

Thinking Out of the Box

in English Linguistics,
Language Teaching,
Translation and Terminology



Proceedings of the XXIX AIA Conference

edited by
Katherine Ackerley, Erik Castello, Fiona Dalziel,
Sara Gesuato, Maria Teresa Musacchio
and Giuseppe Palumbo

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“Lexical verbs in a medical case-report wordlist”, in *ASIALEX* 4, pp. 39-62 (in collaboration with Philippa Mungra); (2016) “Metaphors in the mirror: the influence of teaching metaphors in a medical education programme”, in *CercleS* 6 (1), pp. 185-206.

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Lucia Errico holds a Ph.D. in ‘Modern and Classical Languages, Literatures and Cultures’ at the University of Salento, where she conducted her research within an international cotutelle agreement with the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität of Freiburg. She has held a research contract at the University of Salento co-funded by the CaRiPuglia Foundation. Her research interests and publications focus on the identification of cognitive archetypes in ancient myths and on the representation of Utopian places in classical epic narratives and their translation into ELF variations.

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Maristella Gatto is Associate Professor of English Linguistics and Translation Studies at the University of Bari (Italy). Her research areas are Corpus Linguistics (especially the Web as/for Corpus), Computer Mediated Communication, Corpus Stylistics, Translation Studies and Specialized Discourse. She is the author of the monograph *The Web as Corpus. Theory and Practice* (Bloomsbury 2014), as well as book chapters and articles on the discourse of online collaborative genres (“Centripetal and Centrifugal forces in Web 2. Genres. The case of Wikipedia”, 2012; “Making History. Representing

Bloody Sunday in Wikipedia”, 2016). Recent articles and book chapters concern Data-Driven Learning (“Using web search from a corpus perspective with digital natives”, 2019) and Corpus Stylistics (“Vertical and distant reading with Digital Natives. The case of *The Merchant of Venice*”). She has recently co-edited the reader *Culture and the Legacy of Anthropology* (Peter Lang 2020).

Chiara Astrid Gebbia received a PhD in Linguistics from the Universities of Palermo and Catania, Italy. Her main research interests cover the application of metaphor research to translation and second language acquisition. In her doctoral studies, she investigated what strategies student translators adopted in dealing with metaphorical puns. Currently, she is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Agder, where she is investigating translators’ metaphorical self-concepts as indicators of adaptive expertise and as transferrable skills in translator training. She is also conducting research on the conceptualization of emotion regulation and thought suppression with Dr. Marcin Trojszczak.

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Smith Review, vol. 13, London: Routledge and Taylor Francis Book, pp. 285-302; (2022) "Migration Discourse and the New Socially Constructed Meanings of the English Lingua Franca", in P.C. Leotta (ed.), *Language Change and the New Millennium*, European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 18 (18), pp. 33-49, Offices: Spain and Macedonia; (2020) "Fascist Terminology in English Lexicography: Considerations from the Merriam-Webster Unabridged and the Oxford English Dictionary", in *Textus*, XXXIII, 1, H. Béjoint and S. Nuccorini (eds), pp. 145-163, Roma: Carocci Editore.

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INTRODUCTION

Inviting colleagues to “think out of the box” as they reflect on any area within their research interests in English language, linguistics and translation has been a challenge both for the authors and for the editors of this volume. For their part, the authors may feel that English studies in this context have branched off in so many different directions that finding a niche that is actually uncharted territory seems a daunting task. By contrast, the editors need to find a common thread in the most diverse contributions that have considered possibilities previously not imagined in order to outline alternative, complementary or contrasting perspectives. Accounting for diversity and being just to such creative and/or lateral thinking could not be but a priority in editing this volume. An attempt has been made first of all to give a sense of what could be new to the traditional subject areas we have in mind in this context – English language and linguistics, English language teaching and English translation and terminology studies. In line with the theme of the volume, though, another priority has been to give an idea of what could be seen as a common thread in many papers. In other words, even if some papers may fit very well in one or more of the categories outlined above, they were selected to form a final section not on the basis of their chosen method(s), because they revolve around the close or intertwining threads of migration, identity and otherness. The overall objective has been to display the wealth of contributions and the wide range of topics developing under the fascinating common theme of thinking “out of the box” to question deep-seated convictions, challenge assumptions, expand knowledge and even re-discover or revamp old practices while crossing boundaries of sub-disciplines and interacting with colleagues in neighbouring fields.¹

¹ This initial introductory section and section 3 were written by Maria Teresa Musacchio and Giuseppe Palumbo. Sara Gesuato and Erik Castello are the authors of section 1, while Fiona Dalziel and Katherine Ackerley were responsible for section 2. Section 4 was a joint contribution of all editors in their respective specialisms. The editors wish to thank Carla Quinci for her revising and editing work.

1. English Linguistics

The papers in this section address the theme of the conference from various perspectives – by choosing as research topics linguistic phenomena often regarded as marginal or irregular (Mattiello and Gesuato) or which exemplify reactive rather than initiating discourse (Meledandri); by looking into a range of potential conditioning environments (e.g. formal and semantic) to account for those phenomena (Mattiello); by exploring both the most frequent and the most typical instantiations of those phenomena (Mastrofini and Bagli); by adopting mixed methods of investigation (Mastrofini and Bagli; Meledandri) or drawing on multiple theoretical frameworks (Mastrofini and Bagli); and finally, by presenting studies at the intersection between English language research and other fields of investigation: UK legislation (Pennisi), multimodality in TV series (Arizzi), and British literature (Turci and Luporini).

The section opens with **Elisa Mattiello's *Formal, Semantic and Pragmatic Motivations for Blending in English***, which explores the under-researched phenomenon of lexical blending, traditionally regarded as a form of extra-grammatical word creation. By examining 245 modern English blends dated 1950-2000, collected from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and a comparable dataset of compounds, the author is able to draw a useful distinction between blends and both regular and clipped compounds; to describe the regularities of lexical blends, and their prototypical and marginal instantiations; and to identify the formal, semantic and pragmatic motivations which govern their creation. Her analysis shows that blending is fairly predictable in terms of the principles it complies with and the output it produces. This suggests that blending should be taken into account in general morphological theory, since it leads to linguistic innovation and lexicalisation, in particular to the creation of new words rather than merely variants of existing ones.

The chapter by **Sara Gesuato, *Reduplicative Nominalisations of Phrasal Verbs: A Case of "Throwaway" Morphology?***, examines the semantics and phraseology of nouns with a double *-er* suffix, derived from phrasal verbs (e.g. *filler inner*). The results show that such reduplicative nominalisations (RNs) are infrequent in terms of types and tokens; are lexically varied, and not relatable to shared semantic fields; exemplify 14 suffixed particles; include one highly lexicalised form, *fixer-upper*; are the most frequent with the *upper* and *outer* suffixed particles; usually denote agents; and are occasionally coordinated with other *-er*-suffixed forms (e.g. *course setter*, *flag hanger* and *picker upper*). However, differently from previous research, the findings also show: that RNs are slightly more frequent and more varied in American than British English; that they may occasionally serve as premodifiers of head nouns; that they exemplify previously unattested *-er*-suffixed particles (e.g. *byer*); and that they illustrate meaning extensions of *fixer upper* (e.g. 'someone handy at doing things').

Overall, RNs appear to be creative coinages produced within a constellation of phonological, semantic and stylistic conditioning environments.

In their chapter, *The Metaphorical Shift in English Light Verb Extensions*, **Roberta Mastrofini** and **Marco Bagli** focus on light verb extensions (LVEs), i.e. phraseological patterns in which semantically bleached lexical verbs combine with eventive nouns (e.g. *cultivate a hobby*). The authors report on a mixed-method study conducted within the theoretical frameworks of the Generative Lexicon Model (GN) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), with the goals of describing the aspectual role played by the verbs and accounting for their metaphorical shift. First, they examine the syntactic and semantic features of 109 instances of LVEs retrieved from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*, observing how their verbs license aspectual configurations (e.g. inchoative as in *fall in love*). Then they present sentences elicited from native speakers which exemplify three types of LVEs, namely literal, metaphorical and intermediate LVEs, in which verbs and nouns denote the source and the target domains of underlying conceptual metaphors, respectively. The authors conclude that in GN, LVEs are best seen as a case of contextually licensed Lightness, while in CMT they are best explained as the result of metaphorical conceptualization.

In *Slanguage from the Younger Generation of London: The Use of ‘Man’ as a Pronoun and Pragmatic Marker*, **Laura Diamanti** investigates the innovative use of the word ‘man’ in London youth speech. She looks at how ‘man’ is used in both the Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT) (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002) and in the emerging Multicultural London English (MLE) spoken by young people in multi-ethnic areas of London (Cheshire 2013). In particular, the paper looks at what the use of ‘man’ communicates and how it is functionally and pragmatically shaped and adapted by language variation. Diamanti observes how young people’s use of ‘man’ both as a pronoun and a pragmatic marker is markedly different from that of older Londoners, and how it is related to their multicultural and multilingual background, as well as to their desire to show adherence to their social group.

In his paper, *Stance and Evaluative Resources in the Construction and Negotiation of an ELF Identity in ESP Contexts: A Corpus-Based Genre Analysis of EURAM Conference Proceedings*, **Antonio Fruttaldo** investigates how identity construction and representation are conveyed in papers published in the proceedings of the European Academy of Management (EURAM) International Conference. Fruttaldo explores how language mediates between the adherence to specific rules linked to the specialised language of Business Academic English and the discursive identity cues that are indicative of forms of self-expression. This corpus-based study focuses on self-mentions, attitude markers, hedges and boosters in order to investigate the tension

between expectations for members of this specialised community to adhere to established rules and conventions, and the individual scholar's desire to express their identity and claim their own agency.

In *Exploring the Narrative Functions of Hand Movements in the Teaser Phase in House MD: A Corpus-assisted Analysis*, Cristina Arizzi presents a multimodal corpus study into the role played by hand movements in the initial parts of the episodes (teasers) of the *House MD TV series*. The author describes the development of a corpus-based method for the identification of teaser types and the annotation of their multisemiotic features, which a group of students used under her supervision. Several findings emerge: hand movements contribute to the construction of the narrative; they are often cataphoric, marking as they do the beginning and worsening of a medical issue and its aftermath; they can create false leads; and they mark the point in which a climax is reached or contextualise the medical issue, thus helping shape character personality. The study also suggests that, in corpus-assisted discourse analysis, teacher-student cooperation is a valuable research and pedagogical approach: not only does it help achieve more objective conclusions, but it also enables students to improve their critical skills regarding multisemiotic discourse analysis.

Francesco Meledandri's contribution focuses on the domain of discourse. *Out-of-the-(Ballot)Box: Legitimation of a New Popular Will in Brexit-related Social Media Engagement* is a corpus-based study of social media interaction, which takes place in a "Digital Global Village", on the topic of Brexit. It explores how politicians' verbal contributions to digital arenas on a socially sensitive topic trigger debates in which social role-relationships are positioned, enacted and negotiated. Meledandri considers four Brexit-related case studies, that is, "common" users' public reactions to four institutional tweets issued by British politicians. By examining word frequency lists and KWIC concordance lines, he observes how, in three of the four cases considered, a negative sentiment overcomes a positive attitude. The study illustrates how in the democratic social medium *Twitter*, the messages of the political élite and those of ordinary users can hold the same wide appeal, thus bridging the institutional gap between the two. The reason given for the prevalent manifestation of popular discontent is that, although the Establishment's messages are addressed to their electorate, they actually reach a broader audience, who express a larger number of disagreeing than supporting views.

In *Stability and Change in Legislative Drafting Techniques in the UK Legislation: A Recent Debate on Gender-neutral Language*, Giulia Adriana Pennisi draws our attention to recent changes in the lexico-grammatical and discourse strategies of UK legislation. She explores the practices adopted by drafters of UK Public General Acts over the last decades to write gender-neutral legal sentences, as recommended by the UK Office of the Parliamentary

Counsel. Specifically, the author assesses the impact of the use of alternative pronouns (e.g. *he* or *she*) as well as other pronouns (e.g. *everyone*) in recent UK legislation. Comparing a corpus of Primary Legislation to one of Secondary Legislation covering the 2008-2018 period, she finds that the frequency of *he/him/his* decreases dramatically in the former, while remaining stable in the latter. The author argues that one possible reason for this is that legislative drafters responsible for the two types of legislation are given different guidelines. She concludes that explicit and clear genre-neutral drafting recommendations may positively reinforce tendencies of linguistic change in legislation.

Monica Turci and **Antonella Luporini's** *Taking English Naturalism out of the Box: From Theory to Corpus and Back* sets out to investigate the under-researched literary movement known as *English Naturalism*. The *British Naturalism* corpus (BN), which comprises the works of three writers representative of that movement, namely George Moore, George Gissing and Thomas Hardy, is compared to a corpus of translations from the *Rougon-Macquart* (RM) cycle by Zola, and also to the *British National Corpus* (BNC). The authors explore the lexis of these works, noticing how words ending in *-ism* (e.g., *mysticism*, *puritanism*) occur comparatively more frequently in BN, while those denoting body parts, or relevant to marriage, stand out in both BN and RM. These last two corpora also appear to be characterized by a higher frequency of modal operators and verbs encoding mental and material processes. The authors, however, point out that further research is needed to draw more robust conclusions about English Naturalism, and put forward some possible future research avenues.

Valuable insights emerge from these chapters. The examination of “niche” linguistic phenomena provides a deeper understanding of the workings of the grammatical system of English; complex linguistic phenomena benefit from triangulation of data, mixed-method approaches and cross-fertilization with other disciplines; linguistic patterns that manifest themselves at one grammatical level may have to be accounted for with reference to a combination of grammatical levels; and motivated hypotheses about English language use, grounded on previous findings, have to be tested against empirical data. The contributions show that some of the areas recently explored by these scholars are: linguistic phenomena (i.e. English creative morphology and phraseology); multimodality in movies (i.e. hand movements); local cultural phenomena (i.e. tourism in Sicily); British political issues (i.e. Brexit, UK legislation); and linguistic aspects of English literature (i.e. Naturalism). We are grateful that these studies have enriched our knowledge of the English language, and trust that they will inspire us to explore it further.

2. English Language Teaching

This section includes three papers related to the English Language Teaching (ELT) strand of the conference. The themes addressed in these papers reflect a wide variety of ways in which researchers and practitioners in this area can “think out of the box”. These include using the virtual spaces of online role games to enhance ELT (Ciancitto); applying Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to ELT so as to foster learners’ productive skills (Gebbia); and the role of ELF-aware academic ELT courses with a focus on cultural mediation and international communication (Sperti).

In her paper, *Metaphor Comprehension and Production in Italian EFL Learners: A Pilot Study*, Chiara Astrid Gebbia argues that there has been a lack of attention to the development of productive skills in the application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to ELT, as the focus has tended to be on receptive competence. The researcher reports on a series of classroom interventions involving first-year university students, which were investigated by means of quantitative questionnaires, pre-tests and post-tests. The findings showed that learners’ productive skills lagged behind their receptive skills, leading to the conclusion that instruction in CMT needs to adopt more effective strategies so that learners may incorporate a higher degree of metaphor use into their spoken and written English. To do so, learners require explicit attention to metaphors and should be encouraged to reflect on the different functions that these serve.

Salvatore Ciancitto offers an out-of-the-box approach to teaching English to a class of 12-13-year-olds through gamification. His adoption of a virtual space to encourage students to use English by means of online role-play is outlined in his paper *Overcoming the Boundaries of the Classroom Walls through the Use of Online Role-Gaming: A Theoretical Approach in the Use and Implementation of Classcraft in English Language Teaching*. Ciancitto describes how this innovative task-based learning activity encourages students to be both collaborative and autonomous. Thus, they may develop those soft skills that traditionally are not always encouraged in a middle school context. The paper investigates how students’ motivation and engagement are enhanced as they take on a range of identities in their bid to carry out a series of quests and learn English at the same time. The promising results offer food for thought for further implementation of gamification with elementary level learners.

Silvia Sperti’s paper, *The Role of ELF-oriented Mediation Strategies in Cross-Cultural Communication: New Trends in English Language and Translation Teaching*, presents examples of specific tasks to include in courses of language and cultural mediation in which the role of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is taken into account. These activities are explored by the researcher with a focus on the different strategies adopted by users of ELF when

they enter into intercultural encounters in multicultural settings, contexts such as those resulting from migration. The author argues that when interpreting and translating, learners require greater awareness of the pragmalinguistic aspects of communication and of the fact that it is necessary to respect one's interlocutor's socio-cultural and pragmalinguistic identity. In order to foster such approaches, the author notes that teacher education needs to address ELF-aware mediation strategies.

Though limited in number, the papers in this section illustrate the breadth of English language teaching today, outlining as they do a wide range of activities at different levels of education – from middle school teenagers to university students. They also testify to the wealth of approaches that innovation can bring to the English language class, engaging learners while addressing their needs.

3. English translation and terminology

In this section the conference theme is explored from the perspective of English translation and terminology. The papers address themes in ways that can be regarded as “out-of-the-box” by using an innovative methodology, presenting case studies on topics that have been little researched so far, or combining both. Thus, the first article (Brambilla) unites pragmatics and transcreation with reference to the translation of activist communication to devise an innovative method to help students develop the analytical skills and translation abilities required in the present-day translation market. The second paper (Gatto) combines constructivist approaches with translation teaching with Wikipedia as a source of real-life tasks to organise an innovative Wikipedia-based translation marathon with a view to developing students' translation competence. The last three articles in this section deal with a variety of topics in terminology from different angles: cognitive semantics and discourse semantics are applied to socioterminology to explore alternative ways of defining gene editing in legal, medical and popular science contexts (Nikitina); terminological differences between Eurolect legal documents and national legislation are studied combining sociocognitive terminology and corpus analysis (Degano); finally, economic chromonyms are investigated contrastively in English and Italian using etymology, metaphor and metonymy analysis and phraseology to compare and contrast usage (Vaccarelli).

In the opening paper of the section, *The Place of Activist Texts in Translation Studies*, Emanuele Brambilla presents a very interesting study on a little researched topic, that is the strategies used by international non-profit making organisations to translate texts that are part of their campaigns, and how results of research can be used to devise innovative activities in translator education and explore the concept of transcreation (i.e. making adjustments in

the translation of promotion and advertising to preserve the pragmatics of the texts for the target readership). Drawing on a corpus of Greenpeace reports, he first describes the features of this kind of non-professional translation and then focuses on the English-Italian translation of titles in Greenpeace campaigns – literal translation preserving the rhetorical effect; transcreation preserving the rhetorical effect; literal translation leading to translation loss – in order to highlight whether and to what extent these strategies manage to maintain the intended pragmatic effect of the source texts. By outlining alternative translations proposed by trainee translators, Brambilla shows that although titles based on puns and/or allusions are difficult if not impossible to translate, proposed translations by trainee translators in class indicate that transcreation strategies offer chances to improve the target texts and develop translation competence.

In a similarly innovative approach to translator education, **Maristella Gatto**, in her *Out of the (Sand)Box: Developing Translation Competence via Wikipedia Translatathons*, describes a marathon to translate Wikipedia entries on sustainable development from English into Italian as part of the Master's Degree in Specialised Translation at the University of Bari. The author considers the need to design new teaching methods for digital natives while keeping students at the centre of learning, engaged in authentic translation projects so as to meet the challenges of complexity in the constructivist development of the learners' autonomy, experience and expertise. She then devises a set of activities, including the translation and expansion of articles that were much shorter in the Italian version of Wikipedia and the creation of new Italian entries, based on existing English entries with the aim of developing comprehensive translation competence. The process involves revision to ensure linguistic and intercultural accuracy, content accuracy, and also compliance with Wikipedia standards, as shown by the students' sandboxes and chronology of work. Thus the author demonstrates the pedagogical merit of translatathons and their usefulness to create a translation learner corpus to trace emergent translator competence in descriptive studies.

In her paper entitled *On the Definitory Crossroads: Legal, Medical-scientific and Popularized Definitions of (Human) Gene Editing*, **Jekaterina Nikitina** investigates how terminological units of understanding relating to gene editing are conceptualised in definitions in legal, medical-scientific and popularised texts. In a novel combination of cognitive semantics and discourse analysis applied to terminology, she conducts a qualitative and quantitative analysis of definitions in three corpora, one per special language. Drawing on the lexicographic and terminographic theory of definitions, she provides a classification of definitory patterns which are then extracted from the corpora and analysed. Results show that definitions are common in legal and medical-

scientific texts, but much less so in the popular science corpus, that there are few legal definitions of gene editing, and that definitional styles vary from corpus to corpus. With reference to information-based patterns, in legal and medical-scientific texts the most frequent definitions are intensional, while in popularised texts, definitions by implicature outnumber all others. As for pattern-based definitions, legal texts prefer verb definitions whereas medical texts exhibit an almost equal number of *is-* and verb definitions. In all texts, hybrid solutions are also frequently used. The study shows that different user profiles and social contexts determine different definitional styles, and uncovers a definitional gap in the legal corpus, thus paving the way for further future research in terminology.

A Terminological Perspective on Eurolects: Methodological Issues by **Chiara Degano** is a new contribution to testing the Eurolect Observation Project hypothesis that the EU legal documents or Eurolects differ from the corresponding national legal varieties. The paper seeks to test the hypothesis by attempting to uncover terminological differences in EU and UK legal English, and to establish how differences can be found across language varieties. These issues are explored on the basis of sociocognitive terminology and corpus linguistics. The sample used consists of EU directives (Corpus A), EU Acts (Corpus B) and UK statutory instruments (Corpus C) on a narrower topic to facilitate comparison across language varieties. Results show that, contrary to expectations, on the formal side EU terminological phrases have a higher incidence of noun+noun structures than UK ones. On the semantic level, differences emerging through the search of equivalents reveal that exact correspondence is extremely rare. Terminological gaps are explored qualitatively with reference to three strings to understand whether units of understanding are referred to by means of other terms. Generally speaking, UK legislation turned out to be more easily accessible for lay people. The methodological merit of the paper is that it shows the difficulty in studying terminological difference and suggests ways around it.

In the final article of the section, ***“Blueing the Economy”, “Yellowish Revolution” and “Greening the Blue”: Old and New Colour idioms in an Eng>Ita Perspective***, **Francesca Vaccarelli** explores the historical and cultural links behind colour idioms, from a comparative and contrastive viewpoint, in the electronic versions of the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* and the *Dizionario Treccani*. After a general introduction to the colour-based phraseology of black, white, red, pink, orange, grey, blue, yellow and green, she focuses on blue, yellow and green providing examples from English and American newspapers, magazines and their news websites to highlight similarities and differences in English and Italian, especially in colour metaphors and metonymies relating to economics, finance and business. Her analysis suggests that studying the

etymology of terms and phrases is essential in order to outline the semantic content and figurative meaning underlying each expression. She finally hints at the prototypical features colours take on over time as pointers to the use organisations make of colours to foster recognition of brand and institutional identity.

Examining “niche” topics, the papers in this section provide a better understanding of some of the latest trends in translation studies and terminology. They show that both descriptive translation studies and translator training are enriched by innovative activities simulating real-life tasks and that new avenues are explored in terminology by combining more traditional approaches with socio- and sociocognitive or metaphor theories. We are pleased that colleagues have taken up the challenge of thinking “out-of-the-box” to provide studies that will inspire further innovative research.

4. Migration, identity and otherness in and out of the English linguaculture

In the last section of this volume, we have gathered papers that deal with English linguistics, language teaching or translation, and address the theme of thinking “out-of-the-box” from the perspective of the interrelated studies in migration, identity and otherness. The topic of migration is dealt with in several ways by looking at the production of multimodal texts to invite viewers to rethink ancient and modern sea-migrations in a project on responsible tourism (Iaia and Errico); by exploring the migrants’ translinguistic practices in the interactions with Italian professionals in reception centres (Tomei); and by studying the tourism discourse of Sicilian Americans who are driven by films such as *The Godfather* to retrace the steps of their migrant ancestors and rediscover their cultural origins (Guccione and Canziani). Identity is explored by analysing the role of self-translation as tension between language loss and language maintenance in migrant writing in the work of Italian-Canadian writer Gianna Patriarca (Bonomo) and by using literary corpus stylistics to show how the different linguistic expression of identity-defining features such as gender and age affect the readers’ experience of Naomi Alderman’s dystopic novel *The Power* in English and its Italian translation (Kollamagi). The theme of otherness is investigated from different perspectives: by studying the extent to which intrasentential code-switching as expression of cultural difference is mediated in a corpus of European and American films dubbed into Italian (Monti); by researching translation - subtitling, retranslation, dubbing - practices concerning neorealist and *auteur* films with a view to establishing how Italian cultural otherness can be relayed through the two modes of audiovisual translation to address different audiences in English (Raffi); and finally, by looking at how Cusani’s own translation paratexts manage to defend

Italian cultural otherness against Lytton-Bulwer's attacks in his novel *Ernest Maltravers*.

The opening paper of the section, *The Promotional Representation of Modern and Ancient Sea-Migrations through Multimodal Discourse Hybridization and ELF Experiential Reformulations*, by **Pietro Luigi Iaia** and **Lucia Errico**, presents a research project on Responsible Tourism conducted at the University of Salento. The outcome of this project was the production of multimodal texts which invite viewers to rethink the concepts of migration as well as those of ancient and modern sea journeys. The aim is to foster intercultural inclusion by presenting an unbiased narrative that offers an alternative to that found in the mass media. The discourse which developed during the project was named 'promotional', highlighting the 'emotional promotion' ('promotion') of the themes of the multimodal texts. The paper describes how extracts from the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid* were chosen and then reformulated in order to reflect the emotional charge of modern migrants' sea journeys, giving rise to a video which mixes the 'mockumentary' and 'journalistic interview' genres in an empathetic representation of modern migrations.

The theme of migration emerges once again in **Renato Tomei's** paper *English for Migration: Interaction between African Refugees and Professionals in the Humanitarian Sector*. The author explores, by means of audio and video recordings of the interactions between migrants and Italian professionals in the humanitarian sector, the rich source of linguistic and cultural diversity provided by today's migration flows. As the paper highlights, not only do migrants bring with them their own linguistic and cultural identities, but they acquire notable levels of linguistic and sociolinguistic competence as a result of their journeys to Europe. All this leads to the wide range of translanguistic practices that emerge in spaces such as reception centres for migrants. The article concludes by stressing the linguistic and cultural competences required by all those professionals working in the area of migration.

In *Thinking Outside of the Box of Linguacultural Otherness: Embedding L3 Culture Specific References in the Italian Dubbed Version of Polyglot Films*, **Silvia Monti** focuses on the representation of the multilingual discourse practices of multicultural societies in a corpus of contemporary European and American films, and explores how code-switching is dealt with in translation. In particular her article investigates how language alternation phenomena are approached in both the original and the Italian dubbed versions of twenty-seven European and American multicultural films. Monti identifies instances of intrasentential code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993), where multilingual characters refer to elements of their own culture using

terms that differ from both the language of the original film and the Italian dubbed version. This paper considers the translation strategies adopted for these third language/L3 culture-bound references, highlighting what can be achieved in terms of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic mediation, remediation and transmission.

In *Metalinguistic Awareness and Text Dissemination Beyond Linguistic Borders: The Role of Self-translation in the Multilingual Continuum of some Migrant Writers with Italian Descent*, Annalisa Bonomo investigates how the Italian-Canadian writer Gianna Patriarca uses self-translation, coupled with her metalinguistic awareness and multilingual proficiency, to set out on a literary journey and find her real poetical voice and identity. Building on recent literature on migrant writing, negotiating identity through bi-/multilingualism and self-translation, Bonomo suggests that Canadian writers with an Italian heritage use codeswitching as a form of activism in many different social contexts, and syntactic, semantic and phonological indicators of their minority language(s) – in this case Italian and its dialects – to express linguistic and cultural tensions and clashes. More importantly, they resort to self-translation in order to negotiate identities in displacement. Furthering reflection on new migrants and their language(s), the study of Patriarca's writing illustrates how self-translation as a form of tension between language loss and language maintenance is a process of transition, one which not only (re)creates the migration experience at a literary level, but also gives rise to a hybrid text where author and translator are one and the same and languages meet, co-exist and clash to express migrant identities.

The chapter by Cristina Guccione and Tatiana Canziani, *Tourism Discourse Meets Migration Discourse: Godfather Promotional Websites to Sicily*, explores tourism discourse. The authors consider online travel agencies and tour operators promoting visits to the areas in Sicily where *The Godfather* (GF) saga is set. They identify three types of tours: regular, optional and excursion proposals. All three types not only describe visits to the locations of the film scenes, but also offer descriptions of Sicilian places. While regular excursions include visits to Corleone and other Mafia-related sites, optional tours and excursion proposals leave it up to the tourists to choose to join trips to the areas related to GF, that is, these last two types make direct reference to GF themes with the aim of convincing tourists to buy a different tour. The findings suggest that tourism discourse related to GF represents the cultural identity of Sicilian-Americans, who are in search of their origin, and interested in evidence of their ancestors' memories rather than of the mere film locations.

In her paper on Italian films in the UK from the 1940s to the 1950s, *Studying Translation and Retranslation Practices Through Non-film*

Materials, Francesca Raffi presents a historical overview of translations and retranslations of Italian art films distributed in England in the 1940s and 1950s which, unlike much of the previous research, is largely conducted on the basis of press reviews and specialised magazine articles from the British Film Institute National Archive. Italian neorealist and *auteur* films were first released with subtitles and then retranslated in their dubbed versions if deemed to have a potentially larger public. When US companies took over foreign film distribution, many films were released with American English dubbing, though this choice was attacked by British film critics. Although Britain is generally regarded as a subtitling country, Raffi uses the case of Italian neorealist and *auteur* films to argue that a number of factors define which films are subtitled and which are dubbed in Britain, even to this day. Complementing translation analysis with the study of archive material can thus throw light on the cultural debate concerning foreign film subtitling and dubbing in Britain.

Liis Kollamagi's *Corpus Stylistics: A Resource for Analysing Effects of Translation on Theme* uses corpus methods, in particular corpus stylistics, to identify linguistic patterns in the Naomi Alderman's dystopic novel *The Power* with a view to comparing the readers' experience of the text in English and in its Italian translation. Fictional text worlds consist of linguistic and stylistic items that create themes. Corpus stylistics identifies the structure of text worlds and the construction of thematic networks. Kollamagi extracts keywords from *The Power* and its Italian translation, identifies world building elements and classifies them as fictional world signals and thematic signals. She then studies collocates of some world building thematic keywords focusing on concordances of *women* and *girls* as opposed to *men* in a reversal of gender roles that is a feature of the novel. From the analysis, the semantic fields of *power* and *age* emerge as theme-building, while a comparison of source and target text suggests that age-related words occur slightly less frequently in the Italian translation, and that foregrounding *women* and *girls* in Italian can also be achieved through grammar as general references such as *other/some women* can be inflected for gender (*altre/alcune*). In short, the paper presents a novel application of corpus linguistics to highlight the potential of corpus stylistics for literary studies.

The final paper of the section by **Marco Barletta** explores the concept of paratext in Francesco Cusani's 1838 Italian translation of E. G. Bulwer-Lytton's novel *Ernest Maltravers*. Following Batchelor's conceptualization, and in contrast to that of Genette, paratext – a growing area in recent translation research – is viewed as a set of elements in translations that help readers or viewers to access texts. *Ernesto Maltra..tato: the translator as 'opposing lawyer' and 'counter attacker'* first describes Cusani's general approach to translation,

which preserves the reader-oriented perspective of Bulwer-Lytton's works, rich in paratextual elements, such as prefaces, introductions, epigraphs, chapter titles, footnotes and appendices. It focuses on both peritexts – visual and textual elements such as forewords and notes which surround a text – and epitexts – communication outside the text, such as reviews, interviews and literary criticism. Peritexts and epitexts can influence the readers' reception of the text. Unlike what has emerged from previous research, Barletta shows that Cusani uses a wide range of paratextual elements, including the following: a preface, to present the reasons behind his translation choices; a higher number of notes as compared to the source text, to help the readers; and interventions to rebut critical reviews. The latter serve both to mediate between the source and target text, and to express his own opinions, defending Italian culture from Bulwer-Lytton's attacks.

Migration, seen as a form of real or imagined exile from one's own or the one's ancestors' country of origin, and the resulting identities and feelings of otherness, is a source of cultural encounter or cultural clash. The papers in the concluding section of this volume have described ways of exploring the personal and cultural identity and otherness of people migrating within real or imagined worlds or works transplanted in different cultural milieus by innovatively using or extending the methods that are generally used in research in English language, linguistics and translation. These provide new insights, while developing an "out-of-the-box" approach in line with the theme of the conference.

I. ENGLISH LINGUISTICS

FORMAL, SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC MOTIVATIONS FOR BLENDING IN ENGLISH

Elisa Mattiello
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Blending is a linguistic phenomenon which has recently attracted the attention of several scholars. Morphologists have currently shown that, despite their diversity, lexical blends display regularities in prosodic structure and meaning. However, despite the recent interest in blending, this is still a somehow poorly understood and under-researched mechanism, often regarded as irregular or marginal, with fuzzy boundaries and posing problems of categorisation. This paper reassesses the importance of blending as a word-formation mechanism used to create neologisms in English. It explores a collection of 245 modern English blends with the aims to: 1) identify the formal, semantic and pragmatic motivations which govern their creation, 2) distinguish blends from regular and clipped compounds, and 3) show that they deserve a locus in productive morphology on account of their regularity and productivity in English, especially in terms of profitability in the formation of neologisms.

Blends, clipped compounds, new words, neologisms, English.

1. Introduction

Blending has for long been regarded as an irregular and unpredictable mechanism in word-formation studies (Aronoff 1976; Bauer 1983), not deserving the attention of linguists, who have denied blends a place in regular morphology (e.g. Dressler 2000) and relegated them to extra-grammatical word-creation (Ronneberger-Sibold 2010). However, some scholars have found grounds for including blending into general morphological descriptions (as was done, using different frameworks, in Kelly 1998; Kemmer 2003; Gries 2004 *inter alia*). In particular, recent studies on English lexical blends have shown that they display regularities in their prototypical features (Bauer 2012; Mattiello 2013),

prosodic structure (Bat-El and Cohen 2012; Arndt-Lappe and Plag 2013), and formal properties (Beliaeva 2014). Moreover, unlike other extra-grammatical operations, such as clipping or acronyms, lexical blending has contributed to the processes of linguistic innovation and lexicalisation (Milroy 1992; Brinton and Traugott 2005), in that it is used to create new words (e.g. *econobox* ← *econo(mical)* + *box* ‘an economical car’), rather than alternatives to existing ones (cf. the clipped compound *digibox* ← *digi(tal) box*). The growing number of blends observed in English (Connolly 2013) and recorded in lexicographic works indicates that this phenomenon is an important characteristic of the living contemporary language, and therefore, it cannot be ignored in a morphological description of the English language.

This study investigates the formal, semantic and pragmatic motivations for blending in English. It examines a collection of 245 new English blends (1950-2020) drawn from the OED with the goal of reassessing the importance of blends for lexical innovation, especially in English (cf. Thornton 2004; Cacchiani 2011 for Italian). In particular, the study aims at showing that blending is governed by several principles:

A. From the formal viewpoint, it obeys Zipf’s (1949) Principle of Least Effort and Martinet’s (1955) Principle of Linguistic Economy, according to which shorter and simpler words are preferred over redundant ones. This is especially evident in the formation of overlapping blends: e.g., *webliography* (← *web* + *bibliography*), *bromance* (← *bro* + *romance*).

B. In addition, also from the formal point of view, some blends obey the Principle of Analogy (Mattiello 2017), i.e. are coined after other blends with which they share some similarity: e.g., *netizen* (← *net* + *citizen*) is probably created by surface analogy with *netiquette* (← *net* + *etiquette*) and *slumpflation* (← *slump* + *inflation*) after *stagflation* (← *stagnation* + *inflation*).

C. From the semantic viewpoint, blending conforms to the Principle of Iconicity (Dressler et al. 1987): e.g., in coordinate blends of the hybrid category, i.e. mixing or fusing two words (e.g. *gasohol* ← *gasoline* + *alcohol*, *beefalo* ← *beef* + *buffalo*, *skort* ← *skirt* + *short(s)*), the mixture of amalgams, cross-breeds, or garments denoted by the blends mirrors the mixture of word segments in the process of formation of their names.

D. From the pragmatic viewpoint, blends comply with two main principles, i.e., Prominence and Naming. Blends with a prominence effect are mainly nonce forms found in newspaper headlines (e.g. *advertique* ← *advertisement* + *antique*). On the other hand, blends with a labelling function are more stable neologisms that occur in specialised contexts (e.g., computing *Usenet* ← *use* + *Internet*) and product names (e.g., *Clamato*TM ← *clam* + *tomato*).

The theoretical goal of this study is to present a new approach to the distinction between blends and other extra-grammatical phenomena, such as

the neighbouring morphological category of clipped compounds (e.g. *sitcom* ← *situation comedy*). More generally, by identifying the most prominent features and formal/semantic regularities of blends, the study addresses the issue of whether they should be considered manifestations of word creativity or productive word-formation.

2. Theoretical background on lexical blends

In early studies on English word-formation, the phenomenon of blending has been largely neglected or dismissed, because of its irregularity and lack of transparency. Lexical blends have been regarded as “oddities” in morphology (Aronoff 1976: 20), especially because they are unpredictable and cannot be analysed into morphemes (Bauer 1983: 234). A lexical blend can be defined as a lexical item intentionally formed by merging word parts (called *splinters*, Lehrer 1996) usually from two lexical units (e.g. *nerk* ← *nerd* + *jerk*), sometimes more (e.g. *turducken* ← *turkey* + *duck* + *chicken*), generally known as *source words* (henceforth, SWs).

More recently, blends have been included in that part of morphology called *extra-grammatical* (Dressler 2000; Ronneberger-Sibold 2006; Mattiello 2013), because their output is not as fully predictable from their input as in word-formation rules. Like other extra-grammatical operations, such as acronyms and clippings, blends are varied and their patterns are heterogeneous. However, unlike other abbreviatory mechanisms, blending produces novel words, rather than shorter versions of existing words (or phrases). Therefore, they contribute to the lexical innovation of the English language rather than providing mere informal or colloquial variants. Ronneberger-Sibold (2010: 201) specifically argues that blends belong to “word creation”, including “all operations for the production of new lexemes which are not covered by regular word formation”.

On the other hand, the surface structure of blends, their phonology and their semantics have been analysed by linguists in order to find grounds for including them in general morphological descriptions. For example, the mechanisms of blending have been investigated within constraint-based theoretical frameworks such as Schema Theory (Kemmer 2003) and Optimality Theory (Bat-El and Cohen 2012; Arndt-Lappe and Plag 2013). The cognitive mechanisms that are responsible for blend formation and processing have been experimentally examined by Lehrer (1996), Kelly (1998), and Gries (2004). With regard to the relationship between blends and other word-formation types, linguists have classified them as an intermediate connection between compounding and clipping, or, in a wider sense, between productivity and creativity. This area, however, remains under-researched, and blends still appear to have problems of fuzzy boundaries (Bauer 2012).

Blends have often received contradictory definitions in the literature, and scholars disagree about their classification. Whether or not a given formation is included in the category of blends depends on the criteria used for defining blends. Currently, there is no unified set of defining criteria for them, only defeasible constraints, distinguishing prototypical from non-canonical categories (Bauer 2012). Different prototypical features might be chosen depending on whether blending is considered:

1. an instance of compounding (Marchand 1969; Kubozono 1990; Renner 2006; Bauer, Lieber, Plag 2013);
2. an instance of shortening (Cannon 1986; Kelly 1998; López Rúa 2002);
3. a mixture of both processes (Gries 2004; Beliaeva 2014).

If we agree that blends are of the same nature as compounds (1 above), then we should include them within regular word-formation. Like compounds, blends are two-part (rarely three-part) formations which display prototypical features such as headedness and/or attributive or coordinative relations between their SWs. However, unlike compounds, the original constituents are not preserved entirely, as blends lack some of the phonological and/or graphic material of at least one of their constituents (see “lack of lexical integrity” in Fradin 2015: 389-390), as in *frenemy* ← *fr(iend)* + *enemy*, with partial loss of the first source word or SW₁.

On the other hand, if we assume that blending is an instance of shortening (2 above), then we should exclude blends from regular word-formation. Like clippings, blends preserve some part of their SWs; yet, the part which is deleted may vary (cf. total vs. partial blends). Some scholars, however, provide a narrow definition of blends, including only “cases where the inner edges are truncated” (e.g. *Oxbridge* ← *Ox(ford)* + *(Cam)bridge*) (Bat-El 2006: 66). For this type, Plag (2003: 123) provides the formula $AB + CD = AD$. This formula excludes from the category of blending forms where the right edges of two words are truncated (e.g. *sitcom* ← *sit(uation)* + *com(edy)* is AC), which Bat-El (2006: 66) classifies as “clipped compounds”.

Actually, as we will see, the criteria distinguishing blending from clipped compounds are not only formal, but also semantic and pragmatic. Bat-El’s (2006) definition is too restrictive in my view, as it would exclude several types from the category of blends which, though not being prototypical, deserve to be included: e.g., intercalative blends (e.g. *ambisextrous*, where *sex* is intercalated within *ambi(dex)drous*, Kemmer 2003: 72) and the type obtained from two word beginnings (e.g. *modem* ← *mod(ulator)* + *dem(odulator)*) are definitely blends. The only restriction for blends seems to be that “the beginning of a blend cannot be the end of a word” (Lehrer 1996: 364). This is a formal characteristic which differentiates blends from clipped compounds (e.g. *blog* ← *(we)blog*).

In this paper, I argue that a clipped compound mainly differs from a blend because it is attested as a compound before being shortened. The full compound

is attested not only historically/diachronically, but also in synchronic coexistence with its abbreviated form. Thus, while **modulator demodulator* is not attested in its full form – only the blend *modem* [1958] is – *sitcom* [1964] is shortened from the compound *situation comedy* [1953] and *blog* [1999] is a clipped compound that coexists with *weblog* [1993]. Nevertheless, I agree that *modem* is less prototypical than the type merging the beginning of one word with the end of another (e.g. *gasohol* ← *gas(oline) + (al)cohol*) (see the notions of “core” vs. “periphery” in Bauer 2012)¹.

A conciliatory definition is provided by Beliaeva (2014: 31):

A **blend** is a lexical item formed by merging together two (or more) source forms, so that 1) only part of their orthographical and/or phonological material is preserved, and 2) they have not been formed by concatenation of morphs. (emphasis in the original)

This definition does not rule out clipped compounds, as she admits, but conciliates compounding and shortening (3 above). What counts in the discrimination between the two categories of blends and clipped compounds is the order of the processes involved: that is, in clipped compounds, shortening occurs after compounding, whereas, in blends, shortening precedes compounding or, at least, they occur simultaneously.

In this study, a collection of 245 novel blends dated 1950-2020 will be examined from the formal, semantic and pragmatic viewpoints. This examination will allow us to 1) find out the motivations behind blending in English, 2) better distinguish the categories of blending and clipped compounding, and 3) verify the role of blending as a word-formation mechanism which should be taken into account in general morphological theory.

3. Data collection

For the present analysis, two datasets were collected from the online edition of the OED by using the advanced search tool available on the OED platform. For the collection of blends, two filters were used: i.e., the filter ‘blend’ in the etymology slot and the temporal filter ‘1950-2020’. The collection was then cleaned via close reading of each entry, excluding irrelevant cases: e.g., abbreviations from phrases (*Amex* ← *American Stock Exchange*) or words of uncertain origin (*scuzz* either from *disgusting* or from *scum* and *fuzz*) were rejected. The final dataset consists of 245 English blends, including 209 nouns (85%), 32 adjectives (13%), and 4 verbs (1.6%).

For the collection of clipped compounds, two parallel filters were used, i.e. ‘shortened’ in the etymology slot and the temporal filter ‘1950-2020’. In the

¹ Blends belong to the ‘core’ when they exhibit an AD pattern, which is prototypical for blending, while other patterns, such as AC, are less prototypical and belong to the ‘periphery’.

case of shortenings, however, results included clippings both from simplex words and from clipped compounds. Only the latter were considered relevant data for my goals. Moreover, after closer examination, irrelevant cases, such as abbreviations from phrases (*Euratom* ← *European Atomic Energy Community*) or clippings creating combining forms (*porta-* ← *portable* in *porta-kit*, *porta-office*, etc.), were also excluded. The final dataset used for the comparison consists of 65 English clipped compounds, including 62 nouns (95%) and 7 adjectives (10%), some being both.

The different figures corresponding to blends (245) and clipped compounds (65) – the latter are about one-fourth (26.5%) of the former – are symptomatic of the differences between the two categories of morphological mechanisms, not only in terms of the processes involved, but also in terms of the actual profitability in the coinage of new words. This claim will be substantiated by the analyses conducted in the following Sections.

4. Blends: Features and principles

In this Section, I present the characteristics of blends and describe the general principles governing their formation. By recalling the existing literature on blends, I intend to determine their most prominent identifying feature(s), and to explain the different motivations for their creation. I argue that there are numerous formal, semantic and pragmatic motivations for the occurrence of blends, and that these motivations may favour one or the other type of blend.

4.1 Formal features

From the formal viewpoint, blends are obtained from a fusion of two or more SWs. The following features can be used to define a blend formally:

- Origin: the SWs do not constitute an established compound: e.g., *webisode* ← *web* + (*ep*)*isode* (**web episode* is not an attested compound).
- Pattern:
 1. Unlike compounds, where both constituents are preserved, the prototypical pattern for a blend is AD (*glam-ma* ← *glam*(our) + (grand) *ma*) (see Plag's 2003: 123 blending rule AB + CD = AD, see Section 2 above).
 2. WD (*freemium* ← *free* + (p)*remium*) or AW (*flexecutive* ← *flex*(ible) + *executive*) can occur in partial blends, which preserve either SW₁ or SW₂ (W = full word).
 3. In overlapping blends, B and C may be null (*Japanimation* ← *Japan* + *animation*).

4. The pattern AC is rare: e.g., *cyborg* ← *cyb(ernetic) + org(anism)* (Bauer, Lieber, Plag 2013).
5. B cannot be the first part of a blend: e.g., **ticsteel* ← *(plas)tic + steel* (Lehrer 1996).
 - Ordering: as in phrases (but not in compounds), relevant factors in determining the order of the SWs are (from Kelly 1998 and Bauer 2012):
 1. Length (shorter first): e.g., *rapso* ← *rap + (caly)psō*;
 2. Frequency (more frequent first): e.g., *smaze* ← *sm(oke) + (h)aze*;
 3. Prototypicality (more prototypical first): e.g., *beefalo* ← *beef + (buf)falo*;
 4. Temporal (chronological) order: e.g., *brinner* ← *br(eakfast) + (d)inner²*.
 - Recognisability: unlike clipped compounds, as many segments as possible from the SWs are preserved in blends (Cannon 1986; Gries 2004; Bat-El 2006; Bauer 2012): e.g., *boxercise* ← *box + (e)xercise* (SW₁ is entirely recognisable and SW₂ nearly entirely), *hip-hopera* ← *hip-hop + opera* (both SWs are entirely recognisable).
 - Overlap (or identity) at the juncture: the boundary between the SWs involves identical graphemes and/or phonemes (Kelly 1998; Bertinetto 2001; Kemmer 2003), as in *boatel* ← *boat + (ho)tel* or *winterim* ← *winter + interim*. A non-central overlap occurs when the SWs have one or more coinciding letters/phonemes either at the beginning (*snarfle* ← *snarf + snaffle*) or at the end (*hoolivan* ← *hooligan + van*) (Beliaeva 2014: 59). By contrast, haplology neither occurs in full compounds nor applies to clipped compounds.
 - Length: blend length conforms to the length of the longer SW. More specifically:
 1. The blend has the same number of syllables as, or one syllable more or less than the longer SW (Cannon 1986; Hong 2004; Arnd-Lappe and Plag 2013): *net.i.zen* (3) ← *net* (1) + *cit.i.zen* (3);
 2. The blend cannot be longer than SW₂ (Kobozono 1990; Plag 2003; Bauer 2012): *vog* (1) ← *vol.ca.nic* (3) + *fog* (1);
 3. There is a preference for blends to have no more than three syllables (Arnd-Lappe and Plag 2013) (*kid.e.o* (3) ← *kid* (1) + *vid.e.o* (3)), while compounds are generally longer and clipped ones shorter.
 - Stress: primary stress in blends is determined by the position of stress in the SWs (Cannon 1986; Bat-El 2006; Bat-El and Cohen 2012). Stress assignment may depend on two parameters:
 1. Size: blend stress corresponds to the stress of the longer SW, either SW₁ (*hoolivan* ← *hooligan + van*) or SW₂ (*webliography* ← *wèb + bibliography*);
 2. Position: blend stress corresponds to the stress of the rightmost word, generally the head (*flexitarian* ← *flèxible + végétàrian*). This is not true for compounds.

² From *Urban Dictionary*. This example is not attested in the OED.

- Switch point: the switch point between the SWs is at major joints (Kubozono 1990; Kelly 1998; Hong 2004; Bat-El and Cohen 2012):

1. Phonological: the switch point falls primarily at phonological joints, such as syllable boundaries (*bur.ki.ni* ← *bur.ka* + *bi.ki.ni*);
2. Morphological: the switch point may fall at morphological joints, such as derivational affix boundaries (*inform-ance* ← *informative* + *perform-ance*).

These features are not given in order of importance, nor have they to be treated as defining criteria, but as constraints, which can co-exist or may exclude one another.

4.2 Semantic features

From the semantic viewpoint, blends are divided into coordinate (or portmanteau) and attributive. For these types, Dressler (2000: 5) uses the Jakobsonian labels *paradigmatic* and *syntagmatic*, respectively, although he includes only the former under the heading of *blend*. Similarly, Plag (2003: 123) considers “proper blends” only those which semantically “resemble copulative compounds”, i.e. those that are in a semantically coordinate relation.

4.2.1 Coordinate blends

Coordinate blends might not be headed semantically. For this reason, they are sometimes termed *exocentric* (Bat-El 2006: 66). However, the category of polyvalent blends is very close to coordinate compounds like *singer-songwriter*, displaying two semantic heads, whereas, in the hybrid type, one of the SWs generally takes priority.

According to Renner (2006), there are four main semantic relationships between the SWs in coordinate blends, in order of frequency:

- Hybridity: the blend is a fusion, mixture, or synthesis of SW₁ and SW₂. In these blends, the meanings (signata) of the blends are blends themselves, that is, entities that are mixtures or combinations of elements/substances. Examples from my dataset include:

1. Synthetic chemicals: *cephaloridine* ← *cephalosporin* + *pyridine*;
2. Mixed garments: *jeggings* ← *jeans* + *leggings*;
3. Synthetic textiles: *pleather* ← *plastic* + *leather*;
4. Mixtures/Amalgams/Alloys: *gasohol* ← *gasoline* + *alcohol*;
5. Hybrid species: *labradoodle* ← *Labrador* + *poodle*;
6. Varieties of English: *Chinglish* ← *Chinese* + *English*;
7. Hybrid music styles: *soca* ← *soul* + *calypso*;
8. Hybrid forms of entertainment: *shoppertainment* ← *shopper* + *entertainment*;
9. Sexual ambiguity: *shim* ← *she* + *him*.

As Bauer (2012: 17-18) observes, in some of these categories, one of the SWs (commonly SW₂) may prevail on the other. The prevalence of *English*, for instance, has produced the series *Spanglish*, *Japlish*, *Chinglish*, *Hinglish*, etc., more generally denoting varieties of English incorporating elements of other languages. Hybridity is a relationship which also occurs in “appositional compounds”, representing the intersection of two sets (e.g. *scholar-athlete* ‘someone who is at the same time a scholar and an athlete’) (Bauer, Lieber, Plag 2013: 479).

- Addition: the blend is SW₁ in addition to SW₂. In these blends, the SWs equally contribute to the total meaning, like the components of “additive compounds” of the type *Hewlett-Packard* or *deaf-mute* (Bauer, Lieber, Plag 2013: 480). Examples include:

1. Combined qualities: *glocal* ← *global* + *local*;
2. Combined activities: *dancercise* ← *dance* + *exercise*;
3. Complex food or beverage: *Clamato*TM ← *clam* + *tomato*;
4. Complex economic states: *stagflation* ← *stagnation* + *inflation*;
5. Complex political characters/issues: *militician* ← *military* + *politician*;
6. Composite methods/systems: *fertigation* ← *fertilizer* + *irrigation*.

Like the previous category, also these blends may display a higher semantic weight on the rightmost element: e.g., a *militician* is ‘a politician who is actively supported by a military establishment’.

- Polyvalence: the blend displays some characteristics of SW₁ and SW₂. Examples are:

1. Atypical accommodation: *boatel* ← *boat* + *hotel*;
2. Ambiguous behaviour: *frenemy* ← *friend* + *enemy*.

As Bauer (2012: 18) admits, this category is close to the hybrid type, so that the two could be merged. A *frenemy*, for instance, is ‘a person who combines the characteristics of a friend and an enemy’, and a *boatel* is ‘a boat which functions as a hotel’, thus displaying characteristics both of a boat, such as being located on water, providing facilities for mooring, and of a hotel, such as providing overnight accommodation, meals and other services. Comparable coordinate compounds are “compromise coordinatives”, designating an intermediate property (e.g. *blue-green* ‘a colour between blue and green’) (Bauer, Lieber, Plag 2013: 480-481).

- Tautology: the blend is both SW₁ and SW₂, the SWs being synonyms. Examples are:

1. Excessive qualities or characteristics: *fantabulous* ← *fantastic* + *fabulous*;
2. Character types: *nerk* ← *nerd* + *berk* / *jerk*.

Expectedly, this is the least common meaning relationship, not occurring in compounds (cf. the part-whole type in *oak tree*). As tautology in general, tautological blends are repetitive, reiterative of a quality or characteristic

possessed by somebody. This category can also be confused with speech errors, in which two similar words unintentionally merge into one (cf. unintentional “contaminations” in Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 158; Cannon 1986: 727). By contrast, neoformations are intentional and, despite their creativity, they may follow some regularities.

4.2.2 *Attributive blends*

Attributive or determinative blends, by contrast, are headed and, therefore, they are said to be “endocentric” (Bat-El 2006: 66). Like endocentric compounds, endocentric blends modify one element by another. This modifier-head structure is illustrated by:

- blends with a noun modifier: *adhocracy* ← *ad hoc* + *bureaucracy*, *kideo* ← *kid* + *video*, *mockumentary* ← *mock* + *documentary*, *screenager* ← *screen* + *teenager*;
- blends with an adjective modifier: *buppie* ← *black* + *yuppie*, *cremains* ← *cremated* + *remains*, *rectenna* ← *rectifying* + *antenna*, *slimnastics* ← *slimming* + *gymnastics*.

Thus, a *kideo* is ‘video made for children (kids)’ and *cremains* are ‘the ashes (remains) of a cremated person’.

The formal and semantic features explored so far lead us to different classifications of blends. On the one hand, we can classify them on the basis of their structure and the recognisability of the source words: in total blends, both SWs are shortened, whereas in partial ones, one of them is kept intact. Overlapping blends are the most common in my dataset (89%) because they favour both the AD pattern and the SWs recognisability. Attributive blends (59%) are also more common than coordinate ones (41%), and, within the latter category, the hybrid type prevails over the others.

Let us now explore more general principles which characterise blending in English.

4.3 *General principles*

Blending is a profuse phenomenon in English, and is governed by several general principles. From the formal viewpoint, that blending obeys Zipf’s (1949) Principle of Least Effort and Martinet’s (1955) Principle of Linguistic Economy is especially evident in the formation of overlapping blends, such as *sext* (← *sex* + *text*), in which the redundancy given by phonemic overlap between the SWs is avoided by haplology. Brevity is sought, following the principle of optimal size of the signans: optimal for recognisability of the source words. Unlike compounds, blends have to find a balance between two opposite tendencies, i.e. diminution of phonological material vs. maximisation of transparency (Fradin 2015: 389-390).

In addition, some blends obey the Principle of Analogy (Mattiello 2017), that is, they are based on concrete models with which they share some similarity. For instance, *smaze* (\leftarrow *smoke* + *haze*) and *vog* (\leftarrow *volcanic* + *fog*) are both created by surface analogy with lexicalised *smog* (\leftarrow *smoke* + *fog*). Surface analogy with a unique model can favour target comprehension. For instance, the phonological, formal and semantic resemblance between *smaze* (or *vog*) and *smog* can help the association of *smaze* with the meaning ‘a mixture of smoke and haze’ and of *vog* with ‘fog containing volcanic dust’.

Analogy can also be with a series, as in the blend *Clintonomics*, which can be added to the schema of *Nixonomics*, *Reaganomics*, *Rogernomics*³, etc., all sharing the splinter *-(o)nomics* \leftarrow *economics*. The emergence of a schema facilitates the shift of *-nomics* from blend splinter to combining form. Analogical blends formed after a schema model preferentially belong to the attributive type, where SW₂ (e.g. *economics*) plays the role of head, whereas SW₁ serves as modifier (e.g. President’s names: *Clinton*, *Nixon*, *Reagan*, etc.) (Mattiello 2019).

From the semantic viewpoint, blending conforms to the Principle of Iconicity of Natural Morphology (Dressler et al. 1987): that is, a strong formal amalgamation of the blended words can mirror a corresponding fusion of their referents. For instance, in the hybrid category of blends, the mixture of alloys, chemicals, textiles, etc. is iconically reflected by the mixture of word parts that form their names (e.g. *gasohol*). This favours the creation of coordinate blends, for example, for cross-breeds (*labradoodle*), mixed garments (*skort*), hybrid music styles (*hip-hopera*). In the additive and polyvalent types, the signans of the blend is diagrammatic with respect to the signatum: in a *turducken*, the order of the SWs reflects the order of the ingredients (boned *turkey*, filled with boned *duck*, in its turn filled with boned *chicken*). In the tautological type, the reiteration of meaning is reproduced by the repetition of near-synonyms (e.g. *fantabulous* \leftarrow *fantastic* + *fabulous*).

From the pragmatic viewpoint, blends comply with two main principles, that is, Prominence and Naming. The Principle of Prominence establishes that the creation of blends is mainly motivated by the goal of attracting the reader’s/hearer’s attention and eliciting his/her favourable response. Blends with a prominence effect are especially nonce forms found in newspaper and magazine headlines (e.g. *glamping* \leftarrow *glamorous* + *camping*). On the other hand, the Principle of Naming establishes that blends are necessary either to fill a conceptual and/or lexical gap or to label novel products and trademarks. Blends with a labelling or naming function are more stable neologisms that occur in specialised contexts (e.g. computing *knowbot* \leftarrow *know* + *robot*) and product names (e.g. *Pinotage*TM \leftarrow *Pinot* + *hermitage*). The latter principle more generally

³ From Roger Owen Douglas, New Zealand Minister of Finance.

motivates the widespread use of blending as a word-formation process, much more frequently adopted in English than clipping compounding.

5. *Clipped compounds vs. blends*

According to Beliaeva (2014), clipped compounds (or “clipping compounds” as she names them) are contractions of existing compounds, whereas blends are instances of creative word-formation involving the formation of new notions in the process of conceptual integration. Thus, while in clipped compounds, shortening takes place after compounding, in blending, shortening and compounding happen simultaneously. Some scholars regard clipped compounds as a subtype of blends displaying an AC form (Renner 2006: 160). However, it should be verified whether blends and clipped compounds have to be kept distinct and treated “as two separate though neighbouring categories within extragrammatical subtractive word-formations” (Cacchiani 2011: 114, cf. “fragment blends” vs. “clipped compounds” in Cacchiani’s account on Italian blends).

So far, we have investigated the features of English blends and identified the formal constraints for their formation, as well as their semantic features and pragmatic motivations. In the following Sections, we reconsider the above features and principles in order to distinguish the two mechanisms of blending and clipping compounding more systematically.

5.1 *Form*

As for their form, clipped compounds differ from blends in several respects:

- Origin: clipped compounds are shortened from existing compounds: e.g., *sci-fi* [1954] ← *science fiction* [1927].
- Pattern:
 1. Unlike blends, whose prototypical pattern is AD, clipped compounds generally conform to an AC pattern (cf. “AC-forms” in Beliaeva 2014): e.g., *pop-cult* ← *pop(ular) cult(ure)*, *spad* ← *sp(ECIAL) ad(viser)*.
 2. When the first or the second constituent is monosyllabic, it is entirely preserved in the clipped compound: e.g., *Air Cav* ← *air cav(alry)* (WC), *op art* ← *op(tical) art* (AW).
 3. In a clipped compound, the pattern BW is rare, but not as impossible as in blends: e.g., *blog* ← *(we)blog*.
- Ordering: the order of the components in a clipped compound is the same as in the compound it is shortened from.
- Recognisability: while in blends recognisability is a fundamental constraint for the switch point of the SWs, in clipped compounds the switch

point falls earlier than it is necessary for the bases to be easily recognisable (Beliaeva 2014). This can be explained by two factors:

Clipped compounds normally display an AC pattern (*des res* ← *des(irable) res(idence)*), where the word beginning is more salient than word end (cf. AD-forms);

The word parts of a clipped compound constitute a formal and semantic unit, whereas the splinters of a blend do not; hence, the former are easier to be recovered.

- Overlap: there is no overlap (similarity at the juncture) between the word parts of a clipped compound. However, there is often similarity between their rhyme (nucleus + coda): e.g., *romcom* ← *rom(antic) com(edy)*, *des res*. When there is no perfect rhyme identity, the clipping can be remodelled to form a rhyming compound, as in *evo-devo* ← *evo(lutionary) dev(elopmental biology)* (with reduplication of -o) or *mofo* ← *mo(ther)f(ucker)* (with alteration of the vowel -u- for assonance effect).

- Length: there is a preference for clipped compounds to have no more than two syllables (against the three syllables of ideal blends): e.g., *psy-war* ← *psy(chological) war(fare)*, *op-amp* ← *op(eration) amp(lifier)*.

- Stress: like compounds in general, clipped compounds have only one primary stress on the first syllable, both in disyllabic clipped compounds (*air-con* ← *air conditioning*) and in tri-syllabic ones (*pèrma-press* ← *permanent press*).

- Switch point: the switch point between the compound components falls primarily at syllable boundaries (*sys.op* ← *sys.tem op.er.a.tor*). This can be considered the main formal similarity with blends.

5.2 Semantics

Semantically, all the clipped compounds in my dataset belong to the attributive type, with a modifier-head structure (e.g. *fro-yo* ← *frozen yogurt*, *sysadmin* ← *system administrator*). In general, coordinate compounds (e.g. *prince consort*, *founder member*) are much less frequent than attributive compounds (*blue cheese*, *keyword*) in English. As a consequence, their clipped form may occur less frequently. This is a fundamental difference with blends, whose coordinative type is nearly as recurrent as the attributive type.

5.3 General principles

Compounds, like other abbreviations, are unquestionably shortened as an act of economising (Principle of Economy). Thus, from this viewpoint, clipped compounds and blends are similar. However, blends are created with the aim of designating a new referent or a new concept, while clipped compounds give a new name to an existing referent or concept. So, the former create new

meaning, the latter actually add a new item to the lexicon which expresses a concept already expressed by a full compound, even if its connotative meaning may differ. As a consequence, clipped compounds do not obey either the Prominence or the Naming Principle. Needless to say, their form is not iconic of their meaning (Principle of Iconicity).

However, some clipped compounds can conform to the Principle of Analogy. For instance, *lo-fi* ← *low fidelity* is clearly modelled on *hi-fi* ← *high-fidelity*. The similarity between target and model is confirmed by the identical pronunciation of the second syllable *fi* /faɪ/ vs. /fi/ in *fidelity*. Comparable examples of surface analogy are: *op art* ← *optical art* (on *pop art*), *low-tech* ← *low technology* (on *high-tech*), *romcom* ← *romantic comedy* (on *sitcom*), and *sci-fi* ← *science fiction* (perhaps on *hi-fi*).

5.4 Problematic cases

There are a handful of cases in my dataset which can be considered problematic to classify as either blends or clipped compounds. In the OED, the following are considered blends:

vodkatini [1955] ← *vodka* + *martini* ‘a martini cocktail in which vodka is substituted for gin’;

molelectronics [1959] ← *molecular* + *electronics* ‘the branch of electronics that deals with the design, manufacture, and use of microcircuits’;

surfari [1963] ← *surf* + *safari* ‘a journey made by surfers in search of good conditions for surfing’;

computeracy [1969] ← *computer* + *literacy* ‘knowledge of or expertise in the use of computers’;

grannex [1983] ← *granny* + *annexe* ‘a self-contained living unit for an elderly relative detached from the principal residence’;

gengineer [1987] ← *genetic* + *engineer* ‘a scientist who works in the field of genetic engineering’.

For all of these forms, a corresponding compound word exists (*vodka martini*, *surf safari*, etc.), but not all compounds are attested before the abbreviated form: e.g., *molelectronics* [1959] and *computeracy* [1969] are attested in the same years as, respectively, *molecular electronics* [1959] and *computer literacy* [1969]. Among them, *grannex* is closer to clipped compound features, being a disyllabic AC-form stressed on the first syllable. All the others, because of their typical AD form, could be considered blends. Definitely, *vodkatini* could not be a clipped compound: first, because of its polysyllabic form stressed on the penultimate syllable, and second because its meaning combines the cocktail Martini with vodka, as typically in hybrid blends.

6. General discussion and conclusions

Why are *motel* and *Britcom* blends, while *mocamp* and *romcom* are clipped compounds? In this study, I have provided a set of defining features and constraints that may help discriminate between the two neighbouring morphological categories. For both, the core and the periphery exist, and counterexamples could be found for each constraint, but the regularities and tendencies that I have enumerated can help us in their distinction.

The first requirement for an item to be considered a blend (and not a clipped compound) is that the two source words should not constitute a compound: that is, *motel* is not a shortening of the already established phrase **motor hotel*, whereas *mocamp* is coined as the shortening of the existing combination *motor camp*. But there are further formal constraints that can help differentiate *motel* (← *motor* + *hotel*) from *mocamp* (← *motor camp*), or *Britcom* (← *British* + *sitcom*)⁴ from *romcom* (← *romantic comedy*):

- First, *motel* and *Britcom* conform to the prototypical blending pattern (AD), while *mocamp* is AW and *romcom* displays an AC form.
- Second, in *motel*, the SWs merge where they overlap – there are shared phonemes /əʊt/ between *motor* and *hotel* – whereas there is no overlap between the constituents of *motor camp*. Similarly, in *Britcom*, there are overlapping phonemes /ɪt/ between *British* and *sitcom*, which favour the SWs recognisability, whereas in *romcom* the two syllables share the rhyme /ɒm/.
- Third, in *motèl* stress falls on the second syllable, as in its SW₂ (*hotèl*), whereas in *mòcamp* stress falls on the first syllable, conforming to the clipped compound prosodic pattern.
- More generally, in the formation of *mo(tor) camp* and *rom(antic) com(edy)*, shortening happens after compounding, whereas in the creation of *mo(tor) + (ho)tel* and *Brit(ish) + (sit)com* the two processes happen at the same time.

Table 1 summarises the formal patterns and frequencies of blends vs. clipped compounds found in my dataset:

<i>Pattern</i>	<i>Blend example</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Clipped compound example</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
AD	glam-ma ← glam(our) + (grand)ma	39%	satcaster ← sat(ellite) (broad) caster	1.5%
AC	cyborg ← cyb(ernetic) + org(anism)	1.8%	pop-cult ← pop(ular) cult(ure)	46.2%

⁴ According to the OED, *Britcom* can be interpreted as a blend either from *British* + *comedy* or, more prototypically, from *British* + *sitcom*.

WD	kideo ← kid + (v)ideo	24.5%	–	0%
WC	–	0%	air-con ← air con (ditioning)	20%
AW	plasteel ← plast(ic) + steel	19.3%	op art ← opt(ical) art	30.7%
BW	–	0%	blog ← (we)blog	1.5%
WW with overlap	replicar ← replica + car	13.6%	–	0%
Intercalative	algeny ← al(chem)y + gen(e)	1.7%	–	0%

TABLE 1. Patterns and frequencies of blends vs. clipped compounds

Table 1 demonstrates that blends differ from clipped compounds also quantitatively. The AD pattern of blends is much more frequent than in clipped compounds, and, vice versa, the AC pattern prevails in clipped compounds, but it is uncommon in blend formation. The pattern preserving the first SW in blends (WD) is replaced by WC in clipped compounds, while AW is more frequent in clipped compounds than in blends. The BW pattern does not occur in blend formation, while the WW pattern with an overlap and the intercalative type are absent in clipped compounding.

From the semantic viewpoint, blends may belong to the coordinate or the attributive type, while clipped compounds generally belong to the attributive type.

There are broader and narrower definitions of blends, but definitely they cannot be restricted to AD-forms (cf. Bat-El 2006), because this formal constraint would exclude examples like *cyborg* ← *cyb(ernet)ic* + *org(anism)* from the heading of 'blend'. Nor could blends include only paradigmatic forms (cf. Dressler 2000) of the type *burkini* ← *bur(ka)* + *(bi)kini*. On the contrary, the attributive type overcomes the coordinate type in my dataset.

General principles also constitute discriminatory criteria. Both blends and clipped compounds obey the Language Economy Principle, but only blends have an impact on language innovation and lexical expansion, in that they contribute to the lexicon not only with new words, but also with new meanings. In my compound dataset, only *Botox* ← *bo(tulinum) tox(in)* has become a proprietary name for 'a treatment by botulinum toxin', whereas in the blend dataset, 65.7% are new common nouns and 19.6% are novel names. This corroborates the labelling/naming function of blends, against a mere abbreviatory function of clipped compounds. Iconicity also appears to be a prerogative of blends, which reproduce, through their form, the fusion of their referents.

Several regularities have been proved for blend behaviour and the constraints discussed in this study can help us distinguish 1) between prototypical cases and marginal ones, 2) among the diverse types, as well as 3) between blends and other morphological categories, especially regular and clipped compounds. In general, the study has demonstrated that word-formation theory has to embrace blends, in spite of their great diversity, because of a) the vast amount of regularity and predictability observed in their formation, and b) the profitability of blending in terms of creation of English neologisms.

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REDUPLICATIVE NOMINALISATIONS OF PHRASAL VERBS: A CASE OF “THROWAWAY” MORPHOLOGY?

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This paper examines English reduplicative nominalisations (RNs) derived from phrasal verbs (e.g. *filler inner*). It expands on previous studies by examining a wide number of possible suffixed particles in corpus data. The findings are mostly in line with the literature: RNs are generally infrequent as both types (0.004 pmw) and tokens (0.011 pmw); they are lexically varied, each type having one or a few tokens; they are not relatable to shared semantic fields, which shows their creative productivity; they include one frequent and highly lexicalised form, *fixer-upper*, which most often denotes ‘a house needing a lot of work’; they exemplify only 14 suffixed particles (esp. *upper*); their referents usually denote agents; they are occasionally coordinated with other *-er*-suffixed forms (e.g. *course setter*, *flag hanger* and *picker upper*); and they usually derive from verbs of Germanic origin, as is the case for most phrasal verbs. However, the findings partly depart from the literature: they also show that RNs are slightly more frequent and more varied in American than British English; that they may occasionally serve as premodifiers of head nouns; that they exemplify previously unattested *-er*-suffixed particles (e.g. *byer*); and that they illustrate meaning extensions of *fixer upper* (e.g. ‘someone handy at doing things’). Overall, RNs appear to be creative coinages which are produced within a constellation of phonological, semantic and stylistic conditioning environments.

Reduplication, nominalisations, deverbal nouns, -er/-or suffix, phrasal verbs.

1. Introduction¹

Among the word-formation processes available to English, derivation is a very productive one. By means of various affixes – especially suffixes – it is

¹ I thank Katherine Ackerley, Erik Castello and Fiona Dalziel for helpful comments on a previous version of this paper.

possible to form new words, which may or may not be of the same part of speech as the words they derive from (e.g. *stable* – *unstable* vs *combine* – *combination*). A common derivational suffix is *-er/-or*, which serves to produce deverbals nouns denoting concrete inanimate entities (e.g. *opener*, *calculator*), intangible entities (e.g. *breather*, *disclaimer*), individuals (e.g. *thinker*, *operator*) or a combination of the above (e.g. *lifter*, *reader*, *saver*, *shopper*, *speaker*). Typically, an *-er/or*-suffixed noun expresses the general meaning of ‘someone or something that Verb-s’.

Within the general meaning of ‘someone or something that Verb-s’, more specific semantic distinctions can be made depending partly on the nature of the verb (i.e. agentive vs experiential) and partly on the degree of animacy of the denotatum (i.e. human or inanimate). Thus, *-er/-or*-suffixed deverbals nouns with a personal referent may denote: a Stimulus, ‘someone who affects someone or something by Verb-ing’ (e.g. *pleaser*); an Experiencer, ‘someone who experiences the process of Verb-ing’ (e.g. *dreamer*); or an Agent, ‘someone who performs the action of Verb-ing’ (e.g. *mover*); in this last case, the agentive *-er/-or*-suffixed forms may receive an episodic interpretation, that is, one relevant to a specific, temporary, context-bound event or activity (e.g. *the writer of this book*, i.e. ‘the one who wrote this book’; *rider*, i.e. ‘the one who is/was riding a bicycle’) or a habitual interpretation, that is, one descriptive of a general attitude, role or stable occupation (e.g. *entertainer*, i.e. ‘one whose job is to perform so as to entertain people’; *teacher*, i.e. ‘one whose job is to teach’) (Alexiadou and Schäfer 2010). On the other hand, *-er/-or*-suffixed nouns with a non-personal referent may denote a Stimulus, ‘something that affects someone or something as a result of Verb-ing’ (e.g. *healer*); an Instrument, ‘something that is used to perform the action of Verb-ing’ (e.g. *lighter*, *relaxer*); or a Patient, ‘something that is Verb-ed’ (e.g. *reader* in the sense of a ‘book for learners’).

The productivity of the suffix is testified by both its semantic flexibility and its contextual adaptability. On the one hand, the same *-er/-or*-suffixed form may develop more than one sense or modify its sense over time. Examples of the former phenomenon are to be found in *reader* and *keeper*. *Reader* may denote: an Agent, namely ‘a person who reads’, but also ‘a person who reads by profession’ such as a *university reader*, a *church reader*; an Instrument, namely ‘a piece of equipment for decoding information’; and a Patient, namely ‘a book or collection of texts to be read’. Similarly, *keeper* may denote ‘someone who looks after something’ or ‘someone/something that is worth keeping’. An example of semantic evolution in an *-er/-or*-suffixed form is exemplified in *computer*, which used to denote ‘someone who made calculations’ and later started to denote ‘a device for performing calculations’. On the other hand, the *-er/-or* suffix can easily serve to satisfy newly arisen communicative needs. Thus, when, in a given domain, speakers need to denote an entity or individual exemplifying one of the above-mentioned meanings, and for which a ready-made term is

not available, an *-er/-or*-suffixed is easily formed – or semantically adapted – and just as easily understood and adopted. An example is *closer*, which, in an American TV series, denotes an interrogator who obtains confessions that lead to convictions, and as a result succeeds in solving (i.e. closing) cases. Another one, from the field of linguistic pragmatics, is *disarmer*, which denotes a move (i.e. a communicative strategy) for preventing an interlocutor from saying or doing something that would be damaging, or unwelcome, to the speaker/writer. A final one is *opener*, in the meaning of ‘someone who opens’, which I read in a birthday card depicting an attractive, bare-chested young man saying “Let me open that bottle for you”, and who was defined therein as *the cutest bottle opener*.

When *-er/-or*-suffixed nouns are derived from non-phrasal verbs, they have predictable meanings (e.g. *teacher* ‘a person who teaches’; *hearer* ‘a person who has auditory perception’; *calculator* ‘a tool for making calculations’; *opener* ‘a tool for opening something’) in predictable forms (e.g. *copy* > *copier*, *stop* > *stopper*, *consume* > *consumer*, *dry* > *dryer*, *sell* > *seller*). On the other hand, when they are derived from phrasal verbs, they tend to assume more specific meanings than the original verbs (e.g. *run up* ‘make something quickly’ vs *runner up* ‘someone who comes in second in a competition’; *stand by* ‘be ready; not take action; be loyal’ vs *bystander* ‘someone who is in a particular place by chance when an accident or an unusual event happens, but who is not directly connected with it’). Moreover, their form is less predictable: the particle may appear before or after the *-er/-or*-suffixed verb stem (e.g. *by-stander*, *passer-by*), a suffixed form might not be licensed (e.g. **outputter*, **putter out*) or both the verb stem and the particle may take the affix (e.g. *filler inner*, *looker outer*, *picker upper*). This last word-formation process produces reduplicative nominalisations (RNs)².

RNs can be described as a “repair” strategy for solving a morphological double bind. In English, a derivational suffix is typically attached to the head of a term, which coincides with its rightmost component. However, in the case of phrasal verbs, this condition does not apply: the verb stem is the head of the word and the particle is its rightmost component. RNs thus satisfy the grammatical need to add a derivational suffix to both the head and the boundary of a word (Cappelle 2010; McIntyre 2013; Stump 1995).

1.1 Literature review

RNs are said to be attested in writing from the early 20th century (Lensch 2018), becoming more noticeable in the 1930s and 1940s (Cappelle 2010;

² This is the term used by McIntyre (2013). Other scholars employ different terms to denote this group of deverbal nouns: *doubler-upper* nouns, double *-er* coinages and double *-er* forms (Cappelle 2010); *-er* nominalization of phrasal verbs, nominalized phrasal verbs, particle-verb nominalizations, *doubler-upper* nominalizations, and *doubler-upper* nouns (Lensch 2018); double *-er* suffixation; reduplicated suffixation (Walker 2009); double affixation and head marking + external marking (Stump 1995).

Chapman 2008; Walker 2009), with the phenomenon being accompanied by the concomitant decline of the *bystander* and *picker-up* patterns (Chapman 2008). However, earlier instances can also be found: one is *knocker-upper* – also attested in the *knocker-up* variant – which denotes a person whose job was to wake people (i.e. workers) up during the Industrial Revolution, when clocks were not common, and who would sometimes use a *snuffer outer* for that purpose (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Knocker-up>)³.

Previous studies mention the following as properties of RNs:

A. like other reduplications, they produce changes in descriptive, rather than expressive/interpersonal, meaning (Lensch 2018);

B. they mostly denote volitional agents, but also instruments used on purpose (Lensch 2018);

C. they are infrequent (Walker 2009; Cappelle 2010); in one study, 269 RN types were identified out of 353 candidate multi-word verbs collected through Internet searches (Chapman 2008); in another one, 818 RN tokens were retrieved in a 2,700,000-word newspaper corpus, on the basis of searches considering 10 particles (Lensch 2018);

D. although infrequent, they are more frequent than comparable deverbal nominalisation patterns like Verb Particle/Preposition-*er*, Verb-*er* Particle/Preposition and Particle/Preposition Verb-*er* (Chapman 2008);

E. they tend to be preferred over the V-*er*+Particle forms by native speakers (Štekauer et al. 2005);

F. they show a preference for particles with an aspectual-situational meaning (*-upper*, *-outer*, *-offer*, *-inner*, *-onner*; Lensch 2018) rather than prepositions with a temporal-spatial meaning (*overer*, *aboutter*, *downer*; Chapman 2008)⁴, the *-upper* RNs being the most frequent (Lensch 2018);

G. they usually derive from monosyllabic verb bases and monosyllabic particles (Walker 2009; Lensch 2018), which realise trochaic feet (Cappelle 2010; Lensch 2018; Walker 2009) to the point that sometimes longer verb bases or particles “lose” one syllable in speech (e.g. *opener* in *opener upper* is likely to drop the vowel of its central syllable; Walker 2009: 9);

H. they may occur in elaborate phrases (Lensch 2018; Cappelle 2010; e.g. *putter-upper-with*), including those with multiple *-er*-suffixed forms (e.g. *stayer-onner-for-nower*, *restaurant closer downner* [sic], *spider-getter-outer-ofer-the-houser around*) or the incorporation of patients as pre-modifiers (Lensch 2018; McIntyre 2013; *trash taker outer*, *title thinker-upper*, *shoe-taker-offer*);

I. they are highly productive, considering the high number of *hapax legomena* attested (Cappelle 2010; Lensch 2018);

J. and when pluralised, the *-s* suffix is attached only to their right-hand word (Lensch 2018).

³ I thank Hiroshi Kubo for pointing this out to me.

⁴ This is taken to be a step towards grammaticalisation (Chapman 2008).

Rule- or structure-based accounts have been offered on the origin of RNs:

A. RNs could be the middle stage of a transition from Verb-*er* Particle structures through Verb-*er* Particle-*er* structures to Verb Particle-*er* structures (Chapman 2008), evidence of which can be found in the OED, where entries of nominalisations of verb stems alone predate those of RNs (e.g. *cheerer*, 1660 vs *cheerer upper*, 1991; *walker out*, 1993 vs *walker outer*, 1997) (Lensch 2018: 171).

B. Alternatively, RNs may be said to be one manifestation of a larger phenomenon, that is, the spread of the *-er* suffix to a wider set of bases like Prepositional Phrases and Verb Phrases (Chapman 2008; e.g. *church go arounder*, *sun look atters*, *shake it all abouters*, *do-it-yourselfer*, *get-rich-quicker*, *out-of-towner*, *up-and-downer*).

C. Finally, RNs may be considered single complex nouns – in which the verb and the particle have a strong collocational bond – rather than nominal phrases like Verb-*er* Preposition forms, which may be accompanied by phrasal complementation (Cappelle 2010: 354-356; e.g. *drug dealer keeper awayer* vs *keeper away of drug dealers*).

According to this last view, RNs may be thought to originate as a repair strategy. That is, when a predicator is encoded in a phrasal verb and this has no overt object (i.e. no explicit argument/complementation), the *-er/-or*-suffixed noun derived from it has scope only over the verb stem and not its particle, precisely due to the absence of the object, and this triggers a new affixation (Davide Bertocci, personal communication).

At the same time, usage-based accounts of RNs have also been put forward:

A. First, RNs are said to be produced more for morpho-phonological rather than semantic reasons (McIntyre 2013; Walker 2009), since the *-er/-or* suffix has a euphonic (Walker 2009) or jingling effect (Cappelle 2010), which gives RNs rhyming and metrical properties (Cappelle 2010), while the double suffix is semantically vacuous (McIntyre 2013) and repeatable (*tryer outerer*: Walker 2009; *handerer-outerer*: Cappelle 2010) for no special reason.

B. Also, their usage is said to be restricted to non-literary (Chapman 2008) and journalistic (Wentworth 1936, quoted in Walker 2009) registers, and regarded as informal (Bauer 1983; Cappelle 2010; Chapman 2008; Štekauer et al. 2005; Walker 2009), non-serious (Chapman 2008; Štekauer et al. 2005; Walker 2009), jocular and humorous (Cappelle 2010; McIntyre 2013), and also nonstandard (Walker 2009; Cappelle 2010; Štekauer et al. 2005) or socially stigmatisable (Bauer 1983; McIntyre 2013).

C. Finally, RNs are also said to vary diatopically, being more frequent in American than British English, but more lexically varied in British than American English (Lensch 2018; Cappelle 2010); in particular, while *upper*, *-outer*, *-offer*, *-inner* and *-onner* RNs are said to be attested in both American and British English (Lensch 2018), *-abouter* and *-overer* RNs are reported as occurring only

in British English (Lensch 2018), with *fixer-upper* and *washer-upper* being the most frequent RNs in American English (Cappelle 2010; Lensch 2018) and British English (Lensch 2018), respectively.

Overall, usage-based accounts describe RNs as: uneconomical (McIntyre 2013); rare, and yet productive (Cappelle 2010; Lensch 2018; Walker 2009), as evidenced by the occurrence of deviations from the prototype (see the above examples of multiple *-er*-suffixed forms); creative (Štekauer et al. 2005), as evidenced by various *hapax legomena*, and produced on the spur of the moment, based on forms serving as models (Cappelle 2010). These accounts motivate the realization of RNs in two ways: as a matter of sociolinguistic factors because of their association with non-serious contexts of production, but also as resting on lexical and phonological models, because derived from phrasal verbs and reproducing trochaic patterns.

1.2 Focus of the study

Although various characteristics of RNs have been described, not all possible Verb+Particle combinations in RNs have been investigated, and not all studies have been conducted on corpus data. More specifically, one study considered select examples from the Internet (McIntyre 2013). Others drew their data from Internet searches restricted to certain structures such as: Verb+Particle RNs starting with the letter *a-* (Walker 2009) or four nominalization patterns (i.e. Verb Particle-*er*; Verb-*er* Particle; Verb-*er* Particle-*er*; Particle V-*er*) of 352 multi-word verbs, yielding 269 Verb-*er* Particle-*er* types (Chapman 2008). Others still were based on corpus searches for Verb + *up* RNs in the *Time* corpus (Walker 2009), for Verb+Particle RNs (with 10 particles) in a 2,700,000,000-word corpus of British and American newspapers (1990-2006), leading to 818 occurrences (Lensch 2018) or for Verb+Particle RNs (with 21 particles) in the *British National Corpus* (BNC) and the *Contemporary Corpus of American English* (COCA) (Cappelle 2010). Finally, others were based on dictionary term entries (Chapman 2008; Walker 2009).

This paper aims to assess the validity of previous findings by examining a more comprehensive number of RNs on the basis of corpus data. The research questions are the following:

- RQ1) How frequent are RNs in large general corpora?
- RQ2) What lexical-semantic field(s), if any, do they tend to occur in?
- RQ3) What morpho-syntactic properties do they exhibit?
- RQ4) What semantic roles do their referents frequently encode?
- RQ5) Are they more frequent in American than British English?
- RQ6) Are they more lexically varied in British than American English?

In the following sections I outline how I collected and analysed my data, report and discuss the findings, and draw some implications from them.

2. Data collection and analysis

To address RQ1, RQ2, RQ3 and RQ4, I first collected data from the *English Web 2015 Corpus* (enTenTen15), which consists of 13,000,000,000 tokens crawled from the Internet with a spidering tool, and which is accessible through the *Sketch Engine* platform (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/>). By using the Corpus Query Language tool, I searched the corpus for *-er*-suffixed strings followed by each of the following 38 *-r/-er*-suffixed particles/prepositions, in their singular and plural forms, which included those listed in previous publications and others that I could think of myself: *about*(s), *above*(s), *across*(s), *ahead*(s), *along*(s), *among*(s), *apart*(s), *around*(s), *aside*(s), *at*(s), *away*(s), *below*(s), *beneath*(s), *between*(s), *by*(s), *down*(s), *for*(s), *further*(s), *forward*(s), *from*(s)/*fromm*(s), *inner*(s), *into*(s), *of*(s), *on*(s)/*onner*(s), *onto*(s), *out*(s), *over*(s), *sincer*(s), *through*(s), *to*(s), *together*(s), *toward*(s)/*towardser*(s), *under*(s), *underneath*(s), *with*(s)/*withther*(s), *within*(s) and *without*(s). In the case of *back*, *off*, *round* and *up*, I proceeded in a different fashion, given that *-er*-suffixed strings followed by *backer*(s), *offer*(s), *rounder*(s) and *upper*(s) returned far too many hits (i.e. 105,000, 9,000,000, 45,000 and 834,000, respectively), which were going to be too many for me to examine. I therefore searched for instances of *backer*(s), *offer*(s), *rounder*(s) and *upper*(s) when preceded by the *-er*-suffixed verb stems of the phrasal verbs with *back* (76), *off* (283), *round* (17) and *up* (654) listed in *Wiktionary* (https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Category:English_phrasal_verbs). I did not retrieve relevant verb phrases from the much more thorough Spears (1993), as I originally envisaged, since the verbs included there are alphabetically listed by verb stems only.

I then manually counted the tokens and types of the RNs collected, filtering irrelevant and ambiguous data (RQ1). Next, I checked whether the RNs retrieved could be grouped under similar semantic headings because relevant to shared domains of experience (RQ2). Further, I examined the micro-context of the RNs for the possible presence of: a) coordinated structures next to, b) embedded structures within and/or c) multiple *-er*-suffixed forms next to or within the noun phrases in which the RNs occurred, and I also considered whether the RNs were based on monosyllabic or polysyllabic verb stems and particles/prepositions (RQ3). Finally, I semantically classified the referents of the RNs: I first categorised them as animate (i.e. human, individuals) or inanimate (i.e. concrete or abstract entities). I then assigned to them the roles of Agent, Experiencer, Patient or Instrument, by checking if they were compatible with the following glosses, respectively: ‘someone who intentionally Verb-s,’ ‘someone who consciously experiences the process of Verb-ing,’ ‘someone/something who/which is Verb-ed,’ or ‘something for Verb-ing’ (RQ4).

To address RQ5 and RQ6, I first collected data from other sources, representative of the British vs American varieties of English, that is:

A) for British English

A-i) the *English Broadsheet Newspaper 1993-2012 Corpus* (768,941,480 tokens) accessed through the *Sketch Engine* platform (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/>),

A-ii) British English websites accessed through the *WebCorp* suite of tools (<http://www.webcorp.org.uk/live/>)

and A-iii) the *Google* search engine (www.google.com);

B) and for American English

B-i) *COCA* (600,000,000 tokens; <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>); B-ii) American English websites accessed through *WebCorp* (<http://www.webcorp.org.uk/live/>)

and B-iii) the *Google* search engine.

In the case of A-i), A-ii), B-i) and B-ii), I searched for *-er*-suffixed terms followed by the above-mentioned *-r/-er*-suffixed particles/prepositions, in their singular and plural forms (e.g. *aboutter(s)*; *downer(s)*), filtering irrelevant and ambiguous data. Instead, in the case of A-iii) and B-iii), I looked for instances of the RN types attested in the *enTenTen15* corpus, restricting my searches to British and American websites, respectively. The results of my investigation are reported and commented on below.

3. Results and discussion

3.1 General characteristics of RNs

In this section, I report the findings relevant to all RNs except *fixer-upper*, which is dealt with separately below. With regard to RQ1, *enTenTen15* returned 204 RN tokens – 33 of which are plural – and 84 RN types, exemplifying 14 suffixed prepositions/particles. Illustrative examples⁵ follow:

1. Thrift Store is always in need of sorters, hangers and *putter awayers*!
2. We had *a lot of passer byers* checking out the cars asking questions.
3. You sure are *a tearer downer of the caricature of God*.
4. Harold and I were *the “taker offers”*. *The put'er on'ers* [sic] have the trickier job.
5. Richard Kydd finally found *the ticket giver outer* [...]
6. What better way to combat the stress than with *a ‘picker upper’ party*?
7. I tear up because don't they know I can't even think straight and try to lose these 16 pounds and be a wife and a mama and a childcare giver and a partner in ministry and a friend and a mentor and a life coach and *a cleaner upper* AND use my small gift that everyone feels the need to tell me how to use???

⁵ In these and later examples, the RNs or the noun phrases they are part of are italicised.

Of the attested forms, only 6 have 5 or more tokens, namely *cleaner upper* (5), *passer byer* (9), *picker upper* (31), *starter upper* (5), *tearer downer* (6) and *taker offer* (6). RNs are therefore extremely infrequent – that is, on average, 0.011 tokens per million words (pmw) and 0.004 types pmw – even more so than reported in previous studies. For instance, 818 tokens were identified in a 2,700,000,000-word newspaper corpus (i.e. 0.30 pmw; Lensch 2018), 150 in COCA (i.e. 0.41 pmw; Cappelle 2010) and four in the BNC (i.e. 0.04 pmw; Cappelle 2010). Similarly, 269 types were identified in Internet searches (Chapman 2008), 37 in COCA (i.e. 0.10 pmw; Cappelle 2010) and three in the BNC (i.e. 0.03 pmw; Cappelle 2010). A possible reason for this marked infrequency of RNs may be attributed to the variety of genres and registers that are represented on the Internet. If, as reported in the literature, RNs are typical of informal registers and journalistic texts, then collecting RNs from a wider variety of text types necessarily lowers the ratio of RNs pmw.

<i>Verb stem</i>	<i>Preposition or particle</i>
<i>String</i>	<i>along</i>
<i>Pull, take, pick</i>	<i>apart</i>
<i>Shift, sit, turn</i>	<i>around</i>
<i>Look</i>	<i>at</i>
<i>Put</i>	<i>away</i>
<i>Bring, kick, roll, win</i>	<i>back</i>
<i>Pass</i>	<i>by</i>
<i>Hose, slow, take, tear, trade</i>	<i>down</i>
<i>Drop</i>	<i>in</i>
<i>Score, take</i>	<i>off</i>
<i>Hang, put</i>	<i>on</i>
<i>Fill, filter, freak, give, hand, pass, pick, point, pull, put, sniff, sort, start, stick, take, throw</i>	<i>out</i>
<i>Run</i>	<i>over</i>
<i>Bring, put, throw</i>	<i>together</i>
<i>Throw</i>	<i>under</i>
<i>Beat, blow, break, chop, clean, do, fill, give, hang, hold, hook, hot, keep, knock, make, mess, pep, pick, print, put, rack, roll, set, shake, shut, sign, start, stop, suck, talk, think, top, turn, wake, warm, wind, zip</i>	<i>up</i>

TABLE 1. Verbs from which RNs are derived in *enTenTen15*

Regarding RQ2, it is possible to see how the low frequency of the RNs retrieved is counterbalanced by their lexical variety, since, on average, every RN has 2.27 tokens, and there are many nonce formations (i.e. 51 = 25.00%). However, the dispersion of the RN types across *-er*-suffixed particles is not homogeneous. Thus, 37 are instantiated with *upper*, 16 with *outer*, and between one and five with each of the other *-er*-suffixed particles (i.e. *arounder*, *atter*, *awayer*, *byer*, *downer*, *inner*, *offer*, *oner/onner*, *overer*, *underer*). The verbs from which RNs are derived is provided in Table 1, listed in alphabetical order of prepositions/particles.

The preference for *upper*-based RNs is in line with previous findings (Lensch 2018); so is the high lexical variety of the RNs, which testifies to their creativity (Štekauer et al. 2005) and productivity (Cappelle 2010; Lensch 2018; Walker 2009). In particular, 51 RN tokens are nonce formations (e.g. *the cardboard sheet taker-awayers*, *trader downers*, *an excellent paint picker outer*, *the little treasure sniffer outer*).

The verbs the RNs derive from do not appear to belong to shared lexico-semantic fields (see Table 1), nor to be typical of a focused domain-specific register – with the possible exception of *filter out*. Rather, they encode general everyday concepts such as moving (e.g. *turn around*, *slow down*), touching and handling (e.g. *put away*, *hand out*), changing – or causing to change – state (e.g. *clean up*, *wake up*), acting (e.g. *do up*, *look at*), interacting (e.g. *talk*, *point out*), and aspectually modulating one's actions (e.g. *start out*, *keep up*). Some appear to be marked for informality (e.g. *drop in*, *pick out*, *zip up*). These properties may be related to the fact that a large majority of these lexical bases encode basic vocabulary, and are root verbs (i.e. with no derivational suffix) of Germanic origin. This also lends support to earlier findings (Bauer 1983; Cappelle 2010; Chapman 2008; Štekauer et al. 2005; Walker 2009).

As for RQ3, the immediate co-text of the RNs highlights that the RNs are part of internally elaborate phrases about half of the time⁶:

A. 59 out of 204 tokens (28.92%) have a premodifier encoding the Patient object of the original verb phrase (e.g. *a franchise turner arounder*, *professional sun look atters*, *an excellent and efficient campsite taker downer*, *the ticket giver outer*);

B. six (2.94%) have a premodifier encoding an apposition or property of the RN head noun (e.g. *the Aguero last scorer offer*, *the title of master holder upper Responsible* [sic]);

C. 14 (6.86%) are premodifiers of head nouns (e.g. *roller upper current*

⁶ Please note that, while most tokens exemplify only one of the phenomena listed below, a few exemplify two. Therefore, if instances of these phenomena were added up, some tokens would end up being counted twice. For this reason, figures are provided only about each specific phenomenon, and not globally.

collector, the trash picker upper guy, other pyro blower upper fans);

D. two (0.98%) are followed by complementation in the form of a prepositional phrase (e.g. *setter upper of Fathom Press*); and

E. 22 (10.78%) are coordinated with other *-er*-suffixed forms (e.g. *in need of sorters, hangers and putter awayers; setter uppers and tearer downers; we chaffeurs, cheerleaders, peanut butter sandwich makers, ice pack fetchers, bag [sic] smell taker outers*).

RNs	Types	Total tokens	Plural tokens	Tokens with a Patient object premodifier	Tokens occurring as premodifiers	Tokens with additional <i>-er</i> forms
<i>Alonger</i>	1	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Aparter</i>	3	3	1	1	0	0
<i>Arounder</i>	3	3	0	1	0	0
<i>Atter</i>	1	1	1	1	0	0
<i>Awayer</i>	1	1	1	0	0	1
<i>Backer</i>	4	7	3	1	1	0
<i>Byer</i>	1	9	9	0	0	0
<i>Downer</i>	5	9	3	4	1	5
<i>Inner</i>	2	4	3	0	0	1
<i>Offer</i>	2	7	2	1	0	2
<i>Oner</i>	2	5	3	1	0	0
<i>Onner</i>	2	5	3	1	0	0
<i>Outer</i>	13	26	1	16	0	3
<i>Overer</i>	1	1	1	1	0	0
<i>Togetherer</i>	3	6	0	1	1	1
<i>Underer</i>	1	1	1	2	0	0
<i>Upper</i>	39	115	2	28	11	9
Total	84	204	34	59	14	22

TABLE 2: Frequency of occurrence of RNs and of morphological properties. (Note: The row about *Upper* does not report the data about *fixer upper*.)

The above patterns suggest that the RNs may be not only the outcome

of a suffixation-based derivational process, but also part of more complex derivational processes involving the compounding and coordination of structures. These findings are therefore comparable in kind to those mentioned in the literature, although not fully comparable in quantitative terms.

When considering the inflection of the RNs, it appears only 35 (17.15%) are pluralised, their plural ending being attached only to the suffixed particle (e.g. *loader uppers*, *the sample passer outers at Costco*, *a few hanger onners*, *our dedicated taker offers*, *our dropper inners*), while none occurs in the genitive form.

Table 2 shows the dispersion of the above properties across the relevant suffixed particles. The most frequent RNs are also those that more frequently manifest the morpho-syntactic characteristics outlined above.

A few more formal properties of the RNs can be observed: the RNs are based on root verb stems (i.e. with no derivational suffix); all but one (i.e. *filter outer*) derive from monosyllabic verb stems; finally, all but 12 types and 15 tokens are formed from monosyllabic particles/prepositions, the exceptions being *along*, *apart*, *around*, *away*, *together* and *under*. These findings match those of previous studies.

When considering the semantic aspects of the RNs (RQ4), I observed that the referents of the RNs tend to denote individuals (149 = 73.03%; see examples 8 and 9) rather than inanimate entities (see examples 10 and 11). More specifically, a majority (i.e. 111 = 54.41%) denote Agents (see examples 12 and 13), a smaller number (i.e. 53 = 25.98%) denote Instruments (see examples 14 and 15); only a few (i.e. 12 = 5.88%) denote Experiencers (see example 16), and only two (i.e. 0.98%) denote Patients (see example 17). The remaining few, which were hard for me to classify, were labelled *Other*. These findings, too, therefore, provide evidence in support of previous investigations.

8. I'm a *terrible keeper upper*.. You know that.
9. The driver asked me if I had a problem with him, pointing at *the tongue sticker outer* [...]
10. On the upper pool deck, the crew was serving hot seafood soup in bread bowls to everyone and that was quite *a nice warmer upper* around noon
11. [...] a grounds custodian stabbed a piece of paper with *his pointy trash picker upper* [...]
12. I'm not *a professional frame taker aparter* [...]
13. After a while I got pretty good at being *a taker offer*.
14. At Mardi Love's last workshop, she mentioned a cool site called '*The Amazing Slower Downer*' which gives you the opportunity to speed up or slow down songs & change the pitch n such.
15. I was trying to start the engine and I noticed that *the starter outer* had broken down.
16. I change Dominic, getting lots of cute baby smiles in the process (he's a

happy waker upper!).

17. (Especially pretending that he is an average middle class living in a *doer upper*)

An examination of the RNs in their concordances strongly suggests that they trigger a habitual interpretation, which is descriptive of a general disposition, role or capacity (e.g. *teacher*), rather than an episodic interpretation (i.e. one denoting involvement in a specific event; e.g. *the writer of this book*; Alexiadou and Schäfer 2010), something already observed in previous studies. The habitual and the episodic interpretations are illustrated in examples 11, and 3 to 17, vs 10 and 12, respectively. However, this is only the result of my impressionistic observations, and not based on a replicable semantic test, or determined through a heuristic tool.

