra un coche §*
PBH: so a boy that's going to a toy shop, **<u>isn't that so?</u>**, to a place of toys, / and he has no money, / thus he goes running and asks for some money from his grandma, / and he buys a car §

However, the confirmatory value of *¿no?* is the most prevalent one in the conversations with TD speakers. In such cases, the marker *¿no?* usually has a communicative function of factual verification. That is, the speakers attempt to verify the validity of the propositional content expressed in their utterances, and it is possible to substitute *¿no?* with other Spanish expressions like *¿no es cierto?* or *¿no es verdad?* ('is it true?'), as in [16] and [17]:

[16] **JJCC:** *pos que el niño-→, que le está- está echando- esto es sal,* ***<u>¿no?</u>****, que le [está echando sal-=]*
JJCC: well that the boy-→, that he's- he's throwing- that's salt, **<u>isn't it?</u>**, that he [is throwing salt-=]

[17] **NFC:** *pues que está viendo la televisión,* ***<u>¿no?</u>*** *§*
NFC: well that he's watching television, **<u>isn't he?</u>** §

The enunciative markers that TD speakers handle regarding the reformulation of their responses' information are *eh* ('uh') (11), with neutral or declarative intonation, and *mm* (60), with its pronunciation variants *mmm* (6) and *umm* (1). In both cases, speakers use these particles in order to fill or occupy the silence along their oral intervention. At the same time, its use produces a delay in the emission while the speaker is organizing their mental information. This fact explains the variability of position in utterances, as in [18] and [19]:

[18] **CBC:** *queee- ¿qué es esto, gas?, ¡ah, sal!↑ (INTENTA LEER LAS LETRAS DEL DIBUJO EN LA VIÑETA 22; CBC Y E SE RÍEN),* ***eh*** *que* ***mm*** *un gamberro (SE RÍE) está echando sal en el azúcar §*
CBC: thaaat- what's that, gas?, ah, salt!↑ (HE TRIES TO READ THE DRAWING'S LETTERS IN VIGNETTE 22; CBC AND E LAUGH), **uh** that **mm** a hooligan (HE LAUGHS) is throwing salt into the sugar §

[19] **SFA:** ***mmm*** */ no lo- / puede §*
SFA: **mmm** / I don't- / maybe §

Of the eight records that we obtain in our conversations, except for two occasions when *bueno* ('well') is used to express a clear agreement by the participants, it is always used as a metadiscursive marker. In such situations, we identify the value of this marker with self-repair and self-correction in discourse through which the speaker adds a clarification concerning a former member of the utterance. In [20] DDG self-corrects when he realizes that he is explaining the vignette number five instead of the first one:

[20] **DDG:** ***eeh*** *en la uno→ que-→,* ***bueno****, en la cinco, quee el niño quiere comprar un juguete, / en la seis, que no tiene dinero, / en la siete, que va corriendo a su casa, / en la ocho que le pide- le pide dinero a su abuela, / y en la nueve se va a comprar un juguete §*
DDG: **uuh** in number one→ that-→, **well**, in five, that the boy wants to buy a toy, / in six, that he has no money, / in seven, that he goes running to his house, / in eight that he asks- he asks for some money from his grandmother, / and in nine he goes to buy a toy §

3.2.2 SA speakers

Among the interactive markers, those that are listener-oriented, the most prevalent in our AS sample is *¿no?* ('isn't that so?') (14) and, with a similar pragmatic functionality, we find *¿eh?* ('eh?') (1). *Oye* ('hear') represents a DM which comes from a verb of perception grammaticalized in the second person singular. Thus, it is used by the speaker to draw the addressee's attention and it has been called *peripheral connector* (Pons 1998). For Fuentes (2009: 244), this particle behaves like a DM with an interactive contact value because it points directly at the interlocutor. As we see in [21], it is frequent that the speaker uses it in order to introduce a new topic in conversation:

[21] **E:** *=Álvaro, uy, ya hemos acabado, ¿eh?, muchas gracias §*
E: =Álvaro, uy, we've already finished, eh?, thank you very much §
APC: ***oye****, ¿po- puedo hacer unas cosas? (QUIERE HACERLE GESTOS A LA CÁMARA) §*
APC: **hear**, ¿ca- can I do any things? (HE WANTS TO DO GESTURES TO THE CAMERA) §

Despite its multipurpose nature, we believe that *hombre* ('man') (8) [22] has a core value of appeal (as vocative) and, in this sense, it is a highly interactive marker (Gaviño 2011):

[22] **E:** *vale, ¿y tú te sentirías de la misma forma si te gastaran una broma así? §*
E: ok, and would you feel in the same way if they played a joke like that on you? §
DMF: *bue-, **hombre**, yo me fijaría por el color del agua, yo me fijaría §*
DMF: we-, **man**, I'd notice the colour of the water, I'd notice §

The most numerous examples of enunciative markers correspond to *bueno* (81), *mm* (54) and *eh* ('uh') (50), the same particles that TD speakers express in their communicative oral exchanges. As shown in Figure 2, both groups of speakers produced a higher quantity of enunciative markers in comparison with interactive ones.

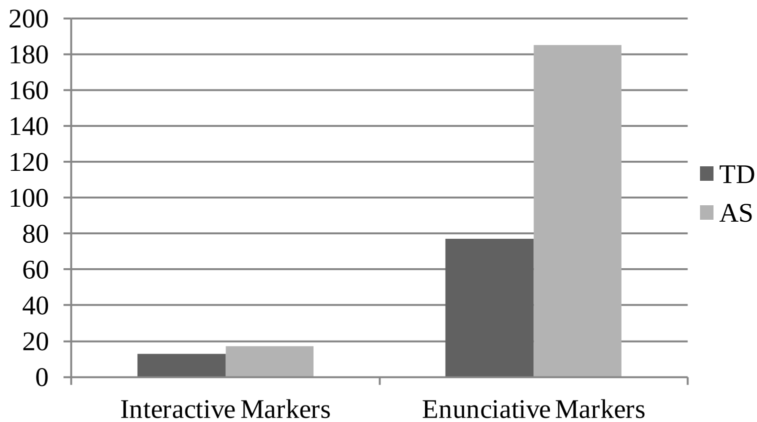

Figure 2: Predominance of enunciative markers in the oral speech of subjects with TD and AS

3.3 Modal expressions: attenuators and intensifiers

In the analysis of ME, restricted to attenuation and intensification mechanisms, we realize that attenuators are used more often by both groups of speakers. Nevertheless, as Table 4 reflects, there is a non-representative increase of intensification's elements in the oral speech of AS speakers if we compare these results with those of the TD group.

DT	**Attenuators** (208)	*o algo* (33) [‘or something’] *o lo que sea* (6) [‘or whatever’] *y eso* (3) [‘and so on’] *algo* (25) / *algún* (7) / *alguna* (9) [‘something’, ‘some’] *un poco* (4) [‘a bit’] *no sé* (48) / *yo qué sé* (6) [‘I don’t know’] *a lo mejor* (8) [‘maybe’] *parece que* (6) [‘it seems that’] *puede* + infinitivo (6) / *podría* + infinitivo (10) / *puede ser* (7) / *podría ser* (5) [‘can + infinitive’ / ‘could + infinitive’ / ‘maybe’ / ‘might be’] *es posible* (1) / *sería posible* (1) [‘it is possible’ / ‘it would be possible’] *posiblemente* (1) [‘possibly’] *creo* (10) [‘I believe’] *pienso* (11) [‘I think’] -*ito* (1) [‘a little’]
	Intensifiers (47)	*claro* (13) [‘sure’] *seguramente* (2) [‘surely’] *¿has visto?* (1) / *ya ves* (1) [‘see, I told you so’] *deber* + infinitivo (2) [‘must + infinitive’] *tener que* + infinitivo (1) [‘to have to + infinitive’] *solo* (1) [‘just’] *solamente* (1) [‘only’] *muy* (10) / *mucho* (10) / *mucha* (1) [‘very’, ‘a lot of’] *más* (4) [‘more’]
SA	**Attenuators** (176)	*o algo* (13) [‘or something’] *o lo que sea* (1) [‘or whatever’] *algo* (21) / *algún* (2) / *alguna* (1) [‘something’, ‘some’] *un poco* (10) [‘a bit’] *no sé* (19) / *yo qué sé* (1) [‘I don’t know’] *a lo mejor* (6) [‘maybe’] *quizás* (4) [‘perhaps’] *tal vez* (2) [‘maybe’] *aparentemente* (3) [‘apparently’] *parece que* (7) [‘it seems that’] *puede* + infinitivo (6) / *podría* + infinitivo (5) / *puede ser* (19) / *podría ser* (7) / *deber (de)* + infinitivo (6) [‘can + infinitive’ / ‘could + infinitive’ / ‘maybe’ / ‘might be’] *más o menos* (1) [‘more or less’] *es posible* (1) [‘it is possible’] *posiblemente* (1) [‘possibly’] *creo* (28) [‘I believe’] *pienso* (3) [‘I think’] -*ito* (7) [‘a little’] -*illo* (2) [‘a little’]
	Intensifiers (86)	*claro* (15) [‘sure’] *seguramente* (2) [‘surely’] *ves* (1) [‘see, I told you so’] *tener que* + infinitivo (1) [‘to have to + infinitive’] *solo* (6) [‘just’] *solamente* (1) [‘only’] *muy* (40) / *mucho* (11) [‘very’, ‘a lot of’] *más* (7) [‘more’] *completamente* (1) [‘completely’] *prácticamente* (1) [‘practically’]

Table 4: ME in the oral speech of subjects with TD and AS ordered by absolute frequency

3.3.1 TD speakers

Following Porroche (2009: 223), the ME's domain constitutes a complex process which decisively involves the speaker's expressiveness. This takes into account several linguistic resources associated with phonic, syntactic, lexical and/or semantic levels. Thus, all these procedures affect different grammatical categories (substantives, verbs, adverbs, interjections, etc.).

Among discursive attenuators, the most frequent ones are those that express indetermination or doubt. The most repeated form that TD participants use for indetermination is *o algo* ['or something'] (33), equivalent to *o lo que sea* ['or whatever'] (6). Both modal Spanish locutions permit certain mobility inside the utterances, although they usually appear in terminal positions. Their functions are similar to suspension points in written modality and, from this point of view, they substitute a part of the utterance which is intentionally or unintentionally omitted. A third locution that behaves in this way is *y eso* ['and so on'] (3), another type of discursive closure organizer (Fuentes 2009: 358).

Without being preceded by *o* conjunction, the indefinite pronoun *algo* ['something'] (25) is also frequently seen with a clear attenuation function in examples [23], [24] and [25], as well as the modifiers *algún* (7) and *alguna* (9) ['some'] or the expression *un poco* ['a bit'] (4).

[23] **PBH:** *tch pues aquí (VIÑETA 1), pues mm un programa de lucha libre* ***o algo*** *§*
PBH: tch well here (VIGNETTE 1), well mm a wrestling programme **or something** §

[24] **AHM:** *pues // debería decirl- decirle* ***o algo*** *que se tranquilice,* ***yo qué sé*** *§*
AHM: well // he should te- tell him **or something** so he calms down, **I don't know** §

[25] **EGH:** *een la primera, que está viendo* ***algo*** *y se ha enfada(d)o §*
EGH: iin the first, he's watching **something** and he's angry §
E: *uhum §*
E: uhum §
EGH: *en la segunda, que está intriga(d)o viendo* ***algo****, / y en la terc- en la tercera, que está viendo una novela* ***o algo*** *y está llorando (SE RÍE) §*
EGH: in the second, he's intrigued watching **something**, / and in the th- in the third, he's watching a soap opera **or something** and he's crying (HE LAUGHS) §

No sé (48) and *yo qué sé* (6) ['I don't know'] indicate uncertainty or doubt in assertions. Despite finding cases in Spanish where *no sé* constitutes a whole utterance, the tendency exhibited in our conversations is completely the opposite, that is, it usually relates to a former segment inside the utterance that this locution closes. Its semantic value is near to other DM such as *tal vez* or *quizás* ['perhaps'], but we do not find any example of them in our conversations.

The closure formulations *o algo* ['or something'] and *yo qué sé* ['I don't know'] serve to complete the utterances in an imprecise way. For Vigara (1980: 78), these forms are used like conceptual fillers that avoid specifying the utterances' sense and they just insinuate it from previous content. In [26] we realize how MMM expresses doubt and indetermination simultaneously in her response.

[26] **MMM:** *pos / en la diez→,* ***no sé****, esfuerzo* ***o algo de eso*** *§*
MMM: well / in ten→, **I don't know**, effort **or something like that** §

The adverbial locution *a lo mejor* ['maybe'] (8) is also used to indicate uncertainty and doubt in utterances (see Bañón 1999 for details). The same function corresponds to the verbal construction *parece que* ['it seems that'] (6). Moreover, the participants tend to use different forms of *poder* ('to can') and its Spanish periphrastic derivatives for the expression of possibility or conjecture according to its modal values, that is, *puede* + infinitive ['can + infinitive'] (6), *podría* + infinitive ['could + infinitive'] (10), *puede ser* ['maybe'] (7), *podría ser* ['might be'] (5) and equivalent locutions such as *es posible* ['it is possible'] (1) and *sería posible* ['it would be possible'] (1), or even the adverb *posiblemente* ['possibly'] (1).

On the contrary, the use of mentalist verbs for expressing relativity about the content that utterances present is not so frequent: *creo* ['I believe'] (10) and *pienso* ['I think'] (11). On another note, we just find one example of attenuation through appreciative suffixation, *cochecito* ['little car'] (1).

With an intensification value, *claro* ['sure'] (13) is the predominant particle as a certainty and conviction mark in our TD sample. This epistemic modal expression is always linked to a former utterance and it shows agreement in relation to that content [27]. Furthermore, it permits mobility inside the utterances, but it usually appears in initial or terminal positions. This particle's sense is comparable to other adverbs' meaning, for instance, *exactamente* ['exactly'], *ciertamente* ['certainly'] or *obviamente* ['obviously'], and some verbal locutions such as *por supuesto* ['of course'], examples that are absent in our corpus.

[27] **E:** *¿tú habrías reaccionado igual? §*
E: would you have had the same reaction? §
AGR: ***claro****, ¡vaya susto! §*
AGR: **sure**, what a fright! §

Seguramente ['surely'] (2) is another modal operator that speakers may use like a reinforcement of the assertions' propositional content. Nonetheless, it could also express the opposite value, that is, uncertainty, but we only register those examples whose meaning is near to *sin duda* ['no doubt'] or *indudablemente* ['undoubtedly'] where it behaves like an epistemic intensifier. We find two evidence marks, *¿has visto?* (1) and *ya ves* (1) ['see, I told you so'], that share a similar purpose [28]:

[28] **NFC:** ***¿has vist(o)?****, yy- y al final, que se come la sal en vez del azúcar, y la niña se parte de [risa]*
NFC: **see, I told you so!**, aand- and at least, he eats salt instead of sugar, and the girl cracks [up]

The periphrastic forms associated with obligatory modality are practically inexistent in the oral speech of TD subjects: *deber* + infinitive ['must + infinitive'] (2) and *tener que* + infinitive ['to have to + infinitive'] (1). Similarly, we just find two adverbs which indicate exclusion: *solo* ['just'] (1) y *solamente* ['only']. It is not the case of some quantifiers that are used to upgrade the content of the assertions: *muy* ['very'] (10), *mucho* (10), *mucha* (1) ['a lot of'] and *más* ['more'] (4).

3.3.2 AS speakers

The tendency that AS speakers manifest is, in general, the same as the TD group's, that is, the number of ME that are used like attenuation strategies double those which are used to intensify the utterances' propositional content.

Among the attenuation units, *y eso* ['and so on'] disappears and three new elements are included in the oral speech of AS speakers: *quizás* ['perhaps'] (4), *aparentemente* ['apparently'] (3) and *tal vez* ['perhaps'] (2). All of them serve to express uncertainty and doubt by relativizing the conviction about the explicit information as shown in [29], [30] and [31]:

[29] **VGC:** *eem está asustado↓, // porque* ***quizás*** *((uno)) está a punto de marcar gol §*
VGC: eem he's scared↓, // because **perhaps** ((one)) is about to score a goal §
E: *vale, ¿el tercero? /*
E: ok, and the third one?
VGC: *está llorando, / porque* ***quizás*** */ su equipo favorito / ha perdido el par- ha perdido el partido §*
VGC: he's crying, / because **perhaps** / his favourite team / has lost the gam- has lost the game §

[30] **ACR:** *ha hecho una tarta↑, yy / y parece quee* ***aparente- aparentemente*** *su hijo↑ / huele la t- el olor de la tarta //*
ACR: she has baked a cake↑, aand / and it seems thaat **apparent- apparently** her son↑ / is smelling the c- the cake's smell //

[31] **ACR:** *en la once* ***tal vez*** *dicee- /* ***tal vez*** *el señor fuera empresario yy y su- y su empresa puede estar cayendo muy bajo §*
ACR: in the eleven **perhaps** it saays- / **perhaps** the gentleman was a businessman aand and his company was getting worse and worse §

As an attenuation mechanism, we find nine appreciative suffixation examples in our AS sample. The words ended by *-ito* are: *perrito* ['little dog'] (2), *camioncito* ['little track'] (1), *cochecito* ['little car'] (1), *dinerito* ['little money'] (1), *eurito* ['little euro'] (1) and *poquito* ['little bit'] (1). The suffix *-illo* is less productive and it is just represented by the word *graciosillo* ['little joker'] (2).

Secondly, and in comparison with the results that we commented on for the control group, we appreciate a slight predominance of linguistic units that reinforce or intensify the propositional content of the utterances in our AS sample. However, the repertoire of words is similar in both cases. We must indicate the inclusion of the *upgraders* in the sample of speech coming from the group of speakers with pathology: *completamente* ['completely'] (1) and *prácticamente* ['practically'] (1).

4. Discussion

First of all, we cannot maintain that there are statistically significant differences in relation to the textual markers used by TD and AS speakers in conversation. Although the results of absolute frequency indicate a slight predominance in the use of these particles in favour of the pathological population, if we consider the data of relative frequency in both groups, the quotients are placed very close. In terms of relative frequency, our calculations suggest that the recurrence of this type of units is superior in the oral speech of the group without pathology (n_i = 0.1089 against n_i = 0.0975, in SA). In addition, data of absolute frequency reveal that TD subjects surpass slightly the other group's results in the production of textual markers that express additive and optative relationships and, more markedly, the consecutive ones. On the contrary, textual connectors are more numerous in the oral speech of AS subjects when they express semantic relations of contrast, cause, explanation and, not so markedly, temporal, final and conditional textual relationships.

Nevertheless, we appreciate that this set of textual markers is broader and more varied in the conversations of patients diagnosed with AS. More precisely, we find new particles to express textual relations: addition – *además* ['in addition'], *hasta* e *incluso* ['even'] –, contrast – *sin embargo* ['however'] – and cause – *ya que* ['since'] –. The explanatory relations are absent in the sample of TD speakers, but AS subjects express them through the locutions *o sea* and *es decir* ['that is'] and through the reformulation marker *vamos* ['well'].

As for the preference of certain semantic relations on others, we verify that the additive relationship is the most frequent in both groups, followed by the consecutive one. Nonetheless, the number of particles that TD speakers use at the time of expressing these textual relations is higher in their oral speech. That is what also occurs with the disjunctive conjunction *o* ['or']. However, the causative, contrastive, temporal, final, conditional and explanatory relations are more productive, in terms of absolute frequency, in the conversations of AS speakers.

We cannot either maintain that there are exponential statistical differences with respect to the use of interactive markers (n_i = 0.0015 in the TD group and n_i = 0.0024 in the AS group), although the repertoire is also more varied in the case of individuals diagnosed with AS where we find two units with conative function (focusers of otherness) as they are *hombre* ['man'] and *oye* ['hear']. This type of DM is the one that has minor relevance and representativeness in our conversational corpus.

The differences are much clearer in the use of enunciative markers between TD and AS speakers. Even though being similar to the particles' repertoire in both groups, the quotient of relative frequency is superior in AS speech (n_i = 0.0178), compared with the results of the control group (n_i = 0.0087).

TD speakers display slightly more attenuated speech than AS individuals. In particular, n_i = 0.0234 in the control group, whereas n_i = 0.0169 in the group of AS subjects. In contrast, the participants diagnosed with AS are those that produce a greater number of intensifiers during communicative exchange, because n_i = 0.0083 in the case of these last ones, against the value n_i = 0.0053 in speakers without developmental problems. Although these quantitative differences are not sufficiently relevant, it is precise to insist that the number of mechanisms of attenuation is significantly superior to the one of the intensifiers in the oral speech of both groups.

Really, we must confirm our initial hypothesis about the small differences that we anticipated finding in the use of DM and ME between TD and AS speakers. From a qualitative view point, AS subjects use a more varied group of DM, and, from a quantitative one, enunciative markers predominate in the oral speech of such speakers.

5. Conclusions

In this research we have contributed to a new approach to the study of MD and ME. Mainly, we have proposed a pragmatic-perceptive model for its analysis. Consequently, we conceived three groups of markers according to the perceptive enhancement that they carry out: enunciative, textual and interactive markers are respectively focused on the addresser, on the message and on the addressee. In particular, we have compared the use and functionality of these three types of markers in a sample of 20 TD and 20 SA speakers.

Our findings are symptomatic of: (a) a high expertise in the use of cohesive mechanisms in the oral speech of subjects with AS, as it testifies to the accomplishment of a more varied repertoire of units of that type; and (b) a greater necessity to use enunciative markers that allow one to reconstruct the information that speakers try to transmit to their addressees. Further research could demonstrate the appropriate command that AS individuals exhibit at the time of using textual markers, oriented to the discursive cohesion property, and the abuse of enunciative markers in conversation that represents the efforts that AS speakers make when they construct their utterances.

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Appendix

Transcription conventions

INT:	This turn belongs to 'INT'. ('INT' always refers to the interviewer).
/	Single pause.
//	Double pause.
///(4'')	Triple pause.
↑	Ascending tone.
↓	Descending tone.
-	A hyphen indicates an abrupt cut-off or self-interruption of the sound in progress.
:	Colons indicate a lengthening of the sound just preceding them.
((xx xx))	Unintelligible fragment, apparently of two words.
((double brackets))	Uncertain hearing.
CAPITAL LETTER	Words in capitals mark a section of speech delivered more loudly than surrounding talk.
º( )º	Degree signs mark a section of speech produced softly or at a lower volume.
sy lla ble	Pronunciation syllable by syllable.
[ ]	[Left-side brackets indicate where overlapping talk begins.] Right-side brackets indicate where overlapping talk ends.
§	Immediate succession between two turns by different speakers.
=	'Equals' sign indicates the end and beginning of two sequential 'latched' utterances that continue without an intervening gap.
(SMALL CAPITAL)	Small capitals indicate transcriber's comments, not transcriptions.
Italics	Italicized text represents direct speech.

THE LISBON TREATY AND THE BRITISH PRESS A CORPUS-BASED CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF EVALUATION RESOURCES

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Abstract
The paper explores the role of metaphor as a tool in construal of political events and in inviting or depicting people's attitudes towards such events, as well as towards political figures. The present focus is on the imagery exploited by the British press and on its role in construing expected evaluations and attitudes towards the event of ratification of the Lisbon Treaty and towards European leaders. The analysis involves corpus linguistics methodology.

Keywords: metaphor, cognitive linguistics, political discourse

1. Introduction

This paper is based on the results of an earlier research which has proved that metaphors can be employed by the British press to construe the event of the Lisbon treaty ratification and might be a useful linguistic tool to explore different attitudes towards that event (Nasti 2012). On the premises that metaphors are connected to evaluation as they are manifestations of the writer's or speaker's intentions, the present paper will investigate those evaluative resources that have been found to co-occur with the metaphors previously analyzed in order to explore how the British press uses these resources to construe the event of ratification and to what extent it presents a similar description or attributes similar roles to the European leaders.

This paper is divided into six sections. The first section provides a general overview of the main stages towards the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. The second, after giving a definition of evaluation, briefly describes the results of the previous research. The third part provides information on data collection and the theoretical background. The fourth and the fifth sections deal with the analysis of the evaluative lexis. The conclusions indicate that metaphors and evaluation are both used to create a coherent text and image of the ratification issue.