3.2 The case of *fixer-upper*

Fixer-upper deserves a separate discussion, given its sheer frequency of occurrence, which is greater than that of all the other RNs (i.e. 315 tokens), and given its highly lexicalised meanings (see below). It occurs 264 times (i.e. 83.80%; 0.014 pmw) in the well-established meaning of ‘house needing a lot of work’ (see examples 18 to 21), and 25 times (i.e. 7.93%) in the more general meaning of ‘something less than ideal’ (see examples 22 to 24). The term can occasionally denote people, in the meaning of ‘someone less than ideal’ (4 times, i.e. 1.26%; see examples 25 to 27⁷) or, slightly more frequently (22 times, i.e. 6.98%), in the sense of ‘someone handy at doing things’ (see examples 28 to 31):

18. Opportunity knocks! Great starter home/ *fixer upper* on large, usable sunny lot [...]
19. We were very excited to buy *our first “fixer upper” house* a few years ago.
20. What are deal breakers when searching for a *fixer upper property*?
21. We watch *fixer upper shows on homes*⁸.
22. Here are some high resolution pictures of the car [...] Looks like a *fixer upper*
23. That’s because every relationship is a *fixer upper*.
24. Grace Lutheran School is seeking people who would be interested in donating some of their time & talents to help with “*fixer upper*” projects around the school.

⁷ This meaning is also instantiated in the film *Frozen* (2013) in the “Meeting the Trolls – Fixer-Upper” scene: “So he’s a bit of a fixer-upper; so he’s got a few flaws”. I thank Katherine Ackerley for drawing my attention to this example.

⁸ Two reviewers observe that example 21 contains an ambiguous instance of *fixer-upper*, which may be intended to mean either ‘house to be repaired/renovated’ or ‘person good at doing things’. However, three linguistically unsophisticated native speakers of American English I consulted stated that it only conveys the former meaning.

25. We're *a fixer upper family* for sure. There was the year someone wanted to give up on a broken marriage and the rest of us wouldn't let them
26. Walden's date turns out to be *a fixer upper* [...]
27. Sometimes, Chad wondered if Christian saw him as *a fixer upper project* [...]
28. So why don't we take *that same 'fixer upper' attitude* when it comes to broken furniture?
29. The interviewer does not want to hear that they would be hiring a "*fixer upper*"!
30. Fortunately we have *a fixer upper friend* who understands us
31. Meanwhile, *the wheelchair fixer upper people* say it will be at least three weeks for the parts to be shipped [...]

In its first three meanings, *fixer upper* denotes entities or individuals that play the semantic role of Patient, namely 'that can/should be fixed up', while in its fourth meaning, it denotes individuals playing the role of Agent, namely 'who can fix things up'. As the examples above illustrate, *fixer-upper* may be used as a premodifier of a head noun (86 times = 27.30%). Extremely rare, instead, are the cases in which it is premodified by a Patient object (three times), post-modified by a prepositional phrase (once) or inflected in the plural form (twice). A summary of these properties is outlined in Table 3, which also shows their dispersion across the four meanings of *fixer-upper*.

<i>Meaning of fixer-upper</i>	<i>No. of total tokens</i>	<i>No. of plural tokens</i>	<i>No. of tokens with a Patient object premodifier</i>	<i>No. of tokens used as a premodifier</i>	<i>No. of tokens followed by a PP</i>
'imperfect house'	264	2	1	61	0
'something imperfect'	25	0	2	10	0
'someone less than perfect'	4	0	0	2	0
'someone good at fixing things up'	22	0	0	9	1

TABLE 3. Frequency of occurrence of *fixer-upper* and its morphological properties. (Note: PP stands for 'Prepositional Phrase'.)

The term *fixer-upper* therefore differs from other RNs in these respects: it is much more frequent; it denotes entities much more often than individuals; its referent plays the role of Patient much more often than that of Agent; and it is polysemous.

3.3 RNs in British vs American English

The data collected to compare RNs in the American and the British English varieties are similar to those outlined above.

Thus, RNs are virtually unattested in *COCA* (with four types – i.e. *bouncer backer*, *putter inner*, *thinner outer* and *taker outer* – and five tokens) and the *English Newspaper Corpus* (with two types – i.e. *putter outer* and *fixer upper* – and three tokens). They are similarly rare in the *WebCorpus* searches, with eight types – i.e. *stringer alonger*, *taker offer*, *putter onner*, *bringerer togetherer*, *cobbler togetherer*, *putter together*, *keeper together*, and *fixer upper* – and 47 tokens on American websites, and with 5 five types – i.e. *tearer downer*, *taker offer*, *hanger onner*, *tryer onner* and *fixer upper* – and 32 tokens on British websites. On the other hand, RNs are slightly more often exemplified in the *Google* searches carried out: these produced 51 types, 419 tokens and 22 nonce formations on American websites (i.e. on average, 8.21 tokens per RN type), and 44 types, 169 tokens and 42 nonce formations on British websites (i.e. on average, 3.84 tokens per RN type). Examples 32 to 34 illustrate RNs from the American *Google* data, and examples 35 to 37 those from the British *Google* data:

32. For the true car lover (and *worrier-abouter*)
33. And he is a *demon cutlery putter awayer*!
34. [...] extra help is always appreciated as *tow rope hooker-upper*, and *glider pusher-arounder* [...]
35. Is she a *serial messer abouter*?
36. I am not really a *good sitter arounder* on a beach.
37. Hang on, isn't everyone at least a *Facebook looker atter*?

Overall, the findings show that RNs are infrequently attested in both English varieties. They also suggest that, on the Internet, RNs are both slightly more varied and much more frequent in American than British English. This differs in part from previous findings (Lensch 2018; Cappelle 2010), reporting that RNs are more lexically varied in British English.

The American and the British *Google* data share most of the *-er*-suffixed particles/prepositions, namely *abouter*, *alonger*, *aparter*, *arounder*, *awayer*, *backer*, *byer*, *downer*, *inner*, *offer*, *outer*, *togetherer*, *upper*; in particular, *outer* and *upper* are the most frequent in both varieties: *outer* has 14 types and 130 tokens in the US data, and eight types and 13 tokens in the UK data; instead, *upper* has 17 types and 68 tokens in the American data, and 15 types and 62 tokens in the British data. On the other hand, the *-er*-suffixed *onner* and *atter* are

attested, respectively, only in the American and the British data. Table 4 shows the frequency of occurrence of the RNs, their dispersion across *-er*-suffixed particles/prepositions, and their degree of sharedness across the two English varieties.

<i>-er</i> -suffixed particle / preposition	US Google <i>-er</i> -suffixed verb stems		UK Google <i>-er</i> -suffixed verb stems	
	RN types (1-10 tokens)	RN types (11+ tokens)	RN types (1-10 tokens)	RN types (11+ tokens)
<i>Abouter</i>	<u>worrier</u> (1) <u>messer</u> (1)		<i>mover</i> (1) <i>splasher</i> (1) <u>messer</u> (2) <i>kicker</i> (1)	
<i>Alonger</i>	<u>stringer</u> (6)			<u>stringer</u> (1)
<i>Aparter</i>	<u>taker</u> (21) <u>picker</u> (4)			<i>puller</i> (6) <u>taker</u> (12) <u>picker</u> (1)
<i>Arounder</i>	<i>pusher</i> (1)		<i>shifter</i> (1) <i>sitter</i> (4)	
<i>Atter</i>			<i>looker</i> (4)	
<i>Awayer</i>	<u>putter</u> (1) <i>keeper</i> (1)		<u>putter</u> (7)	
<i>Backer</i>	<i>roller</i> (1)		<i>bringer</i> (2)	
<i>Byer</i>		<u>passer</u> (100+)	<u>passer</u> (1)	

TABLE 4a. RN types and tokens in the US and the UK *Google* data (*-er*-suffixed particles from *abouter* to *byer*). (Note: Underlined forms are shared by the US and the UK varieties with the same suffixed particles.)

As the examples above and Table 4 illustrate, the American and the British data are very similar to those outlined above about RNs in general: the RNs collected are infrequent, yet varied, being creatively coined to fit specific communicative contexts; they convey general everyday concepts (mostly motion and physical handling of objects) in utterances with an informal tone; they derive from root verbs consisting of monosyllabic verb stems and monosyllabic particles/prepositions (except for *about*, *around* and *away*); they exemplify 15 *-er*-suffixed particles/prepositions, and are most commonly formed with *upper* and *outer*; they occasionally occur in longer phrases; and their referents mostly denote Agents, and occasionally Experiencers (i.e. *worrier abouter*, *messer abouter*, *freaker outer*, *sniffer outer*, *thinker upper*).

<i>-er-suffixed particle / preposition</i>	<i>US Google -er-suffixed verb stems</i>		<i>UK Google -er-suffixed verb stems</i>	
	<i>RN types (1-10 tokens)</i>	<i>RN types (11+ tokens)</i>	<i>RN types (1-10 tokens)</i>	<i>RN types (11+ tokens)</i>
<i>Downer</i>	<u>tearer</u> (1) <u>taker</u> (1)		<u>slower</u> (7) <u>tearer</u> (2)	
<i>Inner</i>	<u>dropper</u> (3) <u>blender</u> (2)		<u>blender</u> (2)	
<i>Offer</i>	<u>taker</u> (1)		<u>taker</u> (3)	
<i>Onner</i>		<u>putter</u> (42)		
<i>Outer</i>	<u>filler</u> (3) <u>giver</u> (1) <u>picker</u> (2) <u>pointer</u> (1) <u>puller</u> (1) <u>putter</u> (1) <u>sniffer</u> (9) <u>sorter</u> (1) <u>starter</u> (1) <u>sticker</u> (1) <u>taker</u> (2)	<u>freaker</u> (39) <u>hander</u> (46) <u>passer</u> (22)	<u>freaker</u> (2) <u>hander</u> (1) <u>passer</u> (1) <u>pointer</u> (2) <u>puller</u> (1) <u>putter</u> (2) <u>sniffer</u> (1) <u>sticker</u> (3)	
<i>Togetherer</i>		<u>bringer</u> (23) <u>putter</u> (38)	<u>thrower</u> (2)	<u>bringer</u> (19) <u>putter</u> (36)
<i>Upper</i>	<u>breaker</u> (2) <u>chopper</u> (5) <u>hanger</u> (2) <u>holder</u> (5) <u>keeper</u> (3) <u>lifter</u> (4) <u>knocker</u> (1) <u>putter</u> (1) <u>roller</u> (4) <u>setter</u> (2) <u>shutter</u> (1) <u>starter</u> (2) <u>sucker</u> (1) <u>thinker</u> (1) <u>warmer</u> (5)	<u>cleaner</u> (12) <u>picker</u> (17)	<u>breaker</u> (2) <u>cleaner</u> (9) <u>giver</u> (1) <u>holder</u> (3) <u>lifter</u> (1) <u>messer</u> (1) <u>putter</u> (2) <u>roller</u> (4) <u>setter</u> (3)	<u>picker</u> (22)

TABLE 4b. RN types and tokens in the US and the UK Google data (-er-suffixed particles from *downer* to *upper*). (Note: Underlined forms are shared by the US and the UK varieties with the same suffixed particles.)

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings relevant to RNs in general and RNs in the American and British English varieties are in line with the literature. The RNs collected are infrequent, both as types and as tokens, even more than previously attested. Given that *-er/-or* is a very productive derivational suffix in English (see Section 1), this suggests that phrasal verbs do not provide the best input licensing the word-formation process under examination. The reason may be that the structure of these lexical bases, in which the head is not the rightmost component of the phrase, deviates from the prototype, forcing speakers to satisfy the standard morphological requirements of derivation twice in the same noun. The hypothesis behind this is thus that RNs are produced when other, more well-established and preferred word-formation options are not available. That speakers themselves are uncertain about the status of these terms occasionally comes across from some metalinguistic comments with which they accompany their own use of such coinages:

38. My youngest son has become quite *the little treasure sniffer outer* (that's the official term, you know!)
39. I like a good cheese ball but too much cheese ball can be *a stopper upper* (if you know what I mean) so add some nacho chips and salsa to even things out
40. Hmm, correct me if I'm wrong but are you, or are you not *the biggest messer abouter* (spell checker doesn't like these 2 words but it's obviously wrong!!)
41. She is an absolute Powerhouse, *a bringer togetherer* (is that a word?)

The RNs are also very creative: each type usually has only a few tokens or is a nonce formation. This suggests that RNs are produced to satisfy local, context-bound, newly arisen communicative requirements “on the spur of the moment” (Cappelle 2010: 337) – that is, to denote entities or individuals for which no ready-made terms are available – and that they are quickly abandoned once they have served their purpose: in this sense, they may be considered “disposable” deverbal nouns, with the exception of *fixer upper*. It is thus not surprising that they only partly overlap – rather than coincide – with the RNs attested in other studies, sharing 36 types with Chapman (2008) and seven with Walker (2009).

Besides being infrequent, and despite being creative, the RNs examined also appear to be selective, displaying lexico-semantic and morpho-phonological preferences. Thus, on the one hand, they exemplify about a third of the 42 *-er*-suffixed particles/prepositions considered; they are most common with *upper* and *outer*, being derived from phrasal verbs encoding aspectual meanings; they include only a few frequent lexicalised forms (*fixer upper*, *picker upper*). On

the other hand, they tend to derive from monosyllabic root verbs of Germanic origin and monosyllabic particles/prepositions, realising trochaic feet with a possible euphonic (Walker 2009) or jingling (Cappelle 2010) effect; also, a large minority of the RNs (38.72%) show up as part of larger, hierarchically structured phrases, with premodifiers (*fire putter outer*) or as premodifiers (*rubbish picker upper stick*); finally, 10.78% of the time, they are attracted to co-texts in which other *-er/-or*-suffixed nominalisations occur, including complex ones (e.g. *a sorter outer, a consolidator, a focuser and a let's-get-this-finisheder*).

The RN types attested are not groupable under shared, focused semantic headings, since they express quite varied and broad concepts, mainly self-propelled motion, and movement or handling of objects. Therefore, they do not appear to characterise specific domains of activity. However, two semantic properties that the RNs have in common is that they denote notions related to everyday activities, and that, as the examples above show, they occur in informally connoted utterances both when their referents are individuals and when they are concrete entities, typically tools. Most of the RNs derive from transitive verbs, representing agentive constructions likely to trigger a general habitual reading. Yet, possibly due to their contextual flexibility, they are semantically adaptable, being suitable for representing also individuals playing the role of Experiencer, and objects in the roles of Instrument or Patient. All of the above properties also apply to the analysis of American English- and British English- specific data.

Finally, *fixer upper* is a case apart. While sharing most of the same structural and semantic properties as the other RNs, it stands out for the following properties: it is a well-established term, being recorded in dictionaries; it is very frequent, its tokens being more numerous than those of all the other RNs; it mostly expresses a precise meaning (i.e. 'run-down house'), relevant to the domain of real estate; and, most of the time, it denotes an inanimate entity playing the role of Patient.

The present findings differ from those of previous studies in only a few small respects: the RNs collected include previously unattested suffixed prepositions/particles (i.e. *alonger, aparter, asider, atter, awayer, byer, togetherer*), while excluding others that were formerly documented (i.e. *througher*: Chapman 2008; *forer*: Walker 2009); the data about the American and the British English varieties show that the RNs are both more numerous and more lexically varied in the former; and the tokens of *fixer upper* show that this term has a wider range of meanings than reported in dictionaries. However, all these results do not contradict the literature; rather, they highlight the productivity and creativity of RNs on the one hand, and their context-dependence, on the other.

Overall, in line with previous investigations, this study indicates that a convergence, or co-presence, of phonological, morphological, lexico-semantic

and stylistic factors favour the emergence of RNs, although these factors do not form a necessary and sufficient conditioning environment for the occurrence of RNs. Prototypical RNs are thus those that are encoded in a sequence of two trochaic feet, are derived from Germanic verb stems and particles/prepositions, preferably instantiate the suffixed particles *upper* and *outer*, denote human Agents, and occur in informal discursive contexts. That is, although their production may be triggered by, or primed for, situational communicative goals and constraints, their formation rests on linguistic models.

To gain further insights into RNs, four more lines of investigation could be explored: a morphological one, a textual one, a diatopic one and a sociolinguistic one. First, RNs could be compared and contrasted against similar deverbial nominalisations (e.g. Verb Particle/Preposition-*er*, Verb-*er* Particle/Preposition, Particle/Preposition Verb-*er*; cf. Chapman 2008). The goal would be to determine not only which derivational “solution” is adopted the most frequently when dealing with lexical bases whose heads do not coincide with their rightmost component, but also to describe the possible morphological and lexico-semantic specificities of each word-formation process. Second, the dispersion of RNs across a variety of text types may highlight to what extent RNs characterise formal-official-public vs informal-unofficial-private contexts of communication, and what domains of activity-experience they are more frequently employed in. Third, a comparative-contrastive analysis of RNs could be carried out across additional inner-circle varieties of English and beyond so as to more accurately gauge how widespread this word formation process is. Finally, to better characterise the prototypical traits of RNs, it may be helpful to consult native speakers on the perceived “appropriateness” and “understandability” of different nominalisation patterns including RNs, also correlating informants’ stated preferences with their socio-demographic profiles (e.g. their educational, professional and linguistic background; cf. Štekauer et al. 2005).

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THE METAPHORICAL SHIFT IN ENGLISH LIGHT VERB EXTENSIONS¹

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Light Verb Constructions (e.g. *to give an explanation, to make a call*; hence, LVCs) have been a highly discussed topic in linguistic research since Jespersen's definition of the concept (1942: 117-118). More recently, a formally similar pattern called "Light Verb Extensions" has emerged (hence, LVEs). Like LVCs, they stem from the combination of a verb and an eventive noun; unlike LVCs, they exploit lexical verbs that, under certain syntagmatic conditions, are turned into aspectual devices (e.g. *to cultivate a hobby, to launch a project, to deliver a speech*). The present contribution aims at accounting for LVEs in English, both from a syntactic and an aspectual-semantic viewpoint. Firstly, we retrieved 109 instances of English LVEs from COCA. Each construction was then classified according to the different aspectual-semantic configuration licensed by the verb, and the number and type of arguments represented in its syntactic realization. The results show that a large variety of Extensions exists, exhibiting different aspectual configurations, labelled as Inchoative (e.g. *to fall in love*), Process (e.g. *to grow a hobby*), and Transition (e.g. *to deliver a speech*). Secondly, ten of the verbs retrieved from COCA were used to build an online survey in which native informants participated. The survey asked participants to insert the verbs that may appear in an extension in a syntagmatic context. The results show a clear metaphorical pattern that motivates these verbal constructions. Finally, we analysed the findings in keeping with Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The aims of our study are the following: 1) to justify the semantic shift that makes the extensions possible; 2) to analyse the noun in the construction to identify the conceptual metaphor underlying its linguistic realization; 3) to explore the interaction between different theoretical frameworks.

Conceptual Metaphor, Light Verb Extensions, Generative Lexicon, usage based, COCA, online questionnaire.

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1. Introduction: Light Verb Constructions and Light Verb Extensions

Following Jespersen's (1942) definition², a Light Verb Construction (hence, LVC) stems from the combination of a very general verb (e.g. in English, *to make, to give, to have, to take*) and an eventive noun, that is, a nominal item that implies a process having duration and phases (Kiefer and Gross 1995; Kiefer 1998). The concept of *Lightness* in linguistics characterises verbs that undergo a process of semantic bleaching, in specific syntagmatic environments. While the verb carries the grammar of the pattern, the noun licenses its aspectual-semantic configuration. Since its first appearance, the literature has extensively discussed this phenomenon, recognizing the existence of LVCs in a number of languages, such as German (Helbig 1984; Hoffmann 1996), Spanish (Bosque 2004; de Miguel 2008), Italian (Mastrofini 2004; Ježek 2004, 2011), English (Herslund 1998; Nuccorini 2000; Mastrofini 2013), Japanese (Dubinsky 1997; Miyamoto 1999), French (Gross M. 1981, 1996; Gross G. 1996, 1999), among others.

Moreover, French scholars (Giry-Schneider 1987; Gross M. 1981, 1996; Gross G. 1996) have established a taxonomy of parameters to be considered when searching for LVCs. These are: nominalisation, passivisation, and deletion of the verb; clefting; existence of semantically similar synthetic lexical verbs; scope of modifiers that semantically restrict the denotatum; and the aspectual configuration (for a detailed explanation of *aspect*, see Section 2.1). Following this approach, a prototypical instance of an LVC (e.g. *to make a phone call*) cannot undergo nominalization; it accepts syntactic changes like passive voice and clefting; the verb can be omitted without a significant semantic loss; its content can be rendered by synthetic verbs; modifiers have scope on the nominal element; the aspectual configuration of the construction is licensed by the verb. Table 1 summarises the aforementioned parameters of identification.

	<i>Criterion</i>	<i>LVC</i>
1.	V Nominalisation	-
2.	V Passivisation	+
3.	V Deletion	+
4.	Clefting	+
5.	Semantically similar lexical verbs	+

² According to Jespersen, a Light Verb Construction consists of “an insignificant verb, to which the marks of person and tense are attached, before the really important idea” (Jespersen 1942: 117-118).

6.	Scope of Modifiers	N
7.	Aspectual configuration	N

TABLE 1. Identification criteria applied to English prototypical LVCs (the symbol “+” means that the corresponding criterion may be verified; the symbol “-” means that it is not verified; the letter N stands for the word-class Noun)

Recently, Mastrofini (2013) argued that not all LVCs respect the aforementioned criteria, since some LVCs may be represented by other patterns than the V+N one (e.g. *to get ready*, *to fall in love*), or involve the verb *to have* with or without the use of a determiner (e.g. *to have a walk*, *to have dinner*). In the first case, parameters 2 to 4 cannot be applied, and the aspectual configuration would be licensed both by the verb and its complement. In the second case, passivisation is blocked (e.g. **Dinner was had by John*). This suggests the existence of a gradient of LVCs that exhibits different levels of cohesion within the pattern, along with different roles played by the elements in licensing its syntactic and aspectual semantic configurations. The only paramount criterion is the impossibility of nominalizing the verb because “*les transformations morphologiques (nominalisations, adjectivations, verbalisations) sont le fait des prédicats. Les verbes supports ne peuvent faire l’objet d’un changement de catégorie*”³ (Gross G. 1996: 55). As suggested in recent studies, there emerges a need to consider such V+N constructions in a broader perspective, in which the notion of Lightness plays a crucial role, namely Light Verb Extensions (hence, LVEs).

An LVE is represented by the combination of a lexical verb and an eventive noun. While the verb, under certain syntagmatic conditions, loses most of its meaning, and serves as an aspectual device, the eventive noun carries the semantics of the pattern, as in prototypical LVCs. This is because any verb involved in an LVE construction undergoes a process of bleaching through the interaction with the semantic configuration underlying the nominal element it combines with. In other words, the lightness of the pattern is contextually licensed (e.g. *to cultivate interest*, *to deliver a speech*, *to launch an attack*).

LVEs have been scarcely investigated. A few studies have been conducted partly on French (Gross 1981) and Italian (D’Agostino 1995; D’Agostino and Elia 1998; Cicalese 1999; Ježek 2011), and, to the best of our knowledge, only three on English (Mastrofini 2013, 2019, 2021). LVEs were first mentioned in Gross (1981: 33), who reports several examples (1) in which a full predicate is devoid of its literal meaning, although it participates in conveying the aspectual configuration of the construction:

³ “Morphological changes (i.e., nominalization, adjectivization, and verbalization) are typical of full predicates. Light verbs cannot undergo any category change”. The translation is ours.

1. a. *L'argent a de l'influence sur Max* (French)
 Money have.3SG some influence on Max
 "Money has some influence on Max" (English)
- b. *L'argent prend de l'influence sur Max* (French)
 Money exert.3SG some influence on Max
 "Money exerts some influence on Max" (English)
- c. *L'argent conserve de l'influence sur Max* (French)
 Money keep.3SG some influence on Max
 "Money keeps some influence on Max" (English)
- d. *L'argent perd de l'influence sur Max* (French)
 Money lose.3SG some influence on Max
 "Money loses some influence on Max" (English)

Unlike example (1a), sentences (1b) to (1d) use a lexical predicate that marks the aspect of the event. More specifically, example (1b) represents an inchoative event ("Money starts having an influence on Max"); example (1c) depicts a process ("Money continues to have an influence on Max"); example (1d) reports a telic event ("Money stops having an influence on Max"). In all these cases, the original full meaning of the predicate ('take' vs. 'keep' vs. 'lose') is bleached.

After Gross (1981), the interest in LVEs has emerged in a few Italian contributions. D'Agostino (1995) underlines the fact that any lexical verb can be light (or, even better, used "lightly") if collocated in specific syntagmatic contexts, and provides some examples of Italian LVEs (e.g. *elaborare un progetto* 'to carry out a project'; *perpetrare una truffa* 'to perpetrate a fraud'; *assegnare un premio* 'to award a prize'; *sudarsi un risultato* 'to strive for a goal', etc.). We argue that the vast majority of these constructions undergo nominalization, both in Italian and in English, and are, therefore, to be considered instances of collocations and not of LVEs.

Ježek (2011) carries out a more fine-grained analysis from an aspectual semantic perspective, and groups Italian LVEs according to a number of components or dimensions they convey, such as Aspect (A), Modality (Mod), Intensity (I), Quantity (Q), Register (R), Connotation (C), Figurative Sense (FS) (see Table 2).

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>English equivalent</i>
A	<i>intavolare una discussione</i>	<i>to open a discussion</i>
Mod	<i>azzardare una risposta</i>	<i>to hazard a guess</i>

I	<i>sferrare un colpo</i>	<i>to land a blow</i>
Q	<i>abbondare in critiche</i>	<i>to receive plenty of criticism</i>
R	<i>arrecare disturbo</i>	<i>to cause disturbance</i>
C	<i>commettere un errore</i>	<i>to commit an error</i>
FS	<i>lanciare un segnale</i>	<i>to launch a message</i>

TABLE 2. Aspectual-semantic dimensions of Italian LVEs (adapted from Ježek 2011: 6)

We argue that the aspectual component is always represented in the LVEs identified by Ježek (2011), and that features such as Modality or Quantity may be additionally present. For example, even though *to land a blow* contains a certain degree of strength (which the author called “intensity”), it also marks the aspect of the action as Achievement. In the same way, *to hazard a guess* conveys a Telic aspect, together with a degree of epistemic modality. Moreover, the last example (*to launch a signal*), although metaphorical, expresses Inchoativity with respect to the correspondent LVC *to give a signal*. As furtherly explained in this paper (see Table 5), aspect is the crucial feature which distinguishes LVEs from LVCs, and characterizes the first as examples of contextually-driven Lightness. Duly, even though literature does not provide a definition of an LVE, what emerges from previous studies is a descriptive approach which does not take into consideration the aspectual dimension of LVEs. Unlike prototypical LVCs, in which aspect is licensed by the nominal element, in LVEs it is the full predicate that heavily contributes in determining the aspectual value of the construction. This gives rise to a range of different Aktionsarten which would not occur with general verbs such as *make* or *do*. As D’Agostino (1995: 45) reports: “it is the form of a certain class of words (e.g. verbs) that conditions its functional interpretation [...]. The same lemma in a certain phrastic context will have “full” lexical value [...]; in another, on the contrary, it will merely serve as an instrument of the grammar of the language” (translation and adaptation are ours). LVEs represent a good example of this assertion, since any full verb may be used ‘lightly’, and, therefore, become an aspectual device in specific syntagmatic contexts. This view broadens our understanding of Lightness, and fosters the metaphorical account of LVEs proposed in this paper.

2. Methodology 1: Description of the analytic tools

In this section, we provide a brief outline of the analytic tools used to investigate and account for the aspectual-semantic behaviour of English LVEs.

2.1 The Generative Lexicon

Developed by Pustejovsky in 1994, the Generative Lexicon Model (hence, GL) explains how the syntax-semantics configuration of a lexical item can be defined according to four levels of analysis and representation:

- a) the Argument Structure, accounting for the number and type of arguments taking part in the syntactic realization of a predicate;
- b) the Event Structure, which defines the event type underlying the predicate;
- c) the Qualia Structure, which includes “that set of properties or events associated with a lexical item which best explain what that word means” (Pustejovsky 1994: 77);
- d) the Lexical Inheritance Structure, which identifies how a word is globally related to other concepts in the lexicon.

In the present contribution we will use the first three levels of analysis, since the last one goes beyond the scope of our work.

As for the Argument Structure, Pustejovsky recognizes three different types of arguments, namely True, Default, and Shadow. While a True Argument (T-Arg) is compulsorily expressed in the syntactic configuration of a predicate (e.g. the Subject in English is always a T-Arg), both Default (D-Arg) and Shadow (S-Arg) ones can be omitted. If present, they add extra information to the action described by the verb, denoting a participant that is not necessary to express (e.g. *John is running home*), or realizing a semantic trait which is implicit in the semantics of the predicate (e.g. *John kicked the ball with his foot*), respectively.

Furthermore, Pustejovsky identifies three different types of Event structures: STATES, PROCESSES and TRANSITIONS. STATES identify unchanging situations connected with the emotional or the cognitive sphere (e.g. *to own*, *to believe*); PROCESSES denote events characterized by having duration and phases (e.g. *to walk*, *to run*). For both categories Pustejovsky (1994) refers to Vendler’s (1967) classification: States and Activity verbs, respectively.

Moreover, TRANSITIONS are represented by telic events. In keeping with Vendler’s (1967) distinction between Accomplishment and Achievement verbs, TRANSITIONS can be represented either by a double-eventive action in which a Process (P) brings about a resulting State (S), as in *to build* or *to burn*, or by a single-eventive verb in which the change of state occurs (\rightarrow S) without any prior process to be involved (e.g. *to lose*, *to die*). In addition to Pustejovsky’s approach to the aspectual configuration of predicates, we will also refer to Bertinetto et al.’s (1995) identification of Inchoative verbs, that is, predicates denoting the beginning of an action or a state (e.g. *to fall in love*, *to get bored*).

As for the Qualia Structure, inspired by Moravcsik's (1973) interpretation of Aristotle's modes of explanations (*τα αιτια*), Pustejovsky's GL refers to four essential aspects of a word's meaning: Constitutive, Formal, Telic, and Agentive. The first one accounts for the relation between an object and its constituent parts; the second distinguishes it within a larger domain; the third defines its purpose and function; the fourth refers to the factors involved in its origin or bringing it about (Pustejovsky 1994: 76). Within the GL approach, expressions in (1) are analysed as LVEs. However, in other descriptive traditions, their semantics may be analysed as the result of underlying conceptual metaphors. The following section focuses on the theoretical tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

2.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Since the publication of *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), Conceptual Metaphor Theory (hence, CMT) has been applied by scholars worldwide in numerous areas of research, not only in language and linguistics, but also in other disciplines such as gesture studies (Núñez and Sweetser 2006), film studies (Fahlenbrach 2016), and advertisement (Pérez Sobrino 2017), to name but a few. The basic assumption in CMT is that metaphors are not simply a rhetorical device, but that they are motivated by an underlying mechanism in the mind of the speaker, and therefore they refer to a *conceptual* dimension, and not just to language. A conceptual metaphor is described as an analogy set up between a so-called *source* domain and a *target* domain, which are related by a set of mappings (i.e., correspondences). Thus, semantic knowledge is transferred from the source domain to the target domain. Typically, source domains are more concrete, while target domains are considered more abstract (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2002, Dancygier and Sweetser 2014, but see Shen and Porat 2017 for a discussion). For instance, the conceptual metaphor A COMPANY IS A PLANT motivates linguistic realizations such as *John is opening a new branch of his company in Tokyo*; or *John's company is growing fast*. Table 3 illustrates the metaphor A COMPANY IS A PLANT with some of its mappings.

<i>Source Domain: plants</i>	<i>Target Domain: company (complex organisations)</i>
the plant	the company
a branch	a section
the roots	the origins

TABLE 3. Some of the mappings of the A COMPANY IS A PLANT metaphor

We argue that LVEs may be successfully analysed as instantiations of underlying conceptual metaphors. For instance, sentences in (1) in Section 1 may be considered realizations of the conceptual metaphor *IDEAS ARE OBJECTS*, according to which an abstract entity is conceptualized as a physical and more concrete entity (a generic object) which may be taken (1b), kept (1c), and lost (1d). CMT may account for the semantic shift of the verb component in LVEs, but it falls short in describing the shift in the lexical aspect that expressions in (1) have, and which may be accounted for through GL. In the current paper, we illustrate an innovative theoretical approach that integrates both CMT and GL to account for the phenomenon of LVEs in English by looking at occurrences retrieved in a corpus with a usage-based approach.

3. Methodology 2: the Corpus

3.1 The preliminary investigation

Starting from the examples of LVEs retrieved in previous contributions (Gross 1981; D'Agostino 1995; D'Agostino and Elia 1998; Cicalese 1999; Ježek 2011), we translated them into English and checked their use both in online (www.wordreference.com, www.dictionary.com) and paper dictionaries (Collins Cobuild *English Language*, MacMillan *English Dictionary*, Oxford *English Dictionary*). We then searched for their occurrence in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)⁴, and verified whether they accepted nominalization or not. We found 109 LVE types, and then divided and classified them according to their different aspectual configuration (see Section 4.1).

3.2 Retrieving LVEs with native speakers of English

In the second phase of the research, we wanted to assess the level of entrenchment of LVEs in the lexicon of native English speakers. Furthermore, we wanted to test the hypothesis that CMT could successfully account for the semantic component of LVEs. To do so, we selected 10 verbs from the list, and asked a pool of native speakers to produce for each verb an example of a sentence or clause in which the verb would occur in a syntagmatic context. To do so, a Google form was created and distributed online⁵. Demographic questions

⁴ COCA is a corpus of more than one billion words, divided between academic texts (ACAD), fiction (FIC), popular magazines (MAG), newspapers (NEWS), and spoken language (SPOK); (<https://corpus.byu.edu/coca>).

⁵ The form was available here: https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1wefEybTnV50kMBuzt_4uWouZrdW3l8YeqiChY1YMSdg/edit. Unfortunately, it is no longer active. It was active during the data collection phase. However, colleagues potentially interested in replicating the study/

regarded age, gender, level of education, and whether or not participants were native speakers. Responses were collected through a snowball effect and word of mouth, by posting the questionnaire on social media. Notably, the test was also disseminated by Ruby Granger, an English influencer who deals with university-related themes. This produced a high number of responses in a few hours, albeit resulting in an imbalance in the population of informants. The total number of participants to the test was 267 (248 females), of whom 164 (66%) were between 13 and 19 years old. The test was also accessed by non-native speakers of English (total number: 109). Their results were excluded from the research.

In order to account for the role of CMT in explaining LVEs, we classified the sentences retrieved in three different categories: Literal, Intermediate and Metaphorical, depending on the direct object the verbs combined with. The Literal category includes examples such as: *The sponge **absorbs water***; *My uncle **breeds dogs***; while Metaphorical instances are for example: *My niece **absorbs information***; *Failure **breeds discontent***. The Intermediate category includes examples that cannot fit in either of the previous categories (e.g. *The music studio walls **absorb the sound***, *Dirty dishes **breed bacteria***), where the verbs are not used literally (sound is not liquid, bacteria are not bred), but rather metaphorically, and yet the metaphorical expressions involved refer to physical processes, and thus a concrete (i.e., not abstract) domain.

4. Results

4.1 The aspectual configuration of English LVEs

The LVEs retrieved from COCA amount to 109, divided into 47 PROCESSES; 28 TRANSITIONS; 34 INCHOATIVES (see Section 2.1).

The Processes are represented by the following LVEs:

to absorb damage/ emotions/ knowledge/ information; to acquire knowledge; to accumulate knowledge; to chase dreams/ memories/ performance; to conduct a dialogue; to cultivate a capacity/ interest/ silence/ support; to follow commands/ conversations/ a diet; to fuel growth/ hate/ imagination; to gush flattery; to heap blame/ pressure; to keep a secret; to nourish creativity; to nurse grudges /hope/ illusion; to reap information/ rewards/ success; to renew attacks/ awareness/ communication/ cooperation/ efforts/ interest/ a promise/ recriminations /a relationship/ trust; to run analysis/ a risk/ tests; to shower attention/ love/ praise.

The Transitions are represented by:

to break a promise/ a record; to close a deal; to commit errors/ a mistake; to conclude an agreement; to consummate a deal; to cut a deal/ unemployment; to deal a blow/ trouble;

adopting the same methodology may contact the authors.

to deliver a performance/ a speech/ a talk; to gain access/ confidence/ promotion/ respect; to land reform; to slap penalties/ sanctions/ a warning; to win acceptance/ approval/ control/ recognition/ support/ victory.

The Inchoative LVEs retrieved in the corpus are:

to adopt a diet; to breed hate/ misunderstanding/ resentment/ success; to embrace challenges/ a change/ competition/ creation/ death/ a dream/ evolution/ experiences/ innovation/ life/ love/ a pact/ a plan/ risk; to entertain the notion; to establish a feeling/ a reputation; to hurl criticism/ imprecations/ insinuations; to launch an attack/ investigations/ a war; to raise awareness/ consciousness/ a doubt; to ripen justice, to throw a party/ questions.

In Section 5.1, one example for each aspectual category will be discussed and accounted for using the GL formal representation.

4.2 Results of the questionnaire

Table 4 reports the results of the online questionnaire that was administered through Google forms. The first column contains the verbs listed in the questionnaire. The columns labelled *Lit.*, *Inter.*, and *Met.* report the percentage of clauses classified in the categories Literal, Intermediate and Metaphorical, respectively. The columns labelled *Ex.* (examples) report the most frequent direct object for each verb in the preceding category.

<i>Verbs</i>	<i>Lit.</i>	<i>Ex.</i>	<i>Inter.</i>	<i>Ex.</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Ex.</i>
<i>to absorb</i>	61%	<i>water</i>	14%	<i>light</i>	25%	<i>information</i>
<i>to accumulate</i>	77%	<i>books</i>	17%	<i>wealth</i>	6%	<i>knowledge</i>
<i>to acquire</i>	45%	<i>clothes</i>	19%	<i>services</i>	36%	<i>taste</i>
<i>to breed</i>	92%	<i>dogs</i>	4%	<i>germs</i>	4%	<i>discontent</i>
<i>to chase</i>	82%	<i>sheep</i>	6%	<i>girls</i>	12%	<i>dreams</i>
<i>to close</i>	81%	<i>door</i>	11%	<i>shops</i>	8%	<i>case</i>
<i>to consummate</i>	6%	<i>essay</i>	3%	<i>happiness</i>	91%	<i>marriage</i>
<i>to cultivate</i>	61%	<i>crops</i>	6%	<i>bacteria</i>	33%	<i>friendship</i>
<i>to deal</i>	95%	<i>situations</i>	4%	<i>drugs</i>	1%	<i>blow</i>
<i>to deliver</i>	86%	<i>pizza</i>	7%	<i>baby</i>	7%	<i>speech</i>

TABLE 4. Overview of Light verb usage in the results of the questionnaire

Table 4 reports the overview of the results of the questionnaire. The verbs in bold were randomly selected among the list of verbs that could represent the three different aspectual configurations (i.e., Inchoative, Process, and Transition, respectively), and will be discussed in terms of their metaphorical elaboration in Section 5.2. Participants in the test mainly produced clauses or sentences with literal meaning for the majority of verbs. The only exception is the verb *to consummate* (91% of instances with metaphorical meaning, mainly *to consummate marriage*). Other verbs that display a high number of metaphorical occurrences are *to acquire*, *to cultivate*, and *to absorb*. The frequency of metaphorical occurrences of the other verbs are in the following order: *to chase*, *to close*, *to deliver*, *to accumulate*, *to breed*, *to deal*. The results suggest that the literal meaning is the most salient and most deeply entrenched in the mind of the speakers, to the point that when asked to produce a sentence with these verbs (without any further semantic constraint), speakers tend to produce sentences with the literal meaning of the verbs. The case of *to consummate* may also be explained in these terms: the metaphorical occurrences produced refer for the great majority to the expression *to consummate marriage*, which may be perceived as literal by young English speakers. Both the Oxford English Dictionary and the Longman Dictionary of English report the meaning “to make marriage complete” as the first meaning. The definition of “to bring to completion, to finish, to carry out” is only second in both dictionaries. This exemplifies a case of a *dead* metaphor, in which an originally metaphorical meaning has become more prominent and salient than its literal counterpart (but see the dictionary.com definition, which lists “to bring to a state of perfection, fulfil” as the first meaning).

The examples reported in Table 4 illustrate the metaphorical path for each verb. This path follows a trajectory from more concrete to more abstract (in keeping with theoretical tenets in CMT). The literal occurrences of these verbs either refer to physical possessions, such as *books* or *clothes*, or to animals and plants, i.e., concrete referents. The metaphorical occurrences mainly refer to ideas, feelings, and relationships, i.e., abstract referents.

The Intermediate category contains sentences whose direct objects are neither concrete nor abstract. For instance, when *wealth* appears as the direct object of *to accumulate*, it denotes an object which is vague and uncountable, and thus not a concrete referent (e.g. *money*, which was classified as literal). Similarly, the verb *to close* may be accompanied by direct objects such as *shops* and *bank account*, which cannot be *literally* closed. Nonetheless, their closure is more concrete than the closure of a *speech*, which was categorized as metaphorical.

5. Analysis and Discussion

Sections 5.1 and 5.2 present the analysis and discussion of the results illustrated in the previous section. Both analysis and discussion will make use of the aforementioned analytic tools in Section 2.1 in order to account for, respectively, the aspectual-semantic status of LVEs and the consequent metaphorical shift which licenses the combination between the predicate and the eventive noun.

5.1 The formal representation of the aspectual configuration of English LVEs

Among the Processes, we provide in (2) a formal representation of the LVE *to breed hate*.

(2) *to breed hate*

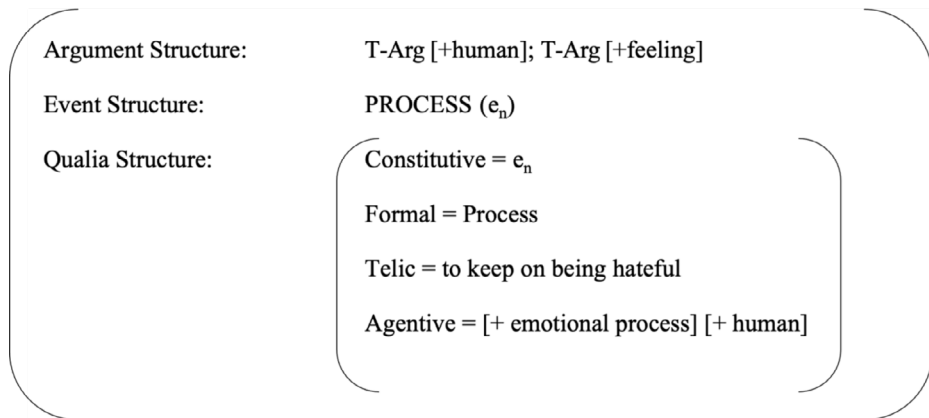


FIGURE 1. Formal representation of the LVE *to breed hate*

The LVE exemplified in (2) denotes an event which develops in time (e_n), which is performed by a human Subject with the result of accumulating hate. The aspectual configuration (represented by the Constitutive and Formal Qualia) is licensed both by the verbal and the nominal element. In the same way, the purpose of the action (Telic Quale) results from the combination of the two elements within the pattern. Unlike prototypical LVCs, the role played by the predicate used in an LVE is much more significant at a semantic-aspectual level.

Among the Transitions, (3) and (4) provide the formal representation of the LVEs *to consummate a deal* and *to deliver a speech*, respectively.

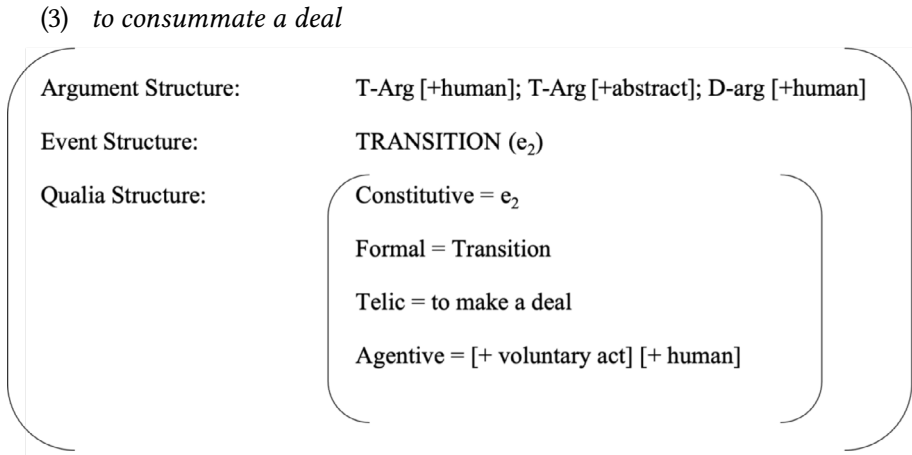


FIGURE 2. Formal representation of the LVE *to consummate a deal*

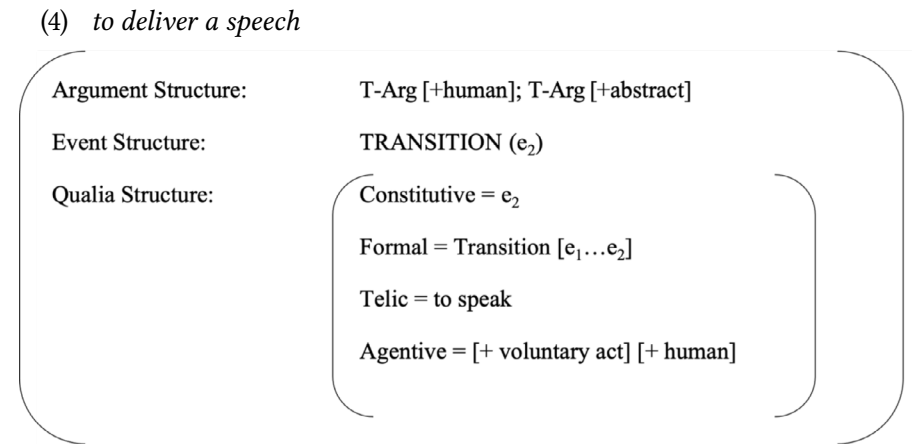


FIGURE 3. Formal representation of the LVE *to deliver a speech*

The examples reported in (3) and (4) focus on two telic events (e_2). However, while (3) depicts the achieving of a change of state, (4) implies a Process (e_1 [the action of delivering]) from which a subsequent state develops (e_2 [the speech delivered]). This distinction reflects Vendler's (1967) classification of *achievements* and *accomplishments*.

As for the Inchoative aspect, a formal representation of the LVE *to absorb knowledge* is given in (5):

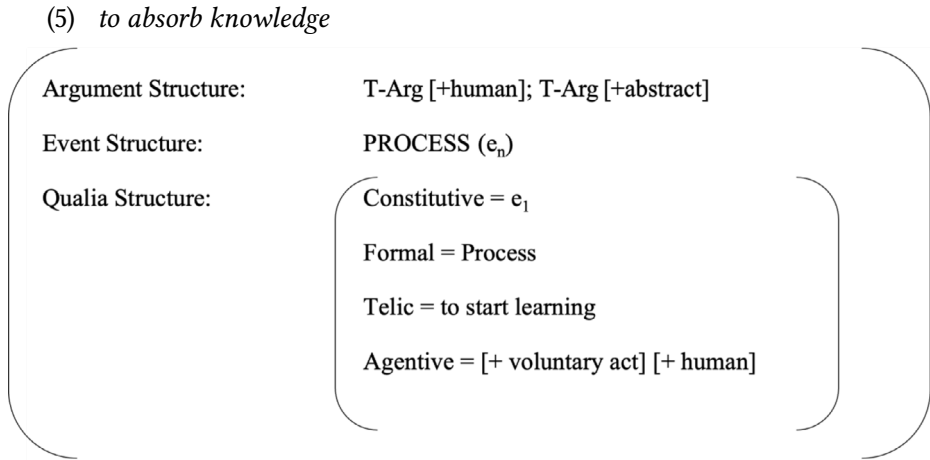


FIGURE 4. Formal representation of the LVE *to absorb knowledge*

The example in (5) is characterized by an event structure which is similar to that of Processes, even though the focus here is on the beginning of that Process, as indicated by the Constitutive *Quale* (e_1).

In all the examples provided, the eventive noun entering the LVE affects the literal representation of the construction and forces the predicate into a new syntagmatic environment in which the nominal item licenses both the Agentive and Telic *Qualia*. This results in a mechanism of *co-composition* (Pustejovsky 2012), which multiplies the syntagmatic contexts in which the verb may be used, and assigns a different weight to the two components: whereas the eventive noun gives semantic salience to the pattern, the predicate is lightened to convey aspectual information about it. The syntactic and semantic properties of the construction will change accordingly (see Table 5).

	<i>Criterion</i>	<i>LVE</i>
1.	V Nominalisation	-
2.	V Passivisation	+
3.	V Deletion	-
4.	Clefting	+
5.	Semantically similar lexical verbs	±
6.	Scope of Modifiers	N
7.	Aspectual configuration	V+N

TABLE 5. Identification criteria applied to English LVEs

5.2 The metaphorical shift in English LVEs

This section discusses in more detail the results of the questionnaire for three verbs: *to absorb*, *to breed*, and *to deliver*, belonging to the three different categories of lexico-semantic aspect taken into consideration (see Section 5.1). We analyse the three categories of meaning for each verb, paying particular attention to the metaphorical category in order to verify the contribution of CMT to the study of LVEs.

The most frequent direct objects in the literal category occurring with the verb *to absorb* are *water*, *milk*, *spill*, and *liquid*, in keeping with the prototypical meaning of the verb. Some of the direct objects that we categorized in the intermediate category are *nutrients*, *light*, *sun*, *heat*, *energy*. These items are concrete, but they are not found in a liquid state. Nonetheless, they are frequently conceptualized as *fluid* (e.g. *heat waves*, see master metaphor list LIGHT IS A FLUID). The metaphorical category includes items such as *information*, *knowledge*, and *criticism*, which motivates other expressions such as *stream of consciousness*, *flow of information*, *leakage of information*.

The verb *to breed* in its literal meaning collocates with nouns denoting animals: *dogs*, *animals*, *horses*, *puppies*, *sheep*, and *cows*. The direct objects in the intermediate category are *person*, *bacteria*, and *germs*. The item *person* was classified as intermediate because *to breed* typically evokes a conceptual frame in which *animals* are bred, but it is still possible to conceive a literal breeding of a person. The same criterion is valid for *bacteria* and *germs*, which are not technically animals, but which may be *bred*. The metaphorical category mainly contains terms expressing negative feelings: *hate*, *confusion*, *contempt*, *discontent*, and *trouble*. Examples in (6) and (7) illustrate the LVEs contained in this category:

- (6) Arrogance *breeds* contempt.
- (7) Hate *breeds* hate.

The metaphorical realizations in (6) and (7) may be motivated by the conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL (Pérez Rull 2002). Other realizations of this metaphor include expressions of the type *He unleashed his fears*, *She let go of her feelings*.

To have a better idea of the meaning of the verb *to breed*, it might be useful to compare it to the verb *to cultivate*, which has a similar meaning, and which refers to plants. The direct objects in the metaphorical category of the verb *to cultivate*

are *skills, relationship, knowledge, minds, friendship, and culture*. These items have a more positive connotation. We argue that the difference between the two might be accounted for in terms of the evoked semantic frames, in combination with the Great Chain of Being Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). According to this metaphor, living creatures are organized in a hierarchical structure in which humans occupy the highest point. Thus, comparing humans to animals may result in a negative connotation of the metaphor. Clearly, in the Great Chain of Being Metaphor, plants are positioned in an even lower position than animals, but this does not license the usage of negative direct objects⁶.

Lastly, the direct objects produced with the verb *to deliver* denote physical objects: *parcel, package, pizza, mail, letter, newspaper*, while the objects in the intermediate category are *food, message, and baby*. The inclusion of the items *food* and *message* is motivated by their being more abstract than, for, example *pizza* and *mail*. The expression *to deliver a baby* refers to the physical action of giving birth, thus maintaining a strong physical connotation. Furthermore, this expression is lexicalized in dictionaries. Nonetheless, it may be considered a *dead* metaphor, since the action of *delivering* typically involves an inanimate object. The metaphorical objects of the verb *to deliver* are: *speech*, and *presentation*, as in (8) and (9):

(8) He *delivered* a beautiful *speech*.

(9) I *delivered* a *presentation*.

The conceptual metaphor that motivates expressions in (8) and (9) is the Conduit metaphor (Reddy 1979). According to this conceptual metaphor, the language we use to talk about communication is conceptualized as a conduit that extends between the people involved in the communication. The message to be conveyed travels through the conduit from an end to the other. Examples of this metaphor are *try to get your thoughts across better; you still haven't given me any idea of what you mean* (Reddy 1979: 286). Thus, the same conceptual metaphor may account for the semantic shift of the verb *to deliver*, which may be used to talk about communication, as well as of LVE realizations.

Thus, in light of CMT, LVEs may be successfully considered metaphorical instantiations of underlying conceptual metaphors. The conceptual metaphors involved in the cases discussed are IDEAS ARE FLUIDS, FEELINGS ARE CAPTIVE ANIMALS, and the Conduit metaphor. Crucially, what CMT does not account for is the aspectual shift that takes place between equivalent lexical verbs and the LVEs.

⁶ However, there are also cases in which *to breed* is used with a positive meaning, for example *to breed success*.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed the aspectual-semantic status of English LVEs, a construction that has recently appeared in the literature as an instance of contextually licensed Lightness. We analysed this phenomenon from two different theoretical perspectives. The GL approach describes the aspectual role played by the verb within the construction, while the CMT approach accounts for the metaphorical shift of the verb in combination with an object that would not fit at a literal level.

In prototypical LVCs, the verb does not participate in licensing the aspectual configuration of the pattern, while in LVEs the aspect is determined by the co-composition phenomenon (Pustejovsky 2012) that takes place in considering the role of both elements. For instance, if we take into account LVC *to have knowledge* and its lexical equivalent *to know*, there is no aspectual change between the two: both are States. On the contrary, LVE *to absorb knowledge* is equivalent to *to start learning*, thus instantiating the beginning of a Process. This difference is given by the co-composition phenomenon which takes place in LVEs.

A possible alternative explanation of the phenomenon under scrutiny is provided by CMT. Within this theoretical framework, the expression *to absorb knowledge* is the verbal instantiation of the underlying conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FLUIDS. The verbal component of the expression is part of the source domain, while the nominal one is part of the target domain. Thus, the occurrence of the verb *to absorb* with a noun that does not literally denote a fluid may be seen as the result of a metaphorical conceptualization.

In the GL theory, LVEs are best explained in contrast to LVCs, thus representing a particular case of contextually licensed Lightness. On the contrary, in CMT the same expressions are considered metaphorical with no necessary reference to other constructions. Therefore, the theoretical model of CMT is more straightforward, as it does not require a comparison with other constructions. Nonetheless, CMT fails to account for the aspectual shift that occurs between the lexical equivalent of the verb (e.g. *to know*, a State) and its Light version (e.g. *to absorb knowledge*), which instead is described in a GL perspective. We conclude that the two theoretical approaches complement each other by describing different aspects of meaning creation of LVEs.

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SLANGUAGE FROM THE YOUNGER GENERATION OF LONDON: THE USE OF 'MAN' AS A PRONOUN AND PRAGMATIC MARKER

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This contribution investigates the innovative usage of 'man' in London youth speech by considering two context-specific corpora. The first corpus results from an ESRC project principally run by Kerswill and Cheshire, Multicultural London English (MLE)¹, the new variety spoken in multi-ethnic areas in London by young Londoners. In this respect, the process of grammaticalisation of the pronominal form of 'man' and that of its homonym to address someone or with pragmatic marking, analysed by Cheshire's 2013 study of a sub-corpus of MLE (2013: 608), are taken into account. The second context-specific corpus is the Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT)², which comprises multi-ethnic teenagers' spontaneous interactions recorded in several school districts of London concerning the Inner City area and the Greater London Metropolitan area (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 3-4). It is in COLT that the present study surveys the occurrences of 'man', in order to ascertain whether forms of pronoun, along with nouns, can be identified. From the observation of the process of grammaticalisation of the pronominal form of 'man' and its use as pragmatic marker, two questions are inspected: What does the use of 'man' communicate? How is it functionally and pragmatically shaped and adapted by language variation? A considered response would look at its multifunctional features: as plural noun referring to a peer group identifiable in the situational context or by examining the linguistic context; as a pragmatic marker and an address term to convey solidarity between interlocutors; as a pronoun resulting from a process of grammaticalisation and reflecting a strategy for rhetorical peer-to-peer interaction (Cheshire 2013: 619). Essentially, young people choose "their own language" (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 67-68) to consolidate their unity

¹ Multicultural London English: the emergence, acquisition and diffusion of a new variety, Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University, UK, <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fss/projects/linguistics/multicultural/overview.htm>, last accessed 30 November 2020.

² COLT, The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language, <http://clu.uni.no/icame/colt/>, last accessed 30 November 2020.

of peers by leaving out purposely the adults. They thus experiment their linguistic creativity, and vary the language norms to address their referents, with renewed patterns of narration.

Man, pronoun, pragmatic marker

1. Introduction: perspectives on pragmatic markers and grammaticalisation

This contribution draws upon two general considerations: the first looks at language as a “social fact” (de Saussure 1959: 6) which engages speakers in mutual interactions rooted in their related environment; the second consideration looks into language variation and change as determined by “external (social) and internal (systemic) factors” (Tagliamonte 2006: 5), where the former marks distinctiveness, membership, identity and status, and the latter examines syntactic and semantic structures as well as lexical features. On this premise, language variation is investigated by focusing on the usage of ‘man’ in its multiform functions amongst the different terms used in London youth speech: though teenage language often appears disjointed and even vulgar, and therefore may be considered as “sloppy language”, it contains “multifunctional” words which are frequently “intertwined” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 64). Hence, language accommodation as well as the speakers’ position and attitude according to the social setting are taken into account. In this respect, language contact is deemed “a key factor” for linguistic innovation: this use in particular appears to be indirectly determined by the different languages spoken, and shaped by the inner London setting “where children from immigrant backgrounds acquire English mainly from their peers, with no consistent target model and flexible language norms” (Cheshire, Fox, Kerswill, and Torgersen 2013: 64).

To carry out the analysis of the use of ‘man’, two context-specific corpora were investigated for occurrences of ‘man’, as well as the Oxford English Dictionary (henceforth OED)³. The first context-specific corpus results from the ESRC projects principally run by Kerswill and Cheshire⁴, Multicultural

³ Simpson, J., (2nd Edition, 2009). Oxford English Dictionary, OED, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

⁴ The team of researchers Paul Kerswill, Jenny Cheshire, Sue Fox and Eivind Torgersen worked on two ESRC projects in two sociolinguistic studies on language contact, by examining the linguistic features used by young multiethnic speakers living in London. In the first, *Linguistic innovators: the English of adolescents in London (2004-2007)*, the team investigated the inner area, the borough of Hackney, and the outer area, the borough of Havering in London. In the second, *Multicultural London English: the emergence, acquisition and diffusion of a new variety (2007-2010)*, they followed closely the first study by investigating the borough of Hackney and extending the

London English (henceforth MLE)⁵, the new variety spoken in multi-ethnic areas in London by young Londoners. With regard to Cheshire's study of a sub-corpus of MLE, the focus is on the process of grammaticalisation of the innovative usage of 'man' in the form of first person singular pronoun and of plural noun, as well as of its homonym, utilised when addressing someone and in the form of pragmatic marking (Cheshire 2013: 608). Furthermore, two main concepts are approached as interrelated: the first concerns the function of pragmatic markers, also known as pragmatic particles or punctors, observed from different viewpoints, whereas the second deals with the process of grammaticalisation. The second context-specific corpus is the Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (henceforth COLT)⁶, compiled by the University of Bergen in 1993. Now part of the British National Corpus (henceforth BNC)⁷, COLT comprises teenagers' spontaneous interactions recorded in several school districts in London (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 211). The ethnic origins of the teenagers are just categorised as "'White' or 'Ethnic minority'" according to the general classification used by the "Census survey statistics" (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002: 23). The items in COLT categorised under the hypernym "slanguage" were grouped into sets as follows: - "proper slang words", slang lexemes as termed by dictionaries of general language; - "dirty words", concerning slang words that are taboo or swear words; - "vogue words", used at a particular time and become popular; - "vague words", with broad meaning and replacing more specific ones; - "proxy words", used as quotative markers; - "small words", short phrases with the functions of tags, hedges, or "emphathizers" (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 64-65). The present analysis focuses on a representative term, the first-ranked of the proper slang words, in the form of pragmatic marker 'man' (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 70).

Considering pragmatic markers, although mainly deemed as "grammatically optional and semantically empty" but "not pragmatically optional or superfluous", Brinton's in-depth analysis reveals that they are characterised by several features and functions, and are mostly used in verbal

analysis to the wider area of the near boroughs of Islington and Haringey in the North of London. Cf. <http://linguistics-research-digest.blogspot.com/2011/11/multicultural-london-english-part-1.html>, last accessed 30 November 2020.

⁵ Multicultural London English: the emergence, acquisition and diffusion of a new variety, Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University, UK, <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fss/projects/linguistics/multicultural/overview.htm>, last accessed 30 November 2020.

⁶ COLT, The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language, <http://clu.uni.no/icame/colt/>, last accessed 30 November 2020.

⁷ The British National Corpus (BNC): BNCweb (CQP-Edition). <http://bncweb.lancs.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bncXML/BNCquery.pl?theQuery=search&urlTest=yes>, last accessed 30 November 2020.

discourse (1996: 33-35). By focusing on their functions, Brinton (1996: 64) spells out that pragmatic markers generally denote “salient events” and mark “episode boundaries” in the structure of discourse, and in particular in her view they may be “both speaker- and hearer-oriented”. From a different perspective, Östman’s 1982 study discusses the interrelatedness between what he terms “pragmatic particles” and spontaneous speech: in this regard, Östman identifies an “interactional function”, for ‘*man*’ and several other pragmatic particles which are sociological “group identificatory”. These also operate as indexes of age, gender, and ethnic features about the group, and function as an “implicit anchorage” in pragmatic tagging and hedging during interaction (1982: 151-152). By investigating the nature of pragmatic particles, Östman examines oral discourse and compares «*impromptu speech*» to «*non-impromptu speech*». Being more fragmented in structure from a textual and syntactic point of view, the organisation of an interaction in spontaneous speech needs to conform to specific pragmatic rules than non-spontaneous speech, by coordination instead of subordination, simplification instead of grammatical complexity at a syntactic level, as well as by a different register and other variables determining the degree of spontaneity of discourse (1982: 157). Östman thus emphasises that pragmatic particles occur in spontaneous speech as a result of two main factors: the former is “planning”, a process oriented to the speaker’s evaluation and social involvement in utilising markers of hesitation or filled pause that affect directly the proposition in its form and content. The latter is “politeness” which characterises a process oriented indirectly towards the social acceptability of the form and content of the interaction (1982: 161-163). Considering another standpoint in the analysis of markers in verbal discourse, Vincent and Sankoff’s 1992 study of what they term “punctors” reveals that these possess a series of prosodic features which consist in the “complete prosodic assimilation to the preceding phrase”, in the total absence of an “independent intonational pattern”, in the rare presence of a preceding pause, and in the considerable degree of phonetic reduction. Furthermore, these markers are largely desemanticised in the partial or complete loss of their lexical meaning, and are mainly used in verbal language (1992: 205-206). Accordingly, punctors are deemed “a class of largely interchangeable words” denoting the speaker’s participation and loquacious speech style, which favours its analysis in sentence structure and discourse (Vincent and Sankoff 1992: 214-215).

Andersen’s 2000 study of the London English spoken during adolescence rests on the assumption that the analysis of the pragmatic markers identified in adolescents’ interactions in COLT is emblematic in reflecting their behavioural patterns and linguistic variation (2000: 19). Hence Andersen’s original approach aims at combining Sociolinguistics with Relevance Theory (2000: 20), by drawing upon Sperber and Wilson’s focus on relevance, which is a “formal

property” in communication. In this respect, a shift takes place from relevance in context to the individual’s relevance, to explore the “cognitive effects” of “changes in the individual’s beliefs”, which contribute to the accomplishment of the individual’s aims (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 265). Relevance is thus observed in the speaker’s cognitive process when communicating as well as in the social and contextual nature of what is communicated (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 279). Thoughts are “conceptual representations”, as opposed to “sensory representations”, the latter usually linked to the individual states reflecting emotional experiences. Assumptions instead result from the individual activity of thinking in representing the world. Finally, information needs to be observed in its broad sense (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 2) as well as in its relevance, as maximised in the information processed in an interaction (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 49). On this premise Andersen investigates pragmatic markers, which he deems “context-based” as involving the communicator’s attitude in conveying meaning in a context (2000: 22), according to the aforementioned assumptions of relevance theory whereby “communication is intentional, ostensive and inferential”. Andersen points out that communication entails the speaker’s intentions being manifested overtly to the hearer on the basis of the speaker’s behaviour, and affecting the hearer’s “cognitive environment”: accordingly, the hearer deduces the speaker’s attitude by reasoning from evidence, hence by inferring. When interacting interlocutors mutually share their assumptions and the information to be drawn from the context becomes essential to identify the explicatures and implicatures of their utterances (Andersen 2000: 30-31). Furthermore, in relevance theory, meaning is encoded according to “concepts”, which are “representational” in that embodying actual entities of the world, as well as “procedures” that are “interpretational” insofar as instructing the process of interpretation (Andersen 2000: 32). Within this theoretical framework, the concept of “procedural encoding” appears essential to the pragmatic markers: these support relevance in the process the hearer performs to comprehend an utterance (Andersen 2000: 33). Extensive research on pragmatic markers has also shifted the focus on their diachronic development in the process of grammaticalisation (Andersen 2000: 33-34), the phenomenon occurring when a lexical item acquires a grammatical status as gradually affected by morphosyntactic change, owing to the restrictions of specific pragmatic contexts, where the speaker’s subjectivity would motivate this change (Andersen 2000: 36).

In this respect, recent studies (Traugott 1982, 1995; Brinton 1996) have shown how the meaning of some items, which originally was lexical, diachronically has altered and become pragmatic (Brinton 1996: 64), and this change in function appears to be morphosyntactic and semantic (Brinton 2008: 52). According to Hopper and Traugott’s definition, grammaticalisation is “the change whereby

lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (2003: 18). Hence, as noted by Heine and Narrog (2010: 404) grammaticalisation is the result of entailing pragmatic, morphosyntactic and semantic changes, but also phonetic. They also spell out that the process of grammaticalisation mainly tends to be characterised by a diachronic succession of four main parameters: extension triggers desemanticisation which is followed by decategorisation and final erosion (Heine and Narrog 2010: 405).

2. A linguistic analysis of ‘man’

Before examining some instances from the context-specific corpora of MLE sub-corpus and COLT which include the usage of ‘man’, it is worth reflecting on its lexical and semantic features in relation to the process of grammaticalisation, by looking at its indefinite sense in Standard English, and considering a few instances from its Old English use.

2.1 Historical and standard use of ‘man’

The definition of ‘man’ in the OED includes the twofold meaning of ‘adult male’ and ‘human being’, essentially utilised in the indefinite sense of ‘person’, thus interpreted as *one*, and also applied to pronominal forms as ‘some’ and ‘any’ as well as in many other nominal forms, for instance, in objective or objective genitive nouns. The lexeme ‘man’ is thus applicable to a number of combinations, of which three are exemplified here: ‘mankind’, an indefinite derived form; ‘man-day’ or ‘men-day’, namely as two simple or plural attributive and appositive compounds; or even ‘man-child’, as an appositive noun passing into adjective. Furthermore, considering its etymology, in several instances of Old English, ‘man’ was applied to male and female gender and distinguished by means of “*wer* and *wif*”, hence in the words “*wæpman* and *wifman*”⁸. Looking into what they call “indefinite man-constructions”, Giacalone Ramat and Sansò (2007) elaborate on the process of grammaticalisation of the noun ‘man’ and explicate how the construction of its semantics has evolved in three stages, from the “species-generic interpretation” of the term as in ‘mankind’, into the “non-referential indefinite interpretation” as in ‘one’ or ‘anyone’, hence into the final “referential indefinite interpretation” of ‘someone’ (2007: 97).

Focusing on the Old English indefinite pronouns in the Helsinki Corpus⁹, Rissanen’s 1987 study reveals that the pronominal form ‘man’ had

⁸ Cf. Simpson J., (2nd Edition, 2009). Oxford English Dictionary, OED, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

⁹ Helsinki Corpus TEI XML: <https://helsinki Corpus.arts.gla.ac.uk/display>.

wide currency in the Old English (Anglo-Saxon) language, ca. 450–1100, by occurring functionally as subject where their reference in sentences served to instruct such as in the Benedictine Rule, considering the highest frequency in the data resulting from the comparison with the other pronouns of the ‘some/any’ paradigm. Furthermore, as regards its reference value, ‘man’ appears to be “the most indefinite” and only occurs as the sentence’s subject, similarly to the contemporary use in German and Swedish (1987: 411; 1997: 514). Rissanen also notes the attested pronominal form disappeared at the end of the Middle English period (1997: 515), and had swiftly weakened into the pronoun ‘me’ in the beginning (1997: 519), wherein a “formal distinction between *man* ‘human being’ and *me* ‘indefinite subject’” was already evident (1997: 520). Examining the human indefinite pronouns, Lehmann (2002) explains that ‘one’ is yielded by two main sources, the former being the numeral form, and the latter being the nouns which indicate “the general meaning ‘person’”, as it results in the comparison between the languages “French *on* < **hom* ‘man’, German *man* id., Italian *la gente* ‘the people’”. Lehmann also points out that the converse process in general affects definite personal pronouns insofar as these tend “to become clitic and affixal to the term governing them” (2002: 45; 2015: 55). In this respect, Heine and Song’s 2011 study of the grammaticalisation of personal pronouns of languages also reveal that first person pronouns, singular or plural, would develop from nouns such as ‘person’ or ‘people’ and hence “a deictic pronominal category is conceptualized in terms of a nondeictic entity”, namely “a concrete noun”, inasmuch as they appear conceptually inclusive in their reference value (2011: 612–617).

2.2 MLE sub-corpus

In her qualitative study,¹⁰ Cheshire (2013) discusses the re-emergence of a grammaticalisation change of the noun ‘man’ in pronominal forms. Occurrences are investigated in the recordings of six adolescents of distinct multi-ethnic backgrounds from boroughs of the inner area of London. According to their “self-defined ethnicity”, one stated his mixed origin consisting in Maltese, White British, German, and Black African, two declared they are White British, one Congolese, one Jamaican, and one specified to be of Jamaican and Mauritian origin (2013: 611)¹¹. The related recordings are part of the MLE sub-corpus which consists of about 27,000 words. Cheshire identifies eleven

py?fs=100&what=index, last accessed 30 November 2020.

¹⁰ Along with the data from the aforementioned ESRC projects, the *Linguistic Innovators* and *MLE* (Cf. footnote 6), Cheshire also analysed the occurrences of ‘man’ in other audiovisual sources, namely the transcripts of the film *Anuvahood*, the TV documentary *One Mile Away*, and the YouTube biography of the rapper *Giggs*.

¹¹ Cf. Table 1 which shows in detail the eleven speakers’ self-defined ethnicity (2013: 611).

“unambiguous tokens of the *man* pronoun” in the MLE sub-corpus (2013: 609-610) and argues the scarce evidence suggests its usage may be transitory. Notwithstanding that, the occurrences need in-depth analysis as these would favour a grasp of the change in the noun ‘man’ into the grammatical subject pronoun (2013: 613). In this regard, the eleven occurrences in the sub-corpus show, on the one hand, the pronoun ‘man’ mostly appears as a subject functor, thus being firstly used in contexts where it functions as a subject in accordance with Heine and Song’s 2011 aforementioned theory of grammaticalisation of personal pronouns. On the other hand, observed from a different viewpoint, the occurrences merely reveal that the subject forms are more frequent (Cheshire 2013: 613), considering that ‘man’ is also used as an object in the sub-corpus. Hence the occurrences are examined to ascertain their predominant use as a first-person subject pronoun, two examples of which are provided below. These stem from two of the six informants’ recordings bearing the pseudonyms Alex and Dexter (Cheshire 2013: 613).

1. “I don’t really mind how . how my girl looks if she looks decent yeah and there’s one bit of her face that just looks mashed yeah. I don’t care it’s her personality **man’s** looking at” (Alex, MLE)¹² (Cheshire 2013: 609).

Example 1 shows the pronoun ‘man’ functioning as a subject, also activating the the agreement of the verb at the singular, as followed by the shortened form of the third person ‘is’ of the verb to be (2013: 613). In Example 2, the subject pronoun is followed by a lexical verb:

2. “before I got arrested **man** paid for my own ticket to go Jamaica you know . but I’ve never paid to go on no holiday before this time I paid” (Dexter, MLE) (2013: 609).

As spelt out by Cheshire, the majority of the occurrences examined in the recordings and the other sources seem to confirm that the usage of the pronoun ‘man’ has developed from the noun. Moreover, ‘man’ also appears to be used at times as a subject pronoun referring to the second- and third-person and in the plural or indefinite pronoun forms. Extensive research in this field also suggests this tends to occur to “new pronouns”, of which one referential value becomes predominant over the others by including them, and this seems to be the case with the form ‘man’ (Cheshire 2013: 614). As a noun, ‘man’ is also analysed with the referential value of the plural indefinite form. Two instances of the recordings from the aliases Alex and Zack exemplify this usage:

3. “what am I doing with over thirty-six **man** chasing me blud (Alex, MLE)”.

¹² As explained by Cheshire in the introduction of her study, the punctuation mark of the full stop in all the instances of the transcripts signifies a short pause. Cf. 2013: 609.

In this utterance ‘man’ as plural is determined by the numeral preceding the noun head, and this form may be also the result of a premodifying phrase activating the plural verb, as in Example 4:

4. “if it’s like a big rave the majority of the **man** go together (Zack, MLE)” (Cheshire 2013: 617).

The base form of the noun varying in the plural ‘men’ seems to have declined and have been replaced by ‘man’ which occurs with the highest frequency when compared to the other forms “*mandem*” and “*mans*” that are instead utilised uniquely aimed at specifying the referent in the sub-corpus. The usage of the plural form ‘man’ also stems from the linguistic or pragmatic situational context, and this would explain the development of its deictic pronominal form and as anaphora in that determined by the context (Cheshire 2013: 615-617).

As a pronoun, ‘man’ has a further function, namely rhetorical: in this respect, it is used in the recordings to address the referent and as a marker of a pragmatic context to epitomise personal sentiment and feelings, which may be aimed to forge a strong relationship in a group (Cheshire 2013: 619). Example 5 illustrates this function and is uttered by Tao, a pseudonym of one the six speakers:

5. “I got raped in the toilet once . seriously **man** no yeah I got raped three times there **man** (Tao, MLE)”.

Furthermore, the singular noun form of ‘man’ may fulfil the function of a pragmatic particle by reflecting a local use that is culturally connoted when occurring with collocates such as in “yardie man”, which usually refers to a “Jamaican man”, or in “big man”, which concerns someone that behaves with superiority in a group (Cheshire 2013: 620). In its multifunctional usage ‘man’ is also found in the sub-corpus with the function of a punctuator such as in Example 6:

6. “he’s going ‘oh man I just done some dumb shit’ like ‘look at my arm’ like his bone’s all coming out he’s like ‘look at my arm **man** look at my arm bruv look’ I’m like ‘urgh **man** allow that **man** cover that shit up bruv’ you get me **man** there’s bones all hanging out his arm I’m like ‘cover that shit **man**’ I don’t want to know about that (Alex, MLE)” (2013: 620).

This usage of ‘man’ as a pragmatic marker aims to elicit a relationship based on reciprocal solidarity. Accordingly, the pronoun ‘man’ reveals two rhetorical functions, firstly in the adolescents’ presentation as members of a group determined by the contextual character of their relationship, and secondly in the emphasis of the illocutionary force of their speech (Cheshire 2013: 620-621).

2.3 *The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT)*

In light of the process of grammaticalisation of the pronominal form of ‘man’ investigated in the MLE sub-corpus by Cheshire (2013), the present study surveyed the occurrences of ‘man’ in COLT, in order to ascertain whether forms of pronoun, along with nouns, could be identified. Two sources of transcriptions were looked at to carry out this search, as the 444,166 word corpus COLT¹³ was initially collected in the form of recordings by the Bergen team in 1993, then supported by the Longman Group in modelling it according to the method already used in the BNC for the orthographic transcription. Subsequently, the Bergen team checked the transcripts and the COLT was POS-tagged in word classes, or part of speech (henceforth POS), by the Lancaster University team of researchers (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 10). In its final version, COLT contains 377 spontaneous conversations between adolescents aged 13 to 17: the recordings stem from 48 recorded activities which were made by 31 volunteers¹⁴ from several school boroughs¹⁵. The majority were recorded inside or outside the schools; some recordings were made at home or outdoors. At the time of the recordings, the Bergen research team considered all the speakers in COLT with multi-ethnic backgrounds, such as Indian, Caribbean, African, and Bangladeshi mainly residing in London, in the boroughs of Barnet, Camden, Chelsey/Kensington, Hackney, Tower Hamlets, as representative of the Inner City area, and in Hertfordshire, the county immediately north of London, as representative of the Greater London Metropolitan area (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 3). Although few students resided in other boroughs, the whole group attended the same schools of the aforementioned areas of London (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 20-24). The ethnic origins of the informants were not explicitly stated, as they were not asked to provide personal data about the ethnicity when surveyed, although associations may be inferred according to the context, by virtue of personal remarks which randomly occur.

Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002) observed the pragmatic use of slang and of markers in COLT in relation to the variables of gender and familial and cultural background, and discussed the multifaceted linguistic aspects the adolescents use in manifesting their identity (2002: 17-18). They selected the items according to what they referred to as “slanguage”, a hypernym functioning as

¹³ Cf. COLT, The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language, <http://korpus.uib.no/icame/colt/>: Word frequency list: <http://korpus.uib.no/icame/colt/COLT1000.TXT>. Also Cf. CLARINO <https://clarino.uib.no/korpuskel/clarino-metadata?identifier=colt>, last accessed 30 November 2020.

¹⁴ Cf. Users’ Manual to accompany The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT) by Anna-Brita Stenström, Gisle Andersen, Kristine Hasund, Kristine Monstad and Hanne Aas, Department of English, University of Bergen, Norway. <http://korpus.uib.no/icame/manuals/COLT/COLT.PDF>, last accessed 30 November 2020.

¹⁵ Cf. CLARINO, <https://clarino.uib.no/korpuskel/overview?session-id=251448324201798>

an umbrella term, a model divided into: - “proper slang words”, slang lexemes as termed by dictionaries of general language; - “dirty words”, concerning slang words that are taboo or swear words; - “vogue words”, which were popular at the time of the recordings; - “vague words”, with broad meaning and replacing more specific ones; - “proxy words”, utilised as quotative markers; - “small words”, short phrases with the functions of tags, hedges, or “emphathizers” (2002: 64-65). In searching for the occurrences from the queries on this category in COLT, they argued that there is a predominance of nouns over adjectives, verbs and adverbs, which are respectively ranked in the list. Both the nouns and adjectives mainly reflect derogatory or sexual connotation. They also stressed that the frequency of occurrences of slang, including the dirty words besides the proper slang words, turned out to be higher in boys’ interactions than in girls’ (2002: 73). With regard to the use of ‘man’, as a representative item in “The top ten proper slang words”, it is listed along with the other nine words according to their frequency of occurrence¹⁶: the noun is the first ranked in the ‘proper slang words’ category, with 358 occurrences (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 70).

Considering the high frequency of its use in COLT, the analysis in this study is supported by the results for ‘man’ according to the format for concordance lines of Key Words In Context (KWIC), as well as of Variable Context Display in COLT and BNC, in order to examine its use in context by varying the display of the amount of context before and after ‘man’. Unlike the MLE sub-corpus, there are no occurrences of pronominal forms of ‘man’ in COLT. Hence, the selection of the occurrences of ‘man’ offered in this article includes its usage in the form of noun and focuses on its usage as address term and pragmatic marker. The results seemingly conform to those described in Cheshire’s 2013 study of the MLE sub-corpus. Six short passages, here numbered from 7 to 12, present its usage, and consist of an excerpt of a conversation in COLT which is extracted from BNC (Example 7), along with five instances extracted from COLT 1993 Corpus (Examples 8-9-10-11-12).

Example 7 exemplifies the use of ‘man’ with apparent generic reference and concerns an exchange between four interlocutors. The 13-year-old speaker, labelled in BNC as Truno and recorded as “PS55A” - here typed in bold - makes use of a phrase (here in bold type too) consisting in the indefinite determiner ‘a’ and the common noun ‘man’ preceded by the proper noun ‘Brixton’. The phrase is used as an attributive compound consisting in the non-head ‘Brixton’, modifying the denotation of the head ‘man’¹⁷:

¹⁶ Cf. Table 4.1. The top ten proper slang words, in Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002, p.70).

¹⁷ Brixton is a district of South London, within the London Borough of Lambeth, in the inner London, and is populated by a multicultural, mainly African and Caribbean, community. Cf. Brixton General Info, Facts about Lambeth, <http://www.urban75.org/brixton/info/facts.html>, last

7. **PS55A** [...]

PS557 [1856] Yeah, you didn't get it.

[1857] You didn't get it.

PS55A [1858] I'm a **Brixton man!**

PS555 [1859] Hackney!

[1860] Wah!

PS55A [1861] I'm a **Brixton man!**

PS557 [1862] Brixton man what?

PS55A [1863] I'm a **Brixton man**, okay?

(COLT, 132614: 130)

PS557 [1864] But you're a Brixton man what?

PS55A [1865] I'll show you up , man, I'm telling you.

PS557 [1866] Yeah?

PS55A [1867] [shouting] Bum!

[1868] Bum [] !

PS555 [laugh]

KPGPSUNK [1869] Aargh!

[1870] Aargh!

[1871] Aargh!

PS55A [1872] It

PS555 [1873] Truran, Truran, Truran, let me just tell

you, I'm tape recording you not

[laughing] filming you.

[1874] He's looking at, he's

PS55A [1875] I know.

[1876] I know. (BNC: Record 13; Tape 132614:

1856-1876)¹⁸

In Example 7 the nominal phrase 'a Brixton man' bears a twofold rhetorical function: in the first, the adolescent identifies himself with a specific ethnic community by means of a constation, independently of whether this constative utterance is true or false (Austin 1962: 68). Whereas the second function is activated by the emphasis of the speaker's reiterated utterance, denoting an over-simplification in the correspondence with reality, aiming to increase the truthfulness of a dubious statement. A locutionary utterance, namely a constative, turns into a performative utterance, due to the illocutionary force manifesting an abstraction from its correspondence with an actual fact (Austin 1962: 144-145). Hence, the use of first person deictic for self-reference [1858]-[1862]-[1863] accounts for an indexical pragmatic function which the speaker

accessed 30 November 2020.

¹⁸ Cf. BNC by typing the query "Brixton man" at <http://bncweb.lancs.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bncXML/BNCquery.pl?theQuery=search&urlTest=yes>, last accessed 30 November 2020.

needs in order to construct identity and relationship, in the instance expressed by the nominal form of 'man' of 'Brixton'.

Furthermore, what Truno (or PS55A) states, and reiterates three times in the short passage, also aims to persuade his interlocutors (three hearers recorded as PS557, PS555, and KPGPSUNK) to share his belief. Considering the second reiteration of the statement with the pragmatic marker 'okay' [1863], Truno seems to fulfil a politeness function and projects himself showing respect to the group, by expecting to win their trust and approval. Hesitancy rather appears to be raised by his friend's answers (PS557) turned into two questions [1862]-[1864] and in a third [1866] replying to a commissive utterance [1865], committing Truno to the future act of proving his statement.

The conversations in COLT consist in interactions between peers and some of them occur between teenagers and adults, such as teachers or parents. The excerpts below refer to the pseudonym Susie, who is aged 14 and lives in London (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 24-28), and whose recordings includes the pseudonyms of friends as for instance Lesley who is 15 years old, as well as that of Kenneth who is 13 years old (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 144). In the passages of the conversations here selected from COLT there are also two unknown speakers (Examples 10 and 11).

A rhetorical usage of 'man' as a pragmatic marker is frequent in the recordings, mainly displaying the speaker's aim to conform to the peer group and strengthen the bond to avoid being socially stigmatised or isolated. In Example 8, 'man' functions as an address term besides as a pragmatic marker with emphasis added in that Susie aims to consolidate the solidarity between peers notwithstanding her joke. The noun is uttered when she reveals to the other interlocutors she had teased them, by making them swear on tape although they were unaware of being recorded:

8. "Susie: It's a laugh **man** [emphasis added]. Cos you were, you're all sitting there right, and you all talking like, like...and bring the motherfuckers down! I was just sitting there taping. That's why I was la=, cos when you were going, what you laughing at you flat chested cow? I was laughing and you were getting the hump with it...cos I knew I had it all on tape. [...] (132610: 12-69)" (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 78).

In BNC, the same excerpt is POS-tagged as a noun with the reference PS555 and associated to a recorder's name¹⁹. In Example 9, the hearer's evaluation of the context is evoked by the speaker's sense of humour in the use of 'man' as an appositive noun to the proper noun preceding it, but functioning as a pragmatic marker whereby the speaker Susie shows her friendship:

¹⁹ The title of reference refers to "39 conversations recorded by 'Josie' (PS555) [dates unknown] with 34 interlocutors, totalling 6802 s-units, 42330 words, and over 59 minutes 42 seconds of recordings". Cf. BNC: <http://bncweb.lancs.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bncXML/BNCquery.pl?theQuery=search&urlTest=yes>, last accessed 30 November 2020.

9. “Lesley **man** [emphasis added] calm down get your top out of her bra, hand out of her [...]”. (COLT 132606: 18) (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 111).

Example 10 shows the unknown speaker’s narrative effecting irony and humour, where the use of ‘man’ is preceded by the apology expression ‘sorry’, although followed by the invitation to leave the room:

10. “And then he goes like, sorry **man**, close the door and get out”. (COLT 139003: 21) (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 115).

In Example 11 the unknown speaker’s narrative refers to a person uttering ‘man’ three times in a single sentence, seemingly with the aim to maintain mutual companionship by means of the narration:

11. “He said <mimicking foreign accent> **man** it’s got nothing to do with you **man**, keep out **man**.” (COLT 140301: 19) (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 124).

In Example 12, Kenneth uses ‘man’ in the attempt to convince his friend Cliff to hear their conversation after being recorded, although without success:

12. “Nah. It’s better you got them speakers. It’s enough funny **man** I’m telling ya! Come upstairs, play on the hi-fi. I I, bet you any money you’ll laugh ...” (COLT 135602: 38) (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 144).

The above examples, mainly reveal the use of the noun ‘man’ as a pragmatic marker and as an address term. This entails that: when uttered in the form of a plural noun it refers to a peer group identifiable in the situational context or by examining the linguistic context; when used as a pragmatic marker and an address term its use conveys solidarity between interlocutors; when utilised as a pronoun as a result of a process of grammaticalisation it reflects a strategy for rhetorical peer-to-peer interaction (Cheshire 2013: 619). The elements that activate the process of grammaticalisation of ‘man’ appear to function as sociolinguistic triggers. On the one hand, the high variation of language spoken in the related educational background, as the linguistic context mainly reflects pre-adolescents residing in multicultural London areas who acquire English as a second language. On the other hand, the frequency in the use of ‘man’ as a pragmatic marker and as an address term in the adolescents’ groups, which may significantly favour the progression from noun phrase into pronoun. In particular, a basic support to its grammaticalisation also seems to result from the peer groups’ flexible use of ‘man’ in the three forms of singular or plural, pragmatic marker, and address term, as considered by the young as needed to be referred to as members of the peer group (Cheshire 2013: 625-627).

3. Conclusion

This contribution has discussed the usage of 'man', what it may communicate and how it may be functionally and pragmatically shaped by language variation. A description of the innovative usage of 'man' in its various forms by London teenagers is first of all related to the multicultural and multilingual background in which language contact directly affects it. Nevertheless, the phenomenon according to which speakers of different languages may influence each other when interacting appears to be indirectly determined. This may be potentially due to the inner London contact setting, where the acquisition of the English language of the children of immigrant families mainly stems from their ethnic group and is characterised by instability and high flexibility in the use of language (Cheshire, Fox, Kerswill, and Torgersen 2013: 64-74). Forms such as 'man' and others appear to be innovative inasmuch as they do not typify either regional non-standard variation, nor are used in ordinary speech by native Londoners who are aged seventy and over. This would confirm the recent onset of this usage. In this respect, the increased ethnic and linguistic diversity in the borough of Hackney is emblematic. Considering the source of this innovation, on the one hand the Census demographic estimates of 2005 and the update of 2007 taken into account in Cheshire, Adger and Fox 2013's study reveal that the amount of the multiethnic groups living in this borough now exceeds that of the indigenous population (Cheshire, Adger and Fox 2013: 52-53). On the other hand, Cheshire argues that, as extensive research has certainly shown, language diversity favours variation. In light of this, the acquisition context of English as a second language is highly influenced by their multilingual family backgrounds, as well as by the contact with the linguistic variation of their peers (2013: 618-619). In this sense, the occurrences of 'man' examined in spontaneous interactions in some excerpts of COLT seem to confirm this innovative pre-adolescents' usage that represents an item of non-standard linguistic variation.

On the whole, the analysis of the occurrences in COLT and BNC, and the instances selected from MLE sub-corpus and presented in this study, has shown how young people tend to conform to their peers to avoid being stigmatised by their groups. In particular, the examples from COLT have revealed how, as teenagers, they would distance from the adults, by referring ironically to their social and intellectual aspirations and contrasting the pragmatic rules (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 17-18). A low register, a slangy language with epithets and vulgar words, appears tendentious and plausibly utilised to manifest their identity and express their subjective world view, in contrast to the social conventions and moral standards, or to criticise, or even praise, other peoples' behaviour or actions. They merely need to speak "their own language" (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund 2002: 67) and aim to appear provocative leaving out purposely the adults. They thus experiment their linguistic creativity,

and vary, and change the language norms to define or address their referents, by renewing patterns of narration which use is restricted to their peer group, with whom they would strengthen the bonds and become effective members.

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*STANCE AND EVALUATIVE RESOURCES IN THE CONSTRUCTION AND
NEGOTIATION OF AN ELF IDENTITY IN ESP CONTEXTS:
A CORPUS-BASED GENRE ANALYSIS OF EURAM CONFERENCE
PROCEEDINGS*

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The present study investigates how identity construction and representation in ELF contexts are enacted and conveyed in specific genres representative of given communities of practice. In line with previous research on issues of identity expression in academic genres, this investigation focuses on a corpus of papers published in the proceedings of the European Academy of Management (EURAM) International Conference in order to explore the way in which language mediates between the adherence to specific rules linked to the specialised language of Academic Discourse (more specifically, Business Academic English) and the expression of the inner world of a given individual. More precisely, the following corpus-based study focuses on the tension between the specialised community's expectations for members to display proximity and adherence to given rules and conventions, and the individual scholars' desire to claim their own agency and express their unique identity.

Business Academic English, stance, evaluation, identity, genre analysis, corpus linguistics

1. Introduction

Identity has been traditionally seen as “a public phenomenon, a performance or a construction that is interpreted by other people” (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 3). Such a construction does not occur in a void or as a prefixed series of traits but “takes place in discourse and other social embodied conduct” (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 3; see also Balirano and Rasulo 2019). In

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other words, following Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 9), one's identity is "whatever it is agreed to be by other people involved in the discourse at a given time and place". Given this view, doing discourse and, more broadly, genre analysis is primarily investigating the seminal role that language plays in the enactment of a specific situated identity (Scollon 1997; Carranza 2000; Ainsworth and Hardy 2004; De Fina, Schiffrin, Bamberg 2006). In ESP contexts, an important focus for debate in the literature is represented by the intersection between identity and agency (see Berger and Luckmann 1966; Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1991), that is, the issues related to the extent to which individuals in given communities of practice are actually free to construct their own identity, and to the extent to which their discursively constructed identity is actually controlled by contextual forces and social structures (Gotti 2009; Flowerdew 2011; Hyland 2012a; Flowerdew and Wang 2015; Bhatia 2017). Indeed, as Bhatia (2017: 59) maintains:

Although it is important to study how professional and organisational discourses are constrained by professional objectives and private intentions of corporate players, it is equally important to study how discursive practices in professional organisations determine and redefine professional, disciplinary and organizational identities.

In such professional contexts of practice, therefore, identity construction and representation in discourse should be seen as a negotiation process, whereby conflicting identity performances are at stake and influence one another in the complex interplay among four different forms of identity negotiation processes and expressions (Bhatia 2017: 59-60):

- i) *professional identity*, that is, the discursive identity performance that casts the individual as belonging to a specific disciplinary community;
- ii) *organisational identity*, that is, those identity traits in discourse that are indicative of the membership to a given institution or organisation;
- iii) *individual identity*, that is, all those discursive identity cues that are indicative of given forms of self-expression of the individual;
- iv) *social identity*, that is, the discursive embodiment of all those semiotic aspects that mould the individual as belonging to one or more social groups.

Given these competing forms of identity expression and performance, which are negotiated discursively in professional environments, "[i]t should be of significant interest to any genre analyst to investigate how established professionals negotiate these different and often-conflicting identities in their discourses" (Bhatia 2017: 60). Therefore, in the investigation of any discursive practice of specific disciplinary and professional communities, researchers must pay close attention to the complex web of meaningful resources that individuals adopt to construct, construe, interpret and maintain their identity

within the context of socially shared objectives.

Such an intricate network of discursive cues is undeniably subject to a series of negotiation processes, as previously highlighted, which must adhere to a set of given constraints while, at the same time, leaving enough space for the individual to express their identity. As Hyland (2010: 160) argues:

Negotiating a representation of self from the standardizing conventions of disciplinary discourses is clearly a skilled accomplishment for individuals involving both recognizing and exploiting community constraints. However, it is also a challenge for analysts. To take seriously the idea that identity is formed through discourse, we need a means of getting at the ways individuals routinely assemble markers of 'who they are' through interaction.

In line with previous research on issues of identity expression in academic genres (Bondi 1999; Matsuda 2002; De Montes et al. 2002; Garzone 2004; Biber 2006; Crawford Camiciottoli 2007; Tessuto 2008; Englander 2009; Kirkup 2010; Hyland 2011, 2012a, 2012b; Olinger 2011; Zareva 2013), this study thus focuses on a corpus of papers published as part of the proceedings of the European Academy of Management (EURAM) International Conference in order to explore the ways in which specific linguistic resources allow the mediation between the adherence to specific rules linked to the specialised language of Academic Discourse (more specifically, Business Academic English) and the discursive identity cues that are indicative of given forms of self-expression of the individual. In other words, the present corpus-based investigation focuses on tensions between the specialised community's expectations for members to display proximity and adherence to given rules and conventions, and the individual scholars' desire to claim their own agency and express their unique identity.

2. Methodological and theoretical framework

In order to study the complex relationship between individuals' discursive cues of identity expressions and the linguistic constraints of given professional contexts of practice, this investigation places a particular focus on the strategic role played by expressions of evaluation and stance in the corpus under investigation. Indeed, evaluation plays a critical role in academic writing as it embodies how individual scholars situate themselves and their work to reflect and shape their value system and those of the discipline they belong to. In particular, as Hyland (2005b: 175) argues, "[a]cademic writers' use of evaluative resources is influenced by different epistemological assumptions and permissible criteria of justification, and this points to and reinforces specific cultural and institutional contexts". Therefore, the analysis of such

elements in the context of academic discourse enables the exploration of the delicate negotiation process that has been previously introduced between the different identities that individuals want to express and construe discursively (i.e., professional, organisational, individual and social forms of identity expression; see Section 1).

While evaluation, following Hyland (2005b), can be studied by focusing on expressions of stance and engagement, in the context of the present study, particular attention will be placed only on expressions of stance, which refer to “the ways writers present themselves and convey their judgements, opinions, and commitments” (Hyland 2005b: 176). This is due to the fact that the interest of this study is primarily on the linguistic patterns that can be highlighted in the papers published as proceedings of the EURAM International Conference. The case study under investigation can be regarded as a perfect exemplification of the discursive negotiation process between the discursive disciplinary conventions that govern and dictate the use of language in such academic settings and the individuals’ identity representation in discourse. In this way, the study approaches the analysis of genre as being able to highlight “the nexus between an individual’s actions and a socially defined context” (Devitt 2004: 31).

In order to explore the way the community of practice represented by the scholars participating in the EURAM International Conference constructs its identity discursively, corpus linguistic methodologies (Baker 2006; McEnery, Xiao, Tono 2006; McEnery and Hardie 2012) have been applied to the analysis of stance in the data collected. Therefore, articles published as proceedings of the conference from the year 2016 and 2017 have been collated. The EURAM Proceedings Corpus (from now on referred to as EPC) was collected by accessing the online database of the EURAM association, which has enabled the collection of a total number of 1,500 papers (18 million word tokens) published in the timespan taken into consideration². The corpus was cleaned of all the unnecessary information, and metadata were introduced by using XML encoding³. The corpus was then uploaded to the online corpus analysis platform Sketch Engine (Kilgarrieff et al. 2004; Kilgarrieff et al. 2014).

² The number of articles downloaded from the online database of the EURAM association has been extended so as to include also data coming from the years 2018 and 2019. At the time of writing (i.e., October 9, 2020), however, these sections of the EPC have not been added yet as they are still being semi-automatically ‘cleaned’ and tagged. A more comprehensive account on the EPC can be found in Fruttaldo (forthcoming).

³ The following information has been preserved and included as metadata in the corpus to allow more detailed analyses: (1) author(s); (2) affiliation; and (3) Strategic Interest Groups (SIG) (i.e., research themes). At the time of writing, other information is being semi-automatically annotated in the corpus related to broad section categories of scientific papers (i.e., Abstract, Introduction, Discussion, and Conclusion, following Farrokhi and Emami’s [2008] general categories) so as to enable the investigation of the use of stance devices across rhetorical sections of research articles.

Once the corpus was uploaded, a wordlist of the most frequently used words in the EPC was compiled. This was done because, as previously said, the focus of this investigation is on how stance is discursively conveyed in the data under scrutiny. Particular attention has been paid to the following categories conveying stance in accordance with the work done by Hyland (1998, 2005a, 2005b): attitude markers, boosters, hedges, and self-mentions. Therefore, four different lists were created, consisting of a series of items conveying stance. The lists were created both on the basis of a literature review on the topic (Quirk et al. 1985; Holmes 1988; Biber and Finegan 1989; Halliday 1994; Hyland and Milton 1997; Bondi 1999; Hyland 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2005a, 2005b; Biber et al. 1999; Varttala 2001; Garzone 2004; Farrokhi and Emami 2008; Friginal et al. 2017) and the most frequently occurring items in the articles themselves by closely reading the corpus wordlist. The four lists include the following number of items per category:

i) *attitude markers* (i.e., words conveying individuals' attitude towards the propositional material they are presenting [e.g., 'surprisingly', 'fortunately', etc.]): no. of items: 75;

ii) *boosters* (i.e., words that allow individuals to express their certainty in what they argue [e.g., 'clearly', 'obviously', 'demonstrate', etc.]): no. of items: 136;

iii) *hedges* (i.e., words that indicate the individuals' decision to withhold complete commitment to a proposition [e.g., 'possible', 'might', 'perhaps', etc.]): no. of items: 303;

iv) *self-mention* (i.e., words that acknowledge the individuals' presence explicitly in the text [e.g., 'I', 'me', 'mine', 'our', etc.]): no. of items: 11.

Whitelists were then created and uploaded on Sketch Engine in order to search the frequency of only the items included in the lists of attitude markers, boosters, hedges and self-mentions in the EPC⁴. This revealed that, out of the 75 attitude markers included in the list, only 65 of them actually occur in the EPC, while as for the 136 boosters, only 106 of them occur in the corpus. As for the 303 hedges included in the list, only 226 of them occur in the EPC, while out of the 11 self-mention items, only 7 of them occur in the corpus under investigation (see Figure 3.1 in Section 3).

In order to further explore the peculiarities of given stance markers in the corpus, a keyword analysis (Scott and Tribble 2006; Bondi and Scott 2010) was also performed. Such a corpus linguistic technique was adopted so as to find

⁴ Whitelists and blacklists must be plain texts (.txt), encoded in UTF-8, with one item per line. Once uploaded to the Wordlist tool of Sketch Engine, they enable users to include (in the case of whitelists) and exclude (in the case of blacklists) words from the wordlist. In this way, more detailed frequency lists are computed, thus enabling users to focus, for instance, their analysis only on specific items in the corpus they are investigating.

out which of the attitude markers, boosters, hedges and self-mention expressions found in the EPC are more frequently used and peculiar if compared to a reference corpus. Therefore, the Open Access Journals (OAJ) corpus, a 2.6 billion word corpus available on Sketch Engine comprised of academic articles covering different areas of science, technology, medicine, social science, and humanities, was elected as reference corpus and single- and multi-word keywords were thus computed.

3. Findings

The following diagram (Figure 1) shows the normalised frequencies per million words of the occurrences of the items in the four categories using the whitelists previously described in Section 2⁵.

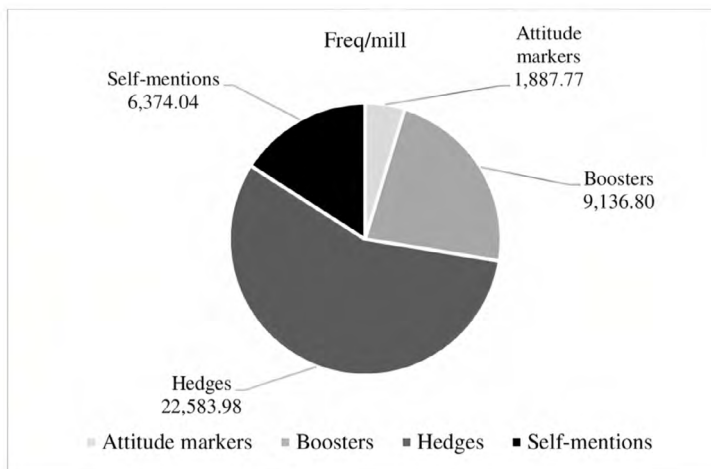


FIGURE 1. Normalised frequencies (per million words) of the occurrence of attitude markers, boosters, hedges and self-mentions in the EPC.

⁵ Normalised frequencies have been preferred to absolute frequencies in the comparison between the four categories conveying stance since, following the recommendations offered by Gries (2010: 271), it is important to “only compare corpus frequencies or use them to make statements about what is more frequent when the frequencies have been normalized”. This is particularly true not only when the frequencies of specific items occurring in corpora or subcorpora of different sizes are being compared but also when different phenomena within the same corpus are contrasted so as to take into account their relative frequency, that is, the distribution of the individual items among the other items occurring in the corpus. Furthermore, by employing normalised frequencies, it becomes possible to compare different phenomena such as attitude markers, boosters, hedges, and self-mentions, despite the varying number of items included in their respective lists. This normalisation process disregards this variation in numbers, enabling a clear and meaningful comparison.

As can be seen from Figure 1, the class of hedges is the one that is most frequently featured in the articles collected in the EPC. This might simply be due to the fact that, in Academic Discourse, statements are typically assessed and construed through “a prism of disciplinary assumptions” (Hyland 2005b: 178-179). Therefore, scholars must carefully reflect on the weight they want to place upon given assertions, in line with the degree of precision, certainty or, more broadly, reliability that they want such statements to convey, maybe establishing some leeway as to claim protection in the event of their contradiction (Hyland 1998).

Furthermore, the high frequency of hedges in papers representative of the discipline of Economics does not come as a surprise. Indeed, Varttala (2001), in comparing the hedging strategies in three different disciplines, found that the relative frequency of hedges was higher in the field of Economics. However, it must also be underlined that the full papers collated in the EPC are submitted to the EURAM International Conference in order to be evaluated and deemed appropriate for presentation as part of the conference itself (and afterwards, they will be published in the proceedings of the conference). In other words, in order to present their research to this series of key conferences for scholars working within the field of Business and Management, researchers must submit a full paper which, once anonymous reviewers have positively evaluated it, is then accepted for presentation, thus automatically becoming part of the proceedings of the conference. Therefore, the high frequency of hedges may be due to the fact that the papers are more similar to extended Abstract or Discussion sections in the generic purposes (i.e., the Abstract and Discussion section’s genre constraints) that they want to serve⁶. In trying to gain their academic credibility by going beyond the data to offer more general interpretations, scholars may thus feel the need to mitigate (and, in the case of boosters, highlight the importance and worthiness of) the claims presented in their work. Such a high frequency of hedges may hence be indicative of what Bhatia (2007, 2008, 2012, 2017), within the framework of Critical Genre Analysis, defines as the private intentions (Bhatia 1995) that individuals want to achieve and tend to incorporate “[...] within the scope of professionally shared values, genre conventions and professional cultures” (Bhatia 2017: ix). This means that scholars seem to understand that, by bending the scientific papers’ genre conventions by way of enhancing specific linguistic patterns that are peculiar of other genres that are “replete[d] with subjective material, expressed by interactional elements” (Gillaerts and Van de Velde 2010: 130), as abstracts and discussion sections are, they might subconsciously presume

⁶ On the use and distribution of boosters and hedges in the different sections of academic papers, see Hyland (1996), Lindeberg (2004), Martín-Martín and Burgess (2004), Farrokhi and Emami (2008), Gillaerts and Van de Velde (2010), Yang, Xu, Liu (2010), Hu and Cao (2011), and Ahmad and Mehrjooseresht (2012).

that this might increase the chance of their research papers being accepted as part of the conference itself (and then, as part of the proceedings)⁷.

In order to further explore the peculiarities of given stance markers in the corpus, as previously described in Section 2, a keyword analysis (Scott and Tribble 2006; Bondi and Scott 2010) was also performed. Single- and multi-word keywords were thus computed, and the following tables show the first five keywords for each category. Unfortunately, due to space limitations, only general comments on some of the salient features shown by the keyword analysis will be provided.

<i>EURAM Proceedings Corpus</i>				<i>Open Access Journals Corpus</i>		
#	single word (lc)	Freq	Freq/mill	Freq_ref	Freq_ref/mill	Score
1	<i>disagree</i>	223.60	12.80	6,623.10	2.00	4.60
2	<i>prefer</i>	276.50	15.80	20,929.00	6.20	2.30
3	<i>disappointed</i>	26.40	1.50	845.30	0.30	2.00
4	<i>agree</i>	425.50	24.30	39,169.70	11.70	2.00
5	<i>surprised</i>	39.90	2.30	2,868.70	0.90	1.80
#	multi-words (lc)	Freq	Freq/mill	Freq_ref	Freq_ref/mill	Score
1	<i>as an important</i>	304	17.3	8,679	2.6	5.1
2	<i>be interesting to</i>	193	11.0	4,698	1.4	5.0
3	<i>are expected to</i>	369	21.0	12,004	3.6	4.8
4	<i>even if they</i>	122	7.0	2,615	0.8	4.5
5	<i>would be interesting</i>	124	7.1	2,716	0.8	4.5

TABLE 1. Keyword analysis (single and multi-words): Attitude markers in the EPC compared to the Open Access Journal Corpus.

⁷ This claim is primarily based on Farrokhi and Emami's (2008: 93) study according to which, in the analysis of the frequency and distribution of hedges and boosters in academic papers, "the Discussion and Abstract sections [...] contained the highest occurrence of hedges" if compared to other sections. However, it must be underlined that, since the EPC at the time of writing does not allow a thorough comparison between the different sections of the academic papers collated in it, this observation is simply based on the overall tendency highlighted in the literature.

Focusing on attitude markers (Table 1), the verb ‘disagree’ (found in phrases such as ‘strongly disagree’⁸) seems to be particularly key in the EPC. However, this is simply due to the fact that the corpus contains various sections devoted to surveys and, therefore, the verb refers to interviewees’ responses. The same can be said about the verbs ‘prefer’ and ‘agree’, and the past participle ‘disappointed’, which are however typically used by scholars to describe the responses by specific employees in given firms in the surveys collected. The only item that more specifically conveys individual scholars’ attitude is represented by the verb ‘surprised’ (‘we were surprised’). Typically, this is used to achieve two main strategies, that is, i) highlighting the unexpectedness of given results:

1. The IEVI is our result. We were surprised by its operability: with 50 qualification items and 5 value dimensions, we were afraid not to create a useful tool for scholars and practitioners.

Or 2) downplaying the likely consequences of specific actions, thus, construing them as something that does not come as a ‘surprise’:

2. However, from this perspective, because of the evolution of the service providers and a company’s expertise in offshoring (processes 2 and 3), we should not be surprised to see a “drift” back to the bottom left square, returning to offshore-outsourcing.

As for the multi-word expressions, as can be seen from Table 1, typically, the ones that are most frequently used in the ECP if compared to the reference corpus describe future developments of the investigation, thus, highlighting possible solutions to the limitations of the studies conducted. This is particularly the case of ‘(would) be interesting to’, as can be seen in the following example taken from the corpus:

3. [...] it would be interesting to compare this study to findings in local Chinese companies in a cross-organizational or to findings in other countries in a cross-cultural setting.

The multi-word expression ‘as an important’, on the other hand, while usually found in contexts where authors want to foreground specific aspects

⁸ In order to further investigate the linguistic behaviour of specific patterns retrieved from the keyword analysis performed on the EPC, also concordance and collocation analyses have been carried out. In the specific case of the collocation analysis, a span of three words to the right and three words to the left has been taken into consideration, and the LogDice has been used as a statistical measure for the computation of collocates. The LogDice was chosen since it enables users to extract exclusive but not necessarily rare combinations of words (Gablasova, Brezina, McEnery 2017: 164), thus being quite useful in the exploration of the phraseological status of given linguistic items (Rychlý [2008: 6] in fact defines it as “a lexicographer-friendly association score”; see also Gablasova, Brezina, McEnery [2017] on choosing the right statistical measures in collocation analysis).

of their research, also occurs in contexts where it can be regarded as an ‘anaphoric’ attitude marker, that is, an expression that seems to underscore the importance of specific aspects or insights that the authors have previously provided in their paper. Indeed, from a concordance analysis of the occurrences of this expression in the EPC, it seems to occur in the Conclusion sections of the papers, thus, fulfilling the cohesive function of positively evaluating the study carried out by the scholars:

4. In addition to the number of obstacles this research reveals, we regard the theme of environmental receptiveness as an important context factor that should be considered in future research.

<i>EURAM Proceedings Corpus</i>				<i>Open Access Journals Corpus</i>		
#	single word (lc)	Freq	Freq/mill	Freq_ref	Freq_ref/mill	Score
1	<i>really</i>	668.10	38.10	25,475.20	7.60	4.50
2	<i>think</i>	805.50	45.90	35,805.70	10.70	4.00
3	<i>reinforce</i>	217.40	12.40	8,808.50	2.60	3.70
4	<i>know</i>	1,152.80	65.70	81,409.50	24.30	2.60
5	<i>realize</i>	260.20	14.80	17,233.30	5.10	2.60
#	multi-words (lc)	Freq	Freq/mill	Freq_ref	Freq_ref/mill	Score
1	<i>empirical evidence from</i>	164	9.4	136	0.0	9.9
2	<i>findings show that</i>	200	11.4	1,841	0.5	8.0
3	<i>will be more</i>	233	13.3	3,731	1.1	6.8
4	<i>research has shown</i>	181	10.3	2,459	0.7	6.5
5	<i>we find that</i>	524	29.9	13,240	4.0	6.2

TABLE 2. Keyword analysis (single and multi-words): Boosters in the EPC compared to the Open Access Journal Corpus.

As for boosters (Table 2), the most frequently used in the EPC is the adverb ‘really’, which is typically used to underline, for instance, the urgency of solving specific issues or their importance in the development of certain strategies⁹:

⁹ The booster expressions introduced by the word ‘really’ are also usually found in the EPC

5. The will of formalization leads SMEs to launch the collaboration with a public supervisor. But CSRs' integration will only really happen through private support within the company.

An interesting keyword among the booster expressions occurring most predominantly in the EPC is represented by the term 'reinforce', which is used in the corpus to construe given items as further contributing to specific (positive or negative) consequences:

6. The consideration of contrasts and the emphasis of 14 differences and oppositions, at the same time, reinforce the borderline between the dominant culture and the token culture, making it almost impossible to cross.

The verb is also generally used to underline the importance of the study conducted by the scholar(s) on the basis of previous research:

7. The results of the study also reinforce the importance of using management competency framework to assess [...].

Regarding the keyword analysis of multi-word expressions where boosters are prominent, it can be noticed that they collectively refer to the innovative results that the scholars have provided in their investigation. It is interesting to notice that the multi-word booster expression 'empirical evidence from' is typically found in the title of the papers collected in the EPC, thus pointing to one of the community of practice's professional values that they want to preserve and reproduce in presenting their research: the importance of studying given phenomena from an empirical perspective rather than merely from a theoretical one. And the textual position that this expression typically occupies (i.e., the title of articles) further underlines the relevant role that empirical data play in the field of Business and Management. In order to test whether the expression 'empirical evidence from' was indeed representative of the field of Business and Management, the Open Access Journals (OAJ) corpus was also investigated. The multi-word expression occurs in the corpus 452 times (norm. freq.: 0.13 per million words), with the following distribution per subject areas of the various journals collated in the OAJ: Business and Management: 80 occurrences (relative freq.: 568.8)¹⁰; Business and Economics: 90 occurrences (relative freq.: 484.7);

in interviews' extracts provided by the scholars, where interviewees tend to use this adverb to strengthen their claims and, therefore, convey their personal opinions concerning specific issues they are discussing.

¹⁰ The relative frequency on Sketch Engine is a statistical measure that enables the comparison between the frequency of a given word or expression in a specific section of a corpus and its frequency in the whole corpus. Therefore, it shows how much more (or less) frequent a word or expression is in a specific section if compared to the whole corpus. The result is expressed as a percentage. If the relative frequency is less than 100%, it means that the word or expression is less

Political Science: 12 occurrences (relative freq.: 434.1); Economics: 21 occurrences (relative freq.: 383.1); Law and Political Science: 12 occurrences (relative freq.: 347.5). The analysis of the distribution in the OAJ thus confirms the claim that the expression indeed seems to be particularly key in the academic field of Business and Management.

<i>EURAM Proceedings Corpus</i>				<i>Open Access Journals Corpus</i>		
#	single word (lc)	Freq	Freq/mill	Freq_ref	Freq_ref/mill	Score
1	<i>Perceived</i>	1,911.10	109.00	42,222.40	12.60	8.10
2	<i>Argue</i>	1,173.80	66.90	25,854.10	7.70	7.80
3	<i>Perceive</i>	504.30	28.80	12,386.70	3.70	6.30
4	<i>Theoretical</i>	2,912.00	166.10	88,080.30	26.30	6.10
5	<i>Thinking</i>	682.70	38.90	21,470.20	6.40	5.40
#	multi-word (lc)	Freq	Freq/mill	Freq_ref	Freq_ref/mill	Score
1	<i>we argue that</i>	894	51.0	2,850	0.9	28.1
2	<i>common method bias</i>	277	15.8	29	0.0	16.7
3	<i>are more likely</i>	953	54.4	11,092	3.3	12.8
4	<i>future research could</i>	187	10.7	346	0.1	10.6
5	<i>future research should</i>	218	12.4	1,628	0.5	9.0

TABLE 3. Keyword analysis (single and multi-words): Hedges in the EPC compared to the Open Access Journal Corpus.

The most frequently used single-word hedges seem to convey overall tentativeness regarding the analysis of the results. As can be noticed (see Table 3), the adjective ‘theoretical’ has been included among the keywords indicating particular hedging strategies. This is due to the fact that, in the compilation of the whitelist of hedges, this word has been included given the linguistic context it was usually found in, on the basis of the observation that was previously provided related to the booster expression ‘empirical

frequent in a specific section if compared to the whole corpus, and thus, it can be regarded as not typically used or peculiar of that section; if the relative frequency is higher than 100%, the word or expression is as frequent in a specific section as it is in the entire corpus.

evidence from'. Indeed, in the EPC, theory and practice seem to entail and reproduce two different community values: in the case of the former, it is found in the company of expressions indicating the basis on which a study is carried out (e.g., 'framework', 'background', 'argument'); in the case of the latter, expressions conveying an empirical nature of the research carried out are found typically in the immediate linguistic context of the expression featuring the adjective 'theoretical', as can be seen in example (8), where the 'theoretical implications' are discursively constructed as being linked to the results of the study. Therefore, the theoretical framework is revised and enriched by the evidence that the study has provided, thus creating the previously underlined connection between theory and empirical data that must always be preserved in the community of practice that is being investigated:

8. These results generate several valuable insights with interesting theoretical and managerial implications.

As for the multi-word expressions in the EPC featuring hedges, they seem to be generally used by scholars to downplay the limitations of the studies presented by relegating to future research the possible drawbacks that their investigations might display. The fact that such expressions are more frequently used in the EPC if compared to a reference corpus of academic papers representative of various disciplines is particularly noteworthy. Indeed, it underlines one of the peculiar aspects that has been previously highlighted regarding the community of practice that is being investigated. This discursive pattern of relegating to future research the limitations of the studies presented seems to indicate once more the importance authors attribute to mitigating the possible drawbacks of their research since their work needs to be accepted for presentation at the EURAM International Conference first. Therefore, by dulling in a sort of way what can be regarded as something that might negatively impact on their chances to be accepted, scholars seem to be bending once more the genre constraints of academic papers to achieve specific private intentions.

<i>EURAM Proceedings Corpus</i>				<i>Open Access Journals Corpus</i>		
#	single word (lc)	Freq	Freq/mill	Freq_ref	Freq_ref/mill	Score
1	<i>my</i>	838.50	47.80	30,495.50	9.10	4.80
2	<i>me</i>	548.80	31.30	29,899.30	8.90	3.30
3	<i>us</i>	2,372.20	135.30	264,317.80	78.90	1.70
4	<i>our</i>	8,966.80	511.40	1,321,870.60	394.60	1.30

<i>EURAM Proceedings Corpus</i>				<i>Open Access Journals Corpus</i>		
#	multi-word (lc)	Freq	Freq/mill	Freq_ref	Freq_ref/mill	Score
5	<i>we</i>	21,717.00	1,238.60	3,774,976.50	1,126.90	1.10
1	<i>we argue that</i>	894	51.0	2,850	0.9	28.1
2	<i>we contribute to</i>	250	14.3	84	0.0	14.9
3	<i>in our sample</i>	407	23.2	2,879	0.9	13.0
4	<i>we controlled for</i>	203	11.6	458	0.1	11.1
5	<i>test our hypotheses</i>	166	9.5	109	0.0	10.1

TABLE 4. Keyword analysis (single and multi-words): Self-mentions in the EPC compared to the Open Access Journal Corpus.

Finally, the keyword analysis of the self-mention expressions found in the EPC appears to show an interesting result related to the possessive pronoun ‘my’. However, as was the case with attitude markers, the word is typically found in surveys and interviews conducted by the scholars and, thus, their occurrences are not linked to the authorial voice. Indeed, scholars tend to refer to themselves by using the pronoun ‘we’, as can be seen in the keyword analysis of multi-words. An interesting pattern is represented by the multi-word expression ‘we contribute to’. Usually, the phrase is used to indicate and highlight the degree of confidence the individuals have in their research as significantly leaving a mark in the literature, thus gaining credit for their individual perspective.

4. Conclusions

The objective of this study was to reflect on the way stance is conveyed in a specialised corpus by adopting an approach mainly inspired by Hyland (1998, 2000, 2002), not only by following his footsteps but by further pondering on the role played by hedging and boosting devices in academic writing. Indeed, a closer look at their functioning in a corpus of conference proceedings belonging to the field of Business and Management in comparison with a more general corpus of academic journals has highlighted different emphases on devices expressing stance. The findings have provided further insights into

the relevance that hedges and boosters still play in the construction of specific academic identities representative of given communities of practice. As the analysis of the corpus has demonstrated, scholars still make considerable use of hedging and boosting devices, therefore confirming the subtle awareness that scholars have towards (i) reception of their writing, (ii) perception of the audience and (iii) reliability towards facts and towards the academic context of practice they address. In this way, the expression of certainty and doubt was confirmed as central to the genre under investigation as underlined in the strategic choices made by the writers of the research articles that were investigated from a corpus-based perspective.

Of course, being a preliminary investigation, further analysis should be carried out on the EPC. In particular, while the focus of this research was on expressions of stance, research should also be devoted to linguistic devices conveying engagement, thus to linguistic forms that writers adopt to discursively acknowledge and connect to others, recognising the presence of their readers. Another limitation of this study that has already been underlined in Section 3 is linked to a more detailed analysis of the distribution and dispersion of given patterns in the different sections of the academic papers collated in the EPC (see Fruttaldo [forthcoming]).

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*EXPLORING THE NARRATIVE FUNCTIONS OF HAND MOVEMENTS IN
THE TEASER PHASE IN HOUSE MD:
A CORPUS-ASSISTED ANALYSIS*

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This paper illustrates the findings of research into the function of hand movements in structuring the teaser phase in the *House MD* TV series. Building on previous research into online film repositories (Arizzi 2012), the analysis is grounded in multimodal corpus studies (Baldry and Thibault 2006, 2008) and supported by the *House Corpus* (Taibi, Marenzi, Ahmad 2019) with its tools for scene-based viewings of episodes, manual annotation of multisemiotic features and retrieval of data through corpus searches. A model for the annotation of hand movements was developed and incorporated as an annotation tool in the *House Corpus* interface. Subsequently, all the teasers, i.e. the beginning of each episode preceding the initial credits, were annotated according to the model provided. Thanks to the data collected as a result of the annotation process, the research led to a clearer understanding of the special role played by hand movement patterns when structuring episode narratives.

Multimodal corpus studies, multisemiotic annotation, teaser

1. Introduction

Normally identified as the initial part of each episode in a TV series, teasers are mini narratives. As distinctive meaning-making units, they are separated from the rest of the episode by the opening credits and theme tune, and crucially determine the narrative's subsequent unfolding. The teasers in *House MD* contextualise a medical emergency through a narrative that contains a beginning (apparently serene circumstances), a development and a crisis (a dangerous threat to an individual's health), and a solution (someone calls 911) that points, deictically, to subsequent post-crisis action in the rest of the episode. Hence, in the *House MD* series, teasers, with few exceptions, mark the transition from the world outside to the world inside hospitals, with the story unfolding in various hospital facilities.

Watching a few episodes is enough to note that each teaser presents a slightly different version of an essentially recurrent narrative pattern. The risk is that viewers will find this opening scene pattern all too predictable, despite the diverse characters and situations presented. Various devices are used to offset this risk, for example, duping viewers into believing that one character is about to succumb to a health crisis, when, in fact, this fate befalls the least likely candidate among those portrayed. Indeed, a sufficient number of variants are introduced to maintain viewers' interest and curiosity. All this ensures that the basic scaffolding on which the narrative structuring depends is backgrounded, with its basic outlines becoming deliberately blurred.

This raises the question as to what resources are deployed to this end. In this article, careful analysis of hand movements throws light on one of the ways in which this backgrounding of the narrative template occurs. Specifically, the suggestion is made that hand movements are visual signals that allow the teaser narrative to be compressed, enriching at the same time the overall set of styles used in this narrative phase.

This project draws on pioneering research into the analysis and classification of nonverbal communication. Johnson, Ekman and Friesen (1975) experimented with a group of American people, attempting to understand how they could convey information without using language. Then they classified body movements and reflected on how this process is culture-bound. From a cognitive perspective, McNeill (1992) strongly recommended examining language and gestures together, so as to understand how the mind works. He (2000) also explored the connection between gestures, thought, action and performance, arguing that gestures impact on thought because they directly transfer mental images to visible forms. Kendon (2010) presented a review of possible classifications of gestures, including voluntary and involuntary ones, natural or conventional ones, those with literal and those with metaphorical meanings, showing how they crucially serve to punctuate, structure and organize discourse.

Studies on the combination of body movements and language abound, and provide interesting social, ethnic and anthropological insights into how people communicate and what semiotic systems they use. For instance, interactional sociology considers gestures, including those with ritual significance, as a complement for language (Goffman 1981), while micro-ethnography, focusing on the social practices that impact societal processes of talk (Erickson 2004), has produced a methodology for the analysis of face-to-face interactions in complex modern societies. However, even when these social-ethno-anthropological methodologies are combined with linguistics, as occurs in interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1999), linguistic anthropology (Duranti 1997), and linguistic ethnography (Creese 2008), the focus is preponderantly on language.

This also applies to such fields as developmental pedagogy, where gestures mark progress in children's communicative skills, in a step-by-step process from behaviour to language (Caselli et al. 2012). The current research instead is concerned with the critical analysis of textual structures and strategies, and draws on the idea of abandoning the concept of a hierarchy of modes, adopting a view of multimodality in which common semiotic principles operate in and across different modes (Kress 2010; Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; Baldry and Thibault 2010[2006]). It analyses *House MD* as a multimodal corpus, in line with and expanding on work by Law, who analysed the verbal components of *House MD* (2015) and then its other semiotic resources (2019).

The analysis given below aims to show that, in fact, hand movements constitute key moments in the teaser structure that contribute to enhancing the appeal of *House MD* by foregrounding each episode's individuality, while at the same time masking the episode templates around which this series is built. Below, Section 2, describes the methods used to elucidate this narrative strategy, while Section 3 presents the results obtained. Sections 4 and 5, respectively, provide a discussion of these results and draw some conclusions.

2. Materials and methods

Demonstrating that hand movements constitute a hidden semiotic patterning poses various methodological challenges for the analyst. On the one hand, detecting the patterning that underlies the organisation of teasers requires detailed frame-by-frame analysis of the 177 teasers that make up the series. This means that the analyst has to work both on micro and macro scales, while considering the meaning-making potential of hand movements on both these scales. As well as interpersonal functions that establish a relationship with the outer world (e.g. pointing, holding), hand movements also have intrapersonal functions (e.g. touching one's forehead, clasping one's throat) that signal a relation with the inner world, be it physical or mental, all of which begs the question as to how interpersonal and intrapersonal hand functions are typically deployed in the different teaser types (hereafter TTs).

An essential starting point was to draw up a working hypothesis about the various TTs and a model of the use of hands that could be tested out objectively. This was made possible by the affordances of the MWS Web platform (Taibi, Marenzi, Ahmad 2019) which hosts the *House Corpus*, and which can break up the entire *House MD* series into its 6,300 scenes, each of which can be retrieved thanks to an internal search engine. The *House Corpus* is thus a multimedia corpus providing users with a multimedia co-text (Baldry and Thibault 2008) which makes it possible to carry out multisemiotic annotation of visual, verbal and spatial features as well as searches of instances of their combinations.

This characteristic facilitates its inclusion possible use in relation to CFRIDiL-inspired (Sindoni et al. 2019) undergraduate student training in multimodal corpus construction (Vasta and Baldry 2020).

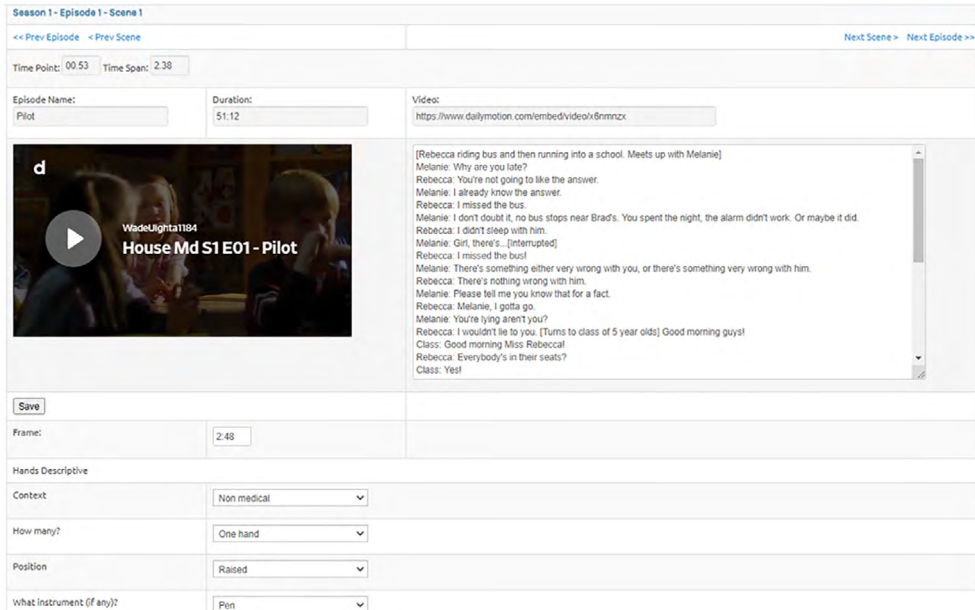


Figure 1. A partial view of the House Corpus Hands annotation menu

A Hands Annotation and search tool was incorporated into the *House Corpus* interface (Figure 1), allowing annotators to select the season, episode and scene of interest from a menu and to save annotations for the selected scenes on the basis of a pre-established list of options that included the teaser’s overall context (usually non-medical), the number and position of the hands (e.g. single raised hand) and whether they were instrumented (e.g. holding a pen). Only one frame per scene in which the use of hands was particularly meaningful was also annotated by selecting the appropriate options among those available on the interface with regard to the narrative functions performed by the hands, with a particular focus on: climax (annotated when the hands are used to signal the medical problem currently occurring), cataphoric reference (annotated when hand movements anticipate a medical problem) and anaphoric reference (annotated when the signs of medical emergency are reiterated once they have already been indicated).

The annotation was carried out in two stages. In the first, university students from several Italian universities annotated teasers according to the

types exemplified in the guidelines provided. The left-hand part of Figure 2 shows the possible six TT selections, indicated in the interphase as “Type 1 – Gradual build-up (TT1), Type 2 – Unexpected switch (TT2), Type 3 – Sudden crisis (TT3), Type 4 – Uncertain till the last moment (TT4), Type 5 – Other type (TT5), Type 6 – Undecided (TT6).

Figure 2. TTs annotation interface

A second phase followed, in which a fresh set of annotators examined teasers again (S1 and S2 in the screenshot shown on the right-hand side of Figure 2), so that the results were double-checked. The double annotation carried out in a way that guaranteed objective evaluation, is the basis for the present research findings.

3. Results

As Figure 3 shows, most teasers fall into two types, TT1 and TT3. TT1 (33%) follows a gradual build-up with hints of what is to be expected, while the reverse is true of TT3 (29%), where the emergency arises quite unexpectedly. Though less frequent, TT2 (11%) diverges from TT1, as it deliberately misleads viewers, thus avoiding the passive acceptance of the evidence displayed in TT1. TT2 is in many respects the quintessential teaser, as it teasingly plays with viewers, wrong-footing them at every turn. The fact that this TT is less frequent than might be expected suggests that the series producers and screen players were aware that such bluffing can be overused. In other words, TT2 questions TT1, but validates it by offering an alternative conclusion. Likewise, TT4 (7%) may be considered a variant of TT3, as in both of them the medical emergency comes as a surprise. They both convey a sense of suspense, but the difference lies in the narrative construction: while TT3 incorporates no signs of danger, these are abundantly present in TT4, so much so that the audience is kept in a state of uncertainty. TT5 (8%) relates to teasers that have diverse and complex narrative patterns, while TT6 (12%) blends two or more categories or relates to those cases where the annotators felt no categorisation was possible.

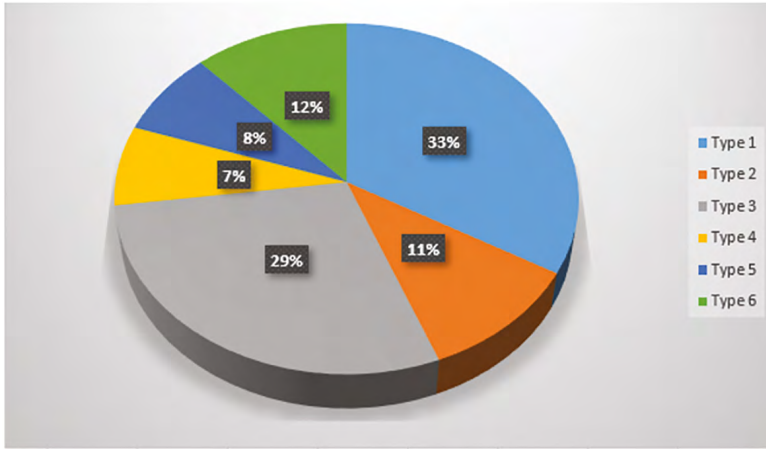


Figure 3. Distribution of TTs in the TV series

Based on the annotations, the research challenge was now to understand to what extent the hands were involved in the construction of these TTs. Below, for reasons of space, selective illustrations of the search results are presented in the form of hand frames (Figures 5, 7, 9, 11, 13 and 14) and tables relating to the incidence of each TT (Figures 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 and 15). The tables that illustrate the incidence of each TT, for instance Figure 4, represent the seasons in the columns and the episodes in the rows; the point of intersection between the columns and the rows gives a number, either 1 or 0, indicating whether the episode was annotated for this type or not. Some dashes can be seen in the final cells in some of the rows, indicating that those seasons contained less than 24 episodes (e.g. only 16 episodes in Season 4). The last column indicates how many times the TT in question was annotated for each season, while the Grand Total in the right bottom corner gives the overall score for a specific TT for the entire series.

3.1 TT1: Gradual build-up

TT1 was annotated 59 times overall out of 177 teasers, exactly one third of all episodes. TT1 is characterized by a coherent narration that gradually leads to an expected ending. The climax is preceded by several anticipatory signs leading the audience to assume that the character highlighted will suffer a medical emergency.

Search term:		Episodes																								Tot
Seasons		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
Season 1		1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	-	-	10
Season 2		1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	11
Season 3		1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	10
Season 4		0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Season 5		1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	7
Season 6		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	2
Season 7		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Season 8		0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	-	-	10
Grand Total																										59

Figure 4. Search results for TT1

TT1 is illustrated with reference to some scenes from Episode 3, Season 3, entitled “Informed consent”, which opens with a solo scene where a researcher is working in a lab handling a guinea pig. Because only one character is presented, viewers know that, unless another character suddenly appears, the medical emergency will affect him. This is heralded by a *crescendo* of signals concerning his health. The soundtrack records the researcher’s monologue made up of some words addressed to the guinea pig and other observations about the research results that he records on tape as he speaks. Viewers reconstruct most of what is happening in the lab through the videotrack; the hands perform all the actions needed to find out if the research is producing the desired results and thus contextualize the scene, adding to meanings made through language and other visual components, such as white coat and surgical instruments.

In contrast to these “unmarked” hand functions – i.e. performing actions expected from a researcher in a lab – hands also perform other “marked” movements that break the expectations and convey meanings unrelated to this scientific context. Thus, the researcher first fixes his glasses that have slipped on his nose and touches his forehead, then pulls out his shirt collar and finally lets the guinea pig go (Figure 5). Touching one’s forehead is a movement that naturally accompanies a pain in one’s head or dizziness, while pulling off one’s shirt collar indicates the need for more air, respiratory difficulty, or a moment of panic. While the first hand movement is universal, the second is partially culture-bound, as only in Western cultures do male professionals wear shirts and ties. The third hand movement, that is dropping what is being held, signifies lack of control. The sequence of the three hand movements saliently marks the narrative steps and heralds the researcher’s

final collapse. While operating on the guinea pig, the hands perform an interpersonal function, as they create a connection with another living creature, but perform an intrapersonal function when the researcher touches his forehead and tries to loosen his shirt collar. Thus, the contextualizing function is performed through interpersonal hand movements, while the health-related hand movements are intrapersonal.



Figure 5. Sequence of hand movements indicating health issues

3.2 TT2: Unexpected switch

In TT2, the narration follows a deliberately misleading construction. Several signals make viewers believe that one of the characters presented will suffer a medical emergency, but instead, this unexpectedly affects another character. TT2 was annotated 19 times in the eight seasons (Figure 6) and is here exemplified in Episode 6, Season 2, entitled “Spin”.

Search Result																									
Web Word Summary Scene Summary Dialogue Summary																									
Search term:	Episodes																								
Seasons	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Tot
Season 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	2
Season 2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6
Season 3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Season 4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Season 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	
Season 6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	2
Season 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	1
Season 8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	0
																								Grand Total	19

Figure 4. Search results for TT2

The teaser starts outdoors with some excited kids hurrying to see a cycle race. As they run towards the sidelines, one of them stops and touches his chest twice. From the dialogue between the kid’s parents, viewers know that he needs an inhaler that was left in the car; the kid’s hand movements and

the parents' reference to his asthma channel viewers' expectations towards this kid. To increase the pathos, the mother lovingly asks her wheezing child how he feels. By the time the father gets him his inhaler, the narrative focus is well and truly on the asthmatic kid, whereupon there is a sudden change: one of the cyclists swerves, loses his balance and falls causing a massive crash, involving many other cyclists.

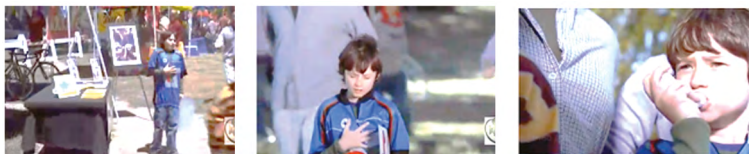


Figure 7. Sequence of misleading hand movements preceding the climax

The kid's hand movements (Figure 7) have an intrapersonal function, being self-directed actions; from a narrative perspective, they visually acknowledge his problems. The narration development is thus coherently marked by hand movements that inform, contextualise, alert and introduce specific signals. The reiteration of the same instinctive hand movement increases the *pathos*, further underscored through zooming in on the kid until the final close-up of him breathing from an inhaler. But the solid premise constructed through the co-deployment of verbal and visual components ends up frustrating the audience with a startling ending; for this reason, this teaser is categorized under the "unexpected switch" type.

3.4 TT3: Sudden crisis

TT3 was annotated 51 times (Figure 8). In TT3, the narration develops without any premonitory sign of emergency, until suddenly someone is unpredictably endangered, thus the hand movements do not prepare viewers for any medical emergency and their functions are limited to building contextualization. Episode 18, Season 3, "Airborne", is a good example. The teaser opens in a living-room where a woman called Fran is getting ready to receive a guest. Someone knocks at the door and it gradually becomes clear that the guest is a sex worker sent in by a specialized lesbian dating agency. When Fran goes to her bedroom to get money from a drawer, her vision suddenly gets blurred and she faints. The second woman calls 911 after stealing Fran's money.

Search term:		Episodes																								Tot
Seasons		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
Season 1		0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	-	-	9
Season 2		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
Season 3		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	5
Season 4		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Season 5		0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	9
Season 6		0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	-	-	7
Season 7		0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	-	10
Season 8		0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	-	-	4
Grand Total																										51

Figure 8. Search results for TT3

Figure 9 shows a sequence of screenshots from this teaser. In the first, Fran looks at herself in the mirror and fixes her make up; the scene is totally silent, so the meaning is made only through hand movements; even though self-directed, the ultimate function of these hand movements is interpersonal because Fran only wants to look attractive. The audience then learns more about Fran's personality: she is presented as a middle-aged woman eager to look nice and neat for her guest. Knocking at the door instead of ringing a doorbell adds to the idea of an old-style household, while the act of taking cash from a chest of drawers is ambiguous in that it builds on the idea of an out-of-fashion old woman who hides her money among personal belongings, but at the same time makes the audience think that some illicit transaction is going to happen. Hands are used throughout the teaser both in an intrapersonal and an interpersonal way, prominently making non-specialised contextualising meanings unconnected with medical emergency which, on the contrary, everybody expects at the end of the teaser. Only in the post-climax phase are the sex worker's hands used to hold the phone to call 911.



Figure 9. Sequence of contextualising hand movements

3.4 TT4: Uncertain till the last moment

In TT4, the person suffering from a health issue is kept concealed until the very last moment. There is a lot of suspense, because more than one character could be the victim of the medical emergency, and the focus shifts from one to another without showing any clear sign that might help the audience figure out who, among the various candidates, will be singled out. The matter is finally resolved at the very end of the teaser. Even though TT4 is very engaging for the audience, it does not seem to be frequently used; in fact, it was annotated only 13 times (Figure 10).

A good example of TT4 is Season 3, Episode 5, “Fools for love”, which opens at a diner where two unsavoury men pretending to be ordinary customers suddenly pull out their guns and order those present to put their hands up. They address a young married couple at the booth and threateningly ask for their belongings. One of the robbers whispers into the other man’s ear something that cannot be heard but it is hinted that the two men are attracted by the woman and try to drag her to the backroom.

Search term:		Episodes																								Tot		
Seasons		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24			
Season 1		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Season 2		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Season 3		0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	
Season 4		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	
Season 5		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Season 6		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Season 7		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Season 8		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
																										Grand Total	13	

Figure 10. Search results for TT4

At this stage, it seems that the young woman is going to be sexually assaulted and hence the most likely candidate for a medical emergency. Meanwhile, her husband tries to react, but has to give up because he has a gun pointed at his throat. Now, the audience focuses on him as the likely candidate of medical problems. However, with the strength of desperation, he ferociously attacks one of the gunmen, who, in turn, becomes the one in danger. While the two men continue to fight and it is unclear who will get the worst of it, attention is drawn to the wife who, sitting unnoticed in a corner, has a serious respiratory problem, explored through Computer Generated Imagery, which shows her

throat closed. Finally, the teaser ends with a person in danger, as expected; it is the first one singled out, but unexpectedly, this person is not a victim of rape but rather someone with an obstructed throat.



Figure 11. Sequence of hand movements preceding the climax

The confused sequence of events is narrated with many visual and spatial components accompanying the dialogue. Hand movements mark every single step in the development of the narrative (Figure 11). Clutching the wife's waist and keeping her steady signal the first person in danger. Hand movements are again prominent in the silent scene when the husband knocks the gunman to the ground and hits him on his head. In both cases, the use of hands is interpersonal, being addressed towards others to perform physical aggression. Finally, hands signal the moment when the real medical emergency becomes evident, and the wife instinctively puts her hands on her throat in a movement that shows pain in a specific body part. The hand movement in this final case is intrapersonal and functions as a marker of medical issues. TT2 and TT4 are similar, as both have a surprise ending. The difference between them is that in TT4 the suspense keeps the audience tense through multiple red herrings: the audience knows that somebody will succumb, but they do not know whom; in TT2, instead, the audience is tricked wrongly into thinking that the real victim is no way threatened.

3.5 TT5: Other types

TT5 covers those cases which do not comply with any of the patterns discussed above and are mostly puzzling mysteries and strange events, sometimes with temporal and spatial variation and ellipsis, such as different time scales, dreams, hallucinations, and recollections of the past. Sometimes apparently unconnected events involving different places end up overlapping and becoming merged with each other. In some cases, TT5 involves signalling a threat that may lead to a medical emergency in the future, rather than a medical emergency that is actually taking place. TT5 has been annotated 14 times, as Figure 12 shows.

Seasons	Episodes																								Tot	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
Season 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Season 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Season 3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Season 4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Season 5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Season 6	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	-	-	-	4
Season 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Season 8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Grand Total																									14	

Figure 12. Search results for TT5

Some teasers categorized as TT5 present House sitting in a psychoanalysis session, in which different scenes are interconnected and past and present overlap. In these cases, there is no medical emergency, but House's mental health is under analysis. In other cases, the medical crisis has already occurred, but is not directly presented, and the focus is on doctors getting ready to face it. The teaser from Season 5, Episode 2, entitled "Not cancer" is presented here to show the complexity that characterises TT5. It presents a sequence of different contexts that deliberately confuse the audience. The teaser opens on a tennis match when one of the players suddenly misses the ball and topples down touching her chest with her hand. The audience would expect initial credits to appear on the screen, as an emergency has just occurred, but strangely enough another scene starts with a different context. In a busy construction site, a crane is moving a container. The worker controlling the crane loosens his grip on the lever and the container plummets, almost crushing other workers. When the crane door is opened from the outside, the worker hits the ground as a dead weight. Quickly, another scene starts, set in a kick-boxing ring during a violent match. To everybody's surprise, the boxer who has just unleashed a flurry of punches on his opponent stumbles and collapses bleeding from his ear. The referee bends down and touches his neck to check his pulse. Another quick scene change occurs. The setting is now an orchestra rehearsal room. A tuba player, who is practising, suddenly starts to cough and falls down, spitting blood. Viewers have now understood the pattern, and expect another scene to start, and this actually happens, but this time the ending is different. During a college class, a professor is writing figures on the blackboard when Thirteen, a doctor from House's team, and a security guard enter announcing the end of the lesson. Thirteen asks the professor if she had a corneal transplant five years

before, and informs her that every other patient who had a transplanted organ from that donor was either dead or dying, so the professor needs to be taken to hospital for examination. Finally, the initial credits appear on screen to mark the teaser's end.

This teaser falls into TT5 because of its multiple contextualisations, its multi-layered structure, and because it reverses the pattern of the injured person being taken to hospital. Here, in fact, nothing is known about the endangered people of the first scenes, apart from a generic reference to all the other transplant recipients, which might – or might not – be referring to them, and the one brought to hospital is apparently perfectly healthy. The teaser's individual scenes are elliptical, there is no spatial connection, and the vague temporal connection only requires the college scene to be the last, being the result of off-the-records investigations on the other weird emergencies.



Figure 13. Sequence of hand movements relating to multiple contexts

Figure 13 shows some frames from this teaser. In the first two frames, hand movements suggest a medical issue. The tennis player's intrapersonal hand movement signals chest problems and the worker's loosening grip shows he is losing control of his body. The third frame is also connected to health issues, but in this case the hand involved in the movement belongs to a first aider checking the victim's pulse. Thus, the first three frames mark a medical emergency, using both intra- and interpersonal directionality. The last two frames show interpersonal directionality and have a contextualising function.

3.6 TT6: *Undecided*

TT6 applies when the teaser is a hybrid between the other types and there is no particular prevalence of one over the others. Alternatively, it can be something completely different and slippery. TT6 is illustrated with reference to "The Dig", Episode 18, Season 7. In this teaser, the verbal part is limited to a short dialogue in which House dismisses a taxi-driver waiting in an empty parking lot. After that, the narration is carried out only through visual items and sounds.



Figure 14. Contextualising hand movements

In the first frame in Figure 14, hands are used to complement the meaning made through language. While House says: “Take the day off”, the video zooms on his hands handing the taxi-driver some money, so nobody *talks* about money, but viewers can *see* that the taxi-driver is being paid to go. After that, meanings are made mainly through hand movements. In the second frame, a close-up on House’s hand opening his briefcase moves the story on, preparing the audience for further developments. His intentions are not clear yet, but he seems to have a plan. The third frame shows House looking at his watch, with his right hand around his left wrist: he is obviously waiting for something and his impatience is revealed by a close-up emphasising the act of checking his watch. An all-round shot shows that the scene is set outside the entrance gate to the State of New Jersey Correctional Institution, and an alarm announces the gate opening. Finally, the audience can see Thirteen, a former member of House’s medical team, coming out of prison, and it becomes clear that House was waiting for her. He welcomes her with a Martini that she willingly drinks; all this is narrated through hand movements as shown in the last frames of Figure 14. The interpersonal function of hand movements is dominant in this case, as hands establish a relation with a person’s outer space. Only in the last frame do hand movements become intrapersonal as they are directed towards a person’s inner space; however, in a wider interpretation, this intrapersonal movement reinforces the interpersonal relation with the outer world, in this case with House, who welcomes Thirteen back with a celebratory drink.

The reason for including this teaser in TT6 is its odd nature. The first bizarre element is that House is there, as teasers do not normally include the TV series’ protagonists; likewise, there is no hint of any medical emergency, neither present nor future. The puzzling atmosphere is emphasised by the lack of verbal resources, so that the audience needs to stay focused on other semiotic resources. Strangely enough, even though viewers feel that no medical emergency will occur, they are kept glued to their seats till the end of the episode by the mysterious atmosphere of suspense established since the beginning. Figure 15 shows the annotation results for TT6.

Search Result

Web Word Summary Scene Summary Dialogue Summary

Search term:

Seasons	Episodes																								Tot	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
Season 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-	-	1
Season 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Season 3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Season 4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Season 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Season 6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	2
Season 7	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	-	7
Season 8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	-	-	5
Grand Total																								21		

Figure 15. Search results for TT6

9. Discussion

What has been shown above invites reflection on various issues, *in primis* the relationship between qualitative and quantitative analyses presented in this paper, which blends multimodal and corpus studies. Multimodal studies provide the theoretical background for the interpretation of semiotic resources other than language, in this case hand movements, while corpus studies provide the necessary tools to gather, retrieve and analyse data thanks to specific multimodal corpus analysis tools that were developed to this end. Typically, a corpus is defined as a large body of texts representative of a language collected in such a way as to be machine-readable and which acts as a source of information about what is typical in language (McEnery and Hardie 2012). While corpora as collections of language-only texts entextualise language produced in both written and spoken modes, the development of corpora that record non-linguistic features such as head nods (Knight, Evans, Carter 2009), gestures (Tsuchiya 2019) and sign languages (Johnston and Schembri 2006) is still sporadic. However, the current study suggests that qualitative/quantitative analytical techniques that characterise language-based corpora can be extended to multimodal concordancing. Indeed, where the multimodal corpora based on TV series are the intended object of analysis, it is clear that there is a need to redefine the nature of corpora and corpus studies, a challenge which necessarily transforms the traditional conception of corpus linguistics into an innovative one, concerned with facilitating access to multimodal genres, where, for example, the traditional type-token ratio is remodelled in terms of the types of sequences found in online videos (Vasta and Baldry 2020: 14).

Despite being a pilot study, restricted to some aspects of the organisation of just one of the recurrent phases in online video genres, this study clearly

contributes to a better understanding of sequence types. For example, the methods adopted in this study provide preliminary data regarding the predictability of quantitative-to-qualitative aspects in relation to the number of scenes per TT. Some 60% of teasers (108/177) consist of a single scene, with 26% articulated as two scenes (46/177), while only 13% (23/177) are made up of 3 to 6 scenes. Figure 16 suggests that TT1, with its expected ending, is typically enacted in a single scene (40/59 cases) as compared with TT5, where discontinuities in time and place and in real vs. dream worlds predominate, and thus requiring enactment over a larger number of scenes.

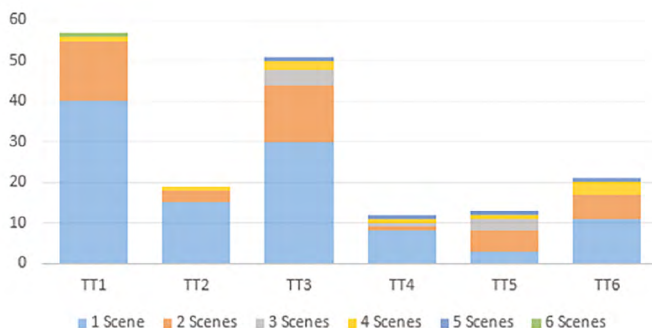


Figure 16. Relationship between TTs and number of scenes

A further factor to consider is how TTs are distributed per season, which accounts for the evolution of the TV series over the years. As Figure 17 shows, Season 1 alternated between TT1 and TT3, with only 2 instances of TT2, and a single instance of TT6 which, towards the end of the season, introduced some novelty.

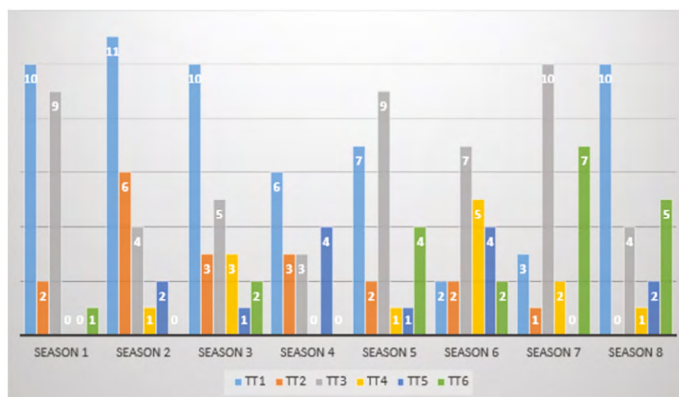


Figure 17. Distribution of TTs per season

Seasons 2, 3 and 4 consolidate TT1 as the series favourite, but Season 5 introduces some changes. A new pattern emerges, in which TT3 is the most frequent, and TT5 and TT6 keep increasing. This pattern continues in Seasons 6 and 7, but changes abruptly in Season 8. Being the one destined to close the TV series for good, as was well known at the time, the pattern does not fit in with the previous seasons. TT1 is again the most frequent one, a return to what happened at the beginning of the series, but the number of TT5s and TT6s, when taken together, almost equals the number of TT1s. There is an explanation for this. Season 8 has shifted its focus away from the medical emergencies that characterised the previous seasons towards the personal problems faced by House and his friend Wilson. In other words, Season 8 is a different subgenre, as perfectly revealed by TT annotation.

Another consideration relates to the annotation process. Besides TT annotation, a single frame per scene in which hand movements were prominent was annotated. Normally attention is immediately attracted by what is salient and overlooks the many other items, i.e. distractors, that are present in the scene (Treisman and Gelade 1980; Wolfe 1998). The one-frame-per-scene constraint allocated annotators' attention to what was visually salient, mainly in the climax moment, when someone suffered from a medical emergency – provided that hand movements were involved – ignoring the anticipatory steps or subsequent action. Thus, it was necessary to go back to the video in the post-annotation phase and watch again in search of extra hand movements that complemented the one annotated. By doing so, the annotation was double checked and enriched with new material.

The question of how medical issues are conveyed through hand movements intersects with a related question regarding who those hands belong to. The person who suffers from a sudden pain instinctively signals this through intrapersonal hand movements, touching the part of the body involved. In other cases, a medical emergency is signalled through interpersonal hand movements interacting with the outer world. In these cases, the person in trouble may drop objects, or lose control of their actions. Hand movements perform a narrative function that is visual rather than verbal. They are often used as an anticipatory expression of something that is going to be manifest later, so they have a cohesive function similar to cataphora in verbal texts.

5. Conclusions

Television doctors have raised constant interest among researchers around the world (Chory-Assad and Tamborini 2001). TV series such as *House MD* have provided important inputs for corpus-based studies both in the field of research and ELT. Many aspects of *House MD* have been explored, most of them relating to the teaching possibilities it offers for medical schools (Franklin-Landi

2017). Indeed, the potential effects of House's controversial medical decisions on medical school students' beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions regarding the practice of medicine and bioethical issues has been widely investigated (Arawi 2010; Czarny et al. 2008).

The current research, instead, has explored different fields of analysis, focusing on the role hands perform in the development of the narrative in teasers. Teasers were chosen for analysis because they are self-contained mini-stories, and the alternation of different TTs keeps the audience engaged also thanks to the use of hand movements with specific textual functions. Rather than just providing visual cohesion, hand movements constitute "bricks" in the construction of the narrative. They are often cataphoric, and less frequently anaphoric references, marking the beginning and worsening of a medical issue and its aftermath; they are sometimes used to confuse the audience by creating false leads, but also mark the point where a climax is reached, suggesting which body part is ill. On other occasions, they simply contribute to the contextualisation of the medical issue, helping to shape the personality of the characters in a particular episode.

In reaching its conclusions, this project has marked a further step in multimodal corpus analysis based on TV series, using an objective annotation procedure to show that visual, corporeal and spatial elements combine to perform functions and make meanings that in TV discourse are in no way secondary to language-based meaning-making. A further side aspect of this project relates to teacher-student interactions, as the students' involvement provided the data required to achieve objective research conclusions, but it also empowered students in terms of their critical skills vis-à-vis multisemiotic discourse analysis.

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*OUT-OF-THE-(BALLOT)BOX:
LEGITIMATION OF A NEW POPULAR WILL
IN BREXIT-RELATED SOCIAL MEDIA ENGAGEMENT*

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In widening the range of interactions by means of diversified channels of communication, digital communication provides unprecedented opportunities to interconnect people. In this perspective, the so-called Social Media Networking tools, also known as *Social Media*, are among the most populated channels within the "Digital Global Village" (adapting a celebrated expression by Marshall McLuhan 1964), which may be studied from both the significance of the medium used and the content provided by digital communities. As a matter of fact, language used in Social Media allows an unprecedented bulk of language contents to be collected and analysed; however, the content shared is extremely fragmented and uncontrolled. A number of general topics discussed via these forms of communication tends to be divisive and sparks off an intense debate both in a *real* environment and in *digital arenas*. In this sense, politics is a case in point, though other topics prove to be controversial such as sports or religion. In this case, politicians use Social Media platforms in order to establish direct contact with citizens (seen also as potential voters), somehow overpowering traditional media; with their statements, they also trigger debates which are more likely to be replied by users with disagreeing views. For these reasons, Social Media tend to generate more disapproval-oriented forms of communication; this is why 'Hate Speech' has emerged (Miró-Llinares *et al* 2016; 2018). Within the framework of Social Media Studies, the present analysis focuses on digital interactions that are triggered by real events and make use of a disapproving or linguistically violent and hostile tone. More specifically, this research focuses on Brexit, or the withdrawal of Great Britain from the European Union. This topic has been covered by British politicians both in public debates and in messages posted on Social Media Tools in order to reach an all-encompassing audience. Due to the politically sensitive topics shared, the kind of reaction from digital users is not the one typically expected (i.e. supporting comments); rather, a more violent, hateful-based response tends to prevail. In the light of the relevance of the reactions by users to such statements and using a completely reversed (and out-of-the-box) perspective, the

actual object of analysis is represented by the reactions (in terms of digital verbal acts – or simple comments/reactions) provided by “common” users. More specifically, four Brexit-related case studies have been taken into account. The starting point is represented by *institutional* tweets issued by British politicians; then, users’ public reactions (i.e. tweet-based replies) have been collected, labelled as positive/negative in terms of reaction to the tweets and assembled in a small corpus that has been analysed using word frequency lists and KWIC concordance lines. Results have been primarily analysed as four separate cases, then an aggregated analysis was carried out. In three out of four cases, users’ negativity overwhelmed positive reactions (77.90 – 91.93% of occurrences), while positive-based reactions peaked at 51.06%. A corpus-based analysis of hateful comments allowed the identification of grammatical and lexical patterns in which a clear semantic prosody could be inferred. Aggregated results confirmed the significant weight of negative comments (77.74% in a 746-tweet corpus), showing how popular discontent is conveyed through new forms of online discourse.

Social media studies, emergencies, corpus-based studies, Brexit, hate speech

1. Introduction

The need for communication is innate in humankind. The last decades have widened the range of interactions by means of diversified channels of communication, starting when new forms of interconnection were developed, but most of all popularised and made accessible to a global community. This is why digital and online communication provides unprecedented opportunities to interconnect people. The foremost product of the *information revolution* (Beninger 1986) is surely represented by the Internet, which has been evolving into an ever-growing platform of dynamic communication, in which all users play an active role in providing multimedia content, thus shifting from a few-to-many to a many-to-global interaction. In this perspective, the so-called Social Media Networking tools, also known as *Social Media* or *Social Networking Platforms*, are among the most populated channels within the “Digital Global Village” (adapting a celebrated expression by Marshall McLuhan 1964), which may be studied from both the significance of the medium used and the content provided by digital communities. As a matter of fact, language used in Social Media allows an unprecedented bulk of language contents to be collected and analysed, since they can be considered repositories for real language in use; this is why Social Media Studies have been emerging as a fruitful field of study due to their impact on social and cultural practices, as well as part of mainstream cultural expressions (Vittadini 2018).

Social Networking Platforms are expressions of a “global voice”, since users are granted equal opportunities to communicate. Within such a background,

this study aims to analyse a growing trend that proves to be one of the most important issues within the realm of digital, online interactions. Hate speech, or the proliferation of verbally violent instances towards certain addressees, categories or topics, is somehow unstoppable, since a proper culture of the Web is endemically missing among generations of users who have been regarding such free tools as unrestricted arenas with no potential legal consequences. Though regulated by international institutions and countries, it seems that hateful forms of communication have no legal repercussions, thus threatening the Internet as a whole. This phenomenon is particularly relevant when addressers hide their *real* identity, feeling free to use offensive and hateful language.

Considering these aspects, the study aims at assessing the degree of negative sentiments triggered by events that may open a divisive debate in both real life and online environments such as sports, religion or politics (Alman 2001), causing potentially intense debates in these digital arenas. Among recent events in political life, Brexit – or the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union – has been dominating the public debate in recent years not only in Great Britain, but also internationally. The same debate has transferred into Social Networking Platforms and has become an ideological battleground for many users. By drawing from the data retrieved on these platforms, an empirical analysis aims at assessing the kind of language used in describing the relationship between two social groups that are in a hierarchical relationship to each other, that is the so-called *Establishment* (represented by the political élite) and the electorate, in the broadest sense. One might think that discussion of controversial political topics by groups of asymmetrical social status is likely to reflect these groups' different authority positions; however, new forms of interaction may in fact have flattened out such differences. As a matter of fact, forms of social interactions give politicians and “common” people access to the same channel of communication. Therefore, a message from an ordinary user and an institutional one from a political figure can hold the same wide appeal, thanks to affordances provided by Social Networking devices in replying directly to any forms of institutional messages. By taking into account the diversified range of content posted by users, the hypothesis put forward here is that the bulk of replies from common users to institutional, politics-based messages could be assessed in terms of controversial, hate speech-based reactions towards political figures, even though the primary addressees of their messages belong to the category of the so-called *friends* or *followers*; therefore, it is expected that the prosody of users' reaction could be somehow positive. The level of hateful reactions to such “primary” messages that open a public debate could play a relevant role in undermining the authority of Social Media-based political communication; in this respect, a quantitative and qualitative analysis of some Brexit-related examples posts on Social Media platforms may reveal how social

role-relationships are positioned, enacted and negotiated through innovative discursive means (Garimella et al. 2017).

2. When politics meets Social Media: a troublesome relationship

Digital communication, especially conveyed by means of Social Networking Tools, gives acts of communication global resonance. This is particularly true for public figures, who use these platforms to get in touch with their audience, and can use a direct channel to maximise emphatic relationships, in a proper one-to-many direction. This also applies to ordinary users, who are given the same opportunities to interact with such public figures. Surely, within the tremendous impact of Social Networking Platforms, the content shared by and among users is extremely fragmented and often uncontrolled.

Any communication in such domains is perceived as a way to strengthen the relationship between superstructural addressers and their audiences, thus overpowering traditional media. The same can be applied to politics, with politicians spreading online messages to their users seen as potential voters. The response is somehow guaranteed, since politics is a topic that is divisive by nature and “triggers sentiments that draw public attention” (D’Ambrosio 2019: iv). This phenomenon may lead to some consequences that pose a threat to the diffusion of truths conveyed by means of these “informal” or non-standard media. Indeed, media – and Social Media, in particular – have the potential to express and strengthen “visions, rather than realities or truth” (Author 2020: 428), leading to a distorted perception of information or a partisan selection of facts and discourse communities. Politics is a case in point in the creation of these “bubbles”, or “echo chambers”, especially when referring to controversial topics (Garimella et al. 2018). Consequently, political discourse may take advantage of a ready-to-use device for spreading biased ideologies and propaganda that manipulate public opinion on such issues, in what can be defined a proper soft power via “software power” (Santini et al. 2018). Democracies may be undermined in their fundamental processes by such alterations that may proliferate online and be instilled in users who give rise to trends such as fake news and post-truth (Tenove 2018) fuelled by careless politicians often associated with the idea of populism. Recent events in the British political framework seem to confirm this new trend, as the rise of populist parties affected the perception of truth, influencing public opinion and the resulting electoral turnouts (Stayner, Archetti, Sorensen, 2016), but also with heavy consequences in the Brexit process (Jackson et al. 2019).

3. From freedom of speech to Hate speech: an online rising trend

No matter the content they want to convey, it is important for people to utter their thoughts by establishing multiple contacts and using various sign systems. This need has to be somehow framed into legal boundaries, considering the fact that in some contexts this right cannot be guaranteed due to several restrictions which could be imposed by superstructural hindrances such as political censorship or poor infrastructural means. It is due to these reasons that freedom of expression has been guaranteed as an essential right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948 and currently ratified by all member States of the UN (which have implemented at least one of the nine core international human rights treaties: <https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/2021/03/udhr.pdf>). Though not being a binding resolution, it underlines the importance of implementing universal guidelines dealing with the right to guarantee a certain degree of freedom to everyone. The document is still a cornerstone of international relationships and fulfilled what the former U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt claimed as the four essential freedoms to be preserved, that is “the freedom of speech and expression, the freedom of worship, the freedom from want, and the freedom from fear” (Morsink 1999: 1).

This principle needs to be framed within new scenarios such as the one provided by digital and online communication media. Indeed, in 2012, the Human Right Council extended the validity of the above-mentioned article to the Internet, a reality that had long emerged as a way for people to express personal opinions with new, unprecedented conditions and potentials (UNESCO 2018: 19-20).

The Internet itself has been developing as a “space for human action” (Kellerman 2014: xiii); therefore, it is an active stakeholder in ensuring communication on a global scale. International institutions are involved in making the Internet – not only meant as a way to provide freedom of speech, but also as an accessible infrastructure – a human right, too. In this sense, a roadmap has been envisioned, with the UN fostering a “human-rights based approach in providing and in expanding access to Internet” (UN 2016: 3) in 2016. The European Union, in turn, is campaigning for Internet access to be a human right, focusing on the importance for everyone to have equal opportunity to use the Net both actively (i.e. conveying one’s own content) and passively (i.e., obtaining information from Web sources or users) (European Parliament 2020).

Freedom of speech can be interpreted as the highest form of communication potential, since *any* forms of expression are granted to anyone. At the same time, the performative function of language implies that any verbal (or non-verbal) utterance, as soon as it completes its encoding-decoding process may have various effects, depending also on the sender’s presupposed intentions

(see Austin 1962). Consequently, utterances acquire a given meaning which could be perceived with different attitudes, also depending on the co-textual association of words and the context(s) they are part of (Bublitz 1996). Such discrepancy in terms of attitude may somehow collide with the above-mentioned “absolute” freedom of speech granted to people, since it is clear that not all acts of communication should be allowed due to the negative implications they may have. This assumption also applies to Governance policies on the Internet when considered as standard forms of communication, since addresser(s) and addressee(s) are well-defined and identified stakeholders in online interactions.

For these reasons, superstructural institutions needed to make explicit exceptions to the right of freedom of speech. In this sense, an important document issued by the Council of Europe called “Guide to Human rights for Internet Users” becomes a cornerstone in defining the legal boundaries in which Internet communication is framed (Council of Europe 2014). Confirming the fact that not all forms of communication can be allowed, the document states that “Restrictions [to freedom of expression] may apply to expressions which incite discrimination, hatred or violence. These restrictions must be lawful, narrowly tailored and executed with court oversight” (Council of Europe 2014: 4). A specific article introduces an expression that has somehow become the eponym for any controversial message found on the Internet directed to a specific addressee or entities; Article 42 claims that “There is expression that does not qualify for protection under Article 10 of the ECHR such as hate speech [since they] negate the fundamental values of the EHCR” (Council of Europe 2014: 14). The issue regarding this expression lies in its exact definition: indeed, the same article stresses that there is no universal definition for terms such as “hate speech”, thus limiting its scope of action to “all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin” (Council of Europe 2014: 14). Therefore, defining *hate speech* is not easy, resulting in a related difficulty in refining expressions that fall into this definition from a juridical point of view.

Hate speech has certainly been representing a growing issue in today’s society, and it is more likely to be associated with online interactions rather than “real-life” conversations. As a matter of fact, anti-hate speech campaigns had been developed long before it became a form of interaction for discrimination-based purposes via digital and online channels; the above-mentioned definition by the Council of Europe had been issued for the first time in 1997, though referring to forms of hate speech broadcast via other media, in this case Television and newspapers (meant, in this sense, as one-

to-many communication forms) (Council of Europe 1997). This is why, due to the proliferation of this phenomenon as a consequence of the availability of new forms of expressions, the same European institution tried to highlight the relevance of this new scenario, thus extending the enforceability of hateful communication acts. In 2017, a publication supported by the Council of Europe and the No Hate Speech Movement emphasized that hate speech, as a form of intolerance, proliferated “especially [...] online: the internet is frequently abused by those wishing to spread propaganda and vilify different groups or individuals” (de Latour et al. 2017: 3).

The incidence of hate speech in online communication has clearly been boosted by the global availability of tools that put users into direct or group communication, that is Social Media tools. Consequently, hate speech is a phenomenon that pre-dates the emergence of digital discourse, but which developed into a new wave, thanks to the possibility afforded by Social Media to produce and spread discriminatory acts of communication (Viejo Otero 2016).

This situation led to the development of a bulk of online hate speech that

is situated at the intersection of multiple tensions: it is the expression of conflicts between different groups within and across societies; it is a vivid example of how technologies with a transformative potential such as the Internet bring with them both opportunities and challenges; and it implies complex balancing between fundamental rights and principles, including freedom of expression and the defence of human dignity. (Gagliardone et al. 2015: 7).

This definition proves to be illustrative of the way through which hate speech found in online environments prolific conditions to spread: the Internet is a channel of communication that allows for any form of communication (in terms of multimodality and synchronicity/asynchronicity), just like “real” environments. Therefore, it can enact language acts among people from different groups associated with diverse language-related ideological schemes. Unlike real-life conditions, the Internet amplifies the reach of any language act not only in terms of number of users, but also in terms of content retrievability over time. This broadens the dangerousness of hate speech not only in terms of diversified groups of people towards which hateful messages are addressed, but also referring to groups as aggregated senders of a message (a sort of “online raids”), even though the same reach can be intended also by a standalone addresser towards one or more addressees – “lone wolves [for which] language on social media is hardening” (Brodd in Walt 2019: 36).

Countermeasures to fight hate speech are not only taken from a juridical perspective, but also in any activity that takes advantage of the ways through which hateful words, phrases and messages are conveyed. Indeed, the potential of digital data can be used to retrieve and trace every instance of discriminatory

messages, since all information sent via Social Media can be retrieved anytime. Therefore, even though “the pattern of hate speech is complex, [...] it is easier than ever to find and capture this type of language” (Bartlett et al. 2014: 5) also in the light of the growing availability of such language acts.

Some Social Networking platforms are more likely to allow for hateful messages, with Twitter being one of the most relevant in this sense. This is due to several features that reflect the platform’s peculiarities: first, all accounts are public by default; therefore, tweets are freely accessible (<https://help.twitter.com/en/safety-and-security/public-and-protected-tweets>). As a consequence, networks of users and related tweets’ streams are developed on the basis of mutual interests and queries, respectively. It follows that any users can reply to someone’s tweet with no filters (unlike other platforms such as Facebook, in which users should be in a mutual *friend* list that allows communication and sharing), thus enhancing the possibility to address and foster hate speech. Lastly, users do not need to display their real identity on their accounts, and for this reason it is more likely that people who spread hateful discourse are not easily identified. Despite being a news-oriented platform and not an acquaintance-based Social Network (Chaundry 2015), but due to the above-mentioned features, hate speech is likely to be observed in Twitter in different forms, addressed to no specific addressees, but associated with public events that cause reactions in the general (online) public (Miró-Llinares and Rodríguez-Sala 2016). Considering all these environments in which hate speech can proliferate, different approaches are used in order to counteract such manifestations. These approaches can consist in the recognition of hate speech on the basis of a list of potentially offensive words and phrases (Davidson et al. 2017). Alternatively, information can be gathered as multilingual corpora (Al-hassan and Al-Dossari 2019), or via automatic methods such as algorithms (Miró-Llinares, Moneva, Esteve 2018). Finally, new systems such as neural networks represent another possibility since they try to “think” like human minds, that is, like the addressers of such messages (Zhang, Robinson, Tepper 2018).

Overall, hate speech has evolved due to some peculiar conditions of online environments: first of all, there is no face-to-face contact and such communications could be asynchronous and anonymous; furthermore, this distance represents a “digital filter” that in turn leads to the collapse of language filters represented by offensive, hateful and disrespectful language. In addition to this, online realms may alter the perception of reality (also in linguistic terms) and create misrepresentations. Thanks to ready-to-use interaction platforms such as Social Networking tools, any users may feel like they are on the same level when interacting online, thus leading to unfiltered use of language (e.g., when addressing celebrities with hateful messages). Finally, an

endemic lack of a proper culture of the Web – not meant as a way to understand online environment compared with real life also in language or community-related terms (see Porter 1997) – for which poor *awareness* of the implication that this kind of communication has in many users, emphasizes the incidence of such events, as the Internet could represent a sort of *free port* implying no consequences.

4. Case study: a reversed perspective of Social Media-transmitted, Brexit-related content by key British politicians

4.1 Pinpointing the content: background

Considering the importance of online communication for various purposes, and the way through which institutions and public figures use this channel to address their audience(s) or electorate, thus bridging the institutional gap between them and common people, it is important to become aware of how communication is handled on digital platforms when it is about socio-political issues relevant to public figures and ordinary users alike. This can be explored by examining discourse produced on a topic of general interest, on which all political institutions may want to voice their opinions, reaching their audience. In the recent political scenario in UK, Brexit opened an intense debate and proved to be a divisive topic, since emotional, deep-rooted implications among citizens and political stakeholders are implied (Hosseini 2019). Therefore, official statements by British politicians could offer an opportunity to explore how diverse viewpoints are manifested online.

4.2 Action & reaction: a bottom-up counteracting perspective

As stated above, institutional messages of political nature may spark off a debate from different perspectives. First of all, they can be uttered or generated as a way to react to events and episodes that characterise the political scene, but which also need interventions from such representative figures, especially in democracies. A first dynamics of communication in this sense is then horizontal: when an event takes place (in this case, involving Brexit-related happenings), politicians issue statements also in terms of back-and-forths. This is the first layer of political communication, which fulfils a primary task in this scenario – politics tries to deal with problems involving a community or a geographical area. At the same time, in the light of the communication channels used to divulge ideas and to affirm the representative role of political events, it cannot fully account for how political discussion is currently conceived.

The possibility to counteract is at the basis of political communication: the right to political opposition is “somewhat democratic and participatory” (Collier et al. 2003: 56), to such an extent that opposition parties are more likely to affirm their ideas via media coverage (Vliegenthart et al. 2016). In communicating political stands by means of popularised forms of communication, a vertical level is then developed; traditionally, politicians address *their* citizens to provide their ideas transparently, in a top-down approach.

At the same time, the same channel is currently used to reverse this long-standing perspective: the use of Social Networking channels to provide public information shall take into consideration not only the opportunity to broaden the “original” message (in a top-down, vertical perspective), but also the possibility offered to “common” users and citizens to voice their opinions about that message, event, or public figure. This is particularly true for politics, since digital and online platforms used by “common” users can be used for propositional purposes. Indeed, the Internet and in particular user-generated content platforms such as Social Networking tools have become new “sources of political information and commentary that potentially empowers [sic] individuals as rivals to the established media. The Internet can support political activism” (Dalton 2013: 57-58). It follows that in the light of a politically sensitive topic, the reaction to that message could not match the expected outcome, notwithstanding the fact that anyone posting messages aims at reaching their supposed circle of users sharing positive affiliation (the idea of *friends* on Facebook or *followers* on other platforms such as Twitter or Instagram). In other words, engagement in political digital environments is likely to be expressed by non-supporters, rather than a supporting circle (Pennington et al. 2015) and makes it difficult to provide a proper classification of politics on platforms like Twitter (Cohen and Ruths 2013). Considering the incidence of hate speech and more generally the possibility to voice any reactions to a given “superstructural” online language event, comments and reactions could represent a real gauge of the sentiment associated with an event (e.g., Brexit or any related decisions) or politician. Consequently, the quantity of contrasting sentiments related with an original message (in the form of comments or reactions to the original post) may overwhelm the latter, thus providing it with a general negative connotation. This perspective, in which the vertical dynamics persists though in a reversed order (from the “digital mob” to the institution, and not vice versa) becomes a proper bottom-up point of view. This overturning is an alternative, though suggestive, way to consider the relationship between voters and their representatives in an out-of-the-box angle from which an assessment of the popular sentiment can be evaluated by means of both quantitative and qualitative engagement (Voorveld et al. 2018).

5. Method

5.1 Choosing institutional language events and channel

In analysing the general sentiment towards British politics by (digital) citizens in replying to institutional online posts, this case study identified four language acts all related with the same topic (Brexit-related events) and issued by different institutional stakeholders in the British government and political scenario. All posts were extracted from the same platform, Twitter, because of the above-mentioned features (anonymity or semi-anonymity, public data), thus confirming that it is a Social Networking tool that gives the opportunity to carry out quantitative and qualitative language analysis also for academic purposes (Burnap and Williams 2016). Tweets were posted by key players in British politics belonging to the two most important political parties, the Conservative Party and the Labour Party.

5.2 Retrieval criteria

As stated above, all tweets are public, therefore they can be retrieved by means of their accessible “Uniform Resource Locator (URL)”. It is important to underline that the current online scenario is characterised by the so-called *big data*, in which information is aggregated and used in a twofold perspective. On one hand, the hosting services collect general data for management and commercial purposes, since they can assess information in real time both quantitatively and qualitatively. Such bulk of data is then used on the entire set of users to improve services or monitoring in-built flows of information (Needham 2013). On the other hand, any information provided by users is returned in terms of a personalised user experience; therefore “the more the data about a given user are collected, the greater the possibilities of website [or Web application] customisation” (Kozielski 2018: 336). It is often questioned whether such data belongs to users themselves or the services that give them the possibility to communicate, not to mention liability issues in case of controversial contents – such as hate speech (see Allyn 2020). Within Social Networking websites, feeds of data are sorted on the basis of personalised profiles; therefore, there is no standard way to get a comprehensive list of contents. In this sense, then, data to be analysed had no user-specific alterations. In order to ensure this condition, all tweets and the resulting comments were displayed without being connected to a logged-in Twitter profile, since the latter could have provided filtered data depending on the account’s setup and engagement features (following/followed users, number of likes, retweets, comments, etc.).

5.3 Bulk of data

For each tweet, a maximum of 200 reactions (tweets by ordinary users commenting the main, institutional tweet chosen as the initial case study) were selected. This is the maximum number of viewable reaction tweets that can be displayed under a tweet publicly, that is, without being logged into an existing account. Some tweets were left out for the following reasons; 1) all sub-replies (that is, tweets that were considered replies to a comment in the 200-tweet list) were excluded, since they would be very likely to result in a new communication thread, generating other possible prosodies; 2) Graphic-based tweets (in terms of pictures, GIFs, videos, text-on-picture) without any other text in the body of the tweet; 3) Enigmatic or ambiguous tweets, or any content for which a clear manifestation of sentiment towards the main tweet could not be identified; 4) only tweets written in English were taken into account; 5) tweets pointing to external links to determine the emotional nature of the message were left out.

5.4 Assessment of tweet sentiment

Starting from each “institutional” tweet, each response from users was manually retrieved and copied in a single text file (format .txt), also for a corpus-based analysis on a later stage. At the end of the collection of tweets, prosody or sentiments were labelled by using a symbol for quantitative comparisons. Tweets bearing positive attitudes towards the main tweet were labelled as P (P=positive), while those with negative undertones were labelled as N (N=negative). Sentiment was labelled according to the reaction from users to the views expressed in the specific tweet or towards the addresser of the message. In most cases, the polarisation of sentiment proved to be easy because of the clear content expressed by users (e.g. use of vulgarity for negative comments; use of clear praising or approval expressions for positive comments). Many interactions included non-verbal, graphic cues – the so-called *emojis*, used to understand the sender’s attitude towards their communication form (Lo 2008) – so they could help in interpreting the labelling process. In case prosody could not be clearly identified, tweets were excluded (see section 5.3 for exclusion criteria). For data gathering and labelling, a simple digital text editor was used, Notepad++ (<https://notepad-plus-plus.org/>).

5.5 Institutional tweets: choosing Brexit-related communications by British politicians and institutions

As stated above (see section 5.1), the analysis to assess the general attitude of common users towards the so-called “Establishment” implied the definition of four main tweets, defined as case studies. They all refer to two Brexit-related events that had major consequences in the British political framework. The institutional tweets shall be referred to as CS+no., such as

Case Study 1, Case Study 2, Case Study 3, and Case Study 4.

All tweets refer to events that are perceived as major consequences of Brexit after the popular will decided that the country had to withdraw from the European Union after a referendum held on June 23, 2016. As at 2019, the situation was still not defined officially due to a long negotiation the European Union (EU) and the United Kingdom (UK) had conducted in order to find a reasonable compromise without causing dramatic impacts on economy and free movement of citizens (see De Ruyter and Nielsen 2019). The whole Brexit process has proved to be a divisive topic and the result of the popular vote can confirm this, as the nation was split into two factions and plunged into an unprecedented situation (Delanty 2018). These discordant views were certainly transferred onto the British political scene, but also into the public debate: a relevant and analysable part of such debate is the one that occurs on Social Networking Platforms and which can be assessed by means of the engagement that stems from institutional messages, which represent the starting point of this analysis.

5.5.1 Case Study 1 (CS1): British PM resigns (May 24, 2019)¹

The first institutional tweet taken in consideration deals with an event occurred on May 24, 2019, as the Prime Minister of the UK, Lady Theresa May, decided to resign after failing to get a majority vote in the UK Parliament on her proposed deal with the EU (the so-called “meaningful vote”). She officially resigned the day after the European Parliament Election, in which the Conservative Party lost fifteen seats, confirming a sense of mistrust towards her figure or the British Government (Wheeler and Stamp 2019).

The tweet showing her resignation statement provides a short text (PM @Theresa_May makes a statement in Downing Street) with a video (length: 6min, 48 sec) and it was posted by the official Twitter account of the UK Prime Minister, which therefore can be considered an institutional (i.e. associated with public figures) account. In terms of engagement, the tweet received great interaction both passively (almost 12,000 Retweets or Likes) and actively (almost 4,500 comments) (as at September 1, 2019).

5.5.2 Case Study 2 (CS2): The Leader of the Opposition reacts to May’s resignation (May 24, 2019)²

The second institutional tweet refers to the first statement issued via Social Network Platforms issued by the leader of the Opposition and of the Shadow Cabinet at that time, the leader of the Labour Party Jeremy Corbyn, MP.

¹ The tweet is available at the following URL: <https://twitter.com/10DowningStreet/status/1131848450411077632> (Last accessed 30.11.2021)

² The tweet is available at the following URL: <https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/1131860524549967872> (Last accessed 30.11.2021)

The tweet contains only text and no other device-specific tools are used (i.e. mentions or hashtags). In terms of engagement, the tweet got higher interactions both passively (about 56,000 Retweets or Likes) and actively (about 9,000 comments) (as at September 1, 2019).

5.5.3 Case Study 3 (CS3): A new Prime Minister of the United Kingdom is officially appointed (July 23, 2019)³

Case Study 3 refers to an event occurred two months after Lady May's resignation. Without recurring to new General Election, the Conservative Party decided to appoint a new Prime Minister among candidates within the same party via primary elections. Considering the deadlock experienced in the Brexit negotiation, a figure that could take strong decisions in favour of the UK was chosen. The newly Prime Minister appointed was Boris Johnson, MP, who had been supporting Eurosceptic views for years (Lloyd and Marconi 2014). The tweet refers to the first official statement on Twitter by the newly appointed Prime Minister from his personal and verified account. The Tweet is text-only, with no device-specific tools (i.e. mentions or hashtags). The tweet had considerable engagement both passively (more than 100,000 Retweets or Likes) and actively (about 18,000 comments) (as at September 1, 2019).

5.5.4 Case Study 4 (CS4): The Leader of the Opposition reacts to Johnson's appointment (July 23, 2019)⁴

Case Study 4 refers to the first official statement via Twitter of the leader of the Opposition and of the Shadow Cabinet at that time, the leader of the Labour Party Jeremy Corbyn, MP. Once again, the tweet is made up of text only with no other device-specific elements (i.e. mentions or hashtags). Its passive engagement was marked by more than 70,000 Retweets or Likes, while active engagement totalled 6,500 comments (as at September 1, 2019).

5.6 Creation of sub-corpora and aggregated corpus of tweets

The collection of data converted in plain text, in this case represented by active engagement in the form of comments towards official communication by the political Establishment, makes it possible to carry out language analysis by using a corpus-based approach. Corpus analysis can be understood as the investigation of "whole datasets as an 'information space' in which semantic features (words, hashtags, etc.) intersect in potentially interesting ways, [...

³ The tweet is available at the following URL: <https://twitter.com/BorisJohnson/status/1153629326811774976> (Last accessed 30.11.2021)

⁴ The tweet is available at the following URL: <https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/1153624236092735489>

with] [r]esearchers [...carrying out] the exploration of topical structures emerging from the entire body of data. [...]” (Brooker et al. 2016: 5). Actually, the entire Web can be conceived of as a corpus (see Gatto 2014), and contents retrieved from Social Networking Platforms represent a particular case in point, since proper discourse-related features can be retrieved and analysed (Zappavigna 2012). Furthermore, contents may be investigated in terms of sentiment, since they can monitor public opinion due to the fact that micro-blogging platforms like Twitter are “(a) reliably time-stamped, unlike most of the rest of the Web, so that they can be analysed from a temporal perspective, (b) they are relatively easy to create, so that a wide segment of the population with Internet access could, in theory, create them, and (c) they are public and hence accessible to researchers” (Thelwall 2014: 83). Corpus-based approaches can also support the identification of semantically prosodic elements that somehow enhance the empathic stress and semantic focus of such messages, thus highlighting the senders’ intentions and feelings when voicing contents online (Heath 2018), such in the case of reactions to political establishment statements.

For corpus-based analyses, a corpus processing digital tool was used, AntConc version 3.5.8 (<https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>) on a Windows-based operating system. Results were identified on a case-by-case point of view at first, then investigated from an aggregated perspective.

6. Results

6.1 Case-by-case number of tweets and size of sub-corpora

Table 1 indicates the number of tweets retrieved per each case study, following the criteria set out in Section 3 of Methods, (Bulk of data):

<i>Case study No.</i>	<i>No. of tweets retrieved</i>
CS1	188 tweets
CS2	186 tweets
CS3	172 tweets
CS4	200 tweets

Table 1. Number of tweets retrieved per each case study

Table 2 indicates the size of sub-corpora for each case study, in terms of Word tokens (indicating the size of sub-corpora) and Word types (number of different word/tokens found in the corpus):

<i>Case study corpus</i>	<i>Word tokens</i>	<i>Word types</i>
CS1	5,789	1,373
CS2	4,540	1,101
CS3	3,760	1,056
CS4	4,373	1,123

Table 2. Sub-corpora size (word tokens and word types, respectively)

6.2 Sentiment analysis: case-by-case assessment of tweets

Table 3 shows the percentage of tweets labelled as positive and negative, respectively, on a case-by-case basis:

<i>Case study No</i>	<i>No. of tweets retrieved</i>	<i>No. of positive tweets</i>	<i>% of positive tweets</i>	<i>No. of negative tweets</i>	<i>% of negative tweets</i>
CS1	188	96	51.06%	92	48.94%
CS2	186	15	8.07%	171	91.93%
CS3	172	38	22.10%	134	77.90%
CS4	200	17	8.50%	183	91.50%

Table 3. Sentiment analysis on a case-by-case basis

6.3 Aggregated number of tweets and corpus size

Table 4 shows the overall number of tweets retrieved:

<i>Case study No.</i>	<i>No. of tweets retrieved</i>
CS1 + CS2 + CS3 + CS4	746 tweets

Table 4. Number of overall tweets for a comprehensive analysis

Similarly, an aggregated corpus of tweets was created in order to provide quantitative and qualitative analyses. The corpus is described in terms of Word tokens (indicating the size of the corpus) and Word types (number of different word/tokens found in the corpus) and showed in Table 5:

<i>Overall corpus</i>	<i>Word tokens</i>	<i>Word types</i>
CS1 + CS2 + CS3 + CS4	18,462	2,933

Table 5. Aggregated corpus size (word tokens and word types, respectively)

6.4 Sentiment analysis: an aggregate assessment of tweets

Table 6 shows the percentage of tweets labelled as positive and negative, respectively, in the aggregated corpus of tweets:

<i>Case study No.</i>	<i>No. of tweets retrieved</i>	<i>No. of positive tweets</i>	<i>% of positive tweets</i>	<i>No. of negative tweets</i>	<i>% of negative tweets</i>
CS1 + CS2 + CS3 + CS4	746	166	22.26%	580	77.74%

Table 6. Sentiment analysis in the aggregated corpus of tweets

7. Discussion

Results are assessed and discussed as standalone cases, then in an aggregated perspective. This allows for a distinction among the different tweets in case of discrepancies in the sentiment-related results; at the same time, each tweet gives its contribution in providing a more comprehensive result that could explain the general attitude of common people or users towards a divisive topic and/or the political élites. The first empirical evidence that emerges from the case-by-case comparison is that in three cases out of four, a negative sentiment overcomes a positive attitude. The mean value of positive tweets in the overall corpus is 41.5 (mean value of tweets per case being 186.5), and such value is less than halved in two cases. Conversely, the mean value of negative tweets is 145, with this value being overcome in two cases. The only case in which a positive prosody is higher than the negative

one is CS1, as Lady May announced its resignation. In this sense, some factors might have helped in "softening" the attitude of citizens/users. First, the account from which May's statement is issued is not personal (unlike CS2, CS3, and CS4), but it is the UK Prime Minister's institutional one. This aspect could not have played a role in altering the sentiment towards the message; in fact, it provided the message with greater resonance, since the number of followers in Lady's May personal account is considerably lower than that of the UK Prime Minister's one (less than 1M vs. \approx 5.5M, respectively⁵), due to a lower number of contents provided both quantitatively and qualitatively. Some extra-professional features could have altered the perception of the message: indeed, at the end of her speech, Lady May was really touched and started crying. This is clearly visible, since the core of the message is provided by means of a video; therefore, contextual and non-verbal elements may have provided a sense of empathy with the politician involved. Furthermore, the degree of satisfaction towards the institutional figure of Theresa May compared with the degree of trust in the UK Government was higher (26.7% vs. 9.7%, respectively, in the period March 2019-June 2019; Mortimore, 2019), and this could be an indicator of the fact that the former Prime Minister's decision deserved some support in the light of her actions for the country. This emphatic relationship between the political figure and her citizens is confirmed by analysing some patterns via the related sub-corpus of comments to the institutional tweet: starting from the token *you*, which implies a direct statement towards Lady May, some verbal processes such as *you are* and *you did* confirm this positive attitude. There are some consolidated patterns in which *you are* is followed by positive adjectives or nouns (e.g. *you are a brave woman*; *you are a role model*; *you are the only one with "Balls"*) or adverbs + adjectives (e.g., *you are extraordinarily brave and strong*); the same goes for the pattern *you did* (e.g. *you did all you could*; *you did it in good faith*; *you did the best/your very best*; *you did what you could*; *you did us proud*). Other similar processes are also observed (e.g. *You tried your hardest/your best*). Conversely, negative prosodies are more likely to be associated with device-specific tools, in this case hashtags. In the small sub-corpus, 60 hashtags were identified, most of them with denigrating or taunting tones (e.g., #TheresaMayResign; #TREASON; #Trexit; #Generalelectionnow).

CS2 is the one with the highest share of negative comments (91.93%, 171 tweets out of 186). Corbyn's followers criticize his general attitude as the leader of the Opposition also in the Brexit process, and people's perception towards him is critical not only in the political sense. Once again, the pattern *you+V* confirms this vision (e.g. *you are an odious*; *you are an utter disaster*; *you are as delusional*; *you are as responsible as the govt*; *you are by far the worst*; *you are*

⁵ Such values have been analysed using a public Social Media analytics tool available at www.socialblade.com (Last accessed 30.11.2021).

completely classless; [none of] you are fit to govern; you are not fit to govern; you are throwing a great nation down the drain; you are an IRA sympathiser; you are an Antisemite; you are a disgrace; you are not the answer; you are nothing but a weird; you are worse than any other of you). Further evidence in this case is provided by *you* without verbs but a derogatory noun (e.g. *you bellend; you clown; you cretin; you IRA loving fuck; you moron; you prick; you scruffy vagrant twat; you wet fucking waste of space; you shouty little man*). Hashtags in the sub-corpus are 37, most of them being negative (e.g., #anyonebutLabour; #Boris4PM; #JCMustGoToo), even though some forms of support are also identified (e.g., #JC4PM; #JC4PM2019; #IPledge4Labour; #ChangeIsComing; #GeneralElectionNOW – the latter supportive of Labour Party).

CS3 has a generally negative sentiment towards the event – and the politician, too. Once again, direct references to the institutional figure are voiced out in the disrespectful tweets responding to the original message (e.g. *you are a lying, self serving charlatan; you are an [utter] embarrassment; you are an utter sociopath; you're not a clown you're the entire circus; you're really a nasty piece of work; you're a racist philandering criminal liar; you're an abomination, Boris*). Furthermore, comments focus also on the kind of appointment he was given, since only representatives of the Conservative Party could vote in the primary election that led Mr Johnson to be the new Prime Minister. This is confirmed in a “public, democratic” space such as Twitter, where users utter their discontent for not having the chance to vote in a public election (e.g. *you are a cuckoo primeminister; you are completely illegitimate; you are not 'our' PM; you are #notmypm; you are old white mens PM; Cymru doesn't want you as PM; I do not recognise you; you do NOT have our confidence; you didn't ask the country; you do NOT represent me; you don't have my confidence*). As in CS2, epithets are quite common (e.g. *you fucking stupid dog; you giant thunderfuck; you horrible bastard; you incompetent lying twat; you insufferable farting haybale; you lying bastard/criminal; you pathetic cocked up sex pest; you plonker; you reprehensible scrotum*), confirming that Mr Johnson is a divisive public figure in the British political scene (Young 2019). His original message becomes a proper space to support Pro-Europeism, and this is quite visible in some hashtags used such as #BollockstoBoris frequently associated with #BollockstoBrexit or #Brexitshambles, confirming the role of such device-specific tools to gather topics or other users under the same language tool as a proper catalyst for action (Zappavigna, 2015). Other hashtags are the same or similar as the ones found in previous examples (e.g. #notoboris; #NotMyPM/PrimeMinister; #GeneralElection[Now]).

CS4 recalls the same patterns of negativity identified in negatively connoted reactions, especially those in CS2, since the addresser of the institutional message is the same (Jeremy Corbyn). Here, defamatory words associated with his name or reference provide the general sentiment towards the political

figure and role (e.g. *bellend; disgrace; traitor; dangerous; dishonest; anti-semite piece it crap; anti-Semitic communist; you commie; you communist; you cunt; you dickhead; you hypocrite; you a IRA loving cunt; parasite; you total prick; a leader of an Antisemitic racist party; you are the best thing to happen to the Tories; You are the reason labour are not in power; you are the unelected leader of the opposition; you are talking bollocks/pish*). Hashtags are only 23, most of them associated with negative ideas (e.g. #nevercorbyn; #timetogo; #voteofnoconfidence; #deluded; #pathetic; #selfserving).

An aggregated analysis confirms the negative attitude of users towards the political Establishment. Being a larger corpus compared with sub-corpora, an analysis of computational collocates could provide interesting results. Taking *you* as the nodeword as in previous examples, corpus-based evidence confirms the semantic relevance of negative words. Collocates in the span 5L-5R arranged by Statistical relevance on a Mutual Information basis (Stubbs 1995) reveal that words such as *hypocrite, resigning, fucking, twat, shut, clown, sad, disgrace* are in the top-35 list, with the only positive example of *thank* (mostly associated with CS1). This approach can also provide other perspective in terms of the relationship between the political Establishment and the bulk of users/voters; in particular, by analysing the token *we* to predict verbal processes that could express the actions and thoughts of common people, some interesting patterns come out. *We* ranks 25th with 110 total occurrences, and an analysis of collocations 0 – 3R (supposing a pattern *We+V*) provides a statistical relevance of the verbs *need, had, get, can, will* in the top 6 positions. In particular, the verb *need* is associated with the request, by users, to call for a new general election or a new general rearrangement; only in one case, the pattern is associated with pro-Brexit views (*We need to leave the EU*). A sense of desire for determined action or change is found in the pattern *we+will*, as elements as *We will fight you; we will NOT support your premiership; we will NOT unite with you; we will still be in the EU* can be identified. Expectation-related feelings are retrieved in the pattern *we+are+ing*, whether it is a new general election (e.g. *We are getting ready for a GE; we are not happy, please call a General Election*) or a negative feeling towards politicians (e.g. *we are going to enjoy watching you drown; we are screwed; we are witness to the fact they are LIES*).

8. Final Remarks

This study has aimed to provide an original perspective in assessing the relevance and semantic force of contents provided via Social Networking Platforms, which have been playing a growing role in terms of “alternative” institutional communication, but most of all in bridging the gap between the so-called *Establishment* (in this case, the most important political figures in

UK) and their electorate. It turns out that in a free space of communication such as Twitter, which is very likely to be used for political purposes (Bentivegna, 2014), the relevance of hateful messages towards political events or stakeholders overwhelms any form of positive or neutral connotation. In this sense, the empirical study demonstrated that almost 8 messages out of 10 contain hateful or denigrating words when replying to messages spread by politicians. Twitter proves to be a proper “real” space for freedom of speech, since it is less likely to be associated with the concept of *friendship*, but it may undermine the *shining* dogma of self-representation of political figures (Archetti 2017). Furthermore, users do not need to follow a certain profile (e.g. because they do not agree with their political views), but device-specific tools such as Retweets represent proper “digital megaphones” in reaching a broader audience that in turn may react negatively. Politics proves to be a divisive topic that emphasizes negative social evaluations not only in real-life situations, but also in digital environments (Roulet 2020). In such contexts, politicians use Social Networking tools to popularise their ideas and views also in the light of providing a sense of affinity towards *their* supporters; nevertheless, they stumble upon the digital community, which overwhelms the original comments with negative engagement. The relevance of hate speech in this reversed perspective emphasizes the fact that common people legitimate their (tweeted) will by opposing the power of the political Establishment, trying to voice their concerns and calling for a similar reaction from other users (e.g. by using dedicated hashtags or in providing truths that result in high engagement). Therefore, even though the original message (a politician providing an institutional message *to* his/her followers or *friends*) exerts a certain influence in terms of authority, it turns out that the significance of opposite feelings “from below” may overcome and become a new influencing trend and a new truth, as assessed quantitatively from the empirical study. Negativity is more likely to emerge in terms of active engagement, since users need to spend time to create a (hateful) tweet when compared with passive engagement (a *simple* like); furthermore, some platforms – including Twitter – do not have passive engagement tools that may voice negativity (a “dislike” button or other forms of clear negative reactions, which can be retrieved in other Social Networking platforms such as Facebook).

This is only a small-scale, bottom-up analysis of such forms of media engagement in political discourse; further studies may broaden the choice of case studies in the same field or intersect different events in the same field; or they may be more comprehensive in embracing other political stakeholders. Other analytical criteria could be also included, such as micro- or macro-functions of language, or restrictive criteria (e.g. hashtags only) could be used. Finally, other fields and other platforms could be taken into consideration in order to explore this out-of-the-(ballot)-box perspective.

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*STABILITY AND CHANGE IN LEGISLATIVE DRAFTING TECHNIQUES
IN THE UK LEGISLATION:
A RECENT DEBATE ON GENDER-NEUTRAL LANGUAGE*

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Gender-neutral language refers to language which includes words or expressions that cannot be taken to refer to one gender only. During the late twentieth century, gender-neutral language in legislation was strongly in demand, and the need to reform the way in which laws had been written for more than one-hundred years was particularly felt in English-language jurisdictions. The gender-neutral language recommended by the UK Office of the Parliamentary Counsel has generated an interesting debate on the applicability of some gender-neutral drafting techniques, particularly when their application comes at the cost of clarity and precision of the statutory provisions. The aim of this paper is to analyse the recent changes in the UK gender-neutral drafting techniques, focusing on the lexico-grammatical strategies adopted by drafters on Primary and Secondary Legislation, who are asked to write legal sentences aiming at a gender fair representation of men and women. In particular, attention will be drawn to the techniques adopted to implement legislative drafting, assessing the impact of alternative pronouns in the UK latest legislation.