2. Political Background

2.1 Towards the drafting stage of the Lisbon Treaty

In recent years EU member states have been deeply debating how to implement and reform EU institutions. After the rejection of the European Constitution by France and The Netherlands in 2005, the European Commission declared a “period of reflection”. At the end of these years, the European Council of 21 and 22 June 2007 decided to convene an Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) to finalize and adopt a new European Treaty. The IGC officially began its work on 23 July 2007 and concluded on 18 October of the same year with the draft of a Reform Treaty. This Treaty, later named Lisbon Treaty, was signed by all the Heads of State and Government of the 27 Member States of the European Union on 13 December 2007 in Lisbon. All the European Countries were expected to ratify the Treaty by the end of the year 2008 so that the Treaty would enter into force on 1 January 2009.

2.2 The ratification of Lisbon and the Irish referendum

A few days after the Treaty signing ceremony, Hungary was the first member state to approve the treaty via parliament. This approval was followed by other positive outcomes and by the end of June 2008 eighteen member states had approved the Treaty and eight of them had also deposited the instruments of ratification in Rome.[1] However, the ratification of the Treaty was not welcomed by all the member states and their citizens. In Britain the Tories advocated for a referendum and strongly opposed the ratification procedure. While Ireland, which was obliged by its Constitution to hold a referendum, saw opponents and supporters of the Lisbon Treaty challenging the vote and pleading for their own cause. The Irish Prime Minister, Brian Cowen, and the political parties (Fine Gael, Fianna Fail, Labour and Progressive Democrats) supporting the yes vote, put emphasis on the importance for Ireland and the Irish People to vote in favour of the Treaty in order to stay at the centre of Europe and have a leading role in the decision making process. On the other hand, the anti-Lisbon think thank Libertas Group and the other political parties (Sinn Féin, Socialist Party) supporting the no vote, emphasized the necessity of defending important social issues such as the tax policy, abortion and neutrality which would be lost by approving the Treaty. The referendum was held on June 12, 2008 and as it was expected, the turnout was negative with 53.4 % ‘no’ and 46.6 % ‘yes’ votes. After the referendum, a flash Eurobarometer survey was conducted from 13 to 15 June as requested by the European Commission Representation in Ireland.

[1] The Member States that had approved the Treaty before 12 June 2008 were Poland, Slovakia, Portugal, Latvia, Lithuania, Germany, Luxemburg, Finland, Greece, and Estonia. Malta, Hungary, France, Romania, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Austria, and Denmark had also completed the ratification. Further references at http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/news/index_en.htm and http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/countries/index_en.htm.

It emerged that many Irish citizens had no clear idea of the Treaty's content and the referendum's issues, and 68% of the voters said that the 'no' campaign was the more convincing. Nevertheless, something had gone wrong and EU leaders had to face the consequences of the Irish rebuff.

2.3 The ratification of Lisbon in Britain

The disapproval of the Lisbon Treaty by the Conservatives and British citizens had been visible since the negotiation period. Both the Tories and British people expected a referendum on the issue as it had been promised by the Labour Party in its electoral campaign in 2005. The idea of the Lisbon Treaty as a 'revised' or 'repackaged' constitution, was commonly agreed among the Conservatives and British citizens. As a consequence, in the long process of ratification, the Tories tried to oppose the parliamentary procedure and on 5 March they proposed an amendment calling for a referendum which was defeated by 311 votes to 248. On the third reading, 11 March 2008, the House of Commons approved the treaty which passed to the Lords. The Tories began to see the Lords as the only possibility to put an end to the ratification process and definitely abandon the Treaty.

The dispute on the legality of adopting the treaty without a referendum had already been brought to the fore by the British multi-millionaire Stuart Wheeler soon after the signing ceremony in Lisbon. He brought that case before the High Court, questioning whether a political party's election manifesto was legally enforceable. Despite Tories' pleas for suspending ratification, the British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, slowly continued with the ratification procedure. Wheeler's hearing was held on June 9 and 10 a few days before the Irish referendum. The High Court refused Wheeler's petition and the House of Lords passed the bill ratifying the Treaty on 18 June 2008, marking a remarkable moment for the British citizens who saw their rights of voting denied. The Treaty received Royal Assent the following day and the instruments of ratification were deposited on 16 July 2008. The ratification of Lisbon in Britain was then completed.

2.4 From the first referendum towards a solution

Ireland's referendum rebuff put the European Union in a kind of 'institutional crisis' and all the EU leaders questioned whether it was still possible to have a reformed Europe. Soon after the referendum in fact, EU leaders gather together at the European Council Summit of June 18-19 where it was agreed that Ireland would find a solution at a national level and would cooperate with the other European member states in order to achieve the intended goals. On July 1 Nicholas Sarkozy, the French Prime Minister, took the rotating EU presidency and declared that his primary aim was to continue with ratification. On July 21 he visited Ireland and met the Irish Prime Minister, Brian Cowen, in order to discuss Irish proposals for the October Summit. However, at the October Summit the Lisbon issue was postponed to the next Summit because the core of the meeting was the increasing financial crisis in Europe. At the Brussels Summit of 11 and 12 December 2008, EU leaders discussed the new roadmap for the Treaty of Lisbon.

It was agreed that, once the Treaty entered into force, a decision would be taken to allow each EU country to nominate a member of the European Commission. Furthermore, the Irish government committed itself to organizing a new referendum before November 2009 in exchange for guarantees from its EU partners.

After a period of political turmoil, which saw many European member states such as Poland, and in particular its President Lech Kaczynski, the Czech Republic, supporting the Irish NO, and the British Conservatives, opposing the ratification in Britain, the Lisbon Treaty was passed in the referendum held on 2 October 2009 in Ireland. This event marked a new progress towards the ratification and after all the member states deposited the instruments of ratification in Rome, the Treaty entered into force on 1 December 2009.

Even though the Lisbon issue has been on the European political agenda for more than two years, the present paper only investigates the first referendum period.

3. Evaluation

Evaluation plays an important role in understanding speakers or writers' attitude towards an event or their feelings about entities and propositions (Hunston & Thompson 2000). Bednarek (2006) argues that evaluation permeates human behaviour and is linked to our beliefs. She also points out the importance of evaluation in actual discourse as it is impossible for any human being not to judge or to be completely objective on a particular event:

> evaluation itself is a significant element of our lives: as a device for interpreting the world and offer this evaluation to others. It pervades human behaviour […] evaluation is extremely important in actual discourse, in that it is difficult if not impossible for human beings […] to speak with a completely objective voice. (Bednarek 2006: 5)

Due to the relationship between evaluation and our beliefs, it can be argued that there is a close link between evaluation and metaphor, as metaphor analysis

> is often, then, an exploration of the inner subjectivity of speakers – what it is that is unique to their perception of the world – and forms the basis for their response to particular situations and particular ideas'' (Charteris-Black 2004: 11).

Against this framework, this paper starts from the findings of a research project on conceptual metaphor analysis in the British press related to the Lisbon Treaty debate (Nasti 2012) and focuses on the evaluative lexis that has often been found to collocate or co-occur with the linguistic expressions of the conceptual conflict metaphor ARGUING ABOUT THE RATIFICATION OF LISBON IS CONFLICT. It has been decided to analyze those lexemes that more than others tend to express the conflicting attitude of the speaker. As a consequence, we have focused on evaluative verbs such as 'to bully' and 'to blast' in all their forms and on evaluative adjectives such as 'arrogant' and 'reluctant'. It has also been decided to analyse another evaluative verb that has a positive connotation in itself 'to praise' which has been found to collocate with the other conceptual metaphor analysed in the previous work: LISBON RATIFICATION PROCESS IS MOVEMENT

FORWARD/DIRECTION. The results emerged from the analysis of the two metaphors have shown that EU leaders are attributed the stereotyped roles of aggressors using bullying tactics on their victim, Ireland, and of fast movers forcing the path towards Lisbon ratification leaving Ireland behind or in the slow lane passively accepting the action of the EU enforcers. What emerges is a general negative connotation and evaluation of EU leaders and in some newspapers such as *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail* a strong disapproval of both EU leaders and the British Prime Minister who is also stereotyped as an enforcer.

In this framework, the aim of the present paper is to show how a corpus-based analysis of evaluative lexis can be a means to bridging the gap between a context-based interpretation of meaning and the broader conceptual framework of the Lisbon Treaty ratification process. This paper will also try to explore to what extent the event construal of ratification through evaluative resources presents similar scenarios and stereotyped roles of the EU reform process and Leaders.

4. Data and methodology

Previous studies (Anderson and Weymouth 1999) have focused on the relationship between the British press and Europe highlighting how a widespread euroscepticism pervades most of the coverage of European issues. Other studies (Musolff 2000, 2001; Musolff, Schäffner, Townson eds. 1996) have more specifically analyzed how specific topics concerning the evolution of European institutions have been dealt with in both the British and the German Press, showing how different conceptual frameworks emerge.

Before presenting our analysis, which falls in line with these outlined trends, we will provide an overview of our corpus, of the methodologies combining Corpus Linguistics and Discourse Analysis approaches, and the specific methodology we followed.

4.1 The corpus

The corpus used for the present analysis is the same used for the previous research (Nasti 2010). It consists of 1263 articles taken from fourteen newspapers (three tabloids, i.e. the *Daily Mail*, *The Mirror*, *The Sun* and their Sunday editions, and four broadsheets, i.e. the *Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* and their Sunday editions). The articles were downloaded from the Lexis Nexis database. The collection of data started on 1 June 2007 because in that month EU leaders gathered together and set the basis for the drafting of the new Treaty and ended on 31 March 2009, that is a month after the first step of ratification in the Czech Republic which was in charge of the EU presidency at that time. Once collected the articles were saved in .txt format in order to be processed by *WordSmith Tools* (Scott 2008). The articles were then chronologically ordered and divided into sub-corpora, each newspaper was considered to be a sub-corpus. Moreover, XML mark-up was included in order to add metadata about the articles (date of publication and by line, when available) and their structure (headline, paragraph and section). This information will be used in the analysis in the following paragraphs. For the purpose of this paper each newspaper and its Sunday edition were considered to be a single sub-corpus with a different size as shown in Table 1.

Sub-corpus	No. of Tokens
Guardian	65,900
Mail	179,992
Sun	52,110
Times	150,774
Independent	54,700
Mirror	34,233
Telegraph	69,581
Total	607,290

Table 1: Number of tokens in each sub-corpus

4.2 Corpus Linguistics and Discourse Analysis

For the purpose of our analysis, and more specifically for the interpretation of our data, it is of utmost importance to be able to combine a more quantitative approach, deriving from Corpus Linguistics, with a more qualitative understanding. We therefore aim at

> using corpora […] and corpus processes […] in order to uncover linguistic patterns which can enable us to make sense of the ways that language is used in the construction of discourses (or ways of construing reality). (Baker 2006: 1)

Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies, CADS, (Partington 2004; 2006; 2008) is a combination of quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques in the investigation of *ad hoc* specialized corpora. CADS analysts thus explore discourse features of a specific discourse type after becoming familiar with by way of concordancing data, reading single texts or excerpts, but also by resorting to external data, information regarding the wider context of text production and reception, and, of course, by relying on the researcher's own intuition.

Bayley (2008) proposes a theoretical framework that shares most of the assumptions of the CADS approach, which he names "corpus-assisted discourse analysis". Key meanings are identified by examining a corpus as a whole and they are subsequently explored by moving back and forth from text to corpus and vice versa (2008: 38). He points out that this kind of analysis is time-consuming, due to the complexity of the procedures and to the extensive knowledge of the corpus as a whole needed by the analysts following this approach (Bayley 2008: 39).

4.3 Data analysis

In order to proceed with the analysis, it has been decided to create a concordance for each lexeme, expand the concordances and analyze its co-text. The first step taken has been to look at collocates in order to see the relationship between the node word and the other lexical items in the corpus and try to understand how the co-text determines the use of the lexemes under investigation.

We decided to calculate collocates using the Log-likelihood procedure looking for a 5-word window to the left and right of the search term taking into consideration collocates having a minimum frequency that varies from 5 to 2, depending on the frequency of the search term. This procedure looks quite similar to using rank by frequency, but the significance of the Log-likelihood scores makes it a more reliable procedure that takes into account the relationship between the search term and its collocates.

5. Analysis of evaluative lexis

5.1 To bully

The verb ‘to bully’ is the most frequent of the evaluative terms under investigation. In its inflected forms it occurs 144 times in the whole corpus, 136 referring to the Lisbon Treaty issue. The list of collocates contained in Table 2 clearly shows how the verb ‘to bully’ tends to be used with references to the *Irish*, *people* and *voters*, and to *politicians* and *Governments*. A closer reading of concordances is necessary to provide a better frame for interpretation.

Word	Relation	Word	Relation
Irish +	123.32	Voting °	22.14
Irish °	103.60	They +	21.41
Ireland ^	61.39	Voting +	20.87
Voters °	49.17	Government °	20.18
Voters +	46.11	People °	19.59
Politicians °	43.69	Ireland °	19.51
He °	43.10	EU °	18.83
We ^	39.40	They ^	17.87
Us °	33.92	Government ^	14.06
Voters ^	32.71	He ^	13.44
He +	26.88	Government +	12.19
Ireland +	24.56	People +	11.75
Irish ^	23.72		

Table 2: ‘To bully’ collocates ordered by relation (° bully, + bullying, ^ bullied)

Due to the relatively high number of occurrences and to the different syntactical patterns created by the inflected forms of the verb, these were examined separately in terms of who is the actor of the bullying and who is the victim, the goal of the process. We started by looking at the 57 concordances of *bullying*. As shown in Table 3[2], the actors of the aggression seem to be explicitly identified as European institutions, EU politicians, France or the French President Nicholas Sarkozy, EU Council President at the Time, 41 times out of the total. In 35 out of 37 clearly identifiable goals, the victims of the bullying action are either the *Irish* people or *voters*, also referred to as *we* and *us*, or their politicians.

ACTORS		GOALS	
EU/Europe/Europeans	18	the Irish	17
France/French	6	Voters	7
(Irish) Government	4	Ireland	4
Brussels	4	Us/we	4
treaty (ratification)	3	Irish Government	2
(Irish) politicians	3	Irish leader	1
Both sides of the campaign	2	Smaller nations	1
Peter Mandelson	1	Central Europeans	1
Total	41	Total	37

Table 3: BULLYING

Example (1) clearly outlines the pattern that we had earlier identified: the leaders of the European Union are presented as the enforcers of a risky ‘bullying’ action against the Irish. The aggression is criticized and problematised by framing the action within a big “challenge”. The rejection of the Treaty is presented as a fact, and the British Government, metonymically identified with “Downing Street” highlights that EU leaders are faced with the necessity of finding a way out. It is not clear though whether the negative evaluation of the response, “bullying the Irish”, is a remark by the British Government or, more likely, a comment by the author of the article who is the Chief Political Correspondent for the *Guardian*.

(1) Downing Street argues that Ireland's rejection of the treaty in a referendum presents the EU's 27 leaders with a challenge which will not be resolved by bullying the Irish into voting yes. (the *Guardian*, 19 June 2008)

Table 4 refers to the analysis of the concordances of *bullied*, which was found 44 times in relation to the ratification of the Treaty. As the inflected form often occurs in passive constructions in our corpus, it’s not always made explicit who the agent of the bullying process is. Nevertheless in 12 cases they are identified as *EU* leaders or politicians. Another interesting pattern that has emerged is the cluster *into supporting the treaty* immediately following the node word. It seems that, since the actor has not always been made explicit, its the aim of the action that has been to compensate for the possible ambiguity. If the actor is not always present, the goal of the action receives a prominent

[2] The terms listed in Tables 3, 4 and 5 represent a generalisation of the terms that were found to co-occur with each node word. For instance, occurrences such as *EU Council President*, *EU politicians*, *EU leaders* were added to the total of *EU*/*Europe*/*Europeans* in Table 3.

position as the explicit subject of the grammatical construction. It is significant that in this relevant position ninety per cent (39 occurrences) of the concordances show the *Irish* and *Ireland* as the goals of the action.

ACTORS		GOALS	
by EU LEADERS/politicians	12	Ireland (Country 1)	10
nobody (2) anybody	3	We (Irish)	8
		(The Irish) people	8
		(The Irish) voters	5
		(The Irish) Governement	3
		The Irish	2
		Residents [Dublin]	1
		Electorate	1
		Dublin	1
Total	15	Total	39

Table 4: BULLIED

The passive construction "we won't be bullied", in "Example (2), proves that even in those cases were the actor is not explicitly mentioned it is not difficult to infer who s/he is by the immediate co-text. "Irish voters", the targets of the 'bullying' action, are also the active participants of another action. Their vote has "sent a clear message" to European Institutions, "Brussels", that can therefore be inferred as the actors of the bullying action also by referring to the slogan of the EU, i.e. an "ever closer union". The force of their action arises also for the phrase 'to send a (clear) message' which has been analyzed as having the function of a threat (Riccio 2009)

(2) Irish voters sent a clear message to Brussels last week: we won't be bullied into "ever closer union". And if you had any doubts that voting against the Lisbon treaty was the right decision, then the reaction following Thursday's vote should have put those to rest. (*The Sunday Times*, 15 June 2008)

'Bully', either as an infinitive or modified by modal auxiliaries, occurs 35 times and always with reference to the Lisbon Treaty. As Table 5 makes clear, the Irish, identified as *voters, electorate, people, us, them, Ireland,* are always the explicit goal of the action. EU politicians, French ones in particular, British and Irish ones are those to blame in 32 out of 35 cases, i.e. the vast majority of the occurrences.

ACTORS		GOALS	
French	8	the Irish	12
EU politicians	5	Voters (Irish voters)	7
Prime Minister (Brown 2)	4	Us (the Irish)	5
EU leaders (elites 2)	4	Ireland	4
European politicians	3	them [The Irish]	3
Ratification	2	Irish	2
Government	2	People	1
Brussels	1	Electorate	1

ACTORS		GOALS	
European commission	1		
Cowen	1		
EU	1		
Total	32	Total	35

Table 5: BULLY

In example (3), taken from the *Daily Mail,* the French foreign minister, Bernar Kouchner, is depicted as the "latest" in a series of members of the "European political establishment" who has tried 'to bully' the Irish voters. As explained earlier in section 1, the French politicians have had a particularly active role in the aftermath of the referendum due to the French presidency of the European Council in the second semester of 2008.

(3) They [Irish citizens] know, too, that the eyes of the European political establishment are on them. Bernard Kouchner, the French foreign minister, is the latest outsider to attempt to bully the electorate. (*Daily Mail,* 13 June 2008)

The analysis has shown that the verb "to bully" is systematically used within the same conceptual frame, partially regardless of the different grammatical and syntactic features of the inflected forms. EU institutions and their leaders, with a particular emphasis on French politicians, are the 'bullies' who, regardless of the results of the referendum, are seeking ways of forcing the Irish into accepting the Lisbon Treaty. This negative connotation of the 'bullying' action is often reinforced by other elements, in the immediate co-text, that suggest a negative evaluation of the process, e.g. the phrase "sent a clear message" in example (2) or the term "outsider" to describe the French minister in example (3).

By looking at the temporal distribution of the occurrences of "to bully" we can say that they cluster around the time of the Irish referendum and immediately afterwards. There are 90 occurrences of "to bully" in July 2008 and 27 ones in the following month; together they account for more that 80% of the total 136 occurrences of the verb. These two months represent the period when the Irish received greater pressure from 'Europe' to accept the treaty first, and to find a solution to the 'no' vote afterwards. Another interesting observations stems from the distribution of the occurrences among the newspapers. More than 50% of the occurrences were found in the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* (45 and 25 occurrences respectively), two newspapers who have been proven to have a rather Eurosceptic attitude (Anderson & Weymouth 1999). It is worth remembering that *The Sun* in particular had campaigned in favour of a British referendum.

5.2 To blast

The verb 'to blast' in its metaphorical meaning of 'to explode in criticism' occurs 13 times in the whole corpus. As it is clear from its collocates, having at least three occurrences in the corpus, criticism arose between campaigners and political leaders, especially Cowen and Brown (see Table 6).

Word	Relation
FOR	38.081
NO	32.445
CLAIMING	28.791
CAMP	24.825
RECENT	24.495
ANTI	21.32
LISBON	21.21
TAOISEACH	20.049
COWEN	18.247
CAMPAIGN	17.768
OVER	17.163
BROWN	17.03
MR	14.071
WAS	11.976
TREATY	10.215

Table 6: ‘blast’ collocates ordered by relation

A closer reading of the concordances has revealed that the major cause of blast is the continuous support for the Treaty and its ratification despite the rejection of the Irish people. The goals of the criticism are mainly pro-EU politicians eight out of twelve goals are in fact supporters of the European project. On the other hand only four times the *NO camp* or *NO voters* appear to be the goals of the action, criticized for their claims against the approval of the Treaty.

(4) The No campaign blasted eurocrats in the run up to the referendum for trying to bully the Irish into voting Yes when most people did not understand what it would mean. (*The Sun*, 11 July 2008)

The example above clearly shows a strong disapproval of the European decision of continuing with the ratification and convincing the Irish people to vote in favour of the Treaty at the next ballot. The negative attitude towards the EU’s action is not only expressed by the verb ‘to blast’ but is also reinforced by the verb ‘to bully’ and the contrast between the forced action and people’s unconsciousness of the consequences of a positive outcome. Moreover, the co-occurrence of the two evaluative verbs help the journalist to create coherence and to construe the news story conferring EU politicians the image of disrespectful leaders.

The analysis has revealed that the verb ‘to blast’ mainly appears in *The Sun* which shows seven occurrences. This does not surprise considering the fact that *The Sun* advocated the referendum cause in Britain and is known to be anti-European. As it might be expected, the majority of the occurrences (seven) appear around the first referendum period i.e. between May and July 2008.

In conclusion, the analysis has shown how the verb 'to blast' in its meaning of explode in criticism is used in order to reveal a negative evaluation of the European politicians and attributing them the role of careless leaders only interested in achieving their purposes.

5.3 Arrogant

As far as the lexical item 'arrogant' is concerned, we have found that it occurs 47 times, 46 referring to the Lisbon Treaty issue.

The collocates, having at least three occurrences in the corpus, that we identified are shown in Table 7 below.

Arrogant		Reluctant	
Word	Relation	Word	Relation
INTERVENTION	50.97	CLINTONS	40.90
PRESIDENT	42.38	RECOGNISE	26.65
BARROSO	36.94	EXTREMELY	25.69
FRENCH	35.23	RISK	21.60
MANUEL	29.27	DEFEAT	21.22
ACCUSED	28.85	FURTHER	17.89
JOSE	28.76	GIVE	16.98
LABOUR	27.94	AGAIN	15.68
WARNED	26.92	MANY	14.64
PLAN	25.27	SECOND	14.33
EU	25.05	LEADERS	13.98
HAD	21.38	COWEN	13.07
SARKOZY	19.05	THEY	8.66
SOME	18.41	REFERENDUM	8.65
BEING	18.31	LISBON	7.14
MR	17.78	TREATY	5.32
OUT	14.62		
WAS	13.76		
HAS	10.02		
LISBON	8.94		
TREATY	6.29		
THAT	4.63		

Table 7: 'Arrogant' and 'reluctant' collocates ordered by relation

On the basis of these collocates, it has been possible to make some observations. It appears that 'arrogant' mainly collocates with European leaders and in particular with Barroso and Sarkozy, however in order to understand its use it has been necessary to sort and expand the concordances. A more detailed analysis of the term has been carried out through the investigation of its attributive and predicative functions which are going to be discussed in turn.

It has emerged that the adjective occurs 33 times as an attribute and 14 times as a predicate. The analysis has proved that as an attribute the lexical item mainly refers to EU leaders, and in particular to the French Prime Minister Sarkozy and his intervention on the Irish government announcing a second Irish vote. The Irish Prime Minister Cowen and his government, the president of the European Commission, Barroso, and the British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, are also described as 'arrogant' (Table 8).

attributive position		predicative position	
EU leaders (in general)	8	EU response (to referendum result)	2
the French intervention	4	Labour	2
Barroso	3	Roche's plan	2
the French president	3	Politicians	1
Brown's plan (s)/attempt	3	Cowen	1
Cowen	2	Germany	1
Irish Government	2	EU	1
Stuff (EU's new power with Treaty's approval)	1	Bertie	1
Yes body	1	Barroso	1
Campaign	1	the move (the ratification of Lisbon without Ireland)	1
Cowardice (vote denial)	1		
Dismissal (of Irish vote)	1		
Insult (Irish Politicians did not read the treaty)	1		
Nonsense (propose a 2nd vote)	1		
Ministers	1		
Total	33	Total	13

Table 8: 'Arrogant' in attributive and predicative position

The emphasis appears to be on the actors/promoters of the ratification process and on the fact that their proposal of ratifying Lisbon didn't take into account the will of their citizens. These leaders and their action appear to be the focus of the British press which seems to negatively evaluate their role in the event.

(5) ARROGANT EU president Jose Manuel Barroso last night vowed to push on with the Lisbon Treaty - even though Ireland emphatically REJECTED it. We dumped the deal by 53.4 per cent to 46.6 per cent - a majority of nearly SEVEN per cent. It is now DEAD under EU rules. (*The Sun*, 14 June 2008)

(6) The French president even plans a visit to Dublin next month to see what all the fuss is about and to use his charm to try to ensure the "right" result next time. After all, how could Ireland, alone of those 27 member countries, have found fault with the treaty? It is nonsense; and it is arrogant, insulting nonsense. Ireland rejected the treaty because it was the only country whose people got to vote on it. (*The Sunday Times*, 22 June 2008)

The lexeme ‘arrogant’ generally denotes a manifestation of an overbearing attitude and is often associated to negative connotation. In example (5) this negativity seems to be reinforced by the contrastive evaluator ‘even though’ which highlights the contrast between Barroso’s choice of continuing with ratification and Ireland people’s decision of voting against the Treaty. The contrast is also emphasized by the fact that both ‘arrogant’ and ‘rejected’ are in capital letters. As a result, this contrast puts Barroso in a negative light and confers him the image of a disrespectful leader. Moreover, the negative stance of the newspaper towards the EU leader and the ratification of Lisbon is clearly visible in the expression “it is now DEAD under EU rules” which puts emphasis on the illegality of ratifying the Treaty without the Irish approval. The use of ‘DEAD’ in capitals in fact seems to reveal the newspaper’s serious consideration for a ratification suspension.

In example (6) the negative evaluation of Sarkozy’s intent on persuading the Irish people to vote in favour of the treaty at the next ballot is emphasized by the collocation of the adjective ‘arrogant’ with the noun phrase ‘insulting nonsense’. This collocation might suggest a disapproval of EU leaders’, and in particular Sarkozy’s, contempt for the Irish people’s will.

The disapproval of Sarkozy’s plans of action is also revealed by the ironical use of the lexeme ‘charm’ and the rhetorical question. Moreover, the use of the adjective ‘right’ in inverted comas might suggest negative stance towards the fact that EU leaders have not accepted the Irish NO but are still intent on pursuing their aim.

Similar results have been revealed by the analysis of ‘arrogant’ as a predicate. Although there are fewer occurrences, it has emerged that ‘arrogant’ refers to EU leaders and politicians’ behaviour and attitude towards the referendum response or their obstinacy to ratify Lisbon as shown in Table 8 above.

It has also emerged that political figures and manly newspapers opposing the ratification refer to proponents or supporters of the Treaty as ‘arrogant’ because they are ignoring the Irish people’s decision and democracy in general.

(7) European Union reform was plunged into chaos last month when the Lisbon Treaty was rejected in an Irish referendum by 53.4 per cent to 46.6 per cent. Open Europe's Mr O'Brien said the political response to the referendum result had obviously appeared arrogant to some voters. (*Daily Mail*, 28 July 2008)

(8) Fine Gael branded Mr Roche's plan arrogant while Labour warned it could force more into the No camp. Fine Gael's Lucinda Creighton said: "It is clear the Irish people said no and that verdict must be respected. "The fundamental concerns of the Irish people cannot be brazenly ignored by Dick Roche, Brian Cowen or anyone else". (*Mirror*, 26 August 2008)

In both examples above, what is referred to as ‘arrogant’ is the decision of holding a second referendum in Ireland. Both newspapers seem not to be taking responsibility for what politicians are saying. In example (7) in fact the journalist is attributing the evaluation to the director of the British think-thank Open Europe, O'Brien, while in example (8) the journalist is quoting Lucinda Creighton’s statement. However, the journalist of the *Daily Mail* appears to be slightly more involved than the one of the *Mirror*. In his use of the evaluative adverb ‘obviously’ he seems to be evaluating the reaction of voters in terms of evidentiality as if their consideration of EU leaders' pressure on a second vote could only be referred to as 'arrogant'. This might imply the journalist' disapproval of that action.

The analysis has proved that 'arrogant' is used with reference mainly to European leaders and their obstinacy to ratify the Treaty even after the Irish negative result in the referendum. The lexeme has shown to be linked to negative stance and in this context its negative meaning is reinforced by other intensifiers and evaluative terms. It has emerged that 'arrogant' mainly occurs around the first referendum period and to be precise 35 out of 47 occurrences appear between May and August 2008 with a pitch in June (21 occurrences). Moreover, the analysis of its occurrences has revealed that the adjective mainly appears in *The Sun* with 15 occurrences, the *Daily Mail* with 13 occurrences and *The Times* with 8 occurrences.

This comes as no surprise considering the fact that other studies have proved that these newspapers are eurosceptics (Anderson & Weymouth 1999). Moreover, from a general reading of the corpus it has also emerged that those newspapers, *The Sun* in particular, advocated a referendum in Britain.

In conclusion, the analysis has revealed that the adjective 'arrogant' is used both as a predicate and an attribute to convey a general negative attitude towards EU leaders and their projects.

5.4 Reluctant

A similar analysis has been carried out for the evaluative adjective 'reluctant'. It has emerged that there are 23 occurrences 21 of which refer to European issues. Five appear in attributive position while the other sixteen are in predicative position. Looking at its collocates, having at least two occurrences in the corpus (see Table 7), it has not been possible to make many observations apart from the consideration that Cowen and leaders as frequent collocates might be 'reluctant' to do something. As a consequence, in order to make significant hypotheses on the use of this lexeme it has been necessary to explore its co-text. A deeper analysis has proved that as an attribute the adjective 'reluctant' refers to different politicians such as Gordon Brown or the Irish members of the government which seems to be goals of EU leaders' action. In its predicative position 'reluctant' has been found to co-occur mainly with EU leaders, the British Prime Minister, Brown and the Irish Prime Minister, Cowen (see Table 9).

attributive position		predicative position	
horses (Irish Governement members)	1	Brown	3
Leaders	1	Brussels	2
populations (The Germans and French)	1	Cowen	2
paramour (is compared to Sarkozy)	1	Most EU members	1
Partner (Brown)	1	they (politicians)	1
		it (Irish Gov)	1
		Many EU politicians	1
		Cameron	1
		Eurocrats	1

attributive position		predicative position	
		they (people)	1
		Sarkozy	1
		EU leaders	1
Total	5	Total	16

Table 9: 'Reluctant' in attributive and predicative position

It has emerged that there are twofold reasons for being 'reluctant' – politicians are reluctant to abandon the treaty and to hold a second referendum. The collocation of EU politicians with this adjective, here functioning as predicate, might imply their ambivalence in approaching the issue of ratification. On the one hand, their reluctance to hold a referendum might suggest that they are afraid of a second negative turnout while on the other hand, their reluctance to abandon the treaty might imply a strong determination in pursuing their political goals.

(9) What may happen next? There will be an attempt to rescue the substance of the Lisbon treaty in some form or through some subterfuge. Brussels, like the Clintons, is extremely reluctant to recognise defeat. The European politicians want their legal identity, their extended powers, their president, their foreign minister. They want the status of a national state. (*The Times*, 16 June 2008)

In example (9) the reluctance to abandon the treaty is emphasized by the metaphorical expression 'recognise defeat' which is taken from the field of conflict and clearly expresses the fact that despite a negative turnout EU leaders, metonymically referred to as Brussels, are intent on reaching their political goal whatever it might happen. This obstinacy seems to be also reinforced by the evaluative adverb 'extremely'. In the use of the metaphor and the evaluative adverb, the newspaper is clearly disapproving of EU leaders' action and seems to confer them a negative connotation.

The analysis has also revealed that 13 out of 21 occurrences of 'reluctant' appear in June 2008, i.e. around the referendum period and the following approval of the Treaty bill in the House of Lords. Moreover, the *Daily Mail* and *The Times* are the newspapers in which this lexeme is more frequent and in particular, with 7 and 6 occurrences respectively.

The fact that 'reluctant' frequently appears in the *Daily Mail* and *The Times* does not surprise. As it has already been mentioned (see 'arrogant' analysis) these newspapers have been proved to be anti-European.

As shown in the analysis, the lexeme 'reluctant' has proved to be used in order to convey a negative image of EU leaders and their way of handling the suspension of the ratification after the Irish negative vote.

5.5 Praise

The analysis conducted in the previous paragraphs has only focused on evaluative lexis that has a negative meaning and reveals negative connotation. In this section we will explore the verb 'to praise' and its noun form which have a positive meaning and are generally linked to a positive evaluation. The analysis has revealed 34 occurrences 27 of which refer to European issues and the collocates, having a minimum frequency of two, are shown in Table 10 below.

Word	Relation	Word	Relation
LAVISHED ^	56.74	LEADERS ^	15.24
YESTERDAY +	56.74	TO ^	15.24
COURAGE +	42.57	WHO ^	11.64
EU ^	29.90	MR +	11.33
GORDON +	29.47	IRELAND ^	11.17
DESERVES ^	29.18	MR ^	10.20
PRESIDENT ^	25.06	THEY ^	9.89
PM ^	24.07	HIS ^	9.77
BROWN +	22.29	WAS +	9.27
BROWN ^	18.16	HE +	8.74
GANLEY +	16.39	NOT ^	8.65
LEADERS +	16.37	WITH ^	8.63
SARKOZY +	16.29	HE ^	6.47
EU +	15.30	TREATY ^	5.83

Table 10: ‘Praise’ collocates (^ praise, + praised)

It has emerged that ‘praised’ mainly collocates with the EU or its leaders and other important participants in the ratification process: the British Prime Minister Brown, the French President Sarkozy, who took the EU rotating presidency in July 2008, and Mr. Declan Ganley the founder of the Irish anti-Lisbon Libertas group. The Table also shows that not only does ‘praise’ collocate with ‘EU’, ‘Brown’ and ‘leaders’ but also with ‘Treaty’, ‘Ireland’ and verbs such as ‘deserves’ and ‘lavished’. As far as ‘praise’ is concerned, these collocates seem to suggest that when it co-occurs with singular nouns these are the goals of the action but the actors are not clear. The same difficulty is found with the collocates of ‘praised’ as it can be both the past form and the past participle of the verb. As a result, an analysis of the co-text has been necessary in order to help us understand the use of ‘praise’ and its actors and goals (see Table 11).

GOALS		GOALS	
EU LEADERS	8	Brown	8
Sarkozy	4	Ireland/Irish (voters/government)	4
Eurosceptics (the Czech President)	4	Eurosceptics (Ganley, Kaczynski)	4
Brown	3	Cowen	3
Press	2	Treaty	2
Barroso	1	EU	1
		Barroso	1
Total	22	Total	23

Table 11: Actors and Goals of ‘praise’

The analysis of the co-text has revealed that the actors of the verb ‘praise’ or the expressions ‘showered with praise’ or ‘lavished with praise’ are mainly EU leaders and politicians and their goals are Gordon Brown and Brian Cowen's courage in continuing with ratification or finding a way towards its completion. These occurrences appear as attributions of EU leaders and the journalists tend to negatively comment their action of praising.

(10) And they [EU bigwigs] PRAISED Premier Gordon Brown's "courage" for ramming the hated document through Parliament with no referendum. (*The Sun*, 20 June 2008)

(11) IRELAND was under growing pressure to roll over and accept the Lisbon Treaty last night after voters rejected it, as EU leaders scrambled to find a way out of the crisis. In a provocative move, they lavished praise on Gordon Brown for the 'political courage' he showed in forcing ratification of the treaty through Parliament despite last Friday's decisive 'no' vote in Ireland. (*Daily Mail*, 20 June 2008)

In both examples the action of praising Brown's decision of continuing with ratification is put in contrast with the will of the British and Irish people respectively by using the expression 'with no referendum' in example (10) and the contrastive evaluator 'despite' in example (11). In other words newspapers appear to indicate that Brown's behaviour, and as a consequence Europeans' approval of it, is a contempt for democracy in general. The negative stance of the two newspapers towards Brown's action is reinforced by the use of inverted commas for the noun courage implying that continuing with ratification is not a courageous way of accepting the decision made by the Irish and British citizens. Moreover, in both newspapers the action of ratifying the treaty is expressed by two verbs 'ram trough' and 'force through' which indicate an intentionally forced action. Even though on the one hand the fact that Brown is the actor of both verbs confers him an important role in the process of ratification and also an active role in the news story, on the other, it gives him the image of an enforcer and as a consequence, it confers him a negative evaluation.

The analysis has also proved that when the actor of the verb 'to praise' or the other constructions is a Eurosceptic, the goal is the rejection or anti-Lisbon actions. In these occurrences it has emerged that the action of praising is positively evaluated.

(12) His [Kaczynski's] remarks, which came as France took over the EU's six month rotating presidency, won praise from eurosceptics, who are convinced that Brussels is trying to bully Ireland into voting again. (*Daily Mail*, 2 July 2008)

(13) CZECH president Vaclav Klaus praised Libertas founder Declan Ganley last night and attacked the EU as having made a 'radical shift' from integration to supranationalism. (*Daily Mail*, 12 November 2008)

In example (12) while Kaczynski's remarks appear to be laudable on the other hand EU leaders are described in a negative light as bullies forcing Ireland to vote again. In this example, even though the newspaper seems to take no responsibility for the eurosceptics' praise or convictions it does not negatively comment their claims. In example (13) too, the newspaper simply reports the praise and criticism of the Czech

President without deeply commenting on them. However, the action of praising is put in contrast with the EU's approval of the Lisbon plans that has determined, according to the newspaper, a shift from integration to supranationalism. This might suggest a disapproval of EU leaders' action and as a consequence might imply a positive stance towards the president's laud of Declan Ganley.

From the analysis it has also emerged that the lexeme 'praise' is more equally distributed in the newspapers than the other evaluative terms. However more occurrences appear in the *Daily Mail* and in *The Sun* which, as it has already been said, are known to be part of the British Eurosceptic press. And precisely, the *Daily Mail* shows 7 occurrences while *The Sun* 5. It has also come into light that 15 out of 27 occurrences of 'praise' appear between May and July 2008, i.e. again around the first referendum period and also during the British approval of the Treaty bill in the House of Lords. Other 6 occurrences are also found between October and December 2008, i.e. when EU leaders were deciding how to grant Ireland's guarantees in the field of tax policy, neutrality and abortion in order to have the second referendum run.

The analysis has revealed that even though the lexeme 'praise' has a positive denotation, it might be used to convey a negative connotation of those European leaders that tend not to express consideration for the will of their citizens. On the other hand, it appears to be used in a positive way when the action of praising is the expression of those who try to defend the interests of the Irish people.

6. Conclusions

In our analysis we have also focused on the distribution of the evaluative terms in the newspapers' sections and occurrences of the same lexeme that appeared in the same article were only counted once. We labeled newspapers' sections as non hard news referring to editorials, comments and features while as hard news all the other sections.
As it is strictly linked to the writer's opinions and feelings, evaluative lexis is expected to be found in editorials and comments rather than in hard news. In our analysis we have found that the occurrences of evaluative terms under investigation mainly appear in hard news as shown in Figure 1.

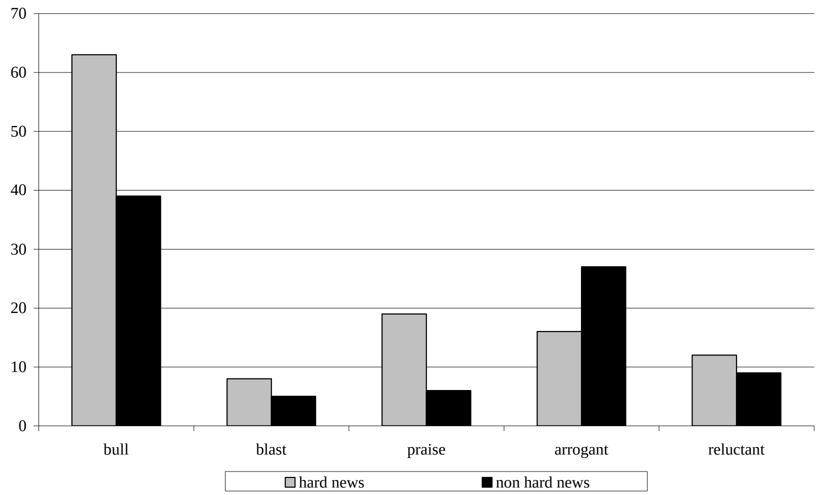

Figure 1: Hard news/non-hard news distribution

As it is shown in Figure 1 only arrogant has a majority of occurrences appearing in non hard news while the other lexemes are more frequent in hard news. The fact that those evaluative resources tend to be slightly more frequent in hard news might imply that the Lisbon Treaty ratification has been a much debated issue and as a consequence its reports could not be only limited to a specific section.

In conclusion, the present study has shown how through a co-text and context-based analysis of evaluative lexis it has been possible to build a conceptual frame of the ratification process which appears to confirm the previous analysis conducted on the same corpus which has revealed that EU leaders and pro-European politicians were stereotyped in terms of aggressors using bullying tactics while Ireland and the Irish people were described as victims of EU leaders.

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COGNITIVE METAPHORS OF THE MIND IN *THE CANTERBURY TALES*

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Abstract
The paper presents an analysis of a number of cognitive metaphors pertaining to the concept of mind (e.g. sanity and insanity), heart, and fire. The study has been based on the text of *Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer. The paper contains a short theoretical introduction and a discussion of different linguistic and psychological approaches to issues related to figurative and literal, conventional language use. The analytical part focuses on the detailed contextual study of the cognitive metaphorical concepts. It is argued that many apparently similar concepts can evoke semantically conflicting metaphors, while concepts that appear to be mutually exclusive can sometimes evoke common associations and thereby similar metaphors.

Keywords: metaphor, metonymy, associations, culture-specific, universal

1. Introduction

The aim of the present paper is to analyse varieties of figurative expressions within the concept of the mind in *The Canterbury Tales*. The paper explores varieties of contexts from Middle English and analyses them in the light of contemporary theories of metaphors and metonymies. The theoretical part deals with contemporary theories on metaphor and metonymy continuum represented by Barcelona (2000), Radden (2000), Cruse (2004) among others, and with the theory of objectification (Szwedek 2007). The aim of the analytical part is to focus on the detailed contextual study of the metaphors linked with the concept of the mind and to view it in close relation with the theories on metaphor and metonymy continuum. Moreover, the analysis will show which metaphors in the corpus are culture-specific and which are more universal.

The analysis is based on all texts of Caxton's edition of *The Canterbury Tales*: The British Library Copies (ed. by Barbara Bordalejo), available as a CD-Rom containing the first full-colour facsimiles of all copies of Willliam Caxton's first and second editions of Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*. It is also the first-ever electronic publication of the full text of the Caxton editions.

2. Theoretical prerequisites

Following the traditional approach, metaphor involves mapping of more tangible, concrete phenomena (a source domain) upon abstract ones (a target domain) across different conceptual domains, while metonymy involves mapping of a source onto a target within one and the same conceptual domain. The traditional approach implies that metaphor and metonymy involve two distinct processes, the first one being based on similarity and the other on congruity. From that perspective, one can put a relatively clear-cut line between the metaphorical and metonymic processes.

It should be emphasised that the overall approach to the concepts of metaphor/ metonymy and their coreferentiality has changed with the publications of such linguists as Traugott (1989), Barcelona (2000), Radden (2000) and Cruse (2004). For instance, Radden, in his approach to metaphor and metonymy suggests that they cannot be conceived as discrete entities:

> The traditional distinction between metaphor and metonymy can no longer be maintained. The classical notions of metaphor and metonymy are to be seen as prototypical categories at the end points of a continuum of mapping processes. The range in the middle of the metonymy-metaphor continuum is made up of metonymy-based metaphors, which also account for the transition of metonymy to metaphor by providing an experiential motivation of a metaphor (Radden 2000: 105).

One of the crucial points the newer cognitive approach highlights is that the distinction between metaphor and metonymy is scalar rather than discrete (cf. also Barcelona 2000:16). According to this new perspective, not only metaphor and metonymy need not be viewed as two opposite processes, but metaphor can be motivated metonymically thereby giving rise to metaphor based on metonymy. In other words, metonymy is a conceptual prerequisite for metaphor. Barcelona (2000) further illustrates this assumption claiming that motivation is not necessarily tied up with a sequential ordering of the mapping and that the mapping may even be simultaneous. Namely, the metonymic understanding of the source or target domain in a metaphor need not have become conventionalised prior to the conventionalisation of the metaphor. One example of metonymy-based metaphor, discussed by Barcelona, is the metonymic motivation of most metaphors for emotions (anger, happiness, sadness, love , and pride) on the basis of physiological or behavioural responses to emotions. For instance, a physiological effect of emotion that is often metonymised is the Affected Heart Rate, (the heart rate, which is believed to change as a result of a strong emotional impact stands for emotion), as in *his heart rate stopped when he saw her*. In other words, metaphor does not really develop ‘out of’ the metonymy but is motivated and constrained by the metonymic model of the target. Such an approach casts a different light upon both metaphor and metonymy and the relation between them. This new perspective on metaphor-metonymy continuum is applied in the present paper in the analysis of *The Canterbury Tales* expressions linked with the concept of the mind.

With regard to the theory of objectification, Szwedek (2007) emphasises that all non-physical phenomena have to be conceptualised as physical objects before they can be assigned structure and orientation. By having no shape on their own, they are treated as objects and inherit all the properties of an object. Szwedek explains that objectification is the basis for all conceptualisation, as it is only the physical world that is directly accessible to our senses. The paper will attempt to show that the metaphor of objectification is a basis for the conceptualisation of wisdom and that different types of objects are involved in the conceptualisation of wisdom.

3. The analysis of the concept of the mind

The analysis of the concept of the mind requires an examination of various collocations from the conceptual point of view. The aim of the present section is to provide a three-fold division within the concept of the mind and analyse the expressions that refer to the following components: high intellectual capacity, low intellectual capacity and madness. Moreover, the study will show that wisdom was highly objectified, which makes these metaphors more universal rather than culture-specific.

3.1 High intellectual capacity

The metaphors linked to the high intellectual capacity can be noticed in the following phrases:

(1) *ful of sapience* ‘full of wisdom’
(2) *haue sapience* ‘have wisdom’
(3) *gret light of sapience* ‘great light of wisdom’
(4) *fulfilled of sapience* ‘filled with wisdom’
(5) *thoughtful* ‘thoughtful’
(6) *high prudence* ‘high prudence’
(7) *my wit is greet* ‘my wit is great’
(8) *ouercome be reson* ‘overcome by reason’
(9) *assay greet sapience* ‘test great wisdom’
(10) *need of sapience* ‘need of wisdom’
(11) *wit yeue* ‘give wit’

3.1.1 Wisdom and the container metaphor

Wisdom can be conceptualised as contents within a container, which can be observed is phrases (1, 4, 5, and 6 above). In these contexts, the whole self functions as a container for thoughts, thus creating the metaphor THE SELF IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS. The amount of the substance in the container is indicative of the person’s intelligence and erudition. In other words, the container has to be full for if the person is to be considered wise and perceptive. Moreover, contexts of phrases (1, 4, 5, and 6) are also conceptualised along orientational metaphors MORE IS UP and REASON IS UP (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) where the more thoughts are placed in the container, the wiser the person is.

In the analysis of the container metaphor, two elements *full* and *high* can also be compared. In both, the container serves as an element enabling visualisation of wisdom.