*“A chair is a piece of furniture. It is not a person.
I am not a chair, because no one has ever sat on me.
All [they] are doing is distorting the English language,
and I would have thought [they] had better things to do”*

(Ann Widdecombe, MP for Maidstone and the Weald - House of Commons, 2010)

*Gender-neutrality, language, change, legislative drafting, UK**1. Introduction*

Gender-neutral (hereafter GN) language, also called *non-sexist, gender-inclusive, or non-gender-specific language* (UNESCO – Priority Gender Equality Guidelines 2011), refers to the language which includes words or expressions that cannot be taken to refer to one gender only (Oxford English Dictionary). During the late twentieth century, there was a strong demand for GN language in legislation, and the need to reform the way in which laws have been written for more than one-hundred years was particularly felt in English-language jurisdictions (Greenberg 2008; Stefanou and Xanthaki 2015). But what exactly does a switch to GN language entail in legislative drafting? The GN language recommended by the UK Office of the Parliamentary Counsel (hereafter, OPC) generally requires “[i] avoiding gender-specific pronouns (such as ‘he’) for a person who is not necessarily of that gender; [ii] avoiding nouns that might appear to assume that a person of a particular gender will do a particular job or perform a particular role (e.g. ‘chairman’)” (*Drafting Guidance 2018*). Interestingly enough, the same guidance warns that GN language is possible and practicable, provided that it comes at no more than reasonable cost to brevity or intelligibility. This OPC’s provision has generated an interesting debate on the applicability of some GN drafting techniques (i.e. terminology, pronouns, singular *they*, repetition), particularly when their application comes at the cost of clarity and precision of the statutory provisions.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the recent changes in the UK Public General Acts (Primary Legislation, hereafter PL, and Secondary Legislation, hereafter SL), focusing on the lexico-grammatical and discursal strategies adopted by drafters over the last decades, who are asked to write legal sentences aiming at gender-fair and symmetric representation of men and women. Even though PL and SL are set up to form the UK Public General Acts, they are written according to different, though complementary, drafting techniques. For this reason, this analysis will concentrate on the legislation issued in the UK from 2008 and 2018, in order to identify any changes in the use of lexico-grammatical structures that might have diachronically occurred when referring to gender and, then, to ascertain any difference between PL and SL in their application of GN drafting techniques.

Anything that leads drafters to challenge old fixed habits (formulaic expressions, grammar rules and social norms, repetitive use of form-meaning associations, common patterns of thought) could be regarded as an opportunity for innovation and improvement (unusual collocations, unpredictable

compounds). This challenge should be accepted in the environment of legislative drafting techniques where considerable reliance on precedent is inevitable, a factor which certainly introduces a resistance to change in legislative language and makes it inclined to archaism.

This paper is divided into four sections. After this brief introduction, Section 2 deals with the topic of gender providing definitions of gender-marked (hereafter GM) and GN languages, and outlining some trends in language variety research particularly in the field of pronominalisation in English language. Sections 3 outlines the context of the UK GN drafting guidelines and the reform of gender-masculine rule. Section 4 delves into the analysis of the UK PL and SL (2008-2018), focusing on the lexico-grammatical strategies analysed from a diachronic perspective. Section 5 summarises the findings and presents some final remarks for future research.

2. Gender and language change

Gender is a notion whose encoding varies considerably across languages. The extensive research that has been conducted on gender and language (Corbett 1991; 2007; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003; Curzan 2003; Prewitt-Freilino et al. 2012) has proved that there are GM and GN languages. The former are characterised by overt marking of femininity vs masculinity on nouns and possibly other word classes, with the resulting specification of their referents as female- vs male-specific. The latter (i.e. English, Finnish, Turkish)¹ lack such gender-based noun classification and resort to other linguistic means to encode the concept of gender. In this regard, Corbett (2014: 1) observes that “gender is an endless category. It has obvious links to the real world, first in the connection between many grammatical gender systems and biological sex, and second in other types of categorisation such as size, which underpin particular gender systems and also have external correlates”.

Notwithstanding the debates over the cross-linguistic analysis of gender (Wardhaugh 2006; Corbett 2007; Litosseliti 2013), scholars have generally agreed on the identification of four categories of gender, viz. ‘grammatical, lexical, referential, and social gender’ (Doleschal 1999; Hellinger and Bußmann 2001; Sunderland 2006; Plaster and Polinsky 2010)². These categories will not be

¹ More precisely, Old English (750-1100/1150 AD) had three gender classes (feminine, masculine, neuter) and all inanimate nouns belonged to one of the three classes. By the end of the 14th century, the category of ‘grammatical gender’ was lost due to the decay of inflectional endings and the disintegration of declensional classes (Curzan 2003).

² ‘Grammatical language’ might be defined as an intrinsic property of nouns which directs and controls the agreement between the noun an adjective, article, pronoun, verb, preposition, and might vary according to the gender of the controller itself. ‘Lexical gender’ refers to ‘natural’ or ‘biological’ maleness or femaleness of words. In English, for instance, family relationship nouns

considered for the purpose of the present analysis. It suffices to say that ‘social gender’ has played a crucial role in English, since it refers to the semantic bias of an otherwise unspecified noun towards one or the other gender, as in the case of *secretary* and *nurse*, denoting in the English language stereotypically female persons, and *manager* and *surgeon*, denoting male ones.

Historically, languages have generated processes of derivation and compounding. These have an important function in the formation of GM nouns, mainly in the use of existing terms and the creation of new feminine/female equivalent terms³. In this regard, Hellinger and Bußmann observe that “pronominalisation has been a powerful strategy of communicating gender both in languages with and without grammatical gender” (2001: 14). Pronouns may emphasise traditional and/or reformed practices, as when a speaker chooses between a false generic (e.g. Engl. *he*) or a more GN choice (e.g. Engl. *singular they*) (Bjorkman 2017). Traditional practice in English has prescribed the choice of *he* in neutral contexts even for general human nouns such as *pedestrian* or *consumer*, the so-called *masculine rule* in legal language. By the 1970s, the *masculine rule* started to be contested in the United States and Europe, and calls were made to change such sexist language. By the 1990s other social groups, such as the gay community, became aware of the need for GN drafting. Many alternatives have been suggested to replace asymmetric or sexist usage in English. One form such protest has taken is the development of numerous guidelines for GN. One is the *McGraw-Hill guidelines of 1972*:

ABSTRACT

Intended primarily for use in writing and editing teaching materials, reference works, and nonfiction works in general, these guidelines have been compiled to alert authors and McGraw-Hill Book company staff members both to the problems of sex discrimination and to various solutions. In addition, the guidelines reveal ways in which males and females have been stereotyped in publications, *Show the role that language has played in reinforcing inequality between the sexes, and indicate positive and practical approaches in providing fair, accurate, and balanced treatments of both sexes in the book company’s publications (Guidelines for Equal Treatment of the Sexes)* (my emphasis).

Another is the *UNESCO on Gender Neutral Language 1999*

[...] with some rephrasing and careful attention to meaning, it is usually possible to improve the level of accuracy while avoiding giving offence. Where both sexes

are lexically specified as carrying semantic properties, female or male, which relate to the sex of the referent, viz. extra-linguistic category of referential gender. By linking linguistic terms to the non-linguistic realities, we have ‘referential gender’, which identifies a referent as female, male, or gender-indefinite. Finally, ‘social gender’ assigns one or the other gender to an unspecified noun. For more in-depth analysis of the ‘categories of gender’, see Pennisi (2019).

³ This is evident in the case of occupational terms, as in the case of English feminine/female *headmistress* from the masculine/male *headmaster*, and English feminine/female *policewoman* from the masculine/male *policeman*.

are meant, it is always preferable to use a term which includes, or at least does not exclude, women. We have also included some definitions of terms used in connection with the advancement of women and women's rights, and suggestions for further reading. *The aim of this booklet is not to abolish certain words or to alter historically established texts; nor is it suggested that these guidelines be followed to the letter. For the sake of equality, however, writers are asked in every case to pause and consider the alternatives.*

Still another one is the *UNESCO Priority Gender Equality Guidelines 2011*

Key definition and terms

Gender refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are created in our families, our societies and our cultures. The concept of gender also includes expectations held about the characteristics, aptitudes and likely behaviours of both women and men (femininity and masculinity). *Gender roles and expectations are learned. They can change over time and they vary within and among cultures. Systems of social differentiation such as political status, class, ethnicity, age, physical and mental disability, and more all modify gender roles.* The concept of gender is vital, because when applied to social analysis it reveals how women's subordination (or men's domination) is socially constructed. As such, the subordination can be changed or ended. It is not biologically predetermined nor is it fixed forever.

The traditional assumption that 'he included she' was the norm and obviously reflected the women's status in society, prejudices against them in an essentially male-centred society and the generally shared expectations of sexual roles. Many alternatives have been suggested to replace asymmetric or sexist conventions. In reformed usage, the principle of 'neutralisation' has the highest priority in English, in contrast to gender languages, such as German and Italian, where female visibility is the basic characteristic of gender-fair usage⁴. Non-sexist language campaigns have been under way for a few decades now, especially focusing on gender-specific terms (but also pronouns), which in turn have been paralleled to women's liberation movements, to the increasing attention given to LGBTQ's⁵ rights, and relevant societal changes.

However, a GN language does not necessarily produce a more gender-equal world. As Mclean (2013) observes, ways of doing relations (i.e. at work, personal sphere, etc.) are embedded in ways of 'doing gender'. In other words, 'doing gender' is a social and interactive act done relationally to the specific historical and socio-cultural context, and embedded in the language that represents and recreates the context itself. Eventually, GN drafting might assist the effectiveness of legislation in combating gender-inequality in the world.

⁴ Neutralisation means the avoidance of false generics, especially usages of generic *man*, as in *mankind*, *salesman* or *chairman*. Gender-inclusive wording can also be achieved by avoiding GM terms for female referents, especially derivations ending with the suffix *-ess* or *-ette*, as in the case of *authoress* and *majorette* (*Gender-Neutral Language in the European Parliament 2018*)

⁵ Oxford English Dictionary (hereafter, *OED*) defines LGBTQ an abbreviation for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (or questioning), viz. the LGBTQ community.

3. *The UK legislation and GN drafting guidelines*

For more than 150 years. English-language jurisdictions had drafted legislative texts according to the rule that the norm of humanity is male. It is evident that in itself the instruction by which words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females establishes a convention that is merely linguistic (Williams 2008). The Westminster Parliament continued relying on the interpretation provision and used *he*, *him* and *his* with the intention of including reference to males and females until 2007, when Jack Straw, the then Chair of The Select Committee on Modernisation of the House of Commons, Leader of the House of Commons and Lord Privy Seal, officially stated:

For many years the drafting of primary legislation has relied on section 6 of the Interpretation Act 1978, under which words referring to the masculine gender include the feminine. In practice this means that male pronouns are used on their own in contexts where a reference to women and men is intended, and also that words such as chairman are used for offices capable of being held by either gender. Many believe that this practice tends to reinforce historic gender stereotypes and presents an obstacle to clearer understanding for those unfamiliar with the convention [...]. *From the beginning of next Session, Government Bills will take a form which achieves gender-neutral drafting so far as it is practicable, at no more than a reasonable cost to brevity or intelligibility [...]* (Hansard source - Citation: HC Deb, 8 March 2007, c146WS).

For many years, and till Jack Straw's official announcement, the UK drafting of Primary Legislation relied on Section 6 of the Interpretation Act 1978, which recites:

Interpretation and construction

Section 6 Gender and number

In any Act, unless the contrary intention appears,—

- (a) words importing the masculine gender include the feminine;
- (b) words importing the feminine gender include the masculine;
- (c) words in the singular include the plural and words in the plural include the singular.

However, what Jack Straw omitted to say in his official pronouncement is that the new GN form should be given not only to the Primary Legislation, but to the Secondary Legislation as well. Indeed, Section 23(1) of the *Interpretation Act 1978* makes it clear that *Section 6* is applicable not only to Bills and Acts of Parliament, but also to Statutory Instruments.

Supplementary

Section 23 Application to other instruments

- (1) The provisions of this Act, except sections 1 to 3 and 4(b), apply, so far as applicable and unless the contrary intention appears, to subordinate legislation

made after the commencement of this Act and, to the extent specified in Part II of Schedule 2, to subordinate legislation made before the commencement of this Act, as they apply to Acts.

To shed light on this point, it would be useful to explain what Government Bills, PL, SL, and Statutory Instrument mean. To start with, the UK Public General Acts (also known as Government Bills), include both PL and SL. PL is the general term used to describe the main laws passed by the legislative bodies of the UK, including Westminster Parliament. For example, an Act of Parliament, also called a statute, is a law made by the UK Parliament. All Acts start as Bills introduced in either the House of Commons or the House of Lords. When a Bill has been agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament and has been given Royal Assent by the Monarch, it becomes an Act. Acts are known as PL because they do not depend on other legislative authority.

SL is a law created by ministers (or other bodies) under powers given to them by an Act of Parliament (PL). SL is also known as delegated or subordinate legislation and often takes the form of a Statutory Instrument (hereafter, SI) (*Glossary of the UK Parliament*). It is used to fill in the details of PL. These details provide practical measures that enable the law to be enforced and operate in daily life. SL can be used to set the date for when provisions of a PL will come into effect as law, or to amend existing laws. SIs are the most common form of SL (or delegated legislation), with approximately 3,500 made each year, although only about 1,000 need to be considered by Parliament. They are documents drafted by a government department to make changes to the law, and published with an explanatory memorandum, which outlines the purpose of the SI and why the change is necessary⁶.

As a matter of fact, responsibility for legislative drafting generally falls into two separate parts of the UK Government: the OPC drafts PL, whereas individual departments draft SL. The *Drafting Guidance for Primary Legislation* instructs drafters only to have a regard to the guidance when writing PL issued by the OPC. The *Statutory Instrument Practice Manual* sets out what drafters should do to conform with Parliamentary procedures when drafting SL, and is issued by Her Majesty's Stationary Office (HMSO) and the Government Legal Service. Both the *Drafting Guidance* and the *Statutory Instrument* provide guidance on operative drafting techniques, e.g. clarity of text, using precedents, and conformity with parliamentary procedures (technical detail). The *Drafting*

⁶ For example, governments often use SL to ban new substances in response to new information about their dangers by adding them to a list under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. The power to make SIs is set out in an Act of Parliament and nearly always conferred on a Minister of the Crown. The Minister is then able to make law on the matters identified in the Act, and using the parliamentary procedure set out in the Act (*Commons Library Background Paper: Statutory Instruments*).

Guidance 2018, issued by the UK Office of Parliamentary Counsel (OPC), is meant to help drafters in their task of making PL as easy as possible. In this way readers are helped understand the Bills that PL produce. PL is not meant to be a comprehensive guide to legislative drafting or to clarity in legal writing. As far as GN drafting is concerned, the *Drafting Guidance 2018* provides these instructions:

2.1 GENDER NEUTRALITY

Office practice

2.1.1 It is government policy that primary legislation should be drafted in a gender-neutral way, so far as it is practicable to do so.

2.1.2 Gender neutrality applies not only when drafting free-standing text in a Bill but also when inserting text into older Acts which are not gender-neutral. This is unlikely to cause difficulties. However, in very limited circumstances, exceptions may be made when amending an older Act where it might be confusing to be gender-neutral. If you think you need to make an exception, consult your team leader.

What does gender-neutral drafting require?

2.1.3 In practice, gender-neutral drafting means two things

- avoiding gender-specific pronouns (such as “he”) for a person who is not necessarily of that gender;
- avoiding nouns that might appear to assume that a person of a particular gender will do a particular job or perform a particular role (eg “chairman”)

Accordingly, the following are the standard techniques to avoid gender-specificity:

- repetition (often, of the noun);
- rephrasing to avoid the need for a pronoun or noun;
- omission (mostly, pronouns, possessives, etc.);
- reorganisation (rephrasing sentences to avoid the need of pronouns, etc., passive voice, relative pronouns; dividing propositions into a number of shorter sentences; avoiding subordinate clauses; using impersonal/plural nouns, etc.);
- ‘alternative pronouns’ (*he or she*, *s/he*, *she or he*; *they singular*; *they plural*);
- avoiding nouns that might appear to assume a ‘man’ rather than a ‘woman’ will do a particular job or perform a particular role (*chair* is now used in primary legislation as a substitute for *chairman*), viz. ‘neutralisation’;
- avoiding the feminine form of a particular occupation (*author/authoress*), viz. ‘neutralisation’;
- using gender-specific nouns and pronouns where provisions can only apply to persons of a particular gender (where a provision only applies to men or women, such as *maternity pay* for women);
- references to specific individuals (*Her Majesty*).

In the case of SL, the *Statutory Instrument Practice* is a guide to help prepare and publish SIs and understand the Parliamentary procedures relating to

them. Interestingly enough, as written in the most recent *Statutory Instrument Drafting Guidance* issued by the Government Legal Service, even though *Statutory Instrument Practice* is not a guide to drafting, it sometimes refers to the drafting practices provided for the PL.

1.1.5 SIP [Statutory Instrument Practice] is a practice guide for those involved in preparing and making SIs. It is not a textbook of the law. However, it does set out good practice and proper procedure.

Even though the final goal is the same, that is giving legal effect to policy objectives, PL and SL remain quite different. Separate guidance manuals for PL and SL are provided as guidance for drafters, and they are largely principle-based rather than prescriptive. As a result, legislative drafting in the UK draws heavily on conventions mostly based on good practice. The following analysis will concentrate on GN drafting techniques adopted by drafters, and primarily the impact of alternative pronouns in the PL and SL issued between 2008 and 2018.

3.1. *Alternative pronouns*

Among the techniques suggested by the OPC in the *Drafting Guidance 2018*, alternative pronouns (*he or she*, singular *they/their*, plural *they/their*) are defined acceptably GN. More specifically,

- *he or she* and *him or her* are considered an appropriate solution to GN drafting, as shown in the following extracts:
 - (1) A member of the Committee may resign *his or her* office
 - (2) *She or he* may do so [...]
 - (3) But a judge may re-appoint *him or her* as Madam or Mr Chair within two days⁷;
- *they plural* might be used if drafters make greater use of plural nouns:
 - (i) *Persons* may submit applications only if *they* think [...].
 - (ii) [...] paying grants for amounts consistent with the aim of *people* enjoying the benefit of equivalent protection from air, water or soil pollution and from noise, wherever *they* live in Australia [...]⁸.

⁷ This technique has begun to be questioned because it does not include “a body of persons incorporated or unincorporated” (UK Interpretation Act 1987). Secondly, it does not refer to individuals who do not identify with a specific gender, and it is especially objectionable at a time where gender, in addition to masculine and feminine, includes members of the LGBTQ community. Further, it makes sentences more complex because its frequent repetition can be awkward, and concerns are expressed about the order of the personal pronouns (i.e. *she or he* instead of *he or she*).

⁸ The *Drafting Guidance 2018* suggests the plural *they* as a means of avoiding male terms in general. Even though presented as an option for legislative drafting, it should be used when no

- Then, *they singular* is the third option indicated by the OPC's *Drafting Guidance 2018* to avoid gender specificity:

2.1.16 *They (singular)*. In common parlance, 'they' is often used in relation to a singular antecedent which could refer to a person of either sex.

Although rejectors of *they singular* frequently view it as an innovation, its history is long and complex, and begins with the finding that *they* is not originally English at all. In fact, Old English had the third-person personal subject pronouns *hē* (masculine nominative), *hēo* (feminine nominative) and *hīe* (plural nominative, any gender). *They* and *their* gradually displaced their antecedent (native *hīe* and *heora*)⁹. In the 1300s, we find the first attested uses of *their* with singular reference "Eche on in þer craft ys wijs" ("Each one in their craft is wise" - *The Wycliffite Bible 1382*). The *OED* details the frequent appearance of *they singular* in formal religious texts, culminating in the influential *King James Bible*¹⁰. Then, Shakespeare uses *their* in *A Comedy of Errors* (Act IV, Scene 3), in the voice of the noble character Antipholus of Syracuse "There's not a man I meet but doth salute me As if I were their well-acquainted friend". Up until now, there is still a dispute among the UK institutions about whether it is grammatically correct.

In this regard, the OPC's *Drafting Guidance 2018* interestingly acknowledges that

2.1.17 Whether this popular usage is correct or not is perhaps a matter of dispute. *OED* (2nd ed, 1989) records the usage without comment; *SOED* (5th ed, 2002) notes 'considered an error by some'. It is certainly well-precedented in respectable literature over several centuries. In the debate on gender-neutral drafting in the House of Lords in 2013 a number of peers expressed concern about the use of 'they' as a singular pronoun.

2.1.18 It may be that 'they' as a singular pronoun seems more natural in some contexts (for example, where the antecedent is 'any person' or 'a person') than in others.

Then, a final, yet significant, recommendation is provided:

2.1.20 Take care to ensure that the plural does not create an ambiguity that would be avoided if the singular were used.

The drafters of the SL should follow suit, referring to the drafting practices provided for the PL. The next session will analyse and compare a selection of PL and SL with special attention devoted to the similarities/differences in the

other convenient way to avoid male terms is practicable (OPC - UK 2017).

⁹ *They* comes from Old Norse (1100-1200).

¹⁰ "So likewise shall my heavenly Father doe also vnto you, if yee from your hearts forgiue not euery one his brother their trespasses..." - *The King James Bible*, Matthew 18:25.

use of alternative pronouns to avoid gender specificity.

4. *Analysis and results*

Two interesting and well-informed debates on GN language in legislation took place in the House of Lords in December 2013 and June 2018. In both cases, the discussion developed around the use of singular *they* in PL and SL. The disapproval of the language used in PL drafted after Jack Straw's pronouncement, and clearly voiced by Lord Scott of Foscote in 2013: "The clarity of the language of the protocol is certainly not assisted by the use of grammatically inappropriate plural pronouns coupled with references to a single person". This is echoed in the words of Lord Young of Cookham in 2018: "So far as drafting legislation is concerned, I hope I can assure noble Lords that parliamentary draftsmen will use the correct grammar whenever it is possible. The main purpose of drafting legislation is that it should be clear".

Furthermore, one important concern expressed in 2013, and reiterated in 2018, was that government ministers instruct their officials to adopt a drafting practice for SL that practically ignores the provision that Parliament, through legislation, has made for dealing with the problem of gender stereotyping after 2007.

The examples reported below are extracts taken from the corpus of PL and SL legislation issued between 2008 and 2018. The example below is taken from the Statutory Instrument (hereafter SI) 2013 No. 2828 that amends the Art. 2.1 of the PL provision:

'*child tax credit*' means a *child tax credit* under section 8 of the Tax Credits Act,
with

(a) after the definition of 'child tax credit' insert 'child who cannot share a bedroom' means a child (b) who the relevant authority is satisfied is, by virtue of *his or her* disability, not reasonably able to share a bedroom with another child (Amendment of the Housing Benefit Regulations 2006).

The alternative pronouns *his or her* is the anaphoric reference to the GN noun *child* used in the PL, which the SI amends. The *child* might be a child of either sex, so the use of *his or her* is correct. However, the explanatory notes accompanying the SI and explaining that regulation refer to *child* using *they singular*, even though the verb form used before was singular:

Regulation 4(3) substitutes a revised version of paragraph 12 of Schedule 4 to the Universal Credit Regulations. The revised wording allows for an additional room to be allocated for *a child who is* a member of the renter's extended benefit unit and would usually have to share a room, if:

- *they are* entitled to the care component of disability living allowance at the highest or middle rate, and

- by reason of *their disability*, *they are* not reasonably able to share a bedroom with another child.

The same pattern can be observed in several other SIs passed after 2007:

A *renter* [singular (hereafter sg.) noun] *is* [sg. verb] entitled to an additional bedroom if *they* [pl. pronoun] *satisfy* [pl. verb] various conditions [...].

[...] *a child* [sg. noun] who *requires* [sg. verb] *their* [pl. possessive pronoun] own bedroom.

[...] any member [sg. noun] of the armed forces who, (i) *is* [sg. verb] the son ... of the claimant, (ii) was the claimant’s non-dependant before *they* [pl. pronoun] became *a member* [pl. noun] of the armed forces away on operations, and (iii) *intends* [sg. verb] to resume occupying the dwelling as *their* [pl. possessive pronoun] house when *they* [pl. pronoun] *cease* to be a member of the armed forces away on operations.

Overall, the use singular *they* and singular *their*, and the contrast between singular and plural verb forms, all in the same sentence, make the reading of the sentences quite awkward, and goes against Jack Straw’s recommendation on the use of “gender-neutral drafting so far as it is practicable, at no more than a reasonable cost to brevity or intelligibility” (Hansard source - Citation: HC Deb, 8 March 2007, c146WS). Further, in the references to SIs issued between 2013 and 2016, the masculine pronouns *he*, *his*, and *him* are still used, leaving Section 6 of the 1978 Act to extend the references to women.

The quantitative analysis conducted on a corpus including PL and SL passed between 2008 and 2018 in the UK for a total amount of 15,259 tokens, has provided interesting results (see Table 1 and Table 2) in terms of keywords produced by using Wordsmith Tools (Scott 2015). The selected items were retrieved by means of automated interrogation routines. The language focus was on a few selective features that can be listed along a gender-specificity/ gender-neutrality continuum (i.e. personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns, gender-indefinite nouns) and shows the existence of significant differences between the two types of legislation as regards the use of GN language. More specifically, Table 1 shows the results in terms of the keywords produced comparing pre-existing PL in the UK, whereas Table 2 shows the results in terms of the keywords produced by comparing SL passed in the UK in 2008 vs 2010 vs 2018.

UK 10,125 tokens	2008		2010		2018	
<i>he</i>	2,306	>0.20%	229	>0.02%	73	<0.01%
<i>him</i>	1,690	>0.14%	52	<0.01%	36	<0.01%

<i>his</i>	1,738	>0.15%	64	<0.01%	29	<0.01%
<i>he or she</i>	2	<0.01%	31	<0.01%	32	<0.01%
<i>she or he</i>	2	<0.01%	4	<0.01%	12	<0.01%
<i>him or her</i>	0	0.00	11	<0.01%	4	<0.01%
<i>his or her</i>	2	<0.01%	26	<0.01%	17	<0.01%
<i>they</i>	1,345	>0.11%	724	>0.06%	522	>0.04%
<i>them</i>	1,037	>0.09%	326	>0.03%	207	>0.02%
<i>their</i>	411	>0.03%	325	>0.03%	228	>0.02%
<i>person</i>	1,003	>0.09%	985	>0.08%	974	>0.08%
<i>everyone</i>	98	<0.01%	79	<0.01%	102	>0.01%
<i>who</i>	437	>0.04%	620	>0.05%	263	>0.02%
<i>whom</i>	45	<0.01%	86	<0.01%	63	<0.01%
<i>whose</i>	21	<0.01%	32	>0.01%	34	<0.01%

Table 1. UK Primary Legislation – General frequency data

UK 5,134 tokens	2008		2010		2018	
<i>he</i>	49	<0.01%	41	0.01%	89	<0.01%
<i>him</i>	32	<0.01%	35	0.01%	43	<0.01%
<i>his</i>	19	<0.01%	21	<0.01%	32	<0.01%
<i>he or she</i>	34	<0.01%	27	0.01%	26	<0.01%
<i>she or he</i>	2	<0.01%	0	0.01%	0	0.00
<i>him or her</i>	18	<0.01%	11	<0.01%	9	<0.01%
<i>his or her</i>	14	<0.01%	12	0.01%	31	<0.01%
<i>they</i>	115	>0.01%	97	<0.01%	104	>0.01%
<i>them</i>	23	<0.01%	19	<0.01%	32	<0.01%
<i>their</i>	38	<0.01%	22	<0.01%	29	<0.01%
<i>person</i>	67	<0.01%	59	<0.01%	42	<0.01%

<i>everyone</i>	19	<0.01%	23	< 0.01%	25	<0.01%
<i>who</i>	83	< 0.01%	67	<0.01%	43	<0.01%
<i>whom</i>	34	<0.01%	12	<0.01%	7	<0.01%
<i>whose</i>	0	0.00	5	< 0.01%	0	0.00

Table 2. UK Secondary Legislation– General frequency data

In purely quantitative data, as regards the UK Public General Acts drafted according to GN criteria, data show a dramatic decrease in the frequency of *he*, *him*, *his* in PL passed from 2008 to 2018, whereas the frequency is quite stable, with an increase of *he* in SL passed in 2018. PL and SL show a small increase in the frequency of *he or she*, though it has been adopted only occasionally, and its frequencies are quite low. Such an increase is particularly marked in SL. Both Tables show a substantial stable frequency of *person*, which is a good substitute for GM words, with a slight increase in PL. Recourse to *they*, *them*, *their* and to relative clauses is not often made, as frequencies have been on the decrease in both PL and SL. Overall, the analysis of the data suggests that techniques involving more radical restructuring of the sentence have been preferred, particularly in PL, including the recourse to passive voice, omission, and repetition.

5. Conclusions

Tendencies of variation and change in the area of personal reference have been supported by language planning measures, including the publication of recommendations and guidelines that have been recently issued by the UK governmental bodies. Given the environment of legislative drafting techniques, where considerable reliance on precedent is inevitable, particularly in English-speaking jurisdictions, any proposal to change legislative language may produce interesting results. In this regard, the analysis conducted on UK Public General Acts, passed after Jack Straw's official statement in 2007, has shown a cautious recourse to alternative pronouns in PL, whereas SL still suffers from some reluctance. The fact that different recommendations/guidelines are provided for the legislative drafters responsible for each of the two types of legislation seems to be one of the possible reasons for the discrepancy denounced at the House of Lords over the last decade, and confirmed by the analysis conducted in this paper.

Legislative drafting guidelines for non-discriminatory language identify areas of conventional language use as sexist and offer alternatives

aiming at a gender-fair representation of individuals. However, GN drafting recommendations may positively reinforce tendencies of linguistic change in legislation so far, as they are practicable and intelligible, and may hopefully contribute to reaching such an aim by means of explicit and clear indications.

Future research might consider the impact of GN language in the legislation on various social phenomena, in particular the status of women and other sexual minority groups. The hope is that further investigation on this subject matter may successfully reinforce tendencies of linguistic change by means of better legislative documents.

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*TAKING ENGLISH NATURALISM OUT OF THE BOX:
FROM THEORY TO CORPUS, AND BACK¹*

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Isms in literary criticism are condensed definitions with a “dictating” force, construing rigid frameworks for literary genres and styles. This is also the case of English Naturalism, which, unlike its French counterpart, remains probably one of the most elusive literary movements in European literature. This peculiarity can be noted in literary histories where English Naturalism receives little attention, if any at all. On the other hand, specialised criticism provides in depth, diverse and at times contrasting views of this movement that is difficult to navigate for non-specialists. Against this literary and cultural backdrop, this paper employs an interdisciplinary methodology that integrates literary criticism and corpus linguistics contributing general context-based knowledge from literary criticism and specific, text-based knowledge from corpus linguistics. Its sections focus on specific aspects of English Naturalism that are still debated, one being the influence of the French writer Émile Zola on British Naturalism, the other the representation of characters in relation to the development of social Darwinism and determinism. Results to be further explored and tested show that the application of this method can contribute valuable insights into aspects of English Naturalism that have so far received little attention in literary histories.

Corpus stylistics, literary theory, English Naturalism, religion, Émile Zola, characters.

1. Introduction²

This article investigates selected aspects of English Naturalism that are still open to debate, by proposing an original interdisciplinary methodology

¹ This paper is the product of a joint collaboration between the two authors. Monica Turci wrote Sections 1., 2., 4. and 6. Antonella Luporini wrote Sections 3. and 5.

² The authors would like to thank the reviewers of this article for their careful reading and suggestions for further references.

that includes a combined literary criticism and corpus linguistics approach. This method attempts to close the gap between literary criticism and linguistic approaches to literature, providing an example of a mutually fruitful dialogue between these two disciplines. Results are of interest to undergraduate and postgraduate students of literature and of stylistics, as well as students and scholars specialising in English Naturalism.

Though not unheard of, interdisciplinary methodologies that combine literary criticism and corpus linguistics are still rare and unconventional³. This is understandable, and it could indeed be argued that in certain respects these two approaches are like chalk and cheese. With specific reference to English Naturalism (or any literary movement), literary criticism contributes general knowledge taken from histories of literature as well as more specialised critical material providing historical, cultural and biographical perspectives. The contribution of the former is general, offering a limited set of “boxed in” and fairly standardised definitions. In contrast, specialised critical studies contribute in-depth knowledge from a variety of perspectives according to critics’ schools of thought, their politics, cultural values and personal interests. For its part, corpus linguistics focuses on the literary texts collected in a representative *ad hoc* corpus. The different approaches and mindsets that characterise literary criticism and corpus linguistics, which we value, can contribute an integrated and complementary vision. That is, insights will be gained that contribute general, context-based knowledge provided by literary criticism and also specific, text-based, analytical knowledge provided by corpus linguistics.

The structure of this study follows in the footsteps of the learning process of an implied student reader with a general knowledge of Naturalism but no specialised knowledge about its manifestations in Britain, and gradually progresses to consider key and complex issues of this movement that remain to this day open to discussion. We propose a research path where boundaries between literary criticism and corpus linguistics are removed and where we shift seamlessly from one approach to the other whenever knowledge acquired from one discipline can be relevant to the other in relation to specific research questions. In particular, general and specialised criticism proves to be of major importance for a number of reasons:

1. to orient our research in relation to specific issues of this movement;
2. to compile our corpus;
3. to interpret the data.

Data, in turn, will be used to map out and navigate through, on the one hand vague, implicit or scant knowledge of English Naturalism from literary

³ Among recent and interesting exceptions to this are Fischer-Starcke (2010); Coronato and Gesuato (2019); Gesuato and Coronato (2020), and the Project CLiC Dickens (<https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/edacs/departments/englishlanguage/research/projects/clic/index.aspx>, last accessed 12 November 2021).

histories and, on the other hand, diverse and competing views in specialised criticism.

The second section of this work is centred on the contribution provided by histories of literature and specialised essays to a general knowledge of English Naturalism. After commenting on the elusiveness of the movement, this section will end with a brief illustration of different opinions concerning who should be classified as a Naturalist writer in Britain. These reflections provide an entry to the third section, where we describe the criteria that we used to form our corpus and the methodology of analysis. The fourth section draws attention to the influence of Zola on English Naturalism. It is a comparative analysis of two “word clouds” that were generated from our corpus and the Zola corpus – one of our reference corpora that we have created. The fifth section discusses mainly quantitative data emerging from analysis of our Naturalism corpus, also tested against other reference corpora. Concluding remarks summarise findings, reflect on the limitations of this study and point to directions for future research.

2. English Naturalism in reference criticism and beyond: moving towards our Corpus

Reference criticism is of main importance for our implied undergraduate student reader of English literature and a starting point for everyone interested in knowing the basics of the English Naturalist movement. Moreover, general knowledge of this movement is a necessary requisite to construct a representative and sound corpus of English Naturalism.

Nowadays, reference criticism includes printed and online resources. As regards the first, histories of English Literature are highly popular choices, not least because they are included in university curricula. In our case study, however, these do not prove to be fully informative. It should be pointed out that in recent histories of literature, things are made more difficult by the fact that literary movements appear to be neither a priority nor an organizing principle. In *English Literature in Context* (Poplawski 2008), information on literary movements, including Naturalism and Modernism, is limited to short informative boxes interpolated in the text. *The Routledge History of Literature* (Carter and McRae 1997) omits Naturalism in the table of contents, preferring a more generic mention of the historical period in which it developed – the nineteenth century. In addition, rather than providing references to literary forms or specific writers, the authors prefer to characterise the period at the turn of the nineteenth century as the one dominated by the “Late Victorian novel” (p. ix), which notably includes a heterogeneous variety of literary genres. Also noteworthy is the fact that Naturalism here does not receive any mention even in relation to authors that are unanimously considered cornerstones of

this movement. An example of this is Thomas Hardy, who, though generally assumed to be one of the key writers of English Naturalism, is described as a transitional figure poised between late Victorianism and Modernism (p. 352).

The Oxford University Press *History of English Literature* edited by Edward Albert, originally published in 1979 and re-printed in its twenty-sixth edition in 2000 – probably one of the longest-running of its kind – is also reticent and uninformative about English Naturalism. Here, not only does Naturalism not appear in its table of contents, but also, the actual word is mentioned only three times in the whole work. Moreover, in two cases out of three it co-occurs with the word *Realism*. For its part, *Realism* is mentioned 51 times, giving the impression that Naturalism is a minor appendage of this much more important and pervasive movement.

The comparable scarcity of criticism on Naturalism in histories of English literature is further confirmed by investigations of online reference banks on literature. Table 1 below provides data extracted from a keyword search in the Humanity Index (<https://proquest.libguides.com/humanitiesindex>, last accessed 12 November 2021), “an international abstracting and indexing tool for research in the humanities, covering almost 400 internationally respected humanities journals and weekly magazines published in the UK and other English-speaking countries, as well as quality newspapers published in the UK”. The data appear to confirm the minor role of Naturalism with respect to Realism and also Modernism, the two literary movements that immediately precede and follow it (see Table 1).

<i>Keywords</i>	<i>Hits</i>
english AND naturalism	259
english AND realism	1052
english AND modernism	1533

TABLE 1. Keyword search filtered by choosing the parameters literary criticism and English language

The Encyclopaedia Britannica, a high-quality reference text for general knowledge, provides an entry for *naturalism-art* (www.britannica.com/topic/naturalism-art, last accessed 12 November 2021), which offers more extensive information on this movement than that found in histories of English literature. However, it significantly does not list any English authors among its main figures.

Specialised literature explicitly mentions the issue of the elusiveness of British Naturalism (see, e.g., Joyce 2015: 7). Joyce points out that literary

debates at the time in Britain avoided using the term *Naturalism*, deploying instead: “substitute terms [...] such as ‘East End’ or ‘slum’ fiction” (p. 4)¹. Critics’ views on the identification of English Naturalist writers present an additional challenge. On the one hand, Edmund Gosse ([1892] 1893: 28-29), one of the main literary critics writing at the turn of the nineteenth century, after commenting that Naturalism seems to have largely bypassed England (quoted in Joyce 2015: 7), provides a period-based definition of Naturalist literature that includes a limited number of writings published between 1885 and 1895 by a small group of writers influenced by Zola, including Thomas Hardy, George Gissing and George Moore. On the opposite side to Gosse, Lehan (2005) in his study *Realism and Naturalism: The Novel in an Age of Transition* makes a case for Naturalist literature stretching from the Victorian period to the first decade of the Twentieth Century and including George Eliot, Rudyard Kipling and even writers such as Henry James and Joseph Conrad, who are generally considered as quintessential Modernists.

3. *Introducing our corpora: materials and methods*

The expression *corpus stylistics* refers to the use of corpus linguistics methods in the study of style in language; its goal is to identify potentially meaningful patterns that may frequently remain hidden from human intuition or observation (see, e.g., Jeffries and McIntyre 2010; Mahlberg 2013). Our take on corpus stylistics is in line with that expressed by McIntyre 2015 and Green 2017: we stress its vocation for addressing concerns in literary stylistics and criticism in a complementary and inclusive fashion.

Against this backdrop, in order to answer one of our main research questions concerning the definition of an English naturalistic movement, we built our own *ad hoc* focus corpus. As we were experimenting with a new research approach, we opted for the more clear-cut and less fuzzy hypothesis offered by Gosse: this, as we saw in Section 2, provides a limited selection of writers that were influenced by Zola. This choice was also suitable for our investigation of the influence of Zola on English Naturalism (see also Section 4 below). Thus, our corpus includes George Moore’s *A Mummer’s Wife* (1885); George Gissing’s *New Grub Street* (1891); Thomas Hardy’s *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* (1891) and *Jude the Obscure* (1895). It consists of approximately 746,300 word tokens, and uses the electronic (UTF-8 plain text) version of these novels downloaded from the Project Gutenberg website. Henceforth, we will refer to this corpus as British Naturalism (BN).

¹ The avoidance of the term *Naturalism* was not only practiced during the Victorian period, but continued well into Modernism, making it very difficult to trace a critical debate on this movement over time. For an example of this, see Joyce’s (2015: 8) illustration of Virginia Woolf’s critical piece on Bennett’s writing.

In addition, for comparison purposes and to test the assumptions on the influence of Zola on English Naturalism, we built another, very large *ad hoc* corpus to be used as reference. We retrieved from Project Gutenberg the English translations of the *Rougon-Macquart* cycle by Zola; this corpus (approximately 3 million word tokens) is referred to below as Rougon-Macquart (RM). We opted for the translated texts instead of the source texts in French not only to allow intralinguistic comparison, but also because we were interested in Zola's reception in England. The translation of Zola's works is in itself an important historical event in British literature, as it led, among other events, to the prosecution of Henry Vizetelly (see Viti 1996). Finally, again for comparative purposes, but this time with a larger general corpus, we used the *British National Corpus* (BNC) as further reference. In so doing, we were mindful of Stubbs' (1996: 5) advice concerning "the need for the stylistic analysis of individual texts to be based on comparisons with other texts and with corpus data which represent (however imperfectly) the language."

The BN corpus was uploaded to the online corpus query system SketchEngine (www.sketchengine.eu, last accessed 12 November 2021)², where it underwent an automatic process of part-of-speech tagging and lemmatisation, whereby different forms of the same lemma were reconducted to the same base form. Lemmatisation, in particular, was essential in order to guarantee the reliability of our initial quantitative results. After uploading a stoplist – a list of lexical units such as the most common articles and prepositions, which we wanted to exclude from our analysis as they tend to create noise in the results – we proceeded to retrieving a lemmatised wordlist – a list of all the lemmas in the corpus, ordered by frequency. BN was also compared with the BNC, generating a lemmatised keywordlist, that is, a list of lemmas that are unusually frequent in our focus corpus, in comparison to the reference corpus. This was done through the specific SketchEngine query function, using the same stoplist already used for the wordlist, and setting the keyness value to 100, thus basically asking the system to focus on a "middle ground" between rare and common words (on keyness score calculation in SketchEngine, see Kilgarriff 2009).

As for the RM corpus, its size made it impossible to query it using SketchEngine, since we had a limited amount of space available. We thus resorted to *AntConc* (www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/, last accessed 12 November 2021), which has among its advantages that of being a freeware, off-the-shelf tool; however, also as a consequence of this, it has a simpler software architecture than SketchEngine (for instance, it does not feature an in-built part-of-speech tagger and lemmatiser). Therefore, in this case, the corpus was part-of-speech tagged separately by using *TagAnt* and lemmatised by using a customised lemma list

² Access provided by the University of Bologna under the European project ELEXIS.

(a modified version of the AntBNC lemma list for English created by Lawrence Anthony, available on the AntConc website). At the end of this complex pre-processing stage, a lemmatised wordlist to be compared with the one for the BN corpus was generated for RM as well, resorting to the same stoplist already used for the BN wordlist and keyword list, so as to ensure comparability of the results.

Even if, in this contribution, we mostly focus on quantitative data, further qualitative analysis of patterns marked as potentially relevant is under way, and some initial results are also briefly mentioned in Section 5. Some of the most eye-catching items in the upper part of the lemma lists (lemmas that caught our attention in light of the controversies surrounding British Naturalism described above) were, thus, also investigated through qualitative analysis of KWIC concordances, showing the focus lemmas in their original co-text; this was carried out within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (e.g. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), making reference, in particular, to the systems of Transitivity and Modality.

Finally, using the *Free online word cloud generator* (www.wordclouds.com, last accessed 12 November 2021), we produced two word clouds visually representing, at a glance, the presence of words ending with the suffix *-ism* in both BN and RM, to which we turn in the following section.

4. A view from the clouds: a panoramic vision of the relation between Zola and English naturalism

This section considers the relationship between Zola and English naturalism through a comparative analysis of the above-mentioned word clouds that are showed in Figure 1 below.



FIGURE 1. BN corpus and RM corpus word clouds: **ism*

We decided to set out a search on the bound suffix *-ism*, as this carries relevant semantic meanings concerning theories, doctrines, states, systems and traits (www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ism, last accessed 12 November 2021) and hence provides a first rough idea on general themes and issues that

are mentioned in the works of Zola and in those of the writers included in our corpus. Surprisingly, despite the fact that our corpus includes only those writers that are mentioned by Gosse as being influenced by Zola, it appears that there is little overlap in the two cloud representations, with *criticism* and *catechism* as the only two words that appear in evidence in both corpora, though with different degrees of relevance.

The information provided by the above word cloud view also partially contrasts with that contained in the aforementioned literary histories. Here, though mentions of Zola are scant, his influence on this movement is unanimously taken for granted and also explicitly mentioned in relation to the writers in our corpus. References to Zola in *The Routledge History of Literature* (Carter and McRae 1997) provide a connection between the French writer, Gissing (p. 299) and Hardy (p. 341). The Oxford edition of *History of English Literature* (Albert 1979) mentions Zola only twice and both times in relation to Moore (p. 468; 476). In *English Literature in Context* (Poplawski 2008), Zola is mentioned right at beginning of the “Naturalism box”, where he is credited with providing the main literary influence on English Naturalism, while “evolutionary theory and ideas of biological determinism” (p. 549) taken from Darwin make a contribution to this movement from a social perspective. The box ends with a mention of Zola’s influence on Gissing, Moore and Hardy and points out that, apart from these, few other British writers “adhered to Zola’s theories or practice in a wholehearted way” (p. 549), aligning in this way to Gosse’s above-mentioned position about Zola’s marginal role in English Naturalism and about the writers he influenced. The influence of Zola and Darwinism is also at the core of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*’s entry which, however, does not make any direct mention of English writers.

Critical works focusing specifically on English Naturalism stand in stark contrast to these positions, aligning this way to our word cloud findings. Joyce opens his account of Naturalism with two responses to the work of Zola that on the surface seem to suggest that the strong negative attitude of the British public towards this writer in 1889 had changed considerably by 1893. In actual fact, Joyce’s interpretation provides proof that British readers and writers never changed their initial opinion. The first response Joyce recalls dates back to 1889 and is the prosecution and imprisonment of the publisher Henry Vizetelly under obscene publications legislation for releasing affordable translations of Zola’s works. The second response that only on the surface seems to contradict the first one is the invitation issued by the Authors’ club to Zola to speak in London in 1893. However, as Joyce goes on to write, historical records show that this event was snubbed by all the major authors of the time – including the Naturalist writers in our corpus – and those that attended were largely unknown and upcoming writers seeking to draw attention to themselves.

If Joyce, like other critics such as Keating (2008) before him, convincingly shed doubts on Zola's influence on English Naturalists by resorting to historical facts, the word cloud findings provide additional proof of this based on the different kind of topics that can be found in their respective works.

Focusing our attention on those words that are most in evidence in the BN corpus and that appear marginal or completely absent from the RM corpus, we find two lexical groups. One group is made up only of two words that appear to be among those most in evidence in BN: *journalism* and *realism*. They can be grouped together because, by referring to a style of writing and a literary movement or genre, they provide examples of writers' meta-commentary. Though a more in-depth qualitative analysis would be needed, this seems to hint at close connections between the BN corpus and Realism, as already theorised in general criticism (see Section 2). It could also be hypothesised that, through comparatively frequent references to writing as form, English Naturalists showed that they actively and consciously engaged in reflections aimed at establishing Naturalism as a literary style, a hypothesis that, save for a few exceptions (see Joyce 2015: 9), remains to be explored.

The second lexical group that appears comparatively in evidence in BN is connected to the religious and spiritual sphere. This includes words that appear in evidence such as *mysticism*, along with others less in evidence including *catholicism*, *puritanism*, *protestantism*, *paganism*, *anglicanism*, *buddhism* and *sacerdotalism*. The numerosity, heterogeneity and relevant role of the words belonging to this lexical group point to religion as being a central issue in our corpus in contrast to RM. Besides calling into question the influence of Zola, references to religion also provide an alternative critical narrative that firmly locates the naturalist writings in our corpus within the influence of the Victorian context.

Generally speaking, despite the fact that the study of scriptures and Darwin's theory of evolution made it more difficult to accept the literal truth of the Bible, the Victorian period was far from irreligious. Indeed, religion appears to be ever-pervasive and to play an important role, in particular in British social studies and politics. As far as the former are concerned, the relevance of religion is testified by the work of Charles Booth (1840-1916), a British Empirical sociologist mainly known for having provided one of the most complete surveys on poverty, and who also extensively investigated religious influences in a seven-volume work (see O'Day 1989). As concerns politics, religion historians have recently pointed out that "religious allegiance remained one important factor in voting behaviour in the past-1867 electorate [...] and that in the early twentieth century, the picture was not much different" (Packer 2003: 239). The important role of religion in politics further explains another difference between the BN and RM word clouds, which concerns the absence of topics connected to politics in the former, but

which appear in evidence in the RM cloud with the words *socialism* and *despotism*. These connections between English Naturalists and the Victorian social, political and religious environment activated by the word cloud analysis have provided an alternative to widely accepted, much repeated but little investigated truisms on English Naturalism. This lends support to findings in specialised literature that see English Naturalism as a Victorian movement possibly reacting to its French counterpart, creating alternative research paths that originate from an automatic investigation of a selected group of literary texts.

5. An overview of (mainly quantitative) corpus findings

This section focuses on recurring themes and the representation of characters in English Naturalism, (re-)considered through the lens of a mainly quantitative analysis of our corpus.

Though not explicitly mentioning any English writer, the entry for Naturalism-art in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (see Section 2) provides a description of characters that closely matches the evolution and characterisation of several of the main protagonists of the works selected for our corpus:

Individual characters were seen as helpless products of heredity and environment, motivated by strong instinctual drives from within and harassed by social and economic pressure from without. As such they had little will or responsibility for their fates, and the prognosis for their 'cases' was pessimistic at the outset. [...] Despite their claim to complete objectivity, the literary naturalists were handicapped by certain biases inherent in their deterministic theories. Though they faithfully reflected nature, it was always a nature 'red in tooth and claw.' Their views on heredity gave them a predilection for simple characters dominated by strong, elemental passions. (www.britannica.com/topic/naturalism-art)

The quantitative data provided below lay the groundwork for our initial observations and hypotheses, to be further verified through qualitative analysis. Table 2 includes the top 75 items in the lemmatised wordlist for the BN corpus: these are the most frequent lemmas, excluding very common items such as the definite article *the* (which typically ranks first, even in corpora of a very different type). While it is true that mere frequency cannot, in and of itself, guarantee significance (as perfectly demonstrated by the case of *the*), one may also argue that high frequency vocabulary (especially as far as lexical words are concerned) is a pointer to potentially meaningful topics. However, as can be noted by looking at Table 2, not all grammatical words were excluded from our analysis: that is, upon reflection, we opted for leaving in subject pronouns, but also negations and modal verbs, hypothesising a connection between them and some of the key themes of Naturalism as described by literary theory, such as negativity and determinism.

No.	Lemma	Freq.	No.	Lemma	Freq.	No.	Lemma	Freq.
1	I	11,424	26	Take MatP	1,147	51	Give MatP	703
2	He	9,492	27	Get MatP	1,131	52	Hear MenP	694
3	You	8,611	28	Should	1,125	53	Leave MatP	687
4	Not	8,350	29	Good	1,109	54	Love MenP	676
5	She	8,277	30	Little	1,043	55	Eye	667
6	It	8,113	31	Tell	1,010	56	Find MatP	654
7	But	4,616	32	Seem	982	57	Life	650
8	Say	3,706	33	Day	954	58	Marian	633
9	Would	3,000	34	Kate	943	59	Last	631
10	They	2,825	35	Never	934	60	Let	611
11	Go MatP	2,800	36	Must	918	61	Work MatP	611
12	No	2,331	37	Jude	910	62	Begin	610
13	If	2,274	38	Ask	903	63	Nothing	608
14	Will	2,262	39	Tess	899	64	Turn MatP	596
15	Come MatP	2,116	40	Woman	898	65	Girl	583
16	Know MenP	2,016	41	Way	897	66	Old	582
17	Think MenP	1,955	42	Thing	854	67	Word	581
18	Could	1,951	43	Might	822	68	Mind	567
19	See MenP	1,854	44	Dick	745	69	House	558
20	Now	1,567	45	Speak	735	70	Walk MatP	549
21	Can	1,482	46	Feel MenP	734	71	Year	547
22	Man	1,460	47	Long	733	72	Live MatP	547
23	We	1,346	48	Hand	719	73	Sue	538
24	Look MenP	1,264	49	Face	715	74	Room	538
25	Time	1,243	50	Shall	709	75	Wish MenP	537

TABLE 2. BN corpus lemmatised wordlist: top 75 items. MatP = material process; MenP = mental process

Below we discuss some noteworthy aspects emerging from the data in Table 2.

Negations: *not* (No. 4), *no* (No. 12), *never* (No. 35) and *nothing* (No. 63). Although

grammatical markers of negative polarity have been shown to play key roles in different types of literary texts (cf., e.g., Hidalgo-Downing 2003 on Heller's *Catch-22*; Fischer-Starcke 2009 on *Pride and Prejudice*), in our specific case we interpret them as evidence of a negative attitude towards, and a pessimistic view of, life in general (as doomed to failure in a "deterministic" way), permeating the corpus. A lemmatised list of the most frequent 3-grams found in the corpus, which was separately generated by using the SketchEngine n-gram function, confirms the presence of a strong negative polarity. The top 10 items include no fewer than 7 negative structures (verbal base forms/lemmas inserted between asterisks): *I *do* not* (No. 1), **do* not know* (No. 2) *I *can* not* (No. 3), *it *be* not* (No. 5), *there *be* no* (No. 6), *you *do* not* (No. 8), *he *do* not* (No. 10).

Modal operators: these are numerous, and concentrated in the topmost part of the lemma list (Nos. 9, 14, 18, 21, 28, 36, 43 and 50) with a prevalence of *would* (No. 9) and *will* (No. 14) as typical markers of modalization: probability with a median/high value (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, Chapter 4)³. These deserve further investigation, taking into account their original co-text, once again in connection to a possibly deterministic view of life emerging from the novels in this corpus. From this viewpoint, also noteworthy is the presence of *must* (No. 36). In a random sample of 100 concordances for *must* (approximately 11% of the total), qualitative analysis revealed that the vast majority of occurrences enacts a high value of modulation: obligation, sometimes on the verge of inescapability, as in the following example from *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (notice also the presence of *can*, with negative polarity): "What I am in worldly estate, she is. What I become, she *must* become. What I cannot be, she cannot be".

Body parts are represented by items such as *hand* (No. 48), *face* (No. 49), *eye* (No. 55), but also, broadly speaking, *mind* (No. 68). We interpret these as markers of the presence of *meronymic agency*: a stylistic technique construing fragmentation in the characters' agentivity patterns. This brings about the "(literal) disembodiment of a character", which "often makes what they do, say or think appear involuntary, cut adrift from conscious intervention" (Simpson 2004: 44). At the same time, however, the presence of *mind* might imply a focus on the characters' cognitive faculties (see also the discussion of cognitive mental processes below).

The two lemmas *man* and *woman* (Nos. 22 and 40, respectively), construe universal categories in opposition to individual characters and their specificities.

Lemmas that can be connected to the category of material processes, that is,

³ Value in modality refers to the strength of the modal judgement: for example, in the realm of probability, certain (high), probable (median), possible (low) (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 149).

processes of doing and happening taking place in the physical world (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 179ff.), indicated with the label *MatP* in Table 2: these stand in opposition to lemmas linked to the category of mental processes (*MenP*), which are processes of sensing, taking place in our inner world of consciousness (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 197ff). Mental processes are further divided into processes of perception, cognition, desire and emotion in the Systemic Functional model of transitivity. In Table 2, the items expressing cognition (*know*, No. 16; *think*, No. 17) rank higher than those expressing perception (*see*, No. 19; *look*, No. 24; *hear*, No. 52)⁴. Particularly interesting, in our view, is the presence of *love* (No. 54) construing emotion, and *wish* (No. 75), construing desire. Recalling the view on characters in Naturalism provided by the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, mentioned at the beginning of this section, we would have expected a lower incidence of rational and emotional processes⁵.

Moving now to a comparison between BN and the BNC as reference corpus, Table 3 below provides the top 72 items (those with a keyness score higher than 2.000) in the lemmatised list of keywords. Besides using the stoplist, we removed from the final results proper names of characters from BN, which obviously tend to occupy the higher ranks.

No.	Lemma	Score	No.	Lemma	Score	No.	Lemma	Score
1	Dear	5.000	26	Mr.	2.400	51	Let	2.200
2	Mrs.	4.700	27	Soon	2.400	52	He	2.200
3	Shall	3.900	28	To-Morrow	2.400	53	Man	2.200
4	She	3.500	29	Fellow	2.400	54	Theatre	2.200
5	Husband	3.400	30	Suppose MenP	2.400	55	Kiss MatP	2.200
6	Speak	3.300	31	Exclaim	2.400	56	Dairyman	2.200
7	Reply	3.300	32	Nothing	2.400	57	Beg	2.200
8	Marry MatP	3.200	33	Inquire	2.400	58	Ask	2.100
9	Wish MenP	3.000	34	Never	2.400	59	Woman	2.100
10	Ought	3.000	35	Pass MatP	2.400	60	Face	2.100

⁴ For the sake of simplicity, we link *look* to the category of mental processes, stressing its perceptual component, though it should be noted that Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 251) prefer to classify it as a behavioural process that is “near mental”.

⁵ *Feel* (line 46) emerged from analysis of a sample of 100 KWIC concordances as being used mainly in a perceptual sense; however, more extensive analysis of the related KWIC concordances is necessary in order to disambiguate the actual semantics of this verb in the corpus, as it may also realise emotion depending on the context.

11	Wife	3.000	36	Miss	2.400	61	Heart	2.100
12	Love MenP	2.900	37	Lady	2.300	62	Laugh	2.100
13	Girl	2.900	38	Little	2.300	63	Tone	2.100
14	Cry	2.900	39	Mind	2.300	64	Conversation	2.100
15	Thought	2.800	40	Eye	2.300	65	Enter MatP	2.100
16	Moment	2.600	41	Ee	2.300	66	Room	2.100
17	Hear MenP	2.600	42	Morning	2.300	67	Come MatP	2.100
18	Walk MatP	2.500	43	Evening	2.300	68	Friend	2.100
19	Murmur	2.500	44	Landlady	2.300	69	Fadge	2.100
20	Glad	2.500	45	Voice	2.300	70	Door	2.100
21	To-Day	2.500	46	Lodgings	2.300	71	Soul	2.100
22	Silence	2.500	47	Over	2.300	72	Fancy MenP	2.100
23	Father	2.500	48	Literary	2.200			
24	Mother	2.500	49	Seem	2.200			
25	Poor	2.500	50	Afraid	2.200			

TABLE 3. BN corpus lemmatised keywordlist (reference corpus BNC): items with keyness score > 2.000 (top 72). MatP = material process; MenP = mental process

The presence of some items is certainly determined by a difference in spelling between the two corpora (e.g. *to-day*, *to-morrow*, notice also *ee* for *you*). As for modals, Table 3 only includes *shall* (No. 3) and *ought* (No. 10), whose presence is probably motivated by their decreasing popularity in contemporary standard English (see Leech *et al.* 2009). The absence of other modal operators suggests that they are highly frequent in both corpora: therefore, our claim concerning modal operators as potentially expressing a deterministic attitude towards life in BN (see Table 2 above) definitely needs to be verified through manual, qualitative investigation. At the same time, recalling that the keyword list includes items that are significantly more frequent in our focus corpus (BN), Table 3 seems to provide further evidence for other aspects that were stressed in Table 2.

With reference to negations, we find again *nothing* and *never* (No. 32 and No. 34, respectively).

Several body parts figure in Table 3 as well: *mind* (No. 39), *eye* (No. 40), *face* (No. 60), and now also *heart* (No. 61), possibly confirming the “metonymic” perspective on the characters’ inner world hypothesised above.

Table 3 again includes *man* and *woman*; furthermore, the semantic field of marriage emerges through items like *husband* (No. 5), *marry* (No. 8, also a material process) and *wife* (No. 11).

Finally, in terms of transitivity, material processes are less numerous and generally differ from the ones we saw in Table 2; mental processes of cognition and perception also show a different breakdown but, interestingly, *wish* and *love*, linked to emotion, figure again in the upper part of the list (to be noted, in connection to this, is also the “new entry” *kiss*, a material process: No. 55).

With Table 4, we shift our focus towards the translations of Zola’s *Rougon-Macquart* series: the table provides the top 75 lemmas in the lemmatised wordlist for the RM corpus.

No.	Lemma	Freq.	No.	Lemma	Freq.	No.	Lemma	Freq.
1	He	49,879	26	Leave MatP	4,738	51	Young	3,042
2	She	36,713	27	Long	4,666	52	Tell	2,903
3	It	28,788	28	Feel MenP	4,645	53	Nothing	2,859
4	No	23,587	29	Think MenP	4,620	54	Door	2,755
5	You	21,466	30	Give MatP	4,591	55	Open MatP	2,747
6	I	18,807	31	Room	4,440	56	Keep	2,694
7	They	16,477	32	Old	4,304	57	Hear MenP	2,682
8	Would	10,641	33	Hand	4,301	58	Should	2,663
9	Go MatP	10,372	34	Eye	4,287	59	Remain MatP	2,621
10	Say	9,506	35	Seem	4,276	60	Fall MatP	2,582
11	Come MatP	8,265	36	Madame	4,261	61	Begin	2,491
12	See MenP	7,804	37	We	4,246	62	Stand MatP	2,469
13	Take MatP	6,690	38	Get MatP	4,035	63	Ask	2,436
14	Now	6,617	39	Last	3,776	64	Night	2,425
15	Not	6,203	40	Turn MatP	3,725	65	End	2,419
16	Man	6,203	41	Woman	3,558	66	Must	2,403
17	Look MenP	5,914	42	Never	3,426	67	Pass MatP	2,396
18	Make MatP	5,693	43	Great	3,376	68	Speak	2,390
19	Could	5,667	44	Head	3,294	69	Child	2,378
20	Will	5,618	45	Find MatP	3,282	70	Monsieur	2,344
21	Little	5,524	46	House	3,265	71	Work MatP	2,324

22	Day	5,080	47	Way	3,186	72	Bring MatP	2,276
23	Time	4,955	48	Face	3,156	73	Life	2,264
24	Know MenP	4,884	49	Quite	3,149	74	Might	2,233
25	Good	4,759	50	Become	3,057	75	Voice	2,217

TABLE 4. RM corpus lemmatised wordlist: top 75 items. MatP = material process; MenP = mental process

Overall, BN and RM exhibit similarities with reference to the lemmas in the upper part of the list, but there are also potentially interesting differences.

We find again the same negative adverbs/pronouns already highlighted in the BN corpus (Nos. 4, 15, 42, 53).

Modal operators figure again (Nos. 8, 19, 20, 58, 66, 74). Their distribution, however, is slightly different; furthermore, *shall* (cf. Table 2, No. 50) does not appear in RM.

The same body parts already highlighted in Table 2 emerge, here too, as possible markers of meronymic agency: *hand* (No. 33), *eye* (No. 34), *face* (No. 48). There is, however, a noteworthy exception: *mind* (Table 2, No. 68) disappears and is replaced by *head* (Table 4, No. 44). Could this be another sign of an inner perspective on the characters' behaviour in British Naturalism, setting it apart from its French counterpart? This is an intriguing hypothesis, which could also be connected to the observations on the emergence of a religious theme in the BN corpus (see Section 4).

We also find again *man* and *woman*, the same universal categories identified in Table 2 above (Nos. 16 and 41, respectively, in Table 4). To be noted, in connection to this, is also the fact that characters' names are totally absent from Table 4, differently from Table 2, while impersonal forms of address, such as *madame* (No. 36) and *monsieur* (No. 70), feature strongly.

Finally, concerning lemmas connected to the categories of material and mental processes, the presence of the former is noticeable, even more so than in the BN corpus (11 items in Table 2 vs. 16 items in Table 4). As for the latter, *see* and *look* (perception, Nos. 12 and 17, respectively) are here more frequent than *know* and *think* (cognition, Nos. 24 and 29), while *love* and *wish* are totally absent. This breakdown may be interpreted as marking the presence of a more decidedly materialistic view in Zola's works.

6. Concluding remarks

As a way of concluding, we cannot but point out that this remains work in progress and that much still needs to be done in terms of further research and also revisions. In particular, in relation to the influence of Zola on our writers, if findings from specialised criticism have been replicated and confirmed in our corpus analysis, the relation between religion and Naturalist writings is merely sketched out and remains to be further investigated. As concerns characterisation, hypotheses formulated as a result of our quantitative analysis, as already hinted above, need to be further tested through a selected qualitative analysis from our lemma list. While our work progressed and more data and critical material emerged, we noticed some flaws in our choices that need to be addressed. The most important one concerns the way we compiled our corpus. Further investigations of the Humanity Index (see Section 1) seem to point to the fact that our choice of writers inspired by Gosse is excessively conservative. We replicated our search on Proquest with *English Naturalism* as keywords (see Table 1), added the names of our writers and found that Thomas Hardy is mentioned 53 times, George Moore 23 times and George Gissing 9 times, totalling 85 mentions, only 31% of the total mentions previously obtained. We also felt that our quantitative investigation could have benefited from a more specific reference corpus than the BNC; the *Corpus of the Canon of Western Literature* developed by Green (2017)⁶ could provide a much more specific reference corpus for our purpose, which we plan to test in future.

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II. ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

*METAPHOR COMPREHENSION AND PRODUCTION
IN ITALIAN EFL LEARNERS:
A PILOT STUDY*

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In the application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to English Language Teaching (ELT) much focus has revolved around receptive competence, neglecting productive competence. This pilot study aims at bridging this gap and at probing the effectiveness of well-established cognitive approaches to metaphor instruction. After collecting data via means of quantitative questionnaires, pre-test and post-test results were compared to investigate the efficacy of 6-hour classroom interventions. The analysis of the data showed that receptive ability was the only ability that improved significantly, suggesting that enhanced comprehension of metaphors is not directly transferred into production. Therefore, this study calls for new avenues in metaphor and language learner research and for more efficient pedagogical practices which may allow students to actively master figurative expressions.

Conceptual metaphors, applied cognitive semantics, ELT, metaphorical competence

1. Applied Cognitive Semantics: State of the Art

A world without metaphors would be dull and monochromatic. Without them, we would lack many abilities: for example, we would not be able to talk about our emotions, to hedge our points of view or to gesticulate. By building invisible yet solid bridges between two seemingly distant concepts, metaphors enable our minds to economize by approaching the new through what we already know, and to talk about the familiar in more captivating and creative terms. As a dynamic and efficient means of enlivening language, metaphors reveal speakers' deepest cognitive behaviours and preferences. Exploring this versatile and multifaceted phenomenon from different perspectives, almost all disciplines have engaged in metaphors. Nonetheless, it was with the cognitive turn in linguistics that the realm of figurative language proved to be

surprisingly fruitful in studying the interrelation between language, concepts, and the world we live in. According to cognitive linguistics, the link between form and meaning is grounded in our bodily experiences. In other words, in experiencing reality, we make use of a range of “intermediate informational structures” (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007: 3) through which we segment the continuum of reality into accessible categories. Among these “structures”, metaphor is the clearest example of categorization and the most accessible repository of our world and conceptual knowledge (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007: 188).

The pervasiveness of metaphors in language, and most notably in thought, was uncovered by the publication of *Metaphors We Live by* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), which stressed how conceptual metaphors are essential mental devices which help us make abstract reality (*target domain*) tangible by drawing on concrete concepts (*source domain*) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). This milestone also paved the way for a proliferation of cognitive approaches to the teaching/learning of English known as “applied cognitive semantics” (Evans and Green 2006: 48-50). Looking at meanings as the product of conceptualization, the main tenet of this strand of research based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) is that learners are more likely to learn figurative expressions effectively if they are aware of their motivation (Hoang 2014: 2). By way of example, the sentence “students need to show *a firm grip on* figurative expressions” vividly expresses how students have to conceptually “manipulate” figurative language in their minds in order to understand them. In this metaphor, UNDERSTANDING is thought, and referred to, in terms of MANIPULATION. Touch is indeed an essential sense through which we map the world around us from the earliest years of our life. To put it simply, research has widely shown that the discovery of the abstract-concrete mental connection epitomized in metaphors results in deeper cognitive elaboration and consequentially in higher retention of figurative language (Boers 2012; Philip 2005). However, the benefits of the application of conceptual metaphors to language learner production are still rarely touched upon.

Since metaphors abound in everyday discourse, students of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) are bound to be faced with them. Yet, while EFL students’ discourse may be grammatically appropriate, learners tend to avoid metaphoric expressions, which may be seen as thorny because of their illusory arbitrariness. What students are reported to lack is metaphorical competence, namely the ability to comprehend and produce metaphors in a language (Littlemore and Low 2006).

As it turns out, there is no single agreed-upon scientific definition of the term ‘metaphorical competence’. Nonetheless, in the voluminous literature on metaphorical competence, there seem to be two main classifications: a narrower one, which stems from Danesi’s theories (1992, 2016), and a broader one, which

derives from Littlemore's studies. The first view considers metaphor as a mere conceptual phenomenon and metaphorical competence as part of conceptual competence, that specific ability through which we correlate the L2 linguistic system to the conceptual one. Conversely, Littlemore contends that metaphor permeates all aspects of communicative competence (grammatical, illocutionary, textual, and sociolinguistic competences). Littlemore sees metaphorical competence as a form of intelligence interwoven with a series of mental capacities: analogical reasoning, associative fluency, and image formation (Littlemore and Low 2006: 52-59). The upshot of this is that metaphorical intelligence can be possessed by individuals to different degrees and can be fostered with explicit strategies in the EFL classroom (Littlemore and Low 2006: 85-96). However, one feature is missing from these definitions: the ability to recognize the ubiquity of metaphor, namely "metaphor awareness" (Boers 2004). Several empirical studies have indicated that, in contrast to rote memorization, awareness-raising activities are found to be more effective by cementing the relationship between the figurative meaning of an expression and its more concrete meaning. Many questions arise, though, on how to turn this awareness into long-term acquisition and therefore into productive competence (Hoang 2014: 3).

Most of the studies to date adopt Danesi's perspective (1992, 2016), which revolves solely around receptive competence and does not highlight the fact that most figurative language is formulaic. One of the few exceptions is represented by Philip's analysis of the figurative language produced by Italian advanced learners of English. Addressing the un-naturalness that characterizes their production, Philip examined the outcome of a two-hour lesson on the use of metaphors in newspaper headlines. Despite being explicitly asked to be creative when producing the headlines for two articles, none of the learners ventured into the figurative realm (Philip 2005: 18). In another study, the scholar explained how small inaccuracies in form can lead the expression back to its literal meaning. Metaphor and formulaicity are interconnected and the more figurative a word string is, the less its form is prone to variation. More often, what students tend to do is decompose collocations and rephrase them in the target language. In the miscollocation *to enlarge own's views* (1), the informant generated a verbatim translation of the Italian expression "allargare i propri orizzonti". *Allargare* was probably chosen in lieu of *broaden* or *widen* because of its similarity with *large* (Philip 2010: 7):

1) [...] you can meet people belonging to different cultures, nationalities, races; you have the chance **to enlarge** your **views**.

Philip therefore goes against Danesi's theory of "conceptual" error, claiming that, on top of insufficient metaphorical competence, there is the lack of knowledge of the formulaicity of metaphorical expressions. She therefore

concludes that a CMT-informed approach is suitable for comprehension but could be a deterrent for production because students might think that metaphorical expressions are unusual and used only in specialized texts, such as literary ones (Philip 2010: 8-10).

Italian EFL students are not the only ones struggling with metaphors. In their study on metaphor production, Kathpalia and Carmel (2011) analysed the production of Chinese learners of English at university level. The corpus was made up of 113 texts in which students were asked to write a speech answering the question “If you had a minute in front of an international audience, how would you prove yourself to be a worthy ambassador of the university?”. The analysis of the data showed that, although students produced various kinds of metaphors (grammatical, textual, and illocutionary), these proved to be unidiomatic (e.g. *a place of chances* in lieu of *a world of opportunities*). As for grammatical metaphors, most students tended to produce miscolllocations (*to take the role* in lieu of *to play the role*). Likewise, Qatari English learners have been reported to neglect metaphors in their production, not being capable of discerning the literal from the metaphorical. More specifically, via a comprehension questionnaire, learners were asked to identify the target domains of a set of metaphorical expressions (such as “Her grandson is the *apple* of her eye”). In their responses, students provided only literal explanations (e.g. *apple of one’s eyes* means to be “as fat as an apple”) (Alsadi 2016).¹

Regarding experimental research into metaphorical competence, it can be subdivided into two major categories: elicitation research and naturalistic research. Whilst the former refers to the use of questionnaires to measure the understanding and production of metaphors, the latter indicates the use of metaphors in free (spoken or written) discourse (O’Reilly 2017: 29). As for the treatment studies which delve into applied cognitive semantics approaches, metaphors are usually presented in groups organized by a common theme (e.g. *to call someone’s bluff* and *to have an ace up one’s sleeve* for LIFE IS A CARD GAME), along with discussing, comparing and origin guessing-activities; by simply showing the common origin of different expressions (*to jump the gun* and *to give a green light* belong to different kinds of RACE); or by underlying the literal meaning of a word (this applies especially to collocations like *to grasp an idea*). At the heart of these approaches is a common criterion in selecting targeted metaphors: their imageability (Boers 2012: 96). According to the Dual Coding Theory (Paivio 1983), a word is stored in our mind both verbally and as an image; exploiting the mental image which a metaphor can trigger may

¹ The sample was made up of 40 university students. This study was conducted via a questionnaire, a writing test and interviews. The questionnaire involved food metaphors, the writing test was a comment on the expression “Learning English is a piece of cake” and interviews were short conversations mostly regarding the completion of the questionnaire (Alsadi 2016).

improve metaphor acquisition (Boers 2012: 96-97). Conversely, little has been said on how we can foster students' ability to use metaphors. Boers points out that CMT-informed approaches "provide retrospective explanations, but they do not have great predictive power" (Boers 2011: 243). More studies are therefore needed to understand if metaphor awareness and improved comprehension skills can be transferred to production.

2. Methodology

The present elicitation pilot study is located within the theoretical framework of Applied Cognitive Semantics and aims at verifying the efficacy of pedagogical treatment based on the application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory to the teaching/learning of EFL figurative vocabulary. To be precise, it tries to answer the following research questions:

What is the level of the sample's metaphorical competence (in terms of awareness, comprehension and production) before and after the teaching interventions?

Did the competence improve after the classroom interventions? Namely, are the CMT-informed strategies effective in implementing students' metaphorical competence?

The pedagogical approach adopted was tested on a sample of 26 first-year university students whose English level corresponded to a B2 level according to the CEFR (*Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*)². Their first language was Italian, and, at the time of the experiment, they were attending a course on English Language and Translation at the University of Catania (Ragusa). It is important to underline that the informants had never been instructed in the notion of conceptual metaphors. To show this, a brief survey was administered prior to the completion of the pre-test. As expected, all 26 students answered the question "Can you give a definition of metaphor?" using the words "literary device" or "figure of speech" that compares two things, disregarding the conceptual aspect of metaphors.

The experiment took five face-to-face meetings to complete, ten hours in total. During the first two hours, a pre-test was administered, while the following three meetings were used for explicit classroom interventions involving how to notice, analyse and arrange metaphorical expressions according to the conceptual metaphorical themes that motivate them. These instructions included the well-established strategies in researching applied conceptual metaphors mentioned in the following section (i.e. grouping,

² Council of Europe (2001), *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, available at <https://rm.coe.int/1680459f97>, accessed 9 September 2019 (accessed on 26.07.2021).

guessing activities, semantic elaboration) (Alhaysony 2017). One month after the last meeting, a delayed post-test was given to the students. This second in-class test was similar to the pre-test but involved the expressions addressed in the classroom.

3. Classroom interventions

The teaching phase consisted in three meetings of two hours each. The first meeting was an introduction to the main theories of Cognitive Linguistics intended to show how language reflects the way we think. Subsequently, students were presented with the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by emphasizing the way abstract meaning is mostly motivated and grounded in our bodily (and cultural) experience. From a theoretical point of view, these first two meetings aimed at highlighting the ubiquity of metaphors in all kinds of discourse (academic discourse, advertising, gestures, literature, and so on) and at raising informants' metaphor awareness.

The last meeting was intended for students to gain a greater understanding of the formulaic aspects of figurative language. This third meeting was probably the most important one, since its desired goal was that of making students conscious of the mechanisms that lead their vocabulary learning. Most of all, learners were aided in drawing on their L2 competence and world knowledge in order to recognize and comprehend L2 metaphorical collocations, phrasal verbs and idioms. Whenever the participants had difficulties, they were encouraged to turn to their L1 linguistic and conceptual repertoire.³

The metaphors addressed in the classroom were mostly selected for their teachability and learnability, namely for their imageability (Boers 2012: 96). Therefore, a metaphorical expression was used in the interventions if it presented a link between the abstract meaning and the concrete one which is grounded in our experience, physical or cultural. Furthermore, metaphors were presented in context (mostly at sentence level) and grouped according to their underlying theme relating to the source domain (e.g. JOURNEY), rather than to the target one (e.g. LIFE). Expressions with similar form or meaning were avoided so as not to cause cognitive overload (Boers 2011: 249). Lastly, it is imperative to stress that Conceptual Metaphor Theory was not used as a mere means of grouping vocabulary but as an instrument to exploit the imagery of figurative expressions. As we will see in the last section, experiential/etymological elaboration is more likely to result in long-term acquisition than mere clustering (Trojszczak 2016).

³ Even in the presence of shared conceptualizations between L1 and L2, knowing the conceptual metaphor does not prevent L1 transfer. This is especially true if we consider how metaphor varies when crossing languages (Philip 2010:1-4). As Kövecses (2005) points out, even if the overarching metaphor is shared, the linguistic metaphors may be expressed through subtle nuances.

The most widely deployed strategies to develop the retention of metaphors were awareness-raising and meaning/origin guessing activities. While the first type of instruction consists of helping students to recognize the non-arbitrary nature of metaphors along with possible cross-cultural and linguistic differences, in guessing activities learners are asked to read an input sentence or text and guess the meaning of the highlighted expression. This type of educated inference turns into semantic elaboration as long as it is guided by the researcher and is followed by feedback. Hence, whenever the students could not provide an adequate answer, the researcher advised them to find the more concrete meaning of a word/expression or to uncover the features of the source domain that are projected into the target one. For instance, when presented with the sentence “The ugly *side of* his personality comes out when he is under pressure”, students were requested to answer the questions:

1. When do we usually use *side of*? With what kind of entities?

If no answer was given, the researcher guided the students in the inference process through a series of inputs:

2. Think of something that has many faces;
3. Think of a cube;
4. Personality has many faces;
5. Personality is a cube.

Finally, as for their production, students were mainly asked to produce brief sentences, above all during group or pair activities, to cement in their mind the target expression they had been working on during the activities we have just seen.

4. Data collection and analysis

To assess the efficiency of the strategies used, I developed a pre-test and a post-test. Both questionnaires were analogous in structure involving closed questions (multiple-choices, gap filling exercises, a cloze test and an odd-one-out exercise) for the comprehension part, and an open-ended question for the production part. To measure the participants' ability to recognize figurative language in use, an awareness section was designed with a text taken from Alitalia's in-flight magazine *Ulisse*. To complete the task, students had to read the text and underline the words that they thought were not used literally.⁴

As Philip contends, receptive and productive abilities should be addressed separately (Philip 2005: 16). For this reason, they were tested as two different competences. For most of the comprehension part of the test⁵, I deployed

⁴ The choice of a tourist text is motivated by the fact that the participants were attending a Translation course on Tourism discourse. The word ‘metaphorically’ was not used because some students might have not known what a metaphor is.

⁵ Henceforth, all the metaphors mentioned were used during the pedagogical treatment. Since

multiple-choice items. As question (8) shows, three possible answers were provided for each question: two were metaphorical, one right (a) and one wrong (b), and one was a literal paraphrase of the expression given (c)⁶ (see Danesi 1992: 495). The latter may be triggered if students translate the expression into their native tongue, in this case Italian, for instance, in the context of the following question:

8. *“I got cold feet when I learned the trip involves white-water rafting” means that:*

- a) When I heard about it, I suddenly became too frightened to do the white-water rafting
- b) When I heard about it, I was anxious to do the white-water rafting
- c) When I heard about it, my body suddenly froze

“To get cold feet”, which metaphorically means “to become too scared to do something”, could be interpreted as a physiological reaction to the coldness of water. This literal meaning could be triggered by the misleading context or by the lack of knowledge of the seemingly opaque figurative sense of the expression. Regarding the degree of opacity of the expressions, it is important to note that the metaphors selected for the tests showed different degrees of transparency: while some expressions are present in the L1 of the participants, Italian (e.g. *to get on someone’s nerves*; *to regain ground*; *to get out of hand*), others are specific of the English culture and do not have a counterpart in Italian (e.g. *to draw the line*; *something is beyond someone*; *to get cold feet*; *to be caught red-handed*).

Since the literal translation was always wrong, I included in every test three distractor items that involved non-metaphorical expressions (e.g. *it is unlikely*; *to give lectures*; *to leave to*). I calculated the score of the metaphorical questions and the score of the distractors separately. The maximum score that a student could achieve for the first ones was 130, whilst the maximum score for the second ones was 20. The overall score achievable in a single test was 150. I therefore considered 70/130 as a sufficient metaphorical score.

Multiple-choice questions were not the only type of items used. In this specific kind of question, students can identify the correct answer by chance. For this reason, fill-in-the-gaps, a cloze test, and paraphrase activities were also included in the test.⁷ More precisely, the cloze test was not facilitated and consisted in a short text where several metaphorical collocations of TIME IS MONEY were deleted (e.g. *to spend time*; *to have/buy extra time*; *to waste time*).

pre-test and post-test are similar in structure, only the design of the post-test will be addressed in detail to give examples of the expressions that were addressed during the classroom intervention.

⁶ The position of the correct answer was randomly changed for every item.

⁷ Another item similar to the multiple-choice questions was the odd-one-out in which students are asked to identify the wrong combination (e.g. *silver tongue* – *silver look* – *sharp tongue*).

The first period of the text was not modified so as to give the students enough insight on the topic of the text.

For the production part, students were asked to produce a brief text (200-300 words maximum) to answer the following question:

Think about your life and write a few lines about the decisions or experiences you think were the most relevant (e.g. difficulties, goals, risks). Try to include the words *path*, *way*, *step* and *road* in your text.

This question provides valuable insights since the words *difficulties*, *goals*, and *risks* usually collocate with metaphorical verbs (i.e. *to overcome* a difficulty, *to achieve* a goal and *to take* a risk). For the same reason, students were encouraged to use the words *path*, *way*, *step*, and *road*, which might elicit the idiomatic expressions of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY (e.g. take the usual *path*; get in the *way*; *step* by *step*; to go down that *road*).

The results of the comprehension test and those of the production test were calculated separately. The maximum score that a student could achieve in the comprehension test was 150. I therefore considered 80/150 as a sufficient metaphorical score. By contrast, to estimate the number of metaphors used in the production, I calculated the metaphorical density, that is the number of metaphors per total lexical units. Metaphors were identified via MIP(VU) and were marked as metaphorical if correct not only in form but also in use. In this case as well, the maximum score was 150 and the minimum score was 80.

Since the notion of metaphor has not been rigorously defined in experimental studies, the expressions produced were marked as metaphorical through the Metaphor Identification Procedure of the VU University Amsterdam - MIP(VU) in short. This methodology provides researchers with a certain degree of objectivity to distinguish metaphor in discourse, regardless of the theoretical framework upon which a study is built. The MIP(VU) consists of the following steps:

1. Read the text entirely.
2. Establish the lexical units
3. Check if there is a more basic meaning of the lexical unit. The basic meaning is the most concrete, specific, and human-oriented meanings in contemporary language use.
4. Determine if the basic meaning is sufficiently distinct from the contextual meaning.
5. Determine if the contextual meaning can be related to the more basic meaning by some form of similarity.
6. If the requirements of steps 3, 4 and 5 are satisfied, you can mark the unit as metaphorical.

In order to understand how the identification procedure works, it is necessary to provide some clarifications. MIP(VU) can give account of metaphors as such in contemporary use. This means that historical metaphors

cannot be detected through this procedure. To identify the basic meaning, the *MacMillan Dictionary, Free English Dictionary and Thesaurus Online* (<https://www.macmillandictionary.com/>) and the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (<https://www.ldoceonline.com/>) were used. As for lexical units, metaphorical multi-word units, such as idioms, are counted as one if they are present in the British National Corpus (BNC) list⁸ or enlisted as one lexeme in the dictionaries suggested.⁹

By means of example, in the sentence “*Throughout* my life, I have always tried to focus on my duties”, *throughout* can be marked as metaphorical because it has a more basic meaning that coincides with MED (1) “in every part of a place”, and a contextual meaning that is MED (2) “during the whole of a period of time or an event”. Since the basic meaning and the contextual one are different enough but linked via some degree of similarity, the unit can be marked as metaphorical.

The MIP(VU) was also deployed to identify the metaphors in the text taken from *Ulisse* for the awareness test. In this case, 21 units out of 56 were metaphorical. For this section of the test, the results were calculated separately and in terms of percentage of students that identified at least 10 out of the 21 metaphorical lexical units.

5. Results and limitations of the study

The sample showed significant progress in the ability of recognizing metaphors. While in the awareness pre-test only 19.23% of the students could identify the metaphors in the excerpt, this percentage rose to 57.69% in the post-test. On the contrary, the pre-test and post-test comparison (see Table 1) indicates that while students’ metaphorical competence increased significantly in terms of comprehension, it did not do so in terms of production. More specifically, learners tended to either avoid metaphors or translate Italian concepts into English (e.g. “money *puts itself in the way*” in lieu of *gets in the way*).

	<i>Receptive MC</i>	<i>Productive MC</i>
<i>Pre-test</i>	38.46%	30.76%
<i>Post-test</i>	80.76%	50.00%

TABLE 1. Percentage of students whose metaphorical competence (MC) was adequate

⁸ List of Multiwords and Associated Tags in BNC2, <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/bnc2/multiwd.htm>.

⁹ MIP(VU) makes it possible to identify metaphorical phrasal verbs as well. Nonetheless, I am not examining phrasal verbs guidelines since no student produced any.

The reason why students showed no significant progress in metaphor use may be twofold. Firstly, since metaphors were presented mostly in single sentences and students were not repeatedly exposed to the same expression during their learning process, the input might have been too poor. Along with this, it is possible that the strategies used were not sufficient to cement in students' minds the link between form and meaning. This resulted in a lack of confidence in using metaphors. Metaphorical expressions are highly phraseological and although students might gain a firm grip on how conceptual metaphors work, they could have problems retrieving the appropriate wording from concepts (Philip 2005). Research has shown that cognitive semantics is ideal for receptive competences rather than for production. According to Boers, a CMT-based approach draws students' attention to meaning and cannot foster form retention, especially when dealing with longer phrases (Boers 2011: 236-237). In other words, awareness-raising or grouping activities along with semantic elaboration does not have positive effects on the linguistic level but mostly on the conceptual one. For this reason, classroom interventions should include several production tasks where students can reuse the expressions learned (Boers 2011). This "recycling" should be reiterated over time and should not be limited to the production of mere sentences. Moreover, delayed post-tests are also to be preferred in order to verify possible long-term learning effects and to test students' ability to transfer their conceptual metaphor awareness to expressions encountered incidentally.

Another possible reason which might be adduced to explain the absence of metaphors in the informants' productions is that due to time constraints the production test addressed only the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Therefore, a future study could be improved by adding production tests that cover a wider range of metaphors. Beside filling these gaps, further research could also rely on experimental-control group comparisons. In so doing, adopting solid criteria in the choice of the instructed metaphors is pivotal. Indeed, this study highlighted how some metaphors were not suitable for their intended purpose, namely raising awareness on how our metaphor brain works. For instance, the widely used example of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR turned out to be misleading. Since WAR was not perceived as concrete, students had problems identifying the source domain of the aforementioned conceptual metaphor. By the same token, in LIFE IS A JOURNEY, the more concrete concept, JOURNEY, is not tangible and students might not have understood which entailments (e.g. vehicles, travellers, roads) and linguistic instantiations of the metaphor referred to the source domain. In the next section, I will tackle this problem in greater detail by advocating a possible more fruitful theory to be applied to metaphor instruction: the theory of Objectification (Szwedek 2011).

Lastly, in future research it could be meaningful to adopt a broader point of view. Since metaphorical competence is made up of several sub-competences (lexico-grammatical; textual; illocutionary; sociolinguistics), it may be desirable to test the impact of metaphor knowledge on each one of these sub-competences before making assumptions about the overall metaphorical competence of a student. The only sub-competence addressed here is the lexico-grammatical one and it might be insufficient to offer insights into other aspects of such a complex phenomenon (Mitchell 2014: 84-85).

6. *Teaching implications*¹⁰

Mastering a word (string) might be effortful for EFL students who need to know its meanings, forms (spoken or written) and uses (e.g. collocations, register) (Nation 2001). These three features are usually separate in the mind of a learner. Furthermore, when students encounter figurative expressions, they are normally provided with synonyms, translations and paraphrases rather than with their conceptual motivation (Boers 2000). This results in the tendency to teach metaphorical meaning at later stages, as if it were separated from literal meaning.

It is usually argued that literal meaning is memorized more easily because of its imageability. In fact, research has shown that while native speakers bypass the concrete meaning of an idiomatic expression, in non-native speakers' minds both meanings, literal and metaphorical, are active. (Boers and Lindstromberg 2009: 87). This might be seen as a disadvantage, but it can be turned upside down. Although the word 'horse' is effortlessly associated with the image of the animal in our conceptual system, some idiomatic expressions can be paired with mental images too. Let us think of the expression "beating a dead horse". The visualization of the literal meaning is straightforward, but the connotational, cultural sense (MED1: "to waste time on something that will not happen") might be problematic (Boers and Lindstromberg 2009: 87-88). In this case, the literal meaning needs to be exploited to attach a specific mental image to the seemingly obscure metaphorical meanings (Boers 2011: 240-242).

Covering the bulk of figurative language during EFL classroom time is virtually impossible. Moreover, learning metaphors can be daunting: it means not only learning linguistic elements, but also acquiring concepts and mastering the way of thinking in the target language/culture. Although explicit pedagogical strategies can show the systematicity of the metaphorical phenomenon, students cannot retrieve the linguistic instantiation from a

¹⁰ The strategies presented in this section are intended for students who have attained a high level of metalinguistic competence. Therefore, they are primarily aimed at students whose English level is B2 according to the CEFR (Council of Europe 2001).

conceptual metaphor; likewise they cannot implicitly derive metaphorical conceptualizations from mere exposure to vocabulary, whether figurative or not. As a matter of fact, it is easier to draw a conceptualization from a linguistic form than vice versa. Since conceptual knowledge is drawn in our mind from the linguistic expressions collected over time, guided metaphorical-language acquisition should primarily provide students with scaffolded models of observation to build upon their metaphor repertoire when self-studying (Philip 2010: 13).

For students to become metaphor aware and independent learners, it is imperative to choose the targeted expressions wisely and increase the benefits of classroom time. Besides mnemonic learning potential, two other criteria usually guide the choice: familiarity and transparency. Boers and Lindstromberg (2009: 88) advise against the use of highly frequent metaphorical expressions which are likely to be learned incidentally, maintaining that teaching unusual expressions could be more fruitful. However, since the most common expressions are also the most transparent ones, it is also advisable to present examples of frequent phrases at the earliest stages of the learning process. For learners to learn unfamiliar phrases, it is important to respect Krashen's hypothesis of comprehensible input and start with expressions that contain words familiar to the students (Lowery 2013: 15-16).¹¹

Some metaphorical expressions show a more transparent correspondence between the concept they conceive and the wording. This type of metaphor, which usually requires etymological elaboration (e.g. *to jump the gun* comes from the domain of race) (Trojszczak 2016), tends to be culture-bound and might be more opaque in meaning. As a consequence, it should be presented later than expressions with a meaning grounded in our physical experience such as *to collect your thoughts*, *to grasp an idea* and *to have a firm grip on*, in which mental activities are motivated by what Szwedek (2011) defines as "the ultimate source domain": touch. Indeed, the way we interact with physical objects (e.g. manipulation) permits us to tell concrete and abstract entities apart easily. For this reason, the application of Szwedek's Theory of Objectification to EFL teaching and learning seems to be more suitable than sole Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Compared to etymological elaboration, experiential elaboration (i.e. physical elaboration) promotes a deeper level of semantic elaboration and might have more positive retention effects because it can prevent students from facing problems in understanding which domain is concrete (Trojszczak 2016).

¹¹ It has been shown that students are more likely to learn a collocational pattern if only one of the words is unknown (Philip, 2010: 4-7). Indeed, metaphorical competence is also directly linked to vocabulary size and depth. If students' vocabulary is not wide enough, they cannot infer from the context the implicit message that a metaphorical expression conveys (Boers, 2012: 84-85).

As seen earlier, scholarship has shown how learners' enhanced awareness of conceptual metaphor is beneficial for comprehension and retention, while not providing sufficient insights into recall and production. While on the one hand metaphor comprehension facilitates the acquisition of new vocabulary, on the other hand conventional metaphor production develops more slowly. According to Schmitt (2010: 87-88), language learners first attain grammatical and morphological features (such as collocational use), which is essential for meaning recall, and become able to recall the form of a word/expression at later stages. This claim was demonstrated in Bennet's study (2017) on the weekly production of 46 EFL Japanese students (23 in the control group and 23 in the experimental one). The results of the pedagogical treatment showed that there was little difference in overall metaphor production between the two groups. As a consequence, one can hold that incidental acquisition of metaphorical vocabulary is unlikely and that, even when explicitly exposed to CMT, students need a considerable amount of time to expand the meanings of their productive vocabulary.¹² Since learners tend to stick to safe options, they evidently need to work repeatedly on metaphors in order to feel comfortable using them. By the same token, expressions should be presented and "recycled" throughout the following three stages: noticing (i.e. awareness activities); semantic (experiential and/or etymological) elaboration; reuse (written/spoken) (Boers 2011: 240-241). Since this study widely addressed the first two phases, I will now focus on the last one.

For the reuse of metaphors,¹³ a useful activity could be the rephrasing of a narration, either fictional or real. In small groups, students can rewrite a story by placing emphasis on the metaphors used in that specific register (i.e. formal or informal) and situational context (e.g. bar or courtroom). Alternatively, students can be asked to rewrite a text or, to make the task more challenging, to paraphrase a thought by avoiding metaphors in their production. For instance, students can be requested to use only literal meanings when talking about love or the feelings triggered by a beautiful sunset. This kind of task would show how metaphors are essential in certain types of discourse (Balboni 2018: 120-124).

¹² Both the experimental and control group were exposed to the same course material and to the same input questions. Yet, in the control group metaphors were presented in the material but not highlighted, whereas in the experimental group they were explicitly taught.

¹³ Balboni (2018: 122-129) stresses that the production of texts, oral or written, requires three phases: conceptualization, design and production. To foster the first two ones, it is advisable to spend some time to brainstorm, in small groups, the ideas that will be used in the text. Along with this, we could ask students to write a spider diagram starting from a key word (e.g. *way*) to find all the expressions that they could use in the text placing emphasis on metaphors (e.g. *along the way, to get in the way*) (Balboni, 2018: 119-122).

Like rewriting, retelling is found to have positive effects on recall by facilitating students' reading retrieval. In their experiment, Pedrazzini and Nava (2018: 66-70) asked high school students to work in pairs: one reads a text where phraseological expressions are highlighted in bold and has to retell the story to the other student, who has to verify if the retold story was faithful. This oral challenge was first completed in 4 minutes, then in 3 and finally in 2. Surprisingly, the highlighted phraseological expressions were not excluded from the retelling process. By simply substituting the expressions in bold with metaphorical ones, this task can be a useful reuse activity to foster figurative language uptake.

Moreover, phraseology lends itself very well to the enhancement of the three aspects of lexical competence (use, meaning and form) (Philip 2010:13).¹⁴ Formulae are very important in language, serving a wide range of purposes, from mere referential functions (let us think about content words like *running water*), to evaluative ones (when a speaker uses the expression *to jump the gun*, they are implicitly expressing their opinion on the situation). Most notably, since metaphor and phraseology go hand in hand, building learners' formulaic repertoire is known to facilitate figurative vocabulary acquisition. This is due to one main feature of phraseology: its predictability (Lindstromberg and Boers 2008: 84-86). Lindstromberg and Boers (2008: 27; 78-79) suggest some tasks to teach chunks. Although these activities were not thought up specifically for metaphorical expressions, they can be easily adapted to teach them. By means of example, in *Remember My Change*, the teacher reads a text aloud and changes some metaphors. Once they have finished reading the text, students need to report the changes they managed to identify. This type of task poses a playful challenge and increases students' motivation to learn. This is also the case for the task called *Guess My Chunk*, a variation of the well-known game *Twenty Questions*. In this game, students can use twenty Yes/No questions to guess a character. Replacing the character with an idiom, students can try to guess an idiom like *to get hot under the collar* by asking the following questions: *Are there five words in the chunk? Is the middle word a preposition? Does it refer to emotions? Does it refer to an action?*, and so on and so forth. In so doing, students implicitly work on form and meaning at the same time.¹⁵

¹⁴ According to Philip, it is ultimately the knowledge of the collocational patterns of metaphorical expressions that help students be conceptually proficient. To teach the use of collocation is paramount to focus on Verb+Noun patterns at beginner levels, and on Noun-Adjective and Verb+Adverb for advanced ones (Philip 2010: 4-7).

¹⁵ Due to the high number of students per classroom, the university setting is not always suitable for this kind of activities. Moreover, keeping track of the interactional competence seems less challenging when teaching smaller groups of learners. For this reason, I have not included tasks that could foster this competence.

7. Concluding remarks

CMT-based instruction dominates the current literature on researching the teaching and learning of figurative language. Yet, the results of the present study appear to indicate how this approach has reached the limits of its potential. The improvements in the post-test reveal the positive effects on recognition and passive retention of the metaphorical meaning that result from bringing back to life its bodily motivation (see examples *to collect your thoughts*, *to grasp an idea* and *to have a firm grip on* in the previous section). However, the same positive outcome was not achieved for production. In other words, while on the one hand it is true that learners who are familiar with the metaphorical motivation of meanings can acquire and comprehend English figurative vocabulary more effectively (Boers and Lindstromberg 2009), on the other hand this acquired knowledge is not enough for them to use metaphors actively.

Although further research with a control group is required, I would conclude that CMT-based instruction needs to be integrated with more efficient production strategies to turn the receptive skills into productive ones. As Philip (2010) states, language students may not be able to infer the linguistic instantiation of a mental metaphor. Moreover, they need to develop knowledge of the phraseological properties of metaphor, rather than concepts alone. The upshot of this is that production requires more than semantic elaboration, and vocabulary instruction alone, sometimes poorly contextualized, is not enough to develop metaphorical competence as a whole. In order to use metaphors, learners need to work on the different functions that metaphors serve in different kinds of texts. The more students are explicitly exposed to metaphors, the more they can enrich their vocabulary implicitly, both in terms of depth and breadth, during self-study. As teaching the overall English lexis is an impossible endeavour due to time restrictions, teachers could attempt to raise interest in words. In a life-long learning perspective, metaphor-conscious students need to develop self-study abilities and should be encouraged to reflect on metaphors whenever they encounter them, in or outside the classroom (Mitchell 2014: 84-85).

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*OVERCOMING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE CLASSROOM WALLS
THROUGH THE USE OF ONLINE ROLE-GAMING:
A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO THE USE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF
CLASSCRAFT IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING*

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In the last two decades, teaching software tools have been implemented in everyday practice, applied to improve learning in different subjects, including foreign languages. The use of a virtual space and the application of dedicated software packages have long been studied (Ghislandi 2014; Miller 2014; Hampel and Stickler 2015). *Gamification*, a term defining the use of principles of gaming in teaching, has emerged as a new trend. Although the use of games, especially, in foreign language teaching is not a novelty in itself, this new application through an online environment has shown new potentialities. *Classcraft* is a virtual space, inspired by the D&D role game, where students are led through a series of quests, set up by the teacher. Previous studies on *Classcraft* have considered different perspectives: its motivational push, (Haris and Sugito 2015), the students' experience (Sanchez, Shawn, Jouneau-Sion 2016) and general performance and engagement (Papadakis and Stamatios 2017). Off the beaten path, implementing a virtual classroom promises to be an effective tool for English language acquisition. This paper intends to explore the potentialities of *Classcraft* in teaching English as a foreign language, in order to provide a first (provisional) assessment on its adequacy and feasibility in the English class according to EFL principles.