Metaphorically speaking, one can say that by putting many thoughts into the container, they will reach a higher level inside the container. Nevertheless, *full* marks two entities, the container as well as the content inside it. It gives information that there is a large amount of content, which is, however, externally bounded. The adjective *high*, however, is devoid of this information. *High* refers, first of all, to the container and describes its physical appearance. Only later this adjective is mapped on the more abstract level, where it indicates the level of wisdom. Thus *high*, from the purely physical description of the container, proceeds to stand for the description of the content itself, thereby giving rise to metonymy.

The context of (7) is also linked with the container metaphor, yet in this example, the *wit* corresponds to the container. Thus, the *wit* is conceptualised as *great* when it houses a large amount of thoughts. The analysis of the contexts, illustrated so far, shows that two types of containers are linked with wisdom, namely *the self is a container for thoughts*, as well as *the wit is a container for thoughts*. The conceptualisation of the self as the container for wisdom makes the instances metaphorical, while the projection of the *wit* as the container gives rise to metaphors based on metonymy, where a part stands for the whole. In other words, the part (here: *great wit*) stands for the whole person perceived as wise and erudite.

3.1.2 Wisdom and the concept of light

Wisdom can also be conceptualised via the concept of light, which can be exemplified by context (3). The example corresponds to the metaphor linked with light – IDEAS ARE LIGHT SOURCES (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). It seems that the two metaphors connected with wisdom, the container and the light metaphors, can be juxtaposed and differentiated. The container metaphor highlights the effect of absorbing knowledge, thus the variety of thoughts in the container. The intelligent and wise person is the one that knows a lot on many topics; the person that has collected multiplicity of information. In other words, the container metaphor focuses on what the person already knows; what he or she has in his/her mind. However, the light metaphor does not highlight the effect of gathering knowledge, but rather concentrates on the process of obtaining knowledge. Light makes us see. It penetrates everywhere and enlightens every dark and murky region casting a different perspective on it. An intelligent person is the one that does not see only one perspective or one dimension but a variety of aspects related to the topic. It is the person that is eager to penetrate through unknown areas and discuss difficult topics casting a different light or perspective on them. The light metaphor highlights the aspect of penetration, seeing many dimensions, and unveiling the mysterious, the unknown or taboo topics thereby structuring the process of gaining knowledge. One can even proceed further and claim that the expression *greet light of sapience* illustrates wisdom as a kind of light. Wisdom, hence, can be perceived as equipped with metaphorical light that emanates outward. Approaching these examples, light is a kind of instrument that enables to draw the value of wisdom. In other words, the source domain of light is used to conceptualise wisdom as a value in itself. Equipped with such attributes as uniqueness, goodness and eminence, the domain of light raises the value of wisdom, which becomes conceived as unique, eminent and ennobling. In other words, the element of light makes the person be perceived not only as wise, but also as noble. The two elements, namely wisdom and nobility, are blended in the WISDOM IS LIGHT metaphor. What takes place is the process of the transferring the attributes of light upon the target domain of wisdom which becomes linked with light, evokes highly positive undertones. Although the metaphorical correlation between wisdom and light is widely accepted in present-day English, wisdom itself seems to receive different connotations when compared with data from the corpus. In other words, PDE expressions such as "*bright* person" or "*clear* ideas" are neutral with respect to morality. Hence, they only refer to intelligence and do not imply any other undertones. In *The Canterbury Tales*, however, wisdom, similar to light, was evidently viewed as ennobling, unique and eminent. In other words, it contained the element of nobility in its conceptual framework.

3.1.3 Wisdom as a commodity

Middle English (ME) nouns denoting knowledge could co-occur in collocation with other verbs, such as *have*, *govern*, *trust*, *overcome*, *test* and *prove*, which can be seen in contexts (2, 8, 9, 10, and 11). Within the commodity metaphor, wisdom can be viewed as a valuable object, a weapon or a product.

In (2), wisdom is conceptualised as an object. A person has wisdom just like he or she could have any commodity, yet this commodity is perceived as something valuable. The context can bring to mind the metaphor WISDOM IS A VALUABLE OBJECT. The same metaphor is recorded in context (11), in which *wit* can be given. Here, *wit* can be viewed as a container, which is like a treasure that can change one's life completely.

In (8), wisdom is conceptualised via the metaphor REASON IS WEAPON, which can be seen in the following context:

> *And your wyf restrayne that wicked purpose*
> *And ouercome you be reson and by good counceyll* (The Tale of Melibee 124).
> (And your wife will restrain that wicked purpose
> And will overcome you by reason and by a good council).

Reason, then, is highly valued. The person, by thinking logically, can overcome the others. In (9) and (10), wisdom is conceptualised as a product:

> *Be cause of thy swete wordes and eke for I have*
> *Assaied thy grete sapience and thy grete trouthe*
> *I will gouern me by thy council in alle manner thing* (The Tale of Melibee 146).
> (Due to your sweet words and, moreover, for I have tested your great wisdom and your great truth I will be directed by your council in all kinds of things).
> *If ony of yow have nede of sapience* (The Tale of Malibee 151)
> (If any of you have need of sapience).

In these contexts, wisdom can be *tested* just like any other product, or it may be felt to be *needed*.

3.2 Low intellectual capacity

The metaphors linked to low intellectual capacity can be represented by the following expressions:

(12) *rude wit* ‘rude wit’
(13) *thynne wit* ‘thin wit’
(14) *ful blynd conceit* ‘full blind conceit’
(15) *wit suffices* ‘wit is sufficient’
(16) *where was thy wit*? ‘where is your wit’
(17) *short wit* ‘short wit’

3.2.1 Low intellectual capacity preceded by adjectives centrally referring to a person

In (12) and (14) *wit* is conceptualised as a person. Hence, they are personified or viewed as animate objects. In these contexts the adjectives *rude* and *blind* require some analysis as they have a different meaning when related to mind than when referring to a person. Hence, *rude wit* does not correspond to a *rude person*, whereas *blind conceit* does not stand for a *blind person*. These adjectives have been further metaphorised. *Rude person* denotes someone who speaks or behaves in a way that is not polite or is likely to offend or annoy people, while the expression *rude wit* is used to imply that the person is uneducated and ignorant. Nevertheless, the common platform of references can be found for the two collocations. Both expressions refer to some common norms which, however, have been violated. In the former phrase (*rude person*), the person does not abide by the generally accepted canon of behaviour, while in the latter phrase (*rude wit*), the person does not conform to the generally accepted canon of knowledge. Both manners are perceived as annoying. Furthermore, in the two expressions, the person chooses this way of conduct purposefully. In other words, he or she deliberately does not submit to the imposed rules existing in the society, either by rejecting received norms of behaviour, or by a denial of the generally accepted canon of knowledge. Additionally, in both expressions *rude* has evaluating, pejorative undertones.

A similar analysis can be carried out in case of *blind*. *Blind* in the expression *blind person* denotes someone who is physically handicapped and cannot see. *Blind* in *blind conceit* implies a person that is unenlightened and ignorant. Yet, as in the formerly analysed expression, a common platform of references can be found. To begin with, the person who has seen a lot, knows a lot. The process of knowing is thereby linked with seeing. Moreover, a wise person, just like light, is willing to penetrate everything and to mentally embrace as much as possible, which is within his or her field of vision. He or she is characterised by curiosity and inquisitiveness. Thus, the expression *blind conceit* implies that the person is unwilling to see. Being unwilling may entail the hypothesis that the person will not see and thus will remain blind and unaware of everything that is happening around. This perseverance not to see can be associated with indifference and lack of interest. The modification of *blind* with *full* further reinforces the passive attitude to knowledge. Hence, while the collocation *blind person* is linked with being physically handicapped, the phrase *blind conceit* is connected with being mentally handicapped.

Blind person is thus a literal statement as the adjective *blind* encodes the basic, root sense. Nevertheless, *blind conceit* is a metaphorical expression in which *blind* denotes the epistemic, subjective sense. The expressions related to *wit* are also instances of metaphors based on metonymies (part for the whole), yet the adjectives should be also additionally perceived as equipped with metaphorical undertones.

3.2.2 Low intellectual ability preceded by adjectives centrally referring to humans and objects

The lexemes that pertained to mind, could also be modified by the adjectives that centrally referred both to humans and objects (e.g., *thin wit*, *short wit*). As for *thin*, the following central senses can be distinguished. When referred to objects, *thin* denotes a very small distance between two sides or two flat surfaces. *Thin* can also be linked with a person to point to someone that has little fat on his or her body. In both, the concept of a small amount is imprinted. A thin book is the one that contains few pages, while a thin person is someone that is slim hence there is little fat on his or her body. As for *thin wit*, it can be conceptualised as a *long passage* in which there are just *few thoughts*. Thus the adjective *thin* affects a different conceptualisation of *wit*. The image of *wit* that appears in the mind is not the one of a container but rather of a passage due to the modifying adjective. In the analysed expressions, this passage is projected as containing hardly any thoughts. Furthermore, the adjective *thin*, by evoking the mental content of the mind, is metaphorical as opposed to *thin* in “thin book” or “thin person”, where it refers to the physical appearance of the described entities.

It should be emphasised, however, that *thin*, in the collocation with *wit* seems to be metaphorical to a lesser extent than *blind* and *rude* in the collocations with *conceit* and *wit* respectively. *Blind* and *rude* when used in collocation with the mind require a different meaning, or at least a highly motivated interpretation of the meaning that centrally refers to the physical appearance of a person. The semantics of *thin* collocating with book, *person*, or *wit* is roughly similar. It just needs to be slightly modified when applied to *wit*. In other words, the images of the *book*, *person*, or *wit*, when preceded by *thin* are similar in the sense that these entities appear to be of a certain length, yet they contain a small amount or number of something, namely of pages (book), fat (person) or thoughts (wit). As already noted, the number of pages or the amount of *fat* refers to the physical description of a book or a person, respectively. However, the number of thoughts is linked with the mental content of the *wit*, which, in turn, is connected with the metaphorisation of the adjective *thin*.

Wit could also be modified by the adjective *short*. The similar line of analysis can be observed both in *short* as in *thin* when juxtaposed with the *wit*. *Short*, like *thin*, occurs in collocations with the person as well as the object. *Short*, when referred to objects, denotes a small amount in length, e.g., as in “short hair.” Linked with a person, *short* pertains to someone who is of less than average height. *Short wit* can be conceptualised as a *short passage* in which there are few thoughts due to the limitations of the *passage*. In other words, the passage is so short that it can hold only few thoughts. The juxtaposition of *thin wit* and *short wit* results in totally different images. In *thin wit* the passage is long but it contains very few thoughts. Additionally, these thoughts may appear as weak or feeble as they are housed in the *thin passage*. In *short wit*, the passage is so small that it physically cannot hold many thoughts. Furthermore, the adjective *short* in the collocation *short wit* is similarly metaphorical as *thin* in *thin wit*. Thus, the meaning of *short* in short hair, short person and short *wit* is similar, yet in the first two instances *short* refers to the physical description of the entities, while in the latter instance *short* applies to the mental analysis of the appearance and the content of the *wit*.

It should also be emphasised that the collocations linked with a low level of intelligence evoke the image of the passage, as opposed to the collocations that pertain to a high level of intelligence, which create the image of the container. One should emphasise that the attribute of the size is associated with the container image, which in turn is conducive to the large number of thoughts that could be housed inside it. On the other hand, the passage is also a kind of a container. Yet, by being marked by adjectives linked to the size or breadth, it becomes conceptualised as a container that is narrow or short. Such metaphors are based on metonymies in which the part stands for the whole.

3.2.3 Wit as an enity temporarily absent

Wit could also be conceptualised as an entity that is temporarily absent or exists in small amounts. In (16) *wit* is visualised as the entity temporarily absent, which can be noticed in the following context:

> *Where was thy wit?* (The Maniciple's Tale 178).
> (Where was your wit?).

Wit is viewed here as an entity that was once present but then it disappeared, thereby contributing to a chaos.

Wit, in (15) is conceived of as an entity present in small amounts, which can be seen in the following lines:

> *Now wolde my wit wolde suffise*
> *To tellyn al that longith to that art*. (The Canon's Yeoman's Prologue 162-163).
> (Now I would like my wit would be sufficient enough to tell all that is appropriate to that art).

In this context the person is wondering if the possessed brain is big enough to be able to express all he wants to express. As in selected examples above, the analysed metaphors are based on metonymies, where the part stands for the whole.

3.3 Madness

The metaphors linked to madness can be noticed in the following phrases:

(18) *out of mynde* ('out of mind')
(19) *half out of mynde* ('half out of mind')
(20) *lese hed* ('lose head')
(21) *lese wit* ('lose wit')

(22) *mynde is goon* (‘mind is gone’)
(23) *troubil wit* (‘troubled wit’)
(24) *see woodness* (‘see madness’)
(25) *mad wit* (‘mad wit’)

3.3.1 Madness conceptualised as a totally or half absent mind

Madness can be conceptualised as a totally or half absent mind. Mind, as totally absent is recorded in contexts (18) and (22), whereas it is half-absent in (19). Mind is commonly perceived as that part of humans that is responsible for rational and logical thinking. Therefore madness is frequently visualised as either total absence of, generally speaking, mind or as mind which exists only in certain fragments. In (18), the person is out of his mind. Consequently, mind is outside this person and he or she is separated from his or her mind. This context emphasises separation of the mind and the body. Yet this sentence does not invalidate the existence of the mind. It only implies that there is no connection between the mind and the body. The body does not receive the signals from the mind. A similar separation can be noticed in the collocation *mynde is goon* (“mind is gone”). Yet, additionally there is an implication that the mind disappeared somewhere. Thus, while in (18) (- *out of his mynde*-), such lack of connection is highlighted, in (22) (-*mynde is goon*-), both the separation from the body and the subsequent loss are highlighted.

Moreover, mind can also be viewed as a fragmentary structure. The person may appear to be partially separated from his or her mind. In other words, it is only a half or some part of the mind that seems to be outside of the human being. Therefore while in (18) (- *out of his mynde*-), no connection exists between the mind and the body, in (19), (- *half out of mynde*-), the partial connection is maintained.

Another possible conceptualisation of madness is via metaphor based on metonymy, which can be exemplified by collocations (20) and (21), viz. *lese hed* and *lese wit*. The metonymy involved here is part for the whole, where the part (- *hed* and *wit* -), i.e. “head” and “wit” stand for the intellectual side of the human being. Additionally, *hed* and *wit* are conceptualised as lost objects, thereby giving rise to a metaphor MADNESS IS A LOST MIND/WIT/ HEAD. Consequently, *mind, wit and hed* are objectified. These examples are, thus, instances of metaphors that have a metonymic basis. They are dependent on the conceptually prior metonymic conceptualisation. In this model, one part, namely MIND/ HED or WIT is singled out to refer to the mental state of a person. The projection of a complete MIND/HED or WIT creates the image of a sane person. On the other hand, absent or half- absent mind gives rise to a person perceived as mad. There is thus a strong connection between a lost MIND/HED or WIT and a “gained” madness. Consequently, madness can be conceptualised as an absent or half-absent MIND/HED or WIT, as it is the direct consequence of MIND/HED or WIT having been lost. Madness in (21) is perceived as an outcome of a lost *wit*, which can be exemplified by the following context:

Ye fare lik a man hadde lost his wit (The Wife of Bath’s Tale 1068).
(You behave like a man who has lost his wit).

In other words, wit is responsible for human rational thinking. Yet, possessing wit may not be permanent as one can lose wit.

3.3.2 Madness conceptualised as a perceivable object

As for the conceptualisation of madness via objects, one should also notice that madness can also be visualised as a perceivable object. In other words, madness becomes an entity that can be seen. Nevertheless, in (24) it is not madness that one sees but rather reactions, ways of behaviour that show that someone is mad:

Yet saw I woodnesse in his rage (The Knight's Tale 1159).
(Yet I saw madness in his rage).

3.3.3 Madness conceptualised as a troublemaker

Furthermore, *wit* in (23) could also be viewed as a *troublemaker*, thereby evoking metaphor based on metonymy MADNESS IS A TROUBLE MAKER, which belongs to the category of animate objects. This metaphor can be exemplified by the context:

O troubil wit o ire reckless (The Maniciple's Tale 175).
(O troublesome wit, o reckless ire).

Hence, madness could be conceptualised via metaphors based on metonymies. The analysis shows that the collocations containing the element of *wit*, *mynde* and *woodness* are used with reference to madness.

Within the collocations centralising *wit*, the following metaphors based on metonymies can be distinguished: MADNESS IS AN ABSENT OR A HALF ABSENT MIND (*lese wit*), MADNESS IS A TROUBLEMAKER (*troubil wit*) and madness is an insane person (*mad wit*). In the metaphor MADNESS IS AN ABSENT OR A HALF ABSENT MIND, the "wit", viewed as a rational and logical tool is lost. Thus the wit possessed by the person was well-functioning but, unfortunately, the person is no longer its owner. In the metaphor MADNESS IS A TROUBLEMAKER, *wit* is viewed as possessing some failure. Moreover, *wit* is here visualised as a separate being that leads people astray.

As for the collocations including *mynde*, they also gave rise to metaphors based on metonymies due to the fact that *mynde* also stood for intellectual human side. The figurative expressions that contained *mynde* centralised both total and half-absence of the mind. Consequently, the connection between the mind and the body was either lost or imperfect. Within the general metaphors that project the total absence of the mind, two sub-models can be distinguished. One of them highlights only some separation of the mind from the body, but not the loss of the mind (*out of mynde)*. The other one emphasises disappearance of the mind (*mynde is goon*). All these expressions view *mynde* as a logical, rational entity with which, however, the bond was severed.

With regard to collocations involving *woodness*, they give rise to pure metaphors. *Woodness* was the term used for mental illness and not a part of a human being. It gave rise to the metaphor MADNESS IS A PERCEIVABLE OBJECT. Following this metaphor, madness is then conceptualised as an entity that can be seen.

4. Conclusions

To conclude**,** the analysis of metaphors of the mind in Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, as viewed in present day's perspective, led to the following conclusions:

To begin with, metaphors of the mind can be divided into universal and culture-specific. The universal metaphors are the ones which reflect traces of objectification. The metaphors which belong to this category are the following ones:

1. WISDOM IS CONTENTS IN A CONTAINER (contents is a kind of a substance, thus an object)
2. WISDOM IS A COMMODITY
3. WISDOM IS PRECEDED BY ADJECTIVES THAT CENTRALLY REFER TO HUMANS AND/OR OBJECTS (personified entities are animate objects)
4. WIT IS AN ENTITY TEMPORARILY ABSENT
5. MADNESS IS ABSENT OR HALF ABSENT MIND (the mind, similar to objects, can disappear)
6. MADNESS IS A PERCEIVABLE OBJECT
7. MADNESS IS A TROUBLEMAKER (animate object)

With regard to culture-specific metaphors, the conceptualisation of wisdom via light implies different undertones than in present-day English. When projected by light, wisdom contained not only elements of morality and nobility, but was also conceived of as unique and eminent. Moreover, the analysis also explored the structure of metaphors pertaining to a high level of intelligence, low level of intelligence and madness.

Within the collocations pertaining to a high level of intelligence, several metaphorical images can be distinguished. First of all, *wisdom* can be conceptualised as contents within the container. It should be emphasised that two types of the container are applied in the visualisation of wisdom, namely the self and the *wit*. The conceptualisation of the self as a container for wisdom makes the instances metaphorical, while the projection of the *wit* as a container gives rise to metaphors based on metonymies. In such contexts, *wit* (the part) stands for the whole intellectual side of the human being.

Moreover, wisdom can also be conceptualised as linked with light, thereby giving rise to a metaphor IDEAS ARE LIGHT SOURCES (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The light metaphor highlights the effect of acquiring knowledge, not its effects.

Furthermore, wisdom is also viewed as a commodity. As for the conceptualisation of wisdom as the commodity, one can distinguish between metaphors that show wisdom as a valuable object and those which illustrate it as weapon.

As for the collocations centralising a low level of intelligence, the following metaphors can be distinguished. To begin with, *wit* can be personified. In such contexts, it is modulated by adjectives that centrally refer to humans. Yet, such adjectives refer to negative qualities of a person (e.g. *rude*) or his or her bodily afflictions (e.g. *blind*).

Moreover, *wit* is also conceptualised as a passage either thin or short. A thin passage is both thin and contains few thoughts. The short passage is so small that it houses hardly any thoughts. In other words, the collocations that are linked with low intelligence evoke the image of a passage, as opposed to the collocations that pertain to a high level of intelligence, which create the image of the container.

Furthermore, low intelligence is linked with the metaphor IDEAS ARE LIGHT SOURCES (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). In such collocations the adjective *blind* is used to denote feeble-mindedness and a lack of intelligence.

In addition, the collocations connected with low intelligence project *wit* as an entity that is temporarily absent or exists in small portions. Such metaphors are contingent on the conceptually prior metonymy, where the part stands for the whole.

As for madness, the analysis has shown that it could also be conceptualised via varieties of metaphors based on metonymies. The collocations that refer to madness often contain such lexemes as *wit*, *mynde* and *madness*. Madness appears to be visualised metaphorically as the consequence of the loss of rational, logical tool (*wit*) or in terms of partial or whole separation of the mind from the body.

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ON TRANSMITTING EXPRESSIVENESS IN BELARUSIAN-ENGLISH POETIC TRANSLATION

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Abstract
The present article deals with various lexical, grammatical, stylistic problems encountered by translators while transmitting aspects of expressiveness of the original text (on the example of Belarusian-English poetic translation). The focus of attention is on basic transformation types, which are illustrated by the original and colourful examples. The author of the article considers not only purely linguistic aspects of translation, but also relevant pragmatic adaptation.

Keywords: poetic translation, linguistics, pragmatics, equivalence, expressiveness

1. Introduction

The process of translating from one language into another presents a great number of problems due to the multitude of the components that contribute to such a process. These components include 'the message for transmission' (i.e. the original text itself); 'the one, who transmits the message' (the author of the text); 'recipient' (the intended reader); the translator who performs the role of a 'mediator' as he or she brings the message from the author of the source text (ST) to the readers of the target text (TT); and 'languages' themselves, both source and target.

Taking into account all components, one should not forget that the text material forms the basis for translating processes (Catford 1965, Nida 1964). It is the text itself that the translator works with, doing a number of logical and successive transformations, which help obtain the desired result. The result can be seen in the form of 'equivalence', a measure of semantic similarity between ST and TT (Komissarov 1990), i.e. in the sameness relationship between them (Nida 1964).

However, the problem of equivalence must not only be discussed at a linguistic level but also at the pragmatic one. In the text we not only meet separate words, but a phrase or a number of phrases that have emotional, figurative and associative implications (Komissarov 1990). The process of translation involves considerations of the situational context, cultural background and communicative tasks. According to Newmark:

> Communicative translation attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original text (Newmark 1982: 39).

Thus, the pragmatic adaptation of the translation underlines that translation receptors (TR) understand the implication of the message and are aware of its figurative or situational meaning.

From the point of view of transmitting expressiveness, Belarusian-English translation presents particularly interesting data for analysis. It involves a number of lexical, grammatical and stylistic peculiarities, as evidenced in the later sections of the present paper.

2. Theoretical background

For users of a language its words are not just indifferent, unemotional labels of objects or ideas. Users of a particular language will develop a certain attitude to the words that they use often to express their feelings and emotions, and they will associate words with certain beliefs and traditions (Sokolova 2011).

Creating a belles-lettres text the author endows the words with special meaning to produce certain effect upon the Receptor, to affect intellectual, emotional and volitional sphere of his or her personality. Thus, in a linguistic analysis such texts must be viewed as a communicative act and its expressive function must be specially taken into consideration (Maslova 1997).

Undoubtedly, the more expressive the ST, the more complicated it is to translate it. For the purpose of logical and emotional intensification of the word, phrase or larger piece of discourse the author can use various morphological, word-building, lexical, syntactical forms, which exist in the language, different stylistic devices (metaphor, epithet, exclamatory words, oxymoron, simile, euphemism, etc.).