Applied Linguistics, gamification, task based approach, Classcraft, TEFL

1. Introduction

In the last twenty years, the use of internet and ICT devices and software in schools has increased and nowadays a special emphasis is placed on online and blended teaching and learning. Particularly during the pandemic COVID-19 emergency, schools globally had to find new resources and new

methods to teach students of all ages, levels and, above all, subjects, posing a great challenge for all the key-players in education: schools, teachers, students and their families. However, language teaching and technology have always co-existed because L2 and Foreign Language teachers have long made use of a technological support, whether a CD player or an Interactive Whiteboard (IWB), which in both cases have been used to provide students with good models of pronunciation and spoken interaction. The communicative approach has fostered the use of these technologies and internet 2.0 has promoted the sharing of practices and ideas and ultimately the prospect of a true multimedia learning experience. At the same time, interest in game implementation, namely videogames and the related software, has led to the rise of what is now called gamification, which can lead to an increased amount of engagement and motivation in learners (Hong and Masood 2014; Buckley and Doyle 2016; Alsawaier 2018). Thus, new ICT software can combine with games to provide a meaningful learning experience in English Language Teaching as well as in other subjects.

2. Multimedia teaching methodology: e-learning and learning objects

The use and implementation of new technologies in ESL teaching are fundamental to keep pace with students' technological background as time goes by. However, they do not imply the reduction and/or the total disappearance of the teacher's role but they can represent a motivational spring for the students towards learning as well as a push for new teaching settings and environments which were unthinkable in the recent past. Consideration of two main factors is important when implementing learning technologies: the equipment and tools used to teach and learn and all the methods adopted in teaching and learning on a technological basis (Fierli 2003: 96). Thus, in this broad category, e-learning can be considered as a technological support for teaching practices (Ardizzone and Rivoltella 2003: 43), hence the elimination of the difference between old and new approaches, i.e., between traditional and multimedia teaching. These new tools may in fact be considered as an integral part of classic teaching approaches, but, by adopting them, the nature of the learning environment and the teacher's role change. As a result, the idea of a classroom as a physical space loses its connotation in such a perspective; in fact, online spaces fuzz their boundaries and they can expand or decrease according to the learning situation and students' needs. So, the concept of classroom, in online teaching, leaves the floor to the idea of a learning space where students can experience and implement learning practices. Five models were proposed by Ardizzone (2003: 51-62): the traditional lesson, distance learning, the online course, the online virtual group and the community. Among those, the "virtual group" has the

distinctive feature of seeing the teacher in the role of prompter and organiser of online collaborative tasks – a peculiar and specific role in gamification, as will soon be shown.

When it comes to defining the content of the teaching/learning process, it is possible to refer to the early definition given by the Learning Technology Standard Committee (Ghislandi 2012: 12) according to which a learning object is a digital and non-digital entity which is used to learn, instruct, educate and could be re-used in the learning process supported by technological tools. According to this quite broad definition, the digital content, the learning software, and multimedia resources can be considered as learning objects. There are two fundamental features of any learning object: its re-usability and combinability with other learning objects. At the basis of these two properties there is the idea of an acquisition process which entails the active participation of the students in a course, elaborated and conducted by the teacher, where new knowledge is constructed collaboratively. The digital content used in the learning process is similar to the digital content used by digital natives in their free time. At first sight, it presents a new type of textuality: as it is made of multimedia elements, the knowledge on the computer screen is mediated and has a mixed nature, which implies that iconic symbols are used with an analogical language, which in turn is typical in printed materials. In particular, the communication in the teaching process via a multimedia language promotes learning by immersion, where students learn by doing, thus creating a teaching environment which is perfect for learning a foreign language. The digital content can interact with reflexive cognition, by which the mind develops and produces abstract reasoning. With this in mind, the appropriate methodology used depends largely on the subject, so this study is intended to investigate which language approach is more suitable for a gamification activity and, in particular, for the opportunities given by *Classcraft*.

a. Gamification or thinking out of the box

The use of games, far from being a novelty in language teaching, and teaching practice in general, has led to gamification. The term itself is a relatively recent neologism and has its origin in the digital media industry (Paharia 2010). The first definition of it encompassed any form of interactive computer-based game software for one or multiple players to be used on any platform, developed with the aim of being more than simply entertainment (Ritterfeld, Cody, Vorderer 2009). In later years the focus has shifted to the idea of games as a tool to teach while entertaining, and the definition of gamification stresses the use of game design elements in non-games contexts (Deterding 2011). The latter was fully developed into the implementation of game-based mechanics, aesthetics and game thinking to engage people, motivate action, promote learning and solve problems (Kapp 2012).

Yet, the concept of gamification highlights the combination of *gamefulness*, *gameful* interaction and *gameful* design as distinct from the concepts of playfulness, playful interaction and/or design for playfulness (Deterting, 2011:10). So, the term gamification does not relate to the generic and broader category of “play”, which is characterized by freedom of action and lack of rules. The term gamification stems from the three fundamental characteristics that all games share (Reeves and Read 2009). The first feature is a clearly defined set of goals in order to define the scope of the player’s choice of actions. Secondly, all games have a rapid feedback system in which the consequences of the player’s choices and actions are presented immediately, establishing victory or defeat in the game. Lastly, they all have an ultimate and well-defined goal; the game finishes with an achieved goal or a condition of victory which is clearly defined and shows no ambiguity.

As can be seen, the definition of gamification has expanded from the simple use of some elements of game to a whole range of features which make the boundaries between pure entertainment and teaching very thin since gamification was basically and primarily conceived to increase students’ motivation. In fact, the ultimate passage is from gamification to *ludification*, where game elements are subtly combined to design a learning context where play can take place (Genvo 2013; Sanchez 2016). *Ludification* is seen as a reconfiguration of the class setting, with new interactions. It is not about the student adopting behaviour to conform to the class rules but rather adopting behaviour that, considering the rules of the game, leads to its improvement, because *ludification* does not consist of using game elements in a mechanical way, but rather in conceiving a *reflexive space* where the meaning of interactions is modified (Sanchez 2016).

The use of games and elements of games have been incorporated into different areas of life throughout history and this is particularly true of education. The use of games in education processes has the benefits of reaching high levels of interest and participation in students (Ariza Benavides 2001; Peña-Miguel and Sedano Hoyuelos 2014; de Freitas 2018). However, education has always contained elements or mechanics used in games, such as the gold star system, used at Primary School, when a sticker is assigned to students who perform well or the house system (as exemplified by the Harry Potter novels), where student houses gain points according to students’ performance and behaviour. It was 2010 when the rise of digital games pushed towards a research field of its own and led the way to what nowadays is called gamification. The implementation of ICT tools has also had the result of increasing the use of games in language teaching.

Gamification is thus the introduction or application of elements of games, especially in education, even though gamification was first designed and

implemented in business theory field. When applied to education settings and environments, gamification affects students' behaviour, their commitment and motivation, thus leading to the improvement of knowledge and skills conveyed (Hsin-Yuan and Soman 2013). As a report on gamification from Oxford Analytica in 2016 showed, unlike the use of a game in class, such as the use of a short game as an ice-breaker or filler during the lesson, gamification focuses on extracting the underlying principles of games and then trying to reconfigure an education experience based on them. According to the report, a successful gamification programme will look to use four freedoms of play, which constitute the principal liberty appeal for students and teachers alike. Firstly, students can enjoy the freedom to fail in games, which allows mistakes to be made with little consequence. Secondly, there is the freedom to experiment, since games allows players to explore and discover new strategies and information. Thirdly, there is the freedom to take on different identities, as games encourage players to see problems from a different perspective, not necessarily from a personal one. Finally, play offers the freedom of effort, because games allow players to go through periods of intense activity and relative inactivity, so that they can pause and reflect on the tasks they have accomplished. All these 'freedoms' represent a pedagogical shift for those students whose educational potential may be hampered by conventional teaching methods.

The elements specifically used in gamification activities are of three types: mechanical elements, personal elements, and emotional elements. There are three main types of mechanical elements in gamification, around which activities can be built. The first mechanical element is an incremental progression system: goals, challenges and quests are set and they are layered with subgoals, missions or quests, which become increasingly challenging for the player - in a shift to language teaching, a clear hint of Krashen is clearly detectable, in particular to the input hypothesis, where the learner improves and progresses along the 'natural order' when he/she receives second language 'input' that is one step beyond his/her current stage of linguistic competence (Raju and Joshith 2018). A second element is the badges, because games often incorporate visible symbols of achievement to encourage long term motivation. Finally, there is the instant feedback that is typical of games which are designed to be responsive; this entails that the expected impact of decision is often clearly displayed or readily available to the player. The personal and emotional elements from games to gamification activities are those which can ensure the engagement of the students. In the first set, the personal elements of gamification, students' engagement is increased by allowing players to create a sense of identity and this is entailed by the use of avatars, where the players/students take on new identities and roles which help them to make meaningful decisions in-game. Linked to this, there is the collective responsibility, which

stems from giving students a level of responsibility for their role within their team or group, and this may also increase their emotional investment in what they are doing. Finally, the names of the players or teams may be displayed often using a point-based system showing the accumulated results of their actions and decisions. As can be easily inferred, the personal elements of gamification are the core of the sense of belonging to a group and students' commitment to the activity organised. This is particularly true in language learning, where activities need to be meaningful to the students, as it can be when an activity has been charged with personal features, in order to help the passage from learning to acquisition. Turning to the emotional elements of gamification, one of the key principles of games is that they bring players into a mental state called the *flow* (Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi [2002] 2014). According to neuropsychiatry, flow is achieved by having a clear goal, clear immediate feedback and a balance between the challenge posed by the game and the skill of the player. Flow can be experienced in everyday life by observing any videogame players who appear to be so totally immersed in a game that they do not even realise what is happening around them. Gamification helps to establish flow by taking students out of their normal routine and presenting them with a series of tasks that are engaging enough to prevent their minds from wandering, keeping them focused on the topic and the language used throughout the activity.

As for its functioning, a gamification model should be made up of three elements: multimodality, task and feedback (Boynbode 2018: 186). This simplified model entails that the first element offers a variety of modes of interaction (made up sounds, animation, effects, and so forth) which connect a learner to the game. Secondly, the task offers a question or a problem within the game to help the learner to be exposed to and absorbed in the content. Finally, feedback reduces the learner's misunderstanding and also motivates the students to continue by telling them they have done something well and giving them a score, and, for this reason, it is vital to every educational game.

3. *The world of Classcraft*

Classcraft is an online learning environment which embodies the principles of gamification. Its interface and graphics are purposely similar to a Role-Playing Game in Dungeons & Dragons style, where each participant has a role (usually drawn from characters in a Fantasy story) but its scope is exclusively educational for every subject. According to the official *Classcraft* website,¹ it is an engagement management system that uses motivating gaming principles

¹ <https://www.classcraft.com/>

to address the human issues faced in education. In this framework, teachers launch the adventure (the lesson or a series of lessons) through the teacher dashboard, where they create classes and customize the rules. On the other side, students in teams level up and progress, so that their teams earn privileges in the real world (such as some free time or the chance to have a snack before the break) as well as in the game.

In particular, students have the chance to create and customize their own character, giving it special powers, tools or even pets. Students can choose between a Warrior, Mage (or Wizard) or Healer, each with specific powers and abilities; Warriors should protect the teams and use their powers to absorb damage for other players and Mages supply Action Points for their teams. Meanwhile, students can earn or lose several kinds of points: Experience Points (XP) – which help students to level up and unlock powers and can be gained through positive behaviour; Health Points (HP) – which are important to remain active in the game and they can be lost through negative behaviour in class; Action Points (AP) – which allow them to use their powers and are earned automatically every day; and Power Points (PP) – which are earned when students level up and allow them to unlock powers. Powers are nothing but privileges for the students or their teams. Some powers are set by default, others by the teacher and others can be adapted to the class.

Once in the virtual classroom, which resembles a board game since it is a map with different areas (stages) set up by the teacher, the teams face different objectives (tasks in a lesson) and gain points to advance the game, to the route map and the ultimate Quest Goal which marks the end of the game. The Quest objectives offer an option which enables assignments and students submit their work in order to complete the tasks (objectives). In such a learning environment, the role of teacher changes dramatically and becomes not only the instructor but also the Master of the game. As shown from studies on modern approaches to TEFL, the teacher is a facilitator for the language learners, assuming also the other roles of independent participant, (learning) needs analyst, counsellor and group processing manager (Kamalja 2014: 11). So, great creativity is needed on the part of the teacher in setting the tasks, the penalties and rewards and developing a story in which the teams of students can progress. In particular, through the dashboard, the teacher can customize Random Events, according to the students' behaviour and motivation. Random Events are basically messages that the teacher can throw in the game whenever it is required - they can relate to a quick task or game. One of the most interesting features is the chance to monitor the level of noise in the class through the computer microphone at any moment of the quest. All these things considered, not only does the teacher need to know students well but also the teacher's goal devolution is made easier, because the responsibility of the learning activity is transferred

from the teacher directly to the students, raising in this way their level of motivation and attention.

3.1 Previous studies on *Classcraft*

As stated above, *Classcraft* is not a software tool to teach a specific subject, since it is designed to engage and motivate students of different ages and school grades in any subject. Previous studies were conducted to measure the level of class management. In 2014 a study was carried out in two classes: one history-geography class of 32 students in grade 10 in France and two physics classes of a total of 66 students in grade 11 in Canada (Sanchez, Young, Jouneau-Sion 2016). Both schools had approximately 800 students in a well-off social context, but the French students were described as undisciplined and talkative, while the Canadian students were academically successful. The study, based on an ethnographic methodology, showed that the game experience seems to depend on a multitude of factors and the role of the teacher and his/her appropriation of the game was fundamental. Ultimately, the behaviour expected from students did not fundamentally change, but the meaning of the actions performed by students was changed by the game mechanics and the metaphor it entailed. The effectiveness of the proposed approach of *Classcraft* was the focus of a study in 2017 carried out with a sample of 30 students in a public high school in Heraklion, Greece, in a programming class for 16 hours (Papadakis and Kaloginannakis 2017). The study focused on the impact on students' attitudes towards their programming course and the improvement in the overall grades of the students in the same course. Although the study presents a few limitations, such as the small sample and its short duration, it showed that gamification through *Classcraft* could ensure engagement in the class and promote students' active participation. One of barriers, however, was the lack of methodologies and tools that would have allowed teachers to implement their approach in a more appropriate manner. So far, the studies have shown a rise in students' motivation and engagement, with particular emphasis on their behaviour and the new role that teachers should assume according to the principles of Gamification.

3.2 Is *Classcraft* useful in TEFL?

Since *Classcraft* is designed for different subjects, one may question whether the software can be adapted to English teaching and whether it is suitable for a specific teaching approach. Previous studies have shown the impact of videogames on the learning process, especially in raising motivation in learners (Osma-Ruiz, Víctor & Argüelles-Álvarez 2015). Apparently, *Classcraft* seems to have all the potentialities of a gamified or *ludified* experience, where

communication is at the centre of the learning process. The use of gamification in language teaching has the same advantages as mainly it helps the L2 learner in a number of personality factors which positively influence the L2 process (Self-esteem, Extroversion, Motivation, to name a few) and it enhances the learning of the four skills and motivates collaboration and interaction (Figueroa 2015). In particular, *Classcraft* can provide students with different communicative contexts taken from everyday life, stressing the role of the teacher, who, in a communicative approach, is seen as a prompter rather than a mere instructor and organises meaningful activities for the students. Finally, *Classcraft*, as has been demonstrated, clearly raises students' engagement and motivation. *Classcraft* was also studied with English-Medium Instruction (EMI) courses, those academic courses in which academic subjects (other than English itself) are taught in English in countries where the first language of the majority of the population is not English-speaking. In a study in Spain, computer-mediated techniques were combined with a multilingual approach through the use of *Classcraft*. The study showed the potential utility of the software for EMI courses because common problems that EMI teachers experience are related to low participation rates and student inhibition. Instead, *Classcraft* proved to have a positive impact, since the students demonstrated enhanced engagement, academic performance, motivation and participation (Trigueros and Sanchez 2020).

Few studies have been carried out on the use of the software to teach English at beginner level (A1/A2). One of the problems faced by teachers in Secondary School is the lack of interest and motivation in students when they learn a foreign language, and this may lead to disruption in the classroom. So, theoretically *Classcraft* could be used to ensure high levels of motivation with learning advances. In order to test this hypothesis, an action research experiment was carried out in 2019/2020 in a 12-hour module with a class of 12-13-year-olds at an Italian secondary school. At the end of it a qualitative questionnaire was completed by the students. What was fundamental before setting up the Quest and the topic of the lesson was the best methodology to be used according to the features of gamification and *Classcraft*, so at first three approaches were first examined: PPP (Presentation, Practice and Production), ESA (Engage Study Activate) and TBL (Task Based Language). For each of them, advantages and disadvantages were taken into consideration, also reflecting the structure of a possible *Classcraft* quest, students' interaction, and the role of the teacher. The three-stage structure of PPP (Harmer 2015) seems to adapt to the game, because these stages could fit in the route map of a possible quest, but, at a closer analysis, the drawbacks seemed to be more numerous, particularly the use of teacher talking time in the presentation stage, which is high. Moreover, PPP is an approach which encourages accuracy over fluency, and this could impede free communication exchanges during the quest and,

most of all, PPP does not allow any movement between the stages, with a rather rigid structure. From this perspective, the ESA approach appears more flexible and for this reason could fit in the Quest structure more easily. Among the other advantages, ESA is a student-led grammar discovery approach, where the role of the teacher is that of a guide. The main drawbacks seemed to be that free practice is expected in the last stage and not throughout the lesson, as in a Quest and it could be difficult, though not impossible, to insert grammar into the activity task during the lesson on *Classcraft*. For all these reasons, TBL was chosen in the end. Task Based Learning (Willis and Willis 2007) stems from Communicative Language Teaching and entails as its main conceptual basis experimental learning or learning by doing. More specifically, the TBL approach breaks down the barrier of the traditional classroom, as *Classcraft* does, because the roles of the learners and the teachers are significantly altered. Even the structure of a TBL lesson can be easily adapted to the Quest structure because its structure can be divided into several lessons which could be fit the Quest stages. Finally, students work in groups to achieve a final goal and this is strictly connected to the theory of gamification to which *Classcraft* is designed.

3.3 Action research experiment

The experiment was conducted before the pandemic emergency in December 2019 and January 2020 in a class of second year Middle School in Belpasso, Catania province (*Nino Martoglio* school). The class was chosen for their level of English, which was between A1/A2 and because it was a '2.0 class', that is a class where the use BYOD (Bring Your Own Device – students may use their mobile phones or other technological devices) or school tablets is regularly implemented. The class was made up of 21 students, with mixed abilities and skills but with no behavioural problems. The experiment was carried out for a total of twelve hours and the designed Quest focused on describing people's physical features and characters. After creating four different groups, the students were invited to create their avatars and start the Quest named 'The search for the hero', which had four different main stages at the end of which students should hand in an assignment. The four groups were presented with a framework for a meaningful learning setting in which the participants were to free the fictitious land of the game from danger by evoking the perfect hero. The Quest was divided in four main parts: 'the hero qualities' (a vocabulary task), 'heroes from the past' (a reading task about three biographies of famous people from the past), 'create your own hero' (a writing task where each team had to invent their own hero, describing his/her qualities and physical appearance and his/her story), 'the hero comes' (a speaking activity, where each team presented their own creation to the other teams). During the Quest several Random Events were launched to increase motivation and decrease any

possible lack of interest in the activity; at its end, there was the final fight, against an evil monster where all the teams were playing together (a summary quiz to check their knowledge at the end of the Quest).

Some drawbacks were noticed at the beginning of the experiment and those were mainly technical together with management issues which were tackled later. For the first kind of problems, some of the internet connections of the students' devices were not strong and stable enough for every lesson and some students faced some problems in logging. To add to these complications, some students kept on losing their credentials. From a teaching perspective, TBL was at first rather difficult for the students to follow, because they were expecting instructions which were embedded in the map and in the tasks. Some students kept on asking what they had to do because they did not read the instructions. Another problem was that it took students some time to understand that they had to work as a team. At first, they were not ready to split tasks and roles within the assignment. What appeared to be a challenge for them was the ability to re-use the vocabulary from the previous assignments to complete the following one. For instance, after the first step focused on a vocabulary activity, in the following assignment they needed to write a description and they wondered where to find the words, which clearly were in the previous task.

On the other hand, there were some positive aspects in the use of *Classcraft* with a TBL methodology. First of all, the students were all engaged, even those who were usually less interested in the activities and with a lower level of English. Disruptive behaviour was not noted, and they were more focused than usual on what they had to do. The four skills were mostly used, but probably a major emphasis was given to reading and writing over speaking and listening. The Random Events had a positive impact in raising the level of motivation and interest especially the Volume Meter, through which the class noise had to stay below a predetermined level set by the teacher.

This overall appreciation was also confirmed by responses to the questionnaire completed by the students at the end of the twelve hours. The questionnaire was made up of nine items, focusing on assessing the positive and negative aspects of using *Classcraft* and working in a team, from the students' point of view. The qualitative results showed that the students appreciated the framework provided by the story and the setting, as well as working in groups. In particular, they appreciated the use of a virtual environment, with the possibility of using characters and different powers during the Quest. Students did not perceive they had worked more than usual, such as during a traditional lesson. Finally, they did not feel that their level of English had improved dramatically but nonetheless they appreciated the new methodology linked to the software and its potentialities and showed the desire of future quests through *Classcraft*.

4. Conclusion

The action research plan conducted showed that the level of motivation and engagement of the students rose higher than during a traditional lesson and confirmed that *Classcraft* is well designed to reach this goal. Through observation in the class, students were more focused and performed the tasks assigned with increased interest. Nevertheless, a few issues should also be considered, first of all the use of TBL, whose process was at first rather difficult for the students to grasp, as they were not accustomed to teamworking and having a certain degree of autonomy in the learning process. Obviously, this can be overcome by spending some time to explain the way TBL works and how students should organise their teams and share internal tasks and roles. At the same time, this would suggest that the role of the teacher has changed and proved to be that of an instructor and a guide. So, when implementing such activities through *Classcraft*, a certain level of creativity and sympathy with the students is fundamental in order to raise a higher level of engagement. Hence, tasks should be clearly adapted to the students' level of English and need to be different at every Quest set by the teachers in order to maintain the interest and not to enter into a kind of routine. For this reason, using gamification and *Classcraft* should be temporary, in alternation with traditional lessons. Nonetheless, for future developments, further research could be carried out in terms of hours and class typology in order to develop protocols and procedures centred on *Classcraft* for young learners of English. In the long run, such further studies could contribute to the production of a complete course in English through the use of *Classcraft*.

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*THE ROLE OF ELF-ORIENTED MEDIATION STRATEGIES IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION:
NEW TRENDS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATION TEACHING*

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In recent decades, mediation in its multi-faceted operational representations has received great attention in different fields of social sciences such as sociocultural theory (Lantolf and Thorne 2007), language learning (Kohler 2015), language acquisition and language socialization (Duff and Talmy 2011; North and Picardo 2017), intercultural communication and translation strategies (Beneke 2000; Byram 1995, 2008; Hynninen 2011), and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) studies, with a particular focus on migration contexts (Guido 2012, 2018; Sperti 2017). Moreover, new descriptor scales related to the notion of mediation – already mentioned in the 2001 *Common European Framework of Reference* as a fundamental aspect of the co-construction of meaning – have been developed in the CEFR Companion Volume (Council of Europe, 2020). The present study aims to illustrate the development of different language mediation strategies through the introduction of specific tasks and activities within ELF-aware academic ELT (English Language Teaching) courses for language and cultural mediation and international communication. The research focus is on the pragmalinguistic processes activated by ELF users involved in intercultural encounters, who appropriate the English language differently, according to a process of authentication (Widdowson 1979), not only on the basis of their own different native linguacultural ‘schemata’ (Carrell 1983), but also of specific pragmatic goals and purposes (Seidlhofer 2011; Mauranen 2018). Emerging real-world ELF ‘hybridization’ processes, adopted as learning tools in ELT practices, are particularly useful for enhancing learners’ awareness of communicative dynamics and the conscious use of mediation skills and strategies in multicultural settings.

Mediation, English as a Lingua Franca, intercultural communication, ELT, CEFR

1. Theoretical background: mediation in intercultural communication and in language teaching

Mediation is a human ability which has been explored in several research fields such as psychology, pedagogy and the social sciences. In recent decades, mediation has received great attention in learning theories and in the exploration of intercultural communication in plurilingual contexts. Firstly, mediation is an underlying notion in Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory (SCT) (1934, 1987), where he claimed that higher forms of thought are "mediated" by culturally derived artifacts, such as signs, and that language use, forms, and structure are the primary means of mediation. In the SCT perspective, more specifically:

when we communicate socially, we appropriate the patterns and meanings of this speech and utilize it inwardly to mediate our mental activity, a phenomenon called private speech (Lantolf and Thorne 2007:202).

The emerging vision of language acquisition as socialization into communities of practice through the mediation of signs and its implications in the field of language education has informed the CEFR illustrative descriptors and scales for mediation (see for example, Council of Europe, 2020; North and Picardo 2017) and further influenced the research field of intercultural communication (Byram 2008; Baker 2015).

In recent decades, mediation has been redefined in different fields of scientific research, from a socio-cultural and anthropological perspective, where the intercultural mediator is someone who can:

operate their linguistic competence and their sociolinguistic awareness of the relationship between language and culture and the context in which it is used, in order to manage interaction across cultural boundaries, to anticipate misunderstandings caused by difference in values, meanings and beliefs, and thirdly, to cope with the affective as well as cognitive demands of engagement with otherness (Byram 1995: 25).

In the area of language teaching, mediation has acquired paramount importance not only in the updated CEFR edition (2020), but also in a wider pedagogical perspective, where mediation:

involves a constellation of teachers' conceptual frames, practices and ways of being that are at the play in any given moment and which are interwoven over time in the act of language teaching" (Kohler 2015: 193).

At the same time, the cultural aspects of communication cannot be ignored when considering mediation and its relation to language. Communication is becoming increasingly defined through the use of the adjectives 'intercultural' or 'transcultural' to highlight the bridging function of cultural power in interactional contexts, especially in plurilingual ones. And as suggested by

Beneke (2000), this frequently happens in ELF communicative settings:

to account for the relationship between language and culture in intercultural communication through ELF, it is necessary to view it from a more complex perspective than the culturally deterministic or culturally neutral perspective described above. [...] It is crucial that the connections between language and culture are explored as situated in the instances of communication investigated (Beneke, 2000:13).

As a consequence, communication strategies for effective inter-lingual exchanges are essential in plurilingual contexts, and the ability to mediate across languages, and cultures, by means of inter-lingual mediation is central in the language learning process.

Mediation strategies represent “those techniques used by mediators to perform successfully when moving from one language to another” (Stathopoulou 2015: 90). It is within this perspective that mediation becomes pivotal in developing learners’ awareness and understanding of successful communication strategies in multicultural exchanges. Mediation reveals its usefulness, particularly with multilingual learners¹ if their internal thinking process is also stimulated by the use of an additional language, which may thus become part of classroom practice as a tool to scaffold learners’ thinking and their L2 acquisition.

Mediation activities are often associated with the use and the adaptation of authentic materials in English Language Teaching (ELT) classrooms. The notion of authenticity in language teaching has recently been investigated in relation to globalization and of ICT use and, as a consequence, to the emergence of new understandings of authenticity and the relevance of localized language use. Local teachers are likely to be the only ones capable of identifying appropriate local resources, responding to learners’ needs and engaging them in authentic exchanges through meaningful tasks, whereby learners would use all the language resources they daily employ within and outside the classroom. This type of approach can thus empower learners as confident language users and encourage teachers to develop materials to accompany course-books or grammar books, building strong local teacher communities (Lopriore 2017: 189).

2. Research focus: mediation and ELF in the English language classroom

Recent studies and research on mediation are particularly related to migration policies, socio-cultural inclusion, intercultural communication, language teaching, translation strategies and the use of English as a global

¹ In this study the term “multilingual” refers to contexts in which several languages coexist, while the term “plurilingual” refers to the speaker’s ability to speak and use several foreign languages.

language or as a lingua franca (ELF) (in Italian contexts, e.g. Gavioli 2016; 2018; Guido 2008; 2018; Lopriore 2015; Sperti 2017; Vigo 2015). In European multilingual and multicultural contexts, mediation has become an essential measure aimed at reducing the distance between two (or more) poles of otherness. Mediation is a notion which was officially introduced into the Council of Europe's *Common European Framework of Reference* (2020), where mediation acquires a crucial role as a new form of managing the interaction in classroom activities as well as in daily communicative situations, and as a factor in communicative competence. Mediation is presented here as fundamental in problem-solving and recommended as indispensable in plurilingual educational contexts.

Mediation and mediation strategies are central in communication contexts where non-native speakers interact in environments where there is an increasing use of English as a lingua franca. Mediation emerges as a process activated in ELF communication, as it facilitates socialization and cooperation among participants who "otherwise may not be able to participate" (Hynninen 2011: 965). In European contexts, the flow of migrants within countries traditionally identified as monolingual and monocultural, has radically changed the linguistic landscapes, providing a place for multicultural and plurilingual scenarios where communication is inevitably intercultural and mostly carried out in a lingua franca such as ELF (e.g. Guido 2008; 2012; Sperti 2017; 2019).

In professional settings, processes of cross-cultural mediation, especially in migration contexts, are very often characterized by the use of ELF variations. The negotiation of meaning is spontaneously carried out by participants through simultaneous action on different linguistic levels – namely linguistic, paralinguistic and extralinguistic ones – creatively exploited by ELF users in various ways. Indeed, speakers involved reveal the use of different strategies of appropriation and authentication of the English language according to L1 linguacultural schemata and pragmalinguistic processes. In these multifaceted interactional dimensions, where English may be a foreign language for the host speakers but a native language for the migrant, very often "gatekeeping" and status asymmetries (Guido 2008) among the participants in interactions influence the natural exchange of illocutionary intentions (meant as the speaker's attitudes and meaning conveyed) and perlocutionary effects (meant as the receiver's responses and reactions). The exchange of speech acts affects the whole communicative process from speakers' prosodic strategies to register and conversational dynamics (Sperti 2017). In the investigation of mediation processes involving ELF, gatekeeping asymmetries between the participants in interactions often emerge, especially in migration domains, where communication is characterized by challenging pragmalinguistic accommodation strategies and cross-cultural miscommunication (Guido 2008; Roberts and Sayers 1987; Seidlhofer 2011; Sperti 2017).

Introducing authentic materials, derived from ELF speakers' cross-cultural exchanges in migration contexts into the ELT classroom may have important pedagogical implications. ELF speakers' cross-cultural exchanges in migration contexts represent a useful resource for classroom implementation. Introducing authentic materials into the ELT classroom may have important pedagogical implications. In secondary education as well as in undergraduate and postgraduate courses, the exposure to real usage of the language in intercultural communication enable learners to become aware not only of the plurilingual and pluricultural dimension of interactions where lingua franca English is used but also of the possible miscommunication and communication breakdown resulting from status asymmetries in unequal encounters during cross-cultural mediation processes as well as daily spoken interactions in a multilingual and multicultural communicative dimension. This is particularly relevant when insights are gained from the new descriptors in the 2020 Companion Volume: here new scales for mediation are introduced with the aim of promoting more integrated, cooperative and collaborative classroom tasks, the implementation of cross-linguistic mediation and the development of plurilingual/pluricultural competence among language learners.

The exploration of authentic data involved in this study, derived from ethnographic research into migration and its impact on language use, was aimed at suggesting practices and strategies for the introduction of real ELF instantiations and the implementation of language activities in mediation training within the language classroom. In these situations, the "mediator" is called on to bridge gaps and resolve misunderstandings, to enter into Kramsch's (1993) "third space" in which a speaker/learner might adopt some distance from his/her cultural norms so as to think critically and act as a social agent in two-pole interactions.

3. Mediation in context: ELF and migration contexts

The spread of English as a global lingua franca and the attention to the related socio-linguistic phenomena are unquestionable, as confirmed by the large amount of research into ELF in the last three decades. As claimed by Mauranen (2018: 8), ELF is "English spoken in situations with widely varying combinations of participants, including first-language speakers of different varieties". In other words, it may be defined as "a contact language between speakers or speaker groups when at least one of them uses it as a second language" (Mauranen 2018: 8). Seen from this perspective, the use of English as a shared common language is particularly frequent in migration contexts where speakers from different socio-cultural and pragmalinguistic backgrounds exchange meaning for communicative purposes.

In migration domains, in European contexts, mediating settings involve Western professionals – namely legal advisors or officers, and sometimes mediators – and non-Western migrants (asylum-seekers and refugees included) interacting in formal contexts. As previously highlighted, in such communicative conditions ELF is used in mediation in terms of variations developed from speakers' L1 structures transferred onto the use of English. In other terms, ELF users act according to a process of authentication (Widdowson, 1979), shaping the English language by means of and according to their native pragmalinguistic conventions. The pragmalinguistic investigation of such interactions makes it possible (i) to detect processes and forms of appropriation across different socio-cultural backgrounds, and (ii) to define power/status asymmetries emerging in ELF encounters, at times ending in communication failure or miscommunication (Guido 2008).

Mediation is an everyday activity occurring in public, educational, academic, and professional settings and in today's globalised world, very frequently, it is cross-linguistic. This is particularly true in migration contexts where both migrants and professionals who work with migrants often find themselves in situations in which they constantly need to intervene to create pluricultural space, facilitate communication, avoid misunderstandings and manage delicate situations. In this way speakers, involved at different levels, acquire and develop their intercultural awareness over time.

The inclusion of refugees, and migrants in general, is of crucial importance in European contexts: increasingly public and private institutions promote the idea that migrants' rights and dignity should be respected in their host countries, from their arrival to the delicate phase of socio-cultural inclusion, in which education and pedagogy play a fundamental role. Thus language policies have become important to foster and guarantee inclusion in society, along with the effective use of mediation. The latter becomes part of learning practices, especially when professionals have to deal with refugees' and asylum-seekers' traumatic experiences, vulnerable emotional states, and lack of literacy or proficiency in the host language.

Therefore, the investigation of language use and of mediation processes in these delicate interactional situations has gained scientific interest in the last two decades, especially in the Mediterranean countries where migration flows are constant and their handling often very challenging (i.e. in Italy, Greece, Turkey and Spain). Mediation has been researched in the field of interlingual and intercultural communication in migration contexts (e.g. Guido 2008; 2018; Sperti 2017), where the use of English as a lingua franca has been explored with the aim of detecting hybridization strategies of reformulation aimed at:

making ELF discourse conform to the immigrants' different native linguacultural backgrounds in order to protect the social identities of participants in unequal encounters, facilitate the mutual conveyance of their culturally-marked knowledge,

foster successful intercultural communication through ELF, and finally promote the social inclusion of marginalized immigrants (Guido 2015:157).

At the same time, the use of ELF in mediating contexts is also characterized by forms of misunderstanding where speakers' native pragmalinguistic schemata collide with the conformity to Standard-English models. With such unequal and unbalanced communicative infrastructure, successful mediation is challenged by speakers' pragmalinguistic behaviours, which very frequently reveal conceptual gaps, cultural or ethical constraints, or cognitive and linguistic inaccessibility, seen as a limit to the informativity of a message (De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981).

The observation of mediation processes in migration domains is extremely useful to identify both "relational" and "cognitive" mediation, occurring simultaneously, as defined in the CEFR (2020)². For example, in the following extract, taken from a corpus of authentic ELF interactions in migration contexts (Sperti, 2017)³, the Polish mediator (IM) is trying to create a collaborative atmosphere with the aim of making the Nigerian asylum-seeker (AS) feel comfortable, and, at the same time, she tries to bridge the conceptual gaps about some crucial religious aspects that reveal the IM's Western-oriented interpretation of the message (e.g. *Can you explain better? It's important for the commission ok? Not for me ok?*), hindering the understanding of the AS's representation of the world:

IM: Can you explain better?

AS: When people die (.) they took their body in the shrine (.) they leave the body there (.) and if you accept it (.) you always make different kind of things (.)

IM: What happens in the shrines? How many times?

AS: A lot of times

IM: And what happened?

AS: You (.) if you go there I tell you are afraid (.) you can't stay there

IM: Mmm why?

AS: Because (.) it's not God (.)

IM: It's important for the commission ok? [yes, yes] Not for me ok?

² "The conceptual approach taken in this project is closer to that adopted by Coste and Cavalli, in line with the broader educational field, in their 2015 paper for the Council of Europe, "Education, mobility, otherness – The mediation functions of schools" (Coste and Cavalli 2015). The full conceptualisation of mediation is described in "Developing illustrative descriptors of aspects of mediation for the CEFR" (North and Piccardo 2016). In developing categories for mediation, the Authoring Group used Coste and Cavalli's distinction between: "Relational mediation": the process of establishing and managing interpersonal relationships in order to create a positive, collaborative environment (for which six scales were developed); "Cognitive mediation": the process of facilitating access to knowledge and concepts, particularly when an individual may be unable to access this directly on their own, due perhaps to the novelty and unfamiliarity of the concepts and/or to a linguistic or cultural barrier" (CEFR 2020: 245).

³ ELF interactions were recorded in a centre for legal advice for asylum-seekers and refugees in Southern Italy during an extended period of fieldwork (Sperti 2017).

AS: Is bad religion (.) I want to live a good life (.) I don't want to kill the people::

IM: Because they kill the people?

AS: Yeah (.) I told you that.

The emerging linguistic landscapes in intercultural communication as well as in ELT, originating in multilingual and multicultural classrooms, reveal the importance of considering the current societal changes and their impact on education in defining innovative approaches and trends. In this respect, the heterogeneous scenario appearing from migration encounters is particularly indicative of the impact that multilinguals and their multicultural backgrounds may have on language teaching as well as on teacher training.

4. Introducing mediation strategies and activities into ELF-aware English language learning

Starting from the previous theoretical background, which has outlined the importance of introducing mediation concepts and practices as well as that of exposing learners to authentic use of English in plurilingual contexts, within pedagogical scenarios, the main objective is here to underline, in multicultural classrooms, the role of mediation in cross-cultural interactions with reference to the negotiation strategies that both EL learners and ELF users – coming from different cultural contexts – constantly use for effective communication.

Mediation strategies, as outlined in the CEFR Companion Volume (2020), are explored here with the aim of providing evidence of the techniques adopted by speakers involved in cross-cultural encounters to clarify meaning and facilitate understanding. The exploration of ELF mediation strategies, put into practice through a specific use of register, pragmalinguistic cues and conversational dynamics, is particularly relevant in terms of pedagogical implications (Sperti 2019). It is particularly interesting to investigate mediation in real contexts, and especially in migration settings: naturally-occurring exchanges are carried out to mutually negotiate representations, intentionality and attitudes, by means of a creative use of mediation strategies involving ELF variations, and thus accommodation practices. Moreover, in these situations trained mediators are actually present and called to action in delicate processes of inclusion (meant as the process of involving speakers in the intercultural dimension of the communicative exchange) and integration (meant as the process in which speakers have to adjust according to the ordinary and conventional communicative dimension).

The considerable relevance of the use of authentic materials in ELT and language teaching in general (Gilmore 2007; Lopriore 2017; Widdowson 1978, 1979) is particularly important in the training not only of future mediators

and professionals for international and intercultural communication, but of language learners at any stage of their secondary and academic education.

In the last part of this contribution some language mediation activities for English language translation and intercultural mediation in a multilingual classroom are illustrated. These were designed to prepare students as future language and cultural mediators to act in transcultural encounters, in migration contexts or refugee organizations. The activities were also implemented in EL teachers' pre- and in-service courses⁴. The activities might be evaluated at different stages of the EL learning process and be adapted and modified according to the classroom context, assuming that the methodological structure represents an effective model to be used in any pedagogical setting.

5. ELF-awareness in ELT

Understanding the paramount changes in the use of English and consequently the impact on language teaching and its connection to ELF means raising teachers' awareness and focussing attention on issues that they have perhaps rarely considered. In Sifakis and Bayyurt (2018), ELF-awareness in ELT is defined as:

the process of engaging with ELF research and developing one's own understanding of the ways in which it can be integrated in one's classroom context, through a continuous process of critical reflection, design, implementation and evaluation of instructional activities that reflect and localize one's interpretation of ELF-construct. (Sifakis and Bayyurt 2018: 459).

This definition implies that teachers should be given the opportunity to experiment and adapt these innovations in their training and then in their teaching: this calls for the integration of practices, methodologies, skills, and strategies for the enhancement of the communicative functions of the language in a plurilingual and intercultural context.

ELF interactions are characterized by their fluid, plurilinguistic and creative nature; their users are often non-native speakers and represent different cultural approaches and perspectives. In this respect, ELF-awareness may be raised considerably, first of all, through the observation of different examples of ELF communication and through exposure to the way in which English syntax, morphology, lexis, and phonology are shaped in the communicative process by ELF users.

Teachers need to become sensitive to language and its use for actual communicative purposes, conscious, first of all, of their own beliefs, opinions,

⁴ All courses were run in the undergraduate and post-graduate courses in foreign languages and in teacher education courses at Roma Tre University between 2017 and 2020.

and possible prejudices about key-issues surrounding ELF and ELT. Teachers are invited to question their deepest feelings and ideals about concepts like nativeness, normativity (i.e. Standard English, native vs. non-native speakers), appropriateness, accuracy and ownership. This is inherently related to the fact that they have always represented a model for their learners, even if today they are not the only ones. Teachers cannot disregard how much their students are exposed every day to authentic language use, in and outside the classroom. Thus, if teachers are firmly convinced that Standard English should be taught since it is used in every communicative situation involving English, at a global level as well, then integrating ELF into EFL teaching may be a serious challenge for them, or even unethical, controversial or regrettable. Therefore ELF-awareness always implies, first of all, changing personal perspectives.

ELF-awareness, as a consequence, inevitably impacts on the relationship between “classroom experience” and “real life experience” (Sifakis 2017; Sifakis and Bayyurt 2018). Very often, the conformity to a standard variety, to what is ‘native’, requires of considerable effort and sometimes cause great frustration to students. Instead, considering learners’ self-confidence in their skills and abilities would be the first step for their teachers’ shift in perspective. By acquiring an ELF-oriented approach in the teaching process, both teachers and learners may be more relaxed and produce better outcomes, in terms of performance and self-esteem.

Learners should be gradually asked to use English with the same communicative objectives and creativity that they adopt when they use it outside the classroom. Needless to say, reflective post-activities on grammar, lexis and phonology are fundamental in exposure to ELF and in the process of raising ELF-awareness, to avoid a dangerous ambiguity and the idea that the multiple shades of language use and language variability are flattened or useless in everyday language use.

In this perspective, introducing language mediation into the classroom reveals its effectiveness with specific reference to the pragmalinguistic processes activated by ELF users involved in intercultural encounters, who appropriate the English language differently. Emerging real-world ELF ‘hybridization’ processes, employed as learning tools in ELT practices, are particularly useful in enhancing learners’ awareness of communicative dynamics and the conscious use of mediation skills and strategies in multicultural settings.

6. Practicing mediation strategies in the EL classroom

The following preliminary tasks, introduced in language classes, are based on the new profile outlined in the Companion Volume with new Descriptors (2020), where “mediation strategies” are represented with reference to the two

main ways in which they tend to occur: “to explain a new concept” (CEFR 2020: 118) and “to simplify a text” (CEFR 2020: 121). In order to stress the pedagogical value that ELF authentic data from naturally-occurring mediating contexts may have on the practice of mediation strategies in the EL classroom, data have been selected and will be presented according to the mediation scales presented in the CEFR where:

language is a tool used to think about a subject and to articulate that thinking in a dynamic co-constructive process. A key component of the development of mediation scales, therefore, is to capture this function. How can the user/learner facilitate access to knowledge and concepts through language? There are two main ways in which this occurs: one is in the context of collaborative work and the other is when someone has the official or unofficial role of facilitator, teacher or trainer. In either context, it is virtually impossible to develop concepts without preparing the ground for it by managing the relational issues concerned. (CEFR 2020: 108).

Bearing these concepts in mind, (cultural) mediation in ELF interactions involving migrants, mediators, professionals and officials does not always imply that relational components are respected. Collaborative ‘relational mediation’ is not easily achieved: dealing with delicate situations, and sometimes disputes, may hinder the creation of a positive atmosphere and ease of interaction. Moreover, other specific linguistic and paralinguistic processes are activated as typically happens in ELF contexts. In the CEFR (2020), the concept of “cognitive mediation” is also introduced as the process of facilitating communication and the understanding of concepts, particularly when speakers may be unable to access them on their own. However, as underlined in the CEFR (2020: 245): “it is virtually impossible to undertake cognitive mediation without taking account of the relational issues concerned. Real communication requires a holistic integration of both aspects”.

6.1 Mediating to explain a new concept

In the CEFR (2020: 118) conceptual framework, in order to introduce new information or concepts, speakers/learners activate mediation strategies such as:

1. Linking to previous knowledge
2. Adapting language
3. Breaking down complicated information

In the practice of these mediation strategies in academic settings, with special reference to the improvement of students’ speaking and listening skills, multilingual learners are called on to mediate, introducing a new concept. As

suggested by the CEFR, one mediation strategy may be “linking to previous knowledge”, as encouraged in the following activity:

In group of four, student A and B select an online video advertising campaign containing evident Italian culture-specific references. After analysing them, they co-mediate its content with student C and D whose lingua-cultural background is not Italian, providing a final reformulation of the video campaign by making use of solid background knowledge on the Italian culture and eliminating hindering elements.

In a group, learners, acting as mediators, have to establish links to previous information, and in the meanwhile they introduce new pieces of knowledge by giving examples, by referring to something their interlocutors already know or by helping them activate previous experiences.

At the same time, introducing a new concept may involve adapting language: students mediate the message, in an ELF-aware perspective, adapting their use of language, style and register in order to facilitate the co-construction of the message. They can use synonyms, simplifications or paraphrasing, popularizing technical terminology, as in this activity:

A role-play: recreate a mediation setting (from topics to characters) in a pluricultural professional context where each group component plays the role of a man or a woman coming from different countries and using ELF to communicate with each other.

In this case, students act as mediators, reflecting on the importance of their role, adapting their language to facilitate the interaction and exploiting their plurilingual repertoires (CEFR 2020; Cenoz and Gorter 2011: 2014; Hall 2019).

In other cases, explaining a new concept, as mediation practice, means “breaking down complicated information” (CEFR 2020): in ELF interactions it is particularly common to mediate a concept or some technical information by means of a series of steps or points so as to effectively convey the message. In multilingual classrooms this strategy may be practiced as follows:

In multilingual pairs, student A selects a legal text from those available on the EU official websites and mediates its content using key-concepts and visual signs to student B who has to repeat the new information at the end of student A’s explanation.

6.2 Mediating to simplify a text

In the CEFR (2020: 121), other important mediation strategies might be used by speakers/learners to simplify a text, such as:

1. Amplifying a dense text
2. Streamlining a text

In intercultural communication, where ELF is very frequently the only way to communicate, it is common to mediate a dense text which may be a serious obstacle to understanding.

In the CEFR (2020), this scale is concerned with the inclusion in the source (spoken or written) text of developed details, examples, background information, and comments to explain concepts more explicitly. In ELF migration contexts, for example, this is particularly common when mediators have to convey a message from the official or the advisor to the asylum-seeker or the refugee, especially in legal or technical terms. In practicing mediation strategies to simplify a text (especially in spoken interactions), students may be asked to amplify, in an ELF-aware perspective, a medical text:

In a group of three students coming from different lingua-cultural backgrounds, student A and B select a patient information leaflet, dense in technical terms (which may be complex and inaccessible to non-experts), from an official Italian website, and reformulate its content, promoting intercultural awareness, with student C whose L1 is a non-European language (e.g. Arabic or Chinese).

At the same time, it is also very common to adopt the opposite mediation strategy: 'streamlining a text'. In the CEFR, this scale is described as the ability to convey the essential elements of a message(s). In ELF contexts, this strategy is very much exploited (Sperti, 2017) and ELF users often express the same information in fewer words by eliminating redundancies or digressions and excluding irrelevant information. Mediators try to stress important points, to draw conclusions and to obtain a prompt response from their interlocutors. In academic settings, this kind of strategy to simplify a text or speech, taking into account ELF communicative contexts, may be practiced as follows:

In pairs, student A, whose L1 is neither Italian nor English, brings authentic materials from one of his/her national websites with detailed information about customs, traditions and local culture. He/she tries to mediate the main content from the original language to English, avoiding redundancies and elements which are not relevant to the pragmalinguistic needs of the target audience represented by student B (a potential tourist) whose L1 is Italian.

The previous examples may be adapted, developed and implemented within any kind of learning context where mediation is practiced involving multilingual students. The academic teaching framework inevitably implies that students are already aware of and familiar with key-concepts, issues and notions concerning text analysis, discourse strategies and intercultural communication, before dealing with mediation activities like those presented in the previous paragraphs.

Moreover, introducing and practicing mediation strategies by means of the analysis of real ELF exchanges in professional mediation contexts may

add extra value to the learning experience, especially in multilingual and multicultural classrooms and when English is taught from an ELF-aware perspective (Sifakis 2017). From this perspective, EL learners may become aware of the role and functions of mediation in transcultural communication where mediation skills are highly recommended, as well as of the use of English as a global lingua franca: in this respect, students require an increased awareness of pragma-linguistic features and complex processes underlying the discourse strategies.

In the CEFR, mediation strategies are related to the practice of specific mediation activities. The corresponding scales identified for these tasks are grouped in three macro categories:

1. *Mediating a text*: mediating to pass on information to someone who does not have access to it;
2. *Mediating concepts*: sharing ideas and working with others to reach an agreement;
3. *Mediating communication*: facilitating mutual understanding by bridging sociocultural differences.

What follows are activities which have been piloted in an academic setting at different stages of the ELT process, in courses for English language translation and mediation in multilingual classrooms with first to third-year students. However, they can be adapted and modified according to the learners' proficiency level or the classroom context, assuming that the methodological structure represents an effective model to be used in any pedagogical setting.

7. Mediation activities in English language and translation teaching

The exploration of mediating activities in the EL classroom entails the investigation of different textual, discourse, conversational and register use (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975), in authentic spoken encounters as well as in written production. This activity reveals its effectiveness in raising students' awareness of their own metalinguistic abilities in detecting ELF users' native linguacultural 'schemata', and specific pragmalinguistic purposes as well as facilitating cross-cultural accessibility.

Mediation activities can suit different educational landscapes, either at school or in different academic and professional settings. They reveal their effectiveness if carried out in small groups through an operational framework based on cooperation and interaction among participants. Mediation tasks may also be adopted in CLIL or EMI contexts and thus not only within an educational process strictly related to language learning.

The sample of mediation tasks presented below is based on the profile outlined in *Companion Volume with new Descriptors* (Council of Europe 2020), where mediation, as mentioned above, is represented with reference to the three main ways in which it tends to occur: mediating a text, mediating concepts, mediating communication.

7.1 Mediating a text

Mediation considered in its textual dimension is defined as: “passing on to another person the content of a text to which they do not have access, often because of linguistic, cultural, semantic or technical barriers” (CEFR 2020: 91). In this respect mediation tasks are very effective for B2 or C1 learners. Mediating a text means processing specific information, especially in specialized discourse, as well as working on translation, reformulation, transcreation of written texts in speech or in other texts, with special reference to creative texts. For that reason, the tasks planned and assigned for this purpose include the analysis and criticism of creative texts, such as advertising campaigns, where different textual and discourse actualizations can be recognized and mediated.

This task implies the ELF-aware reformulation and coherent translation of a multimodal text by means of (i) the use of multimodal and multisensorial communication in specialized discourse reformulations; (ii) the production of an effective communication process, to be assessed through interlocutors’ feedback:

Mediation task: Critically analyse a creative text like a poster, an advertising campaign, or an audiovisual content which includes controversial ethical issues (e.g. about religion or gender) and reformulate it in an ELF-aware perspective.

Learners are trained to act on their linguistic and metalinguistic skills and competences, through the processing of a preliminary discourse analysis of different text genres. These kinds of activities require essential skills in managing and exploiting learners’ multilingual repertoire, from the exploration of the source textual structure to the ELF-aware usage of words, images, soundtracks, and extralinguistic signals in the target reformulation.

The communicative dimension of multimodality is thus particularly useful in training mediation skills and abilities, especially in multicultural teamwork, since it enables the productive discussion, evaluation and co-construction of new meaning aimed at having an effective impact on the interlocutors. Mediating and translating a text often requires the development of interpretative filters, an operational detachment from culture-oriented perspectives towards the socio-cultural references of the target audience.

7.2 *Mediating concepts*

The mediation of concepts, meaning and intentionality among speakers belongs to the basic features of negotiation as “it refers to the process of facilitating access to knowledge and concepts for others, particularly if they may be unable to access this directly on their own” (CEFR 2020: 91). This kind of ability may be developed from the first stage of the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) process (Cook 1996; Ellis 2008; Larsen-Freeman 2003) as it involves a series of essential actions embedded in the development of linguistic skills, such as facilitating collaborative interactions to negotiate meaning and encouraging the mutual exchange of concepts within a group, which need to be intensely trained.

The tasks usually assigned in this phase focus on communicative strategies aimed at problem-solving and the management of lexical and semantic repertoires and registers, which learners have acquired as theoretical notions throughout their academic experiences. Thanks to these activities, learners are able to master sociolinguistic concepts as well as socio-cultural competences, taking into account power relationships and political, economic, and social factors affecting the use of the English language, in its use as a ‘lingua franca’ as well. The following role-play set up as a typical teamwork task encourages learners to: (i) switch registers and genres; (ii) set up unbiased expectations and hypotheses; (iii) choose an appropriate conversational framework.

Mediation task: Conduct and lead group work, assigned by your English teacher, in a team where your colleagues come from different countries and speak different L1s. You discuss ideas to organise the teamwork for your project and encourage conceptual talk using English.

Here learners are encouraged to: (i) develop interactional competences in English in a multicultural academic or specialized context; and (ii) analyse intercultural encounters considering verbal and non-verbal aspects of conversational dimensions.

Mediating concepts often requires precise mediation strategies, such as problem-solving; the management of the personal plurilingual and register repertoire; and learners’ sociolinguistic and sociocultural awareness. In this kind of activity, learners satisfy a need for awareness of dynamics in power relationships and political, economic, and the socio-cultural factors which affect language usage. By expanding their awareness of the potential of the individual’s cross-cutting competences, they develop plurilingual and pluricultural skills.

7.3 *Mediating communication*

The effective mediation of concepts and texts underlies successful communicative negotiation in order to:

facilitate understanding and to shape successful communication between users/learners who may have individual, sociocultural, sociolinguistic or intellectual differences in standpoint. The mediator tries to have a positive influence on aspects of the dynamic relationship between all the participants, including the relationship with him or herself (CEFR 2020: 91).

Learners are prepared to exploit ELF variations and their multilingual repertoire in facilitating interactions within a pluricultural space and acting in as mediators, in informal situations as well as in delicate encounters, where misunderstandings and disagreements may easily occur:

Mediation task: In a group of three please act as mediator between your colleagues who come from the Philippines and Senegal respectively and are discussing academic issues.

This kind of task may be proposed from the B1 level of language proficiency since it is aimed at enhancing spontaneous daily conversations, at school, or in any other mediation space. The objective underpinning this mediation activity is the development of critical and interpretative approaches, often lacking in cross-cultural communicative dimensions. Precise learners' needs, which often affect their personal satisfaction in performing oral interactions, emerge in this case. To this end, during the implementation of this activity, students – supported by their teacher – may discuss, plan, process and analyse language and linguistic features/patterns taking into account their personal representation of the world, in order to deconstruct stereotypes, analyse pragmalinguistic processes and reflect on cognitive processes at the basis of their lingua-cultural references, with the ultimate aim of facilitating the creation of a pluricultural space and communicative processes in delicate situations.

8. Towards the integration of ELF-oriented mediation strategies in the language classroom

The promotion of the conscious use of mediation strategies, as powerful learning tools embedded in the language learning process, may help teachers to investigate the possible impact of the new multilingual and multicultural landscapes on language teaching and teacher education. The exploration of mediation processes highlights the role of new trends in ELT, the shift towards the definition of an ELF-aware pedagogical framework in plurilingual educational settings (Sifakis and Bayyurt 2018), and the relevance of these for the development of learners' skills in intercultural communication and their implementation in the classroom. The increasing prominence given to mediation – and its multiple definitions – in different fields of education and language research reveals the extreme importance of looking at the language learner as

a conscious and autonomous social agent in the new societal dimension as well as of considering the valuable implications of introducing mediation activities for the curriculum planning and development.

In terms of teacher education, the new descriptor scales for mediation in the CEFR emphasize the focus on teaching actions aimed at bringing real-world language use into the classroom. ELF-aware mediation strategies and activities should however be implemented, first and foremost, in teacher education programmes, before introducing them in the EL classroom. Mediation is seen as a tool for enhancing the role of learners as social agents. In teaching practice, this implies involving them in the learning process through the extensive use of activities and materials which enable learners to use all their linguistic resources, their cross-cutting skills and their intercultural competences.

I have outlined how introducing mediation tasks, especially in multilingual and multicultural classrooms, may be helpful and necessary, as suggested by the new CEFR descriptors. Special attention has been focused on the communicative co-construction of messages and interactions where ELF is adopted instead of standard varieties of English in the intercultural encounters in specialized professional contexts such as academic, legal or institutional settings.

From this perspective, EL learners may become experts in intercultural communication: to this end they need increased awareness of the pragmalinguistic aspects of communication and complex processes underlying discourse strategies, since interpreting and translating cannot represent a simple and automatic transfer of semantic structures from one language to the other. In this way, the development of cross-cultural mediation skills appears to be useful not only within very specific contexts such as those of migration, but also in any multilingual and multicultural communicative setting where each socio-cultural and pragmalinguistic identity – seen as an asset rather than a hindrance – should be respected, mediated and effectively conveyed.

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III. ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND TERMINOLOGY

THE PLACE OF ACTIVIST TEXTS IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

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This paper investigates activist communication as a translation domain to propose an “out-of-the-box” approach to translator training. After outlining the “condensing” and non-professional translation practices that are rife in the activist context, the study focuses on the titles of Greenpeace reports to shed light on the peculiar aspects involved in their translation and expound the role that their analysis can perform in the translation classroom. The pragmatic force of these titles hinges on figures of speech, puns and culture-bound references, and their translated versions are a showcase for the translation loss that characterises the passage from English into Italian of Greenpeace reports. The paper will expose the fact that translation failure is often determined by the binding constraints of the translatability of rhetoric, but also by a “soft”, superficial approach to translation. In this respect, emphasis will be laid on the alternative solutions, proposed by MA students at IULM University, to the inaccurate translations of Greenpeace’s titles. This examination will further draw attention to the translation of persuasive activist titles (and, more broadly, texts) as a fruitful subject to explain transcreation in context and encourage students to develop those analytical skills and transcreation abilities that have become essential in the modern translation market.

Activist report, titles, translation loss, transcreation, untranslatability

1. Background and aim

Untranslatability is a long-standing issue in Translation Studies, which keeps holding out challenges to modern translators and translation scholars alike (Hermans 2009: 301-303). One of these challenges has been launched in recent years by communication in the activist context. Faced with countless environmental crises and human rights abuses perpetrated by either corporations or national governments, activist organisations have been striving to influence public opinion in various bioethically sensitive areas

of social, political and economic life. In an attempt to maximise the reach of their informative messages, they regularly adopt popularisation strategies (Garzone 2006), leverage creative language (Jones 2016) and resort to visual arguments (Degano 2017); these are all features that place activist texts “among the least translatable texts”, that is “those that consciously exploit the idiomatic resources of a given tongue” (Hermans 2009: 302). Like all those genres that are characterised by the insistent use of puns and polysemy, the activist report, thus, “insistently [...] begs and demands to be translated” (Hermans 2009: 303) not only by virtue of its apparent untranslatability but also and especially because of its significant role in disseminating scientific discoveries and popularising bioethically sensitive issues on a global scale.

When analysing the translated versions of activist reports, a question arises: who is in charge of translating these reports? There is no simple answer to this simple question. As a general rule, activist groups do not disclose the names of the translators of their reports. Translation in the activist context has been the object of several scholarly studies (Baker 2006; Pym 2013, 2014), which have revealed its most salient feature and innovative element, that is the volunteer nature of the work. In particular, it is usually carried out by “translators who communicate with each other online” (Pym 2014: 128) but these “translators” actually belong to “amorphous groups of professional and non-professional translators who service a broad range of humanitarian and activist groups” (Baker 2006: 463). Therefore, the target texts are generally the outcome of a “workflow that integrates professional translators and non-translator experts” (Pym 2013: 492), a group that includes, among others, Greenpeace activists (Pym 2013: 492, 2014: 129). Translation in the activist context, thus, appears to be a prerogative of “a community of users” who harness the Web as a space for “community translation” or “collaborative translation” (Pym 2014: 128) that is primarily meant to bring about tangible social benefits.

The translation process is thus significantly socialized. In more committed cases such as Greenpeace or Amnesty International, we might more readily say that the work of volunteer translators constitutes active intervention, an empowering democratization of translation technology. Activists point out, correctly, that remunerated translation services tend to be for the texts of *official* culture, so volunteers are required to translate alternative, resistant cultural forms. (Pym 2014: 128)

This “mobilization of numerous individuals with very different backgrounds and attributes around specific political, humanitarian, or social issues” (Baker 2006: 462) presents two specific and interrelated challenges: first, “a major challenge to individual professional paid translators” (Pym 2014: 128), who are apparently excluded from the activist domain; second, a

challenge to translation scholars, who are called upon to describe the socio-professional, genre and translation features of a partially unfathomable and relatively novel sphere in which “translation quality may ultimately not be the major problem” (Pym 2014: 129).

As regards this second challenge, the study of activist communication as a translation domain lends itself to the analysis of various research areas in the field of Translation Studies, besides that related to the investigation of the volunteer character of translation; these areas include the study of translations as a fuzzy set (Garzone 2015), the examination of source-language interference in the target text (Toury 2012), the investigation of the role of multimodality in the creation and transfer of meaning (Kress 2010) and the exploration of the concept of transcreation (Pedersen 2014). Considering the non-professional nature and ethical purpose of translation in the activist context, this paper focuses on the fourth of these aspects to answer one research question: to what extent can the instances of creative language produced in the activist context be reproduced interlinguistically?

2. Method

In order to provide an answer to the research question, the study builds on a parallel corpus of fourteen Greenpeace reports and their translations into Italian. Table 1 provides an overview of the corpus.

<i>Source texts (STs)</i>			<i>Translated Texts (TTs)</i>		
<i>Title</i>	<i>Text type</i>	<i>Number of tokens</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Text type</i>	<i>Number of tokens</i>
Eye on the Taiga	Multimodal report	18,838	Salviamo la grande foresta del Nord	Non-multimodal briefing	1,937
Fashion at the Crossroads	Multimodal report	32,049	La moda a un bivio	Multimodal report	3,580
Footprints in the Snow	Multimodal report	16,011	Impronte nella neve	Multimodal report	3,861
Feeding the Problem	Multimodal report	7,481	Soldi pubblici “in pasto” agli allevamenti intensivi	Non-multimodal briefing	6,347
Less is More	Multimodal report	19,093	Meno è meglio	Multimodal report	21,471

Supply Chained	Multimodal report	8,237	Quella sporca filiera	Non-multimodal briefing	3,150
Bees in Decline	Multimodal report	19,392	Api in declino	Multimodal report	4,787
Dripping Poison	Multimodal report	5,652	Gocce al veleno	Multimodal report	1,592
The Bees' Burden	Multimodal report	16,112	Api, il bottino avvelenato	Multimodal report	3,782
A Toxic Eden: Poisons in Your Garden	Multimodal report	7,589	Eden tossico. I loro veleni nel tuo giardino	Multimodal report	1,077
Plan Bee – Living Without Pesticides	Multimodal report	30,505	A come Ape. Un'agricoltura senza pesticidi è possibile	Multimodal report	2,873
Dirty Laundry 1	Multimodal report	43,318	Panni sporchi 1	Non-multimodal briefing	1,651
Dirty Laundry 2: Hung Out to Dry	Multimodal report	7,705	Panni sporchi 2	Multimodal report	3,692
Dirty Laundry 3: Reloaded	Multimodal report	15,107	Panni sporchi 3	Non-multimodal briefing	2,225

TABLE 1. Technical details of the parallel corpus

Table 1 enables the reader to grasp at a glance the essence of translation in the activist context, as well as the areas that deserve attention in Translation Studies. All the TTs, with the exception of *Meno è meglio*¹, are characterised by a drastic reduction in the number of tokens and some of them (five out of fourteen) are not categorised as multimodal reports but, rather, as non-multimodal briefings. This is because the translation from English into Italian

¹ The Italian version of the report entitled *Less is more* is the only one among the TTs that sees a slight increase in the number of tokens compared to the ST. The reason lies behind the fact that this TT is the only one that resulted from an accurate translation of all the textual content of the ST (including captions); the higher number of words is, therefore, not due to arbitrary explicitations but to the syntactic and stylistic differences between English and Italian.

of Greenpeace reports is often characterised by a transition from multi- to mono-modality – stemming from the choice to eliminate pictures in the TTs (Brambilla 2020) – and by a significant “condensation” (Garzone 2015: 37) of the textual content, which is often the result of deletions (Brambilla 2020) that deprive the TTs not only of pictorial elements but also of some of the technical details that determine the overall discursive configuration of the STs. Translation in the activist context is, thus, best viewed as a process of “intercultural mediation”, understood “as a broad concept encompassing rewriting, transediting and transcreation strategies” (Musacchio and Zorzi 2019: 483-484).

This paper does not focus on the condensing practices that characterise the passage from English to Italian of the reports published and translated by Greenpeace, but centres on the titles and subtitles of these reports because they exemplify the linguistic creativity that bestows persuasive qualities on activist discourse. Hence, the study does not draw on corpus linguistic methods for the analysis but qualitatively explores the translation of rhetoric, broadly understood as “the art of persuading others, that is, of influencing their thoughts, beliefs and behaviour, through the use of language” (Partington 2010: 175). The English titles and their Italian counterparts will be examined against the backdrop of the concepts of translation loss (Hervey and Higgins 1992: 24) and transcreation (Pedersen 2014), with a view to shedding light on the peculiar aspects involved in their translation. As Musacchio and Zorzi (2019: 497) note in relation to the translation of newspaper, magazine and news agency articles, transcreation is often used for headlines, as they aim at attracting the attention of the readership through creative references to the theme addressed in the main texts.

Given their promotional nature, activist texts can be compared to those produced in the world of marketing and advertising, one of those domains in which the notion of transcreation has found its way (Pedersen 2014: 57). As in this field, transcreation in the activist context precisely “seeks to perform all the adjustments necessary to make a campaign work in all target markets, while at the same time staying loyal to the original creative intent of the campaign” (Pedersen 2014: 58). In this respect, the analysis will show that transcreation is the prerequisite for *translating* the source-language title (and/or subtitle) by actually *creating* a novel one, which enables the translator to recast the inherent creativity of the ST to meet the requirements of a different readership speaking a different language.

While examining the titles and subtitles that are present in the parallel corpus, reference will also be made to several English or Italian titles of untranslated Greenpeace reports. This extensive analysis of title creation and transcreation by Greenpeace activists and volunteer translators will not only

further the exploration of translation in the activist context, but will also provide a broader contribution to the study of untranslatability and enable the design of an “out-of-the-box” method to address transcreation in practice within translation classrooms.

3. Data analysis

The examination of the corpus suggests that, despite their differences, all the titles of Greenpeace reports share specific features. First, they always contain a play on words for an intended humorous or rhetorical effect. Second, they always contain a reference to the theme addressed in the report, owing to the contextual nature of wordplay (Attardo 2018: 93). The pragmatic force of the titles precisely stems from the interplay between these two elements, which creatively hints at the topic in question. Two examples can be observed in Figure 1.



FIGURE 1. Examples of activist report titles

Figure 1 displays the front covers of two 2014 reports on a bioethical crisis that Greenpeace activists have been consistently tackling over the last few years, that is the link between the use of pesticides in agriculture and the steep decline in bee populations. The title of the first report contains an alliteration and a reference to the theme of the report, because the noun *burden* alludes to the contaminated pollen that bees grab and bring to the hive. The title of the second is also characterised by a reference to the theme of the report and the presence of a pun, broadly understood as a textual occurrence involving the presence of minimally two senses (Attardo 2018: 91); the noun *bee* is put in place of its homophone *B*, the second letter of the alphabet, to figuratively tell the reader that there is a solution to the decline in bee populations.

In a translation perspective, the constant discursive interaction between the wordplay and the thematic reference regularly poses challenges to the translators. Notably, these challenges are compounded by the fact that resorting to compensation strategies (Harvey 1995) is not an option when translating these particular instances of humorous and/or creative language, because the title plays the crucial role of an attention-seeking device (Munat 2016: 100), whose persuasive power is magnified by the foregrounded position it occupies on the cover page; therefore, this instance of creative language cannot be displaced anywhere else within the text, as the function of the title cannot be performed by any other textual element of the report. In this respect, the titles of the reports in the corpus provide telling examples of the alleged untranslatability of linguistically creative and rhetorically persuasive texts.

The contrastive analysis of the titles confirms that “untranslatability [...] mostly appears in relative form, as a matter of aspect, kind or degree” (Hermans 2009: 302). In the passage from English to Italian, “there [often] remains an untranslatable rest, for instance in the shape of connotation, nuance or poetic quality” (Hermans 2009: 302). In particular, the translated versions of the titles of Greenpeace reports can be divided into three groups based on the translation strategy used and the successful or failed preservation of the rhetorical effect:

- literal translation preserving the rhetorical effect;
- transcreation preserving the rhetorical effect;
- literal translation leading to translation loss.

The first group gathers those rare cases in which the expression used in the English title has an equivalent in Italian. It is the case of the 2015 report *Footprints in the Snow*, translated as *Impronte nella neve*. In this case, the Italian translators were helped by the fact that the term *impronta* also has the meaning of *ecological impact*, in that it is a semantic calque (Santulli 1999: 94) of the English *footprint*. Another report entitled *Fashion at the Crossroads*, addressing sustainability in the fashion and textile industries, did not pose any translation problems, as far as its title is concerned: the idiomatic expression *at the crossroads* was translated as *a un bivio*, and the meaning and vividness of the English title were preserved in the Italian text, enabling the Italian readership to grasp the challenging nature of the crisis that is besetting fashion companies. A further example of those report titles for which literal translation was sufficient to preserve their rhetorical effectiveness is provided by a 2018 document entitled *Less is More* and disseminating the alarming data on the sustainability of the global food system; the evocative power of the saying *less is more* was maintained through the Italian title *Meno è meglio*, whereby the translators managed to convey in the very same succinct manner the green imperative of reducing worldwide consumption of meat and dairy products.

The reports entitled *Bees in Decline* and *A Toxic Eden: Poisons in Your Garden* can also be said to pertain to the first of the three groups, as they were respectively

translated as *Api in declino* and *Eden tossico. I loro veleni nel tuo giardino*. The *Dripping Poison* report can also be said to fall into this first category, although it was not literal translation that enabled the preservation of the creative, evocative and rhetorically effective reference to the theme of the report, that is the impact of the use of pesticides on bee populations; opting for transposition, “where an SL word is rendered by a TL word of a different word class” (Bakker, Koster, van Leuven-Zwart 2009: 270), the translators transferred the central idea of poison trickling into the lives of bees (through pollen) and out of their product (i.e. honey) by replacing the verb *dripping* with the noun *gocce* and by qualifying it with the adjectival phrase *al veleno*, which substitutes the noun *poison* in the English title.

Finally, this first group can also be said to include the report entitled *The Bees’ Burden* and translated as *Api, il bottino avvelenato*. Actually, this translation is not literal but characterised by an explicitation. The Italian term *bottino* was qualified with the adjective *avvelenato* to make the polysemous nature of the English *burden* explicit in the TT title; its double sense of *load* and *encumbrance* is, therefore, conveyed through a noun phrase, although the Italian equivalent *ardello* would have dispelled the need to resort to an explicitation strategy. This explicitation could be interpreted as an attempt to make up for the loss of the alliteration in the TT, as – despite the translators’ efforts to produce an effective translation – the Italian version of the title is less creative and riveting than its English counterpart; notably, this remark would also have held true if the translators had opted for the title *Il fardello delle api*. In this regard, this specific example suggests that the activity of translating activist titles is at times rather demanding. Indeed, these report titles that belong to the first group do not reflect the diverse translation challenges posed by the others, which generally put the transcreation abilities of the translators to the test, as shown in Figure 2 below.



FIGURE 2. Example of transcreation in context (1)

Figure 2 displays a report in which the idiom *to feed the problem* is used to warn against the intensification of animal farming in Europe. This communicative objective is pursued creatively, by means of a pun exploiting the polysemy of the verb *to feed* in its double sense of *to nourish* and *to foment*. In the Italian title, this creative reference to the theme of the report was preserved by choosing an expression that denotatively refers to animal farming but also has a figurative meaning, that is *dare in pasto a*. This is an example of transcreation in context, whereby the translators managed to preserve both the thematic reference and the rhetorical effect by replacing a typically English pun with another, typically Italian and equally effective. Notably, though, the picture of intensive pig farming “disappears” in the Italian document. In this regard, Figure 2 also provides visual evidence of how certain multimodal reports are “transformed” into non-multimodal briefings, in which the absence of pictures renders transcreation advisable but not necessary. A further proof of the same rewriting process that some reports undergo in the passage from English into Italian is visible in Figure 3, which shows another example of the titles pertaining to the second group, namely those that were successfully adapted with a view to replacing an attention-seeking device with another.



FIGURE 3. Example of transcreation in context (2)

Figure 3 shows the cover page of a report on human rights abuses in the tuna industry, entitled *Supply Chained*. Within this phrase, the noun *chain* was turned into the adjective *chained* to trigger an association with slavery and consequently allude to human rights abuses in the industry. As regards the Italian version of the title, the translators managed to retain linguistic creativity through the expression *Quella sporca filiera*, which makes reference to the movie *Quella sporca dozzina* and, especially, contains the adjective *sporca* that hints at the huge, controversial problem addressed in the report. Again, an instance of linguistic creativity is adapted, replaced with another one that is suitable to the target culture and compatible with the theme of the report. However commendable,

these examples of transcreation in context cannot be observed very frequently in the corpus and they remain isolated cases. Take Figure 4, displaying the cover page of a report on the destruction of Russian forests and its related translation into Italian.



FIGURE 4. Example of translation loss (1)

The persuasive force of the title shown in Figure 4 hinges on the homophony between *taiga* and *tiger* to mimic the famous phrase *the eye of the tiger*. In this case, the translators failed to preserve the rhetorical features of the title, as they reduced the expression to its literal meaning (*Uno sguardo sulla taiga russa*). Unlike what happened for the titles belonging to the first group, opting for a literal translation in this case led to translation loss, as the pun and the evocative reference to the famous phrase could not be preserved in Italian. An attempt at compensating the loss can be observed, as the Italian title is “downgraded” to the position of subtitle, while the title position is occupied by a first-person-plural appeal to save the Russian biome (*Salviamo la grande foresta del Nord*); despite this endeavour, though, the Italian version of the report title cannot be said to be as effective as its English counterpart. This example suggests that rhetoric is often untranslatable, as there was probably no chance to preserve both the wordplay and the reference to the theme addressed in the report. In certain cases, then, the captivating expression must be reduced to its literal meaning in order to produce a title that at least reflects the content of the report, though not in a linguistically creative or rhetorically effective manner.

Taking a look at other untranslated Greenpeace reports, the challenges posed by activist discourse – epitomised by report titles – further stand out. Figure 5 displays two reports, one written in English and addressing the consequences of krill fishing, the other written in Italian and dealing with commercial whaling. These two reports were not translated for unknown reasons; certainly, observing the translations of their creative titles would have been interesting for research purposes.

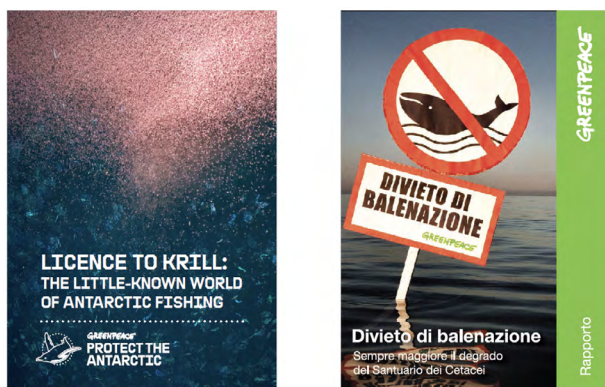


FIGURE 5. The (alleged) untranslatability of activist discourse

How could *Licence to Krill* be effectively translated into Italian, or *Divieto di balenazione* into English? Where do the boundaries of translatability frustrate the possibilities for transcreation? What is sure is that preservation of both the wordplay and the thematic reference appears to be paramount because, in the activist context, the rhetorical effectiveness of report titles (and, more in general, slogans) is determined by the co-presence of these two elements. In spite of apparently insuperable obstacles, the translator should, therefore, always strive to shape the TT title on the basis of these two features. Since an attempt should always be made, the above titles also deserve a translation. In the first, the phrase *licence to kill* – disseminated by the 1989 film of the James Bond series – is harnessed to point to the devastating fishing practices that are rife in the Antarctic Sea; yet, the verb *kill* is replaced by the almost homophonous noun *krill*, which enables the readership to immediately grasp that krill in particular is endangered by the destructive fishing methods exposed in the report. Since krill is widely known to be a crucial element of the aquatic food chain, the consequences of its drastic reduction immediately appear daunting, as their negativity is magnified by a well-recognisable phrase associated with spies and murderers. The loss of these rich references would provide the Italian readership with a report that would immediately appear to be less riveting than the English ST. When translating into Italian, reference could be made to the Italian version of the film, but since it was translated as *007 - Vendetta privata*, the evocative power unleashed by the kill-krill association would inexorably fade. The same would happen if the translator decided to use the Italian phrase *licenza di uccidere*, which was actually a translation of another *007* film released in 1962 and entitled *Dr. No.*; this choice would preserve the vivid reference to killing, but not the equally crucial one to

krill, that is the object of killing. In the light of the failures to which the most intuitive translation choices would lead, a more strenuous effort should be made to take care of the two discursive pillars of activist titles (i.e. a wordplay and a reference to the theme addressed in the report). Since the verb *to kill* is not totally unknown to the Italian readership, the translator ought to look for expressions containing the verb in question which have passed as borrowings into Italian national culture. In this respect, *serial killer* is a noun phrase that is familiar to most Italians. The head of the noun phrase, that is *killer*, could therefore be turned into the creative *kriller*, giving rise to a title such as *Serial kriller: Il mondo poco conosciuto della pesca nell'Antartico*. This title is characterised, just as the ST title, by the presence of a wordplay (hinging on the near homophony between *killer* and *kriller*) and a reference to the theme addressed in the report (i.e. the consequences of krill fishing). The same remarks hold true for the title of the second report whose cover page is shown in Figure 5. The Italian phrase *divieto di balneazione* is exploited to allow the use of a picture displaying a warning sign in which the writing is creatively distorted into *Divieto di balenazione* to denounce commercial whaling. Again, the rhetorical effectiveness of the title, stemming from the interplay between a play on words and a reference to the theme of the report, can only be conveyed to target audiences by preserving its two constitutive elements. *Whalert!* could be a solution: by blending the terms *whale* and *alert*, a creative title is produced to attract the attention of the reader and convey the message concisely, as both the reference to whales and the idea of danger are preserved. Although the transcreations of these titles can also be disputable, these two examples demonstrate that a) the creative language used in activist reports frequently poses challenges to the translator, and that b) these challenges may not be as serious as they initially seem to be. Though compensation can be resorted to within the report, the creativity of activist discourse is condensed in the title, in which a rhetorical strategy is regularly used to draw the attention of the readership to an appalling environmental predicament; therefore, the transcreation of this rhetorical strategy is paramount if the translator wishes to confer the same persuasive power and emotional strength on the title of the target text.

This transcreation approach was apparently not used when translating several titles that can be found within the corpus, namely those that, together with *Eye on the Taiga*, fall into the third group, gathering those instances that were translated literally and whose language creativity and rhetorical effectiveness were not preserved in the passage from English to Italian. Unlike the *Eye on the Taiga* report, though, the lack of creativity and rhetorical effectiveness in these TT titles does not seem to be caused by insuperable hindrances to translation, but rather by the translators' refusal or inability to transcreate. This kind of discursive and rhetorical pauperisation can be observed in the translations of the subtitles of the three *Dirty Laundry* reports.

In the first one, the subtitle *Unravelling the corporate connections to toxic water pollution in China* is reformulated into *Il segreto tossico dietro l'industria tessile*; the English expression is reduced to its literal meaning and the evocative reference to the textile industry, made through the verb *to unravel* in the ST, is lost. Though the informative content of the subtitle is preserved in Italian, the translation choice raises a few doubts, as resorting to an Italian expression such as *sbrogliare la matassa*, *sbrogliare i fili* or *districare i legami* would have enabled the translators to convey not only the informative content of the subtitle but also the creative allusion to the theme of the report.

The second volume of the report series is entitled *Dirty Laundry 2: Hung Out to Dry*. The expression *hung out to dry* echoes the idiom *to air out one's dirty laundry in public*, informing the reader that Greenpeace is continuing to expose the polluting production methods cherished by fashion companies. In the Italian text, this subtitle is omitted. Admittedly, translating this subtitle appears to be rather demanding because, on the English cover page, the expression interacts with the picture in the background showing T-shirts and trousers hung outside. Yet, an enhanced commitment to transcreation could have enabled the translators to preserve the persuasive features of the title; this stance was confirmed during a lecture on the translation of rhetorical texts held at IULM University in Milan; the 2nd year MA students in Specialised Translation and Conference Interpreting were informed about the rhetorical peculiarities of the titles of Greenpeace reports and were, then, asked to translate a selection of titles and subtitles, including those of the second *Dirty Laundry* report. They proposed a few solutions to the translation problem, including *Panni sporchi 2: stesi alla luce del sole* and *Panni sporchi 2: appesi in bella mostra*; as the Italian TT is a multimodal report, each of these alternatives would have kept the interplay between words and pictures alive, providing the Italian readership with a heading that boasts the same linguistic creativity and pragmatic force as the ST title.

The pictures, shown in Figure 6, of the titles and subtitles of the *Dirty Laundry 3* and *Panni sporchi 3* reports, further suggest that it is the translators who sometimes refrain from resorting to transcreation, thereby failing to preserve the linguistic creativity and rhetorical effectiveness of Greenpeace titles.



FIGURE 6. Omission of creative elements in the TTs

In the third volume of the *Dirty Laundry* report series, the verb *to reload* is used to affirm vividly that the toxic substances contained in the clothes produced by renowned fashion brands keep being discharged into public waterways. The lexical item *reloaded* conjures up an intertextual association with the second instalment of *The Matrix* saga (*The Matrix Reloaded*). More importantly, the verb evokes a gun, something potentially deadly, and therefore plays a crucial pragmatic role in conveying the idea of danger. In the Italian non-multimodal briefing, the verb is eliminated, and all these references and connotative meanings are lost in the translated text. There are no attempts at translating this powerful and crucial verb, despite its importance and the presence of an equivalent in Italian, the verb *caricare*, which is also used in relation to laundry and guns. The fact that a greater effort on the part of the volunteer translators would have led to better results was, again, corroborated by the alternative solutions put forward by the above-mentioned MA students; these solutions include *Panni sporchi: un nuovo carico*, *Panni sporchi: un nuovo lavaggio* and *Panni sporchi: risciacquo*, which preserve the wordplay and the thematic reference alike. Figure 7 offers another example of the disputable translation choices made by Greenpeace translators.



FIGURE 7. Example of translation loss (2)

Figure 7 displays one of the reports that was already shown in Figure 1, flanked by its translation into Italian. Faced with the title *Plan Bee – Living Without Pesticides*, the translators decided to retain the reference to a letter of the alphabet, namely *A*, the initial letter of *ape*. In this regard, they probably acknowledged that the noun *bee* performed a rhetorically significant function in the ST; yet, if *Plan Bee* contains a very effective pun hinging on the homophony with the phrase *Plan B*, *A come ape* makes no sense and is likely to bewilder the Italian readership. Possibly unaware of the

mechanisms that provide report titles with persuasive power and rhetorical effectiveness, the translators struggled to find a solution in which reference could be made to a letter of the alphabet, rather than striving to transcreate the pun, that is replace it with a different but similarly allusive one in the target language. Again, the students came up with an alternative: *Una vita apesticida*. This solution is also disputable because a loss of rhetorical effectiveness can nevertheless be observed, and because the alpha privative here is used ungrammatically with a noun and not an adjective, which might prevent readers from catching the wordplay and understanding the broader sense of the whole title (at least when reading it for the first time). However, the choice to start from the phrase *without pesticides* to create a term that with the alpha privative refers to bees denotes a commitment to harnessing those transcreation abilities that are essential for translating persuasive texts.

4. Conclusions

In the light of the study outlined in the previous section, the parallel corpus used to analyse the titles of Greenpeace reports and their translations into Italian can be said to be a showcase for the binding constraints of the translatability of rhetoric, for the translation loss that characterises the interlinguistic and intercultural mediation of activist texts, and for transcreation in practice. In other words, the contrastive analysis of the titles provides manifold answers to the research question, offering evidence that untranslatability appears in relative form (Hermans 2009: 302), as it leaves more or less visible traces in the TT titles. In particular, the study indicates that the translated versions of the titles of Greenpeace reports can be grouped into three categories based on the translation strategy used and the successful or failed preservation of the rhetorical effect. First, literal translation preserving the rhetorical effect; second, transcreation preserving the rhetorical effect; third, literal translation leading to translation loss. Although some examples pertaining to the third category suggest that linguistically creative and rhetorically persuasive texts are often untranslatable, others show that, despite objective difficulties, it is the translators who sometimes refrain from resorting to transcreation, thereby failing to preserve the rhetorical effectiveness of the ST titles.

Incidentally, the analysis also reveals the place that the study of activist texts can occupy within the realm of Translation Studies. The examination of the disputable solutions put forward by the mixed team of Greenpeace activists and translators, compared with the more effective alternatives proposed by students committed to transcreation, provides further insights into the study of untranslatability and transcreation, fostering the debate on

the role that the analysis of activist titles and their translations can perform in the translation classroom. In particular, starting from the observation of the corpus, a few comments can be made. Since those who translate in the activist context are not always professional or totally committed translators, an exclusively descriptive approach is not sufficient to examine and explain untranslatability and transcreation in training settings. This stance also derives from the need to move towards an “activist translation pedagogy” (Scarpa 2008), an approach that aims at “introducing in the teaching of translation a new type of prescription”, whereby the teacher presents “the students with descriptive norms based on solid empirical evidence drawn from professional translations but in a critical and, ultimately, prescriptive way” (Scarpa, Musacchio, Palumbo 2009: 39-40). As regards the titles of activist reports, students could and should, then, be encouraged to discuss instances of apparent untranslatability and to propose creative and alternative solutions by sticking to a few fundamental tenets drawn from the observation of the corpus: they should be informed that the preservation of the rhetorical effectiveness of ST titles is paramount, as titles act as attention-seeking devices and catalysts for linguistic creativity; they should, then, be warned that, when faced with a creative title, they should – after an examination of the rhetorical strategy used and its translatability – either preserve or replace the wordplay while retaining the key reference to the theme of the report, remembering that there will be cases in which the creative expression will have to be reduced to its literal meaning.

Notably, this creative, collaborative and interactive work on the translation of activist titles will not only be functional to describing the rising challenges of a new translation domain but will also play a more general and instrumental role in explaining language creativity, translation loss and transcreation. By transcending the details of translation in the activist context, it will gradually help trainees to acquire and develop those analytical skills and transcreation abilities that have always been essential in the translation market, which is now confronted with the new challenges launched by activist communication.

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*OUT OF THE (SAND)BOX:
DEVELOPING TRANSLATION COMPETENCE
VIA WIKIPEDIA TRANSLATATHONS*

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In a recent article for *Translation Studies*, Maria Calzada Perez explores the interplay between translation theory, approaches and methods in translator training and complexity theory. Following Kiraly (2006, 2019), she argues that translation teaching should be based on the triad “autonomy, experience and expertise” and needs to be open to the acknowledgment of ‘complexity’ in the learning process. This entails the design of innovative teaching methods, where the traditional translation class is abandoned in favour of more challenging activities based on “authentic projects”, which inevitably bring both teachers and learners “at the edge of chaos” (Calzada Perez 2019). Against this background a number of projects have emerged that exploit the complex multilingual nature of Wikipedia as a source for real-life authentic translation tasks as part of the curricular teaching activity or in dedicated workshops. In particular, the present paper reports on a Wikipedia-based translation ‘marathon’ at the University of Bari. The basic assumption is that while greatly contributing to the development of a comprehensive translation competence, projects of this kind are in line with the guidelines for Higher Education as “a post-positivist scenario where ‘education’ becomes ‘learning’, conceived almost exclusively in student-centred constructivist terms” (Biesta 2013; Martinez-Carrasco 2018) and represent a particularly appropriate offer for a generation of learners that are identified with the so-called ‘digital natives’.

Translation competence, Wikipedia, digital natives

1. Translation training for digital natives

In a recent article for *Translation Studies*, Maria Calzada Perez dwells at length on the interconnections between complexity theory, on the one hand, and translation theory, approaches and methods in translation training, on the other.

In the wake of Kiraly's studies (2006, 2019), she argues, translation training has long been trying to overcome old approaches based on a positivist epistemology, in favour of a vision inspired by the triad of "autonomy, experience and expertise" (Kiraly 2000), in line with a recognition of aspects of 'complexity' in the context of learning, which escape any linear and transmissionist conception of knowledge (Calzada Perez 2019). According to Kiraly, indeed,

the post-positivist mind-set encourages us to view cognition itself as an emergent adaptive system which does not involve static knowledge as much as it does dynamic knowing – constantly changing, imminently situated and embodied thinking-in-action. (Kiraly 2019: 11)

In the field of translation, as anywhere else, learning takes place continuously and iteratively, and knowledge, consequently, is never fixed once and for all, nor can it be considered stable. Here, complexity, unpredictability and non-linearity of the learning processes are everyday experience:

All who have taught translation can testify that no session is identical to the previous one, that we never obtain exactly the same results for each task, that learning happens as a result of the interaction between participants (the more open participants are to this interaction, the easier it is for them to learn), that students go through phase transitions that eventually stabilize, that environments are never exactly the same, and that learning is sometimes occasioned – if it is not, we can only work harder. (Calzada Perez 2019: 185)

This vision of teaching and learning in the field of translation suggests the opportunity to abandon the certainties of traditional teaching methods and adopt more and more complex activities, based on authentic projects. These might well bring both learners and the teacher "at the edge of chaos", Calzada Perez convincingly argues with an image borrowed from Lewin (1993), but certainly constitute a real opportunity for the "emergence" of learning.

It is on the basis of these assumptions that a number of innovative teaching experiences have been recently developed in an area defined as "Teaching Translation via Wikipedia". What these projects have in common is the involvement of groups of students in projects based on the translation of Wikipedia pages, as an integral part of the curricular teaching activity or as part of dedicated projects. While a convergence between the theory of complexity and the necessary renewal of teaching is easily postulated, it is perhaps also self-evident how the very nature of Wikipedia as a complex multilingual system based on interaction and cooperation for the production and dissemination of knowledge almost naturally provides a playground for the experimentation of translation teaching inspired by the theory of complexity itself. Evidence of this is found in a growing body of literature on this topic (Szymaczak 2013; McDonough Dolmaya 2015; Al-Shehari 2017; Shuttleworth 2017a; Jones 2018; Martinez-Carrasco 2018).

Furthermore, it should be emphasized that teaching-with-Wikipedia projects certainly represent a particularly appropriate offer for a generation of learners that are increasingly identified with the generation of the so-called ‘digital natives’. As is well known, the notion of digital native, which Prensky (2001) put forward at the dawn of the new millennium, assumes an almost innate familiarity with ICT technology on the part of the new generations which is today being reconsidered. The myth of the digital natives’ natural competence in the field of ICT is in fact being deconstructed, as the fluency and ease with which young people are supposed to work in the digital world is all to be demonstrated. There is an increase in critical voices that believe that digital skills by the new generations are often more presumed than real, and that they should instead be enhanced with “minds-on” and “hands-on” activities aimed at leading young people out of the comfort zone consisting of the usual two or three programs or apps (Thomas 2011; Šorgo et al. 2017). A Wikipedia-based translation project can well be seen as an example of such activities, specifically targeting a generation of students that by virtue of their age belong to the generation of digital natives, but still need to develop to the full their potential. In this context, coming into contact with such a complex reality as a multilingual cooperative encyclopedia through educational activities that foster interaction with the entire Wikipedia system can certainly represent a step forward towards that “digital wisdom” which Prensky himself (2009) sets as a realistic and desirable goal for the new generation.

2. Translation in the multilingual ecosystem of Wikipedia

In the light of the considerations set out so far, it is easy to imagine how – as a multilingual cooperative encyclopaedia – Wikipedia can represent a fertile open and multidisciplinary learning environment for the development of a diverse set of skills. In more general terms, it can indeed be argued that the social constructivist theories put forward by Kiraly in the field of translation pedagogy attach much importance to collaborative work, active learning, and authentic tasks and projects, since, as noted in Sánchez Ramos (2021: 42), “the learning environments endorsed by social constructivist theories consist of collaborative contexts in which students can work on situations that resemble the professional reality”. This is certainly the case of Wikipedia-based translation tasks.

Furthermore, Wikipedia-based cooperative translation projects are very likely to meet the needs of a new generation of digital native learners by providing a learning experience in line with the guidelines for higher education, where education is increasingly seen in student-centred constructivist terms (Biesta 2013; Martínez-Carrasco 2018). However, any interest in Wikipedia for teaching purposes – especially in the academic field – emerges in spite of many

prejudices, e.g. the alleged unreliability of its content, the issues of anonymous/multiple authorship, and obvious aversion to a source of information often used uncritically by students. And yet, as pointed out in Brox (2012), the controversy surrounding Wikipedia goes well beyond mere concerns about the reliability of its content and about the students' (mis)use of it, and includes Wikipedia's organizational model itself, which patently challenges established practices of knowledge production and dissemination.

In recent years, however, the perception of Wikipedia in the academic field has slightly changed for better and the free encyclopaedia is increasingly seen as an interesting resource for teaching and a place for the practice of knowledge dissemination by the students (Petrucco 2018). It increases and strengthens motivation and helps the development of digital and transversal skills in the field of online communication.

As to the specific convergence of interests between Linguistics, Translation and Wikipedia Studies, it should be noted that Wikipedia has already been the focus of interest for a while in general and quite specialized areas in Linguistics and also in Translation Studies. Indeed, Wikipedia has been analyzed from the perspective of the changing face of authorship, the evolution of genres and the dynamics of representation and dissemination of knowledge (Ray-Graeff 2008; Clark et al. 2009; Lukač-Gutounig 2015; Gatto 2016). Furthermore, in corpus linguistics, and especially in the trend known as Web as Corpus, Wikipedia is seen as a kind of corpus *on demand* that can be used for linguistic analyses carried out through the statistical methods of corpus linguistics (Davies 2016). The link between Wikipedia and the world of translation is also crucial: on the one hand, Wikipedia is widely and openly recognized as an important documentary source that translators often use to obtain general information on the reference domain of the text to be translated; on the other hand, Wikipedia is one of the first sources to draw on in the search for texts to be included in digital archives (corpora) to be queried by translators to derive useful elements for the terminological mapping of the domain to be translated (Zanettin 2012; Alonso 2016). In particular, in the context of Corpus-Based Translation Studies, Wikipedia has long been regarded as a very peculiar corpus in which texts are linked to each other by a complex, hybrid and dynamic relationship, forming 'parallel' / 'comparable' / 'comparallel' corpora. In fact, it is evident that Wikipedia contains texts that can be the translation of each other (parallel); texts in different languages on the same topics (comparable); and texts that are a little bit one and a little bit the other because they started as translations and then developed independently (comparable), but still maintain parallel segments; hence the definition of 'comparallel' corpora (Bernardini 2010). As a consequence, each article can be thought of as a 'moving object', which means that a pair of articles that display a certain type or degree of translation equivalence at a particular point in time may not continue to do so to

the same degree as time passes, as the equivalence will tend to ‘decay’ over time as each text evolves largely independently from the other (Shuttleworth 2017).

Viewed from Wikipedia’s point of view, however, this potential synergy reveals other interesting aspects. Translation seems indeed to be at the very heart of the Wikipedia ecosystem, as demonstrated by the many pages dedicated to explicit declarations in terms of policy, as well as to specific activities – from the “Translate us” page to the existence of the “Wikitranslators” category or the development of dedicated tools for assisted translation (CAT tools) within the Wikipedia system. Furthermore, research into those that have been labelled as “foci of translation” in Wikipedia might provide new inspiring insights into its complex multilingual “labyrinth”, while tapping material for descriptive translation studies (Shuttleworth 2017).

3. *Developing translation competence via Translatathons*

It is on the basis of these multifaceted convergence of interests that a number of projects aimed at tapping the potential of the synergy between Wikipedia and Translation Studies have been successfully carried out in several universities, including University College London (UK), Castellò de la Plana (Spain) and the University of Padova (Italy). In this context, the *Translatathon@Uniba* project was developed at the University of Bari (Italy) with the specific aim of offering students in the Master’s Degree in Specialized Translation an opportunity to develop a comprehensive translation competence, which represents the most significant learning goal of their degree.

By translation competence, we refer to the table of competence designed by the DG Translation as a framework for the European Master’s in Translation programme. The proposed set of integrated competences, sub-competences, knowledge and skills includes language and intercultural issues, information mining, thematic understanding, and explicitly acknowledges the special role of technology in translation training. As defined by the DG Translation, translation competence is therefore an over-arching competence that subsumes much more than the advanced knowledge of two languages and related cultural contexts, but also includes the ability to identify information needs and retrieve information accordingly (also and especially using digital resources and tools), as well as the various technical skills related to the management of the workflow in a digital and often cooperative environment. It is therefore an integrated set of micro-skills and subordinated competences that interact harmoniously with each other that ultimately leads to the development of a transversal, superordinate and professionalizing competence called “translation service provision competence”, which implies the ability to produce and release a finished product ready for use by the final recipient (Gambier 2009; Toudic - Krause 2017).

In view of the final goal, one of the most critical aspects in translation training is often represented by the difficulty of involving students in genuine ‘authentic’ (i.e. real-life) translation activities, meaning by authenticity not the simple fact that translation tasks originate in a real communicative situation, but that the whole translation process is to be understood as genuine, authentic, i.e. completed for the benefit of real recipients. In most cases, the translation tasks carried out in the classroom are authentic only in the materials but not designed for a real afterlife outside the classroom (Szymaczak 2013: 61).

For its part, Wikipedia openly acknowledges that the translation of entries from the encyclopaedia “is particularly well-suited to student involvement”. As stated in the “Translate us” page,

We suggest that they are asked to translate from the language they are learning, to the language with which they are already familiar. Such efforts provide useful, real-world translation experience for students, who will be motivated by the fact that their work will be seen by thousands of Wikipedia readers. This also benefits Wikipedia readers, who gain access to information about other cultures and peoples. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Translate_us)

There is therefore a mutual interest in involving students in Wikipedia-based translation tasks, which benefit both learners and the encyclopaedia itself. Students are confronted with highly motivating translation projects that are appropriately addressed to an external audience. On the other hand, it is in Wikipedia’s interest to balance the presence of different languages as much as possible in the encyclopaedia, and make the contents accessible to as wide an audience as possible – not to mention the fact that student-editors naturally expand and strengthen Wikipedia’s active user base.

4. *Translatathon@Uniba*

Based on these assumptions, the *Translatathon@Uniba* Project involved a group of students (about 24) from the Master’s Degree programme in Specialized Translation (a.y. 2017-2018 and 2018-2019) at the University of Bari in a translation marathon (*translatahon*) dedicated to pages on sustainable development, with particular reference to the Millennium Development Goals. Specifically, the translation tasks included both the enlargement of Italian articles on sustainable development which appeared to be much shorter than their English counterparts (e.g. “Sostenibilità”) and the creation of new entries in Italian based on the translation of existing English articles (e.g. “Impact of microcredit”).

The translation marathon was held in May 2018 and had a second run with a closing event in March 2019¹. After a kick-off meeting aimed at introducing the

¹ The complete project is detailed at <https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Progetto:Coordinamento/Universit%C3%A0/UNIBA/Translatathon>

students to the principles, pillars and philosophy of Wikipedia, the students were asked to create their own individual “sandboxes”, i.e. pages for editing at the pre-publication stage, and acquired the basic notions and skills required for editing Wikipedia pages. Subsequently, a number of translation tasks (in pairs, group or individual) previously selected by the project team were distributed, clarifying the final objective of each task, i.e. to recreate a Wikipedia page identical to the English original (including images, links, formatting, notes, etc.).

The students worked in their sandbox to produce the translated versions of English pages. Translated texts from the various sandboxes were then submitted to a team of supervisors, composed of university professors of Linguistics and Translation Studies and a Wikimedian, who was also an expert in sustainable development. Each translated text finally went through a three-level review:

- Linguistic and intercultural accuracy
- Content accuracy
- Compliance with Wikipedia standards

With regard to the technical aspects of the project, it is important to stress that although Wikipedia provides a dedicated platform for cooperative translation, in this project only simple general tools like “History” and “Comparing versions” were used to implement and monitor the review process within each sandbox. In this way, all translated texts could be both peer-reviewed and supervised by teachers before publication, keeping track of all corrections and even self-corrections.

In Figure 1 below, an image taken from the sandbox of one of the students shows how revisions by a teacher (tagged as “Gatto Uniba”) are visualized in the “History”.

Utente:Gvtrad/Sandbox: differenze tra le versioni ? Aiuto

< Utente Gvtrad

Naviga nella cronologia in modo interattivo

Versione delle 12:02, 21 mag 2018 (modifica)
 Superchilum (discussione | contributi)
 (fix link)
 ← Differenza precedente

Versione attuale delle 15:53, 26 mag 2018 (modifica) (annulla)
 Mariastella Gatto (discussione | contributi)
 (→Aspetto ambientale)
 (Etichetta: Modifica visuale)

Riga 1:

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==Aspetto ambientale==

Un ecosistema sono fornisce beni e servizi essenziali per ogni essere vivente. Ci sono due modi principali per ridurre l'impatto umano negativo e incrementare i [[servizi dell'ecosistema]], di cui il primo riguarda la [[gestione ambientale]]. Quest'approccio diretto si basa principalmente sulle informazioni ottenute dalle [[scienze della terra]], dalle [[scienze ambientali]] e dalla [[biologia della conservazione]]. Tuttavia, questa è la gestione alla fine di una lunga serie di fattori casuali indiretti introdotti dal [[consumo]] umano, per cui un secondo approccio si ha attraverso la gestione della domanda dell'uso delle risorse umane.
```

Riga 1:

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==Aspetto ambientale==

Un ecosistema sono fornisce beni e servizi essenziali per ogni essere vivente. Ci sono due modi principali per ridurre l'impatto umano negativo e incrementare i [[servizi dell'ecosistema]], il primo dei quali riguarda la [[gestione ambientale]]. Quest'approccio diretto si basa principalmente sulle informazioni ottenute dalle [[scienze della terra]], dalle [[scienze ambientali]] e dalla [[biologia della conservazione]]. Tuttavia, si tratta di una gestione che arriva alla fine di una lunga serie di fattori casuali indiretti introdotti dal [[consumo]] umano, per cui un secondo approccio si ha attraverso la gestione della domanda nell'ambito dell'uso delle risorse umane.
```

FIGURE 1 Student sandbox with the teacher’s revisions

In Figure 2 below, instead, “History” shows the patterns of self-correction by one and the same student.

Utente: XXXXXXXXXX /Sandbox: differenze tra le versioni ? Aiuto

< Utente: Annuncigno

Naviga nella cronologia in modo interattivo

Versione delle 12:16, 17 mag 2018 (modifica)

XXXXXXXXXX (discussione | contributi)

(→Riduzione della povertà)

← Differenza precedente

Versione delle 12:35, 17 mag 2018 (modifica) (annulla)

XXXXXXXXXX (discussione | contributi)

(→Riduzione della povertà)

Differenza successiva →

A lungo andare, lo sviluppo economico pro capite è **raggiungo** grazie **sia** all'aumento di capitale (cioè fattori che incrementano la produttività) sia [[capitale umano|umano]] che [[capitale fisico|fisico]],e grazie alla tecnologia. Un aumento nel capitale umano, nella forma della sanità, è necessario per la crescita economica ma **non la ricchezza e la salute non necessariamente crescono nella stessa maniera.** <ref>{{cite web|url=http://www.dcp2.org/main/Home.html|title=Disease Control Priorities Project|publisher=|accessdate=14 July 2017|deadurl=yes|archiveurl=https://web.archive.org/web/20060406154431/http://dcp2.org/main/Home.html|archivedate=6 April 2006|df-dmy-all}}

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FIGURE. 2 Self-correction by one student

Sostenibilità

Da Wikipedia, l'enciclopedia libera.

Versione del 10 apr 2018 alle 18:01 di Internetarchivebot (discussione | contributi) (Ritorno a 1 fonte e segnalazione di 0 link interrotti. #IABot (v1.6.3)) (diff — Versione meno recente | Versione attuale (diff) | Versione più recente — (diff))

Questa voce o sezione sull'argomento ecologia non cita le fonti necessarie o quelle presenti sono insufficienti.

Puoi migliorare questa voce aggiungendo citazioni da fonti attendibili secondo le linee guida sull'uso delle fonti. Segui i suggerimenti del progetto di riferimento.

[[wikit]] Questa voce o sezione sull'argomento ecologia non è ancora formattata secondo gli standard.

Contribuisci a migliorarla secondo le convenzioni di Wikipedia. Segui i suggerimenti del progetto di riferimento.

In ambito ambientale, economico e sociale, la **sostenibilità** è la caratteristica di un processo o di uno stato che può essere mantenuto ad un certo livello indefinitamente.

Indice [nascondi]

- 1 Definizione e ambiti
- 2 Storia
- 3 Necessità di uno sviluppo sostenibile
- 4 Interventi sostenibili
- 5 Valore condiviso
- 6 Note
- 7 Voci correlate
- 8 Altri progetti
- 9 Collegamenti esterni

Definizione e ambiti

Il concetto di sostenibilità può essere applicato in diversi ambiti, tra cui:

- ambientale
- economico
- sociale.

In particolare in ambito ambientale, la sostenibilità è considerata una prerogativa essenziale per garantire la stabilità di un ecosistema,^[1] cioè la capacità di mantenere nel futuro i processi ecologici che avvengono all'interno di un ecosistema e la sua biodiversità. Tale concetto di sostenibilità è stato il primo ad essere definito e analizzato.^[1] Successivamente il concetto di sostenibilità venne allargato ad altri ambiti, in particolare alla sfera economica e sociale,^[1] fornendo una definizione più ampia, secondo la quale le tre condizioni di **sostenibilità ambientale, economica e sociale** partecipano insieme alla definizione di benessere e progresso.^[1] Tale generalizzazione del concetto di sostenibilità è stata svolta usando il concetto di "sistema", che è più generale del concetto di

The diagram consists of three overlapping circles: a blue circle at the top labeled 'Sociale', a green circle at the bottom left labeled 'Ambientale', and a red circle at the bottom right labeled 'Economico'. The intersection of the blue and green circles is labeled 'Vitalità', the intersection of the blue and red circles is labeled 'Equo', and the intersection of the green and red circles is labeled 'Rendizabilità'. The central intersection where all three circles meet is labeled 'Sostenibilità'.

FIGURE. 3 “Sostenibilità” in Wikipedia as of 13th May 2018

As the examples reported indicate, the accessibility of the revision process through the “History” function makes it an interesting byproduct for classroom discussion beyond the translation task itself.

As for the issue of “authenticity” of the translation task, i.e. a task completed for the benefit of real recipients and designed for a real afterlife outside the classroom (Szymaczak 2013: 61), as discussed earlier in this paper, a good example is the page dedicated to “Sustainability” in Figures 3 and 4. On 13th May 2018, in its latest version before the first translation marathon which took place on 14th May 2018, the Italian page “Sostenibilità” only counted 12185 bytes, for a total of 11555 characters, and appeared as in Figure 3.

On the other hand, on the same date, the English page “Sustainability” counted 156109 bytes, for a total of 123923 characters, as shown in Figure.4.

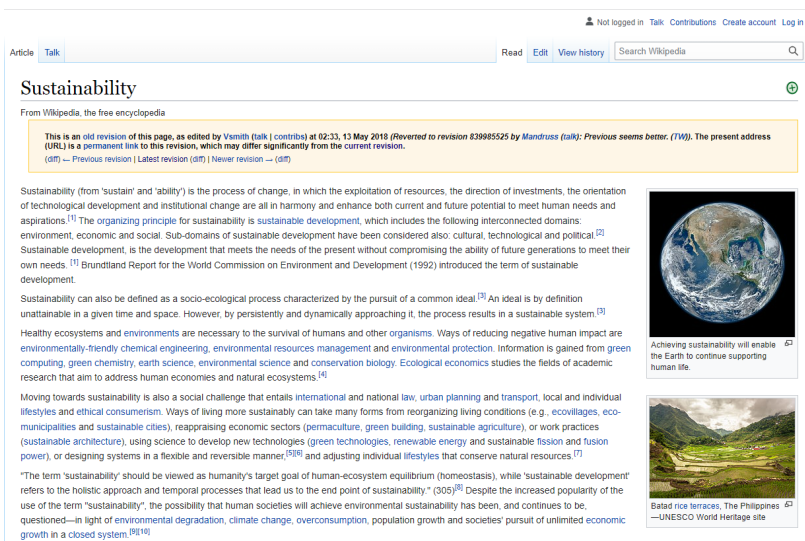


FIGURE. 4 “Sustainability” entry in Wikipedia as of 13 May 2018

At the end of the marathon, after the three-level review process described above, the page moved from the students’ individual sandboxes to the online encyclopedia appeared as shown in Figure. 5. It finally amounted to 154705 bytes and 138368 characters, i.e. the same size as its English counterpart.

Sostenibilità

Da Wikipedia, l'enciclopedia libera.

Versione del 27 feb 2019 alle 16:51 di Argeste (discussione | contributi) (rimuovi tag dopo riscrittura completa della voce per effetto di traduzione (i problemi residui di formattazione, relativi soprattutto allo stato delle note e a qualche wikifying, non richiedono un tag)) (diff) — Versione meno recente | Versione attuale (diff) | Versione più recente — (diff)

La **sostenibilità** è la caratteristica di un processo o di uno stato che può essere mantenuto ad un certo livello indefinitamente. In ambito **ambientale**, **economico** e **sociale**, essa è il processo di cambiamento nel quale lo sfruttamento delle risorse, il piano degli investimenti, l'orientamento dello sviluppo tecnologico e le modifiche istituzionali sono tutti in sintonia e valorizzano il potenziale attuale e futuro al fine di far fronte ai bisogni e alle aspirazioni dell'uomo.^[1]

Il **principio guida** della sostenibilità è lo **sviluppo sostenibile**, che riguarda, in modo interconnesso, l'ambito ambientale, quello economico e quello sociale. I settori culturale, tecnologico e politico sono, invece, considerati come sotto-settori dello sviluppo sostenibile.^{[2][3]} Per sviluppo sostenibile si intende lo sviluppo volto a soddisfare i bisogni della generazione presente senza compromettere la capacità delle generazioni future di far fronte ai propri bisogni.^[1] Il termine sviluppo sostenibile è stato introdotto per la prima volta dal Rapporto Brundtland della Commissione Mondiale per l'Ambiente e lo Sviluppo (1992).

La sostenibilità può anche essere definita come un processo socio-ecologico caratterizzato dal desiderio di perseguire un ideale comune.^[4] Per quanto possa essere difficile raggiungere tale ideale, un atteggiamento perseverante e dinamico fa in modo che il processo dia luogo ad un sistema sostenibile.^[4]

Ecosistemi e sistemi ambientali sani sono necessari per la sopravvivenza della specie umana e degli organismi viventi. Alcune modalità per ridurre l'impatto negativo dell'uomo sull'ambiente sono l'ingegneria chimica ecosostenibile, la **gestione ambientale delle risorse** e la **tutela dell'ambiente**. Le informazioni vengono raccolte per mezzo dei sistemi di informatica verde, chimica verde, scienze della terra, scienze ambientali e biologia della conservazione. L'economia ecologica si occupa della ricerca accademica sull'economia umana e sugli ecosistemi naturali.^[5]

Il percorso verso il raggiungimento della sostenibilità rappresenta anche una sfida sociale che coinvolge il **diritto internazionale** e nazionale, il sistema urbanistico e dei trasporti, gli **stili di vita** locali e individuali e il **consumo critico**. Per vivere in modo più sostenibile si può ricorrere ad alcune strategie, come la riorganizzazione delle condizioni di vita (ad esempio, **ecovillaggi**, **città ecologiche** e **città sostenibili**), la revisione dei settori economici (**permacultura**, **green building**, **agricoltura sostenibile**) o delle prassi lavorative (**bioarchitettura**). l'utilizzo delle scienze per lo sviluppo di nuove tecnologie (**tecnologia verde**, **energie rinnovabili** ed **energia da fusione** e da **fissione** attraverso un processo sostenibile), oppure la progettazione di sistemi flessibili e reversibili^{[6][7]} oltre che l'adattamento degli **stili di vita** individuali volto alla conservazione delle risorse naturali.^[8]

Alla luce di fenomeni come il **degrado ambientale**, il **cambiamento climatico**, il **sovraconsumo**, l'aumento demografico e la **crecita economica** illimitata in un **sistema chiuso**, la concreta possibilità che le società umane possano, in futuro, raggiungere gli obiettivi della sostenibilità ambientale è stata, e continua a rimanere, incerta, nonostante il termine "sostenibilità" goda di una popolarità sempre maggiore.



Raggiungere gli obiettivi di sostenibilità permetterà all'uomo di continuare a vivere sulla Terra.



Terrazzamenti di riso di Balad, Filippine – patrimonio UNESCO

FIGURE. 5 “Sostenibilità” entry in the Italian Wikipedia (February 2019)

During the process, the students were confronted with translation problems which could be mostly grouped in three areas: lack of translation equivalents (e.g. “brown economy” or “triple bottom line”); need to create a translation equivalent for neologisms (e.g. “Sustainocene”); the need to localise the page to be translated through the conscious omission of parts of the source text deemed to be irrelevant for the target audience. These problems were the catalyst of a simultaneous and self-conscious recourse to all the sub-competences which are at the basis of the translation competence, especially “information mining” and “thematic competence”. Last but not least, when asked to provide their feedback on the experience as a whole, the students all underlined the positive impact of the workshop in strengthening the skills and competences subsumed under the overarching “translation competence”. Furthermore, they all appreciated the contribution to the development of e-skills and of the so-called transversal soft skills and even green skills, which are indeed a key asset in the job market according to some relatively recent press releases (e.g. UnionCamere 2017), as argued up by one of the students during her talk at the project’s closing event (Moscarella 2019).

5. Conclusion

The translation teaching experience with Wikipedia discussed in the previous sections produced interesting results in terms of teaching innovation, while offering food for thought that goes beyond the strictly pedagogical field. However, the saying goes, “all that glitters is not gold”. It is also appropriate, in this conclusion, to focus on the main problems and on the challenges posed in the educational context precisely by the complex nature of the experience, as also observed by Al-Shehari (2017). Firstly, the identification of appropriate translation tasks in terms of content and page length was not an easy task; longer pages had to be turned into group-works and technical problems resulted from merging the contents of different sandboxes into one new published entry. Secondly, the three-phase revision referred to in the previous section appears problematic; it is necessary in order to ensure the highest quality of the finished product but it is extremely demanding from the point of view of human resources, and definitely time-consuming.

These limitations, however, cannot impair the value of a *translatathon*, from both a pedagogical and a research perspective. It undoubtedly offers an opportunity for the development of a comprehensive translation competence by integrating key competences with new skills (e.g. specific editing e-skills and transversal soft skills), in the context of an authentic experience in translation which leads to the actual publication of the translation product. In addition, it can be counted as a real contribution to the multilingual nature of Wikipedia (indirectly enhancing its usefulness for translation) and, as such, it makes a real contribution to the dissemination of knowledge through translation. From the point of view of research, the data in the sandboxes are also to be seen as useful data from other perspectives. For example, both published and unpublished translated pages from the sandboxes could provide the basis for a translation learner corpus; similarly, the various forms of revision and interaction – among the student-translators as well as by the reviewers – made evident through the chronology of each translated article could provide data for both error analysis and the observation of the dynamics of cooperative translation.

Thus, while undoubtedly challenging at the level of practice, *translatahtons* are extremely rewarding. They provide invaluable insights into some specific aspects of translation and knowledge dissemination in the self-contained ecosystem of Wikipedia (Shuttleworth 2017b; 2018) while offering a reproducible example of translation didactics inspired by complexity theory, constructivism and approaches to cooperative learning (Király 2000; 2006; Calzada Perez 2019).

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Wikipedia pages

Progetto: Translatathon@Uniba

<https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Progetto:Coordinamento/Universit%C3%A0/UNIBA/Translatathon>

Teaching Translation via Wikipedia

https://wikimedia.org.uk/wiki/Teaching_Translation_via_Wikipedia

Translate us

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Translate_us

Wikitrattori

<https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Categoria:Wikitrattori>

*ON THE DEFINITORY CROSSROADS:
LEGAL, MEDICAL-SCIENTIFIC AND POPULARIZED DEFINITIONS OF
(HUMAN) GENE EDITING*

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The study investigates the way in which the specialized unit of understanding of gene (genome) editing is conceptualized through definitions in bioethically relevant legal discourse, medical-scientific discourse of institutional publications and popularized media discourse. The research pursues the goal of analyzing existing definitions in these three areas in English, relying on the theory of definitions in terminology and terminography, and on function theory of lexicography. The analysis is carried out in a quantiquitative vein, using methods of corpus linguistics for text search and data processing, and the combined paradigm of cognitive semantics and discourse analysis for the analysis of definitions. The findings identify a) a partial definitional coverage in the popular press, suggesting a reliance on some presumed knowledge; b) a lack of legal definitions unambiguously directed at gene editing, highlighting the need for the creation of new legal definitions of the technology; c) divergent definitional styles proposed by and for different users, which are translated into the prevalence of different information-based content and patterns across the corpora.

Definitions, gene editing, legal definitions, scientific definitions, popularized definitions

1. Introduction

When science advances and discovers new possibilities, concepts and technologies, language has to incorporate these changes within new terms and deal with notions that are not yet firmly established as part of shared knowledge. When a new term is introduced, it is imperative that all parties understand it in the same way. This is especially true when the term in question denotes a highly controversial new technology with a great and multifaceted

potential for change, such as gene editing. Discovered in 2012, this Nobel-winning¹ biotechnology has acquired multiple applications in plant, animal and even human modification at the genetic level. The technology was baptized as *gene editing* or *genome editing*, probably building on the conventionalized metaphor of genome as a book or a text (Mattiello 2019; Nelkin 2001; Nerlich and Hellstein 2004) that can now be modified (Nikitina 2019, 2020). Even though it has been widely discussed in various contexts, the term appears to be still lacking terminological stability. Scientists themselves frequently use both terms interchangeably with no clear preference for one or the other (Foong 2019: 376; Thompson 2015: 45). As a 2019 survey indicates (McCaughey *et al.* 2019: 39), experts emphasize the lack of linguistic clarity with naming and defining the technology (Wells and Joly 2017), though the technology has been widely popularized in mass media and is known to the public at large. Undoubtedly, terminological stability, along with the uniformity of interpretation of new terms, can be enhanced through clear and structured definitions. From a legal and bioethical point of view, definitions of new biomedical technologies play “a crucial role in the categorization of such entities and objects, and in the establishment of connections amongst them” (Garzone 2018: 10). From a medical-bioethical standpoint, the literature on definitions emphasizes that

Definitions are important. They can serve as an impetus for changing practice, for introducing new programs and for working toward the allocation of more resources [...]. Moreover, the understanding of these concepts influences how medicine is practiced. (Kaasa 2001: 413)

In general, “there is concern that the science and innovation of genome editing is moving ahead of public understanding and policy” (Tuerlings 2019: 3; see also Nuffield Council on Bioethics 2016). Recent studies have called for an unconventional regulation of human gene editing, uniting a plethora of perspectives and a “broad societal consensus” (Lander *et al.* 2019: 165f; see also Hulburt *et al.* 2018; Saha *et al.* 2018). Currently, the definitions of gene editing in circulation are those created by medical professionals and the popular press. There are very few legal definitions, as only a limited number of legislators have had time to register this latest technological progress, despite their understanding that “complex therapeutic products require precise legal definitions” (Regulation (EC) No 1394/2007: par. 3). As gene editing is complex and multifaceted, the absence of a standardized definition could preclude a general understanding and regulated practice of this technology. Research on coexisting definitions of the same concept in legal, medical and popular contexts (Armani 2017) suggests that the lack of a standardized definition, or

¹ The Nobel Prize in Chemistry 2020 was awarded to Emmanuelle Charpentier and Jennifer A. Doudna “for the development of a method for genome editing” (<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/chemistry/2020/press-release/>).

rather multiple understandings of a concept, could potentially jeopardize its legal acceptance, should a jury be asked to deliberate on a case connected with such a concept (Armani 2017: 213). As the recent events demonstrate, gene editing has already given rise to a number of legal cases (e.g. *ECJ Case C-528/16*) or cases with potential lawsuits (e.g. medical responsibility for the gene editing of human embryos with a subsequent birth of gene-edited twins in November 2018, see Nikitina 2021; Sergeev 2019). Therefore, the aim of this article is to focus on the convergent and divergent tendencies in legal vs. medical-scientific vs. popular definitions of gene editing with a view to identifying possible definitional strategies of gene editing and preparing the ground for future analysis of emerging interlinguistic and international codification of this technology.

2. Definitions

Defining is a fine art, which is often seen “as a never ending process having progress of both understanding and knowledge as such as its motive” (Temmerman 2000: 76). International Standardization Organization defines *definition* as a “representation of a concept by an expression that describes it and differentiates it from related concepts” (ISO 1087-1:2019, 3.3.1). In linguistics, the natural habitat of definitions, where such representation of concepts is studied, lies within the fields of lexicography and terminography. As terminography documents specialized lexicon of a specific subject field, domain or discipline (such as biomedicine and gene editing), this approach suits most the purposes of this study, although lexicographic research on definitions has also been consulted. In terminography, definitions function as “a form of expert knowledge representation, [...] setting up a dialogue with receptors” (Montero-Martínez and García de Quesada 2004: 266), and this is a valid starting point also from the knowledge dissemination perspective. Terminographers focus on the successful codification of expert terminological knowledge under a form of a micro-discourse reflecting terminological uses, communicative intentions and cognitive schemes (Montero-Martínez and García de Quesada 2004: 267).

Lexicographic research offers valuable inputs for this study, too. The functional theory of lexicography (Bergenholtz and Tarp 2003) posits that different definitional styles are proposed by and for different users, taking into account “what is needed to solve the set of specific problems that pop up for a specific group of users with specific characteristics in specific user situations” (Bergenholtz and Tarp 2003: 172). The concept of user needs/situations runs in parallel with the social situation where lexicographic needs appear (Bergenholtz and Tarp 2010). Following this theoretical framework, the definitional knowledge that appears in legal texts is bound to differ from that of the popularized press and of institutional scientific communication.

Legal definitions perform constitutive and regulatory functions (Palashevskaya 2017: 132) and pursue the goal of promoting clarity and achieving “a necessary degree of definiteness” (Thornton 1987: 54), also through the so-called “re-definitions” (Garzone 2018). Legal definitions are considered to be among the most challenging provisions to draft (Jopek-Bosiacka 2011: 16). Most frequently legal definitions are of a *nominal* type, i.e. they “focus on signs, and abstract the semantic dimension of such signs” (Garzone 2018: 16; cf. Hernández Ramos and Heydt 2017: 133; see also Robinson 1954). They can be *stipulative* or *lexical*. The former set “a certain meaning for a specific expression” following the drafter’s decision “to use a specific term in a certain sense that may go beyond the definitions given in dictionaries and linguistic uses” (Hernández-Ramos and Heydt 2017: 133; see also Harris and Hutton 2007). The latter “attempt to ascertain the meaning of a specific linguistic expression and [...] are explained in dictionaries concentrating on the linguistic uses of a community of speakers” (Hernández-Ramos and Heydt 2017: 133; cf. Garzone 2018: 16). Obviously, legal definitions are not a panacea for indeterminacy of controversial concepts since a definition “*always* allows room for semantic divergence and hence misunderstanding” (Harris and Hutton 2007: 65), but their potential to reduce uncertainty is evident.

In specialized scientific discourse terminological definitions are not so pervasive, because “the meaning of certain expressions is taken for granted within the disciplinary community” (Gotti 2014: 18). In general, medical definitions tend to be less discrete than legal definitions (Truog 2018) as medical practitioners typically prefer descriptions rather than formal definitions. Biomedical and, specifically, bioethical terms and concepts “are commonly used but rarely and inconsistently defined” (Hui *et al.* 2014: 77). Hui *et al.* (2014: 86) when discussing the terms and definitions of end-of-life situations in circulation in medical publications emphasize the lack of clear conceptualizations and highlight the frequent recourse to the use of synonyms. In general – to the best of my knowledge – biomedical definitions have been underresearched from the linguistic point of view, with the exception of studies that focus predominantly on the content of definitions (Grego and Vicentini 2019; Hui *et al.* 2014; Namer and Baud 2007; Pastrana 2008).

Definitions found in the popular press “involve a far more limited use of specialized lexis” (Gotti 2014: 18). They frequently rely on metaphorical language (O’Keefe *et al.* 2015) and buzzwords (Bensaude Vincent 2014), which are used as synonyms for the term. In addition, and in stark contrast to medical-scientific and legal contexts, popularized definitions involve a certain degree of approximation and use such expressions as “a sort of”, “a kind of”, etc. to introduce highly specialized concepts (Gotti 2014: 19). Popularized definitions often act as re-definitions that *recontextualize* (Calsamiglia and

van Dijk 2004: 370) scientific knowledge, adapting it to a new communicative situation in order to reflect the nature of popularizing scientific discourse and the expectations of its users, who “might be interested in a shorter and less dense definition” (Espinoza Anke 2013: 268) in comparison to a scientific one. Yet, “[s]hort definitions are always problematic because they cannot embrace a complex phenomenon in its totality” (Fuertes Olivera and Tarp 2014: 4), and the technology of gene editing involves a number of bioethically complex issues. In previous research I found the extensive use of imagery in the UK press (Nikitina 2019, 2020) representing the technology in an ideologically slanted way, which goes beyond mere terminological adjustments providing a social reading, and, potentially, interpretation suggestions, to the technology.

Linguistic literature abounds in different taxonomies of definitions, which essentially attempt to classify definitions by the type of information they contain, i.e. the so-called *information-based taxonomies* (Del Gaudio, Batista and Branco 2013; Sager 1990; Sierra, Alarcón, Aguilar and Barrón 2006) and by the pattern around which they are built, i.e. the so-called *pattern-based taxonomies* (Westerhout and Monachesi 2007) revolving around the grammar of definition sentences in dictionaries (Barnbrook 2002).

The information-based taxonomies are inspired by traditional logic and date back to scholasticism and Aristotle (Espinoza Anke 2013; Robinson 1954: 94ff; Sierra et al. 2006). The philosophical backdrop of categorization/conceptualization has inspired many modern works in cognitive semantics (Yang 2020: 16; cf. Talmy 2000; Temmerman 2000). To provide a linguistic reading of definitions, this study relies on the following information-based taxonomy refined and standardized by the International Standardization Organization (ISO 1087: 2019, ISO 10241 - 1: 2011, ISO 704: 2009).

1. Definitions *by synonymy* indicate an equivalent term in the definiens part to indicate that the defined term means the same or almost the same (partial synonyms) as some other word already known to the reader; e.g. “a catalogue is a list, register or complete enumeration”. This category also includes denotative definitions, such as “CRISPR-Cas9, a gene editing tool”.
2. *Intensional* definitions convey “the intension of a concept by stating the immediate generic concept and the delimiting characteristic(s)” (ISO 1087: 2019). In other words, these definitions define a term by providing its analysis, hence they are also known as *analytical*. Analytical definitions follow Aristotle’s method of defining by *genus et differentia*, or a whole of parts, where *genus* stands for a bigger class within which the defined object falls and *differentia* names something that distinguishes the object from the rest of the class; e.g. “octagon is a polygon having eight sides”.

3. Definitions *by implication* provide information about the term by describing its usage, function or application in a particular context (e.g. a diagonal “divides the square into two right-angled isosceles triangles”);
4. *Extensional* definitions describe a term by enumerating its components, or “all species, which are at the same level of abstraction, or of all individual objects belonging to the concept defined” (Felber 1984: 163), e.g. “Nano-ear is made from a microscopic particle of gold that is trapped by a laser beam” (Espinosa Anke 2013: 271). Extensional definitions comprise *generic extensional definitions*, i.e. the specific concepts of a generic concept are listed under one criterion of subdivision on the same hierarchical level (ISO 1087: 2019, 3.3.4), and *partitive extensional definitions* that enumerate “all the partitive concepts of a comprehensive concept on the same hierarchical level” (ISO 1087: 2019, 3.3.5).

As concerns pattern-based taxonomies, their underlying idea is that “elements of meaning can be identified via the elements of pattern” (Hunston 2002: 154). In other words, a connection between pattern and meaning can be established by applying the notion of local grammar of definitions (Barnbrook 2002). As Barnbrook states, the language of definitions is a specific sublanguage following rules of a local grammar (Barnbrook 2002: 59). It is “a relatively restricted subset of English and [...] the nature of the restrictions allows the formulation of a specific grammar to describe its operation” (Barnbrook 2002: 72). Building on his previous work with Sinclair (Barnbrook and Sinclair 1995, 2001), Barnbrook (2002: 135f) proposes an extensive pattern-based classification of definitions as applied to the Collins COBUILD Student Dictionary dividing them into four groups with detailed subdivisions. Given the complexity of this taxonomy and space restrictions, this chapter will apply a more recent and simplified version of a pattern-based taxonomy, based on the notion of a local grammar of definitions, found in Westerhout and Monachesi (2007) and in Espinosa Anke (2013: 269). According to this simplified model, there are six types of patterns in definitions:

1. *Is*-definitions that introduce the definiendum by the verb “to be”;
2. *Verb*-definitions that are introduced by any verb other than “to be”;
3. *Punctuation*-definitions that use punctuation marks, such as commas, colons, brackets or dashes, to connect the term (headword) and definition;
4. *Pronoun*-definitions that do not mention the term but replace it with a pronoun exploiting anaphoric structures to identify the entity to which the pronoun is referring to;
5. *Layout*-definitions, exploring the structure and formatting of the document to identify definitions;

6. *Unclassifiable* definitions.

For the analysis and where applicable, the above information-based and pattern-based classifications are supplemented with insights from the literature on legal, medical and popularized definitions overviewed above.

3. *Materials and study design*

Materials for the study comprise a three-part corpus, consisting of a) legal texts, including international conventions and treaties, statutes and legislatures and several court judgments (see Table 1), b) institutional-scientific statements and reports (see Table 2) and c) UK newspapers, including both tabloids and broadsheets, which came out during the 2017-2019 period (see Table 3). The corpus was collected using the search words “gene editing” and “genome editing” in the LexisNexis database and carrying out an additional web search.

The legal subcorpus contains international conventions and treaties with relevance to gene editing, as well as court judgments on this topic. The search with the exact keywords “gene editing” and “genome editing” did not produce many results – as there were no international treaties drafted after the discovery of CRISPR-Cas9, more general documents dealing with genetic alterations and modifications were included in the corpus. An additional search of English-language legislation and court cases was carried out to find specific mention of “gene editing” and “genome editing”. The results are reported in Table 1 below.

<i>Document name</i>	<i>Institution</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Abbreviation in this study</i>
Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Dignity of the Human Being with regard to the Application of Biology and Medicine: Convention on Human Rights and Biomedicine (European Treaty Series - No. 164)	European Community / European Union	1997	Oviedo_1997
Charter of Fundamental Rights of The European Union (2000/C 364/01)	The European Parliament, the Council and the Commission	2000	EUCharter_2000

Directive 2001/18/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 12 March 2001 on the deliberate release into the environment of genetically modified organisms and repealing Council Directive 90/220/EEC	European Parliament / European Council	2001	EUDirective_2001
Nagoya Protocol on Access to Genetic Resources and The Fair and Equitable Sharing of Benefits Arising from Their Utilization to the Convention on Biological Diversity	United Nations, Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity	2011	Nagoya_2011
Judgment of the European Court of Justice in Case C-528/16	European Court of Justice	2018	ECJ_2018
Judgment of the US Court of Appeals in the Case “University of California vs. Broad Institute, Inc”	United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit	2018	USCourt_2018
The State of Washington House Bill 1990	Washington 66th Legislature - 2019 Regular Session	2019	WAHB_2019
The State of California Senate Bill 180	California 2019-20 Regular Session	2019	CASB_2019

TABLE 1. Legal subcorpus

The institutional-scientific publications include 16 documents, published by international bodies between the end of 2015 and 2019 (see Table 2). Most documents were solicited by the lack of clear regulations on gene editing and the absence of international legal documents. They pursue the goal of clarifying the issue and provide recommendations for governance.

<i>Document name</i>	<i>Institution</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Abbreviation in this study</i>
Statement on genome editing technologies	Committee on Bioethics (DH-BIO), Council of Europe	2015	DH-BIO_2015
On Human Gene Editing: International Summit Statement	Organizing Committee for the International Summit on Human Gene Editing	2015	ISHGE_2015
Genome editing: an ethical review	Nuffield Council on Bioethics	2016	NCB_2016
Statement on Gene Editing	European Group on Ethics in Science and New Technologies (EGE)	2016	EGE_2016
Human genome editing in EU. Report of a workshop held on 28th April 2016 at the French Academy of Medicine.	Federation of European Academies of Medicine (FEAM)	2016	FEAM_2016
Advanced Gene Editing: CRISPR-Cas9	Congressional Research Service (CRS) Reports	2017	CRS_2017
Human Genome Editing: Science, Ethics, and Governance	Committee on Human Gene Editing: Scientific, Medical, and Ethical Considerations, National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine	2017	NASEM_2017
The use of new genetic technologies in human beings (Recommendation 2115)	Parliamentary Assembly, Council of Europe	2017	PACE_2017

Genome editing: scientific opportunities, public interests and policy options in the European Union. EASAC policy report 31	European Academies Science Advisory Council (EASAC)	2017	EASAC_2017
The application of Genome Editing in humans. A position paper of FEAM – the Federation of European Academies of Medicine.	Federation of European Academies of Medicine (FEAM)	2017	FEAM_2017
Statement by the Group of Chief Scientific Advisors: A Scientific Perspective on the Regulatory Status of Products Derived from Gene Editing and the Implications for the GMO Directive	European Commission	2018	EC_2018
At a glance: What if gene editing became routine practice?	European Parliament Research Service, Scientific Foresight Unit (STOA)	2018	EPRS_2018
Genome editing and human reproduction	Nuffield Council on Bioethics	2018	NCB_2018
Statement by the Organizing Committee of the Second International Summit on Human Genome Editing	Organizing Committee of the Second International Summit on Human Genome Editing	2018	ISHGE_2018
Detection of food and feed plant products obtained by new mutagenesis techniques	European Network of GMO Laboratories (ENGL)	2019	ENGL_2019

Background Paper Governance 1 Human Genome Editing	WHO Expert Advisory Committee on Developing Global Standards for Governance and Oversight of Human Genome Editing	2019	WHO_2019
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TABLE 2. Institutional-scientific subcorpus

The popularized texts were selected among the UK and the US newspaper publications in the period 2017-2019 using search parameters “gene editing” or “genome editing”. The newspapers were selected based on their large accessibility to general public. The broadsheet newspapers featured *The Times* (London), the *New York Times*, the *Independent* (UK) and the *Washington Post*. The tabloids selected were *Daily Mail / Mail Online*, *HuffPost* (US edition), the *Sun* (and the *Sunday Sun*) and the *Mirror* (including the *Sunday Mirror*). Every newspaper is equally represented in the corpus by twelve articles, four articles per year, which were randomly selected from the general results of the search carried out in the LexisNexis database and in the archives of separate newspapers.

<i>Newspaper title</i>	<i>Newspaper type</i>	<i>Number of articles</i>	<i>Abbreviation in this study</i>
The Times (London)	Broadsheet	12	BrTL
The New York Times	Broadsheet	12	BrNYT
The Independent	Broadsheet	12	BrTIn
Washington Post	Broadsheet	12	BrWP
Daily Mail / Mail Online	Tabloid	12	TbMO
HuffPost	Tabloid	12	TbPBN
The Sun	tabloid	12	TbTS
The Mirror	tabloid	12	TbTM

TABLE 3. Popularized subcorpus

The length of texts within single subcorpora varied significantly (e.g. compare an international convention and a newspaper report), hence it was decided to focus only on the extracted definitions, without counting the other parts of the texts. All definitions were extracted manually at the close reading stage from the “Definitions” (or analogous) sections in the documents featuring such sections or from the introductory part of the texts where the concept was announced and explained. The final corpus, reported in Table 4, features definitions of gene editing and genome editing as a primary focus, as well as some definitions of CRISPR-Cas9 as the main type of gene editing technology in use over the period analysed.

	<i>Legal</i>	<i>Institutional- scientific</i>	<i>Popularized</i>
Tokens in definitions	1,596	1,556	1,450
Number of definitions	15 (5)	37	55
Number of texts	7	16	96

TABLE 4. Corpus composition

The analysis provides a quantitative overview of the main definitional types, both pattern- and information-based, within single subcorpora. All definitions are manually selected, sorted and assigned the respective categories. In order to cater for differences in the number of definitions identified in each subcorpus, all quantitative data are expressed as percentage. Patterns and preferences pointing to a given definitional style for different user profiles and social contexts can be discovered. Next, a discourse analytical perspective is adopted to analyse the tendencies identified from the qualitative standpoint. Specifically, the framework of cognitive semantics (Felber 1984; Temmerman 2000) is applied to assess how meaning is constructed and how knowledge is represented in the definitions. The traditional theory of definitions (see Section 2) forms the general framework for this study and is supplemented by Temmerman’s (2000: 122) “template for the description of units of understanding”. Temmerman (2000) analyses the language of the life sciences and proposes the idea of “units of understanding” to emphasize that definitions can be provided also to prototypical structures, such as “biotechnology”. For Temmerman (2000: 74f) units of understanding possess a prototype structure, may vary in time and can be explained as “categories of understanding” based on cognitive models. In this study, the definitions of a unit of understanding *gene/genome editing* are assessed for the convergent and divergent semantic fields and categories that are better explained in the following sections.

4. Findings and discussion

4.1 General trends

An overview of materials identified several remarkable trends. First, whereas all institutional-scientific and legal texts contained definitions, only 57% of newspapers featured them. Can it be construed as a certain knowledge presumption? Do reporters consider it sufficient to nominate gene editing without giving its definition? A recent demographic study (McCaughy *et al.* 2019: 39) on the awareness of gene editing conducted in 185 countries in 2015 showed that it was unknown to 12.1% only of respondents. Still, lack of standard codification and certain sensationalism of news coverage reporting on gene editing (Nikitina 2020) would call for a higher definitional clarity.

Second, there were very few legal definitions. This reflects the gap in modern regulation predating the appearance of CRISPR-Cas9. In fact, there were only two US bills drafted in 2019 in California and Washington and one 2018 judgment of the United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit (see Table 1) that operated unambiguously with the new terms “gene editing”, “genome editing” or “CRISPR-Cas9”. Out of fifteen legal definitions applied to regulate gene editing, ten did not use these terms at all. Instead, the so-called interpretive approach was implemented using another *genus* of a superordinate type to define gene editing, such as “mutagenesis”, “intervention on the human genome”, “eugenic practices”, “genetic modification” and “gene therapy”, frequently leading to potentially imprecise generalizations. Example (1) quotes the 2018 ECJ judgment in Case C-528/16 dealing with a gene editing case in agriculture.

1) On those grounds, the Court (Grand Chamber) hereby rules:

1. Article 2(2) of Directive 2001/18/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 12 March 2001 on the deliberate release into the environment of genetically modified organisms and repealing Council Directive 90/220/EEC must be interpreted as meaning that *organisms obtained by means of techniques/methods of mutagenesis constitute genetically modified organisms* within the meaning of that provision¹. [ECJ_2018]

As emerges clearly from the quote, gene edited organisms are equalled to genetically modified organisms based on the use of an umbrella *unit of understanding* or a *collective term* (Temmerman 2000: 75) “mutagenesis”. At the same time, the definition of mutagenesis found in the institutional-scientific corpus shows that there are several subtypes of mutagenesis, and gene editing refers to a subtype of the directed mutagenesis only, as example (2) below shows.

¹ Emphasis is added in all examples.

2) Mutagenesis - is a process by which the genetic information of an organism is changed resulting in (a) mutation(s). Random mutagenesis techniques are based on using irradiation or chemical treatment of organisms or cells to generate random mutations. *Directed mutagenesis techniques, including genome editing, allow for making site-specific mutations in a targeted manner.* [EC_2018]

Although both documents were drafted in 2018, these examples show that the legal drafter was constrained by the use of pre-existing legal documents, which led to a much-disputed judgment (Case C-528/16). These observations confirm the lack of clear regulatory framework which would unequivocally identify gene editing, already discussed by legal scholars (Foong 2019; Hitchcock 2016; Sergeev 2019). As many institutional-scientific reports were drafted in 2018-2019 and were actually solicited by governments, it is reasonable to expect that a more updated legislative framework is about to be produced and will probably tie into the definitions of gene editing found in these scientific documents.

4.2 Definitional styles

After the manual sorting and classification, all definition types were counted using Excel spreadsheets and then converted into percentages in relation to the general number of definitions within the single subcorpora, in order to make the data comparable. Tables 5 and 6 below report these results.

<i>Definition type</i>	<i>Legal</i>	<i>Institutional-scientific</i>	<i>Popularized</i>
definition by synonymy	6%	0%	13%
intensional definition	31%	38%	29%
definition by implicature	13%	16%	37%
extensional definition	12%	5%	4%
extensional + implicative	6%	11%	0%
intensional + implicative	0%	13%	13%
intensional + extensional	13%	10%	0%

intensional + extensional + implicative	19%	14%	0%
synonymous + extensional	0%	3%	0%
synonymous + implicative	0%	0%	4%

TABLE 5. Information-based classification of definitions

	<i>Legal</i>	<i>Institutional- scientific</i>	<i>Popularized</i>
is-definition	25%	33%	9%
punctuation definition	0%	30%	18%
verb definition	75%	32%	57%
pronoun	0%	5%	2%
unclassifiable	0%	0%	14%

TABLE 6. Pattern-based classification of definitions

Several clear trends are observable in the tables above. First, legal and institutional-scientific texts rely predominantly on the intensional type of definitions. These are illustrated by examples (3) and (4) and will be further analysed in the next subsection.

3) Gene editing – also called genome editing, is a group of mutation technologies that allow modification of genetic information by adding, removing, or altering DNA sequences at a specific location in the genome in a targeted way. [EC_2018]

4) For purposes of this section, “genome editing” means the use of biotechnological techniques to make changes to specific DNA sequences in the genome of a living organism.[WAHB_2019]

In popularized texts the prevalent model is definition by implication (37%, see example (5)), followed by analytical (29%, see example (6)) and the combination of these two models (13%, see example (7)). A twofold focus on the analytical and implicative aspects of definitions in popularized texts is remarkable as newspapers not only describe what gene editing is, but also – in most cases –

highlight what gene editing does or can do, creating a more operationalized perception of the technology. This trend is substantiated through the persistent use of verb-definitions in newspapers (57%), where recurrent verbs include *to allow*, *to refer*, *to include*, *to comprise*, and also some light verb structures such as *to make it possible*.

5) gene-editing tools such Crispr-Cas9 *allow* scientists to reach into a crop's DNA and increase its yields, hardiness or nutrient level. [Times_2018]

6) "germline" gene editing — alterations in gamete cells or embryos that will be passed down to future generations. [HuffPost_2018]

7) CRISPR technology *is* a simple yet powerful tool for editing an animal's genomes. It *allows* researchers to easily alter DNA sequences and modify the function of a gene. Applications *include* correcting genetic defects and preventing the spread of diseases. CRISPR (pronounced "crisper") is shorthand for CRISPR-Cas9. CRISPRs are specialized stretches of DNA. The protein Cas9 is an enzyme which acts like a pair of scissors, capable of cutting strands of DNA. This process *allows* for the manipulation of genes or what has become known as editing. [The Sun_2019]

Legal and institutional-scientific texts also frequently rely on hybrid solutions, where different definitional models are combined. For instance, in (8) a classical analytical definition is followed by the extensional one. Similarly, in (9) a combination of analytical, extensional and implicative elements is found. A possible explanation could be offered by a different social and communicative context, where the primary goal is to inform the stakeholders in a detailed way and to provide more all-encompassing definitions, which are also typically longer than the definitions aimed at the profile of newspaper readership.

8) What we will refer to as 'genome editing' is the practice of making targeted interventions at the molecular level of DNA or RNA function, deliberately to alter the structural or functional characteristics of biological entities. These entities include complex living organisms, such as humans and animals, tissues and cells in culture, and plants, bacteria and viruses. [NCB_2016]

9) "Gene therapy kit" refers to a product that is sold as a collection of materials for the purpose of facilitating gene therapy experiments, including, but not limited to, a system for the targeted cutting of DNA molecules, such as type II clustered regularly interspaced short palindromic repeats (CRISPR), associated proteins (CRISPR-Cas) systems, including CRISPR-Cas9, as described in *Regents of University of California v. Broad Institute, Inc.* (2018) 903 F.3d 1286. [CASB_2019]

Finally, the use of synonymous definitions (10; 11) is more pronounced in newspapers compared to the other two corpora. These definitions also tend to be the shortest, which suits the typical space limitations in a news report.

10) The treatment for both conditions involved a high-precision *gene-editing tool called Crispr-Cas9*. [Times 2019]

11) He Jiankui said in November that he used a *gene-editing technology known as CRISPR-Cas9* to alter the embryonic genes of twin girls. [The Mirror_2019]

4.3 Intensional definitions across the corpora

As intensional, or analytical, definitions are the most prominent type of definitions across the subcorpora, these are addressed here in further detail. Since there are only five legal definitions featuring the exact terms under analysis, the present section examines predominantly intensional definitions in the other two corpora. Intensional definitions follow the *genus* and *differentia* model, where a “definition indicates the superordinate term and the necessary and sufficient characteristics which delimit the concept from related concepts” (Temmerman 2000: 76). Interestingly, institutional-scientific and popularized texts present both convergent and divergent strategies in lexical choices for both the *genus* and *differentia*.

The most common *genus proximum* in scientific publications and newspapers is represented by the category *technique(s)* or *technology(ies)*. This category is often pre-modified (e.g. “a group of mutation techniques”) or post-modified (“technique of directed mutagenesis”) in scientific publications. In newspapers, it is frequently associated with evaluative adjectives (“miraculous new biological technique”, “a pioneering field in biotechnology”). Consequently, although the superordinate term used is the same, the perception created by modifiers is different in that it seems to be adapted to the preconceptions or expectations of the recipients.

Scientific texts also make recourse to the semantic field of alteration as an umbrella unit of understanding (Temmerman 2000: 75). The examples would include such phrases as “altering genetic sequences”, “making alterations to” and “the deliberate alteration of”. Interestingly, no or little mention of agents to enact these modifications follows, in stark contrast to popularized discourse which mentions explicitly such agents, with frequently evaluative modifiers. Finally, scientific texts employ some mixed and abstract solutions, such as “practice of making targeted interventions”, “use of a modified editing enzyme” and “system”.

For newspapers, on the contrary, a frequent umbrella unit of understanding is represented by physical objects, such as “tool” (the most frequent), “molecular machine” and “molecular scissors”. Other metaphorical representations are employed, too, such as “word processor for the code of life”, probably to make this topic more interesting. The choice to represent the technology as a physical object could be construed as a paradigm shift, because an abstract concept is presented through an operationalized image of a tool, which has a semantic component of high availability. Finally, newspapers tend to conceptualize gene editing via other known technologies, such as “a form of genetic engineering”, “treatment”, “medical research” and “cellular surgery”. This reflects the popularized nature of journalistic texts, aimed at making specialized knowledge accessible and comprehensible to varied groups of

non-specialists. Indeed, when surveys look at the public's familiarity with the subject (e.g. McCaughey *et al.* 2019), the phenomenon is often circumscribed to similar approximate units of understanding.

5. Conclusion

This study pursued the aim of exploring the definitional aptness of the new Nobel-winning biotechnology of genome editing in three different contexts, building on the premise that the transfer and codification of knowledge could potentially involve some kind of transformation or shifting of focus according to the social context and user profiles. The study uncovered a definitional gap in the legal field, lagging behind with an unambiguous codification of gene editing and leaving legal practitioners at a definitory crossroads, where an interpretive approach or non-legal sources should be used for definitions of a very real technology. Consequently, the present overview of the types and definitional strategies used in the existing legal, medical-scientific and popularized definitions may be useful for further research on upcoming legal definitions of gene editing.

In confirmation of previous research, this study has illustrated how different user profiles and social contexts called for or resulted in different definitional styles of gene editing. The divergence in length and detail could be well imposed by the discursive practices, but the similarities and discrepancies in style, including the information-based type and pattern, seem to be noteworthy in terms of knowledge transformation. Genome editing tended to be defined most frequently in an analytical way in all three contexts, following the most classical definitional model. Yet, the prominence of hybrid types in legal and institutional-scientific texts marked the drafters' effort to codify the complexity of this phenomenon, reflecting the multiple facets of this unit of understanding.

Scientific publications offered more abstract and technical content with nominalized constructions and deverbal nouns revolving around the semantic field of alteration, with no or little mention of the actors involved. Newspapers, on the other hand, along with traditional analytic definitions, proffered a strong orientation towards definitions by implication, which brought gene editing from an abstract to a concrete and material plane and focused on what gene editing *did* rather than what it *was*, in addition to the operationalized representation of the technology as a tool, potentially empowering a number of actors. Such a slant occurred against a background of partial definitional coverage by newspapers, where only 57% of publications offered a definition, while the others relied on some presumed knowledge of the technology. Finally, the predominance of verb-based patterns highlighted the hands-on nature of

the technology, marking a paradigmatic shift in talking about genome. The lack of existing legal definitions limited the comparative contribution of this paper to the investigation of intra- and inter-specialist communication. Future research on legal definitions of gene editing should supplement these findings to arrive at more generalizable data.

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A TERMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON EUROLECTS: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

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This paper is set in the frame of the Eurolect Observatory Project, aimed at testing the hypothesis that the languages of EU legal documents differ to an extent from the corresponding national legal varieties. While in the earlier stages of the project (Mori 2018) attention was given mostly to aspects that could be retrieved through corpus interrogation (such as syntactic structures, archaisms, formulaic expressions), here attention is turned to terminological units, looking for differences, if any, among the English components of the corpus: EU directives, UK transpositions and UK national law, limitedly to one thematic area in the Health domain. This paper addresses the problem of how to retrieve terminological differences, with special regard for terminological phrases. The results suggest that terminological differences exist in the three varieties at issue, while highlighting methodological challenges.

Eurolect, EU legal English terminology, intra-linguistic variation, multi-word units

1. Introduction

This paper contributes to testing the Eurolect Observatory Project's hypothesis that the languages of EU legal documents (referred to as Eurolects) differ to some extent from the corresponding national legal varieties, as an effect of the EU legal drafting practices. In most cases directives are written in English by non-native speakers, following recommendations that have been issued to improve the quality of multilingual legal drafting (Stefaniak 2013). Syntax wise, do's and don'ts include items such as streamlining sentence structure and avoiding passive forms and nominalisation, while as far as lexical elements are concerned, the recommendations prescribe avoidance of archaisms and synonyms. Besides that, the principle of EU conceptual autonomy from national legislations (Bajčić 2017) holds that the terms used

should not be closely bound to any national legal culture, so that “no national culture is privileged, and all can decline the concepts thus delineated to their specific legal system” (Robertson 2010: 157).

Through the analysis of a multilingual parallel and comparable corpus representative of 11 European languages (Eurolect Observatory Multilingual Corpus, EOMC), the first stage of the project has identified specific discursive features of Eurolects (Mori 2018), suggesting for English and other languages that Eurolects tend to be more conservative than their national counterparts. The English section of the Eurolect corpus has so far been investigated mostly from the perspective of differences between EU and UK varieties at the lexicogrammar level (Sandrelli 2018). For such an analysis Corpus A (Directives), Corpus B (UK transpositions of the directives) and partly Corpus C (national UK legislation) were considered in their entirety, as representative samples of the discursive conventions at play in the respective legal registers. Due to the huge amount of data, the analysis focused on words and structures that could be retrieved automatically through corpus interrogation routines. At a second time, attention started to be devoted to specific areas of legislation, so as to look more closely at semantic differences (Degano and Sandrelli 2020). From a methodological point of view, the latter study has confirmed difficulties as to the possibility of identifying semantic and terminological differences across languages or their varieties solely through corpus interrogation.

This paper explores terminological differences across the three intra-linguistic varieties of English represented in the corpus, complementing corpus automated interrogation with a close reading of selected documents. The research questions are: 1) do EU and UK English differ from a terminological point of view? and 2) how can terminological differences be found across different language varieties?

2. Theoretical Frame

Terminology provides a general frame of reference for the study. Like other disciplines within the purview of linguistics, terminology has also moved throughout its relatively recent history from prescriptivism to descriptivism. Originally aimed at standardisation, with Wüster’s General Theory of Terminology (1979), it has progressively opened to variation, under the influence of communicative (Cabr e 1999), and sociocognitive theories (Temmerman 2000a). Cognitive Linguistics, in particular, has exerted influence in this paradigm shift, with its conception of language “as an instrument for organising, processing, and conveying information” (Geeraerts 2006: 3). As such, Cognitive Linguistics is primarily about meaning, seen not as an objective reflection of reality but as a form of construal of reality that imposes

a perspective on it, which is necessarily influenced by our experience both as embodied beings and as members of given cultures. An ever-changing reality imposes that our understanding and categorisation of it adapts to changes, hence the necessity of flexible semantic categories and models (Geeraerts 2006: 3 and ff). Linguistic meaning is seen as one form of knowledge of the world (it is encyclopaedic) in interaction with other cognitive capacities, thus rejecting the structuralist view that there exist autonomous semantic structures in natural languages which can be studied separately from other human capacities (Geeraerts 2009: 144). Seen from this perspective, semantic categories have an internal structure that is mostly prototypical, and is organised in terms of core and peripheral features, as iconically rendered by the ideas of 'radial structure' (Brugman and Lakoff 2006: 109), or of a 'fuzzy set', as well as of gradedness or cluster. For all of them, the implication is that at the centre of the category there is a member that fully represents it, and is linked to other members that share its core features only to a minor extent. A typical example mentioned in the literature¹ is that of birds, where central members are those prototypically associated to this animal (i.e. the ones which can fly), while peripheral members share some traits of the bird category but cannot fly, like penguins or kiwis. Each noncentral member of the category is either a variant of the central member or is a variant on a variant. Consequently, the boundaries are not always clear-cut, and each category is partly characterised in relation with the others. Prototype theory provides an explanation of lexical aspects that had remained largely untouched in semantics. As Geeraerts sums up,

In the first place, it tackles a number of semantic phenomena that had been swept under the rug by the more structurally minded approaches. The fuzzy boundaries of lexical categories, the existence of typicality scales for the members of a category, the flexible and dynamic nature of word meanings, the importance of metaphor and metonymy as the basis of that flexibility – these are all intuitively obvious elements of the subject matter of semantics that were largely neglected by structural semantics. (Geeraerts 2006: 144)

As a result of the Cognitive Linguistics conception of meaning, sociocognitive terminology (Temmerman 1998; 2000a) differs from the standardisation-oriented approach in its basic principles. Standardisation-oriented terminology takes concepts as its starting point, and assumes that they are clearly delineated, each occupying a place in a logically ordered concept structure. Sociocognitive terminology, instead, starts from units of understanding, strings observed in language use, which are seen as having for

¹ The example of the bird category was made by Rosch (1978), who first worked on the internal structure of categories (Geeraerts 2006: 149).

the most part a prototypical structure, with intracategorical and intercategory relations, and functioning in cognitive models (Temmerman 2000b: 453). From a procedural point of view, standardisation-oriented terminology has it that terms are defined both intensionally (indicating the properties of the concept, typically stating the class it belongs to and the difference that distinguish it from other members in the class), and extensionally (indicating instances of the thing being defined), whereas sociocognitive terminology allows for a more flexible approach.

The essential elements of a definition will vary from one unit of understanding to another, especially in relation to the degree of specialisation of both sender and receiver, but also by virtue of the specificity of units of understanding. Different units call for different types of *information modules*. For example, in the field of life sciences units of understanding can be umbrella terms (e.g. *biotechnology*), terms referring to entities (e.g. *intron*), or activities (e.g. *cloning*). Information modules that can be activated for their definition depending on their relevance include: “historical information, steps in a process, different attributes like aim, application, result” (Temmerman 2000b: 454-455).

Finally, standardisation-oriented terminology considers the relation between a term and the concept it refers to as univocal and permanent, focusing accordingly on the synchronic dimension. Socio-cognitive terminology, on the other hand, accounts also for the elements of ‘instability’ within the system, associated to the constant evolution of units of understanding. In this respect, synonymy and polysemy are not excluded *a priori*, but are seen as functional to our process of understanding and categorising reality, which varies both synchronically and diachronically. The flexibility entailed by the sociocognitive models makes it particularly apt to cope with different conceptualisation² systems across disciplines (the information modules mentioned above for life sciences would not necessarily apply to the legal domain), or within the same domain cross-linguistically.

3. *Materials and Method*

Resting on the principles of socio-cognitive terminology summed up in the previous section, the analysis aims to identify terminological differences in the varieties taken into examination, drawing on the procedure commonly adopted to extract bilingual terminology, with due adaptation to the scope of this paper.

² In sociocognitive terminology the notion of ‘concept’ is not used, as it is replaced by that of ‘unit of understanding’. However, in this paper the notion of concept is maintained when not strictly related to sociocognitive terminology, as it is used in Pavel/Nolet (2001) and, all in all, in general language use it retains an intuitive validity.

The whole procedure for the creation of a multilingual terminology database consists of six steps:

1. identify and evaluate specialised documentation;
2. delimit the subject field intended for terminological analysis using a classification system;
3. perform term extraction in original-language sources;
4. establish the diagram of the concepts to be defined;
5. establish the monolingual terminological base list from the concept diagram;
6. find equivalents/gaps.³

3.1 Steps 1 and 2

Taking the Eurolect corpus as a source of specialised documentation, steps 1 and 2 consist in limiting the scope to one subject-field, in this case, Health. Through a manual search of the directive titles in Corpus A, as accounted for in a previous study (Degano and Sandrelli 2020), the directives dealing with Health were extracted. Starting from them, other two sets of texts were retrieved from Corpus B and C respectively: the national UK legislation ensuing from the selected directives and legislation on the same topic drafted in the UK but not originated by EU directives, as detailed in Table 1. These texts have been interrogated using Wordsmith Tools 6.0, while a smaller sample of texts related to the sub-fields of ‘human tissues and cells’ were selected for close reading.

<i>Corpus A</i>	<i>Corpus B</i>	<i>Corpus C</i>
EN_2000_070	EU_2000_070_2002-618	1999 8 Health Act
EN_2001_020	EU_2001_020_2004-1031	2001 20 Social Security Contributions
EN_2002_098	EU_2002_098_2005-50	2003 4 Health (Wales) Act
EN_2004_023	EU_2002_098_2005-1098	2003 24 Human Fertilisation and Embriology
EN_2004_033	EU_2002_098_2005-2898	(Deceased Fathers) Act
EN_2005_061	EU_2004_023_1990ch37	2003 43 Health and Social Care
EN_2005_062	EU_2004_023_2004ch30	(Community Health and Standards) Act
EN_2006_017	EU_2005_061_2006-2013	2004 17 Health Protection Agency Act
EN_2006_086	EU_2006_017_2007-1522	2006 43 National Health Service
EN_2007_047	EU_2006_017_2007-1523	(Consequential Provisions) Act
	EU_2007_047_2008-2936	2006 44 NHS Redress Act
		2008 14 Health and Social Care Act
		2008 20 Health and Safety (Offences) Act
		2008 22 Human Fertilisation and
		Embryology Act

TABLE 1. Texts related to the Health topic in the EOMC corpus

³ Adapted from Pavel/Nolet (2001).

	<i>Running words</i>	<i>Tokens in wordlist</i>	<i>STTR</i>
Corpus A	68,096	64,498	29.73
Corpus B	139,547	130,025	23.70
Corpus C	320,640	293,073	21.58

TABLE 2. Health subcorpus statistics

The texts chosen for close reading revolve around a narrower topic, with the belief that a higher extent of topic consistency facilitates comparison across the three language varieties at issue. The directives (CORPUS A) taken into examination are: *Directive 2004/23/EC* of the European Parliament and of the Council of 31 March 2004 on setting standards of quality and safety for the donation, procurement, testing, processing, preservation, storage and distribution of human tissues and cells; *Commission Directive 2006/17/EC* of 8 February 2006 implementing Directive 2004/23/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council as regards certain technical requirements for the donation, procurement and testing of human tissues and cells (Text with EEA relevance); and *Commission Directive 2006/86/EC* of 24 October 2006 implementing Directive 2004/23/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council as regards traceability requirements, notification of serious adverse reactions and events and certain technical requirements for the coding, processing, preservation, storage and distribution of human tissues and cells (Text with EEA relevance).

Texts from CORPUS B include the *Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act 1990 CHAPTER 37*, An Act to make provision in connection with human embryos and any subsequent development of such embryos; to prohibit certain practices in connection with embryos and gametes; to establish a Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority; to make provision about the persons who in certain circumstances are to be treated in law as the parents of a child; and to amend the Surrogacy Arrangements Act 1985; and *Human Tissue Act 2004 CHAPTER 30* An Act to make provision with respect to activities involving human tissue; to make provision about the transfer of human remains from certain museum collections; and for connected purposes. [15th November 2004].

From Corpus C, the texts inspected are *Statutory Instruments 2007 No. 1522* The Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Quality and Safety) Regulations 2007 Made 24th May 2007 Coming into force for the purposes of regulation 1(3) 25th May 2007 for all other purposes 5th July 2007; and *Statutory Instruments 2007 No. 1523* human tissue The Human Tissue (Quality and Safety for Human Application) Regulations 2007 Made 24th May 2007 Coming into force for the purposes of regulation 1(3) 25th May 2007 for all other purposes 5th July 2007.

3.2 Steps 3 and 4

Having defined the sample, the analysis proceeded with term extraction. Attention was limited to multi-word units, one of the main features of specialised discourse, where more differences can be expected between language varieties, compared to single-word items, due to the manifold combinatory possibilities. Furthermore, complex noun phrases are, together with nominal clauses, the most typical grammatical feature of scientific English (Halliday and Martin 1993: 7), and the mechanism, subsumed by Algeo (1991: 8) under the etymological source of ‘combining’, is a highly productive mechanism of new word formation when it comes to filling terminology gaps created by the introduction of some innovation.

In the first place, 2 and 3- word clusters were extracted from each subcorpus using WordSmith Tools 6.0, and the lists thus attained were manually searched for strings that would intuitively form terminological phrases of the type noun+noun, adjective+noun, or noun+prepositional phrase. Secondly, a manual extraction of terminological units was carried out through close reading of the texts related to human tissues and cells. In this way terminological units that did not meet the cluster settings could be included in the terminological lists. Furthermore, for the human tissues and cells sub-field, a diagram of units of understandings was drawn as a tentative classification system.

3.3 Steps 5 and 6

In the final steps, the terminological lists of phrases extracted in the previous steps were ordered alphabetically and compared, to spot gaps where a given phrase is not attested. Two such gaps were then studied more closely, with a view to understanding whether the lack of terminological matching was due to the notion being absent altogether in a given corpus or to being referred to with a different term.

4. Results

Terminological differences across varieties (if any) were first sought at the formal – syntactic level – of phrase structure. One expected difference was a higher incidence of Noun+Noun structures (e.g. *blood bank*) in national varieties as opposed to the EU variety, since English laws are presumably written by native speakers, whereas EU directives are not necessarily, and English allows for noun premodification of other nouns more than other languages. The results, however, did not confirm this expectation, with data showing for the sample analysed, that the opposite was the case. Table 3 shows data limitedly to the two varieties that expectedly present the greatest difference:

	<i>Types</i> ⁴	<i>N+N</i>	<i>Adj+N</i>	<i>N_Post-modification</i>
<i>Corpus A</i>	3051	62 (2%)	77 (2,5%)	34 (1,1%)
<i>Corpus C</i> ⁵	1086	22 (1,19%)	55 (2,97%)	29 (1,57%)

TABLE 3. Syntactic structure of multi-word units

As Table 3 indicates, out of the totality of terminological phrases identified in either corpus (cf. column *Types*) only 1.19% of the phrases in the UK texts (corpus C) have noun+noun structure, while in the directives (corpus A) the percentage is almost twice as high (2%). Conversely, the other two structures, that is a noun premodified by an adjective and a noun with post-modification, recur with higher percentages in the UK laws than in the directives, even if the difference between the two varieties is not as sharp as in the case of the noun+noun structures.

Moving on to the semantic level, differences have emerged through the search for equivalents across varieties. The comparison of the lists of clusters extracted for each variety has revealed that exact equivalence across all of them is really rare, while it is more common to find the same phrase in either corpus A and B exclusively or in B and C, as shown below:

<i>Corpus A</i>	<i>Corpus B</i>	<i>Corpus C</i>
additive solution	additive solution	
	adults with incapacity	adults with incapacity
adverse events	adverse event	
adverse reactions	adverse reactions	
	appeals committee	appeals committee
	appropriate committee	appropriate person
appropriate measures	appropriate control measures	
	authorised person	authorised person
authorised representative	authorised representative	
autologous blood	autologous blood	

⁴ Types because each cluster is taken only once, without making any frequency claims.

⁵ Data about corpus C refer exclusively to the Human tissues and cells sub-field, which was selected for closer inspection, as motivated in the section *Materials and Methods*, and later on in the *Results* section.

autologous donations	autologous donations	
	basic partner treatment	basic partner treatment
blood banks	blood banks	
blood components	blood components	
blood donation	blood donation	
blood establishments	blood establishments	
blood platelets	blood platelets	
blood safety	blood safety	
buffy coat	buffy coat	
cell therapy	cell therapy	
	civil liability	civil liability
clinical practice	clinical practice	
clinical trial	clinical trials	
competent authority	competent authorities	
conformity assessment	conformity assessment	
	criminal justice	criminal justice
criteria for donors	criteria for donors	
	deaths registration	deaths registration
deceased donors	deceased person	
declaration of conformity	declaration of conformity	
deferral criteria	deferral criteria	
diagnostic medical devices	diagnostic medical	
donation of reproductive	donated material	
donation process	donated sperm	
	effective consent	effective consent
ethics committee	ethics committee	
	family law	family law act
	family law reform	family law reform
	fertility services	fertility services
good practice	good clinical practice	

TABLE 4. Terminological units across varieties.

Comparatively, the former case is more frequent than the latter, with texts in corpus A and B presenting greater terminological consistency among them. Out of the 84 phrases attested in more than one corpus, 59 matches are common to the directive corpus and the corpus of UK legislation ensuing from them, against as little as 25 matches that can be found in the corpus of UK legislation ensuing from EU directives and UK autochthonous legislation. While no general conclusions can be drawn from this trend (more research would be needed on English and other languages as well), the data seem to back the Eurolect hypothesis as far as terminology is concerned.

For terms that only occur in one corpus, one wonders whether the gap signals that a given unit of understanding is referred to with another term in the other corpora, or whether that unit of understanding is discussed altogether. Starting from terminological strings only attested in one corpus, a closer analysis is needed to trace their trajectories across the three corpora. However, the problem arises of how one can trace such a trajectory when it is not possible to retrieve it automatically starting from the term referring to it, exactly because such term is unknown, being itself the object of the analysis. In other words, once noticed that in a corpus there is a terminological gap, how can it be understood if the same, or a closely related entity, is expressed through another term? Certainly, corpus interrogation cannot help. Wordlists only show terms in a list, without any clues as to their 'conceptual' extension. Keywords, on their part, may be useful to show which words are particularly rare in one corpus (relying on negative keyness) compared to other ones (Degano and Sandrelli 2020: 125), since among those words there might be the term one is looking for, but nothing helps the researcher make the connection, especially when dealing with highly specialised terminological strings whose meaning is not self-evident. For this reason, the smaller-scale qualitative analysis of the human tissues and cells subfield was devised, in which close reading and manual extraction of terminological units complemented the automatic extraction of clusters described above. The manual analysis of texts permitted to draw a diagram ⁶ (Fig. 1) which provided nodes, i.e. superordinated categories to which single terminological units could be associated.

⁶ Organising the concepts of a subject field into a diagram is common practice in terminological work. Pavel and Nolet (2001: 37) bring the example of the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission Regulations, whose content (and terminology) is classified into subcategories like 'Nuclear power plants', 'Research Establishments' [...] 'Nuclear materials', with each category further divided into sub-nodes. The node 'Nuclear power plants' in its turn divided in the categories 'Research reactors', 'heavy power plants' ... 'Safety', and 'Incidents', each subsuming a portion of the Regulations' terminology.

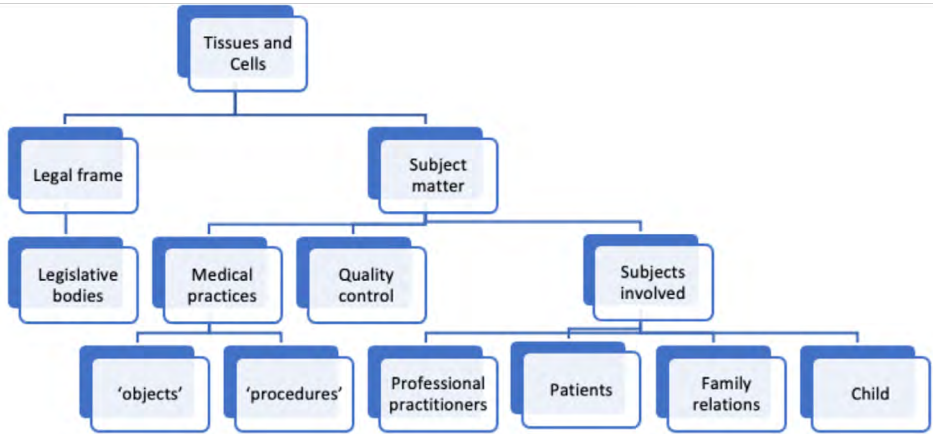


FIGURE 1. Classification system of the human tissues and cells sub-field.

Two nodes from the diagram above were chosen for cross-corpora comparison: medical practices and family relations. Terminological phrases related to them were identified through close reading and plotted in a table, aligning terms with same, similar or contiguous meanings, as illustrated in Table 5:

<i>Corpus A</i>	<i>Corpus B</i>	<i>Corpus C</i>
reproductive cells	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> human embryos woman's eggs semen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> admixed embryo animal cells
clinical trial cells [not defined]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> treatment services[?], i.e. "medical, surgical or obstetric services provided to the public or a section of the public for the purpose of assisting women to carry children" treatment of infertility 	fertility treatment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> allogeneic therapeutic purposes allogeneic living donor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> allogeneic living donor other than partner donation 	partner-donated
intrauterine insemination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> process of fertilization artificial insemination / artificially inseminated 	

tissue procurement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • procurement procedure • public procurement 	
preparation/manipulation/ preservation/packaging/ transportation/delivery of tissues or cells	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • creation of an embryo • keeping or use of an embryo • cryopreservation 	

TABLE 5. Terminological correspondences across corpora

While the alignments in Table 4 were based on the alphabetical sorting of clusters, and as such only allowed a match of formally identical strings across corpora, the alignments in Table 5 rest on meanings, and make it possible to fill the gaps with terminological units that can be considered semantically contiguous, even if formally different. While the *mapping* of meaning associations in Table 5 cannot be claimed to be exhaustive, the procedure had the merit of highlighting cases of synonymy as indicated, for example, by the coexistence of the terminological strings *allogeneic living donor* and *other than partner donation* in corpus B (cf. Table 5). This example is explored in greater detail in the following subsection.

4.1 The case of the string ‘allogeneic living donor’ and ‘admixed embryo’

The phrase *allogeneic living donor* can intuitively be considered core terminology for legislation that regulates human fertility treatments and can therefore be also expected to recur in national legislation that implements the directives at issue, as well as in autonomously produced national legislation. It is all the more interesting, though, to understand what happens to it in corpus B, and in corpus C, where the string is not found among clusters.

Corpus interrogation reveals that although the string *allogeneic living* only qualifies as a cluster in corpus A, it is also attested in corpus B, with just one occurrence, which is too little to qualify as a cluster according to standard WordSmith Tools settings. Furthermore, if the term *allogeneic* is considered on its own, there are nine occurrences of it in corpus B (amounting to less than 0.01%) as opposed to 18 occurrences in corpus A, equivalent to 0.03%. A concordance analysis helps to clarify its meaning and to observe the term in its co-text. The following examples are extracted from the list of concordances for *allogeneic*:

1) [Corpus A]

[...] “**allogeneic use**” means cells or tissues removed from one person and applied to another;

2) [Corpus A]

Autologous blood and blood components must be clearly identified as such and stored, transported and distributed separately from **allogeneic blood** and blood components.

3) [Corpus B]

Selection criteria [...] for donors of tissues and cells

...directions shall impose requirements in respect of the selection criteria for such donors, in accordance with –

- (a) in relation to autologous donors, point 2.1 (autologous living donor),
- (b) in relation to **allogeneic donors**, point 2.2 (**allogeneic living donor**)

One first consideration concerns the fixedness of the string: in corpus B the string *allogeneic living donors* is sometimes shortened to *allogeneic donors*, accounting for its failure to meet cluster standards. The meaning it refers to, therefore, does not disappear, but simply presents some variation in its form. Furthermore, if the co-text of example 3 is expanded, as shown in example 4 below, one can see that the same notion is also expressed through another string, namely *partner-donated/donation*:

4) [Corpus B]

Selection criteria [...] for donors of tissues and cells

...directions shall impose requirements in respect of the selection criteria for such donors, in accordance with –

- (a) in relation to autologous donors, point 2.1 (autologous living donor),
- (b) in relation to **allogeneic donors**, point 2.2 (**allogeneic living donor**)

6. In relation to **partner-donated** sperm which is not intended to be used without processing or storage, licence conditions shall require compliance with the selection criteria for donors and the requirements for laboratory tests laid down in section 2 (**partner donation** (not direct use)) of Annex III (selection criteria and laboratory tests required for donors of reproductive cells) to the second Directive.

In relation to donations of gametes or embryos **other than partner-donated** sperm or partner-created embryos, licence conditions shall require compliance with the selection criteria for donors and the requirements for laboratory tests laid down in section 3 (donations other than by partners) of Annex III to the second Directive.

The string *partner-donated* recurs 42 times in corpus B (0.03%) and, as corpus analysis reveals, it is also attested with 13 occurrences (0.03%) in corpus C, where the term *allogeneic* is not used at all. The first obvious conclusion is that the string *partner-donated* is a replacement for *allogeneic living* in corpora B and C. However, if one searches for *partner* in corpus A, concordances show that a variant of the

string, *partner-donation*, is also found in corpus A, and with a similar frequency to that of *partner-donated* in corpora B and C:

<i>Corpus A</i>	<i>Corpus B</i>	<i>Corpus C</i>
13 (0.02%) partner donation	42 (0.03%) partner donated sperm partner created embryo other than partner- donated...	13 (0.03%) partner-donated other than partner donated

TABLE 6. Frequency of the strings partner donation/partner donated

The hypothesis that *partner-donated* replaces *allogeneic living donor* must be qualified, then, by saying that they are equivalents only to an extent. More precisely, we should say that they are near-equivalent, but they are not interchangeable. The difference depends mostly on the collocation that *allogeneic living* and *partner-donated* have in corpus A on the one hand, and in B and C on the other. In the directives “blood, cells and tissues” are used together, forming a three-part list, which calls for a premodifier that is abstract and general enough as to collocate with the three of them, and *allogeneic* does apply to blood, cells, and tissues alike. When the focus becomes narrower, as is the case in corpora B and C, where the notion is applied limitedly to reproductive cells, *partner-donated* comes as a more *natural* and relevant collocation, pre-modifying head nouns like *cells*, *sperm*, and *eggs*. In corpus A, when a collocation is formed involving the word *partner*, a nominalisation is used (donation) which allows non-specification of the donated entity, thus confirming the trait of greater abstractedness of terminology in corpus A.

The observations made with regard to the *allogeneic/donor* pair suggest a pattern of lexical variation across the three varieties of English, consisting in the transition from a highly specialised term with a broader range of collocates, like *allogeneic*, to one which is formed starting from more concrete and accessible terms, like *donated*, with a narrower collocation. Such variation can be seen as a direct consequence of the function that each type of legal text is meant to perform. While the term used in corpus A has to be general and inclusive, a sort of umbrella term regulating a number of possible practices, texts that are geared to the implementation of the measures contained in the directives tend to employ terms that are more suitable to express just a portion of the original term. This is in line with Robertson’s proposition that the drafting of EU Directives should allow each member state to adapt the content to their specific legal system and with the findings of Degano and Sandrelli (2020). Such a shift also shows a step-down in register (from *allogeneic*

to *donation*), possibly in response to the requirements of Plain English writing, a style adopted by legal drafters initially in the US, and then in the UK and other English-speaking countries, as a result of the homologous movement's efforts to make legal language more easily accessible to laypeople (cf. among others Williams 2011). Plain Language restrictions concerning legal English primarily concern archaic and Latin expressions as well as formal structures like the passive, nominalisations and the use of *shall*. However, even lexical concerns have been raised, prompting "lawyers to make sure they only use legal jargon where strictly necessary" (Plain English Campaign). Clearly, legal texts do not contain just legal terminology, as they regulate matters that are external to the law, and depending on the subject field they will contain several LSP terms and formulas, which cannot be dispensed with. The influence of the plain language mentality, though, may well extend to the scientific lexicon used in legal texts, thus reflecting the changes set into motion by the Movement in the sphere of public writing (Cutts 2011).

The same pattern can also be seen starting from terms that, conversely, only come up in UK legislation (corpora B and C). One such case is that of *admixed embryo*, a terminological unit referred to embryos containing human and animal material. The point of such a highly controversial achievement would be overcoming the scarcity of human eggs for stem cell research, by providing researchers with an alternative source of embryonic stem cells. Starting from animal eggs, the animal's genetic material would be removed and replaced by human genetic material. The cell produced in this way would function as a human egg that could be used to create embryos for stem cell derivation (Sinclair 2008). In the UK, the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act passed in 2008 opened the way to admixed embryos, but the term is attested earlier in the legislation (Example 5), if only to prohibit it or to impose strict restrictions. The EU directives regulating stem cell research, on the other hand, do not use the term, and subsume the issue under the broader-scoped triplet "organs, tissues, or cells of animal origin" (example 6):

5) [Corpus C]

No person shall—

- (a) mix human gametes with animal gametes,
- (b) bring about the creation of a human admixed embryo, or
- (c) keep or use a human **admixed embryo**,
except in pursuance of a licence.

6) [Corpus A]

This Directive excludes blood and blood products (other than haematopoietic progenitor cells) and human organs, as well as organs, tissues, or cells of animal origin.

Incidentally, it is not just the combination *admixed embryo* that is avoided in corpus A, but even the word *embryo* itself, which is only subsumed under the general umbrella term *reproductive cells* in Corpus A. Besides the word *embryo*, corpus B and C include other hyponyms of *reproductive cells* as attested by the strings *woman’s eggs* (Corpus B), *permitted egg*, and *permitted sperm* (corpus C).

On the one hand, the preference for highly general terms in the directives can depend on the need to frame the issue more generally, to embrace a larger portion of reality (not only cells but also blood and tissues). On the other hand, such a strategy permits EU legislators to cater for different attitudes towards ethically sensitive issues across its member states. The solution adopted allows a certain scalability, providing a frame which is at once streamlined and general enough as to leave each country the liberty of receiving the directive only to an extent, avoiding the most controversial aspects. The recourse to more general and less controversial terms reflects the use of euphemisms in language use at large, where ideas that a culture is uneasy about are often referred to through terms that increase the distance between the signified and the signifier.

4.2 The case of family-relations

Another case of terminological mismatch across the legal varieties of English at issue concerns terms referring to the subjects involved in medical fertility treatments, and especially to family relations, which are brought into the picture with reproductive cell donation. The table below shows some *alignments* for units of understanding related to the node of family relations, highlighting terminological gaps especially in Corpus A:

<i>Corpus A</i>	<i>Corpus B</i>	<i>Corpus C</i>
-	[father]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • deceased fathers / the father of the child • supportive parenting [e.g. In subsection (5)... for “a father” substitute “supportive parenting”]. • agreed fatherhood conditions

-	[mother]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • second female parent • second woman to be parent • agreed female parenthood
-	-	donor-conceived genetic siblings
sexual partners intimate physical relationship;	live as partners in an enduring family relationship	-
-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • any subsequent development of such embryos • future person 	resulting child

TABLE 7. Terminological units relating to family relations

The directives contain no strings referring to parenthood – nor single terms for that matter; *family* is mentioned, but words like *mother* and *father* never occur. The only references to interpersonal relations to be found in the cluster list for corpus A are *sexual partners* and *intimate physical relationship*, as shown below

7) [Corpus A] In particular, with regard to further additional biological testing for donors originating from high-incidence areas of specific diseases or whose **sexual partners** or parents originate from high-incidence areas, Member States will refer to existing international scientific evidence.

In the corpus of UK laws generated from EU directives there is at least one string pointing to family, i.e. ‘enduring family relationship’, recurring in the following context:

8) [Corpus B]

For the purposes of this Act, except section 49, a person is another’s partner if the two of them (whether of different sexes or the same sex) live as partners in an **enduring family relationship**. (9) The following are qualifying relationships for the purposes of this Act, spouse, partner, parent, child, brother, sister, grandparent, grandchild, child of a brother or sister, stepfather, stepmother, half-brother, half-sister and friend of long standing.

Differently from the terminological units occurring in the directives, this string frames the medical practices in their societal dimension, with reference

to the family institution, a frame that is not activated by the sexual/intimate relations envisaged in corpus A. At the same time, the phrase *enduring family relationship* does not necessarily entail the notion of a sexual/intimate relationship between (opposite sex) partners, thus reflecting a more diverse conception of family than the one traditionally intended. In Corpus C the notion of *family* is represented by phrases that reflect non-traditional family structures, with interesting cultural implications. It is explicitly stated that the word *father* is to be replaced, in given contexts, by the phrase *supportive parenting*, while new terms are introduced to refer to same-sex parents, as shown by the terminological strings *second female parent* or *second woman to be parent*.

5. Conclusion

The results of the analysis support the hypothesis that an English Eurolect exists, as the language used to draft directives also differs at the terminological level from its national counterpart, as far as phraseological units are concerned. The comparison of the three legal varieties of English considered for analysis suggests that the EU variety is characterised by terms with more general and abstract reference than the UK legal variety, especially when legislation produced at national level independently of EU Directives is considered. More particularly, exact terminological matches across the three varieties are really rare, while it is more common to find the same phrase in either corpus A and B exclusively, with a gap in corpus C, or – less frequently – in B and C, with a gap in Corpus A.

To understand whether such gaps point to the fact that a given unit of understanding is referred to using other terms in another corpus, recourse was had to the close reading of a smaller sample of documents related to human tissues and cells, with a view to drawing a conceptual diagram of the subject field. For two nodes in the diagram, terminological units were extracted manually and set in relation with units that, on the ground of the insights obtained through close reading, could be considered near-equivalents. One conclusion reached through this procedure is that terminological variation across the three varieties of English follows a pattern whereby a highly specialised terminological unit used in the directives with a broad range of collocates may be ‘replaced’ in national varieties of English by phrases with more concrete reference and with a narrower range of collocates. As a result of this shift, the terms used in UK autochthonous legislation are more easily accessible for non-experts and, as a direct consequence of greater concreteness, they can be more emotionally loaded. In some cases, such emotionally loaded terms relate to ethically controversial aspects of legislation (Degano and

Sandrelli 2020), which are *sanitised* in the directives, thanks to the use of highly general and abstract terms.

From a methodological point of view, the analysis has highlighted an inherent difficulty in studying terminological equivalence across varieties of legal English, due to the fact that directives, transposition measures and national legislation regulate different segments of a given subject field. Directives address one end on the continuum, establishing general principles and boundaries, and assigning responsibilities for the implementation of measures, while at the other end national legislation is to implement them, which requires a greater level of specificity. It is therefore unlikely that the same phraseological units can be found in all the varieties considered. Relying on meanings and not on words is often the only way to identify equivalents or near-equivalents. This, after all, is what practitioners do when faced with supranational legislation: as Bajčić (2017: 80) affirms, “rather than relying on the wording or the language level, courts grapple with the issue of conceptualisation and study how a concept is understood in a given conceptual structure”.

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“BLUEING THE ECONOMY”, “YELLOWISH REVOLUTION”
AND “GREENING THE BLUE”:
OLD AND NEW COLOUR IDIOMS IN AN ENG>ITA PERSPECTIVE

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The aim of this paper is to try to give up-to-date answers to two conventional questions: what are the historical and cultural links between colours and related symbolic meanings? And are such links identical in all the geographical and linguistic contexts we observe? To provide such answers, this research will focus on colour idioms both in English and Italian and will study divergences and convergences of cultural symbolism from a linguistic viewpoint. After a brief theoretical outline of colour phraseology (Berlin and Kay 1969; Falcinelli 2017; Philip 2011), the practical part of the paper will consist of an in-depth analysis of 3 basic colours – i.e., blue, yellow and green – their tones, their symbolic use in business brands and logos and their cultural symbol as well as figurative meaning in specific colour idioms; such lexical analysis, supported by a short description of their origins, will be accompanied by modern citations retrieved in popular online English newspapers and magazines (such as *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Economist*) and news websites (such as BBC.com and CNN.com). The expected outcome of this investigation is to go beyond the already-known figurative meanings of this narrow range of colours and shades and to add novel and unpredictable symbolic usages.

Colour idioms, contrastive linguistics, figurative language, lexicology, LSP

1. Introduction

We are surrounded by a very colourful world, so it is quite understandable that colours have found their place in dictionaries in many idiomatic expressions. These idioms may be of both artistic and popular origin, and are, more or less, widely used in English language by native speakers, in politics, science, literature and movies, to name just some fields.

The main enquiries this study is trying to deal with are: 1) what are the historical and cultural links between colours and related symbolic meanings? 2) From a synchronic point of view, are such links identical in all the geographical and linguistic contexts we observe? 3) And from a diachronic point of view, have they partially changed over the last few years? These three questions are the key and ultimate outcome of such research, which will focus, in particular, on three basic colours, i.e., blue, yellow and green, to prove whether novel and unpredictable symbolic and non-literal meanings, certainly linked to contemporary trends and changes in society, have recently been added to their already known and exploited figurative meanings, in an ENG>ITA contrastive study.

2. Background

If we list Joy, Sadness, Anger, Fear and Disgust and we paint them respectively in yellow, blue, red, purple and green, what recent animated film from Disney-Pixar, winner of the 2016 Academy Award for Best Animated Feature, are you thinking about? Many of you will realize that these are the personified emotions that are the main characters, the key players of *Inside Out*, represented both graphically and chromatically according to a visual code that is easy to interpret for children too.

Colour-based expressions, also referred to as chromonyms or colour names, can be regarded as a subclass of appearance-based metaphors and metonymies (Allan 2009). Their use adds a nuance of dynamism, vividness and vibrancy to domain-specific texts. Many theorists have developed colour associations and linked connotative meanings to specific colours. However, according to the diachronic and synchronic analysis carried out by some scholars (Grossmann 1988), connotative colour associations and colour symbolism tend to be culture-bound and may also vary across different contexts, since the notion of colour idioms is associated with crucial socio-cultural information gathered over time by different ethnic groups (Arsenteva 2014). Colour has always been one of the categories of cognition of the world, which is as central to human life as other categories, such as space, time, movement. Being one of the most ancient categories of the theory of knowledge and most often creating culture-bound phrases, colour idioms have acquired connotative, symbolic values, going beyond their denotative, literal and objective meaning.

According to Falcinelli (2017), in today's society increasingly based on images, pictures, brands, logos, as well as emojis, colours perform different tasks and functions: informing in maps; seducing in advertisements; narrating at the cinema; giving a hierarchy in the weather forecasts; organizing in

infographics; appreciating in cosmetics; identifying in food; opposing in the road signs; showing in a collection of samples; hiding in camouflage clothes; being admired in works of art.

The underlying studies of our investigation are Berlin/Kay's basic colour categories and sequence (1969). These researchers found that there are eleven basic colour terms common to the world's languages, and, more importantly, that these terms appear in languages in a fixed sequence – i.e., white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange and grey. Roughly two centuries before (1704), the scientist Isaac Newton had identified the familiar ROYGBIV sequence – i.e., red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo and violet forming the so-called Newton's colour wheel, where the colours are arranged clockwise in the order they appear in the rainbow. His theory was grounded on the idea that the range of visible colours should be analogous to the seven-note musical scale.

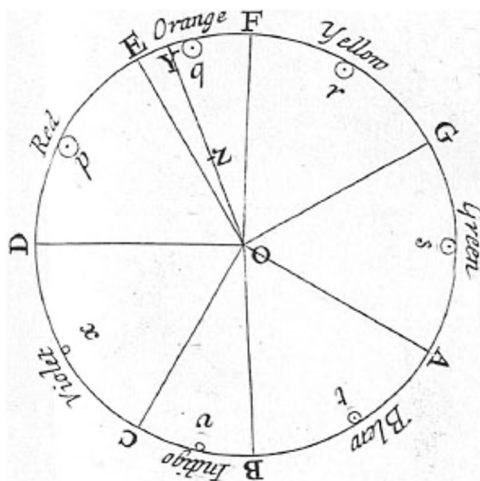


Figure 1. Newton's colour wheel (Source: Newton 1704)

To answer the previous three core questions, I outline just some examples of the main colour phraseology recurrent in English and Italian referred to the three basic colours at the centre of this analysis – i.e., blue, yellow and green – and recorded primarily, but not only, in the online version of *OALD* [IX ed.] and *Treccani Dictionary*. Before focusing on these three colours, I will briefly recall the figurative meanings of white, black, red, pink, orange and grey.

3. *White and black*

In English the white colour is rarely used with a negative value, except in the metaphor ‘white elephant’, whose equivalent in Italian is ‘cattedrale nel deserto’, i.e., a useless, but very expensive thing or possession. It has become a dysphemism in such expressions as ‘white hope’, a person who is expected to bring success to a team, an organization, especially in sports, originally (1911) referring to a white boxer thought capable of beating Jack Johnson, the first black world heavyweight champion. It takes positive connotative values associated with daylight, including clarity, visibility, honesty and perfection: ‘white knight’ (a company that intervenes in finance to save another company from a hostile takeover bid), ‘white paper’ (a collection of official documents), ‘white money’ (money that is earned legally). A metonymic use of the white colour is found in the expression ‘white biotechnology’ (industrial biotechnologies, which use biological means to make a commercial or mass consumption product). In Italian the white colour is linked to the absence or lack of something (‘firmare in bianco’, ‘matrimonio in bianco’, ‘mangiare in bianco’, but also ‘morti bianche’, that is, deaths due to an accident in the workplace, mainly as a result of neglect or failure to comply with the rules of security on the part of entrepreneurs), neutrality (‘risultato bianco’ deriving, in the elections, from blank ballot papers) or non-opposition (‘bandiera bianca’). In addition, ‘mosca bianca’ is a rarity, ‘camice bianco’ indicates, with a metonymic value as in the case of a white collar, a doctor, a healthcare worker, in a broad sense a scientist. And the ‘notte bianca’, with a reference to the white nights of St. Petersburg, denotes the night dedicated, in many cities, to cultural initiatives of various kinds, such as the night-time opening of museums, theatres, cinemas, shops. In some cases, English and Italian converge in figurative meaning, like in ‘white lie’/‘bugia bianca’, an ‘innocent’, harmless or small lie, especially one that you tell to avoid hurting somebody.

Contrastively, ‘black’ usually has negative connotations both in English and Italian, since, as Philip argues (2006: 73), “all sorts of ill deeds occur under the cover of night, when they go easily unseen, and for this reason irregular dealings are typically linked to this colour”. This is the case of ‘black economy’, ‘black market’, i.e., illegal trade, ‘black money’, that has been earned without paying taxes and has to be laundered, ‘black knight’, the opposite of ‘white knight’, referring to a company trying to take control of another company by offering to buy large numbers of its shares, as in a hostile takeover. It represents mourning in many cultures, but also elegance in dressing and style. The real positive exceptions are the expression ‘to be in the black’, that is, to make a profit, referring to traditional bookkeeping, where positive amounts, like revenues, were printed in black ink, and one of the last meanings of ‘Black Friday’, the day following the Thanksgiving Day in the United States,

traditionally the beginning of the Christmas shopping season. The day's name can refer both to the heavy and disruptive pedestrian and vehicle traffic which occur on the day after the Thanksgiving, and to the fact that on 'Black Friday' retailers begin to turn a profit or are 'in the black'.

4. Red

Red, besides being the colour of blood and symbolizing both love and passion and anger and violence ('see red'/'vedere rosso', or being violently angry), appears in expressions that both in Italian and in English connote alarm, danger, warning, urgency: 'to be in the red'/'essere in rosso', or registering a liability in an account, in a balance sheet, by the red colour of the ink used to indicate such losses in the books accounting – opposed to 'to be in the black', 'red card'/'cartellino rosso', to mean an expulsion in the sporting field and in general a block, a ban, as well as 'red light'/'semaforo rosso'; 'filo rosso', that is a common thread that crosses and links a tangle of facts, and that is not translated with the corresponding colour name in English but with common thread; but also denotes authority, importance and royalty and, by extension, bureaucracy: 'red tape' is the English metonym that conveys the concept of bureaucracy, but in the most detrimental sense of bureaucratic delays, and derives from the red colour of the ribbon that conventionally linked the dusty folders of the documents in the administrative archives; 'red carpet'/'tappeto rosso', expression used to indicate the path of eminent political personalities in ceremonies or formal occasions, and in recent decades used by VIPs and celebrities on the occasion of formal events.

In scientific domains, 'red biotechnology' is the use of biotechnology in the medical and pharmaceutical industries, and health preservation. This branch involves the production of vaccines and antibiotics, regenerative therapies, creation of artificial organs and new diagnostics of diseases.

5. Pink

The figurative meaning of the pink colour in Italian is essentially linked to the female world, as I will discuss later about the term 'pink collars', in contrast, in the collective imagination, to the light blue denoting something related to the male world. It also distinguishes, sentimental, frivolous or not so profound mass products (the Italian 'cronaca rosa', 'stampa rosa', 'romanzo rosa', 'scandalo rosa'). It takes optimistic connotations in expressions like 'previsioni rosee'. In the expressions 'foglio rosa' (temporary permit to drive a car when learning to drive) or 'cartolina rosa' (a reminder card sent to retired soldiers to recall them to arms) has a metonymic use linked to the pink colour

of such documents. In English, pink is the colour linked to the female world as well but does not take on the derogatory values acquired in Italian, which associates certain culture, certain “non-committed” print with the stereotype of the female figure. ‘Pink slip’/‘lettera di licenziamento’ follows the same metonymic process as ‘cartolina rosa’, being the meaning derived from the typical colour of such a letter.

6. *Orange*

The colour name orange, in a figurative sense, indicates the second level of security, but in meteorological, terrorist terms, a high but not maximum level of alert (precisely in the metaphor ‘orange alert’/‘allarme arancione’). In the case of the Italian ‘fiori d’arancio’, a symbol of purity due to their whiteness and therefore synonymous with wedding, the English equivalent is ‘wedding bells’, so in this case the Italian and English language diverge in the symbolic representation of the announced marriage. The colour orange was also chosen to celebrate the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women (25 November); in the campaign ‘Orange the world’, such a colour has come to symbolize a bright and optimistic future free from violence against women and girls.

A recent further sector in biotechnology is ‘orange biotechnology’, i.e., the area of learning in biotechnology. Its teaching emerges with strength in universities across the world. The knowledge that it provides and its interdisciplinary integration converts it into a technology destined to offer goods and services, and to satisfy our needs in a future that we can now call present.

7. *Grey*

Grey can both temper the negativity of black and lessen the positive values associated with white, so it can be regarded as a mid-way point between two extremes. An example is ‘grey market’, a colour metaphor showing the buying and selling of shares just before they are officially issued and the arbitrage, that is the buying of goods from someone abroad who is not an official supplier and then the selling at a price which is lower than that charged for goods from an official supplier. Such a kind of trade occurs through distribution channels which, while legal, are unofficial, unauthorized, or unintended by the original manufacturer. ‘Grey literature’/‘letteratura grigia’ is a set of predominantly scientific and technical publications disseminated in an unconventional form outside the normal sales circuits and mostly addressed to a limited public. Men in ‘grey suits’ refer to influential people (politicians, lawyers, etc.), but not always

well-known to the public. Its equivalent in Italian may be 'uomini in giacca e cravatta'.

In the metonymies 'grey power' and 'grey goods', it refers to the true colour of something, respectively an Australian political party lobby group, designed to represent the elderly vote, senior citizens' rights, the political, financial, or social influence of elderly people, and computer equipment, because of the standard colour of hardware units, as already said. The same is for 'grey matter'/'materia grigia', 'grey cells', which indicates the nervous tissue forming the brain, so called due to the colour of the pigments present in the cell bodies. 'Grey Biotechnology' refers to environmental applications, and is focused on the maintenance of biodiversity and the removal of pollutants and contaminants using microorganisms and plants to isolate and dispose of different substances such as heavy metals and hydrocarbons.

8. Blue

The blue colour, starting from the expression 'blue blood'/'sangue blu', that is nobility, may signify in Italian a restricted area ('fascia blu', 'strisce blu'), granting someone privileges ('auto blu', an official car), a quality mark ('bollino blu', 'bandiera blu', in English 'blue ribbon', an honour given to the winner of the first prize in a competition). Even in English the 'blue chips' are privileged, first-order stock-exchange titles, whose name derives from the chip, the blue token, to which the highest value is attributed in the card game of poker. Furthermore, in English, blue is linked to the idea of air, sky ('blue-sky thinking' is an imaginative, sometimes creative way of thinking, vaguely connected to the concept of having your head in the clouds, 'avere la testa tra le nuvole' in Italian). 'Blue collars'/'colletti blu' or 'tute blu', that is manual or factory workers, usually wearing blue shirts, uniforms or cover-alls, is a common colour expression where the name 'collar' is used metonymically to indicate a profession¹. A different use of colour names between English and

¹ In the workplace, 'blue collars' is one of the colour-based collocations referring to jobs. Other similarly coined chromonyms are: 'white collars' / 'colletti bianchi', i.e., office workers, salaried professionals who perform semi-professional office, administrative, and sales coordination tasks, referred to the conventional white dress shirts of male office workers common through most of the XIX and XX centuries Western countries; 'pink collars'/'colletti rosa', an expression born at the end of the 1970s to indicate female workers employed in traditionally (or stereotypically) female sectors, such as teaching, nursing professions, secretarial services in offices or related to catering services, but which has been increasingly including other professional figures, so much so that in Italian, the 'colletti rosa' translation, not widespread but recorded in dictionaries, is accompanied by such compound words as 'donne-manager' or 'donne imprenditrici'; 'green collars', i.e., those workers engaged in the environmental sector, specifically in all those production and service activities that contribute to preserving the quality of the environment, biodiversity and ecosystems. The Italian translation 'colletti verdi' is used, albeit with low frequency, but it is

Italian arises from the expression ‘blue movie’, i.e., an indecent, off-colour, obscene movie, corresponding to the Italian ‘film a luci rosse’². This meaning of blue also used in the term ‘blue joke’ may stem from the expression ‘blue law’ – a XIX century US law, originally printed on blue paper, banning business and certain other activities, such as sports or selling alcohol, on Sundays, hence acting as a morality code. Another explanation refers to the fact that in the 1980s pornographic content in Video Cassettes was sealed using blue tape.