Consequently, people engaging in literary translation will inevitably encounter the problem of transmitting expressiveness of the ST. Here is an emotion-loaded comment by a translator of poetry Vera Rich[1], who commenting on her Belarusian-English work, wrote:

> These are the forces of Byelorussian poetry, the water of life, the physical waters of Byelorussia with its marshes, lakes and great rivers, and the symbolic waters of birth and of death; the midsummer fires of the night-pastures, the glow of winter cottage windows – and that overwhelming spiritual fire of patriotic love and fervor for the land of one's birth.
>
> But it is the task of the translator to channel that water, and to carry the torch of that fire into another language and another idiom. How can this be done or attempted?" (Rich 1971: 21-22)

She continued:

[1] Vera Rich (24 April 1936 – 20 December 2009) was a British poet, journalist, historian, and translator from Belarusian and Ukrainian. Her "Like Water, Like Fire: An Anthology of Byelorussian Poetry from 1828 to the Present Day" published in London 1971 became the world's first anthology of translations of Belarusian poetry (Ya. Kupala, Ya. Kolas, P. Browka, K. Krapiva and others) into a Western European language. Later she published "The Images Swarm Free", a collection of translations of verses by prominent Belarusian authors: Aleś Harun, Maksim Bahdanovich and Źmitrok Biadula.

> Writing now as a translator, let me say that, a poet myself, I would feel a betrayal of my task in producing any version that did not reproduce the poetic form of the original. If a poet expresses his thoughts in a poem, the form, as much as the content, gives shape and meaning to those thoughts. (Rich 1971: 22)

These two quotations offered by the translator herself once more emphasise the necessity to strive and make any piece of poetic translation as understandable and intelligible as the original text is. Translation that will reflect the author’s implications and that will ensure that the message sent is the message received. In order to achieve this task the translator has to resort to various transformations and to learn ‘the basic rules of the craft’.

In the theory of translation there have been published many works devoted to the discussion of translational equivalence (Catford 1965, Nida 1964, Retsker 1974, Newmark 1982, Shvejtser 1988, Komissarov 1990, Breus 2000 and others).

It is clear that translating process requires numerous interlinguistic transformations, i.e. so called ‘translational transformations’, reconstruction of the elements of ST, its modification, possibly paraphrasing in order to achieve translational equivalence (Barhudarov 1975:6).

The following sections illustrate lexical, grammatical and integral transformations in translations of famous Belarusian poets into English.

3. Grammatical transformations

Every word in the text is used in a particular grammatical form and all the words are arranged in sentences in a particular syntactic order.

In a poetic text, however, the usage of certain grammatical forms and structures often aims at producing melodic, rhythmic effect, making prominent some parts of the contents that may be of particular significance for the receptors.

Let us have a look at selected examples. The first one is an excerpt from the poem by *Yanka Kupala “Pakachaj mjańe, džaŭčynka*” (Kupala 1996: 186).

(1) a.	*Plyv-ie*	*reča-čk-a*	*dalin-k-aj,*	(Belarusian)
	wind-PRS-SG	waters-DIM-NOM-DEF	dale-DIM-ABL-DEF	
	Rybak	*šmat*	*u*	*joj,*
	fishes-NOM-PL-INDF	x	LOC	them-SG
	Pakachaj	*miań-e,*	*džaŭčyn-ka,*	
	love-IMP	me-ACC	maiden mine-DIM	
	Jak	*ryb-k-i*	*ručej!*[2]	
	like	fish-NOM-PL-DEF	stream-DEF	

[2] To quote Belarusian texts the author of this article uses Belarusian Latin alphabet introduced by Branislaw Tarashkyevich for the first time in the 5th edition of the Tarashkyevich’s grammar (Vilnya, 1929).

"Down the dale the waters wind,
In them fishes gleam;
Love them then, O maiden mine
Like the fish the stream!" (Kupala 1982: 44)[3]

This example vividly shows grammatical transformations that the ST underwent. These include, inter alia, (1) '*replacement'* of the word-form (as in the first, second line) and sentence elements (as in the second line), (2) '*addition'* (the word '*gleam'* were added in the second line and the word '*then'* in the third line), (3) '*transposition'* (the word-order were changed in the first and second lines).

It must also be remembered that in doing these transformations the translator pursued his task to capture the tone and the rhythm of the ST, which he eventually managed to achieve with significant success.

The next example illustrates how translators may handle grammatical forms and structures that have no analogous structures in the TT, i.e. how they deal with the so-called 'equivalent-lacking elements' (Komissarov 1990).

A lack of equivalence in the Belarusian and English systems of parts of speech can be exemplified by the article which is a part of the English grammar and is absent in Belarusian. In poetic texts the usage of the articles in proper places can affect poetic organization of the verse, its rhythm and melody. As an example, here is an excerpt from the poem "*Symon Muzyka*" by Yakub Kolas (Kolas 1991: 31):

(2) a.	*Zvoń-ać*	*zvon-y*	*na*	*zvańicy*	(Belarusian)
	ring-PRS-PL	bells-PL-INDF	LOC	belfry-DEF	
	Zvoń-ać	*zvon-y*	*ŭ*	*čas*	*dźańńicy*
	ring-PRS-PL	bells-PL-INDF	ADV	x	dawnlight-DEF
	Nadviačerjem	*jasna-blednym*			
	twilight-ADV-DEF	shining pallor			

"In the belfry bells are ringing.
In the dawnlight, bells are ringing,
In the twilight's shining pallor" (Rich 1960:37)[4]

It is significant that the usage of articles in the TT is not only grammatically correct, but also helps maintain the rhythmic structure of the verse.

Of a particular interest are the English syntactical (infinitival, participial, gerundial) complexes which have no parallels in Belarusian. Thus, in some places, where it seems appropriate, translators can use such complexes, although, inevitably, the strategy will involve some kind of restructuring. The example below, again from Yakub Kolas'

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[3] The verses cited as examples 1, 5, 7 were translated into English by Walter May. Walter May (1912-2002), a poet, translator from Belarusian and Russian, famous for his anthology "Fair Land of Byelorussia: An Anthology of Modern Byelorussian Poetry" published in Moscow in 1976.

[4] The verses cited as examples 2, 3, 4, 6 were translated by Vera Rich.

“*Symon Muzyka*” (Kolas 1991: 32), shows grammatically correct usage of participial and gerundial constructions in the TT:

(3) a.	*Z*	*šum-am*	*liśća*	*ji*	*travinak*	(Belarusian)
	COM	rustling-ABL-NMLZ	flowers-PL-DEF	and	grasses-PL-DEF	
	Z	*śpev-am*	*krasak*	*ji*	*bylinak*	
	COM	humming-ABL-NMLZ	herbs-PL-DEF	and	flowers-PL-DEF	

“With the flowers and grasses rustling,
With the herbs and flowers humming” (Rich 1960:38)

b.	*Na*	*ŭśo*	*čuly*	*ji*	*ŭspagadny*	(Belarusian)
	x	all	feeling-ADJ	x	all imprinted-ADJ	
	Ji	*pryjemny*	*by*	*ŭspamin-ak*		
	x	pleasant	x	remembering-NMLZ		

“Feeling all, by all imprinted,
Ever pleasant with remembering” (Rich 1960:38)

In these examples, in the English version, gerund was used instead of nouns, and participles were used instead of adjectives.

It can be emphasised once again that the replacements indicated above had a special purpose, beyond simple grammatical equivalence; by doing such replacements the translator attempted to reproduce the motion of life, its beauty, rustling, murmuring sound of nature.

Thus, doing necessary grammatical transformations, the translator takes into consideration not only the linguistic aspect but also the expressive function of the poetic text. To affect readers’ feelings, their emotional state, make them live “this new life”, the life created by the author.

4. Lexical transformations

As a rule, the object of translation is not a list of separate lexical units, but a coherent text in which the source language (SL) words, together with context, make up an integral whole. Naturally, all words have individual meanings as defined in dictionaries, but the context may specify or modify the word’s meaning, neutralize or emphasize some part of its semantics. Before looking for an equivalent in the target language, the translator has to engage in a careful study of the context to identify the relevant meaning of the word, its interaction with other words in the ST and, eventually choose the equivalent which fits the context best of all.

Let us see how translators of Belarusian poetry succeeded in selecting target language (TL) equivalents for the words of the original, as evidenced in an excerpt from the verse by *Yakub Kolas* “*Rodnyja vobrazy*” (Kolas 1972: 105).

(4) a.	*Čuecc-a*	***homan***	*mńe*	*spielaje* ***ńivy*** (Belarusian)
	hear-PRS-INDF	**glad conversation-**ACC	1SGDAT	ripe **harvest**-DEF-POSS
	Ćichaja	*žałba*	***paloŭ***	
	quiet-ADJ	complaint-DEF-ACC	**leas**-DEF-PL-POSS	
	Lesu	*vysokaga*	*šum-hud*	*ščaslivy*
	wood-POSS-PL	tall-ADJ	drone-DEF-ACC	happy-ADJ
	Piesńja	*mahutnych*	*duboŭ*	
	song-DEF-ACC	mighty-ADJ	oak-tree-DEF-PL-POSS	

“I hear the ripe harvest in glad conversation,
The quiet complaint of the leas,
The happy drone of tall woods’ murmuration,
The song of the mighty oak-trees.” (Rich 1971:62)

In this excerpt we meet a number of lexical transformations. Thus, in the first line there are two ‘*lexical replacements’*.

1. The first one in the form of ‘*generalization’*, a word with a more general sense is used instead of one with a narrow sense (Komissarov 1990). For instance, the Belarusian word ‘*ńiva*’ (a field in which corn is grown) was changed into ‘*harvest’*, which has a wider sense as (1) the season when crops are gathered from the fields or the activity of gathering crops, (2) the amount of crops that are gathered (Oxford English Dictionary 2004).
2. The second one is in the form of ‘*specification’* (Komissarov 1990).The Belarusian word ‘*homan’* refers to natural sounds produced by tree leaves. Some figurative meaning is embedded in the word, as if leaves not only rustle, but also seem to talk to you, ‘in glad conversation’. In this context, the translator modulated the situation to be understood by the target foreign audiences.

Another interesting moment in this passage is the use of the English word ‘*lea’* in the second line as an equivalent for the Belarusian word ‘*pole’*. Vera Rich chose that word, instead of, for instance, ‘*field*’, although any English-Belarusian dictionary would translate ‘field’ as ‘pole’ (an area of cleared enclosed land used for cultivation or pasture). Certainly, ‘lea’ (grassland, pasture) fits the context best of all because of its expressive colouring and poetic function. This choice provides evidence that her search for equivalence in the emotional impact prevails over simple lexical equivalence. For a translator it is not enough only to choose the appropriate equivalent but reproduce the whole situation and the desired effect on TR.

One more example to handle context-bound words and its solution. The excerpt from *Yanka Kupala’s verse “A jana…* ” (Kupala 1997:4:23).

(5) a.	*Stolki*	*piešeń*	*nad*	*piešńami*	*joj*	*ja*	*nap-ieŭ* (Belarusian)
	so many-ADV	songs-PL-ACC	LOC	songs-PL-ABL	x	1Pl	sing-PST-SG
	Stolki	*dumak*	*zlažyŭ*	*ab*	*joj*	*važnych,*	*tajomnych…*
	so many-ADV	thoughts-PL-ACC	x	of	her	x	secret-ADJ affairs

"So many songs upon songs which I sang,
So many the thoughts of her, secret affairs …" (Kupala 1982: 69)

These two lines are interesting for analysis. Thus, (1) a metaphorical expression '*piešeń nad piešńami*' in the first one was translated literally, '*songs upon songs'* is its 'calque'; (2) the adjectives '*važnych, tajomnych*' in the second line modify the noun '*dumak*', but they also stand loose for emphasis and their significance in the sentence. The author by using the lines in this form structurally and lexically underlines that he was thinking about the girl, he cherished his thoughts, they were important and precious for him. In TT this crucial element of the ST was not rendered and it may even be claimed in the context that it may have led to some inaccuracies or, possibly not envisaged, ambiguity. In translation the effect is that it seems that the author was thinking about the girl and her secret affairs.

The cited example shows that translators may not always succeed in finding proper equivalents to translate words with a sufficiently and adequately wide range of reference.

5. Selected interesting cases

It seems beyond doubt that the type of lexical and grammatical transformations, as discussed above are interconnected and appear in complexes in translating process. By adhering to certain explicit or implicit rules, the translator strives to solve the difficulties in finding equivalent expressions in the context of dissimilarity of languages.

In the present section, particular attention is being paid to especially interesting aspects and nuances of Belarusian-English poetic translation, as illustrated in relevant examples.

One of the pitfalls of translation from Belarusian is the translation of apposition. Apposition is a grammatical construction, in which two elements normally noun phrases, usually written through hyphen, are placed side by side, the second of which serves as an explanation or modification of the first.

Here are the examples how the translator solved this problem.

(6) a. (taken from *Yanka Kupala's sonnet* "*Na vialikim śveće*") (Kupala 1997:3:80)

Jormaŭ	*ńe*	*majstru-je*	***kryŭda-čaraŭńica*** (Belarusian)
yokes of oppression	NEG	frame-PRS-SG	**injustice – that foul witch-**NOM

Ńe	*halubić*	*dumak*	***ćemra-aslapńica***
NEG	crush-PSR-SG	thought-ACC-PL	**blinding darkness**-NOM

"Injustice – that foul witch, frames no yokes of oppression,
Blinding darkness will not crush thought and expression". (Kupala 2002: 58)

b. (taken from *Yanka Kupala's sonnet "Ja lublju")* (Kupala 1997:3:79)

…*ji*	*stan*	*hibki*	***dźaŭčyny-krasy***	(Belarusian)
…and	form-ACC-SG	lissome-ADJ	**a fair maid**-POSS	

"… and the lissome form of a fair maid…" (Kupala 2002: 57)

As evidenced above, to make the translated version understandable for TR and render adequately the constructions with apposition, Vera Rich used '*explicatory transformation',* lexical-grammatical restructuring that helps preserve pragmatic implications of a given word (Komissarov 1990).

Another interesting example of how translators can skillfully use the dictionary data and the information extracted from the context to solve their translation problems has been presented below.

(7) a. (taken from *Yanka Kupala's verse "A jana")* (Kupala 1997:4:23)

Utvaryŭ	*z*	*jaje*	***ščaśće z-nad ščaśćaŭ*** *svajo*	(Belarusian)
make-PST-SG	GEN	her	my **happiness, great, whole, and sweet**	
Čaradźejnuju	*kńažnu*	***z apovieśći dźiŭnaj****…*		
magic-ADJ	princess	**to set heads in whirl**…		

"I made her my happiness, great, whole, and sweet,
A magic princess to set heads in whirl…" (Kupala 1982: 69)

Metaphoric expression *'ščaśće z-nad ščaśćaŭ'* that Yanka Kupala uses in ST with all his skill and poetic talent is definitely a particularly important element in this line. Consequently, it is adequate, and also elegant in translation, where the fragment is necessary that the author's implications should be understood. The collocation of words '*z apovieśći dźiŭnaj'* (noun with a preposition modified by an adjective) rendered as '*to set heads in whirl*' (infinitive complex) is able to produce successful equivalence.

On a technical note, it must be recognised that in both of these cases Walter May managed to skillfully use the strategy of '*integral transformation'* (Komissarov 1990). The examples cited above show that translators can often be authorised to introduce considerable structural and lexical changes while creating a text in the target language, and that they should be authorised to perform such practices not only in contexts where there are no direct lexical or structural equivalents, but also in order to provide pragmatic equivalence.

6. Conclusions

In conclusion, to solve the problem of transmitting author's implications to the readers of the TT, translators of Belarusian poetry often burden themselves with linguistic, stylistic and pragmatic tasks and puzzles, the solution of which largely depends on whether they can correctly understand the context of the source text, relevant intricacies and interaction between words, culture-specific and culture-dependent figurative and associative nuances of the ST and the Belarusian language itself. The complexity of relevant tasks leads to the conclusion that a good poetic translator must be a versatile scholar and a talented poet.

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EXPLORING THE LOCAL GRAMMAR OF EVALUATION: THE CASE OF ADJECTIVAL PATTERNS IN AMERICAN AND ITALIAN JUDICIAL DISCOURSE[1]

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Abstract
Based on a 2-million word bilingual comparable corpus of American and Italian judgments, this paper tests the applicability of a local grammar to study evaluative phraseology in judicial discourse in English and Italian. In particular, the study compares the use of two patterns: *v-link + ADJ + that* pattern / *copula + ADJ + che* and *v-link + ADJ + to-infinitive* pattern / *copula + ADJ + verbo all'infinito* in the disciplinary genre of criminal judgments delivered by the US Supreme Court and the Italian *Corte Suprema di Cassazione*. It is argued that these two patterns represent a viable and efficient diagnostic tool for retrieving instances of evaluative language and they represent an ideal starting point and a relevant unit of analysis for a cross-language analysis of evaluation in domain-restricted specialised discourse. Further, the findings provided shed light on important interactions occurring among major interactants involved in the judicial discourse.

Keywords: evaluation, judicial discourse, legal language, local grammar, pattern, phraseology

1. Introduction

Recent research suggests that evaluation is ubiquitous in virtually all types of communication (e.g. Hunston & Thompson 2000, Hunston 2011, Partington *et al*. 2013: 44). It turns out that there are relatively few instances of linguistic interactions which would be confined to conveying only the ideational component of a message. Evaluation

[1] This paper stems from the ideas of both authors. However, Sections 1, 5.1.1, 5.2.1 and 6 were written by Stanislaw Goźdź-Roszkowski, whereas Sections 2, 3, 4, 5.1.2 and 5.2.2 were written by Gianluca Pontrandolfo. This contribution is based on conference papers given during the conference *Meaning Context Cognition* held in Łódź between 11-13 April 2013 and the 19th European Symposium on Languages for Special Purposes, 8-10 July 2013 held at the University of Vienna.

understood in its most fundamental form as "the indication that something is good or bad" (Hunston 2004:157) is arguably the driving force behind virtually all communication (Thompson & Hunston 2000). A broader and more nuanced definition of evaluation will inevitably involve a plethora of different research perspectives and methodologies, including (without any claim to being exhaustive) appraisal (Martin and White 2005), stance (e.g. Biber 2006), metadiscourse (e.g. Hyland and Tse 2004), modality (e.g. Palmer 1987), sentiment (e.g. Taboada and Grieve 2004), evaluative, attitudinal or affective language (e.g. Ochs 1989), evidentiality (e.g. Chafe and Nichols 1986) and evaluation (e.g. Hunston 1994; 2011).

For the purpose of this study, a rather reductionist and dualistic sense of evaluation has been adopted, according to which evaluation refers to the good or bad dichotomy, disregarding other aspects such as significance, (un)certainty, (un)expectedness, etc. Evaluation is expressed through language "which indexes the act of evaluation or the act of stance-taking. It expresses an attitude towards a person, situation or other entity and is both subjective and located within a societal value system" (Hunston 1994: 210).

The present analysis is based on the premise that specialised communication occurring in domain-specific discourses is no exception to the pervasiveness of evaluation. Consequently, we examine judicial discourse, and more specifically, judgments with a view to uncovering the way(s) in which the phenomenon of evaluation is handled linguistically by the professional community of judges. Evaluation in judicial discourse remains an under researched area. The few existing studies related to evaluation in judicial discourse include e.g. Heffer 2007, who examines the linguistic construal of evaluating witnesses and defendants by trial lawyers and judges and Mazzi 2007, 2010) who analyses the pattern 'this/these/that/those + labelling noun' in US Supreme Court Judgments (2010).

We believe that creating evaluative meanings is crucial to legal communication in judicial settings because indicating an attitude towards a legal argumentation, or process is inherent in the acts of persuasion and argumentation, which in turn appear to be an integral part of judicial discourse. Moreover, examining how evaluation is effected in comparable genres cross-linguistically should result in obtaining invaluable insights into the respective legal institutions and cultures.

This paper documents preliminary and selected findings obtained in the course of an on-going project aiming at mapping out the linguistic construal of evaluative meanings embedded in the common-law culture of the US *Supreme Court* Opinions and the civil law culture of the Italy's *Corte Suprema di Cassazione* judgments (cf. Goźdź-Roszkowski & Pontrandolfo, 2013). There is some evidence to suggest that the way evaluative meanings are created in judgments is far from being idiosyncratic or accidental. On the contrary, evaluative language tends to be highly patterned and it is argued that it could be effectively and systematically described by relying on the concept of local grammar. Consequently, the study seeks to probe the efficiency of applying a corpus-based approach to identify and quantify the pattern(s) employed to express evaluative meanings in judicial discourse. The present study is also innovative because it attempts to address the issue of evaluative meanings from a cross-linguistic perspective by examining specialist discourse across two different languages and professional cultures. One of the basic research problems encountered in comparative cross-language analysis is to determine the unit of analysis. This question seems particularly relevant in the case of evaluation, which is regarded as an extremely elusive and context-dependent linguistic and communicative phenomenon that can be manifested by means of widely diverse language items (see, for example, Hunston 2011).

In this paper, we adopt a corpus-based approach and draw upon the concept of a local grammar of evaluation (Hunston & Sinclair 2000) to examine two patterns: the *v-link + ADJ + that* pattern and the *v-link + ADJ + to-inf* pattern. It is argued that these two patterns represent a viable and efficient diagnostic tool for retrieving instances of evaluative language in judicial language. Moreover, such patterns represent an ideal starting point and a relevant unit of analysis for a cross-language analysis of evaluation in domain-restricted specialized discourse of judicial decisions.

2. Setting the scene: key concepts

Before delving into the methodological issues regarding this paper, it is important to set out the conceptual boundaries of the research, focusing on what we think the key notions underpinning the project are.

As already mentioned, one of the claims made in this study is that evaluation in judgments is not expressed in a purely haphazard way. The link between specific language patterns and evaluation was established in Hunston & Sinclair (2000), where the authors draw upon the concept of "local grammar" (Gross 1993) and "sublanguage" (Harris 1991) to find a viable analytical framework for studying evaluation. Even though it has been generally demonstrated that evaluation does not have its own grammar and it can be explored lexically, the close analysis of the items and structures involved in expressing evaluative meanings can reveal a systematic and coherent picture, hence the idea of a "local grammar of evaluation" (Hunston & Sinclair 2000). Rather than describing a language as a whole, corpus grammarians, more specifically parsers, developed the idea that particular areas of language can be examined separately as they seem to show patterning of their own which hardly fits the generalised categories provided by general grammar.

If we look at the criteria mentioned in the literature (Lehrberger 1986, Harris 1991: 272-277, Pearson 1998, Hunston & Sinclair 2000: 77) to assess whether a language can be regarded as satisfying the requirement of the sublanguage model, we realise that our domain (legal/judicial language), as typified in our genre (judgments), perfectly conforms to the sublanguage prototypical features:

1. Limited subject-matter
2. Lexical, syntactic and semantic restriction
3. "Deviant" rules of grammar
4. High frequency of certain constructions
5. Text structure
6. Use of special symbols

One of the overall research goals of the project is testing the applicability of a local grammar of evaluation to judicial language. The idea is that many recurrent features in our genre may fit lexico-grammatical categories which are not limited to the single text, but widespread across an entire genre. This paper shows some trends confirming our ideas.

From a pure methodological point of view, the present study is not framed within the computational and technical side adopted in many studies carried out by local grammarians mainly for lexicographic purposes (see the studies pioneered by Gross 1993 as Barnbrook 2002), but rather draws heavily from the theoretical considerations with a view to conducting a full-blown corpus-based study (in line with, for example, Bednarek 2007), in particular, a "corpus-assisted discourse study", borrowing Partington et al (2013)'s terminology.

In line with that strand of research which rejects the distinction between lexis and grammar – the philosophy behind the Collins COBUILD project (cf. 1992; Francis et al. 1996, 1998) – this papers adopts a pattern-grammar approach (Hunston & Francis 2000), where the basic unit of analysis is the "pattern", understood as "all the words and structures which are regularly associated with the word and which contribute to its meaning" (Hunston & Francis 2000: 37).

3. Data and tools

In order to answer the research questions we rely upon our bilingual comparable corpus of judgments (see also Goźdź-Roszkowski & Pontrandolfo, 2013).

Parameters	
Type of corpus	Bilingual (EN-IT), comparable, POS-tagged
Corpus size	c. 2m tokens
Subcorpora	US subcorpus: c. 1m tokens IT subcorpus: c. 1m tokens
Genre	Criminal judgments
Judicial bodies	US Supreme Court Corte Suprema di Cassazione
Time span	US: 1999-2012 IT: 2005-2012
Software for the analysis	WordSmith Tools v. 5.0 AntConc 3.2.1

Table 1: Corpus for the analysis

Despite the differences between the common law and the civil law system, the Supreme Courts of both US and Italy share important roles and functions, which is the rationale behind the compilation of the corpus.

Both are the ultimate appellate courts in the respective criminal systems. The US Supreme Court rules over a limited number of cases usually involving questions about the Constitution and the federal state law, which explains the disproportion in the time span: the IT Court of Cassation (Criminal Division) is asked to deliver around 28,000 judgments per year. When it comes to the IT Court of Cassation, its duty is to ensure the correct application of the law and its uniform interpretation: it always decides on points of law (*quaestio iuris*) rather than on the *quaestio facti* (the "merits" of the case), dealt with by lower courts.

The corpus represents a fertile test bed for the study of evaluation. As mentioned in the introductory section, judges delivering the judgments have to employ evaluative resources to convince their audience (judges from the same or lower bench, eventual readers of the text, etc.) of what should be seen as right and proper and what not, despite the Montesquieuian idea[2] that judges should be "bouche de la loi", mere translators into practices of legal norms. As pointed out by Mazzi (2010: 374), "although judges are expected to draft linear lines where the formulation of the decision merely reflects the application of the relevant legal norms to the facts of the case, the articulation of the judges' argumentation presupposes a certain degree of subjectivity". Evaluation is the engine of persuasion (Partington et al. 2013: 46) and judges have to persuade that their grounds are right or that the arguments adduced by the defendants or their counsel for defences are wrong.

The play of evaluative "voices" in judicial discourse is really complex, as we will attempt to demonstrate in the following sections.

4. Methodology

The present paper combines the quantitative corpus analysis with the qualitative study (close reading of the texts of our corpus), traditional to discourse studies, with the final aim of studying the interplay of evaluation not only in our corpus and discourse.

As far as the quantitative side of the analysis is concerned, we have queried our corpus in searching of the two above-mentioned patterns:

1. *v-link* + *ADJ* + *that* pattern / *copula* + *ADJ* + *che*
2. *v-link* + *ADJ* + *to-infinitive* pattern / *copula* + *ADJ* + *verbo all'infinito*

In the former case, the adjective is followed by an appositive *that*-clause (with our without "that") – e.g. It is true that, It is evident that / è impossibile che, è indubbio che, etc. – whereas in the latter the adjective is followed by an infinitive clause – e.g. it is difficult to see, it is necessary to decide / è necessario considerare, è opportuno intraprendere, etc.

As far as the qualitative side of the analysis is concerned, through the close reading of the co(n)texts and patterns extracted from our corpus we attempted to distinguish between evaluative and non-evaluative meanings.

The methodological steps followed for the qualitative analysis are the following ones: firstly, the patterns carrying evaluative meanings have been selected and retrieved, leaving aside the non-evaluative ones; secondly, they have been classified according to Hunston & Sinclair (2000)'s categories and, finally, they have been interpreted in terms

[2] "Les juges de la nation ne sont que la *bouche qui prononce les paroles de la loi*, des êtres inanimés, qui n'en peuvent modérer la force ni la rigueur" (emphasis added) (Montesquieu 1748) [Judges are no more than the *mouth that pronounces the words of the law*, mere passive beings, incapable of moderating either its force or rigour, 2001 [1752]: 180).

of interactions between the discourse participants. Tab. 2 exemplifies the categories of analysis used for classifying the instances.

Evaluation carrier	**Hinge**	**Evaluative response**	**Thing evaluated**
noun group	*link verb*	*adjective group*	*that clause* *to-infinitive clause*
The Court The Court	is is	correct wrong	that many mental […] to prohibit that
- La Corte [The Court]	È [is] ha ritenuto [holded]	indubbio [undoubted] corretto [correct]	che le indagini [that investigations] concedere le attenuanti [to grant mitigating circumstances]

Table 2: Descriptive categories for evaluative patterns (based on Hunston & Sinclair 2000)

The first category refers to the subject or thing that bears someone else's evaluative comments. The hinge is the linking verb (generally, *to be* but also *appear, become, look, seem,* etc.) which connects the subject of the verb (the evaluative noun group) to additional information about that subject, that is the evaluative adjective group which realises the evaluative content. Following Hunston & Sinclair, "these adjectives usually indicate that a particular form of behaviour is morally right or wrong, foolish or wise, and the person who carries out that behaviour is only instantially good or bad, foolish, or wise, not inherently so" (2000: 87). Finally, the that-clause or the to-infinitive clause realises the "thing evaluated", that is to say the object of the evaluation.

As we will see in the results sections, it is useful to distinguish between evaluations which are "averred", that is, affirmed by the author/speaker as his/her own, and those which are "attributed", that is, where the author/speaker assigns evaluation to other voices (Sinclair 1988 in Partington et al. 2013: 54). The instances retrieved from our corpus reveal that evaluation in judicial discourse is mostly attributed and, in many cases, the "evaluator" is an implicit one (cf. Section 5), which shed light on some dynamics and interactions between legal participants in judicial discourse.

From a mere qualitative point of view, we interpret the results in terms of positive or negative polarity.

5. Results

As mentioned in Section 4, the focus of this section is on two patterns typically used to express evaluation: the *v-link + ADJ + that* pattern (5.1) and the *v-link + ADJ + to-infinitive* pattern (5.2), which will be tackled both from a quantitative and qualitative perspective.

5.1 The *v-link + ADJ + that* pattern / *copula + ADJ + che*

v-link + ADJ + that clause	
US SC subcorpus	IT CSC subcorpus
Total adjectives (types): **48**	Total adjectives (types): **41**
Total adjectives (tokens): **238**	Total adjectives (tokens): **287**
Total evaluative adjectives (types): **198**	Total evaluative adjectives (types): **245**
198/238 = **83%** of the adjectives occurring in this pattern are evaluative	245/287 = **85%** of the adjectives occurring in this pattern are evaluative

Table 3: *v-link* + ADJ + *that* pattern / *copula* + ADJ + *che* (quantitative results)

v-link + ADJ + that clause	
US SC subcorpus	IT CSC subcorpus
clear (50)	vero [true] (43)
true (49)	evidente [evident] (32)
correct (23)	necessario [necessary] (27)
aware (13)	sufficiente [sufficient] (31)
undisputed (13)	dubbio [dubious] (13)
possible (12)	pacifico [obvious] (11)
unlikely (7)	possibile [possible] (11)
likely (5)	irrilevante [irrelevant] (10)
certain (4)	chiaro [clear] (7)
evident (4)	noto [lit. known] (7)
apparent (3)	indispensabile [indispensable] (5)
conceivable (3)	verosimile [plausible/likely] (4)
confident (3)	pensabile [lit. thinkable] (3)
implausible (3)	indubbio [undoubted] (3)
noteworthy (3)	impossibile [impossible] (3)
[…]	[…]

Table 4: *v-link* + ADJ + *that* pattern / *copula* + ADJ + *che* (qualitative results)

Tab. 3 shows the quantitative results of the corpus queries which confirm that the pattern under investigation is an excellent diagnostic for retrieving evaluative items. 83% of the adjectives occurring in the *v-link + ADJ + that* pattern are evaluative in the US subcorpus, 85% in the IT one. If we look at the qualitative results, shown in Tab. 4, we discover that there is a wide range of adjectives which can be classified according to Francis et al. (1998: 480-498)'s system of classification (cf. Goźdź-Roszkowski 2007). The most frequent adjectives refer to the validity of the theses adduced in judicial argumentation (e.g. *clear*, *true*; *vero*, *evidente*), but there are also adjectives which are used to express strong positive (e.g. *undisputed*, *correct*; *indubbio*, *pacifico*) or negative (e.g. *implausible*, *unlikely*; *dubbio*, *irrilevante*) polarity, as shown in the following sections.

5.1.1 Findings in the US subcorpus

Tab. 4 above shows that an overwhelming majority of adjectives found in the *v-link + ADJ that clause* appear to be inherently positive, however there are a few counter-examples indicating negative evaluation. In what follows, we examine the use of two adjectives: *correct* and *implausible* to illustrate how positive and negative evaluation can be expressed in US judgments. Selected, representative examples are provided in Tab. 5 and 6 below.

Entities evaluated	**Hinge**	**Evaluative category**	**Proposition evaluated**
Noun group	*Link verb*	*Adjectival group*	*that clause*
the Illinois Supreme Court	is	correct	that General Order 92-4 is not a sufficient limitation on police discretion.
The Court	is	correct	that many mental diseases are difficult to define and the subject of great debate
Respondent	is	correct	that some crimes must be charged with greater specificity than an indictment parroting a federal criminal statute's language
The majority	is	correct	that rigid adherence to such an approach could conceivably produce absurd results
Clark [Petitioner]	is	correct	that applying the moral incapacity test (telling right from wrong) does not necessarily require evaluation of a defendant's cognitive capacity to appreciate the nature and quality of the acts charged against him

Table 5: Examples of positive evaluation in the *v-link* + ADJ *that* pattern (US subcorpus)

As Tab. 5 shows, the subject positions in the clauses with *correct* are filled by a number of different entities representing the key interactants in the judicial appellate process: the Illinois Supreme Court as an example of a lower court (with regard to the federal US Supreme Court), the Court and majority referring basically to the prevalent opinion of the US Supreme Court judges, the Respondent and Petitoner as the two major parties to a legal dispute. All the entities are named explicitly as the target of evaluation effected by the whole range of evaluative voices occurring in the opinion part of judgments given by the US Supreme Court, namely judges expressing majority, dissenting or concurring opinions. In the examples provided above, the expression of evaluation is fairly straightforward and unequivocal. The judges, as evaluators, support the arguments put forward by the counsel representing the litigants, the lower courts or their fellow judges. However, positive evaluation of a particular point raised by a given interactant does not necessarily correspond to an overall positive evaluation of a disposition given in a particular case. For example, the sentence starting with *the majority* provided in Tab. 5 above comes from a dissenting opinion. The seemingly positive evaluation of an argument adduced in the majority opinion does not warrant that the entire argumentation and reasoning leading to a particular holding is accepted.

There is evidence (see also Section 5.2.1 below) of the phenomenon of 'embedded evaluation" . i.e. "items of intrinsically favourable evaluation which are found embedded in expressions of overall unfavourability" (Partington *et al*., 2013: 61-62). An inherently positive word or phrase may be embedded in a larger unit (e.g. at a sentence or paragraph level) which may be imbued with the opposite polarity.

> [1] Though <u>Clark</u> is <u>correct that</u> applying the moral incapacity test (telling right from wrong) does not necessarily require evaluation of a defendant's cognitive capacity to appreciate the nature and quality of the acts charged against him, <u>his argument fails to recognize</u> that cognitive incapacity is itself enough to demonstrate moral incapacity, so that evidence bearing on whether the defendant knew the nature and quality of his actions is both relevant and admissible.

Excerpt [1] shows how the positive evaluation of Clark, the Petitioner (*Clark is* correct) found in a subordinate concessive clause, is embedded in the negative evaluation phrased in the main clause: *his argument fails to recognize.* This simple example signals the complexity of expressing evaluation in judicial discourse and the need for studying longer contexts beyond concordance lines.

Tab. 6 demonstrates the use of the negatively charged adjective *implausible* to express negative evaluation. Unlike in the case of *correct,* the use of *implausible that* entails a different variant of the *v-link + ADJ that clause* pattern where the *that-clause* is preceded by IT + link verb (the verb BE in our examples). The entity evaluated is often indicated directly in the clause following the adjective. In the examples in Tab. 6, these include the jury, this Court, and the Framers (of the American Constitution). As in the case of *correct,* the evaluation comes from a range of evaluative voices.

It link verb	**adjective group**	**Thing evaluated**
It is	implausible	that a 14-year-old's mandatory prison sentence--of any length, with or without parole (…)
It is	implausible	that the jury supposed that past deeds pointing to a constructive future could not "extenuat[e] the gravity of the crime,"
It is	implausible	that this Court could set aside entire portions of the United States Code as outside Congress' power in Lopez and Morrison,
It is	implausible	that the Framers intended to defer to legislatures as to what satisfies the Public Use Clause,

Table 6: Examples of positive evaluation in the *v-link* + ADJ *that* pattern (US subcorpus)

The excerpt provided below is interesting because, while it indicates the thing evaluated, i.e. a *14-year-old mandatory sentence*, the entity evaluated needs to be inferred.

[2] It is therefore implausible that a 14-year-old's mandatory prison sentence--of any length, with or without parole--would have been viewed as cruel and unusual.

Here, the dissenting judge (Justice Alito) in *Miller vs. Alabama* disagrees with the ruling of his colleagues to reverse the decision of the Court of Criminal Appeals of Alabama to sentence a 14-year-old to life imprisonment without the possibility of parole. There seems little doubt that the *it v-link +ADJ +that* pattern is an effective diagnostic of evaluative adjectives in judicial discourse.

5.1.2 Findings in the Italian subcorpus

As far as the IT subcorpus is concerned, most of the patterns begin without an explicit subject – as in the case of the English introductory or anticipatory *it* – followed by a link verb, an adjective group, and a that or to-infinitive clause. Tab. 7 shows some examples of the pattern v-link followed by adjective group and the that-clause. As for the English subcorpus, there are cases of negative (Tab. 7) and positive (Tab. 8) polarity.

Entity evaluated	**Hinge**	**Evaluative category**	**Restriction on Evaluation**
Noun group	*Link verb*	*Adjectival group*	*that* clause
-	-	-	-
It link verb	**adjective group**	**Thing evaluated**	
È [it is]	(del tutto) *irrilevante* [(fully) irrelevant]	*che* quegli stessi elementi si possano, teoricamente, prestare ad una differente lettura [that those same elements could, theoretically, be read differently]	
È [it is]	*irrilevante* [irrelevant]	*che* le persone offese permangano nell'errore in cui erano cadute [ai fini della sussistenza del reato di truffa] [that the victims keep on repeating the same error (for the definition of fraud as offence)]	
È [it is]	*irrilevante* [irrelevant]	*che* l'attività illecita potesse essere svolta anche altrove ai fini della confisca [that the illegal activity could have been carried out also in a different place for the purposes of the confiscation]	

Table 7: Examples of negative evaluation in the *copula* + ADJ *che* pattern (IT subcorpus)

The first example is taken from the final part of the judgment: the (implicit) evaluators are the Supreme Court judges who are dismissing the appellant's arguments. The fact that those elements could be read differently – adduced by the appellant to maintain his innocence – is absolutely irrelevant for the judges sitting at the Supreme bench. Negative evaluation is therefore expressed by means of the adjective "irrilevante", intrinsically negative per se.

The other two excerpts epitomise the function of the Italian Supreme Court judges, who are not asked to discuss the facts of the case (the "merits"), but the points of law and their correct interpretation and application. It is not surprising that these statements are found in the legal background's section of the judgment in which the judges have to explain the grounds of their decisions based on legal rules. In both examples, the judges are interpreting the legal definition of "offence" and "confiscation", excluding specific circumstances for being "irrelevant". The specific cases - i.e. the restrictions on evaluation, "that the victims keep on repeating the same error" and that "the illegal activity could have been carried out elsewhere" – are actually the arguments adduced by the lawyers of the appellant to defend their clients. Negativity is expressed to subtle and implicit references.

The examples in Tab. 8 show how complex is evaluation in judicial discourse. The focus is on the adjective "indubbio" (undoubted, obvious, true), having clear positive connotation.

<table>
<tr><th>Entity evaluated</th><th>Hinge</th><th>Evaluative category</th><th>Restriction on Evaluation</th></tr>
<tr><td>Noun group</td><td>Link verb</td><td>Adjectival group</td><td>that clause</td></tr>
<tr><td>-</td><td>-</td><td>-</td><td>-</td></tr>
<tr><td>It link verb</td><td>adjective group</td><td colspan="2">Thing evaluated</td></tr>
<tr><td>È
[it is]</td><td>indubbio
[undoubted]</td><td colspan="2">che le indagini non avessero offerto alcun elemento obiettivo
[that the investigations did not offer any objectives elements]</td></tr>
<tr><td>È
[it is]</td><td>indubbio
[undoubted]</td><td colspan="2">che il percorso argomentativo del decidente è infondato e illogico
[that the argumentative path adopted by the judge [lit. decider] is groundless and illogical]</td></tr>
<tr><td>È
[it is]</td><td>indubbio
[undoubted]</td><td colspan="2">che […] fornisce un ulteriore tassello all'impianto accusatorio
[that […] represents a further 'piece' to the accusation framework]</td></tr>
</table>

Table 8: Examples of negative evaluation in the *copula* + ADJ *che* pattern (IT subcorpus)

The evaluator of the first two examples is the appellant – by means of his lawyer – who is contesting the decision of the lower-court judges who found him guilty: no doubts that the investigations did not offer any objective elements and that the grounds of the judges who decided the case are illogical. A positive adjective, which usually displays a favourable evaluative priming, is embedded in negative contexts (cf. Partington et al. 2013: 61-63).

However, in the following example, the evaluator changes: the Supreme Court judges are backing the decision of their colleagues from the lower-court bench who found the appellant guilty.

[3] Se, però, la suddetta dichiarazione viene letta, come si deve, insieme a tutte le altre, è *indubbio* che, come hanno rilevato entrambi i giudici di merito, fornisce un ulteriore

tassello all'impianto accusatorio perché è una dichiarazione che, ancora una volta, individua il L.G. come un soggetto orbitante nell'ambito dell'associazione mafiosa […]

[If, however, such statement is read, as it should be, together with the other ones, it is *undoubted* that, as both lower-court judges have noted, it represents a further 'piece' to the accusation framework since it is a statement that, once again, considers L.G. as a subject moving around the area of mafia-type associations […]

Again, a positive adjective is embedded in a context of negative evaluation (the accusation of the appellant). The notion of "trueness" is of course subject to subjectivity, especially in the dialectics of the parties that play a pivotal role in our genre.

5.2 The *v-link + ADJ + to-inf* pattern / *copula + ADJ + v-inf*

v-link + ADJ + that clause	
US SC subcorpus	IT CSC subcorpus
Total adjectives (types): **61**	Total adjectives (types): **41**
Total adjectives (tokens): **662**	Total adjectives (tokens): **241**
Total evaluative adjectives (types): **525**	Total evaluative adjectives (types): **223**
525/662 = **79%** of the adjectives occurring in this pattern are evaluative	223/241 = **92%** of the adjectives occurring in this pattern are evaluative

Table 9: *v-link* + ADJ + *to-inf* pattern / *copula* + ADJ + *v-inf* (quantitative results)

v-link + ADJ + to-inf clause	
US SC subcorpus	IT CSC subcorpus
likely (70)	possibile [possible] (52)
necessary (52)	necessario [necessary] (34)
difficult (45)	sufficiente [sufficient] (24)
sufficient (43)	opportuno [convenient/appropriate] (19)
unable (41)	agevole [easy] (16)
insufficient (29)	illogico [illogical] (11)
hard (27)	impossibile [impossible] (7)
correct (23)	equo [fair] (6)
unlikely (18)	difficile [difficult] (5)
willing (16)	utile [useful] (5)
important (16)	irrilevante [irrelevant] (4)
appropriate (16)	inutile [useless] (4)
wrong (14)	indispensabile [indispensable] (3)
reluctant (13)	decisivo [crucial] (3)
impossible (10)	facile [easy] (2)
[…]	[…]

Table 10: *v-link* + ADJ + *to-inf* pattern / *copula* + ADJ + *v-inf* (qualitative results)

The quantitative and qualitative results of the corpus queries confirm that also this pattern is highly evaluative. In particular, 79% of the adjectives occurring in the *v-link + ADJ + to-inf* pattern are evaluative in the US subcorpus, 92% in the IT one. The quantitative results are similar to those obtained in the previous pattern (cf. Tab. 3 in 5.1), with the exception of the higher frequency of adjectives conveying necessity or importance (e.g. *necessary*, *important*; *necessario*, *opportuno*). The following sections contextualise a selected number of adjectives used with positive or negative polarity.

5.2.1 Findings in the US subcorpus

<table>
<tr><th>Entity evaluated</th><th>Hinge</th><th>Evaluative category</th><th>Proposition evaluated</th></tr>
<tr><td>Noun group</td><td>Link verb</td><td>Adjectival group</td><td>to-infinitive clause</td></tr>
<tr><td>The Sixth
Circuit
The majority
The Court
The dissent</td><td>was
is
is
is</td><td>wrong
wrong
wrong
wrong</td><td>to hold that
to say that
to suggest
to read</td></tr>
<tr><th>It link verb</th><th>adjective group</th><th colspan="2">Thing evaluated</th></tr>
<tr><td>It is</td><td>quite wrong</td><td colspan="2">to invite state court judges to discount…</td></tr>
<tr><td>It is</td><td>wrong</td><td colspan="2">to assume that his petition by itself failed to alert the Oregon Supreme Court to the federal nature of</td></tr>
</table>

Table 11: Examples of negative evaluation in the *v-link* + ADJ + *to-inf* pattern (US subcorpus)

Tab. 11 illustrates how the pattern *v-link* followed by adjective group and the *to-*infinitive clause contains instances of negative evaluation directed at a range of interactants appearing in the judicial discourse. As can be seen, the pattern *v-link + ADJ + to-inf clause* pattern can be realized as two variants. The first one, shown in the upper part of Tab. 2, identifies explicitly a legal interactant as a subject of the main clause and the target of evaluation. The noun group slot can be filled in by a range of entities including a lower court (the Sixth Circuit), a majority opinion of the US SC (referred to as *the Court*), a dissenting judge or judges, and a respondent. The other variant shown in the lower part of Tab. 11, consists of *it v-link* followed by *to-inf clause.*

> [4] The Sixth Circuit was also wrong to hold that prosecutorial inconsistencies between the Stumpf and Wesley cases required voiding Stumpf 's guilty plea.

Example [4] comes from the holding of the *Bradshaw, Warden vs. Stumpf* judgment in which the Supreme Court unanimously rejected the decision by the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit to reverse an earlier judgment given by a District Court. In this case, there is a negative evaluation of the lower court's, i.e. the Sixth Court's judicial action which correlates with the Supreme Court overall negative decision encapsulated in its disposition: "reversed in part, vacated in part and remanded". Negative evaluation can also be averred by judges sitting on the same bench.

Importantly, a Supreme Court judge can write a dissenting opinion in which he or she is joined by other judges. Predictably, such opinion is replete with negative evaluation of argumentation put forward by the majority of judges. A good illustration is provided in [5]:

> [5] The majority is also wrong to say that this Court has "narrowed" Parden in its "subsequent opinion[s]," ante, at 12, at least in any way relevant to today's decision.

In [5] the dissenting judge Justice Breyer (*Expense Board* et al. on writ of certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit) finds a perceived flaw in the argumentation expounded in the majority opinion. Although a dissenting opinion has no bearing on the disposition, it provides an extremely useful insight into legal reasoning. Examples [4] and [5] represent an explicit averral of evaluation by means of the variant *noun group + v-link + adjective + to-inf clause*. In contrast, the *it v-link + to-inf clause* variant is used as more covert form of expressing evaluation. Example [6], provided below, is a case in point.

> [6] It is quite wrong to invite state court judges to discount the importance of such guidance on the ground that it may not have been strictly necessary as an explanation of the Court's specific holding in the case.

In the above excerpt [6] from *Thomas L. Carey, Warden, Petitioner V.Mathew Musladin,* Justice Stevens concurs in the judgment albeit with serious reservations. While it is easy to identify the judge as the evaluator, the same does not apply to the entity evaluated. The preceding context suggests that the evaluation is directed at the Ninth Circuit by pointing out the consequences of its decision and the impact this decision may have had on state court judges. At the same time, the evaluation also implicates the Supreme Court by referring to its past holdings.