Blue is also a synonym of sad in the collocation ‘to feel blue’, to feel depressed, or ‘to have the blues’ (that is why the sadness of *Inside Out* is represented by blue). The reason seems to refer to the bluish colour that is typical of people with poorly oxygenated blood due to heart problems or those suffering from cold. Another expression referred to sadness and depression is ‘Blue Monday’, the first Monday of January, when it is thought that people are at their most miserable. Also, the blues is a type of slow sad music with strong rhythms, developed by African American musicians in the southern US.

Other uses of blue in English are related to metonymic meanings and also emerge from recent examples: from ‘the Big Blue’, i.e., the IBM brand introduced in the 1980s, we infer that the reason why many ICT and social media logos are blue (such as Twitter, Tumblr, LinkedIn, Facebook, Skype logos) is linked to the idea that such colour inspires safety, reliability, comfort, calm. It is considered a sleep-inducing colour creating addiction both to men and women. Furthermore, blue is a good cool-toned colour to use for individuals that are red-green colour-blind, so they can see texts, logos, and other web contents easily. ‘Blue biotechnology’, i.e., a term referring to the application of molecular biological methods to marine and freshwater life, using marine organisms, and their derivatives, to increase seafood supply and safety, control proliferation of noxious water-borne organisms, and develop new drugs, derives from the blue colour of the water that these organisms live in. The same is for ‘blue bioeconomy’, defined as any economic activity associated with the use of renewable aquatic biomass to make products.

9. Yellow

Yellow is the colour most easily distinguishable from afar, hence the conventional yellow colour of taxis, school buses and even high visibility reflective emergency vests. It is a chromonym that, in addition to indicating in

added to a series of expressions in which green evokes nature and ecological principles (‘green belt’, ‘green energy’, ‘green power’), which I will focus on in the following sections.

² To better clarify this meaning of red, ‘red light district’/‘quartiere a luci rosse’ is where there are red-light clubs, i.e. places used for pornographic shows, whose colour code derives from the fact that they are signalled by one or more red lamps, indicating prohibition as in traffic lights.

the international security codes a lower alarm level than red and orange – even the ‘yellow card’/‘cartellino giallo’ is a warning – is associated, in Italian, with a type of novel, or story, or widespread detective film (‘un giallo’, so called in Italy since the 1930s for the colour of the cover of a series of detective novels published by Mondadori), which keeps the reader’s interest with the narration of mysterious crimes and unexpected, sensational events; in English this association between colour and such literary genre is lost, since it is referred to as detective stories. In the metonymic expression ‘yellow press’ or journalism, derived from the colour of the ink used in particular by the comic strip *The Yellow Kid*, to attract attention, indicates scandalous journalism, and its equivalent ‘stampa gialla’ is rarely used in Italian (‘cronaca rosa’ is preferred), but also in English it has been replaced by ‘red-top tabloids’, due to the red colour of the masthead on these publications. There is a perfect coincidence between Italian and English in the name of the telephone directory which lists the commercial activities grouped by category: ‘yellow pages’/‘pagine gialle’, from the colour of the paper used to print it.

In the commodity sector, the English language uses a series of colour idioms to mean certain consumer goods: along with ‘red goods’ and ‘orange goods’, we list ‘yellow goods’, whose colours, with a metaphorical value, refer to the speed of consumption and replacement, of repurchase, of these goods, also in relation to the colour code used in triage in the emergency room, in the criticality levels of civil protection, or recently in the division of the Italian Regions into three colour categories under a new “traffic-light” system based on how severe the coronavirus situation is locally, and which identifies growing urgency and emergency levels. In Italian the metaphorical expression is not used and only ‘red goods’ is translated into ‘beni di prima necessità’, with a high index of rotation, such as food products; ‘orange goods’ are goods whose replacement rate, and whose duration, has an average value, therefore are replaced at an average speed, such as, for example, clothing, cosmetics, furnishings; ‘yellow goods’ are goods with a low index of rotation, usually expensive, luxury goods, such as large household appliances.

In the scientific domain, ‘yellow biotechnology’ is one of the latest branches of biotechnology dealing with the use of bioengineering to make food better. Making the enormous repository of all the natural substances available to the bioeconomy is the main job of ‘yellow biotechnology’. It specifically refers to the use of whole insects, their organs, cells or molecules, but also their symbiotic microbes, in the fields of medicine (red biotechnology), agriculture (green biotechnology) and industry (white biotechnology). The term ‘yellow biotechnology’ features a metonym, as it has been chosen because of the yellow colour of insect hemolymph, which has thus far delivered a number of chemicals, proteins and microbes used in medical, pharmaceutical, agricultural or industrial applications.

10. Green

The green colour certainly connotes both in English and Italian many concepts typical of the field of nature and ecology: from 'green fingers' or 'green thumb'/'*avere il pollice verde*', 'green belt'/'*zona verde*', 'green energy'/'*energia pulita*', to 'green economy', 'green party', 'green tourism', 'Green Party' or 'Greenpeace', to list some well-known expressions. Furthermore, it is linked to youth, as in 'green cheese', a term for a fresh, unaged cheese, and 'greenhorn', an inexperienced person, the Italian chromonyms '*anni verdi*'/'green years', and '*carta verde*'. The connotations linked to the idea of something unripe, hence to naïve, inexperienced people, because of the youth, can be found in 'a green hand', i.e. a novice worker, or 'green labour'/'*manodopera non specializzata*'; to identify documents that are not yet definitive, we use the term 'Green Paper'/'*Libro Verde*', i.e., a European Commission document that stimulates reflection and discussion and in the United Kingdom refers to a policy proposal report; moreover, it can indicate the consent, based on the 'green light' collocation ('*semaforo verde*'), from which also the word 'greenfield' is derived ('*terreno edificabile*'), an area of land that has not yet had buildings on it, but for which building development may be planned, as opposed to 'brownfield'/'*area industriale dismessa*', an area of land in a city that was used by industry or for offices in the past and that may now be cleared for new building development. Also the meaning of 'green card', i.e., a document that legally allows somebody from another country to live and work in the US, is based on the idea of permission. Recently in Italian it also refers to the possibility of using a toll-free service, '*numero verde*', probably due to an allusion to the green traffic light.

In Europe and the United States green has been associated over time with a status and prosperity, maybe referring to nature and plants. For example, the benches in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, where the landed gentry sat, are coloured green. In the United States green was connected with the dollar bill. Since 1861, the reverse side of the dollar bill – the greenback – has been green. The green colour still continues to be used because the public now associates it with a strong and stable currency. That is why 'green power' has long been related to money, specifically to dollars and pounds, so that its equivalent in Italian was '*potere del denaro*', but in a diachronic perspective, in the XXI century this meaning has been replaced more and more in official documents as well as in marketing by '*energia pulita*', denoting the effects social changes, new trends in economy, politics, society, exert on language.

In the scientific sector, 'green biotechnology' indicates agri-food biotechnology, the use of environmentally friendly solutions as an alternative to traditional agricultural, horticulture, and animal breeding processes. Both in Italian and in English the expressions 'to be green with envy'/'*essere verde d'invidia*', refer to the colour of bile which secretes itself when one is in the grip

of anger, but it is also associated with the colour of the face when one feels a malaise (hence the colour of the Disgust in *Inside Out*).

11. Recent examples

The following examples are strings containing blue-, green- and yellow-based expressions collected in online English newspapers and magazines (including *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Economist*) and news websites (such as BBC.com and CNN.com) in a period ranging from January 2017 to November 2020. These are the results worthy of remark I have observed³:

[1] The entirety of the budget speech had been used to present the case for a new theme in budgeting, namely, the establishment of a ‘*Blue-Green Economic System*’ in the country. [3 November 2020]

[2] *Greening the economy*, inclusion and digitalisation would have been at the top of the EBRD’s⁴ agenda even without COVID-19. [25 November 2020]

[3] *Blueing the economy* is a new concept for Sri Lanka. [13 November 2020]

[4] *Green budget* rules won’t be the hottest potato at EU summit talks. [15 July 2020]

All these colour-based expressions are linked to environmental issues, specifically forest and ocean protection. This outcome is in line with the lexical analysis carried out in the previous sections on green and blue, both increasingly denoting environment safety and protection, sustainable policies and behaviours. In [2] ‘Greening the economy’ and [3] ‘Blueing the economy’ a frequent lexical and morphosyntactic device has been employed, i.e., conversion or zero-derivation – the change of the word-class of a word (in this case ‘green’ and ‘blue’ shift from adjectives to verbs, ‘greening’ and ‘blueing’) without concomitantly changing its morphology.

The new entry [4] ‘green budget’ and its derivative ‘green budgeting’ cover a variety of practices aimed at identifying and assessing elements of the public budget that affect one or more aspects of a State’s environmental policy. This is a further example of the wide set of green-based collocations dealing with environment.

[5] *Green New Deal* Goes Global Despite Greta Thunberg’s Misgivings. [29 November 2020]

³ Italics mine.

⁴ European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

This line refers to the European Green Deal, a plan to make the EU's economy sustainable, a set of policy initiatives by the European Commission chiefly aiming at making Europe climate neutral by 2050.

[6] *Blue Deal* to restore wetland and boost water resilience. [15 July 2020]

'Blue Deal' refers to a European project co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund and the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance Fund, for the capitalization of Blue Energy (BE), that is, the energy from salt water. The philosopher Luciano Floridi has recently published a volume entitled *Il verde e il blu. Idee ingenue per migliorare la politica* (lit. The Green and the Blue: Naïve Ideas to Improve Politics), where he outlines his view of the relationship between environment and technology, sustainability and digital transformation. His aim is to put together the green, environmentally friendly, sustainable, circular economy with the blue of digital technologies, innovation, powerful Artificial Intelligence that can do much more with less. In an interview held on 25 November 2019 with Maciej Chojnowski⁵, he stated: "The green and the blue to me is the plan". Such a connotation of blue as a colour code that embodies digital technologies may be retrieved in the remarks we have previously made on the use of blue in several ICT and social media logos, starting from the IBM logo.

Latest meanings of *yellow* relate to political and social welfare matters. About the Yellow Vest or Yellow Jacket Movement in France, begun in the autumn of 2018 in protest against a fuel tax hike, which demonstrators said punished the poorest French people, nicknamed for the safety vests worn by protesters, I list some examples:

[7] The Old Regime and the *Yellow Revolution* [15 January 2019]

Over the last two decades a number of protesters have adopted a particular colour as their symbol, such as orange during the demonstrations in Ukraine in 2004, or green in Iran's mass protests in 2009, or saffron in Myanmar peaceful 2007 demonstrations. The images of thousands wearing these colours are still anchored in global cultural memory as markers of strong protest movements.

[8] *Yellow fever* hits Europe. [19 January 2019]

In this example, the reference is to populist movements igniting Europe, not to the acute viral haemorrhagic disease transmitted by infected mosquitoes, named 'yellow' because of the jaundice that affects some patients.

About Italy's government, we have collected colour-based examples centred on party colours:

[9] The new government is ready, its colors are *green and yellow* but it incredibly lacks *pink*. [15 November 2018]

⁵ Available online: <https://www.sztucznainteligencja.org.pl/en/luciano-floridi-to-me-the-green-and-the-blue-is-the-plan/>

In [9], green and yellow are the conventional colours representing respectively the League Party and the Five-Star Movement, while pink has the predictable figurative meaning linked to the female world, found in such Italian terms as ‘quote rosa’, the percentage of females in political bodies, ‘telefono rosa’, a rape crisis line, ‘parcheggi rosa’, a parking area reserved to pregnant women.

[10] Italy: how the “*green and yellow*” government has turned *brown*. [10 August 2019]

In [10], besides the already said party meanings of green and yellow, brown has a metaphorical meaning that depicts the government crisis or deterioration triggered in summer 2019.

[11] A “*yellow-red*” (Five Star-Democrat) coalition was, in principle, agreed with Conte at its head, and talks are now proceeding over the government’s programme and the distribution of ministries. [2 September 2019]

In the example above, [11], red is the symbolic colour of left-wing movements and parties, although it is worth remembering that in the US presidential elections, starting from 2000, the Red States are the States attributed to the Republicans, while the Blue States are the ones won by the Democrats.

[12] A patchwork of *red*, *yellow* and *green*. A second wave of covid-19 sends much of Europe back into lockdown. [22 October 2020]

In this string, ‘red’, ‘yellow’ and ‘green’ are the colours used to identify the contagion level of the coronavirus in the European regions, leading to different lockdown measures.

12. Conclusions

In conclusion, we may observe that there are some divergences and some parallels in English and Italian, the use of metaphors and metonymies, to underline the fact that different cultures can attribute different symbolic connotative meanings to the colours. It is crucial to consider these colour names as part of a culture, reflection of beliefs of a community. Studying the etymology is essential for that purpose, since these expressions were coined in a specific context and are rooted in cultural grounds that cannot be found out by merely analysing the constituent parts of the expression itself. As clearly highlighted, each colour has a specific semantic content that is necessary to know to associate them with their figurative meaning, and consequently, to infer the colour name meanings from the context. The national differences in the semantic structure of a colour are caused by cultural, political or purely linguistic factors. Furthermore, the benefits for companies attempting to

foster brand recognition, or universities or sports clubs, whose colour names legitimize and increase their perceived eminence, are apparent and convincing.

To talk about colours is to demonstrate that we as humans share common perceptions and realities. When we construct a colour image, that is, when we manufacture an object in a certain colour and this meets the general public's wishes and finds their favour, it will begin to live in our imagination and in a few decades that colour will become a category with which we mark similar concepts or items. Marketing studies reveal that yellow pencils sell more than others. It is that particular colour that makes the pencil an archetype, which leads us to think of it as the quintessential pencil, even if we never use yellow pencils. The crucial aspect of the relationship between colours and things or concepts lies precisely in this: when a colour is stored in the collective memory, it forms a stereotypical picture in our mind and continues to transmit its significance, even when the original meanings are lost in the recesses of history.

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IV. MIGRATION, IDENTITY AND OTHERNESS IN AND OUT OF THE ENGLISH
LINGUACULTURE

*THE PROMOTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF MODERN AND
ANCIENT SEA-MIGRATIONS THROUGH MULTIMODAL DISCOURSE
HYBRIDIZATION AND ELF EXPERIENTIAL REFORMULATIONS*

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This chapter reports on the latest stage of a research project that is being carried out at the University of Salento. The project's main aim is the 'emotional promotion' of cross-cultural integration by creating multimodal compositions where images, sound and words interact so as to induce in viewers a re-evaluation of the reasons behind migrations, as well as a reconsideration of the common experiential schemata of ancient and modern sea-odysseys. This study focuses on a two-phase research activity involving tourists and migrants living alongside one another in seaside resorts in the Apulian district of Lecce. The analysis of Phase 1 explores the experiential reformulation strategies, through English, of a selected corpus of extracts from the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*. The label 'experiential' means that the phonetic and verbal features of English in the retextualizations are selected by the authors of the reformulations to reproduce the sensations of fear, despair and hope that belong to the several phases of migrants' journeys. The description of Phase 2 details the audiovisual strategies of genre hybridization between the 'mockumentary' and 'journalistic interview' genres, which are activated to produce a video that is envisaged as a way to promote intercultural integration via social media. The multimodal analysis of the video illustrates the extent to which the association between images depicting migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea and the experiential retextualizations serve to achieve the communicative goals of attracting the viewers' attention and uncovering the actual nature of sea traveling.

Premotional discourse; migration; epic narratives; ELF subtitles; experiential reformulations

1. Introduction¹

This chapter reports on a case study of the multimodal representation of sea migrations from past and current times. This case study was implemented at the University of Salento within the context of a research project on Responsible Tourism (Prayag et al. 2013; Lin et al. 2014) which has benefited from the collaboration with the local administration of some local seaside resorts affected by mass arrivals of migrants, such as the town of Castro, in the Apulian province of Lecce. The research conducted so far has adopted a cognitive-pragmatic model of Experiential-Linguistics (Langacker 1991; Lakoff and Johnson 1999) and some strategies of Experiential Place Marketing (Jani and Han 2013), for the elaboration of a series of research and pedagogic activities (Guido et al. 2019), which are meant to raise the migrants and tourists' awareness of the shared sea-voyage experience reported in ancient and contemporary migration narratives. These activities focused on the Salento area due to its geographical position on the Southern Mediterranean coasts of Italy, and because of its reputation as a group of hospitable towns and resorts characterized by hybridization of languages and cultures. The main objective of the project is to promote multicultural integration for the potential users of Responsible Tourism, whose aim is "to create better places for people to live in and [...] to visit", and to contribute "to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage and to the maintenance of the world's diversity" (<http://responsibletourismpartnership.org/>). Tourists are guided towards the evaluation of cross-cultural encounters as one of the advantages of their holidays. Additionally, in the course of this research, the initial aim has been expanded to investigate the possibility of showing the audiovisual texts that were produced by researchers, merging ancient and modern narrations, to a general audience – hence not only tourists – for the purpose of counteracting ideological or biased views about intercultural meetings. The methodology has mainly consisted in comparing ancient and modern sea-voyage narratives rendered in English as a *Lingua Franca* (ELF), in order to help the implied audience – mainly tourists, local communities and migrants – come to discover together their common 'identity roots' as seafaring travelers. The multimodal nature of the project is represented by the creation of four videos (Guido et al. 2016; Guido et al. 2018; Iaia and Errico 2018), where images of fictional and actual migrations alternate with Ethnopoetic reformulations (Hymes 2003) of non-Western migrants' traumatic accounts of sea journeys, as well as with Western epic narratives of Mediterranean dramatic voyages translated from Ancient Greek and Latin into English. The resulting unique multimodal composition

¹ The authors have contributed equally to the overall drafting of this chapter. Pietro Luigi Iaia is responsible for Sections 1, 2, 4 and 5; Lucia Errico for Section 3.

(Kress 2009), where linguistic and extralinguistic semiotic resources interact to highlight the conceptual and experiential similarities between past-time and current migrations, is characteristic of the type of discourse that was devised specifically in the course of this project, and which was labeled 'promotional'. The latter adjective was coined by the research team to underline that the 'emotional promotion' ('promotion') of the objects of representation is pursued by means of multimedia texts that foreground the role of one's sentiment and feelings at the time of commencing, developing, and witnessing cross-cultural exchanges. Migrants and tourists represent the two main groups of subjects, who took part in the production and analysis stages of the written reformulations and multimodal renderings. As concerns the examined case study, thirteen people (five migrants and eight tourists) were asked to partake in a series of activities consisting in examining the selected accounts of epic sea odysseys, in order to comment on the analogies between past and present journeys before providing alternative retextualization through English. The tourists – from France, Germany, Italy, and Spain – were also involved in the reception study about their reactions to the audiovisual representations, which is mentioned at the end of Section 4.

After describing the rationale and objectives of Promotional Discourse (Section 2), this chapter illustrates the two practical phases of this study. Section 3 focuses on Phase 1, in which a selected corpus of extracts from the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid* is reformulated through English. In that Phase, under the researchers' guidance, participants first notice the spontaneous organization of these texts into 'ethnopoetic verses' (Hymes 2003), reproducing the sequences and rhythms of human feelings, actions, and reactions, as is typical of autochthonous oral narratives. Then, these characteristics are embraced by the migrants and tourists to create their 'experiential reformulations', using English, of the epic narrations from the past. The adjective 'experiential' is used here to highlight that the phonetic and verbal features of the language variation that is found in the retextualizations are meant to reproduce the sensations of fear and despair, as well as hope and courage, which distinguish the several phases of migrants' journeys. Section 4, instead, covers the audiovisual strategies of genre hybridization that are activated, in Phase 2, for the production of a video for the emotional promotion of cultural integration, to be posted and shared on social media. The visual and acoustic features of the file work alongside the 'ELF subtitles' (which include the experiential renderings) to actualize the interaction between epic and modern sea odysseys from an extralinguistic viewpoint as well, showing the interview of a migrant – playing the role of the 'Observer'/'Traveller' – who narrates the emotions that are associated with his voyage to Italy. The analysis will detail the extent to which the relationship between the short film's verbal and nonverbal features,

and between the ‘mockumentary’ and ‘journalistic interview’ genres, serve to attain the goals of attracting the viewers’ attention and uncovering the actual nature of sea traveling.

2. The (hi)story so far: Research context, objectives, and rationale of Promotional Discourse

This research project started in 2016 and has produced, to date, a number of products ranging from analyses of the causes of miscommunication in cross-cultural encounters (Guido 2018), to proposals of strategies to connote intercultural meetings in the field of Responsible Tourism as opportunities for personal and cultural growth. Data have revealed that, in the context of cultural interactions in seaside resorts, specific role-playing strategies are used to facilitate the integration between migrants, tourists, and local communities. As Guido (2018: 174) reveals, local administrators tend to act as “tour operators”, offering “tourists holidays in voluntary-work camps where they are invited to play the role of ‘mediators’ facilitating the integration between migrants, tourists, and local communities”. Unfortunately, this does not always allow interactants to pursue the noble objective of encouraging communication, due to the subjects’ lack of skills to decode the messages that are produced by migrants. Furthermore, the critical analysis of real interactions (Guido 2018: 177-180) has confirmed that “[tourists] don’t understand” migrants when they have to narrate their experience. In fact, the latter are sometimes even asked to talk about their traumatic stories while finding themselves involved in holiday entertainment that eventually brings about a ‘Dystopian manipulation’ of the semantic and pragmatic meanings of their accounts, along with the opposition between ‘recreational-Utopian schema’ and ‘Dystopian-migration schema’. It is precisely such schema contrasts that our research activities try to counteract. These activities see the collaboration of two main groups of subjects – mainly, tourists and migrants together in seaside resorts – who are guided to act as ‘intercultural mediators’ devising alternative and unbiased strategies of representation that hinge on the interactants’ common experiential knowledge in order to achieve reciprocal understanding – and, therefore, positive cross-cultural exchanges. A case in point is represented by the creation of four audiovisual texts (this chapter focuses on the latest one), whereby researchers intend to enquire into the effects of emotions on the perception of holidays as an experience that has the potential of leading to individual and socio-cultural development. These texts are presented as the multimodal actualization of the so-called ‘Promotional Discourse’, the discursive frame that was devised by researchers so as to: (i) promote holiday destinations in Southern Italy that are affected by the mass arrivals of migrants; (ii) explore

the emotional experience of Italian seaside resorts whose geographical position has always made them places of hospitality and hybridization of languages and cultures; and (iii) enquire into the effects of emotions on tourists' perception of holiday as an experience of personal and cultural growth.

The elaboration of Premotional Discourse stems from the acknowledgment that most representations of sea journeys in contemporary media adhere to an ideological association between modern seafarers and the phenomenon of "culture clash" (Facchini et al. 2009; McAuliffe and Weeks 2015), connoting migrants as one of the "social problems" (Bruno 2016). Hence, this research intends to identify the steps leading to the production of an unbiased multimodal composition, such as the video that will be commented on in section 4, whose linguistic and extralinguistic resources attempt to induce in viewers a cognitive twist concerning their evaluation of what forces people to escape from their native countries. The association between past and present sea voyages is rendered, in Premotional Discourse videos, through the alternation of images of fictional and actual, past-time and current migrations, and through the passage from Ethnopoetic reformulations (Hymes 2003) of non-Western migrants' traumatic accounts of sea journeys, reported in their own ELF variations, to Western epic narratives of Mediterranean dramatic voyages rendered from Ancient Greek and Latin into modern ELF variations. The comparison between past and present is also performed by means of a multimodal hybridization (Catenaccio 2008) between styles and genres that can help attract the interest of Western recipients. Its objective is to provide viewers with an expected situation before presenting to them that alternative take on the objects of representation, which could trigger a positive reconsideration of migrations and cross-cultural societies. Thanks to these structures, participants can become aware of the cognitive association, in the epic and current narratives of Mediterranean 'odysseys', between the characters of the 'Observer' – namely, the 'voyager' in the structure of the classical Utopian genre – and the 'Traveler', or the modern 'migrant' embarking on a perilous sea-voyage. The connotation of language uses as instances of 'ELF' is due to the fact that English represents the shared language with which participants try to make the communicative dimension of reformulations and of the subtitles of the video more accessible to their interlocutors. To be precise, in this project, a 'hybrid ELF variant' is co-created by migrants, tourists and researchers, and characterized by semantic, syntactic and pragmatic transfers from the speakers' native linguacultural background, as is highlighted in the following section (Guido 2018). The polisemiotic nature of audiovisual texts is thus exploited to connote media as tools that can foster intercultural communication and integration.

The research hypotheses are that: (i) the adoption of multimedia in educational contexts can contribute to the qualitative improvement of intercultural mediators' training, possibly reducing the cases of miscommunication

and misunderstanding that stem from the lack of appropriate professional skills; and (ii) by showing the short films under discussion to potential users of Responsible Tourism first, and then to a general audience, it is possible to provide an alternative path for the construction of one's beliefs and views about important – although controversial – social phenomena. The direct involvement of migrants and tourists, the former's oral accounts of the dreadful sea odysseys that they had undergone, along with the common analysis of epic verses reveal an emotional dimension that generates a renovated perception of ancient and modern migrations, and the partial (at least) reconsideration of the reasons behind contemporary sea journeys. Assessment of such emotional engagement is in progress by obtaining the participants' direct feedback and conducting a reception study (Iaia and Errico 2020). The first practical Phase is the production of the experiential reformulations of a selected corpus of passages from epic narratives of Mediterranean 'odysseys'. The following section illustrates the rendering of a group of chosen extracts from the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

3. Phase 1: Experiential reformulations of Ilioneo's speech from Virgil's Aeneid

The intercultural activity described here was carried out from May to July 2019. Participants – migrants and tourists visiting Lecce or spending time together in seaside resorts – were asked to cooperate by narrating (the migrants) and commenting on (the tourists) the actual experience of sea crossing. At first, French, German and Spanish participants had to react to the migrants' report, and they realized that these texts are generally characterized by peculiar features of ergative languages. In their view, "the sea seems to live", it is described "as a mythological monster", or "it is as if the ship were human", referring to strategies and features such as providing animate representations of inanimate objects, including 'objects' in the position of 'subjects', or creating metaphorical personification of violent natural phenomena (such as waves, wind, or thunderstorms) as elements having an autonomous, dynamic force that destroys human beings. These productions are thoroughly explored in other outputs of this research (Guido et al. 2016; Guido et al. 2018), so they will not be described here. Instead, this section focuses on the subjects' collective reading and reformulations – through English – of the selected corpus of texts belonging to the Western tradition of Ancient-Greek and sea-voyage narrations. The reason for blending culture-bound odysseys was to stimulate the participants' awareness of the common 'identity roots' and 'archetypal schemata' as seafaring voyagers facing the violence of natural elements in their life-threatening journeys. Before enquiring into the renderings, it seems useful to clarify that they aim to make participants aware of the shared linguacultural features of the epic and current Mediterranean 'odysseys' belonging to the Western cultural heritage through a

series of stylistic choices. In particular, words are included and arranged, in the re-elaborated verses, in ways that would trigger an emotional response on the part of recipients. Sentiments of peril, fear, but also courage and determination, therefore permeate the retextualizations in order to prompt a positive (and also unbiased) reconsideration of the causes and consequences of migrations. Finally, the use of English – and the features of English uses – can be interpreted as a particular type of communication through a lingua franca. English represented their only available choice to express in words their reactions, and it is prevalently marked, in the examined reformulations, by: (i) simplified lexis and syntactic structures; (ii) preference for past simple and present simple; and (iii) phonetic properties that reproduce the changing emotional rhythms of narrations. As the participants themselves claimed when justifying their verbal choices, the adoption of a shared language eased their discussion of the sensations that were fostered by the collaborative interpretation and re-interpretation of literary and oral sources. In turn, this helped them to find common sentiments of despair, fear, hopelessness, but also anticipation and relief, depending on the odysseys' stages that were remembered.

English hence assisted subjects in delivering the emotional side of ancient and current voyages – for this reason, we decided to label these language uses 'experiential'. The adjective is proposed to stress that the lexical, structural and phonetic traits of the reformulations are expected to let readers and viewers recognize the dramatic nature of ancient and modern odysseys towards Utopian places. For example, the vowels and consonants that are used in the production of alternative verses such as those below are meant to reproduce the sound of sea waves, or to prompt specific reactions on the part of recipients. In this study, the epic accounts come from the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, precisely when Virgil describes the storm that devastates the Trojan ships escaping from war. Some castaways land on the coast of Carthage, on the Sicilian channel, where Dido reigns (Bettini 2019). Once the seafarers land, they feel threatened by the Carthaginians, and therefore they try to show that they are not criminals, but pious fugitives. Ilioneo, one of the people shipwrecked, reveals to the queen that their destination is Italy. The following passages were chosen as the objects of Phase 1, by the author of this section of the article, so as to help the audience reflect upon the migrants' struggle to reach a utopian Wonderland at the mercy of the open sea, escaping from poverty, war, and famine. The first excerpt sees migrants claiming that their intentions are peaceful:

Aeneid 1, 527-529

We haven't arrived here to ruin your homes

or to bring captured booty to the shore.

Such brutality and arrogance are not in our hearts.

Ilioneo's words are part of the corpus of narrations to reformulate, as well as of the video (see Section 4), because of the emotional dimension of the character's prayer. The man invites his listeners to understand the strangers' intention and condition more closely, in order to overcome the prejudice and ignorance causing the evaluation of fugitives as invaders or criminals. The perlocutionary effects are pursued by remarking that it is not the castaways' intention to "ruin" other human beings' homes, that their hearts are free from hatred. Additionally, Ilioneo's confession sharply coincides with the data that were collected in refugee centers and in the course of interactions between tourists, migrants, and intercultural mediators (Guido 2018). In one particular case, which is commented on by Guido (2018), after being invited to talk about his journey, a man claims that it is "crazy" that one has to justify their past choices in the context of holiday entertainment such as a "flashmob on the beach" ending with "the liberating shout to make tourists understand the migration problem" – which he himself witnessed. When the "flashmob" ends, participants still "don't understand" what it means to leave one's native country, but "consider" migrants "as animals", although they "don't walk on four legs [... and] they don't eat people". The experiential characteristics in the above passage are meant to underline the typical traits of the topic of 'culture clash', by means of the selection of vibrant (/r/), plosive (/b/) and velar (/k/, /g/) sounds, in words such as "bring", "captured", "brutality" and "arrogance".

At the end of the first part, Ilioneo reveals that their final destination is Italy, "which Greeks call Hesperia". The mythological name describing Southern Italy is left in the experiential reformulation, as was proposed by all subjects while discussing the function of "Hesperia" with the researcher guiding this phase. Although one may claim that this choice prevents an appropriate interpretation on the part of viewers, who may not know what "Hesperia" denotes, the tourists who worked on the examined passage stated that it helps to maintain the sense of the final destination as an epic place, as the archetypal representation of peaceful landing.

Aeneid 1, 530-534

A place there is, which Greeks call Hesperia,
an ancient land, rich in arms and wealth soil.

Oenotrians were there; now rumor has it that
a younger race has named it after their leaders, Italy.

Ilioneo describes a specific land (Bettini 2019) by resorting to words that remind the audience of the migrants who are now crossing the Mediterranean Sea to escape from death and destruction, but are victims of a shipwreck. At the time of creating the above reformulation, participants decided to render their reading 'experientially' by selecting plosive and fricative consonants (/p/, /θ/, /h/) and glide sounds (/w/) entailing a calmer rhythm as well as the motion of sea waves. In their opinion, "these words [from "Hesperia", to "wealth", to "were

there”] can promote positive feelings”, such as hope and anticipation, which are felt “at the beginning of the journey” towards a place where better living conditions can be found.

In the last fragment, Ilioneo complains about other people’s hostility and lack of hospitality:

Aeneid 1, 539-543

What race of men is this? What land is so barbarous
to accept this custom? We are not welcomed
on the sand; we are not allowed to rest our feet
on the border of their land. If you don’t believe in humans
and their mortal arms, at least look unto gods
who will remember right and wrong.

In the passage above, sentiments of violence and fear, as well as sadness and resignation, are highlighted utilizing specific lexical and phonetic features. The harshness of words is justified by the topic, namely the ‘inhuman’ habit of leaving someone else dying because of their different skin colors or origins. Viewers are guided towards questioning the appropriateness of this behavior, which is negatively evaluated by the speaker. This is explicitly uttered in the final moments, when the narrator entrusts himself to the “gods”. The emotional shift is rendered by anticipating words such as “barbarous”, “accept” and “custom”, having vibrant (/r/), plosive (/b/, /p/) and velar (/k/) sounds, before including “land”, “don’t believe”, “right and wrong”, with liquid (/l/), dental (/d/), plosive (/b/) and glide (/w/) sounds that slow the rhythm down, signifying the end of the journey, as well as resignation.

The above passages from Phase 1 and their experiential reformulations are considered as utterances that suit the dramatic conditions of contemporary migrants. This conclusion is achieved by participants as well, thus supporting the research hypothesis according to which the choice of blending epic verses and current odysseys activates the viewers’ awareness of the similar experiential schemata of dangerous sea journeys, notwithstanding the native socio-cultural contexts. And such awareness coincides with the ultimate objective of this research project, which is also pursued by means of an unbiased multimodal pattern for the representation of migrations.

4. Phase 2: Multimodal association of ancient and modern sea-voyage narrations

The polisemiotic nature of this research project is more evident from Phase 2. So far, language has been the primary resource that participants adopted to convey the personal and emotional dimensions of their sea voyages. Now, language is blended with images and sounds from a cognitive-functional

perspective (Langacker 1991; 2008). This means that the extralinguistic features reflect the subjects' perceptions of migrations and their experiential traits, while also serving the peculiar intent of Promotional Discourse. The video created in Phase 2 represents the fourth and latest multimedia research product. The previous clips were intended as prototypes for the 'emotional promotion' of Castro (Guido et al. 2016) and the Salento area (Guido et al. 2018; Iaia and Errico 2018) and prevalently addressed users of Responsible Tourism. Since the research on Promotional Discourse is now enquiring into the possibility of extending its application to the creation of strategies against biased views about intercultural encounters, the clip analyzed here mainly attempts to prompt a different interpretation of intercultural relationships. In compliance with the theme of hybridization of people and their cultural and experiential schemata, images of modern voyages alternate with narrations of epic odysseys, resulting in a hybridized multimodal composition (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006), which is supposed to guide viewers to focus on the emotional and archetypal association between past and modern migrations. In particular, the distinguishing features of the "journalistic interview" (Broersma 2010) and "mockumentary" genres (Campbell 2017) are selected to activate the audience's evaluation of what they watch as something factual, something whose dramatic nature is not mitigated by seeing professional actors re-enacting excerpts from literary texts. As concerns the experiential reformulations of Ilioneo's speech, they are included in the multimedia product under examination as if they were the protagonist's utterance. This framework is expected to attract the envisaged recipients towards the initial conveyance of a known situation, which is gradually modified as the clip continues, in order to enable the viewers' positive (re)interpretation of the object of promotional representations.

In the 'mockumentary' fragments, viewers hear a man narrating his story, just like Ilioneo does in the previous section. The protagonist of the video is presented, at the beginning, as a "sea traveler" who was met by the author of this section in August 2019. In fact, Phase 2 ended in that month, when an eighteen-year-old Nigerian migrant, who lives in the Apulian district of Brindisi, was directly involved in the final editing process by the author of the video and this section². The Nigerian participant agreed to include his voice and read the subtitles after watching an earlier version of the file, saying that he appreciated how the theme of intercultural encounters was portrayed. Furthermore, he added that the feelings that are roused by the audiovisual representation coincide with what he himself had experienced when crossing the Mediterranean Sea to reach Italy. The proposed audience is imagined as comprising people who are acquainted with multimedia and language uses in social networking. For this reason, the creative

² The video can be seen at the following link: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1B4uull3_KGbeDkGZqhDZqUbh-E5btC1z/view?usp=sharing.

potential of English, when it has the shape of the international language, is exploited in the claim of the video, namely “Searching and finding #anormalife”. On the one hand, through creativity, the video reproduces the language uses that are commonly found online, such as the insertion of the hashtag, which is meant to foster the actions of sharing the video and discussing it. On the other hand, “anormalife” is a peculiar construction that is expected to trigger both biased and unbiased readings, by instigating viewers’ ‘expected/unexpected’ cognitive clashes when they interpret the short movie. To be precise, “anormalife” can be read as “a normal life”, reiterating the prejudice of migrants leaving their homeland to live in a foreign country for leisure purposes. At the same time, it can also suggest thinking of an “anormal life” characterized by the potentially fatal conditions that they are forced to experience. And from an ELF perspective, “anormal” is a non-standard construction that reveals the influence from the author’s L1, that adjective being the Italian rendering of ‘abnormal’, ‘anomalous’.

The video can be divided into three parts, according to the questions that are posed to the interviewee. In part one, after introducing the context of the mockumentary, the ‘journalist’ asks the young man about the destination of the people on the boat:


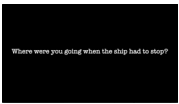

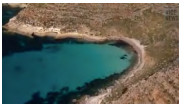

<i>mm:ss</i>	<i>Visual frame</i>	<i>Verbal frame</i>	<i>Sound</i>	<i>Genre</i>
00:01		In August 2019, we met a modern sea traveler. He answered three questions...	Lack of acoustic score	Journalistic interview
00:09		Where were you going when the ship had to stop?	Lack of acoustic score	Journalistic interview
00:14		A place there is, which Greeks call Hesperia,	Migrant’s voice	Mockumentary
00:20		an ancient land, rich in wealth soil.	Migrant’s voice	Mockumentary
00:23		Italy is its name. That’s where we were going.	Migrant’s voice	Mockumentary

TABLE 1. Multimodal transcription of the first part of the video “Searching and finding #anormalife”

Before the Nigerian man speaks, no sounds can be heard. The lack of the acoustic score – as can be inferred from the multimodal transcription above – is a meaning-making strategy that allows viewers to concentrate on the questions and, above all, on the answers. The narrator replies to the ‘journalist’ by means of selected passages from verses 530-534 of *Aeneid’s* first book, but it is interesting to notice a modification to the original text. After examining the epic reports and the multimodal composition of the video, participants decided to add a final explanation that serves to clarify the man’s reference to Hesperia. When the passage from the *Aeneid* was examined in Phase 1, subjects suggested leaving the ancient name, in order to maintain the sense of archetypal representation of a utopian destination. Now, instead, since the video addresses general viewers, including a younger audience, they elaborated a short comment, on the part of the “sea traveler”, which makes the reference to the country explicit. Besides addressing the potential viewers’ background knowledge, the direct inclusion of the noun “Italy” is also thought of as a strategy causing an intensification of the recipients’ interest, in particular as concerns the Italian ones, when they hear the man mentioning their nation and associating superb qualities with it.

The association between epic ‘old’ and ‘contemporary’ sea narratives is maintained in the whole video, as is evident from the second part. After asking information about their destination, the ‘journalist’ enquires into the reasons behind the travelers’ choice to leave their birthplace:

<i>mm:ss</i>	<i>Visual frame</i>	<i>Verbal frame</i>	<i>Sound</i>	<i>Genre</i>
00:27		Why were you going to Italy?	Lack of acoustic score	Journalistic interview
00:33		We haven’t arrived to ruin your homes, or to bring captured booty to the shore.	Migrant’s voice	Mockumentary
00:39		Such brutality and arrogance are not in our heart.	Migrant’s voice	Mockumentary

TABLE 2. Multimodal transcription of the second part of the video “Searching and finding #anormalife”

As happens in the first part, the migrant reads the experiential reformulation of verses 527-529, remarking through the tone of his voice

the feelings that are to be prompted by the rhythm and association of words chosen by participants in Phase 1 (see Section 3). In fact, the speaker underlines the words that are made up of velar and plosive sounds, such as “captured”, “booty”, and “brutality”. Additionally, the cadence of narration slows down when the final experiential reformulations (starting at 00:39) are read, so as to accentuate the sadness that is provoked by evoking sentiments of hate or lack of integration and by the inhuman conditions of the migrants’ journey. This emotional tone remains in the third part of the video:

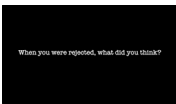



<i>mm:ss</i>	<i>Visual frame</i>	<i>Verbal frame</i>	<i>Sound</i>	<i>Genre</i>
00:45		When you were rejected, what did you think?	Lack of acoustic score	Journalistic interview
00:50		We are not welcomed on the sand. We are not allowed to rest our feet on the border of the land.	Migrant’s voice	Mockumentary
00:59		We are searching a normal life. We are finding anormal life.	Migrant’s voice	Mockumentary
01:04		SEARCHING AND FINDING #anormalife	The natural sound of sea	Mockumentary

TABLE 3. Multimodal transcription of the third part of the video “Searching and finding #anormalife”

The claim, at the end of the clip, addresses viewers that are accustomed to using social media and communicating online, and positioning it in the middle of the visual frame is another strategy that aims to emphasize the subversion of one’s prejudices or conventional interpretation of the object of the multimodal representation. Assessment of the empirical reception of the audiovisual implementation of Promotional Discourse is still in progress. So far, seventy viewers have been involved in a reception study. They were asked to watch the video before talking about the reactions that the short clip triggered in them. Although this investigation is still in progress, initial results (Iaia and Errico 2020) seem to indicate that the multimedia output of this research

can help viewers reconsider their ideas about mass migrations. The particular association between ancient and modern odysseys, in fact, reveals to recipients the immobility of history and the dramatic side of the events that are depicted, at least as the respondents have claimed to date.

5. Conclusions

This chapter has illustrated the interdisciplinary approach developed at the University of Salento in the context of a research project on Responsible Tourism, for the polisemiotic representations of ancient and modern sea-voyages. Whereas this project initially aimed to devise strategies for the emotional promotion of local seaside resorts, so as to mark tourism as an activity that can lead to personal and cultural growth, the research focus has gradually shifted towards the creation of a multimodal framework serving the unbiased depiction of migrations in audiovisual texts. Multimedia representations are conceived as means that can help make the nature of migrants' journeys more accessible to modern audiences, while counteracting the mass-media portrayals that correlate the notion of 'culture clash' with the dramatic journeys of migrants across the sea. The article first illustrated how the cultural activity that saw groups of migrants and tourists working together, to produce the 'experiential reformulations' of epic odysseys belonging to Western experiential schemata, has led to the realization of the archetypal association between past and modern migrations. Those reformulations then became the verbal dimension of a video produced by the researcher and voiced over by a Nigerian migrant, where the hybridization between the 'mockumentary' and 'journalistic interview' genres attempts to propose an unbiased multimedia representation of the reasons for and nature of sea journeys.

The earlier results of a study on the empirical reception of Promotional Discourse seem to corroborate the educational value of alternative multimodal compositions, when they succeed in inducing in viewers the reconsideration of the reasons and consequences of migrations. Yet, it is paramount to enquire into the extent to which the experience of Promotional Discourse helps to expand people's empathic understanding of today's migrations, as well as to monitor the adoption of multimedia as resources that can foreground the importance of cross-cultural integration. The multimodal evolution of English as the international lingua franca is also worth exploring, so as to contribute to the expansion of its area of exploration and application, as is advocated in the literature.

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*ENGLISH FOR MIGRATION:
INTERACTION BETWEEN AFRICAN REFUGEES AND PROFESSIONALS
IN THE HUMANITARIAN SECTOR*

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Having failed to achieve a general means of communication, mankind, in the realm of language, has permitted itself to rest internationally upon the level of dumb animals. [...] and, with a smile and shrug of inept apology, powerful industrialists, famous statesmen, and learned savants confess their inability to exchange with each other the simplest of ideas.

Sylvia Pankhurst, 1927

Delphos: The future of International Language

The massive migratory flow of refugees and asylum seekers from Africa represents one of the key issues in the current European agenda. Although economic and socio-political factors related to this phenomenon have been widely investigated and exposed through international institutions and the media, little attention has been paid to the linguistic implications. Hotspots, refugee camps, reception and accommodation centres in Europe are currently defining new linguistic contact zones, where the overlapping of diverse cultural and linguistic elements shape new ways of communication and produce new linguistic practices. This article presents the data from a project that aims to record, describe, and analyse these practices with a particular focus on Italy. The data include different textual typologies and audio and video recordings gathered in selected settings: hotspots and reception centres in the south and the north of Italy. The populations migrating from Africa to Europe present heterogeneous characteristics in terms of nationality, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Furthermore, the journey to Europe forces migrants to develop or strengthen their sociolinguistic competencies and skills, as they experience, adapt to and accommodate different contexts and conditions. The study investigates the varieties of English spoken in the interactions between Anglophone African migrants and Italian professionals in the humanitarian sector, exploring the implications of a translanguaging approach, which could offer an

innovative perspective on the dynamics of language contact, acquisition and teaching, providing pragmatic solutions to communication failure in institutionalized settings, and emphasizing the fluidity of the linguistic scenario in the domain of migration.

Language contact, translanguaging, migration, interaction

1. Introduction

The massive migratory flow of refugees and asylum seekers from Africa represents one of the key issues in the current European political agenda. In the last three years (2020-2023), almost 6,000 migrants³ have died or disappeared during attempted crossings on the Mediterranean route⁴, in the same period, Europe registered more than 325,000 irregular arrivals⁵. With reference to the African continent, as reported by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), West Africa records the highest number of migrants moving towards Northern Africa and Europe⁶.

However, the nature and trajectories of migration from East Africa and the Horn of Africa also deserve careful consideration, as the political and socio-economic condition of the area is complex and dynamic, and features countries simultaneously hosting and assisting internally displaced persons, refugees, returnees, victims of trafficking and labour migrants. In this context, in November 2014, the European Union and the African Union launched the “EU-Horn of Africa Migration Route Initiative”, involving the European Union and the countries in the macro-area, with the aim of reducing the trafficking and

³ As the present contribution focuses on linguistic features related to the migration of English speakers, the umbrella-term ‘migrant’ is used to include a multiplicity of interactional situations, without the intent of dehumanizing refugees and asylum seekers. On this debate, see also Al Jazeera’s decision to ban the term ‘migrant’: the English online editor, Barry Malone, publicly announced that “The umbrella term migrant is no longer fit for purpose when it comes to describing the horror unfolding in the Mediterranean. It has evolved from its dictionary definitions into a tool that dehumanises and distances, a blunt pejorative” (retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2015/08/20/why-al-jazeera-will-not-say-mediterranean-migrants/>).

⁴ Although there has been a decrease in the number of landings on European shores over the last three years, migrants are still dying at sea, in particular in the Central Mediterranean, which stretches from Africa to Italy. The number of dead and missing migrants trying to reach Europe via the Mediterranean reached a peak in 2016, with more than 5,000 cases (www.ismu.org). For more statistical data on the Central Mediterranean, see also the ‘GMDAC Briefing Series: Towards safer migration in Africa: Migration and Data in Northern and Western Africa’, published by IOM.

⁵ Data provided by <https://missingmigrants.iom.int/region/mediterranean>, an institutional platform comparing IOM, national authorities, and media sources.

⁶ See also the IOM project ‘Missing Migrants’, tracking the number of people who died or disappeared in the process of migration: <https://missingmigrants.iom.int>.

smuggling of human beings from the region (Martin and Bonfanti 2015). The economic and socio-political issues related to these events have been widely investigated and exposed through local and international institutions and media, often producing a narrative of migration based on the oversimplification of complex phenomena and reinforcing stereotypes, prejudice and intolerance.

On the contrary, little attention has been paid to the linguistic implications of the phenomenon, which deserve careful consideration, particularly because of their long-term effects. European societies are experiencing a physiological change, which will eventually come at an even faster pace, entailing a growing need for reliable resources on the topic of migration. Hotspots, refugee camps, reception and accommodation centres in Italy and the rest of Europe are currently defining new *linguistic contact zones*, where the overlapping of diverse cultural and linguistic elements shape new ways of communication and produce new linguistic practices. This paper presents data aiming to record, describe and analyse these practices, through a comparative study on specific linguistic contexts, in Africa and in Europe, with a particular focus on Italy. The critical question that underpins the article is: What kind of language is spoken in the interaction between migrants (refugees and asylum-seekers) and staff in the humanitarian sector?

The research aligns with the European ideals of cultural and linguistic mediation in the context of migration. According to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)*, “the written and/or oral activities of mediation make communication possible between persons who are unable, for whatever reason, to communicate with each other directly” (p.34), highlighting the need to establish shared protocols and communication practices. However, the application of these principles is complex. The opening paragraph of *The linguistic integration of adult migrants and the CEFR*, produced in 2012 by the Council of Europe (p.1), notes:

In order to secure rights of entry, permanent residence or citizenship, adult migrants are increasingly required to demonstrate proficiency in the language of the host country. Language requirements are usually defined in terms of the proficiency levels of the CEFR. [...] The priority that the CEFR gives to the needs of learners (rather than teachers, educational authorities or testing agencies) is fundamental. It is also important to emphasise, however, that its descriptive apparatus and proficiency levels were not developed with the communicative needs of adult migrants in mind, and they should be applied to them and their situation with caution.

Caution seems to be a rather ambiguous word to use in this context. It begs the question: Who should be cautious? Is it Europe as a system, or its institutions and their staff, or migrants themselves?

The normative scenario with regard to linguistic issues in this context is continually evolving and reflects the progression of the migratory phenomenon

on the one hand, and the political agenda on the other. An example is provided by the amendments made in 2018 by the Italian Minister of Internal Affairs, Matteo Salvini, to the norms regulating the prerequisites for the long-term residence permit, which have raised the level of the mandatory language proficiency test from A2 to B1 (Article 9, Consolidated Immigration and Security Act, 04.10.2018).

There is an undeniable need for more effective communication in the field of migration reception and management of European institutions to be addressed by the same set of institutions instead of professionals. One of the emerging priorities is the establishment of shared protocols in the domain of communication, which must be based on theoretical models developed by researchers and scholars, and driven by the observation, study and description of objective, reliable and comparative data.

2. African linguistic context

The population migrating from Africa to Europe presents heterogeneous characteristics in terms of nationality and cultural and linguistic background. Notably, the data indicate how the major sources of sub-Saharan African migrants to Europe are from Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya, countries where English holds the status of official language⁷. More specifically, regarding the presence of English, the African scenario features the coexistence of several standard varieties and non-standard speech forms, which are the subject of a rich literature given the British colonial history of the countries.

Most of this literature, centred on national linguistic scenarios, has contributed to the definition and international recognition of African standard varieties of English, as evident in the following dictionaries and descriptive studies: Kenya (Whiteley 1974; Zuengler 1982; Kembo-Sure 2003), Tanzania (Mafu 2003; Higgins 2009), Uganda (Criper and Ladefoged 1972; Nassenstein 2016), Ghana (Criper 1971; Huber 1999; Anderson 2009) Nigeria (Bamgbose 1982; Igboanusi 2001), Cameroon (Todd 1982; Harrow and Mpoche 2008), South Africa (De Klerk 1996; Mesthrie 2003), Botswana (Mathangwane 2008; Bagwasi, Alimi, Ebewo 2008). While these linguistic specificities have been extensively described using a national approach, more recent studies address the topic through categorization of the different standards of English in Africa on the basis of geographical macro-areas: East Africa, West Africa and Southern Africa.

The established literature has described each area in terms of common phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary. The most significant resource

⁷ Data from Eurostat, available at <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database>. See also www.pewresearch.org.

validating this approach is *The Oxford Handbook of World Englishes*, which outlines the similarities between national varieties in East Africa, West Africa and Southern Africa (Filppula, Klemola, Sharma 2017)¹. Comparing the map of Varieties of English in Africa with the figures related to the migration flows from Africa to Europe, an almost total overlapping in terms of macro-areas (West Africa, East Africa) is observed, except for the southern region, which, instead of producing migration, is characterized by increasingly high rates of continental immigration (South-South migration). The main route from West Africa goes from Nigeria, through Niger and Libya (Western-East route), and the main route from the Horn of Africa goes from Kenya, through Sudan and Libya, reaching Italy via the Strait of Sicily (Eastern-central Route).

In addition to the established and recognized standard varieties of English, there is an increasing number of new contact languages, juvenile jargons, and speech forms in Africa. Since Labov's epoch-making survey of *Black English Vernacular in New York City* (1966), research on youth language has been growing steadily, albeit slowly (Stenström and Jørgensen 2009). Recently, the analysis of youth language has received considerable attention with regard to its metropolitan aspects, particularly in Africa, where new Anglophone varieties are emerging. The studies on AYUL (African Urban Youth Languages), an emerging field that challenges the traditional approach to the varieties of World English are a case in point (Ebongue and Hurst 2017; Nassenstein and Hollington 2015).

While the traditional approach to the global spread of the English language has always been considered in terms of movement from the centre to the periphery of the Empire, it is evident that the current linguistic scenario is more complex and features the existence of a new poly-centre system, where what was once at the margins is now capable of producing independent cultural outputs. Jennifer Jenkins, in her *English as a Lingua Franca in the Expanding Circle*, provides interesting insights on the role of English as a contact language among expanding circle users from different first languages, highlighting how the context and the accommodation process affect communication and shape new speech forms (Jenkins 2017).

Furthermore, the migratory experience from Africa to Europe forces the migrants to develop, or strengthen their sociolinguistic competencies, as they experience and adapt to different contexts and conditions, enforcing practices of linguistic acquisition, adaptation, and accommodation (Britain and Trudgill 1999). Equal attention must consequently be devoted to both recognized standard

¹ Moreover, the Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English provides visual tools to better conceptualize the idea of the macro-areas (<http://ewave-atlas.org/languages>). This interactive tool designed and implemented by the University of Freiburg confirms the distribution of African Anglophone countries and recognized varieties in the three principal areas.

varieties and non-standard speech forms in East and West Africa, considering their coexistence within the local linguistic scenario and their contribution to the development of a migrating linguistic background, constituting the starting point of the author's current research project.

3. Italian immigration context

On their arrival in Italy, probably not the final destination of their journey, multilingual and multiethnic groups of migrants and asylum seekers are faced with legal and institutional representatives, law enforcement agencies, social workers, intercultural linguistic mediators and educators. The level of complexity of communication rises as interactions take place in institutional settings and require a more formal approach. Furthermore, these often consist of questions that require articulated answers, thus causing further disorientation in the migrants, whose freedom of speech has been up until then violently denied by their captors, smugglers, and traffickers.

One of the key effects of the dynamism of the phenomenon of migration is the volatility of the policies related to the assistance provided to migrants on their arrival. Currently (the latter part of 2020), the Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs recognizes different types of formal centres:

- a. Hotspots, first aid and reception facilities defined as “crisis points” (Pozzallo, Lampedusa, Messina, Taranto),
- b. First Reception Centres (CPA), located in Bari, Brindisi, Capo Rizzuto, Gradisca d'Isonzo, Udine, Manfredonia, Caltanissetta, Messina, Treviso,
- c. CAS (extraordinary reception centres),
- d. Permanent Repatriation Centres (CPR), for foreigners arriving irregularly in Italy, who do not apply for international protection or do not meet the requirements for such protection,
- e. SIPROIMI (ex SPRAR), currently only for holders of other kinds of protection status (not humanitarian),
- f. Reception centres for victims of trafficking and/or corporal exploitation (ex art.18 Dlgs 289/96).

These and all the informal non-governmental organizations and institutions working on migration issues represent privileged points of observation, where the contact between African Anglophone migrants and Italian professionals takes place.

In Italy, Maria Grazia Guido has worked extensively on the cognitive and communicative processes occurring in situations of interaction between African immigrants and Italian immigration authorities and operators, investigating variation and change in ELF (English as Lingua Franca) and demonstrating how the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of pragma-

linguistic behaviours and interpretative strategies lead to communication failure (Guido 2008; 2012; 2015). She concludes that:

to achieve a successful communication in specialized ELF interactions, each group in contact should, first of all, become aware of those of the other groups' L1 features which are typologically divergent from the equivalent ones in their own L1s – and, as such, perceived as formally deviating and pragmatically inappropriate when transferred to ELF. (Guido 2008: 173)

The studies conducted in this field raise parallel pedagogic questions related to the actual linguistic competence of the professionals working in migration contexts. The training provided by Italian universities and institutions for cultural and linguistic mediators, for example, features advanced courses of English language, literature, culture, interpretation, and translation, but, in the large majority of cases, without differentiating between standard and other varieties of English and contact languages featured in the context of migration². The need for more specific training focusing on the development of linguistic and intercultural skills has been expressed and discussed by several scholars, revealing the status of professional (and personal) *uncertainty* of cultural and linguistic mediators (Katan 2015).

Mediation is not the only professional context requiring socio-cognitive awareness of intercultural communication and specific linguistic competencies. Focused training on these subjects should also be mandatory for professionals engaging with migration issues in the legal field (e.g., law enforcement agencies, governmental institutions, lawyers, judges, and other legal operators such as forensic translators and interpreters) and in the scientific field (e.g., medical doctors, psychologists, sociologists, educators, social workers, and mediators).

4. Data presentation and analysis

The present contribution refers to a selection of the data from a corpus developed by the author, including different textual typologies and audio and video recordings gathered in the selected settings (Italian reception centres and migration-related institutions). The main source for the generation of data was direct observation and recording of language choice, use and change. Markers operating at morpho-syntactical level, discourse level (oral interactions, group conversations), and intertextual level (use of jargon, media-derived language) are taken into account. Furthermore, the heterogeneity of the research settings requires a variational flexibility in data gathering, urging researchers to consider a combination of different methods, techniques, and integrated

² In addition to professional courses, often offered by the regional administrations, several universities have implemented specific academic courses for linguistic and cultural mediators (e.g., University for Foreigners of Siena, University of Milan).

textual typologies (i.e., interviews and focus groups, video and audio-recording, questionnaires and tests, private communication).

At a methodological level, this research project relied on the tools provided by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Conversational Analysis (CA), with the objective of exploring, in the words of Blommaert:

(the) intersection of language/discourse/speech and social structure. [...] It is not enough to uncover the social dimensions of language use. These dimensions are the object of moral and political evaluation and analysing them should have effects in society: empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilising people to remedy social wrongs. (Blommaert 2005: 25)

In the context under scrutiny, it is of primary importance to investigate – also through the analysis of transcriptions – the relations between the actual interaction and its referential content, the way the elements of the interaction are produced, their collocation in the discursive sequence, and the presence of other contextual factors affecting the participants' interpretation.

In particular, the specific interrelation between context and interactional practices has been redefined by Zimmermann as “discursive”, “situated” and “transportable” identities (Zimmermann 1998). According to CA, identity categorization is represented and performed during the interaction (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998; Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008). Yet, as stated by Blommaert, “identities can be there long before the interaction starts and thus condition what can happen in such interaction” (2005: 206). Adapting the example Blommaert provides to our specific context, one could imagine a conversation between a Nigerian immigrant and an Italian police officer, in which the speakers may not show any interactional trace of active and explicit orienting towards the categories of “Nigerian immigrant” or “police officer” but both parties in the interaction are in all likelihood much aware of each other's identity, since these categories, as well as particular attributions of these categories and typical relationships between them, have been pre-inscribed in the interaction³.

Unquestionably, identity is one of the key factors to be considered while approaching migration-related issues, and language is the first and most immediate way of expressing it. What from a purely linguistic perspective may count as minor distinctions can often, for largely ideological reasons, attain great social import as badges of identity (Gumperz 2003: 110). One example pointing to the relevance of the relationship between language, culture and identity is provided by the fact that victims of trafficking and smuggling, in the majority of the cases Nigerian women and consequently

³ With reference to the attribution of identities in migration contexts, the social practice of categorization called *othering* deserves more consideration. On the topic, see Van Houtum and Van Naerssen (2002).

aware of the semantic collocation of English lexis, always avoid the use of ‘prostitution’, ‘sex’, ‘rape’ and ‘abuse’, and tend to replace them with ‘to sleep with’⁴.

Moreover, the experience of the journey forces the migrants to develop, or to strengthen, their sociolinguistic competencies and skills, as they face and have to adapt to and accommodate different contexts and conditions. As also demonstrated by previous scholars, the interactions between migrants and professionals/staff feature the same dynamics of transfer characterizing ELF practices (Guido 2008). The interlocutors tend to adapt to the new communicative situation features of their first language, in terms of syntax, morphology, phonology and semantics. This is a spontaneous process, and it concerns both parties, the African migrants, and the Italian and European professionals. Yet, the latter’s lack of awareness of the basic elements of African languages and varieties of English may produce confusion, misunderstanding and conflict⁵.

What follows is an excerpt of the transcription of a conversation between a Nigerian female victim of trafficking (M1) and an Italian female educator (O1) that took place during the recent Covid-19 pandemic. The examples featured in this contribution represent a very limited selection from a wide corpus of interviews and audio-video recordings, transcribed using the CA system of conventions⁶.

Excerpt 1

- 1 O1: Ehy (.) you ha::ve to wash your hands
2 M1: =I don wash my ha[n-

⁴ In a forthcoming publication on the topic of the research, I specifically address the contextualization and the use of these words, describing and discussing their identity-related implications, in particular in the context of human trafficking and smuggling.

⁵ In this regard, the work of the Italian researcher and educator, Giulio Asta (also an informant of the present research) deserves mention. In his *Professor come teach me na* (PhD thesis), he discusses the implication of the use of non-standard varieties, in particular Nigerian Pidgin, as an effective resource to teach a second language (with particular reference to Italian L2). Furthermore, he recently launched a series of courses on Nigerian culture and Nigerian Pidgin for operators in the context of migration. The description of the courses reads: “Integration is done by coming together. Approaching the culture and language of others is a way of showing respect, and it becomes a formidable instrument of contact. Learning about Nigeria, Pidgin English and Nigerian Culture means getting new keys to access, interact, and work with the people of the most populous country in Africa.” (<https://dico.education/formazioni/>). Moreover, BBC News has recently launched its Pidgin official website: <https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-51187437>.

⁶ Transcriptions have been made using the system of conventions for CA, initially developed by Gail Jefferson and subsequently described, discussed and integrated by several scholars. See in particular Have 1999; Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008. In the excerpts featured in this article, the following conversation symbols are employed: pause in tenths of a second: (0.5); pause of less than two-tenths of a second: (.); overlapping talk: []; emphasis: underlining; loud talk: CAPITALS; quiet talk: ° °; quick talk: > <; cut off of the prior word or sound: soun-; stretching of the preceding sound: ::; latching: =; non-verbal activity: (()).

3 O1: [NO NO! You wa::sh your hand EH!
 ((pointing at O1 with an extended finger))

In cue 1, O1 is reminding M1 to wash her hands due to the recent sanitation requirements of the pandemic. M1 confirms that she has already washed her hands, but her use of the Nigerian Pidgin pre-verbal marker ‘don’, indicating the perfect aspect (Faraclas 1996), is interpreted by O1 as a refusal to follow the instruction (I *don’t* wash my hands). The discomposure is conveyed by O1’s imperative reduplication ‘no no’ as emotional intensifier.

The even more conflictual evolution of the conversation, not reported here, confirms that apparently less relevant linguistic features may generate insurmountable obstacles in terms of mutual understanding. The restoration of a peaceful environment was possible only due to the intervention of another Nigerian woman who disambiguated the sentence, translating it with a more intelligible “she wash it already”⁷.

Similarly, the use of paralinguistic elements (e.g., O1’s imperative pointing) may be decisive in multicultural domains featuring status and power asymmetries, where individuals may have different perceptions and interpretation of elements such as conversation overlaps, interruptions, pitch, intonation and loudness (Mead 1990; Hall 1990; Katan 1999).

In this regard, Excerpt 2 reports a conversation between a Sudanese Muslim female asylum seeker (M2) and an Italian male member of staff (O2), taking place during an interview.

Excerpt 2

1 O2: Why you do like thi::s? ((gets physically closer to M2))
 2 (0.7)
 3 M2: ((does not answer and keeps her head down))
 4 O2: Look at ME (.) you understa::nd?
 5 M2: (.) °° yes °°
 6 O2: =SO LOOK ME::?

According to Islamic etiquette and based on the interpretation of sacred texts, there are strict rules concerning physical contact and eye contact between different genders⁸. O2’s complaint (1) and the insistent request

⁷ In this regard, see also the concept of *mutual accommodation*, explored, and supported by several studies concerning ELF variations in the context of migration (House 1999; Guido 2015; Sperti 2019). As stated by Guido, “to achieve a successful communication in specialized ELF interactions, each group in contact should [...] develop mutual accommodation strategies of ELF reformulation and hybridization in order to make culture-bound discourses conceptually accessible and socio-pragmatically acceptable to each other’s native schemata” (Guido 2015: 173).

⁸ Notably, according to Islamic laws, both men and women are required to avoid eye contact (and also physical contact among members of different genders, provocative clothing, and situations and behaviours that might lead to extramarital relationships). In particular, the Qur’an specifies that it is mandatory for “believing women to lower their gaze and guard their modesty

to establish eye-contact (4) generate in M2 a cultural shock, explicit in her silence (2) and wavering (5). In this situation, the operator's lack of awareness of Islamic religious and cultural practices, and consequently of intercultural communication competence, produces a dramatically negative effect on the interaction, jeopardising the entire interview process.

Furthermore, the analysis of transcriptions represents a useful tool to examine the occurrences of translanguistic phenomena. The data gathered revealed that the linguistic complexity in the interactions between migrants and staff increases over time, and a diachronic study would probably provide further evidence. On the one hand, after the initial reception phase, migrants attend Italian language courses and progressively develop their Italian linguistic competence; on the other, the establishment of more informal relationships with the reception centre staff fosters the mutual use of L1 linguistic features and culture-specific items (CSI). As a consequence, interactions involving staff and migrants (in particular those who have been residing in Italy for more than one year) are characterized by the presence of translanguaging. According to the literature on the subject, translanguaging represents an act performed in multilingual contexts by bilinguals (or multilinguals) of "accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential" (García 2009: 140), challenging the existing theories on monolingualism and bilingualism, and the traditional concept of (a) language, as a static, circumscribed and politically imposed construction⁹. Excerpt 3 is an exchange between a Gambian male asylum seeker (M3) and an Italian male member of staff (O3).

Excerpt 3

- 1 M3: What is DIS? ((showing a picture of a parking fine))
 2 (0.8)
 3 O3: Fine
 3 M3: >What do you mean?<
 4 O3: (.) Mu::lta
 5 M3: =Aahaa! Mudiir (مديري), I know is multa e::h

M3 asks O3 for information regarding a parking fine he has received. Not being aware of the polysemy of the word, he interprets O3's answer as a derogatory comment (Fine) and asks for further clarification. O3 offers

and to display of their adornment only that which is apparent, and to draw their veils over their bosoms, and not to reveal their adornment save to their own husbands [...]" (Sura An-Nur, 24:31). In the preceding verse, the same instruction ("to lower their gaze and guard their modesty") are given to men (Sura An-Nur, 24:30). Specific literature on counselling (mainly in the field of psychology and medical science), has addressed the need to develop "culturally appropriate counselling intervention strategies in working with Muslim clients" (Rassool 2016: vii).

⁹ For a more detailed description of translanguaging practices, see also García and Wei 2014; Wei 2018; Baynham, and Lee 2019.

the Italian alternative ‘multa’, which M3 seems to be surprisingly familiar with. To express this familiarity, M3 uses the Gambian Mandinka cognitive interjection ‘Aaahaa’ (Gamble 1987), followed by the Arabic word ‘mudiiir’ (مديير), translating as ‘boss’, used by migrants to address Libyan traffickers. The study thus revealed the presence of salient linguistic features that have been acquired and shared by migrants during the various stages of migration and survival (e.g., crossing the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean Sea and being imprisoned and tortured in Libya). Some of these words and expressions, as in the case of ‘mudiiir’ and ‘forsa forsa’, are now part of the *migrants’ idiolect* and are frequently used in their linguistic interactions with other migrants and with Italian professionals¹⁰.

5. Conclusion

The recognition of the linguistic specificity of the field of migration is not as yet supported by in-depth scientific production. Data-derived studies in this context should not only attempt to provide factual bases for the implementation of the debate on migration, but also address practically the undeniable need for more effective communication, providing literature and educational materials for the adequate training of specialized professionals working for European institutions and organizations¹¹. IOM publishes a large variety of reports and volumes on the multifaceted scenario of migration, addressing a multiplicity of related issues, divided into specific subjects, from asylum, border management and capacity-building, to women, xenophobia and youth. Surprisingly, with the exception of the ‘Glossary on Migration’, IOM does not produce publications related to linguistic issues, and language is not included in the list of relevant subjects¹².

Certainly, describing, interpreting and systematizing the linguistic dynamics of migration is not an easy task. One of the initial ambitions of the wider research presented in this article is that of contributing to the field of study of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), in introducing a new variety

¹⁰ As in the previous case of the language related to the sexual sphere, the presence of specific words acquired during the journey from Africa to Europe also requires further study and it will be the subject of a future publication, based on a diachronic study of the phenomenon.

¹¹ There are few glossaries related to the topic of migration (also available online) but the focus is on legal and political terminology: see the glossary in the United Nations’ *Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration* (1998); the UNHCR’s *Master Glossary of Terms* (2006); UNESCO’s *Glossary of Migration related Terminology* (2013); UNAOC’s *Media-Friendly Glossary on Migration* (2014); IOM’s *The Key Migration Terms* and the *Glossary on Migration* (updated in 2019); the European Migration Network’s *Glossary* (updated in 2020).

¹² The comprehensive list of texts published by IOM, organized in 28 macro-categories and 80 specific subjects, is available at the IOM Online Bookstore: <https://publications.iom.int>.

which could be called *English for Migration*. However, the observation of the communicative practices occurring in this specific domain fosters critical considerations regarding the collocation of such practices under the umbrella-term 'English'.

The conceptual evolution of English, from hegemonic language to contact language, has paved the way for the emergence of new phenomena and the creation of new linguistic forms and identities. The complexity of the contemporary global sociolinguistic scenario highlights the inadequacy of some of the concepts that have traditionally been accepted by the scientific community and supported by a rich and long-standing literature (e.g., 'mother tongue', 'native speaker'). While educational programs and projects on mother tongue languages have gathered great interest and funding by the international community, including governmental and non-governmental institutions, little attention has been paid to more recent studies investigating and challenging the institutionalized setting of multilingualism and multiculturalism, providing interesting perspectives and practical outcomes (Mishima 2009; García and Wei 2014; Baynham and Lee 2019).

This article has emphasised the need for professionals involved in legal, health, and other social domains related to migration, at all levels, to develop special linguistic and cultural competences. The data analysed reveal the presence of ELF (used by and developed by non-native speakers), Nigerian Pidgin and other Anglophone and English-lexified contact languages, African languages (e.g., Edo, Igbo, Esan, Mandinka, Twi, Wolof, Amharic, Tigrinya) and several Arabic (predominantly Libyan) and Italian words and expressions. Yet, the high level of complexity of the interactional practices occurring in the context under investigation does not entail a sharp classification and codification of the phenomenon in terms of standardized/institutionalized languages or varieties. In this regard, the translanguaging approach offers an innovative perspective on the dynamics of language contact, acquisition and teaching, providing pragmatic solutions to communication failure in institutionalized settings, and emphasizing the fluidity of the linguistic scenario in the domain of migration.

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*THINKING OUTSIDE THE BOX OF LINGUACULTURAL OTHERNESS:
EMBEDDING L3 CULTURE-SPECIFIC REFERENCES IN THE ITALIAN
DUBBED VERSION OF POLYGLOT FILMS*

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The pervasive multilingualism characterizing contemporary multicultural societies has proved to be an outstanding presence in contemporary European and American multicultural films, whose fictional worlds mirror real-life multiethnic communities and their multilingual discourse practices. Indeed, in polyglot films, code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993) stands out as a dynamic conversational strategy in negotiating and re-negotiating linguacultural identities. This paper looks contrastively and diachronically at how language alternation phenomena have been dealt with in the original version and in the Italian dubbed version of twenty-seven European and American multicultural films, belonging to different genres and released between 1991 and 2018. In these films, the multilingual protagonists build and maintain their cross-cultural relationships by extensively referring to their background culture-specific elements (Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007; Díaz Cintas 2012) in instances of intrasentential code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993), using terms that, from a translational perspective, belong to third languages/L3s, i.e. languages that differ from both the language of the original film and the language of the film's dubbed version (Corrius, Zabalbeascoa 2011), and are often considered, in terms of "translation crisis points" (Pedersen 2005: 2), as untranslatable lexical items. This empirical analysis aims at verifying whether specific translation, or non-translation, strategies are adopted for L3 culture-bound references in the film's Italian dubbed versions to faithfully re-create the original translinguistic and transcultural interactional dimensions or whether some sort of linguistic manipulation is applied in re-narrating them for the Italian audience, thus pointing out what can be achieved by screen translation in terms of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic mediation, re-mediation and transmission.

Audiovisual translation, code-switching, L3, culture-bound references, linguacultural otherness

1. Intercultural and interlinguistic negotiations in audiovisual translation

The pervasive multilingualism characterizing contemporary multicultural societies has proved to be an outstanding presence in contemporary European and American multicultural audiovisual products, whose fictional worlds mirror real-life multicultural communities and capture the centrality of their multilingual discourse practices. In these films, the linguistic Otherness distinctive of the cross-cultural encounters they revolve around represents a key element (Bleichenbacher 2008) and code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993) stands out as a dynamic conversational strategy in negotiating and re-negotiating identities in cross-cultural and cross-linguistic interactions. Considered as a crucial vehicle of cultural specificity (cf. Hatim, Mason 1990), code-switching is indeed frequently realized in multiethnic contexts both as an act of self-identification by members of immigrant families to refer to their background heritage sociocultural specifics, mainly in instances of intrasentential code-switching from they-code, i.e. the language of the host society, to we-code, i.e. their mother tongue (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993), and as a cross-linguistic conversational strategy by speakers of different nationalities to shorten the ethnolinguistic distance separating them from their interlocutors from a different country. This leads to continual processes of intercultural and interlinguistic interpenetration in transnational and translinguistic scenarios within which cultural difference is overcome and linguistic Otherness embraced (Monti 2018).

The fact that most film industries today cast a special light on the multilingual speech patterns reshaping contemporary societies ties issues of multilingualism on the screen to the field of audiovisual translation (cf. Corrius, Zabalbeascoa 2011; Şerban 2012; Minutella 2012; Zabalbeascoa, Voellmer 2014; de Higes Andino 2014 among the others). Intended as a key “cultural-mediation instrument” (Oltra Ripoll 2005: 75) focusing not merely on language transfer but also, and primarily, on cross-cultural transfer (Snell-Hornby 1995), audiovisual translation necessarily affects cultural and linguistic representations to a greater extent than other types of translation.

Given the enormous power that screen translation is endowed with “in constructing representations of foreign cultures” (Venuti 1998: 67), it is the effective rendering of cultural specifics that is of vital importance for the reception of multicultural films in a target culture. This, however, proves to be one of the most challenging areas in the field of audiovisual translation; indeed, cultural elements, also referred to as cultural words (Newmark 1988), culture-bound references (Pedersen 2005), culture-bound terms or extralinguistic culture-bound references (Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007), denote objects and concepts that are deeply ingrained into specific sociocultural dimensions which are often unfamiliar to the target culture/society and this

poses a series of problems in the translation process. This is especially the case when they refer to third culture elements (cf. Ranzato 2010, 2016) that originally belong neither to the source culture nor to the target culture but to a third culture portrayed on the screen and are conveyed by languages that have been defined, from a translational perspective, as third languages/L3s (Corrius, Zabalbeascoa 2011, 2019), i.e. languages different from both the language of the original film, or L1, and the language of the film's dubbed version, or L2. In order not to lose in translation the crucial role L3s play in portraying the characters' foreignness (cf. Heiss 2004, 2014), the ethnocultural specificity they convey should be preserved at all costs when the original film is dubbed for distribution in another country, and this urges audiovisual translators/dialogue adaptors to pinpoint different translation procedures that may be adopted for their interlinguistic and intercultural transfer.

1.1 Research aims, data and methodology

Starting from the previous observations, this paper aims to look contrastively and diachronically at how L3 references to third cultures (cf. Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007; Ranzato 2010, 2016) have been dealt with in the original version and in the Italian dubbed version of twenty-seven European and American multicultural/multilingual films, belonging to different film genres (i.e. comedies, romantic comedies, musical comedies, dramas, romantic dramas) and released between 1991 and 2018: *Mississippi Masala* (Nair 1991; hereafter *MM*), *Fools Rush In* (Tennant 1996; hereafter *FRI*), *East Is East* (O'Donnell 1999; hereafter *EIE*), *Bend It Like Beckham* (Chadha 2002; hereafter *BILB*), *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (Zwick 2002; hereafter *MBFGW*), *Real Women Have Curves* (Cardoso 2003; hereafter *RWHC*), *Ae Fond Kiss* (Loach 2004; hereafter *AFK*), *Spanglish* (Brooks 2004; hereafter *SP*), *Crash* (Haggis 2004; hereafter *CR*), *Bride and Prejudice* (Chadha 2004; hereafter *BAP*), *The Mistress of Spices* (Mayeda Berges 2005; hereafter *TMOS*), *Love + Hate* (Savage 2005; hereafter *LH*), *My Bollywood Bride* (Virani 2006; hereafter *MBB*), *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (Allen 2008; hereafter *VCB*), *The Other End of the Line* (Dodson 2008; hereafter *TOEOTL*), *Gran Torino* (Eastwood 2008; hereafter *GT*), *Mamma Mia!* (Lloyd 2008; hereafter *MM!*), *My Life in Ruins* (Petrie 2009; hereafter *MLIR*), *Eat Pray Love* (Murphy 2010; hereafter *EPL*), *Our Family Wedding* (Famuyiwa 2010; hereafter *OFW*), *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (Madden 2012; hereafter *TBEMH*), *The Hundred-Foot Journey* (Hallström 2014; hereafter *THFJ*), *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (Madden 2015; hereafter *TSBEMH*), *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2* (Jones 2016; hereafter *MBFGW2*), *The Big Sick* (Showalter 2017; hereafter *TBS*), *Mamma Mia! Here We Go Again* (Parker 2018; hereafter *MM!HWGA*).

These films have been selected according to specific criteria: they use English as the main language of communication even though, in some of them,

the story is partially or totally set in a non-English speaking country; they depict different situations of language contact between individuals belonging to different ethnicities and switching between L1 (i.e. English) and L3 (i.e. any other language spoken in the film's original version) to refer to their ethnocultural specifics; they were released within a time span covering almost three decades during which the interrelation among societies, audiovisual products and screen translation studies had become ever more evident triggering crucial changes in the relevant fields of research.

This empirical study is based on a wide selection of excerpts from the films' post-production scripts, entailing 238 instances of intrasentential code-switching, used in cross-cultural conversational contexts to convey L3 cultural specifics that are relevant, in particular, to: social and ethnocultural features; religious and spiritual traditions; geographical landmarks and places of worship; food and local products. These L3 cultural references regard both sociocultural concepts unknown to the target audience and transcultural notions "retrievable from common encyclopedic knowledge of the ST and TT audience" (Pedersen 2005: 10), denoting features once familiar only to a specific society/culture and now universally known as a result of ever-increasing worldwide processes of sociolinguistic exchange and integration.

To better illustrate the pragmatic and sociolinguistic functions that the L3 culture-bound terms fulfill in both the original version and the Italian dubbed version of the films under investigation, each excerpt is presented in tables including: the name of the character speaking (column 1); the orthographic transcription of the original dialogue (column 2); the transcription of the dubbed Italian dialogue (column 3); the literal back translation of the L2 contained in the dubbed Italian dialogue (column 4), with any L3 lexical item indicated in italics.

The comparative, diachronic analysis will make it possible to observe whether specific translation, or non-translation, strategies are adopted for the L3 cultural words in the Italian dubbed version, to either re-create the linguacultural Otherness distinctive of the film's original version or re-narrate it in dubbing through some sort of linguistic manipulation, thus highlighting what can be achieved by screen translation in terms of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic mediation, re-mediation and transmission. I will also investigate whether the rendering of the L3 culture-bound terms varies according to the film genre and/or to its release date, thus also monitoring the evolution of dubbing strategies over the past thirty years as far as the on-screen representation of third languages/cultures is concerned.

2. Evoking ethnocultural memories in cross-linguistic discourse practices

With regard to the occurrences of L3 references to third cultures in the instances of intrasentential code-switching to be recognized in the film corpus,

we can notice that most of them are left unaltered in the Italian dubbed version, following the translation, or non-translation, strategy recurrently defined by scholars in the field as borrowing (cf. Vinay & Darbelnet, 1958-2002; Ivir 1987), transference (cf. Newmark 1988), retention (cf. Pedersen 2005; Gottlieb 2009), or loan (Santamaria Guinot 2001; Chaume 2004; Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007), a stylistic method used to foreignize a text by introducing terms that sound exotic to the target culture with possible spelling-only adjustments being allowed. Such a procedure is the most effective to retain the L3 terms' cultural colouring and to fulfill their pragmatic and sociolinguistic functions in eroding linguacultural barriers in multicultural/multilingual interactional contexts and, therefore, in facilitating the cross-cultural relations the films' characters are involved in.

2.1 Material, social and ethnographic culture

One category of L3 cultural specifics often to be found in the films explored, and always left unchanged in both the original and the Italian dubbed version, regards ethnic traditions, material life, cultural beliefs and moral principles. These are always brought to the fore (90 total items) as crucial entries to ethnolinguistic memories in the course of cross-cultural interactions with the main aim of bringing the speakers' different worlds closer together. This can be observed, for instance, in the American romantic drama *TMOS*, when Tilo, the owner of an Indian spice bazaar in San Francisco, explains to one of her American clients what the Indian ceremonial art form called *mehndi* consists of (Example 1).

Example 1

Tilo	<i>Mehndi</i> is normally done on brides.	Il <i>mehndi</i> di solito viene fatto alla sposa.	<i>Mehndi</i> is usually done on the bride.
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In the American/European romantic comedy *MLIR* the term *kefi*, the Greek word for *mojo*, is often used (7 occurrences) by Georgia, a tour guide born and bred in Greece, when explaining to a group of European and American tourists the typical aspects of Greek culture and lifestyle (Example 2).

Example 2

Georgia	[...] People reconnect with their souls. They find their <i>mojo</i> . In Greece, it's called <i>kefi</i> , which means "passion, joy, spirit".	[...] Qui le persone si riconnettono con il proprio spirito. Ritrovano la gioia di vivere. In Grecia questo si chiama <i>kefi</i> , che significa "passione, gioia, spirito".	[...] Here people reconnect with their souls. They find their <i>mojo</i> again. In Greece this is called <i>kefi</i> , which means "passion, joy, spirit".
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Furthermore, it appears in the American romantic comedy-drama *TBS*, where Kumail, a Pakistani Uber driver and stand-up comedian living in Chicago, explains some typical Pakistani Christmas traditions to his American audience quoting them with their original Urdu names (Example 3).

Example 3

Kumail	<i>Eid Mubarak</i> . That’s our Christmas. Except instead of the traditional Christmas ham, we serve <i>mitthai</i> , which my <i>khansama</i> Chris will serve to you right now. <i>Khansama</i> is Urdu for servant.	<i>Eid Mubarak</i> . È il nostro Natale. Solo che invece del tradizionale tacchino ripieno noi serviamo il <i>mitthai</i> , che il mio <i>khansama</i> Chris vi servirà subito. <i>Khansama</i> in Urdu è un servitore.	<i>Eid Mubarak</i> . It’s our Christmas. Except that instead of the traditional stuffed turkey we serve <i>mitthai</i> , which my <i>khansama</i> Chris will serve to you right now. <i>Khansama</i> is Urdu for servant.
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L3 cultural references also often regard means of transport used in everyday life in the third societies/cultures represented on the screen, as we can see in the American romantic comedy *FRI* when Alex, who has just arrived in Mexico from Manhattan to see his Mexican girlfriend Isabel, asks for directions for the girl’s hometown, Tamazula (a name he does not even know how to pronounce correctly) and an old Mexican man advises him to take the *tranvia*, i.e. “bus” (Example 4), a term Alex does not know.

Example 4

Alex	Temazula?	Temazula?	Temazula?
Man	Tamazula.	Tamazula.	Tamazula.
Alex	How do I get there?	Come faccio ad arrivarci?	How can I get there?
Man	<i>Tranvia</i> .	<i>Tranvia</i> .	<i>Tranvia</i> .
Alex	What the hell’s a <i>tranvia</i> ?	Cha diavolo è <i>tranvia</i> ?	What the hell is <i>tranvia</i> ?
Man	That bus over there.	L’autobus.	The bus.

Likewise, in the British comedy-drama *TBEMH*, the *tuk-tuk*, the famous motorized vehicle used for taxi services especially in Asia, is frequently mentioned (9 occurrences) to underline the exotic environment the British retirees find themselves in during their stay in India (Examples 5 and 6).

Example 5

Evelyn	What exactly is a <i>tuk-tuk</i> ?	Qualcuno sa che cos'è il <i>tuk-tuk</i> ?	Everybody knows what a <i>tuk-tuk</i> is?
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Example 6

Graham	The bus will drop us in the centre of town. We can take <i>tuk-tuks</i> the rest of the way.	L'autobus ci porterà fino al centro della città. Poi da lì prenderemo i <i>tuk-tuk</i> fino all'hotel.	The bus will take us to the centre of town. Then from there we will take the <i>tuk-tuk</i> all the way to the hotel.
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In Example 6 we can notice that the original version adapts the Thai term to the English syntactic rules of plural formation, appending the final *-s* of the plural, whereas the Italian dubbed version maintains the lexeme in its original morphological form, as Italian pluralization rules are generally not applied to words borrowed from other languages.

L3 references to history and art are often made to plunge both the audience and the films' characters into exotic atmospheres. This can be seen, for instance, in *TBEMH* when Evelyn, Jean and Madge are fascinated by the Marigold Hotel description celebrating the glorious past of Indian history through a reference to the *Raj* period (Example 7).

Example 7

Jean	Indeed the entire building exudes historical ambience and transports one back in time to the proud tradition of the <i>Raj</i> .	Nel nostro palazzo vi sembrerà di tornare indietro nel tempo e rivivere l'atmosfera storica dell'antica tradizione del <i>Raj</i> .	In our palace you'll have the sensation to go back in time and relive the historical atmosphere of the ancient <i>Raj</i> tradition.
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Instead in *TSBEMH* it is the beauty of Indian art to be celebrated when Douglas describes the magnificent *Rajasthani* carvings of the monuments typical of the Western Indian state of Rajasthan (Example 8).

Example 8

Douglas	[...] Now please admire these beautifully carved pillars... that are engraved with typical <i>Rajasthani</i> carvings...	[...] Adesso ammirate queste colonne meravigliosamente scolpite... che sono incise con tipici intagli <i>Rajasthani</i> ...	[...] Now admire these beautifully carved pillars... that are engraved with typical <i>Rajasthani</i> carvings...
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Examples 5-8 lead us to observe that L3 culture-bound expressions, in both the original version and the Italian dubbed version, are often used by characters either visiting or temporarily living in foreign countries to prove their eagerness to conform to the new linguacultural dimension. A significant example of this is to be found in the musical comedy *MM!*, when Sam, upon his arrival in Greece, uses the Greek term *deftera*, i.e. “Monday”, to indicate the day he and Harry should take the ferry to Kalokairi, thus showing that he already feels at ease in Greece as far as language is concerned (Example 9).

Example 9

Harry	I'm trying to get to Kalokairi. When's the next ferry?	Devo andare a Kalokairi. <i>Quand'è</i> il prossimo traghetto?	I have to go to Kalokairi. When's the next ferry?
Sam	<i>Deftera.</i>	<i>Deftera.</i>	<i>Deftera.</i>
Harry	What?	Che?	What?
Sam	Monday.	Lunedì.	Monday.

Similarly, in the subsequent scene, when Tanya and Rosie, also on their way to Kalokairi, are offered a drink by a Greek man, Rosie accepts using the Greek word for “thanks”, *efharisto* (Example 10).

Example 10

Rosie	<i>Efharisto!</i>	<i>Efharisto!</i>	<i>Efharisto!</i>
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Likewise, in *TSBEMH*, the British retiree Muriel uses the Hindi expressions for “your mother” and “your father” to tell her Indian friend Anokhi that she has brought some gifts for her and her parents from America (Example 11).

Example 11

Muriel	These are for your mother, <i>apke ma</i> . These are for your father, <i>apke pita</i> .	Questi sono per tua madre, <i>apke ma</i> . Questi sono per tuo padre, <i>apke pita</i> .	These are for your mother, <i>apke ma</i> . These are for your father, <i>apke pita</i> .
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Examples 9-11 thus clearly illustrate that L3 culture-bound terms are often used as key means to go beyond national belonging and self-identification, dissolving boundaries between locals and foreigners/tourists and creating community across difference.

2.1.1 L3 cultural references creating interethnic emotional bonds

Ideological and linguistic integration as achieved by L3 cultural references in cross-cultural conversational exchanges is particularly common in both the original version and the Italian dubbed version of films portraying intercultural/interethnic relationships in which the characters use their mother tongue to convey their ethnolinguistic perception of the world in the attempt to reduce the linguacultural space separating them from their foreign partners. This can be recognized, for instance, in the American biographical romantic drama *EPL* when the Brazilian businessman Felipe refers to his passport using the object's Portuguese name, *passaporte*, when talking to his American partner Liz (Example 12).

Example 12

Felipe	I have 46 stamps on my <i>passaporte</i> .	Io ho 46 timbri sul mio <i>passaporte</i> .	I have 46 stamps on my <i>passaporte</i> .
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Linguacultural integration as provided by L3 cultural references is also present in *TBS*, when Kumail tells his American girlfriend Emily that, when he was young, he was defined by his friends as *chashmallee*, i.e. “idiot” in Urdu (Example 13).

Example 13

Kumail	I was very shy. They called me <i>chashmallee</i> .	Ero molto timido. Mi chiamavano <i>chashmallee</i> .	I was very shy. They called me <i>chashmallee</i> .
Emily	What is that?	E che vuol dire?	And what does it mean?
Kumail	It roughly translates to “dweeb.”	Grosso modo significa “imbranato”.	More or less it means “dweeb.”

Similarly, in the American comedy-drama *RWHC*, when Ana, a Mexican-American teenager, and Jimmy, her American boyfriend, kiss for the first time, Ana explains that the Spanish equivalent of “kiss” is *beso*, so as to make Jimmy feel closer to her Mexican roots (Example 14).

Example 14

Ana	No, that's a <i>beso</i> . A kiss.	No, questo è un <i>beso</i> . Un bacio.	No, this is a <i>beso</i> . A kiss.
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Later on in the film, when they are about to make love for the first time and Ana's arm gets caught in her shirt sleeve, Jimmy uses the Spanish term *pinche*, i.e.

“damn”, as an attributive adjective of the English noun “shirt” when exclaiming “*Pinche shirt!*”, thus perfectly combining Spanish and English to show his own desire to enter Ana’s world (Example 15).

Example 15

Ana	Oh damn shirt.	Oh maledetta maglietta.	Oh damn shirt.
Jimmy	How do you say “damn” in Spanish?	Come si dice “maledetto” in spagnolo?	How do you say “damn” in Spanish?
Ana	<i>Pinche.</i>	<i>Pinche.</i>	<i>Pinche.</i>
Jimmy	<i>Pinche shirt!</i>	<i>Pinche maglietta!</i>	<i>Pinche shirt!</i>

Likewise, in the American romantic comedy-drama *SP*, when the American chef John and the Mexican house-keeper Flor interact, John repeats a Spanish word, *engreído*, i.e. “smug”, just uttered by the woman during an argument with him, to enter gradually into Flor’s linguistic, and therefore sociocultural, Mexican dimension (Example 16).

Example 16

Flor	<i>Engreído.</i>	<i>Engreído.</i>	<i>Engreído.</i>
John	Oh, boy, <i>engreído</i> is gonna be rough.	Oh mamma, <i>engreído</i> mi sa che è tosto.	Oh my God, I think <i>engreído</i> is rough.

L3 third culture moral values are often evoked to create a common ethical dimension shared by both partners in interethnic couples; this can be seen in the British romantic drama *AFK*, where Casim often uses Punjabi terms to explain the meaning of some important Pakistani principles to his Glaswegian girlfriend Roisin, as is the case when he talks about *zakah* (Example 17).

Example 17

Casim	Exactly. There’s still so much I’m proud of. D’you know what <i>zakah</i> means?	Esattamente e ci sono molte altre cose di cui vado fiero. Sai cosa significa <i>zakah</i> ?	Exactly and there are many other things I’m proud of. Do you know what <i>zakah</i> means?
Roisin	((shakes her head))	((shakes her head))	((shakes her head))
Casim	It’s when you give a percentage of your income to the poor.	È quando dai una percentuale dei tuoi averi ai poveri.	It’s when you give a percentage of your income to the poor.

The linguacultural and emotional assimilation achieved by the members of interethnic couples when they refer to L3 cultural specifics is also realized when

the families of the two partners are involved in the interactions and the L3s they use are always left unaltered in the films' Italian dubbed version. For instance, in the American romantic comedy *OFW*, during a meeting between Lucia's Mexican relatives and Marcus' American parents, Lucia's father translates into English what Lucia's grandmother explains in Spanish about a tradition used in Mexico for wedding ceremonies and he maintains the Spanish term *padrinos* clarifying its meaning in English/Italian (Example 18).

Example 18

Lucia's father	She is saying that in the Mexican tradition the <i>padrinos</i> , or the godparents basically, pay for the wedding.	Sta dicendo che, nella tradizione messicana, i <i>padrinos</i> , che in pratica sono i padrini, pagano il matrimonio.	She is saying that, according to the Mexican tradition, the <i>padrinos</i> , who are basically the godfathers, pay for the wedding.
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In the same film, during Marcus and Lucia's wedding ceremony, the priest uses English to address the African American and the Mexican members of the two families attending the rite but he uses Spanish to quote the original names of some items traditionally used during weddings in Mexico (Example 19).

Example 19

Priest	May we have the <i>arras</i> ? Symbolizing mutual protection in the material world. [...] May we have the <i>lasso</i> ? This <i>lasso</i> symbolizes eternal love.	Potete portare le <i>arras</i> ? Che simboleggiano la protezione reciproca nel mondo materiale. [...] E adesso il <i>lasso</i> . Questo è il simbolo dell'amore eterno.	Can you bring the <i>arras</i> ? That symbolize mutual protection in the material world. [...] And now the <i>lasso</i> . This is the symbol of eternal love.
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As highlighted in Examples 12-19, the direct transfer of L3 ethnographic elements to the L2 where interethnic couples and encounters are concerned allows the target audience not only to fully experience the original sociolinguistic filmic context but also to better understand the characters' cross-cultural relationships within which, as observed, linguistic integration proves to be the correlative of sociocultural and emotional integration.

2.2 Spirituality and religion

In the corpus of films, L3 references to the spiritual and religious sphere commonly occur (46 total items) in cross-cultural communicative contexts to create a shared spiritual dimension and are maintained unaltered in the films'

Italian dubbed version. Some particularly interesting examples can be seen, for instance, in *EPL* and *MBB*. In *EPL*, when Liz arrives at the *guru*'s sanctuary in India, the *guru*'s devotee, in showing her the *ashram*, uses the Hindu word *seva* (3 total occurrences), explaining in English that it refers to “selfless devotional work” (Example 20).

Example 20

Man	Change into your work clothes. I'll take you to your <i>seva</i> . It's a Hindu word for “selfless devotional work”. It's required for everyone who stays.	Se ti metti gli abiti da lavoro ti porto nel tuo <i>seva</i> . È una parola Hindi, per il “disinteressato lavoro di preghiera”. È richiesto a tutti quanti qui.	If you put your work clothes on I'll take you to your <i>seva</i> . It's a Hindu word for “selfless devotional work”. It's required for everyone here.
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In the same film, another reference to the spiritual sphere is made by Felipe when he compares Liz and himself to *antevasins*, a Sanskrit term referring to a person who lives at the edge of the forest to seek spiritual enlightenment (Example 21).

Example 21

Felipe	I knew it. We are both <i>antevasins</i> , my dear.	Lo sapevo. Siamo tutti e due <i>antevasins</i> , mia cara.	I knew it. We are both <i>antevasins</i> , my dear.
Liz	What is that?	Che vuol dire?	What does it mean?
Felipe	<i>Antevasins</i> is... It's an in-between. It is the one who lives by the border... because they renounce to the comfort of family life in order to seek “enlightment”.	<i>Antevasins</i> è... uno che sta in mezzo. È quello che vive sul confine... sono quelli che rinunziano a un conforto della vita di famiglia per cercare la “illuminazione”.	<i>Antevasins</i> is... one that stands in-between. It is the one who lives by the border... they are those that renounce to the comfort of family life in order to seek “enlightment”.

Likewise, in the American Indian romantic drama *MBB*, when Reena and Alex meet for the first time, Reena defines destiny with its original Sanskrit form *karma* (Example 22), a term previously unknown to Alex, but which he himself then uses (Example 23), thus building a linguistic and ideological bridge between their two worlds only apparently far apart.

Example 22

Reena	I'd say if meeting me was predestined by your <i>karma</i> that would mean it was my <i>karma</i> as well.	Diciamo che se incontrarmi era scritto nel tuo <i>karma</i> , allora questo significa che era scritto anche nel mio.	Let's say that if meeting me was written in your <i>karma</i> then this means it was written in mine too.
[...]			
Reena	I'll tell you what. I'll be at the same caffè at the same time tomorrow, if you are there then it was our <i>karma</i> to meet again.	Ti faccio una proposta. Io sarò nello stesso caffè, alla stessa ora, domani. Se ci sarai anche tu il nostro <i>karma</i> avrà deciso per noi.	I make you a proposal. I'll be at the same caffè at the same time tomorrow, if you will be there too then our <i>karma</i> will have decided for us.

Example 23

Alex	<i>Karma</i> , destiny... before Reena I'd never thought on these terms.	<i>Karma</i> , destino... prima di Reena non avevo mai usato questi termini.	<i>Karma</i> , destiny... before Reena I'd never used these terms.
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2.3 Geographical landmarks and places of worship

Other L3 culture-bound terms often used to overcome ethnolinguistic barriers in cross-cultural contexts are represented by geographical references (10 total items), always left unaltered in both versions to convey the local distinctiveness of the places the characters either find themselves in or come from, as we can see, for instance, in *EPL*, when Felipe shows Liz a religious temple in Bali and uses its original name, "*Pura Melanting*" (Example 24), to further plunge the American woman into the magical Indonesian atmosphere.

Example 24

Felipe	It's beautiful, no? It's <i>Pura Melanting</i> , which means "temple of prosperity".	È bello, eh? È <i>Pura Melanting</i> , che significa "tempio della prosperità".	It's beautiful, no? It's <i>Pura Melanting</i> , which means "temple of prosperity".
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Similarly, in the American comedy-drama *SP*, Deborah mentions the *barrio*, i.e. the "district" of Carbon Beach where her family owns a summer house, using Flor's 'language of the heart' to convince her to live there with them working as a full-time nanny and housekeeper (Example 25).

Example 25

Deborah	Oh come on [...] Double come on. The <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach, the <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach.	Beh ma dai [...] Ti prego, ti straprego. Voglio dire, il <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach, il <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach.	Well come on [...] Please, double please. I mean. The <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach, the <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach.
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L3 geographical terms are also sometimes taught to ‘foreign’ characters, as we can notice in *MLIR* when Georgia, leading a tour around Greece with her assorted group of tourists, quotes Greek terms relevant to such Greek landmarks (4 items) as *tholos* and *agora* (Example 26).

Example 26

Georgia	We are now walking through the <i>tholos</i> . Say it with me? Anyone? Okay. The Greek word <i>agora</i> means a place of gathering and, in ancient times, this was the heart of Athenian life.	Ci troviamo ora nel <i>tholos</i> . Volete dirlo insieme a me? Nessuno? D'accordo. La parola greca <i>agora</i> significa luogo di raduno e, nei tempi antichi, questo era il cuore della vita ateniese.	We now find ourselves in the <i>tholos</i> . Do you want to say it with me? Anyone? Okay. The Greek word <i>agora</i> means place of gathering and, in ancient times, this was the heart of Athenian life.
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This also occurs with relation to institutions such as the *nosocomio* (2 items, Example 27), Greek for “hospital”.