The pattern *v-link + ADJ + to-inf clause* can also contain positive evaluation. This is illustrated by looking at the adjective *adequate* in Tab. 12. If we compare Tab. 11 and 12, it becomes immediately clear that apart from a change in polarity, i.e. from negative to positive, there is also a change in the type of subjects of the main clause and their relationship with the to-inf. clauses. For one, subject positions for the clauses with *adequate* are filled by non-animate concrete objects denoting specific legal documents, such as *terms of the Force Resolution, the record of a plea proceeding, the summary judgment evidence.* Second, the verbs found in to-infinitive clauses are different. Tab. 11 shows that the adjective *wrong* is used with verbs belonging to the semantic category of communication, e.g. *say, suggest, hold,* etc. There seems to be a relationship of a close proximity between the subject of the main clause and the verb in the to-infinitive clause, i.e. a given interactant (e.g. court) is directly responsible for a particular act of 'holding' or 'suggesting'. In contrast, Tab. 12 shows instances of positive evaluation where the concrete nouns acting as subjects of a clause cannot be held accountable for the actions indicated by the verbs in the to-infinitive clause.

Entity evaluated	**Hinge**	**Evaluative category**	**Restriction on evaluation**
Noun group	*Link verb*	*Adjectival group*	*to-infinitive* clause
the issues presented	are	adequate	*to deserve* encouragement to proceed further
(…) the terms of the Force Resolution	are	adequate	*to authorize* detention of an enemy combatant
the record of a plea proceeding	is	fully adequate	*to enable* discretionary review and,
the summary judgment evidence	is	at least adequate	*to entitle* MGM to go forward

Table 12: Examples of positive evaluation in the *v-link* + ADJ + *to-inf* pattern (US subcorpus)

For example, it can be argued that the terms of the Force Resolution are evaluated positively as having the necessary quality of adequacy which makes is possible for a different duly authorized entity to detain an enemy combatant. In other words, it is not the subject of this clause that will be directly involved in authorizing the detention. The legal instrument serves as a mere basis for the subsequent action:

> [7] Next, there is the Government's claim, accepted by the Court, that the terms of the Force Resolution are adequate to *authorize* detention of an enemy combatant under the circumstances described, [a claim the Government fails to support sufficiently to satisfy §4001(a) as read to require a clear statement of authority to detain]

Importantly, excerpt [7] provides an example of the phenomenon of embedded evaluation, and it shows that interplay of evaluative voices can be indeed quite complex, especially in the case of attributed evaluation. The adjective a*dequate* is intrinsically positive and as such is used to evaluate the terms of the Force Resolution. It should be noted that this instance of positive evaluation is attributed to the Government by the author of this opinion (Justice Souter concurring in the judgment of *Yaser Esam Hamdi and Esam Fouad Hamdi, as Next Friend of Yaser Esam Hamdi, Petitioners V. Donald H. Rumsfeld, Secretary Of Defense,* et al.). The positive evaluation is embedded in the wider context (marked in Example 4 in square brackets) of negative evaluation – *a claim the Government fails to support* – unequivocally signalled in the opinion. Interestingly, it turns out that the seemingly positive evaluation of a legal instrument relied upon by one interactant (the Government) can be in fact used against this interactant.

It appears that positive evaluation of a legal document can also be used in much less explicit terms as in Example [8]:

> [8] Furthermore, as I have explained, the record of a plea proceeding is fully adequate to enable discretionary review and, in turn, to permit the correction of errors in the factfinding process when necessary.

This excerpt comes from a dissenting opinion of Justice Thomas in *Antonio Dwayne Halbert, Petitioner v. Michigan.* There is a positive evaluation of the quality of the record of a plea proceeding as meeting the requirements to carry out a review leading to the correction of errors found in the fact-finding process. Unlike in [7], there is a single evaluative voice without a clear indication of any legal interactant involved in this case.

5.2.2 Findings in the IT subcorpus

The *v-link* + *ADJ* + *to-infinitive* pattern shows similar results in term of evaluative polarity. Adjectives are used in contexts characterised by both polarities and the interplay between judicial voices retain its complexity.

Entity evaluated	**Hinge**	**Evaluative category**	**Restriction on Evaluation**
Noun group	*Link verb*	*Adjectival group*	*to-infinitive* clause
-	-	-	-
It link verb	**adjective group**	**Thing evaluated**	
È [it is]	(certamente) *illogico* [(certainly) illogical]	**collegare** l'omicidio alla lite in cui quello stesso pomeriggio rimasero coinvolti la vittima ed il T.. [to link the murder to the quarrel occurred the same afternoon between the victim and T.]	
Sarebbe [it would]	*illogico* [illogical]	**individuare** il movente della azione omicidiaria nella necessità di vendicare l'attentato subito da P.F. [to identify the motive for the crime with the need to avenge the offence suffered by P.F.]	
Era [it was]	*illogico* [illogical]	**sostenere** da parte dei giudici di merito che le "false" dichiarazioni dell' A.N. erano di fatto inutilizzabili ai fini della ricostruzione dell'omicidio [for the lower-court judges to maintain that the 'false' statements made by A.N. were actually not usable for the purposes of the murder's reconstruction]	

Table 13: Examples of negative evaluation in the *copula* + ADJ + *v-inf* pattern (IT subcorpus)

The excerpts show cases of negative polarity expressed by an introductory it-link verb, followed by an intrinsically negative adjective ("illogico", illogical), and by an infinitive clause.

The evaluator of the three examples is the appellant, by means of his lawyer, who is contesting the decision of the lower-court judges who found him guilty. The grounds adduced by the judges are illogical, according to them: there is no correlation between the murder and the quarrel in the first example, nor between motive for the crime and revenge in the second example. Illogical is also the interpretation of the lower-court judges in the latest example. Negativity is also stressed by the use of the inverted commas (quotation mark) in 'false' which expresses a strong disagreement between the accusation and the defence: according to the appellant's lawyer the declarations of his client are obviously not 'false'.

Tab. 14 exemplifies cases of positive polarity in the *v-link + ADJ + to-inf* pattern.

Entity evaluated	**Hinge**	**Evaluative category**	**Restriction on Evaluation**
Noun group	*Link verb*	*Adjectival group*	*to-infinitive* clause
La Corte [The Court]	ha ritenuto che fosse stata [sic] [believed it was]	*corretto* [correct]	concedere le attenuanti generiche solo equivalenti [to grant exclusively the equivalent generic mitigating circumstances]
It link verb	**adjective group**	**Thing evaluated**	
È [it is]	(del tutto) *corretto* [(fully) correct]	**concludere** che nella specie la norma di legge è stata violata [to conclude that the rule of law has been violated]	
è [it is]	*corretto e legittimo* [correct and lawful]	**fare ricorso** alla verosimiglianza ed alle massime di esperienza [to resort to the similarity and the maxims of experience]	
È [it is]	*corretto* [correct]	**utilizzare** la nozione di giudicato parziale [to adopt the notion of partial decision]	

Table 14: Examples of positive evaluation in the *copula* + ADJ + *v-inf* pattern (IT subcorpus)

In the examples provided in Tab. 14, the Supreme Court judges are (positively) evaluating how their colleague from the lower benches dealt with the case. In particular, in the first excerpt they are backing the decision of the lower-court judges (‘la Corte’) who ruled in favour of the defendant, granting him a ‘discount’ on his sentence, as it is evident from the following lines:

> [9] La Corte, quindi, ha valutato la complessiva personalità dell'imputato e, proprio in considerazione di tale complessivo giudizio, ha ritenuto che fosse stata corretto concedere le attenuanti generiche solo equivalenti. La suddetta motivazione, deve ritenersi ampia, congrua e logica e, quindi, non censurabile in questa sede di legittimità, essendo stato correttamente esercitato il potere discrezionale spettante al giudice di merito in ordine al trattamento sanzionatorio.
>
> [The Court has therefore evaluated the overall personality of the accused person and, in consideration of such overall judgement, believed it was correct to grant exclusively the equivalent generic mitigating circumstances. Such grounds should be considered as wide, congrous and logical, and therefore not demolishable in this Court of legittimacy, as the discretional power of the lower-court judge related to the entity of the penalty has been exercised correctly].

In the other three patterns, evaluation concerns legal interpretation: the lower-court judges, according to their Supreme Court colleagues, have rightly interpreted the law. If in the first excerpt the entity evaluated is explicit (the Court), in the other two patterns, as in most of the cases in the Italian subcorpus, the evaluator and the first entity to be evaluated are implicit, which could be interpreted in terms of politeness strategies. This is a further demonstration of the complexity ineherent in the study of evaluation in judicial discourse.

6. Concluding remarks

In this paper, an attempt was made to check the validity and applicability of a local grammar exemplified by two patterns the *v-link + ADJ + that* pattern and the *v-link + ADJ + to-inf* pattern to identify evaluation in judicial texts. While there is already ample evidence to suggest that these patterns are an effective way to detect evaluative adjectives (Hunston & Sinclair 2000: 84), it was not at all certain that this claim could be equally valid for the highly specialised judicial language. Now our quantitative findings provided in Tab. 3 and 9 corroborate the observation that these patterns are indeed very often employed to express evaluation not only in US judgments but they have a relatively similar distribution in Italian texts. Our brief analysis of the patterns demonstrates that their applicability goes beyond English and it could be used as a viable unit of analysis in cross-linguistic contrastive or comparable analysis of evaluative meanings. Both English and Italian adjectives found in the patterns display striking similarities not only in terms of frequency of occurrence in the respective datasets but also with regard to the semantic property of being evaluative. While not hundred per cent of adjectives are evaluative and some manual analysis is necessary to determine the status of a given word, the proportion of evaluative adjectives is very high, ranging from 79% in the case of English adjectives to 92% for Italian adjectives in the *v-link + ADJ + to-inf / copula + ADJ + v-inf* pattern. The adjectives identified in both patterns are marked by the fundamental and inherent property of carrying either favourable or unfavourable evaluation.

Apart from using the patterns to locate instances of evaluation, the analysis focused on identifying two sides of the evaluation process: evaluators, i.e. interactants expressing evaluation and interactants evaluated. Our findings provide evidence of a complex interplay between evaluative voices and a varying degree of explicitness present in the expression of evaluation. The level of explicitness in attributing evaluation to a particular interactant depends on a given adjective. In the case of the *v-link + ADJ + that* pattern for English data, some adjectives as in the example of *correct* are preceded by a nominal group in subject position. The same high degree of explicitness can be observed in the case of the *v-link + ADJ + to-inf* pattern / *copula + ADJ + v-inf*. In both cases, these patterns enable one to detect evaluation at two levels: that of the proposition contained in the *to-inf* and *that-clauses* e.g. *that many mental diseases are difficult to define, to assume that his petition by itself failed to alert the Oregon Supreme Court to the federal nature of…*) and the evaluation directed at the range of interactants to whom evaluation is attributed (e.g. *the Court, respondent, dissent,* etc.). However, evaluation can be less explicitly attributed. The *v-link + ADJ + that* pattern / *copula + ADJ + che* is frequently realised by means of the introductory or anticipatory *it* followed by verb in both English and Italian texts. This obviously results in an obfuscated subject and evaluation averred by the writer (evaluator). One difference between the Italian and American texts is that, in this last pattern, only US Supreme Court judges are the evaluators, while in Italian judgments, the appellant (through his or her legal counsel) can also express evaluation directed at a particular instance of judicial argumentation.

This brief contribution is intended as a tentative introduction offering a tantalising glimpse into the potential of using a corpus-based approach (i.e. predefined evaluative patterns searched in comparable corpus data) to ascertain the extent to which this methodology could be applied in the narrowly defined and a highly specialist genre of Supreme Court judgments. The findings obtained so far give reasons for cautious optimism. Not only is it possible to identify quickly considerable portions of evaluative language but the categories used make it possible to shed light on important interactions occurring among major interactants involved in the judicial discourse. Equally important is the potential of employing patterns as a unit of analysis in cross-lingual research. Obviously, much more work is needed, both in terms of scope and breadth, to verify the claims posited in this paper. For example, other patterns involving adjectives as well as other parts of speech should be considered. This study has been envisaged as small step towards achieving this goal.

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CONFLICTING TENDENCIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL LANGUAGE VARIETIES: METAPHORIZATION VS. STANDARDIZATION

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Abstract
The present paper discusses relations between meaning and context as an interactive process that promotes cognition and communication, both intralingual and interlingual. The article also studies two evident conflicting tendencies in the development of technical language: metaphorization and standardization. Metaphorical meaning extension is characteristic of technical vocabulary in all discourse domains. At the same time, contemporary development of corpus linguistics facilitates standardization of terms. Taking into account pragmatic aspects of the text environment, i.e. referential, situational, cultural and social contexts, language users can interpret the meaning of new terms, establish relations and interconnections between terms and concepts within a text, domain and entire scientific and technical discourse. In the present article, observations on the nature and application of contemporary technical terminology are made on the basis of extensive empirical research.

Keywords: scientific and technical discourse, technical language, extension of meaning, metaphorization, standardization, pragmatic analysis

1. Introduction

The development of new technologies, a growing volume of information, and increase in international cooperation in the scientific, technological and industrial fields are among the factors, which determine the central role of technical language in contemporary information exchange.

Scientific and technical language is the most rapidly developing variety of language and the major source of new concepts. Contemporary scientific and technical language is characterized by the tendency for internationalization of vocabulary, borrowing of non-equivalent lexis, compounding, and extension of meaning of terms by means of metaphorization, thus following the development trends characteristic of general language. However, changes in the scientific and technical language are more dynamic, and therefore the process of creation of new lexical units is always one step ahead as compared to general language.

The dynamic changes in scientific and technical discourse determine contemporary processes the scientific and technical language undergoes, and call for new approaches to the analysis of texts within the discourse under discussion.

The changes in the nature of the technical text may be considered a reason for the development of the conflicting tendencies characteristic of the contemporary technical vocabulary. The main conflict is caused by the necessity to find balance between the process of formalization or standardization of technical vocabulary on the one hand, and the process of extension of meaning of terms by means of metaphorization on the other.

The present article aims at the analysis of the conflicting tendencies in the development of technical vocabulary, i.e. standardization and metaphorization. The article mainly studies coinage, application and translation of metaphoric terms in scientific and technical discourse. The complicated mechanisms underlying the processes of meaning formation and extension are illustrated in the article considering terms from the fields of ICT, Civil Engineering and Economics.

The challenges associated with decoding of meaning of metaphoric terms in context are most apparent when the message should not only be interpreted by the text recipient, but also re-encoded in another language. Therefore, technical translation is considered by the authors to be a promising tool for theoretical investigation because studying the processes of meaning creation and meaning transfer *between* the languages can promote understanding of the complicated processes occurring *within* the contemporary technical language. Hence, the relations between meaning and context as an interactive process that promotes cognition and communication, both intralingual and interlingual, are investigated in the present article. The meanings of metaphoric terms discussed in the article are contrasted in two languages, English and Russian.

2. Scientific and Technical Discourse

Scientific and technical discourse is defined in the paper as professional communication that covers different areas of science and technology. The discourse comprises texts belonging to many genres, for example, articles, reports, books, study books, manuals, technical specifications and codes.

According to Beaugrande (2001), a general dialectical model, in which language and discourse represent theory and practice respectively, can be used in investigating texts, and translated texts in particular. Language can be defined as a theory of human knowledge and experience, and discourse as its practice. Technical discourse as practice runs ahead of theory since its practical aspects are more accessible and operational, and the processes are more dynamic.

A text is defined as a communicative event that contributes to a discourse, which is a configuration of mutually relevant texts. Thus, scientific and technical discourse is a potentially endless chain of associations and correlations of texts within a particular field and texts of other fields of the discourse (cf. Beaugrande, 2001).

The technical or special text, as defined for the purposes of this article, comprises not only texts on technical subjects, but also texts in other specialized fields, written using

Language for Special Purposes (LSP). In this respect, the authors share the opinion held by such scholars as Aixela (2004:29), Beaugrande (2001), and Cabre (1998:68).

Discussing the criteria for defining a 'special language', which in this article is referred to as technical language, Cabre adapts Halliday's approach to discourse as a combination of field, tenor and mode variables, and notes that special language pragmatically can be characterized by three variables: subject field, users who have respective subject knowledge, and situation in which communication takes place, i.e. in situations governed by scientific and technical criteria. (cf. Cabre 1998:65).

Each subject field is specific with relation to the set of concepts and terms it employs. Sager (1998:261) notes, "Terms […] are endowed with a special form of reference, namely that they refer to discrete conceptual entities, properties, activities or relations which constitute the knowledge space of a particular subject field". The requirements put forward by each particular discipline determine the prevailing tendencies in terminology creation and development.

Thus, every subject field employs a separate special language, and the set of these special languages forms the entire specialized discourse. The heterogeneous nature of the scientific and technical discourse lies in the fact that it covers a wide range of subject fields.

3. Technical Text

Traditionally technical text was considered to be a relatively static area regulated by a set of norms and conventions. Glaser argues that it is characterized by "...clarity, precision and linguistic economy, as the key function of LSP (Language for Specific Purposes) is the specification, condensation and anonymity of the proposition (Glaser 1998:206 in Stolze 2009:125)". Technical text is still often associated with a precise, specific, and stylistically neutral mode of expression aimed at delivering accurate and unambiguous information to the reader, an extensive usage of terminology, absence of expressive vocabulary, and absence of cultural references (cf. Nord 1997).

But nowadays the nature of technical text has been changing, as the text is developing to meet the needs of the present time and globalized science, and, respectively, the nature of terms has been changing to account for the dynamics of the change of the text.

Traditional conventions of technical text production are not strictly observed. There is an apparent tendency for hybridization of technical text determined by blurring of both the boundaries between scientific and technical disciplines and between styles and genres. Moreover, hybridization of texts occurs also on the level of text function. It may be difficult to classify a text as belonging to one particular genre and performing one particular function.

Considering text typology with the reference to text function, Hatim and Mason argue:

> "Many attempts have been made to set up a typology of texts [...] But all attempts are beset by the same problems. […] we run the risk of ending up with virtually as many text types as there are texts. […] **multifunctionality** is the rule rather than the exception." (Hatim and Mason 1990).

Conventionally, text hybridity is mainly discussed in the context of translation activity. However, it should be realized that under the influence of globalization specific linguistic and cultural conventions of text production change or merge, and thus a hybrid text is produced not only in translation process, but also as an original text created in a specific cultural space, which is often in itself an intersection of different cultures (cf. Schaffner, Adab 2001).

Thus, it may be stated that contemporary technical text is often hybrid with respect to the field, genre, style, and function. The apparent tendency for hybridization is one of the main characteristic features of the changing nature of the technical text.

4. Technical Vocabulary

The tendencies in the development of technical text have caused changes in the development of technical vocabulary. Traditional characteristics of an ideal term imply that it is monosemic within a particular field, does not have synonyms, transparent, is free from connotations, and its meaning is unambiguous and not dependent on the context (cf. Wright, Budin 2001). However, contemporary terms do not always meet the traditional requirements put forward by conventional terminology schools often being polysemic, metaphoric, and context-dependent.

Terms are no longer seen as part of “semi-artificial language deliberately devoid of any of the functions of the lexical items” (Sager 1990:58). Sager argues that there is an increasing tendency to analyze terminology in its communicative and linguistic context. Temmerman and Kerremans in their turn point out that in contemporary terminology the principles of term monosemy and mononymy are questioned, “Also the univocity principle (only one term should be assigned to a concept and vice versa) has been questioned and relativised. It has been shown that understanding is a never-ending process in which synonymy and polysemy play a role.” (Temmerman, Kerremans 2003:2).

Thus, in spite of the fact that technical terminology of different disciplines is generally field specific, many texts of the discourse under discussion are cross-disciplinary, multi-functional, less formal and all together hybrid. Hybridity of technical texts complicates the problem of polysemy and synonymy, because terms from different fields may be used simultaneously in one text. It is not always possible to identify the exact field the term belongs to and then to select a relevant field specific meaning in decoding and translation. Moreover, usage of expressive means and cultural references in the technical text often determine context-dependent character of some terms.

Modern terms, which generally do not meet the requirements set for ideal terms, potentially pose translation problems. These problems may be caused by various reasons, such as lack of referential equivalence, intradisciplinary polysemy, culture specific allusions embodied in the meaning of a term, and impossibility to transfer the metaphoric component of meaning of the term into the target language. One of the main apparent tendencies in the contemporary usage of terms is that their meaning is not only determined by the field, but is also dependent on the context.

5. Meaning and Context in Technical Text: Pragmatic Approach

Relations between meaning and context are of particular importance as they represent an interactive process that enables cognition and productive communication.

Text as a complex multifunctional structure includes various types of context. In order to interpret the text both intralingually and interlingually the recipient should be aware of these contexts, some of which can be more important than others. The linguistic, situational, referential, epistemic, cultural, and social contexts are of particular importance in texts that perform more than one function.

The types of context that are of particular concern for participants in scientific and technical discourse are considered below.

Situational context is the extralinguistic or physical context. The notion of context of situation was introduced by Malinowski (1923), who considered that each text possesses this type of context. It spreads beyond the limits of a text or conversation. Situational context has many aspects such as time, place, environment, experience and other facts of reality in which the action takes place.

Referential context refers to the topic of a text. In technical text referential context is determined by the subject field.

Epistemic context is the background knowledge that text producers put into their message.

Cultural context comprises all aspects of life, traditions, customs, beliefs, values, and ideas shared by individuals of a particular group of people reflected in the respective language.

Social context reflects the relationships between the sender and addressee and is interpreted differently depending on their belonging to a certain social group. Social context is closely correlated to cultural context (cf. Malmkjaer 2002).

Context embraces the environment of text production, including the genre and the function of the text, as well as such extralinguistic factors as social and cultural settings. Stolze argues that "...any message within a technical or scientific discourse field includes both subject-relevant information and some implicit references to the cultural background of the person speaking."(2009:124). Although social and cultural settings are frequently considered to be irrelevant in technical text, it has been pointed out that inability to account for these types of context may lead to misinterpretation of the implicature of the text (cf. Byrne 2010; Beaugrande 2001). The presence of social and cultural references in contemporary technical texts is an evidence of the changing nature of the text.

The pragmatic analysis of the interrelations between meaning and context in technical text is carried out considering metaphoric and context dependent terms in three subject fields of scientific and technical discourse.

5.1 Information and Communication Technologies

The first field under consideration is Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). It is the most rapidly developing field of the three, and it is the most technical one. Metaphoric extension of meaning in context as a pattern of term formation is widely used. For example, concepts of electricity and light, on the one hand, are purely technical; on the other hand, many terms associated with these concepts have been created by means of metaphoric meaning extension. Water imagery is used to describe the movement of light or radio waves and such terms as *stream*, *waves*, *current*, and their derivatives constitute an integral part of terminology in the field of ICT. Water imagery is extended further to denote new concepts, such as, for example, a new metaphor 'cloud', which is used to signify a virtual server in particular or the Internet in general:

(1) While you can offload some of your applications to the cloud, chances are there are still going to be some mission-critical applications that simply need to stay in-house[1].

Considered outside the context, the sentence cannot be interpreted correctly, and given that the term *cloud* is relatively new, a recipient without sufficient background knowledge most likely would fail in interpreting the sentence.

(2) This type of communication can be performed with a null modem cable for full handshaking[2].

In the example above, the metaphor *handshaking* used to denote the process of establishing a connection between two stations may also pose a potential intralingual and interlingual translation problem. The tenor of the metaphor, namely, *connection*, is not fully evident if the text users are not familiar with the process in question.

Another new metaphoric term is *man-in-the-middle attack* (MITM), which may also be referred to as *bucket brigade attack* and even *Janus attack*. According to the computer term glossary provided by Microsoft, it is a security attack in which an attacker intercepts and possibly modifies the data that is transmitted between two users (Online 1). On the one hand, the term meets the major requirement put forward to an ideal term, i.e. it is monosemic in the given field; on the other hand, there are synonymous terms frequently used, and none of them is stylistically neutral. An ability to derive the meaning of metaphoric terms from the context would determine success in interpreting the message.

Specialists who either work in the sphere or translate the texts in the field of ICT should have extensive background knowledge, as well as 'contextualized intuition' i.e. the ability to find the nearest common sense interpretation of the unknown element within the context (cf. Gerding-Salas 2000). They should be competent in application of complicated terms, occasionally denoting highly abstract concepts.

5.2 Civil Engineering

The next subject field has been chosen as the medium for analysis due to its explicitly cross-disciplinary nature, thus being a perfect medium for illustrating the main tendencies in the development of technical text and technical vocabulary.

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[1] „Cloud Computing. A Practical Approach" (2009). The McGraw-Hill Companies.
[2] http://www.lammertbies.nl/comm/info/RS-232_flow_control.html [Accessed on 5 May, 2011]

Complicated construction terms have been developed since ancient times in Babylon, Greece, and Rome, thus a vast body of terms have been formalized and standardized across many languages. However, with the development of building processes and practices, the field became more complicated. Different disciplines within the field of civil engineering employ methods, and, respectively, terminology of other fields. For example, resistance of materials has a direct relation to physics and chemistry. Contemporary building design is based on computer modeling (CAD), so the texts in the field may contain terminology associated with computer science; the calculation of energy efficiency of residential constructions involves an analysis of human bodily reactions to assess heat comfort, and thus makes references to medical terminology. Alike, texts on sustainable building practices and living buildings feature terminology from the fields of life sciences. Human strife for comfort, desire to organize sustainable living environment, environmental concerns associated with civil engineering, as well as change in aesthetic views and functional requirements set for residential and civil constructions have led to the change in life style and, moreover, in values people ascribe to civil engineering constructions. This, in its turn, has led to a change of vocabulary used in the field, to appearance of new concepts, and, respectively, new terms.

It should be noted that contemporary technical texts on civil engineering display a tendency for standardization of terminology of professional vocabulary. Extensive application of computer design software has led to formalization of terminology, development of product and activity nomenclatures, in order to ensure interoperability between various types of software. Although texts in the field do not always display consistency in using standardized terminology, and professional communication to a great extent relies on the usage of professionalisms, the tendency for cross-disciplinary unification of terminology is apparent. It may be concluded that the tendency for standardization of vocabulary is underway, along with the conflicting tendency for metaphorization.

Table 1 presents terms created by means of metaphoric meaning extension in English along with their definitions and translation into Russian.

English	Definition	Russian
Sandwich construction	Composite construction of alloys, plastics, wood, or other materials consisting of a foam or honeycomb layer laminated and glued between two hard outer sheets.	Многослойная конструкция
Honeycomb brickwork	a wall in which bricks are deliberately spaced to allow for ventilation or to achieve a visual effect.	Сквозная кирпичная стена шириной в полкирпича
Butterfly twisted wall ties	Butterfly shaped rigid, corrosion-resistant metal ties fitted into the bed joints across the cavity of a cavity wall.	Скрученные анкерные связи, закрепы
Herringbone strutting	The type of cross bracing used between floor joists to increase	Косые распорки (между балками перекрытия)

English	Definition	Russian
	stiffness.	
Tongue and groove	Tongue and groove refers to strip or plank flooring where each plank has a “tongue” or convex side and a “groove” or concave side on the opposite edge.	Шпунтовое соединение шпунт-паз
Dogleg stair configuration	a staircase which has no well and a bend of 180° in it, usually at a landing halfway between floors.	Полуоборотная двухмаршевая лестница с промежуточной площадкой
Eye-lid window	The curved top and the half round fixed-sash window.	Полукруглое секционное окно

Table 1: Metaphoric Terms in the Field of Civil Engineering

Potential translation problems associated with rendition of terms formed as a result of metaphoric meaning extension vary depending on the degree of interlingual translatability. It may be noticed that metaphoric representation is not sustained in translation of any of the listed terms. In all cases denotational meaning is given priority, and the metaphoric meaning is lost. In general, most apparently the problem of loss of essential components of meaning arises in translation of terms formed as a result of metaphoric meaning extension. Having analyzed the terms in Table 1, it may be noticed that in Russian terms formed by metaphoric meaning extension are not as common in the field of civil engineering as in English. The frequency of application of metaphoric terms in two working languages is worth further investigation.

Another potential problem is ambiguity caused by various reasons, such as polysemy of terms and their dependence on the context. The text user, translator in particular, has to look for contextual clues in order to understand the meaning of the text. The following example illustrates the problem of this kind.

(3) Green roof. The buildings are intentionally concealed from the parking lot by a *green roof*. (…) On the other side, a gabion retaining wall holds back the soil that forms the green roof seen from the parking lot.[3]

The contextual clues that allow deciphering the exact meaning of a term are presented further in the text and due to such disposition may remain unnoticed. Outside context *green roof* can be interpreted in at least three different ways: the roof colored green, the roof, which has been constructed using environmentally friendly technologies, and the roof, which is covered with soil and greenery. In the given example, the recipient may understand that the term in question is used in the latter meaning only having read the next paragraph, that is, outside immediate context. The clue that may help make this conclusion is information that the roof is formed from soil.

Multi-disciplinary character of the field of civil engineering manifests itself in its close connection with the field of architecture, which lies at the crossroads of art and

[3] Rael, Ronald (2008). Earth Architecture, Princeton Architectural Press

technology. The images of architecture are visible and expressive, these images can be perceived differently depending on national, historical and individual aesthetic values. The texts in architecture cover both craft and art, and their interpretation requires more than just general background knowledge in the subject field. Informative technical texts on architecture often contain expressive means of language, performing a secondary expressive function. Thus, many of them are multi-functional.

Both a text user and a translator should possess the necessary expertise not only to understand the meaning of complicated terms, but also to decode historical and cultural implications communicated by these terms. For example, the term *naos* means sanctuary, but in each culture there is a separate term for *sanctuary*.

Term	Definition	Translation
Delubrum	(in ancient Rome) a temple, shrine, or sanctuary	Храм, святилище
Garbhagriha	Small unlit shrine of a Hindu temple. Garbhagriha or garbha griha is a Sanskrit word meaning the interior of the sanctum sanctorum, the innermost sanctum of a Hindu temple.	Святилище, *гарбхагриха*
Gurdwara	a Sikh temple in India	Сикхский храм, святилище, *гурудвара*
Naos	an ancient temple; the enclosed part of such a temple; cella	Храм, святилище, *наос*
Sacellum	In the Roman period, a small sacred enclosure, it contained an altar and sometimes also a statue of the god to whom it was consecrated.	Святилище под открытым небом, *сакеллум*
Sacrarium	Ecclesiastical (of or associated with the Christian Church) - the sanctuary or chancel; The sanctuary or sacristy of a church.	Святилище, ризница, дарохранительница
Shrine	a place of worship hallowed by association with some sacred thing or person; enclose in a shrine, as of an object for religious purposes	Святилище, рака
Tabernacle	a Jewish place of worship; in Judaism - the Biblical tabernacle or the Temple in Jerusalem	Храм, дарохранительница, *табернакль*

Table 2: Culture Specific Terms for the Notion SANCTUARY

Table 2 features a list of terms that in certain contexts can be translated into Russian as *святилище*, that is, sanctuary. The table comprises the terms associated with Indian, Roman, Greek, and Jewish architecture. Translating such culture and history specific lexis, the translator constantly has to make a choice: to translate the term or to use a borrowing in order to preserve historical, cultural or religious coloring of the source text. Borrowed variants of terms, presented in italic, demonstrate that such variants are registered in the dictionaries. It is interesting to note that 5 out of 8 terms can be translated using transcription, however, only one of the terms, namely, *naos* - *наос*, has fully assimilated in Russian.

The problem is complicated by the fact that both in English, Russian and many other languages the term *sanctuary* or its equivalent is polysemic in the field of religious architecture, it may be used to refer both to a sacred place, such as a church, temple, or mosque, and the holiest part of a sacred place (www.thefreedictionary.com). Thus, translators have to make decisions not only on the choice between a borrowed or culturally neutral word, but also on the exact meaning of the original term in context.

Background knowledge is an integral aspect of recipient's competence that may facilitate accurate interpretation and rendition of the historical, cultural and national references present in such texts.

5.3 Economics

Economics is by far the least technical of all three disciplines discussed in the article. It may be argued that economics is not a technical, but rather a social discipline; however, within the framework of the present article, considering the definition of the technical text as of any text employing LSP within professional discourse provided above, it is treated as a technical field with developed terminology.

The focus on various aspects of human conduct such as decision making, motivation, and behavioral patterns makes texts on economics, especially texts on marketing and management, highly dependent on cultural, historical and social contexts.

In general, texts on economics display inconsistency in usage of terminology and are rich in professionalisms, jargonisms and *ad hoc* terminology. Such fields as marketing, stock market, retailing and management employ terms created as a result of meaning extension increasingly frequently. Translation of such terms requires application of all integral aspects of a translator's background knowledge, especially keeping in mind that translation of terminology and professionalisms is not the only issue. Words belonging to general language may fulfill the function of terms, and as such should be carefully treated in translation. Dominguez and Rokowski (2002) note on translation of texts in the field of banking and finance, another domain conventionally belonging to the field of economics, "… when words belonging to the so-called General English next to specific terms and within a specific context, they contain nuances that must be accounted for in the final translation".

Table 3 lists 10 metaphoric terms used in the field of Economics. The definitions are provided with the reference to the web-site investopedia.com.

Nr.	**Term**	**Definition**	**Translation**
Group 1			
1.	Killer bee	Those who help a company fend off a takeover attempt with the use of defensive strategies.	Инвестиционный банк, защищающий компанию от попыток её поглощения

Nr.	Term	Definition	Translation
2.	Loan shark	A person or entity that charges borrowers interest above an established legal rate.	Ростовщик
3.	Bull	An investor who thinks the market, a specific security or an industry will rise	Спекулянт, играющий на повышение курса акций
4.	Bear	An investor who believes that a particular security or market is headed downward. Bears attempt to profit from a decline in prices.	Спекулянт, играющий на понижение курса акций
Group 2			
5.	Blue Skies Laws	State regulations designed to protect investors against securities fraud by requiring sellers of new issues to register their offerings and provide financial details.	No
6.	Green shoe	When a company goes public it may grant its underwriting firm an option an extra numbers of shares. This prevents the underwriter from making a loss if the issue is under subscribed and the underwriter having to buy shares on the open market to cover a short position.	Соглашение о праве купить дополнительные акции по первоначальной цене
7.	Grey knight	In a take-over situation, a third party, acting as a counter bidder, whose intentions towards the target company are not at all clear. Grey knights are normally unwelcome to both the target and the original raider.	Серый рыцарь
8.	White knight	A company that makes a friendly takeover offer to a target company that is being faced with a hostile takeover from a separate party.	Белый рыцарь
Group 3			
9.	Fallen angel	Colloquial term for a company, or shares in a company, whose rating has recently fallen significantly.	Высокодоходная облигация, потерявшая уровень, приемлемый для инвесторов
10.	Baby Bills	A nickname given to the hypothetical companies that would have formed if the Justice Department had broken up Microsoft Corporation.	No

Table 3: Metaphoric Terms in the Field of Economics

The terms in table 3 can conditionally be divided into three groups – animal metaphors, color metaphors and metaphors based on allusions to culture specific and situational knowledge.

The terms presented in the table exemplify several tendencies in creation of terms by means of metaphoric meaning extension, namely:

1. terms may be created on the basis of various field of reference (color symbolism, animal symbolism, etc);
2. terms may be connotationally loaded (*killer bee, loan shark*);
3. terms may be created on the basis of allusions to cultural knowledge (*fallen angel*);
4. terms may be created on the basis of allusions to situational context (*baby Bills*).

Terms from group 1, namely, *killer bee* and *loan shark* have been derived by means of metaphoric meaning extension using implied properties of respective animals as the tenor. Both terms are explicitly evaluative, both meanings imply certain connotations. In case with *killer bee* it is positive – *the one who protects*, in case with *loan shark* it is negative – *merciless predator.* Thus, neither meets all the requirements set for an ideal term. It may be argued that the lexical items are professionalisms rather than terms, however both entries are present in major business dictionaries (e.g. Merriam-Webster).

The terms *bull* and *bear* are well established in the English language. It may be argued that it is already the case of recognized polysemy of lexical items in question. Existence of derivatives acknowledges to this fact (e.g. *bullish or bearish market*). The tenor is not as evident as in case with other two terms belonging to the same group.

Only one term in the given group, *loan shark*, has an established equivalent in Russian, other terms are translated by means of explanatory translation. However, recently the terms *bulls* and *bears* have been frequently translated literally, as *быки* and *медведи* respectively. The application of these translation variants has very limited scope; they are used only in the professional environment of stock exchange. In such form the terms can hardly be considered metaphors, rather it is an interesting case of borrowed polysemy. It is worth noting that the Russian equivalent of *loan shark*, the term *ростовщик*, also bears explicitly negative connotation. Yet it may be notices that connotationally loaded terms are far less common in Russian than in English.

Group 2 comprises terms containing color reference. However, the extension of meaning underlying creation of these terms has occurred along different lines. The vehicle of the term *Blue skies laws* is a metaphor itself. Thus the term is an extended metaphor. The tenor of *blue skies* is *security and safety*. The term illustrates that the process of metaphorization can occur in several stages, potentially endlessly extending the meaning of a lexical item.

The term *green shoe* (*greenshoe*) has appeared as a result of meaning extension based on the principle of metonymy, as the term is an eponym. Eponymy is a subclass of metonymy (Lipka 2003). The term originated from the name of the company that first implemented the green shoe clause into their underwriting agreement – the Green Shoe Manufacturing Company (investopedia.com).

The terms *grey knight* and *white knight* employ colour symbolism as the basis of nomination. Although the term *black knight* is not included into the database used as the major source of reference in this article, namely investopedia.com, it is featured in other business English resources, e.g. businessdictionary.com. Apparently, terms have been created by analogy. *White knight* is the party that acts with good intent, *black knight* is the party acting in a hostile manner, and *grey knight* is the party intentions of which are not clear. *White* communicates the meaning of something positive, *black* symbolizes something negative, and *grey* is generally associated with obscurity.

It should be noted that color symbolism of the terms is to a great extent culture specific. The properties associated with white, black and grey referred to by the terms are conventionally ascribed to the colors in question in contemporary Western civilization. In Russian these colors bear the same symbolic or metaphoric meaning, so the terms are translated using calques, that is, translated literally. In order to interpret the terms correctly in the field of economics both itralingually and interlingually the recipient should be aware of both referential and cultural context.

Items belonging to group 3 can be interpreted within or across the languages only if the recipient possesses certain cultural and epistemic knowledge. The metaphoric meaning of *fallen angel* is based on the reference to the Bible. The meaning of *Baby Bills*, which is an *ad hoc* professionalism, can be interpreted only if the user is aware of the issues concerning existence and development projects of the company Microsoft. It may be argued that the term will go out of use as soon as these issues are no more topical.

All terms in Table 3 clearly illustrate the tendency for metaphorization of business vocabulary. The awareness of referential, cultural and epistemic contexts of application of such terms is a prerequisite for understanding of the proposition of the message.

The role of background knowledge is seminal in interpretation of texts in the field of economics due to several reasons. One of the reasons is that the texts are often hybrid, cross-disciplinary and multi-functional. The tendencies, characteristic of the development of technical language, are most explicitly reflected in the texts on economics.

6. Standardization vs. Metaphorization

The main conflict a contemporary terminology expert faces is a difficulty in establishing balance between the process of formalization or standardization of technical vocabulary initiated by the development of corpus linguistics, compilation of multi-lingual terminological data bases, as well as digital processing of texts, and the on-going process of extension of meaning of terms by means of metaphorization in the scientific and technical discourse.

Many scholars (e.g. Temmerman 2000, Cabre 1998, Sager 1990) argue about changes in the nature of terms, acknowledging that terms acquire new characteristic features. Sager's modern terminological theory adopts a corpus-based approach to lexical data collection in order to make sound conclusions on application of terms in context, i.e. frequency of use, usage in literal or transferred meaning, etc.

The need for standardization of terms is determined by the fact that there is no always one-to-one relationship between a concept and a term denoting it in a language. One and the same concept may be denoted by several terms, and one and the same term may denote a range of concepts. Thus, the users of terms have to face the problem of term synonymy and term polysemy respectively. It is important to note that the process of extension of meaning by metaphorization is one of the reasons for appearance of polysemic terms. The need for intradisciplinary agreement on the application of terms and the need for establishing to the extent possible one-to-one correspondence between the terms in two or more languages have promoted both intralingual and interlingual processes of term standardization.

Intradisciplinary agreement on the usage of terms facilitates communication among specialists within a given field, promotes understanding devoid of possibility for misinterpretation, and exchange of information. In the process of standardization concepts are ascribed appropriate denominators. Standardization is associated with selecting a preferred term among alternatives, usually synonyms. Terms are better recognized both within and outside context. Standardized terminology is further used to represent the basis of knowledge which is shared by members of professional community.

According to Sager, standardization of terminology can work in two directions – prospectively and retrospectively. However, nowadays still most terms are standardized retrospectively, that is, a preferred term is selected either among alternative variants already in use, or is coined to substitute an existent variant that is ambiguous and imprecise.

Retrospective standardization is reactive, it cannot account for all changes that occur within a professional discourse. New ideas and respectively concepts may be developed in more than one discipline at once. It leads to 'parallel designation' for the same phenomenon or concept (cf. Sager 1998:256).

Sager (2001:258) points out:

> "Standardized terms are widely used in cases where the differences among language users are minimal in terms of situational, social and intellectual roles, for example in discourse among specialists. The greater the differences between speakers the greater the need to use a higher proportion of definitions, paraphrases and circumlocutions rather than standardized terms. Standardization can only be applied to codified knowledge."

Synonymy, polysemy and pragmatic variation of meaning of words in context, which are considered problems in terminology management and standardization, are becoming natural phenomena of scientific and technical language. Although standardization of terms in scientific and technical discourse remains an extremely useful tool that organizes knowledge, registers new terms, and helps optimize professional communication, creation and use of synonymous, polysemic, and metaphoric terms is a process, which can hardly be restricted by standardization.

The following case study illustrates the challenges associated with intralingual and interlingual standardization of terms created by means of metaphoric meaning extension.

6.1 Case Study

Metaphoric meaning extension is characteristic of scientific technical vocabulary in all discourse domains. Extension of meaning of one particular lexical item is one of the mechanisms of filling in lexical gaps in a language. A metaphoric transfer of meaning is inherent in human cognitive activity (cf. Carston 2010:297). Thus, following the recent findings of cognitive linguistics, metaphor can be defined as an essential conceptual tool based on the principle of analogy.

If a certain complex concept lacks a name, language users tend to extend the field of reference of an existing lexical item to denote this new concept, especially if it should be referred to on a regular basis. Complicated description used to denote the new concept in question may hinder communication. Baker (2011:18) with the reference to Bolinger and Sears (1968) notes that languages automatically develop very concise forms for referring to complex concepts if the concepts become important enough to be often talked about. A single morpheme can express a more complex set of meanings than the whole sentence. Such semantically complex words are extremely difficult to translate, in case there is no equivalent for them in the target language. Such words, often created by means of metaphoric meaning transfer, can be rendered only using descriptive translation to ensure comprehension. However, if the notion has to be referred to frequently within a certain field or in a particular target text, the problem of lack of precise label arises also in the target language.

One of the items that demonstrates extreme semantic complexity is the term *leapfrogging*. This complexity is aggravated by the fact that the term is polysemic not only across different fields, but also within a particular discipline. The term is used in such diverse disciplines as geology, telecommunications, electricity supply, logistics, business and military.

In the following case study the meaning of a term is analyzed within three fields considered in the present paper, namely, telecommunications, civil engineering, urban planning in particular, and economics, in which the term appears to be polysemic, and in the field of technology.

Field	**Definition**	**Translation**
Telecommunications	Intermittent switching of delay (to eliminate pulse pile-up)	Скачкообразное переключение задержки (для устранения наложения двух импульсов)
Technology	Technology leapfrogging is ‘bypassing some of the processes of accumulation of human capabilities and fixed investment in order to narrow down the gaps in productivity and output that separate industrialized and developing countries’	No
Urban Planning	The relationship, or lack thereof, between subdivisions into zones. Such developments are typically separated by large green belts, i.e. tracts of undeveloped land, resulting in an average density far lower even than the low density zones.	Застройка территории, на которой осваивают наиболее дешёвые земельные участки

Field	Definition	Translation
Economics 1	A theory of development which may accelerate development by skipping inferior, less efficient, more expensive or more polluting technologies and industries and move directly to more advanced ones. Through leapfrogging developing countries can avoid environmentally harmful stages of development and do not need to follow the polluting development trajectory of industrialized countries	No
Economics 2	Automatic increase (or claims for increase) in pay for a group of employees on the grounds of maintaining pay parity or differential with another group of employees who have won a pay increase	No

Table 4: Field-Specific Meaning of the Term *Leapfrogging*

Analyzing the term *leapfrogging,* it may be noticed that in all fields under discussion the key sememe that provides ground for metaphoric meaning extension is *movement/transition to a new position*. The sememe *sudden/abrupt movement skipping the next position* is present only in terms in Economics 1 and Technology. It may be argued that the meaning of the term in Technology has been created by analogy with the term in Economics 1. Virtually, these two terms are closest in reference to the literal meaning of *leapfrogging.* It is interesting to note that exactly these meanings of the term are relatively standardized, whereas meanings in Telecommunications, Urban Planning and Economics 2 are not yet fully established, and thus are not registered in the majority of dictionaries. So these items can be considered rather professionalisms than accepted terms.

In two fields in question, namely, civil engineering and economics, as well as in the field of technology in general, the semantic scope covered by terms is extensive, and thus definitions are relatively long. If there is no corresponding term in the target language, a translator may employ three methods: to borrow a source term, to translate a metaphor, or to provide an explanation of a term in the target language to ensure comprehension. The term in question cannot be borrowed, as transcription of the term does not comply with phonetic and morphological rules of the Russian language. Translation by definition will pose a problem of lack of linguistic economy, as definitions are long, and if used often, will make the target text considerably longer than the source text. Translation of the term by its literal equivalent “чехарда” – a game in which one player kneels or bends over while the next in line leaps over him or her – may block comprehension, as, if used in the given contexts, the term would appear ambiguous and not transparent. Moreover, it should be taken into consideration that the established metaphoric meaning of the item in Russian has a negative connotation.

Чехарда is used to refer to an *uncontrolled process that may have unexpected consequences*. That is another factor why rendition of the term in question by a corresponding target language metaphor does not appear to be a sound translation decision.

In Russian, only two meanings of the term have their translation equivalents – in Telecommunications and Urban Planning. Still, these equivalents are represented not by a single term, but rather by a definition.

The complex nature of the original concept has become more complicated in the process of meaning extension. Derived concepts cover even wider semantic scope, and thus a vast body of information is compressed within corresponding terms.

7. Conclusions

The nature of technical text has been changing, it is becoming more hybrid, cross-disciplinary, multi-functional and less formal. The tendencies in the development of technical text have determined changes in the nature of contemporary terms, which are often polysemic, metaphoric, and context-dependent. Synonymy, polysemy and pragmatic variation of meaning of terms in context are becoming natural phenomena of technical language.

These changes give rise to conflicting tendencies in the development of the contemporary technical vocabulary. The main conflict is caused by lack of agreement between the process of formalization of technical vocabulary initiated by compilation of technical text corpora and development of multi-lingual terminological data bases, and the on-going process of extension of meaning of the existing and newly created terms by means of metaphorization.

Standardization of terms in scientific and technical discourse is an important tool that helps establish intradisciplinary agreement on the application of terms and interlingual correspondence between the terms in two or more languages thus facilitating professional communication and exchange of information. However, processes of coinage and application of synonymous, polysemic, and metaphoric terms cannot be fully restricted and even accounted for by standardization.

The empirical study conducted in the paper demonstrates that at present users of technical texts should rely upon corresponding background knowledge which includes not only *linguistic competence* and the *knowledge of a special subject field*, but also *awareness of situational, epistemic, cultural, and social contexts*, or, in other words, understanding of the pragmatic aspects of the contemporary technical text.

Language for science and technology is a constantly growing flexible area with an immediate response to a developing situation, i.e. the language of primary term formation. The content and structure of technical text are continuously in a process of change and reorganization. One should realize that language is never complete and fixed, codified and standardized.

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