Example 27

Georgia	And the Greek word for hospital is <i>nosocomio</i> , say it with me...	E in greco ospedale si dice <i>nosocomio</i> , ditelo con me...	And in Greek hospital is called <i>nosocomio</i> , say it with me...
Tourists	<i>Nosocomio</i> .	<i>Nosocomio</i> .	<i>Nosocomio</i> ,

What we can observe by analysing Examples 24-27 with regard to the use of L3 geographical references is that, especially in films set in cross-cultural environments typically crowded with tourists, the meaning of many L3 references is explained in English/Italian within the same utterance, thus plunging both viewers and characters into the exotic dimension without impairing comprehension.

2.4 Linguistic flavours of ethnic dishes across cultures

Other ethnographic references extensively found in the corpus of films are those relating to traditional ethnic food and local products (92 total items), playing a key role both as icons of ethnic belonging and, therefore, of sociocultural

differentiation, and as important means of linguacultural integration; indeed, L3 culinary terms, always left unaltered in the Italian dubbed versions, function as powerful intermediaries in developing transnational and transcultural affiliations.

2.4.1 “I’m not going to eat that”: national identity vs ethnic identity in eating habits

In some of the films under investigation such as *MLIR*, *TBHMH*, *OWF*, *MBB* and *FRI*, L3 food references act as crucial tropes for the clash between different cultures to be observed when these ‘meet’ for the first time. This leads ethnic food to be assigned both positive and negative connotations according to the role it plays in the intercultural conflict the films’ characters are involved in. For instance, linguistic and culinary Otherness is initially considered in negative terms in *MLIR*, when Georgia offers her European and American tourists some *souvlaki* and they reject the dish preferring the “chicken fingers and French fries” served by an everything-but-Greek Hard Rock Café (Example 28).

Example 28

Georgia	It’s <i>souvlaki</i> . It’s meat on a stick.	Sono <i>souvlaki</i> . Spiedini di carne.	They are <i>souvlaki</i> . It’s meat on a stick.
Nico	Hey, hey. Come to the Hard Rock Café. It’s very Greek.	Hey, hey. Venite all’Hard Rock Café. Tipico greco.	Hey, hey. Come to the Hard Rock Café. Typically Greek.
Gator	Yeah, Hard Rock! Chicken fingers and French fries!	Sì, Hard Rock! Io vado, ho voglia di patatine.	Yeah, Hard Rock! I’m going, I fancy French fries.

American fast-food culture seems to win over traditional Greek culinary culture also in *TBEMH*: Muriel, who has just arrived in India, refuses to eat some Indian food that she considers as ‘strange’ also from a linguistic point of view and therefore as something to be avoided. As shown in Examples 29 and 30, in both the original version and the Italian dubbed version the Hindi terms are left unaltered and Muriel’s difficulties in pronouncing them seem to reinforce her disgust at them.

Example 29

Douglas	Would you like some of this? I believe it’s <i>aloo ka paratha</i> .	Vuole assaggiarlo signora? Dovrebbe chiamarsi <i>aloo ka paratha</i> .	Would you like to taste it madame? It should be <i>aloo ka paratha</i> .
Muriel	If I can’t pronounce it, I’m not eating it.	Non so neanche pronunciare il nome, figuriamoci se lo mangio.	I can’t even pronounce its name, let alone eat it.

Example 30

Anokhi	<i>Tarkha dhal. Chapati.</i>	<i>Tarkha dhal. Chapati.</i>	<i>Tarkha dhal. Chapati.</i>
Muriel	I'm not going to eat that.	Non ho intenzione di mangiarlo.	I'm not going to eat it.

Likewise, in *FRI*, when Alex's father quarrels with Isabel's father and each of them claims the supposed superiority of his own culture, Mr. Whitman derogatorily refers to Mexican culture by reducing its worldwide importance to that of *guacamole* (Example 31).

Example 31

Mr. Whitman	Culture? You call this culture? <i>Guacamole</i> and a ghetto blaster in the middle of a desert?	Cultura? E questa la chiama cultura? <i>Guacamole</i> e stereo a tutto volume sotto il sole del deserto?	Culture? And you call this culture? <i>Guacamole</i> and an all-volume stereo under the desert sun?
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L3 references to ethnic food are also used, in both versions of the films under study, to highlight the speaker's own sense of superiority over a different culture, as can be seen in *OFW* when Lucia's grandmother, the stereotypical Mexican *abuelita* ("grandmother"), defiantly asks one of Marcus' American friends, T.J. whether his mother can cook *huevoes rancheros*, a famous Mexican specialty (Example 32) unknown to T.J., who does not even understand its name.

Example 32

Lucia's grandmother	Can your <i>mama</i> make <i>huevos rancheros</i> ?	Tua madre sa fare <i>los huevoes rancheros</i> ?	Can your mother make <i>huevos rancheros</i> ?
T.J.	<i>Huevos</i> what??	<i>Huevos</i> che??	<i>Huevos</i> what??

A similar ethnolinguistic-culinary challenge can be recognized in *MBB* when Shekhar, Reena's boyfriend, advises Alex to try *masala* (Example 33), aware that this famous Indian mix of spices would be too hot for his American rival and therefore implicitly considering himself and Indian cultural/culinary traditions as superior to the American people and their food habits.

Example 33

Alex	I'm starving, what would you recommend?	Ho un po' fame, cosa mi consigiate?	I'm a little hungry, what would you suggest?
Shekhar	The food here is excellent... <i>masala</i> is a killer. That is if you have the stomach for real Indian stuff.	Il cibo qui è ottimo... il <i>masala</i> è il massimo. Sempre che tu abbia lo stomaco per il vero cibo indiano.	Food here is great... <i>masala</i> is the top. If you have the stomach for real Indian food.

2.4.2 Otherness served on a linguistic plate

In the corpus of films, ethnic food is also put on display when the filmic multicultural settings are world-famous tourist destinations, whose local specialties are representative of the identity of the place as well as of its locals, and also function as ‘linguistic charms’ attracting the tourists with their appealing exotic names. In the films set in Greece, in particular, Greek food recurrently takes centre stage, in both the original and the Italian dubbed version, as one of the main ‘tasty’ symbols of Greece; this can be seen in *MLIR* whenever tourists are offered mouth-watering specialties of Greek cuisine such as *loukoumades* (Example 34).

Example 34

Nico	Hello, beautiful people. I am Nico. For you, warm <i>loukoumades</i> .	Salve, bellissima gente. Io sono Nico. Eccovi delle <i>loukoumades</i> calde.	Hello, beautiful people. I am Nico. Here for you warm <i>loukoumades</i> .
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It is also present in the American musical comedy *MM!HWGA* when Tanya and Rosie taste *baklava*, the typical Greek dessert, for the first time (Example 35).

Example 35

Rosie	There is a lovely little food store back there. They’ve got this cake called <i>baklava</i> , which is layers of pastry filled with chopped...	C’è un banchetto molto carino lì in fondo. Vendono un dolce, si chiama <i>baklava</i> , praticamente strati ripieni di noccioline...	There’s a lovely little stand down there. They sell a dessert, it is called <i>baklava</i> , basically layers of nuts...
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In the same film, just before the reopening of her mother Donna’s hotel, Sophie tells Sam they have prepared tons of *moussaka*, considered as the most representative of Greek specialties worldwide and therefore as the most likely to attract tourists (Example 36).

Example 36

Sophie	There’s enough <i>moussaka</i> for millions, with <i>moussaka</i> to spare.	C’è talmente tanta <i>moussaka</i> da sfamare un paio di eserciti.	There’s so much <i>moussaka</i> to feed a couple of armies.
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In *TBEMH* and *TSBEMH* Indian food specialties are always sumptuously presented on the Marigold Hotel tables, alluring the British guests’ senses also from a linguistic point of view with their highly evocative names (Example 37).

Example 37

Evelyn	Sonny is conducting his own personal assault on our sense with the flow of exotic dishes he demands daily from the kitchen. <i>Mooli Moong Dal. Baghara Baingan. Banjari Gosht. Paneer Methi Chaman. Mutton Vindaloo.</i>	Anche Sonny contribuisce allo stordimento dei nostri sensi bombardandoci con piatti esotici che escono magicamente dalla cucina. <i>Mooli Moong Dal. Baghara Baingan. Banjari Gosht. Paneer Methi Chaman. Mutton Vindaloo.</i>	Also Sonny contributes to stunning our senses with the flow of exotic dishes that magically come out from the kitchen. <i>Mooli Moong Dal. Baghara Baingan. Banjari Gosht. Paneer Methi Chaman. Mutton Vindaloo.</i>
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Similarly, in the American comedy-drama *OHFJ*, Mr. Kadam stands by the door of his newly opened restaurant in Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val, the *Maison Mumbai*, and tries to drag French passers-by in by mentioning chicken *tikka*, an Indian specialty he considers as his restaurant’s visiting card (Example 38).

Example 38

Mr. Kadam	This is a new restaurant, we opened today. It’s an Indian restaurant. Great food. Chicken <i>tikka</i> .	Questo è un nuovo ristorante, abbiamo aperto oggi. È un ristorante indiano. Ottimo cibo. Pollo <i>tikka</i> .	This is a new restaurant, we opened today. It’s an Indian restaurant. Excellent food. Chicken <i>tikka</i> .
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2.4.3 Blending ethnolinguistic ingredients for cultural integration

As observed in Section 2.4.1, while ethnic food is sometimes used as a sign of cultural differentiation, it is also, and prevalingly, used in the films under investigation to reconcile the clash between two cultures, creating bonds across linguacultural difference. A significant instance of this is to be observed in *MLIR*, where Greek food acts as a symbol of acceptance of the Otherness it represents when, in the final scene, two American tourists appreciate the same Greek specialties they initially rejected, referring to them with their Greek names to prove their linguistic integration into a previously ‘different’, and therefore neglected, world (Example 39).

Example 39

Big Al	Great buffet, Angie. These <i>baklavas</i> are a riot.	Magnifico buffet, Angie. Queste <i>baklava</i> sono da urlo.	Great buffet, Angie. These <i>baklava</i> are a riot.
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Kim	I've got <i>benecoupola</i> and <i>dolmadas</i> and they look very good. Or, as they say in Greek, <i>kali kola</i> .	Angie, io ho preso un po' di <i>benecoupola</i> e i <i>dolmadas</i> e sembra tutto molto buono, o come dicono in Grecia, <i>kali kola</i> .	Angie, I've got some <i>benecoupola</i> and the <i>dolmadas</i> and everything looks very good, or, as they say in Greek, <i>kali kola</i> .
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Similar instances of linguacultural/cultural integration as provided by L3 ethnic food references can be found in *FRI*, when Alex dines with Isabel's family and particularly appreciates *tamales*, quoting the Spanish name of this typical Mexican dish (Example 40).

Example 40

Alex	This is terrific! The taste is amazing! You can't get <i>tamales</i> like this in New York City!	È veramente eccezionale! Ha un gusto, un sapore... incredibile! È impossibile mangiare un <i>tamale</i> così a New York!	It's really terrific! It has a taste, a flavour.. incredible! It's impossible to eat a <i>tamale</i> like this in New York!
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It is interesting to notice that in Examples 39 and 40 the terms *baklavas* (Example 39) and *tamales* (Example 40), in the plural form in the original version as already seen in Example 38, are rendered in Italian in the singular form: this is possibly due to the fact that Italian pluralization rules are not applied to non-Italian words borrowed from other languages as well as to a process of adaptation to Italian grammar assigning them, respectively, the feminine (“*queste baklava*”) and the masculine gender (“*un tamale*”) according to the gender of the hypernyms they refer to, as *baklava* is a kind of “*pasta sfoglia*” (pastry) and *tamale* is a kind of “*involtino*” (roll).

In *THFJ* ethnic food also plays a crucial role in uniting two seemingly unequivocally different cultural systems as the French and the Indian ones. In this film, the Indian chef Hassan carries on a key process of both culinary and linguistic integration as he creates unusual but tasty combinations when adding to French dishes different types of Indian spices, whose original names are perfectly amalgamated into the English/Italian utterances (Examples 41 and 42).

Example 41

Food critic 1	While it's only been a few months since my last visit, I was pleasantly surprised by the appearance of coriander, fenugreek and <i>masala</i> .	Erano passati solo pochi mesi dalla mia ultima visita ma sono rimasto piacevolmente sorpreso dall'apparizione di coriandolo, fieno greco e <i>masala</i> .	It's only been a few months since my last visit but I was pleasantly surprised by the appearance of coriander, fenugreek and <i>masala</i> .
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Example 42

Food critic 2	...glutinous sauce resonant of <i>tandoori</i> and this was a surprising triumph...	...una salsa gelatinosa con sentori di <i>tandoori</i> ed è stato un sorprendente trionfo...	...a glutinous sauce resonant of <i>tandoori</i> and that was a surprising triumph...
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To further favour cross-cultural assimilation, ethnic food and drinks are sometimes assigned healing properties, as can be seen in *FRI* when Alex, who had fallen into a cactus during a tour of the Mexican desert, is given *tequila* by Isabel's relatives to relieve the pain (Example 43).

Example 43

Isabel's cousin	He fell into some cactus. We gave him <i>tequila</i> for the pain.	È caduto su un cactus. Gli abbiamo dato la <i>tequila</i> per il dolore.	He fell into a cactus. We gave him <i>tequila</i> for the pain.
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One of the films that most extensively celebrates the therapeutic function of ethnic food is *TMOS*, where Tilo's Indian spices act as actual characters, figuratively bridging the gap between the complex culinary science of India and the American fast-food consumption culture. Throughout the film, the various spices are always referred to by their original names when Tilo explains their magical properties to her American customers and their names are always left unaltered in the film's Italian dubbed version, so we learn that: *brahmi* reduces anxiety (Example 44); *dashmool* improves one's memory (Example 45); *chandan* helps people forget the pain caused by sad memories (Example 46); *kalo jire* protects against evil eye (Example 47); and *garan masala* is given to sad hearts to give them hope again (Example 48).

Example 44

Tilo	He was nervous that day so I just gave him some <i>brahmi</i> leaves to chew.	Quel giorno era nervoso così gli ho dato foglie di <i>brahmi</i> da masticare.	He was nervous that day so I gave him some <i>brahmi</i> leaves to chew.
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Example 45

Tilo	It wasn't me, it was the <i>dashmool</i> , the herb of ten roots.	Non sono stata io, è stato il <i>dashmool</i> , l'erba dalle dieci radici.	It wasn't me, it was the <i>dashmool</i> , the herb of ten roots.
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Example 46

Tilo	<i>Chandan</i> , the powder of the sandalwood tree, that relieves the pain of remembering.	<i>Chandan</i> , la polvere dell'albero di sandalo, che allevia il dolore dei brutti ricordi.	<i>Chandan</i> , the powder of the sandalwood tree, which relieves the pain of bad memories.
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Example 47

Tilo	<i>Kalo jire</i> , black cumin seeds, protection against the evil eye.	<i>Kalo jire</i> , semi neri di cumino, protezione dall'occhio malvagio.	<i>Kalo jire</i> , black cumin seeds, protection against the evil eye.
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Example 48

Tilo	I'll give her a special blend of <i>garan masala</i> , for hope.	Le darò una miscela speciale di <i>garan masala</i> , per la speranza.	I'll give her a special blend of <i>garan masala</i> , for hope.
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2.4.4 Ethnic tastes f(l)avoring intercultural relationships

While Examples 39-48 clearly illustrate that L3 food references in cross-cultural contexts act as key means of linguacultural integration, it is also important to highlight the role they play as vehicles for emotional displays, as feelings are often kneaded into food and intercultural passions find their shape in tasting food typically belonging to the partner's culinary traditions. This can be seen, for instance, in *AFK* when Casim offers Roisin some *glab jamin*, a popular dessert in India and Pakistan, teaching her something of his own foodways also from a linguistic point of view (Example 49).

Example 49

Casim	<i>Glab jamin</i> and ice cream.	<i>Glab jamin</i> con il gelato.	<i>Glab jamin</i> with ice cream.
Roisin	<i>Glab jammin</i> .	<i>Glab jami</i> ?	<i>Glab jami</i> ?
Casim	No, <i>glab jamin</i> and ice cream.	No, si dice <i>glab jamin</i> con gelato.	No, you say <i>glab jamin</i> with ice cream.
Roisin	<i>Jamin</i> , thanks very much. What is it?	Grazie, ma che cos'è?	Thanks, but what is it?
Casim	<i>Glab jamin</i> and ice cream.	<i>Glab jamin</i> con il gelato.	<i>Glab jamin</i> with ice cream.

The same dessert is mentioned, though in one of its lexical variants, i.e. *gulab jamas*, in the romantic drama *BAP*, when Lakhi tries to conquer Johnny's heart by making him taste some Indian food typical of her hometown Amritsar (Example 50).

Example 50

Lucky	I'm going to take him for Amritsari fish, fruit cream and hot <i>gulab jamas</i> .	Menu a base di pesce alla brace, crema di frutta e <i>gulab jamas</i> .	Menu with grilled fish, fruit cream and <i>gulab jamas</i> .
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Love expectations as projected onto ethnic food are also fulfilled in *EPL*: indeed, when Felipe and Liz are at Bali local market, he offers her *rambutan*, fruits from Southeastern Asia similar to lychees, explaining how they taste using a simile that has amorous connotations (Example 51).

Example 51

Felipe	These are <i>rambutan</i> . They're delicious. It's like an orange made love to a plum. Would you like some?	Questi sono <i>rambutan</i> . Una delizia. È come se un'arancia avesse fatto l'amore con una prugna. Li vuoi assaggiare?	These are <i>rambutan</i> . They're delicious. It's like an orange made love to a plum. Would you like to taste them?
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Likewise, in *FRI*, during a dinner with Alex at his club in Manhattan, Isabel imagines that, if they were in Mexico, they would eat *albondigas*, a famous Mexican specialty often cooked by her grandmother (Example 52).

Example 52

Isabel	And if we were in Mexico we would be eating <i>albondigas</i> .	E se fossimo in Messico saremmo davanti a un piatto di <i>albondigas</i> .	And if we were in Mexico we would have in front of us a plate of <i>albondigas</i> .
Alex	<i>Albondigas?</i>	<i>Albondigas?</i>	<i>Albondigas?</i>
Isabel	They're this sort of meatball soup. My great-grandmother is famous for them.	Sì, sono una specie di polpette al sugo. La mia bisnonna è famosa per questo piatto.	They're a sort of meatballs with sauce. My great-grandmother is famous for this dish.

Most significantly, in the romantic drama *MM*, when Mina explains to Demetrius that she had lived in Africa and in England but never in India, her country of origin, she defines herself as a “mix *masala*”, an expression that Demetrius himself will then use throughout the film when addressing her (Example 53).

Example 53

Mina	I'm a mix <i>masala</i> [...] it's a bunch of hot spices.	Sono un <i>masala</i> [...] è un miscuglio di spezie piccanti.	I'm a masala mix [...] it's a mixture of hot spices.
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All the excerpts analyzed so far relevant to L3 food terms, maintained unchanged in both the original version and the Italian dubbed version of the films under investigation, illustrate that, if ethnic food initially divides, then it eventually brings people together in never-ending processes of ethnolinguistic, culinary and emotional hybridization.

Conclusions

What primarily stands out from the empirical comparative analysis of the original version and the Italian dubbed version of our corpus of films with regard to the presence of L3 culture-bound references in instances of intrasentential code-switching in multicultural conversational contexts, is that most L3 cultural terms are maintained unaltered in the films' Italian dubbed version (covering 95% of the total occurrences) when referred to with the main aim of joining different linguacultural dimensions; only a very low percentage of L3 cultural specifics are rendered in Italian according to such domesticating strategies (cf. Pedersen 2005; Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007) as pragmatic and/or referential equivalence, explicitation, cultural substitution (covering 5% of the total occurrences) and mostly when the L3 culture-bound terms are used by members of the same ethnic/immigrant community in in-group interactions as the linguistic correlatives of their ethnic identity rather than as tools of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic integration.

From both a cross-genre perspective and a diachronic perspective, retention of most L3 culture-bound terms in the films' Italian dubbed versions proves to be the prevailing strategy adopted for L3 cultural references independently of both the genre the film belongs to and its release date. This suggests that this non-translation choice mainly depends upon the ethnolinguistic specificity each film wants to convey to the target audience and integrate into their ethnolinguistic dimension. At the same time, it highlights a dubbing policy that goes against that traditionally adopted in Italy until the early 1990s of local standardization and domestication (cf. Ulrych 2000; Pavesi 2005), making "the translated text a site where a cultural other is not erased but manifested" (Venuti 1998: 242).

The final dubbed product thus displays a dialectical interaction between cultures and languages that hybridize without giving up their own distinctive traits (Wolf 2000), and it safeguards the linguistic interplay always brought to the fore in the films' original version, thus leading the audience, and the films' characters, to think outside linguacultural Otherness in a contact zone of betweenness characterized by linguacultural collective togetherness.

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*METALINGUISTIC AWARENESS AND TEXT DISSEMINATION BEYOND
LINGUISTIC BORDERS:
THE ROLE OF SELF-TRANSLATION IN THE MULTILINGUAL
CONTINUUM OF SOME MIGRANT WRITERS WITH ITALIAN DESCENT*

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When 'linguistically conceived, the concept of 'home' can be variously considered. It is a conflicting issue, with transcultural upheavals which, in multilingual contexts, lead to a journey of linguistically relevant and unconsciously consistent self-discovery. When texts are disseminated beyond the linguistic borders, some multilingual writers experience self-translation as part of their metalinguistic awareness and as a positive and cognitively significant advantage resulting from the multilingual context they live in. Given these premises, the present study investigates Gianna Patriarca, a writer of Italian background living in Canada. Her works will be used to show to what extent metalinguistic awareness, bi/multilingual proficiency and self-translating are correlated skills which redefine identity navigation between cultural and linguistic habits.

Multilingualism, self-translation, metalinguistic awareness, Gianna Patriarca

1. Introductory remarks

The homecoming discourse involves conflicting narratives and some sort of ever-shifting dynamic relationality strictly tied to writing memory and identity; it contains twisted trajectories which, though extremely charged emotionally and politically, are linguistically relevant. As such, 'home' cannot be defined only in geographical terms. It is a conflicting issue with transcultural upheavals and a "sensuous location" which, in all diasporic identities, is "a transnational borderland shimmering with the rhythms and tongues of multiple languages" (Dunlop 2005: 115). Undeniably, at present, the word 'diaspora' is used in a number of different ways: "as a social form, as a type of social consciousness,

and as a mode of cultural production” (Vertovec 1997 qtd. by Agnew, 2005: 5). Similarly, “the figure of the migrant is at once unsettled and unsettling, in-between hybrid/polyglot, and continually engaged in cultural translation and mediation” (Gready 2003: 135). Indeed, when ‘linguistically conceived’, the concept of ‘home’ can be variously considered: it may be the mother tongue, the second language(s) we go to when we leave home, and, finally, it may deal with the language(s) we would like to regain in case of returning (physically or by writing such a return). Whatever the case, many literary practices of multilingual writers make them embark on a journey of linguistically relevant and unconsciously consistent self-discovery. Such journey is sometimes reproduced by self-translation, a parallel writing in two languages and more specifically “from the language of cultural assimilation to the language of the heart of the ancestors” (Palusci 2011: 22). Thus, if metalinguistic awareness and its multidimensional nature can be measured in conjunction with “the ability to identify, analyze and manipulate language forms” (Koda 2004: 72), several strategies which are typical of multilingual writers, such as “functional separation, code-switching, simultaneous writing in two languages and self-translation” (Anokhina 2016: 549), reorganize a border-zone with implicit and explicit linguistic knowledge where texts are disseminated beyond the linguistic borders in which they were initially written. Likewise, it is arguable that metalinguistic awareness affects vocabulary size and language dominance as well as self-translating links “languages, literary traditions and cultural spheres” (Grönstrand 2014: 116).

In the light of these considerations, and focusing on multilingual migrant writers, one finds that metalinguistic awareness becomes an intriguing skill “in reflecting about the language which becomes the object of our thought” (Anokhina 2016: 549) and self-translation occupies a privileged position as “an authority over and agency in two texts that is available to neither monolingual writers nor literary translators” (Nannavecchia 2016: 160). Thus, multilingual writers may experience self-translation as part of their metalinguistic awareness and as a positive and cognitively significant advantage resulting from the multilingual context they live in.

Given these premises, the present study investigates a writer of Italian background living in Canada, Gianna Patriarca. Her creative fiction and self-translations start a literary journey home representative of some of the reasons why authors decide to self-translate, namely “the desire to find their real poetical voice, a search for a poetical identity, the necessity to widen their audience and the political role of promoting a minority language” (Nannavecchia 2014: 106). As language and translation have always been key issues in Italian-Canadian writing, Patriarca’s works will be used to show to what extent metalinguistic awareness, bi/multilingual proficiency and self-translating are correlated skills which redefine identity navigation between cultural and linguistic habits.

2. Multilingual practices and meta-linguistic awareness

By virtue of the conflicting demands of questions concerning identity, both first-personal and temporal dimensions of identity organize around problems of cultural assimilation and cultural preservation. The 20th and the 21st centuries have recorded an increasing number of multilingual cultures, bilinguals and polyglots. Moreover, since the beginning of the 21st century, the literary practices of multilingual writers have been variously discussed in terms of “translingual literature and imagination” (see Kellman 2000), “bilingual minds” (see Pavlenko 2006), “language memoirs” (see Nic Craith 2012) and “questions of identity” (see Besemeres 2002, and Besemeres and Wierzbicka 2007). Whatever the case, such a translingual ‘transaction’ is wonderfully attractive and highly instructive in terms of multilingual matters and metalanguage awareness and its multidimensional nature. In many respects, such a manipulation involves an exciting space for interdisciplinarity, where linguistics, sociolinguistics, translation studies, anthropology, literature and cultural studies explore the intellectual territories without any restrictive disciplinary border. Rather, this implies the challenge of investigating language as a way of belonging between language and cultural liminal spaces and feeling the narrative of self-interpretations an answer to experiences of change and fragmentation. This interconnection seems to open up a new research area, which – in Pavlenko’s words – may investigate multilingual practices under the light of issues of emotions and those “affective factors” (Pavlenko 2006: XII) which become relevant in language learning and the study of bi/multilingualism. In this respect, when considering the nature of linguistic awareness of German-Italian bilinguals acquiring L3 English through the application of think-aloud protocols, Jessner (2006) had already looked at their explicit or implied metalanguage from a multilingual perspective, by exploring, on the one hand, their lexical problem-solving behaviours and, on the other hand, by focusing on their main compensatory strategies as L3 acquirers, such as language switches, foreignization, coinage, and approximation. Today it is acknowledged that the relevance of metalinguistic awareness still balances between the concept of metalinguistic ability and its implications with bilingual and multilingual children learning. However, as Cummins pointed out, metalinguistic development generally means “to make the language forms the objects of focal attention and to look at the language rather than through it to the intended meaning” (Cummins 1987: 57). Though Cummins was essentially referring to children’s developments and awareness of some properties of language and their ability to analyse linguistic inputs, such an assumption may be considered as true in a large number of types of bilingualism and bilingual learning situations. Cummins himself, from Ireland, entered Canada as a “landed immigrant”, that is as a non-Canadian permanent resident, already

intrigued by Wally Lambert's talks about bilingualism and the newly founded and successful French immersion programmes in Canada. Thus, he could personally experience to what extent metalinguistic awareness is only one of the cognitive advantages resulting from living within two or more languages.

Accordingly, if metalinguistic awareness technically includes "phonemic awareness, metasyntax, metamorphology, and metasemantics" (Roth, Speece, Cooper and De La Paz 1996: 258), it can also be seen as a multi-factor model that children and bi/multilingual speakers acquire at different times and which is implicitly connected with how multilingual writers use their language resources "as not discrete skills but practices informed by personal and cultural stories" (Lorimer 2013: 168). This means investigating not only how writing across languages creates (language) awareness or sensibility, but also how multilingual writers use this (language) sensibility "to take action with writing in their everyday lives" (Lorimer 2013: 163).

3. *Self-translation, or language mediating the encounters between the Self and Other*

Many writers are compelled to write in a second or additional language and this may happen for various reasons (e.g. political, personal, symbolic). However, migration and mobility are central to today's new ways of life, whose hybridity redefines long-standing discourses of exploring new language use and contact. Indeed, as Nannavecchia (2016: 12) notes,

[m]ore specifically, despite the rise of studies focusing on the social and cultural aspects of migration that parallel the expansion of the phenomenon and the appearance of return migration, the relationship migrants and their descendants have with source and target cultures and languages as well as the important role played by language in mediating the encounters between the Self and Other are topics that have yet to be fully explored, and which could impact the way migration is perceived and studied worldwide.

For these reasons, research on self-translation seen as "a strategy for deconstructing monolithic models of translation" (Shread 2009: 52) has consistently grown over the last decades, as proved by the steady increase of conferences and journal issues dedicated to self-translation, e.g. *Quimera* 2002, *Atelier de Traduction* 2007, *Quaderns* 2009, *Oltroceano* 2011, *Orbis Litterarum* 2013, *Tradução em revista* 2014 (see Falceri et al. 2017). Moreover, though generally viewed as a minor or bizarre translating practice, there are many clear-cut examples of writers who decided to self-translate their own works. A few examples provide us with an interesting picture of how self-translating may be felt as a convincing language and literary practice. Consider for instance Samuel Beckett, working in French and English, and Vladimir Nabokov, who wrote in Russian and English; the French-American

Julien Green, who wrote in English and French, and the Indian Rabindranath Tagore, who used Bengali and English; André Brink, one of South Africa's most distinguished writers, who began writing in Afrikaans but after being censored by the South African government shifted to English, thus becoming published overseas. And finally, Nancy Huston, "a Canadian *femme de lettres* who lives in Paris and self-translates from English to French and from French to English" (Falceri 2014: 53). Actually, by resisting that sort of cultural narcissism when the passage from a minor to a major language occurs, self-translation opens up to a new poetics and a poetic inspiration of translating which, from Beckett to Huston, specifically deals with bilingual writing, exile, language and identity. Quite interestingly, Huston herself made explicit homage to Beckett with her *Limbes/ 'Limbo': Un Hommage à Samuel Beckett* (2000) transforming bilingualism and translation into a theme and Beckett into a character. As Goulart Almeida and de Vasconcelos Magalhães Veras report,

[t]his device makes it easier for the reader to understand part of the irony and references in this bilingual book, in which a bilingual character tries to define himself in two languages in an attempt to create a story, but fails. The narrator says, "I have found my own language at last, a language comprehensible to myself alone"/ "J'ai enfin trouvé ma propre langue, c'est-à-dire une langue compréhensible pour moi seul (30/31). And the narrator of *Limbes/ 'Limbo'* claims: "*Beckett, my brother, my foot. At last I feel (ugly word, feel) close to you. At last your language is limpid to my what, brain, heart, foot. If there are two languages, there are any number of languages and worse-the gaping gaps between the words... the absurd was invented by foreigners* (24-26, *emphasis added*)"/ "Beckett, mon frère, mon pied. Me sentir enfin (mot mochissime, sentir) proche de vous. Enfin votre langue est devenue limpide à mon, quoi, mon cerveau, cœur, pied. S'il y a deux langues, il y a une infinité de langues, et, bien pire, mal pire, les béates béances entre les mots (25-27)." The English version tells us, "with an addition to the French text that 'the absurd was invented by foreigners' (26). Thus, there is no 'limpid language', then, for this 'I' tied up in the limbo. (Goulart Almeida and De Vasconcelos Magalhães Veras 2017)

4. Italian-Canadian literature: a mosaic of languages and cultures, between national and individual identity

When talking about multicultural identities and bi/multilingual contexts, Canada has captured increasing interest in order to understand the dynamic representation of national and individual identity through language. Technically speaking, Canada is bilingual rather than multilingual:

[a]round 57% of the population speaks English as a first language and 23% French, with the remainder made up of immigrant languages and those of the indigenous

populations (Canada has eleven indigenous language groups that are found nowhere else in the world, and these are made up of around 65 distinct languages and dialects).¹

This, in turn, leads to the consideration of the Italian-Canadian literature as a hybrid space where culturally specific elements and vernaculars cling to the use of multilingualism and metalanguage practices.

Italian-Canadian writing is essentially born out of the need for “translating a set of cultural oppositions” (Baldo 2011: 163). Mainly written in English, French, Italian and some Italian dialects, Italian-Canadian literature began with Pier Giorgio Di Cicco (born in Arezzo) in about 1975. He was the first to realize that the possibility for a distinct body of literature did exist in Canada. As an editor for the Ontario Literary magazine, *Books in Canada*, Di Cicco became aware of a number of young writers of Italian background who were just then beginning to publish in literary magazines and with small presses. Thus, though the study of Canadian literature has always been quite problematic due to the clashes between the “newness of English language writing and the lack of contact with the older francophone tradition” (Pivato 1991: 12), within such a fragmented framework, Italian-Canadian literature has developed in a “random manner with writers across the country working in isolation” (Pivato 1991: 12). For many Italian-Canadian writers who switch “from one language to another as a narrative device” (Baldo 2019: 17), exile, memories and hopes are narrative concepts exemplified in a back and forth movement underpinned by their heterolingualism. In addition, and almost by accident, many of them ventured “into the minefield of self-translation” (Pivato 2020: 18) as a tool to explore and experiment with their own writing experiences.

Given these premises, translation and self-translation can be meaningful and primary “means by which culture is constructed” (Gentzler 2008: 4) and many Italian-Canadian ‘returns’ are narratively rendered through various code-switching experiences which overcome the artful working. From this, we can surmise that both poetry and narrative “afford the opportunity to apply metalinguistic problem-solving strategies to both sentence-level grammar and discourse-level coherence” (Francis 2017: 205) in multi-language works which blur the borders between writing and translating with new performances at a textual level.

5. *Gianna Patriarca: a split immigrant experience through the linguistic medium*

Gianna Patriarca was born in Ceprano, Frosinone (Italy), and emigrated to Canada in 1960 as a child. She is an award-winning author of several books of

¹ See *Language Courses and Language Services USA & Canada*, at <https://www.listenandlearnusa.com/blog/canada-multifaceted-multicultural-multilingual> (last accessed on 13 June 2021)

poetry – e.g. *Italian Women and Other Tragedies* (1995), *Daughters for Sale* (1997), *Ciao Baby* (1999), *Invisible Woman* (2003), *What My Arms Can Carry* (2005), *My Etruscan Face* (2007), *To the Men Who Write Goodbye Letters* (2020) – a children’s book, *Nonna and the Girls Next Door* (2004), and a collection of stories inspired by the lives of Italian-Canadian women living in Toronto from the 1960s onwards, *All My Fallen Angelas*, published by Inanna Publications in 2016. Her work is extensively anthologized in Canada, Italy and the USA and has been adapted for Canadian Stage and CBC radio drama and featured in numerous documentaries. *Italian Women and Other Tragedies* is in its 4th printing and the poems (originally written in English) have been self-translated into Italian with the title *Donne Italiane ed altre tragedie* in 2009 and launched at the University of Naples Orientale and in Bologna. She is currently completing a new book of poems, *This Way Home*, and continues to work on her novel, *The Sicilian’s Bride*. Her poems and short fictions cover a wide range of migrant women’s experiences: from loneliness and disappointment to mothering and marriage (arranged or not, loving or violent); from friendship to returning with loving memories and dreadful moments strictly tied to the cultural clash she lived as a migrant. As a whole, her books provide the reader with a sense of Toronto’s Italian immigrant community in its urban landscape, housing, social life, work and education options, being often humorous, sometimes tragic, but always convincingly human. Once in Canada, Patriarca’s parents started working in factories being busy all day. Consequently, she perceived a sort of deterioration of the affective ties. Since then, she decided to reshape her own multilingual and multicultural identity through writing, drawing on a sort of “semiotic of ethnicity” (Tamburri 1998) which chronicles a gender experience of the narration, matched to a deep awareness of what a tear a lost language can cause, as in the poem “Language” and in its self-translated Italian version “Lingua”:

When my mother died/ so did our language/ the one we spoke/ each day at the kitchen table/each night by the hum of the television/ on the telephone between visits/ the language/ that dropped /from the open window above/ her garden/ while she pruned and tied and watered/ an old language/ perfect for prayers she whispered/ songs she sang/ it lived between us/ like the child we both loved/ now I must slide my fingers over this/ miracle of technology/ to hear her voice again/ this new world has no need for /old languages/ but while here I will hold it safe/ in the limbo of my gut.

Quando è morta mia madre/ è morta anche la nostra lingua/ quella che parlavamo ogni giorno/ insieme/ ogni giorno al tavolo in cucina/ ogni sera sotto il sospiro della televisione/ al telefono/ quella lingua che scappava/ dalla finestra e arrivava in giardino/ mentre piantava, annaffiava/ era una vecchia lingua/ perfetta per le preghiere che recitava/ e le canzoni che cantava/ una lingua che viveva fra noi/

*come quella bimba che amavamo/ ora devo scivolare le dita/ su questo miracolo di tecnologia/ per sentire la sua voce/ questo nuovo mondo non ha bisogno/ di vecchie lingue/ ma mentre sono qui/ la mantengo sicura/ nel limbo del mio ventre.*²

Speaking in terms of the passage from one language-culture to another, Patriarca sets up her own “hyphenation”³ (read “in-betweenness”), whose autobiographical bent typifies many American writers of Italian origin who feel language as an ideological medium, a postmodern mask. Within such a framework, the gender dilemma (Tamburri 1994: 331) remains predominant and crosses the whole *Italian Women and Other Tragedies*, with women as second-class citizens in a “pro-masculinist, bicultural Italian/Canadian world” (Tamburri 1994: 331). Indeed, there are countless reasons why Italian immigrant women may have felt loneliness and displacement when entering the American and the Canadian context. Men were everywhere and the migration process was even discouraged for those women supposed to be in trouble with a new and independent life.

In the poem “College Street, Toronto” she tells her “Canadian odyssey” (Patriarca 1994: 28)⁴ strictly tied to her difficult relationship with her father, identifying the patriarchal component of a hardworking though masculinist society represented by the man and other “homeless, immigrant dreamers/ *bordanti*/young, dark/handsome and strong/bricklayers/carpenters/gamblers” (Patriarca 1994: 28). The reverse of the medal was the overseas exodus of Italian women, from Friuli to Sicily, slowly floating across the Atlantic, as objects in a cargo hold. A migration “of wives and children/trunks and wine glasses/hand stitched lines in hope chests” (Patriarca 1994: 29).

In Spagnuolo’s words, “[h]er father’s refusal of her literary activity can be seen as a denial of her possibility to express her voice. By becoming a writer, Patriarca realises herself beyond the personal and professional expectations for Italian women. Moreover, she openly uses her writing as an instrument of self-affirmation and self-recognition” (Spagnuolo 2019: 7).

Lingering between her three languages (English, Italian and the *ciociaro* dialect spoken in the rural area of Lazio known as Ciociaria) she enacts a split immigrant experience through the linguistic medium which benefits from the typical features of metalinguistic awareness, such as morphological and lexical responsiveness and receptive and expressive vocabulary size. In the light of these considerations, codeswitching and self-translation are language

² See the poem “Language” and its Italian translation “Lingua” in G. Patriarca 2020.

³ Daniel Aaron proposed the notion/metaphor of “hyphenation” as a critical threshold of new ethnicity movements with broad literary and social implications related to new coming and acceptance from an established community. See his “The Hyphenate Writer and American Letters”, *Smith Alumnae Quarterly* (July 1964) 213-217; later revised in *Rivista di Studi Anglo-Americani*, 4-5 (1984-85), 11-28 and in Tamburri, (1991).

⁴ The poem is also quoted in J. Pivato (1998: 73).

phenomena with specific meanings, functions and ideological connotations (e.g., a non-linear syntax is deliberately used as a narrative technique). As Tamburri (1994: 334) notes,

[w]ithin a framework of seemingly direct language combined with her use of gut-wrenching imagery, Patriarca succeeds in portraying problematic situations of human interactions: more specifically gender issues and family relationships. Whereas narration, in both prose and poetry, tends to be more descriptive than expressive, Patriarca's narration maintains its descriptive component while adding an explicitly expressive one.

Such an ideological dimension of language is even increased in the cases where code switching sounds as *intentional* and a sort of linguistic estrangement is provoked by some Italian words dispersed by the author in the English text, aiming at increasing “the level of alienation of the Canadian reader, thus stressing that he/she is not part of that cultural heritage” (Spagnuolo 2019:10). Two cases can be mentioned, among others: the first from the poem “Mother tells me stories”, where her mother calls her *bimba* (Patriarca 1994: 42) instead of “little girl” whose conceptualization can only be inferred from a cross-linguistic repertoire with borrowings representing a truly contact-related language exchange between the writer and reader:

Her eyes/ are always wet/ as she calls me/ *bimba*.

The second example is from the poem “Femmina” (Patriarca 1999: 78) dealing with her “female” birth as something she had to apologize for due to the preferential treatment to boys:

her older brother calls her/ *femmina*/ it is the one world in Italian/he knows perfectly well/ her brother is a bright young man/with a promising future/ his respected Catholic Boys School/ has given him awards and scholarships/ he works hard/ he studies hard/ but his clean white and blue uniform/ is often impeccably ironed by the/ *femmina* of the house.

In “Mother tells me stories”, Patriarca

refers to ‘mother’, rather than ‘my mother’, which would sound more natural and correct in English. In doing so, she denies the mother any connotation of specificity and uniqueness, and redefines their relationship as generic and impersonal. (Spagnuolo 2019: 9)

Rather, there is an implicit rejection of many referential meanings favouring the inferential ones voiced through her bi/multilingualism. At the heart of this complex intercultural interactions are various agents: memories repertoires, national or regional traditions, and languages’ “dependencies” which are absolutely vital to a language “that is first/ second and last/ a language our

spirit/ will understand” (Patriarca 1999: 82-83). As such, this intimately fragmented multilingual attitude is clearly introduced in the poem “Second language” (Patriarca 1999: 82-83), a real manifesto of her *moving texts* and identity navigation.

Each language I speak
Is a second language

There is a dialect
I understand my mother by

There are words I write
In English that my husband edits

There is a sound in my head
That sings my grandmother’s songs

There is a language my heart speaks
That even I cannot translate

But language is always an issue

And I want to give you a voice
Such a voice to be envied
Spoken without error
Nouns and verbs in the proper place
They will be stunned by the strangeness
Of it all, with the perfection of it all
Your tongue unleashed like a wild
Tango erotico

And you will give me your hands
With all their imperfections
Open and waiting
I will read in them
The stories and poems
We will trade souls for a while
And again you will give me
The reason for listening
The reason for time and remembering
And I will tear a sheet
Of clean fresh paper from my head
Free to write you

In a language
That is first
Second and last

A language our spirit
Will understand.

To take the discussion a step further, if language is “an issue” – as in Patriarca’s words – it gives prominence to “the traces we leave” in life, simultaneously and according to a centripetal and centrifugal in-betweenness typical of multilingual contexts. These are largely significant directions since they validate memories providing bridges to a heightened awareness of one’s own multiple languages. Moreover, many times the diasporic dimension is swamped with the role of those regional dialects which allegedly become fictional ways home as in the case of Patriarca’s *ciociaro*, used in the poems “Dentr a sta’ cucina” and “Stamattina”, and then self-translated into English⁵. In Saidero’s words, [h]er desire to circle back to an oral language, buried in the meanders of her childhood memories, reveals her need to retrieve the semiotic dimension of language and to write in the rhythms of her body. (2011: 38)

It is a limbic relation between the Canadian and the Latian communities, which resists fixed categories within “an ongoing continuation and erasure of the original, a space for dialogue and playfulness where the poet and her readers can make sense of their plurilingual and pluricultural selves” (Saidero 2011: 39). Across national boundaries and emotional belonging, the *ciociaro* dialect and the Italian language draw an ‘imagined community’ which gives migrants the taste of a missed citizenship. It is a fictional personal story, a sort of “condemnation” wrapped in a “half drunk/and broken dialect” (Patriarca 2007)⁶.

6. Conclusion

In their narratives or poems, most Canadian authors with an Italian heritage, as Gianna Patriarca, enact an intentional codeswitching which

⁵ See the poems “Dentr a sta’ cucina” and “Stamattina” published in *To the Men Who Write Goodbye Letters* (Patriarca 2020). The collection also contains the English versions of the two poems, “Inside This Kitchen” and “This Morning”, self-translated by the author.

⁶ The original poem was written in *ciociaro* and clearly refers to the frustration of leaving home and revisiting linguistic upbringing as in the following excerpt: “(...) I legg le parole che si scritt/ e mi sent tant abbandunata/ perche’ sacce/ ca tu si uluto bene/ a na terra/ a ne paese si cunusciut na storia/ invece i me la/ so inventata/ e pure ste *dialett /mezz stuort e sturdit/ me fa capi’/ la mia cundanna*” (taken from *Sono ciociara*); “(...) I read the words you write and/ feel abandoned one more time/ because I know/ you loved a land, a town/ you have a history/ I keep inventing mine/ even this *half drunk/ and broken dialect/ I write /reminds me /how condemned I am*” (taken from *I am ciociara*, Eng. translation by G. Patriarca). Emphasis added.

becomes a tool of a sort of activism (political, feminist, behavioural, social, etc.). In all cases, the tensions and clashes between different cultural and linguistic worlds are linguistically rebuilt and expressed through the use of syntactic, semantic and phonological indicators pertaining to their minority language(s) (Italian and/or dialects). However, they also experiment with forms of self-translation, by celebrating writing and translating as new 'sites of belonging' where 'home' and 'away' negotiate identities in displacement with a self in relation, largely private but linguistically significant. Their learning to read and write in English is fundamentally metalinguistic "involving the recognition of functionally important elements of spoken language and their relation to the writing system, as well as the skills to map between the two" (Koda 2004: 72). Research so far seems to support those who claim that metalinguistic awareness in the multilingual continuum develops explicit attention, manipulation and representation of the language (see, among others, Bialystok 2001; Jessner 2006; Pawlak and Aronin 2013; Garret and Cots 2017). In the same vein, the investigation of the nature of the metalinguistic constructs may constitute some precious counterparts related to language correlations in the multilingual continuum. This means that, beyond the corrections of errors and the size of vocabulary handled by multilingual writers, there is a positive link between their language(s) awareness and their performances on different tasks.

As in the case of Patriarca's writing, the driving force of language learning, choice and use is socially and psychologically determined and the speaker's decision is a constant and daily shift between interior and external spaces, customs, behaviours and mentalities. Thus, potential, fruitful avenues for future research can widen the reflection on new migrants and their new linguistic environment as a consistent subject of study among linguists. The redefinition of the migrants' repertoires interspersed with language loss and language maintenance features new processes of language transitions of which self-translation is one of the most intriguing, as "it is a process of transition into a new language and a literary (re)creation of the migration experience" (Wilson 2017: 242). Moreover, if "self-translation is a new opportunity to recast and remake one's work" (Meng 2017: 3), it produces a new text-type, "an auctorial translation or hybrid text" (Klimkiewicz 2013: 190) which entails a sort of language nomadism dealing with the linguistic concept(s) of identity.

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TOURISM DISCOURSE MEETS MIGRATION DISCOURSE: GODFATHER PROMOTIONAL WEBSITES TO SICILY¹

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In recent years, film-induced tourism has promoted tours to film locations through various travel websites, focusing on the symbolic and cultural value that some tourists associate with their favourite film scenes. Among the film locations that have long fascinated tourists in Sicily, the *Godfather Tour* or *Mafia Tour* seems to have a particular cultural value for a specific target group of tourists: Italian-Americans. It is well known that the Godfather saga reflects the stereotypical image that Americans have of Sicilian-American immigrants, but also evokes traditional Sicilian culture and the feelings of Sicilian immigrants who, in reaction to isolation and in defence of their identity, have tried to achieve the American dream. Based on these assumptions, this paper deals with the contemporary cultural tourism referring to *The Godfather* film and the Mafia phenomenon in Sicily. It will be shown how the tourism discourse found in a selected corpus of American tour operators, promotes the film locations and recalls some scenes as something fascinating, evoking the identity of Italian-Americans through specific linguistic persuasive strategies.

*The Godfather, tourism discourse, migration discourse, Sicilian-American identity,
Tour itinerary*

1. Introduction

In recent years, film-induced tourism has been increasingly promoting tours of film locations around the world through several websites providing the essential tips on hotels, restaurants, attractions and whatever tourists can expect to see and visit regarding their favourite film. The pull factors for

¹ The two authors carried out the research jointly. Cristina Guccione wrote Sections 2 and 4. Tatiana Canziani wrote the whole of Section 3. The introduction and conclusion were written together.

visiting these locations often depend on a wide range of tourists' motivation drivers such as the special qualities of a landscape, self-identification with film characters, emphatic involvement, the symbolic and specific cultural value that some tourists attribute to their favourite film scenes (Riley and van Doren 1992; Kim and Richardson 2003; Connell 2012).

Among the film locations that have long fascinated tourists in Sicily, *The Godfather* or "mafia-tour" seems to be one of the most popular. Research has shown that Francis Ford Coppola's masterpiece represents the supreme expression of a specific typology of film industry that has contributed to stereotyping Sicilians at a global level, by associating them with organized crime and by fostering the Mafia phenomenon as a legend. This "interlinking" has proved to be a commercially successful formula, particularly in the sixties and seventies, when Sicily was linked to repetitive cycles of crime films that, especially in the American context, highlighted and confirmed specific features of Sicilian immigrants in different ways (Sindoni 2016). In the history of immigration to the USA, Sicilians have been stereotyped as people tending to be "clannish", characterized by a strong loyalty to their regional roots, their family cohesion and attachment to the religious celebrations of their native places, their respect for hand-made cooking traditions, their lack of modernity, their physical features and jargon, the specific and recurring roles of women and mothers within their communities. Moreover, among these cultural aspects, the initial tendency of Sicilian immigrants to be clannish and their resistance to becoming an integrated part of American life have made native Americans and other immigrants believe that Sicilian migrants were destined to remain in ignorance, poverty and isolation. These beliefs limited the work and educational opportunities of most Sicilians who, labelled as dirty, diseased, political rebels, were also accused of introducing the Mafia into the United States.

The paper focuses on the current cultural tourism associated with *The Godfather* film and the Mafia phenomenon in Sicily. It aims at showing how the tourism discourse of *The Godfather* or "mafia-tour" of our selected corpus promotes the film locations and recalls some scenes as something fascinating by evoking, in our opinion, the identity of a specific target of tourists: the Italian-Americans. It is not by chance that most of the travel agencies that include *The Godfather* tour in their trips to Sicily have their headquarters in the USA, and in particular in those regions – such as New York, New Jersey, California, Massachusetts – listed among the first ten states for the greatest number of Italian-American inhabitants or Americans with Italian heritage, representing a significant percentage of their whole population.

On the basis of these assumptions, it is worth bearing in mind that the Mafia phenomenon has always attracted tourists visiting Sicily out of curiosity or perhaps fear, inducing them to ask questions on what Mafia is

really like, how it operates, what damage it has caused and to what extent it is dangerous to walk along Sicilian roads as opposed to along the roads in the rest of the world. Nevertheless, recent efforts of tourist operators or local anti-mafia organizations, like *Addio Pizzo*, deserve to be mentioned because they are promoting a different image of Sicily and Sicilians by highlighting the natural and breath-taking landscapes and the historical and cultural resources that Sicily offers. Tourist operators and travel agencies more and more frequently list Mafia-free hotels, restaurants and other tourism facilities the owners of which are members associated to the above-mentioned *Addio Pizzo*. So, websites, such as ADDIO PIZZO TRAVEL, are official pioneers of an “ethical tourism for those who say No to the Mafia” by organizing trips which invite visitors to discover what Sicily really is from a naturalistic and cultural standpoint.

In addition, many itineraries of the island include special briefings in which experts explain how Sicilians and in particular people from Corleone (the birthplace of the most recent Mafia bosses) are reacting against organized crime. Travel agencies, for example, promote one day trips to the CIDMA, the Mafia and Anti-Mafia Centre, created in 2000 in Corleone, where local guides invite tourists to “truly understand what the Mafia is and has been, by taking a journey throughout history from its beginning to the current day” (CIDMA). Not by chance, a post of the CIDMA homepage underlines the “authenticity” (Dann 1996) of the centre’s work, stating that “guides are all local, which makes what we share with you not just a story we tell but something we have experienced” (CIDMA).

Although recent tour operators and local Sicilian organizations have focused their attention on rebuilding the image of a Sicily fighting against the Mafia, *The Godfather* film has undoubtedly contributed to giving a distinctive mark to an entire generation of Sicilian-Americans who have been stereotyped: at times they have been associated to crime and at other times to family traditions.

2. Bigotries, organized crime and the American Dream

Unlike what many people take for granted about Mario Puzo’s best-selling novel (2010 [1969]) and its 1972 American crime film, directed by Francis Ford Coppola, several scholars (Camon 2000; Hart 2007) have recently observed that *The Godfather* saga (henceforth the GF) encapsulated the ambivalent stereotyped image that Americans have of Italian-American immigrants, always swaying between violence and sentimentality. The film has amplified the mafia boss conditioned by the status of a migrant – Don Vito Corleone – who, reacting against isolation and defending his identity, pursues the

American dream (Messanger 2002; Warner and Riggio 2012). Coppola's successful formula, according to the literature, was to represent the ethnic prejudice against Italians as the main cause of the Mafia phenomenon, in a way that no other film on the Mafia had ever done (Warner and Riggio 2012: 224). Also, reviewers have underlined that Francis Ford Coppola succeeded in humanizing the Corleone family by mixing their illegal activities with some specific aspects of Italian-American culture that successfully induced the audience's sympathy: "the festive, colourful wedding scenes; the respect for traditional rituals; the warmth imparted by familial closeness; the sense of ethnic identity provided by Italian food, language, and music". Therefore, if "[t]here is no easy way to set the Mafia apart from the general culture it operates in [...] at the same time, the general culture is not identical with Mafia culture" (Camon 2000: 58). The figure of Don Vito Corleone, for instance, shows a mixture of qualities that makes him a human being: "he shows dignity, intelligence, and capacity for love equal to his capacity for cruelty", and "a set of values, beliefs, attitudes, prohibitions and 'ethical' behaviours" that combine his violence and illegal affairs with sentimentality (Warner and Riggio 2012: 220).

Another aspect that is worthy of note in both Puzo's novel and Coppola's film is the frequent occurrence of the word *business*. Whereas in Southern Italy the rise of Mafia has been historically linked to a virtual absence of the central state, in the GF both Don Vito and later Michael justify their illegal affairs as a mere question of business. Some examples are Don Vito and Michael's famous expressions "make him an offer he can't refuse", "it's not personal [...] it's strictly business" (see also Warner and Riggio 2012: 221). Hearing Don Vito's reasoning and considerations, we can foresee that in general the USA Mafia is a question of business, and it is well-known how business has always made the American dream possible. In Don Vito's actions we can see a Machiavellian conception of his being a Sicilian coping with American culture: business is the end that justifies the means, the excuse for everything (viz. the illegal affairs).

Italian-Americans have played important leading roles in business, politics, labour, art, music and entertainment. However, the GF concentrates on the negative side of Italian-American leadership, that is, its emergence at the head of *Cosa Nostra* and its criminal activities. According to Warner and Riggio (2012: 8), "the lack of Italian national identity for many southern Italians and Sicilians was replicated to some extent in the culture of the Italian-American immigrant communities." In particular, Sicilians frequented migrants from the same geographical area, showing little interest in interacting with other Italians, who wanted to integrate themselves in the American melting pot.

After their arrival in the USA, Sicilians usually contacted and followed leader figures known as *padrones* or *pappas*, who “seemed” to do their “utmost” to facilitate the migrants’ arrival to the new American environment. Actually, the *pappas* represented a significant barrier to the Sicilian assimilation into the American society. Taking advantage of the newcomers’ unfamiliarity with the language and the laws, these figures contributed to creating a dual identity among Italians, which was to become discrimination on the part of earlier immigrant groups such as German or North Europeans (Italians and Sicilians, in particular, were offered lower-paying jobs and were housed in squalid and overcrowded urban areas).

Regarding the GF, the book and the film are characterized by a complex moral dimension because they entail both an outside and inside view of the Corleone family of criminals involved in the Mafia business (Warner and Riggio 2012: 217). The protagonist, Don Vito Corleone, represents a figure of immense power, able to give the “redress” that American society itself could not, or would not, give to Sicilians against the injustice and prejudices they suffered in the new land. Don Vito’s network of relations is based on personal reciprocity: an agreement between him and his followers that allowed his clan to operate with a freedom denied by the regulation-dominated structure of the American society and the ethnic prejudice against Italians in the USA.

Don Corleone considered “keeping one’s word a sacred obligation”. When countrymen came to visit him, he established with them a condition of indebtedness, reserving to call upon them to perform specific tasks, if necessary. These tasks might be in the future or might in fact remain potential (e.g. the expression “that day may never come”). Several parts of the film show how Don Vito and the Sicilians are capable of serious discussions during their business meetings (e.g. between Don Corleone and his highly educated adopted son and lawyer, Tom Hagen). Furthermore, the film reveals strong family values and cohesion when, for example, Don Vito blames his adulterous elder son Santino affirming that “a man who does not spend time with his family is not a real man.” Although in any crime organization wealth and power come at an ethical cost, Don Corleone seems to follow an ethical code when, for example, after Bonasera’s request, the boss affirms “give this (affair) to Clemenza. I want reliable people, people that aren’t going to get carried away. I mean, *we’re not murders*, in spite of what this undertaker (Bonasera) thinks.” Moreover, when Bonasera enters the room, Don Corleone offers him a drink, and, on this occasion, the film scene suggests empathy, courtesy, and personal warmth (Warner and Riggio 2012: 217). Finally, the Don showed “a vague moral principle” (Clarens 1980: 287), “a strong moral stand against narcotics” when he stresses that the narcotics business is something dangerous that could destroy his family in the future and “once he agrees to the drug trade, it

is only because he gets the other Dons to control the business, keeping it away from children” (Warner and Riggio 2012: 220; Lewis 2010: 67).

In conclusion, this section, dealing with the main factors that characterized the Sicilian migration in the USA and the following success of Francis Ford Coppola’s film, provides the necessary background to understand how the tourism discourse of the GF or mafia-tours in Sicily evokes the identity of Americans with a Sicilian heritage in search of their origins.

3. Corpus and Methodology

Preliminary online research was carried out to identify the travel agencies that promote tourism destinations referring directly or indirectly to the scenes of the GF film. This first step revealed that most agencies and tour operators throughout the world, which offer trips to Sicily with a specific reference to cultural and thematic aspects of Francis Ford Coppola’s masterpiece, have their headquarters in the USA. Although this aspect could be taken for granted, considering the success of the American film and the recent increase of the film-induced tourism, an initial reading of some trip proposals revealed that tourism promotional discourse was not only strictly linked to the film scenes, but used to mix other aspects and persuasive strategies recalling some stereotypes frequently associated with Sicilian immigrants in the USA.

The American travel agencies and tour operators offering package tours in Italy were retrieved from the following websites: USTOA and TRAVEL STRIDE. These websites are pillars for those who are interested in travelling all over the world. In particular, USTOA is a non-profit professional association operating in the USA, made up of companies that provide worldwide service, while TRAVEL STRIDE, based in San Francisco, is the first USA site for package tours.

Texts were manually selected to meet the criteria established by Bowker and Pearson (2002). Accordingly, the texts were as recent as possible (last accessed October 2020); the tours considered were promoted by agencies having their headquarters in the USA; also, the texts pertained to a specialised communicative setting (viz. tourism promotion) and were in full electronic format; and all texts were documents drafted by private travel companies. Finally, a further criterion for selection was added by the authors, namely the thematic one: package tours or private daily excursions included a visit to the GF film locations or referred to some themes of the GF in their itineraries.

From a total number of 400 travel agencies and tour operators offering tours in Italy, 41 tours refer to the GF locations explicitly and there are 16 regular tours (included in priced and package tours), 18 optional tours and 7 excursion proposals; 12 regular tours offer a day trip to Corleone and its

CIDMA museum (see Table 1) and often refer to the Corleones or better Godfather family. Finally, although this study does not focus on actual Mafia tours, it is worthy of note that the same agencies offer seven package tours, which include lectures on Mafia and in two cases the visit to Capaci (where the judge Falcone and his wife were killed by the Mafia).

<i>Tours</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Typology of tours</i>
41	Godfather locations	Regular 16 Optional 18 Excursion proposals 7
12	Corleone	Regular

TABLE 1. Corpus results

Except for the excursion proposals, all the tours are included in package tours lasting several days. The package tour represents one of the largest segments of the worldwide travel industry, since it makes tourism consumption accessible to a huge number of mass tourists (Chen et al. 2016). Indeed, they are pre-arranged guided tours organised by tour operators which have fixed departure dates and daily excursions or a set of attractions (Maci 2013).

Excursion proposals are also package tours and special-interest one-day tours offered by travel agencies to visitors who decide to visit a specific destination autonomously. Regular, optional and excursion proposals all belong to the itinerary genre, but have different promotional/persuasive purposes. Optional tours and excursion proposals are, indeed, more promotional, since their aim is to convince tourists to buy that specific daily tour.

Tour operator and travel agency web portals offer e-brochures or online versions of package tour itineraries, and in this way tourists, interested in a holiday destination, can access to online information readily available on travel websites, becoming web “tourist users” who choose what to read and not necessarily in the form of a printed text. Web portal texts are very similar to travel brochures, which are regarded as the tourist advertising text *par excellence* (Calvi 2009), since they describe a destination and tour packages with the intention of promotion. Hence, travel brochures – as well as package tour itineraries and daily trips – are promotional documents provided by travel and tourism-related services to seasonal travellers with the intention of promoting a specific destination (Weightman 1987). Finally, the communicative purpose of tourism brochures overlaps with that of package tours or excursion proposals, but there are slight differences: travel brochures

often start with a few accounts on the tour operator and the service provided, while package tours or excursion proposals describe the itinerary in detail (Jalilifar and Moradi 2019).

In order to analyse more specifically the tourism discourse employed by tour operators, we identified the textual structure (moves) of package tour itineraries. To the best of our knowledge, no study on itinerary move structure has been undertaken, although several have analysed moves and the structure of hotel homepages (Yaemwannang and Pramoolsook 2018), brief tourist information texts (Huang 2015), and travel brochures (Mason 2004; Ling Ip 2008; Luo and Huang 2015). Thus, given the communicative similarities between itineraries and travel brochures, the move analysis of tours has been based on Lou and Huang's move-structural model of a travel brochure (2015). Some moves in Lou and Huang's model (see Table 2) were adjusted to form a generic structure of package tour itineraries and adapted to the different tour types (regular/optional tours or excursion proposals), since our study mainly focuses on a specific destination: the GF tour.

<i>Moves</i>	<i>Generic structure of Tourism brochure</i>
1	Attracting tourists' attention
2	Targeting the market
3	Establishing credentials
4	Highlighting specialties
5	Detailing the tourist destination
6	Offering incentives
7	Providing service information
8	Soliciting responses

TABLE 2. Travel brochure move structure (Lou and Huang 2015)

According to our corpus data, none of the 53 daily itineraries consists of 8 moves altogether. From our findings, the generic structure of itineraries usually consists of the 5 following moves (see Table 3).

<i>Moves</i>	<i>Generic structure of daily tour itinerary</i>
1	Attracting tourists' attention
2	Targeting the market
3	Highlighting specialties

4	Detailing the tourist destination
5	Providing service information

TABLE 3. Generic structure of daily tour itinerary

As can be seen from Table 3, Move 1 has the communicative purpose of attracting the visitor's attention. This move includes the headline, subheading and an initial brief description or better definition of the destination. Move 2 targets the special groups interested in a specific excursion (i.e. film lovers). Moves 3 and 4 describe the destination in detail, by using a narrative and persuasive description of the main highlights and the historical and naturalistic values of these locations. Finally, Move 5 details the service (i.e. number-based information such as price, duration, pick-up and drop-off). The regular daily itinerary move-structure does not include Move 5 because this move provides service information such as prices and times.

3.1 Regular daily tours: Savoca, Forza d'Agrò and Fiumefreddo

The GF locations promoted by USA travel agencies and tour operators often include three main destinations: Savoca, Forza d'Agrò and Fiumefreddo. Savoca is the village where the meeting and engagement between Michael and his first wife Apollonia was filmed at *Bar Vitelli*, while Forza d'Agrò is the village where tourists can easily recognize the church where the couple got married. Fiumefreddo is the village known for its *Castello degli Schiavi*, the house where Don Vito Corleone was born and where his son Michael Corleone died. All the 16 regular tour itineraries which are part of our corpus include these three locations in their daily itinerary. Only one case involves a visit to the Teatro Massimo in Palermo and it is described as one of the largest opera houses in Italy and the setting where the final scene of the GF III was filmed (the murder of Michael's daughter).

As far as the textual structures of these moves are concerned, the headlines (move 1) of regular tours usually associate the visit to the GF locations – Savoca, Forza d'Agrò and Fiumefreddo – with the area of Taormina as immediately highlighted by most of their day tour headlines (i.e. *Taormina – The Godfather tour – Home hosted lunch, Taormina and the Godfather connection; Taormina-Savoca d'Agrò Valley*).

In Move 1, Dann's concepts of authenticity and strangerhood (1996) appear as the first driving motivations to enjoy the daily excursion when giving a brief description of the tour. The visit is, indeed, linguistically promoted as: "enjoy a once in a lifetime experience", "a truly and unique experience, a

wonderful day of discovery”, during which the visitors will be able to touch with their hands “the daily real life of Sicilians”, “the traditions of the Sicilian inland” and “the heart of Sicilians”. In one case, the headline directly recalls to the GF inviting tourists to accept “an offer they can’t refuse”, quoting Don Vito Corleone’s famous statement.

The audience is rarely targeted (Move 2) except for two agencies, which promote this tour as a visit for “both movie fans and those who are not lovers” of this movie, underlining the historic value of these villages. The narrative description of the highlights (Move 3) focuses on the most romantic and unforgettable scenes of the GF, such as the engagement between Michael and Apollonia at *Bar Vitelli* in Savoca, the festive, colourful scenes of their wedding in the Church of San Nicolò and the murder of Apollonia by a car bomb (*Castello degli Schiavi*, otherwise known as Corleone house). All these scenes, according to the literature, have successfully induced sympathy in most of the GF’s audience (see Section 2). These villages are described as unchanged over the years where “everything is just like in the movie” and where, although years have passed, family traditions remain so strong that *Bar Vitelli* is still “run by the family who owned it at the time of the movie”.

When describing the historical and naturalistic value of these locations (Move 3), Savoca and Forza d’Agrò are alternatively portrayed as out of ordinary and qualified as “rustic”, “unspoiled”, “old”, “ancient”, “picturesque and charming”, but also stereotyped as “sleepy” where “life goes slowly”, recalling the stereotyped reflection on Sicilians as people taking life easy. Local inhabitants are portrayed as people who “adhere to age-old traditions”, “give warm welcome” and “welcome you to share their tables for a traditional meal and conversation”. These portraits, in our opinion, go beyond the film scenes and recall the Italian-American identity by reinforcing the idea of Italian-American families who do not forget their roots (i.e. old-traditions), sharing meals in a cohesive way as a manifestation of taking care of their families and keeping them united.

3.2 Regular tours: Corleone “we’re not kidding! ... it’s a real place”

Among the regular excursions, Corleone is one of the scheduled activities of the tour packages. This daily tour is associated with the visit to the Anti-Mafia Museum as clearly underlined, for example, by the headlines (Move 1): *The Sicilian Mafia* or *The Dark History of Cosa Nostra*. If the tour to Corleone is generally featured as an anti-mafia tour, it is worth stressing that one of the headlines clearly recalls Francis Ford Coppola’s film: *Corleone (we’re not kidding! ... It’s a real place)*, stimulating the curiosity of visitors and referring to the Corleone Family. Also, this daily tour always includes a lecture on the Mafia phenomenon followed by a cooking lesson.

The highlights (Move 3) concentrate on Mafia, always defined as “the most famous social phenomenon in Sicily”. The town is never described from a naturalistic standpoint, but from a conceptual one. Corleone and Mafia are two sides of the same coin, and the town is described through dichotomies (i.e. past and present; life and death; good and evil), such as: “Corleone past and present or Corleone the birthplace of Mafia [...] nowadays well known for the fight against organized crime”. Moreover, dichotomies are governed by the use of war metaphors to explain the Sicilian effort “to eradicate” this social phenomenon (e.g. Corleone’s *fight against* the Mafia). To give another example, from EZ ITALY Corleone is the place where the Mafia is firmly “fought”; the tour clarifies “the way how Corleone inhabitants have taken to eliminate organized crime; how the people of Corleone are fighting back.”

From the above-mentioned examples, it seems that only Corleone (and not the whole of Sicily) is fighting against Mafia, probably because tour operators want to promote the value of Corleone as a daily trip. Last but not least, in a tour package, Corleone is defined as “the namesake of the family from the movie.” Also one tour operator mentions the village as the birthplace of “Tommy Gagliano, belonging to the Lucchese crime family who was one of the five (families) of New York.” Thus, suppose that, although Corleone was undoubtedly the place of birth or origin of several cruel Sicilian and American Mafiosi (i.e. Riina and Provenzano), the promotional tour discourse is by and large associated to the GF and the human aspects of the Corleone Family which, in our opinion, represent one of the motivating drivers to sponsor this tour.

Moreover, a large number of daily trips to Corleone – as above mentioned – include a cooking lesson at the end of the Mafia lecture, creating the association between Corleone, Mafia and Cooking. The cooking lesson is introduced as “interesting and accurate”, and it involves tourists (with their own hands) in the preparation of “genuine and traditional Sicilian dishes”, supporting the authenticity of the cooking lesson. Homemade food reminds one of the Italian-American migrants’ traditions and their food cult as a way of bonding the family. This love for cooking is, also, a key concept in the GF, since it reinforces the idea of gang as family, such as when Clemenza (Don Corleone’s right-hand man) teaches Michael how to cook the traditional ‘red sauce’, he underlines that one day Michael will lead the Corleone family, and traditionally the head of a Family is in charge of feeding and supporting his family guys (*i picciotti*). Thus, the association of Corleone with a cooking lesson reinforces the idea of the negative and positive aspects of Mafia as represented in the GF: Mafia is crime, but Mafia is also family links and traditional cooking.

3.3 Optional tours: “An offer you can’t refuse”

With regard to the optional tours, our data show that 18 daily excursions

are usually included in 7–8-day itineraries. These tours leave the choice to the consumer to join or not a one-day trip to the areas where the GF was filmed in Sicily: Savoca, Forza d’Agrò and Fiumefreddo. There is no optional tour offered for Corleone. Therefore, the optional tours are usually associated with the area surrounding Taormina, metaphorically considered “the jewel of Sicily”.

On one hand, most of the headlines (Move 1) directly refer to the GF, on the other, they refer to the association of the film with Mafia and cooking: *Mt Etna, Savoca and the Godfather*; *The Godfather Trilogy Locations Tour: An Offer You Can’t Refuse!*; *Godfather vs Mafia tour and Sicilian Lunch* or *The Godfather Saga Tour*. Once again, tour operators quote one of the most famous sentences of Don Vito Corleone: “an offer you can’t refuse”, as they want to evoke the film scene, but also underline that it was not just a tourism offer, but something similar to a transaction offering tourists something so attractive that they are almost compelled to accept, because “It’s not just tourism...it’s strictly business!”.

Finally, one headline, *A walk in Old World Sicily* (COLLETTE), highlights the Sicilian world and its traditions, clearly recalling the Italian-Americans’ desire to know the real places from which their ancestors emigrated. This assumption is reinforced at the end of the advertisement itself, stating “this journey through the ‘past’ is sure to give you ‘the feeling of being in old-world Sicily’ and should not be missed.” (COLLETTE)

The audience is never targeted (Move 2) except for one case in which this tour is introduced as “of a particular interest to Godfather aficionados” (CONTEXT TRAVEL), probably because this function is fulfilled by the attractive headlines that often include a direct reference to the GF.

When tour operators describe the highlights (Move 3), authenticity and strangerhood (Dann 1996) represent the main pull factors promoting the GF daily trips. In general, Savoca, Forza d’Agrò, and only once Fiumefreddo, are sponsored as “the real and authentic locations of the Godfather sets.” As a matter of fact, the main focus is on the “charming Savoca” represented as so “authentic that the movies come to life before your eyes, delving tourists into the traditional villages that served as sets for the Godfather” and letting them “explore” “the real untouched Sicily and countryside, local life and culture”. Thus, on this occasion, the tourism discourse does not emphasise the romantic scenes evoked by the engagement between Michael and Apollonia or the colourful scene of their wedding as happens in regular tours, rather it focuses on the “unforgettable” experience to touch with their own hands the life of a “real Sicilian”, exploring “the rustic village life”, “the real untouched Sicily and countryside, local life and culture”.

The qualifiers describing these villages and their life as “untouched”, “hidden”, “rustic”, “traditional” call to mind the lack of modernity and the “agricultural lifestyle” that not only have encouraged sympathy in the GF’s fans

by stereotyping Sicilian immigrants and their way of leading life, but also recall the identity of the Sicilian-Americans in search of their roots and interested in discovering “the agricultural and authentic lifestyle”, voiced by their ancestors who continued to identify themselves with Sicily without forgetting their origins and delaying their total adaptation to the industrial New World. Only one optional tour leads the readers’ attention towards the Mafia phenomenon, as the following example shows: “Compare the unforgettable storyline of the GF saga with real-life Mafia History [...] You will also hear true stories from Sicilian Mafia clans and learn about their grip on southern Italy [...] a tasty pasta buffet at a typical *trattoria*” (ITALY STORY).

In this optional tour, tourists are given the opportunity to meditate on the difference between fiction (GF) and reality (Sicilian Mafia), but the reference to “Sicilian Mafia clans” and the association with a “*pasta* buffet” (already mentioned in the above headline) recalls some stereotypes referred to Sicilians in the USA: their tending to be clannish, their common association with organized crime, their ritual of gathering to enjoy cooking traditions.

Finally, when describing the historical and naturalistic value of these locations (Move 4), Savoca is the village mainly referred to, presumably because Savoca is “the home” of *Bar Vitelli* and the Church of St. Lucia where Michael and Apollonia got engaged and married. Even on this occasion, the discourse does not focus on the scenes filmed, but on the historical value of these places. Actually, Savoca and sometimes Forza d’Agrò are described as “remarkable”, “medieval”, “historical hilltop” villages with a “stunning view” and marvellous 15th-century buildings and listed among “the most beautiful borgos” in Sicily.

4. Excursion proposals: “a film bluff’s delight”

As stated above, in addition to the regular and optional tours referring directly or indirectly to the GF, the data contain seven excursion proposals that tourists can book independently. In general, on this occasion, the promotional discourse is clearly directed to those tourists who strongly desire to know the Sicilian locations of the GF film. For this reason, the promotional language details some of the film scenes, quoting marginally the surroundings of villages and their historical aspects.

With reference to the move analysis, the excursion proposal structure presents all the moves in order to attract tourists’ attention (Move 1), to target the potential tourist, such as film lovers through expressions such as “A film buff’s delight!” (Move 2), to promote attractions (Move 3), to describe tour itineraries and locations (Move 4) and to inform on the services provided (Move 5).

In some cases, the promotional discourse goes beyond the film scenes, referring to some stereotypes of Sicilians and Sicily portrayed by the film or passed on by the life and memories of southern migrants in the USA. It mainly happens when the focus is on the three towns chosen by the film maker to replace “the too commercially developed Corleone”: Savoca, Forza d’Agrò and Fiumefreddo.

Savoca is described as a “pristine”, “silent” and “undisturbed mountaintop town”, “perched on a precarious cliff”, which lets the tourist “ascend into the sky”, enjoying “stunning” and “dazzling” views, fabulous streets and the combination of tradition, culture and history. At the same time, Forza d’Agrò is presented as a “stunning hilltop” and “attractive medieval hamlet” modernized in recent years, but preserving the ancient town with “narrow streets and tiny houses”. Only one excursion proposal (EUROPEAN CONNECTION) includes a visit to Fiumefreddo, promoting the village as “the icing on the cake” of this interesting daily trip, during which tourists may even meet the owner of *Castello degli Schiavi*, “a member of the Sicilian aristocracy”, ready to entertain his guests with anecdotes on the filming and the cast.

Among the seven excursion proposals here analysed, those that arouse interest for this study are offered by the travel agency Marriott Bonvoy and by GAELA. The former underlines that Savoca and Forza d’Agrò are “must-see Sicilian hill towns well-known thanks to F.F. Coppola”, in which excursionists may have the opportunity to learn the real story, structure and development of Sicilian Mafia as well as the current anti-Mafia fight. Doing that, bizarrely enough, they can take pictures with an authentic Sicilian shotgun *Lupara* and they may even purchase Godfather souvenirs. Significant lines of Coppola’s film are also interspersed in the whole text to make promotional discourse more attractive. For example, readers are invited “to leave the gun, take the cannoli” at *Bar Vitelli* in Savoca. Also, when walking along the abandoned streets of Forza d’Agrò, if visitors ask where all the people are, well “they’re dead from vendettas!”. Once again, as happens for optional tours, in MARRIOTT BONVOY’s excursion proposal, the brief references to landscape and places describe towns as “stunning”, “unspoilt”, “unchanged”, characterized by “delightful” and “breath-taking” views, but also eliciting “the romantically rustic atmosphere and pastoral life” of old Sicily. Thus, more than in other promotions, it seems that the above-mentioned daily trip targets an audience who is undoubtedly fascinated by the GF saga with its contents, but also an audience that self-identifies with the film characters and local places, experiencing the life of a real Sicilian. These, in our opinion, may be only Americans with a Sicilian heritage, whose ancestors probably experienced the social “redemption” of Sicilian immigrants in the USA, successfully reproduced by Coppola’s masterpiece.

With regard to the latter, GAELA, which is an agency organizing weddings and events worldwide, the authors decided to list it among the excursion proposals because it is representative of a special typology of tourism, namely the *experiential travel*. The latter is a kind of tourism through which travellers want to deeply connect with the travel destination culture, people and history rather than just acquiring the knowledge of places. An example of experiential travel is given by the cooking lessons proposed in some of the above-analysed tours.

In detail, *Gaela, Weddings and Events Worldwide* – which realizes stylish weddings and honeymoons in Europe, North America, Australia and South Africa, whose headquarters are in Virginia (USA) – offers *The Godfather wedding. The Sicilian - An Italian wedding* ‘you can’t refuse (Move 1).

The special wedding is foreseen in the town of Savoca, which together with Forza d’Agrò, “retain(s) the spirit of old Sicily”. A traditional Sicilian *carrettu* will carry the bride to the tiny wedding Church of Savoca and to *Bar Vitelli*. Each place is described as original and authentic, but also ready to offer modern comforts and a beautiful panorama as well as a familiar atmosphere and traditional food. Promotional discourse lets the reader identify the Sicily of GF and the Sicily of present times, in which the old traditions represented by the movie are still maintained and respected. Indeed, the conclusive message “Now put yourselves in the picture and you have the perfect Sicilian wedding!” lets the reader intertwine the typical Sicilian wedding with the GF scenes and proves the writer’s intention to target an audience who wants to live a unique experience connected with the destination’s culture and history (experiential travel).

Conclusion

The tourism discourse promoting Savoca and Forza d’Agrò, or Corleone itself with its CIDMA, presents these places as linked to the most famous scenes where the GF was filmed in Sicily. Also, it regards Corleone as the place from which the GF family was known, where the Mafia phenomenon had its origin, really existed and is currently fought. In particular, the tourism discourse examined mainly refers to the past life and customs of these places, to family traditions, passion for home-made food and attractive places that mirror the “rustic” and “sleepy” life of Sicily in an authentic way. These are aspects that sometimes result in an explicit promise to experience the life of a real Sicilian.

In detail, in all the three types of tours we have identified (regular, optional and excursion proposals), the link to real or fictional organized crime usually goes beyond the film scenes and is often followed by a description of places.

There are no relevant differences in the communicative purposes of the move structure except for the headlines. Indeed, optional and excursion proposal headlines mainly focus on a direct reference to the GF themes, since their aim is to convince tourists to buy the additional tour. In all cases, Savoca, Forza d'Agrò and Fiumefreddo are promoted as "small unspoiled villages" where visitors can "discover the slow life and the traditions of the Sicilian Island". Most of the daily trips are also presented as a good chance "to explore the 'authentic' real untouched Sicilian countryside, local lifestyle and culture; the town [Forza d'Agrò] consists of traditional buildings and stone paved lanes that are impassable by car". In addition, potential visitors often have the possibility to enjoy cooking lessons or taste locally produced products such as *cannoli*, a *granita di limone* at *Bar Vitelli* or a buffet of different dishes, which on some occasions they learn to cook.

Thus, this research suggests that tourism discourse represents the cultural identity of Sicilian-Americans in search of their origin or looking for evidence of their ancestors' memories. The evocation of Sicilian identity abroad appears clearer in comparison with the general web tourism promoting Sicily, in which aspects such as the real old Sicilian world and life, pastoral life, rustic atmosphere of the above-mentioned villages, and finally the possibility to experience the life of a real Sicilian occupy a very marginal role, or they are even absent. Indeed, also in our corpus when the area surrounding Taormina – the Jewel of Sicily – is described, tourism discourse focuses on the archaeological, artistic and architectural heritage as well as the natural and breath-taking landscapes that Taormina and Sicily, in general, offer their visitors.

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*ITALIAN FILMS IN THE UK FROM THE 1940S TO THE 1950S:
STUDYING TRANSLATION AND RETRANSLATION PRACTICES
THROUGH NON-FILM MATERIALS*

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Moving on from previous studies and mainly relying on press reviews and specialised magazine articles from the British Film Institute National Archive (London, UK), this paper aims to offer an historical overview, albeit not exhaustive, of translation and retranslation practices related to Italian art films distributed in British cinemas between the late 1940s and 1950s. In opposition to mainstream English-language Hollywood films, in the post-war years, Italian-language neorealist and *auteur* pictures came to be seen by the British press and specialised audiences as art cinema mainly addressing young, educated and politically liberal spectators. Italian dialogues were an essential ingredient of what was perceived in post-war UK as the typical realism and *auteurism* of these films, and highbrow viewers generally liked to enjoy their authentic foreignness. These films were therefore distributed through subtitling in art-house cinemas. However, Italian art films that proved to be fairly successful or were considered to have greater potential than the narrow British art-house circuit, were subsequently retranslated and re-released in a dubbed version to help broaden their market. Film critics, however, did not show enthusiasm for the dubbed versions of art titles. Non-film materials, such as those included in the present study, may offer new insights into translation and retranslation practices from an historical point of view, while fostering interdisciplinary exchange between film studies, audience studies, and audiovisual translation studies.

Historical audiovisual translation studies; retranslation; non-film materials; film studies; audience studies

1. Introduction

As Munday (2014: 1) points out, in historical research methodologies, “extra-textual” sources are central to building what he terms a “microhistory of

translation and translators”. In the field of audiovisual translation, the reading and interpretation of primary sources, which also include “non-film materials” (O’Sullivan and Cornu 2019: 25), may indeed help to construct a social and cultural history of translated and retranslated films in a given historical context.

Although such sources are not of course produced for the purposes of the audiovisual translation researcher (Pérez-Gonzales 2014: 161), scholars increasingly use them to conduct historical studies on film (re)translation. In Spain, Gutiérrez Lanza (2007) relied on a wide range of non-film materials such as film dossiers and articles published by specialised periodicals selected from the archives of the Spanish Ministry of Culture to shed light on the censorial interventions applied to film translations during Franco’s dictatorship. Mereu Keating (2016, 2019) drew on non-film materials including correspondence, industry records, press materials, posters and programmes (from Cineteca Nazionale, Archivio Centrale di Stato and the Margaret Herrick Library in Beverly Hills) to explore the influence of Italian film censorship commissions over the dubbing studios and redubbing practices over the years. Zanotti (2019) more recently showed the importance of additional non-film materials, such as correspondence and notes in film scripts intended for translators and dubbing directors. The author relied on translation-related material in the Stanley Kubrick Archive (London) to trace the genesis of Kubrick’s translated films and the extent to which the director intervened in the production of the foreign-language versions. In the UK, O’Sullivan (2019) traced the history of film subtitling, basing her research on press databases, such as the Pacific Film Archive Cinefiles and the Media History Digital Library. By examining trade publications and newspaper reports, O’Sullivan established which films were shown in subtitled versions in London over the course of 1932, supposedly the year when the first subtitled films appeared in the UK.

Moving on from previous studies and mainly relying on press reviews and specialised magazines articles from the British Film Institute National Archive (London, UK), but also trade publications, surveys, and interviews, this paper aims to investigate translation and retranslation practices related to the distribution of Italian art films in the UK between the 1940s and 1950s from an historical perspective. What were the reasons behind the subtitling choices regarding Italian art films in the late 1940s? Why, in the 1950s, were they retranslated using a different translation modality to the one initially selected (Chaume 2018: 13)? And how were these retranslation practices received by film critics? Audience response and critical reception do not always coincide (Jenkins 2000: 170), but press reviews and specialised magazine articles can still be useful in understanding how (re)translated films were received in a given historical context (Zanotti 2018: 147), especially when there is a scarcity

of primary source materials, as is often the case with historical research.

Before focussing on translation (Section 3) and retranslation (Section 4) practices of Italian art films and their reception from the late 1940s to the 1950s, it is necessary to examine the context in which these films emerged in the UK in terms of translation practices, reception of foreign-language films, and composition of the cinema audience. Indeed, if it is true that “translation does not happen in a vacuum” (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999: 2), with the resulting need to locate target literary texts within their respective systems, the same can be said for (re)translated films, which are distributed and consumed within specific economic and sociocultural contexts (Nelmes 2003: 4), as further discussed in the following section.

2. *The context of British cinema in the 1940s and the centrality of language*

The first issues of the British magazine *Sight and Sound* addressed the topic of language in films with articles that considered the threat posed by language to cinema’s supposed universality (Munro 2000: 68), such as Yvonne Thomas’s *The Foreign Films Return*. In this article, Thomas (1939: 28-29) wrote that “with the advent of the Talking Picture, it was no longer possible for the average filmgoer with no knowledge of languages to appreciate them”. Naturally, in the silent era, despite the presence of localised sounds both inside (such as musical scores) and outside the film (such as actors positioned behind the screen and live interpreters or lecturers in front), films could more easily (and cheaply) transcend linguistic barriers between market audiences (Williams 2009: 96). Therefore, the advent of sound was perceived as a threat to cinema’s supposed universal language and the idea that films somehow existed beyond translation (Dwyer 2005).

At that time, distributors of foreign-language sound films in the UK were experimenting with a range of translation strategies to overcome the language problem (O’Sullivan 2019: 270). These initially included a printed English synopsis of the plot in the programme for Anglophone spectators. As Thorold Dickinson (1975: 8), who was responsible for the technical presentation of films for the London Film Society in the 1930s, reports: “We started by printing a synopsis of the story on translucent paper which the audience read by holding up their copies to the light from screen.” Other strategies included cut-in title cards (O’Sullivan 2019: 270), in the style of silent intertitles, but these were found to hinder the audience’s enjoyment of the film, and roll-up titles were then inserted between sequences in the film, summarising the facts which had gone before and hinting at those to come (Dickinson 1975).

Later, in addition to the above-mentioned techniques, multi-language versions were introduced, as well as, of course, subtitling and dubbing.

Multilingual versions were not financially successful, considering the enormous cost of production (Thomas 1939: 29). Moreover, they were said to deprive the foreign film of its foreignness (and the fact that different actors were needed for each performance compounded the problem). As Rotha (1969) confirmed, those who liked French films liked them for their *Frenchness*, which was absent from multilingual versions. Therefore, the matter of preserving the foreign taste of foreign films started to assume greater importance for British audiences. This especially applied to Italian art films and the translation modalities used to distribute them in the UK, as discussed later.

Dubbing involved the “doubling of the voices of the original artists in the other languages” (Thomas 1939: 29). One of the biggest problems was “matching” (Thomas 1939: 29), that is the synchronisation between the lip movements of the original actors and the dubbed vocals. If this was not adequately done, “the effect was ridiculous” (Thomas 1939: 29) and this was particularly true of British audiences, who valued synchrony “highly” (Rowe 1960: 117) (see Section 4).

Although subtitling was cheaper to produce than dubbing and the shooting of multilingual versions, the price of a set of subtitles when added to import and other duties could easily cost an exhibitor hundreds of pounds before the film even opened (Porter 2010: 20), thus impeding its distribution. In addition, the level of literacy among the population could also hamper the appreciation of subtitles as a translation modality (see Section 3).

In general, British audiences seemed reluctant to embrace film translation at that time (Mazdon and Wheatley 2013: 26); not only because of the low quality of these translation techniques, which were still at an experimental stage, but also because of the characteristics of the average contemporary cinema-goer. Interesting data can be collected from some of the earliest surveys that were conducted to profile cinema-going characteristics and habits in the UK. Such data help to understand the role played by audiences in determining film distribution strategies. The very first systematic attempt was an inquiry called *The Cinema Audience*, carried out by the Wartime Social Survey for the Ministry of Information between June and July 1943 (Moss and Box 1943). According to the results of the survey, cinema was seen as an important form of recreation for one third (38 per cent) of the adult civilian population,¹ mainly those living in large and medium-sized towns, who went to watch a screening once a week or even more often (Moss and Box 1943: 3-9). Factory workers and people who had only an elementary school education attended the cinema more frequently than those with a secondary school education, and much more often than those with a university degree (Moss and Box 1943: 7-21). In 1947,

¹ The interviewed sample comprised 5,639 people, selected in representative proportions from different regions and occupation groups.

the first of the Hulton Readership Surveys from the Hulton Press (publisher of the most successful popular magazines introduced in Britain during the inter-war period) was carried out as a readership study, but the questionnaire was extended to cover most forms of leisure activity, including cinema (Abrams 1950: 155). The findings revealed that in the late 1940s cinema-going was still the country's prime leisure activity, reaching a peak of over 1.64 billion admissions in 1946, with more than 40 per cent of the population visiting the cinema at least once a week (Abrams 1950: 156). Apparently, the cinema audience was mainly composed of young, unmarried, working-class women, who accounted for more than 70 per cent of the average audience and considered cinema-going as a form of relaxation. Interestingly, the survey also showed that the majority of filmgoers were avid readers of tabloids and magazines that dealt mainly with subjects of violence, romance, and sex, with half their space taken up with pictures and advertisements (Abrams 1950: 158). Another revealing survey was conducted by Sidney Bernstein (founder of the Film Society in 1924 and head of the Granada chain of cinemas) between 1946 and 1947.² One of the questions asked participants to indicate how often they went to the cinema, and 93 per cent of them answered at least once a week, thus supporting the results reported by the previously mentioned surveys (Manvell 1955: 265). Bernstein's survey aimed in particular at audience preferences, including favourite films and genres: 66 per cent of respondents appreciated dramas, followed by adventure (49 per cent) and crime (48 per cent), while films dealing with social themes only scored 18 per cent (Manvell 1955: 265).

The findings of the surveys mentioned cannot provide a comprehensive description of the post-war UK cinema audience. However, given the social and cultural background of the average filmgoer of the 1940s, it is not surprising that cinema consolidated its position as "a big business with mass production and mass distribution" (Powdermaker 1950: 39) offering entertainment to a wide audience that craved glamour and escapism and did not want to deal with any form of translation, which was seen as an obstacle to a relaxed viewing experience. Hence, between 1947 and 1950, Hollywood films made up the largest share of the British cinema market: a total of 1,576 films were distributed in the UK and Hollywood productions represented nearly 90 per cent of all titles screened at British cinemas (Marcarini 2001: 7). Their success was twofold: they offered the type of light, sensational, and glamorous entertainment most spectators sought and, being English-language films, shared a "common language" (Mazdon and Wheatley 2013: 1), thus the transition between two anglophone markets was straightforward. The mutual use of the English language was key, since American films targeted at British markets "did not

² This was the sixth of a series of questionnaires (the first appeared in 1927) issued periodically by Sidney Bernstein to the patrons of the Granada Group of theatres, in London and beyond.

require the subtitles or dubbed dialogue that made foreign-language films less appealing” (Wilinsky 2001: 31). It follows that American films imported into the UK were more readily received by the prevailing audience of the 1940s.

During the same period (1947-1950), less than 10 per cent of all films released in the UK were imported from a non-English speaking country (Wilinsky 2001: 31); in particular, only 1.6 per cent were Italian (Marcarini 2001: 6). Wolf (1947: 89) posits that the “advent of ‘talkies’ eliminated for a time all possibility of a wider scope for continental films”, thus creating a problem for all producing countries and defining the language barrier as the most serious limitation of export potential. However, things were about to change, especially for Italian art films.

3. Subtitling as a way of preserving realism and authenticity

Despite the initial difficulty encountered by Italian distributors when they tried to export Italian films to the UK, by the end of the 1940s British intellectual engagement with cinema had started to blossom within the context of cultural film society movements. In just one year (1947-1948), the number of film societies affiliated with the British Film Institute (BFI) doubled to 106 (Noble 1948: 5) and the total number reached 203 in 1949 (Noble 1950: 6). The film society movement was committed to raising the standard of public appreciation for film and advocated the rights of spectators with higher expectations than the average cinemagoer (see previous section). The BFI (first established in 1933) and its magazine *Sight & Sound* also played their part in raising the cultural status of films and improving the nation’s cinematic tastes. Moreover, between 1947 and 1950, there was a dramatic increase in adult education; the number of evening institutes more than doubled from 5,000 to 11,000, with student populations soaring from 825,000 to 1,250,000 (Selfe 2007). It logically follows that translation options opened up to an educated (and predominantly middle-class) cinema-audience (see Section 2).

Film societies strongly supported foreign films, which were presented as authored art. Post-war art cinema, motivated by realism and authorial expressivity, demanded a higher level of intellectual engagement than most Hollywood titles. These films were produced or distributed mainly for their artistic, social, or political merits, rather than for their commercial appeal, but they were also appreciated precisely because they were foreign-language films (mainly European) and required a form of translation.

A few specialised or arthouse cinemas offering foreign-language films were already in operation before the war, but it was not until the end of the 1940s that films made in languages other than English were distributed more frequently (Manvell 1955: 265). Plus, by then, there were more specialised

theatres in the UK. As Phyllis Zatlin (2005: 131) reports, most cities and large towns had an art-house cinema where foreign films were regularly shown, and they were “always screened in the original language with subtitles – never dubbed”. British art houses privileged subtitled foreign-language films over dubbed versions because of “issues of prestige and culture” (Wilinsky 2001: 109). Their patrons, mainly serious cinephiles in search of the authentic *auteur* film, wanted to offer a cinematic experience which was safely exotic. Meanwhile, the audience members thought of themselves, according to Lev (1993: 5), as “cosmopolitan, nonchauvinistic spectator[s]” who could “empathise with characters from many nations”. Lev (1993: 5) expands on this:

Subtitling, not dubbing, is standard for the art film, and this requires a spectator who is tolerant of other languages and other cultures. [...] The art film spectator is expected to accept intercultural, as well as intracultural, communications. The intercultural communication is usually European in origin, which connects the art film to other high-culture pursuits (e.g. classical music, opera).

Indeed, “highbrow tastes meant that early experiments in dubbed cinema were met with distaste as they saw the process as an attack on cinematic art” (Mazdon and Wheatley 2013: 11). Therefore, subtitling acquired great cultural value among art-house audiences. As Betz (2009: 89) states, “in the art film [...], non-English language and subtitles are perceived as markers of authentic nationhood”, thus signifying authenticity and quality, and enabling the audience to experience the foreignness of the film. Subtitling, then, became associated with realism and authenticity; it allowed spectators to appreciate the foreign taste of these pictures, something that both multilingual versions (see previous section) and dubbing could not guarantee. For some post-war cinemagoers, watching a foreign-language film with subtitles meant being identified with a particular elite reception culture characterised by good taste and distinctiveness, in sharp contrast to the homogenising mass culture promulgated by Hollywood and commercial cinema (Munro 2006: 101), and dubbing was frowned upon.

In 1948 a manifesto was written by British film director and screenwriter Walter Summers in favour of subtitling. This appeared in *Sight & Sound* in the form of an article entitled *No! Mr. Blakeston*, in response to a suggestion made by Oswell Blakeston (pseudonym of Henry Joseph Hasslacher) in 1947 to consider the artistic merits of dubbing. Summers described dubbing as “a retrogressive and vicious principle, which... serves no aesthetic or economic purpose” and criticised its artificiality. Therefore, once again, this demonstrates that subtitling was firmly associated with realism and authenticity, whereas dubbing was accused of diminishing cultural exchange.

These transformations in the British cinema industry coincided with a significant period for Italian cinema from both quantitative and artistic points

of view. Italian film production, with its image of high artistic quality and authenticity, provided a valid alternative to Hollywood commercial films, and in this respect Italian cinema subsequently became the avant-garde European country in the post-war cinema context. In his essay *The Quality Film Adventure: British Critics and the Cinema, 1942-1948*, John Ellis (1996) provided an interesting model for looking at the critical reception of Italian neorealism. After examining patterns of language in the reviews of Italian neorealist films distributed in the UK during this period, Ellis found that the categories of realism and authenticity were among the most frequently cited. Since subtitling was seen as a way of preserving realism and authenticity, these films were distributed with subtitles.

As Marcarini reports (2001: 24-25), following the Second World War, the first Italian art films were distributed in the UK in 1947. The very first was Roberto Rossellini's *Roma Città Aperta* (Rome Open City, 1945), which was distributed by London Film Production in its English-subtitled version in July 1947 and shown at the Rialto, one of the best art houses in London at that time. Film critic Eric Goldschmidt (1948: 17), in an article written in 1948 for the British magazine *Picturegoer*, reported the results of interviews that he conducted among cinemagoers and the most common reason given for appreciating *Roma Città Aperta* was precisely its realism.

Roma Città Aperta served its purpose as a pathfinder for other Italian films. Between 1947 and 1949, further Italian titles were imported by British distributors, mainly neorealist films or films related to the same movement, and all released with English subtitles (Marcarini 2001: 50-52): Vittorio De Sica's *Sciuscia* (Shoeshine), distributed by British Lion, first ran at the Rialto in 1947; Luigi Zampa's *Vivere in Pace* (To Live in Peace), which had a long run at the Curzon in 1947, and distributed by GCT; the same distributor also released *Ladri di Biciclette* (Bicycle Thieves), which was first screened in 1949 at the Curzon; and finally, Rossellini's *Il Miracolo* (The Miracle, 1948) distributed by Film Traders and *Germania Anno Zero* (Germany Year Zero, 1948) distributed by GCT, both of which ran in 1949 at the Curzon and the Academy respectively. While in Italy they were considered to be popular films, in the UK they were held up as high-quality pictures, and released in some of the most prestigious art-house cinemas in London³. As Marcarini (2001: 52) reports: “[u]ntil the beginning of the 1950s, Italian films were always shown with their original Italian dialogues and English subtitles”.

Even art-house cinema is commercial, depending ultimately on profits rather

³ The majority of cinemas cited in this paper are (or were) based in the London area. Evidently, the British capital represents only a sample and not the whole country. However, the London film market offered, during the period under study, the widest range of cinema venues, from big mass-market halls to small art houses, which were appropriate to a vast typology of different films and audiences.

than the more intangible rewards of status and prestige. Therefore, when an art film proved to be fairly successful, or was considered to have greater potential than that of the narrow British art-house circuit, it was also (or exclusively) released in a dubbed version for a mass-market circuit. The dubbing process was more expensive than subtitling, thus the high cost incurred meant that distributors could only make a reasonable profit if the dubbed film obtained a circuit release. In fact, dubbing was seen as the only modality capable of providing the mass public with an adequate translation, as further discussed in the following section.

4. Dubbing as a way of escaping the art-house circuit

As Mazdon and Wheatley (2013: 11) report, the aversion expressed by film societies (and consequently highbrow spectators) to dubbing limited the potential of this translation technique in Britain. Julia Wolf (1947: 89), a pioneer in dubbing techniques, argued that the limited box-office success of foreign-language films in the UK at that time was precisely connected to the decision to subtitle most of them, since this automatically restricted their potential audience (to include only cinephiles) and possible venues (limited to art-house cinemas). In this sense, Barbara Wilinsky (2001: 35) suggests that:

producers and distributors circumscribed their intended audiences and the scope of distribution for their films partly through their choices about subtitling and dubbing. A dubbed film (frequently considered less artistic) had a greater chance of playing at mainstream theaters than a subtitled film.

In the early 1950s, the art quality of Italian films waned. The notion of quality shifted from artistic value to an emphasis on production potential, international stars, exotic locations and spectacle. These transformations coincided with a sharp decline in annual UK admissions, and cinema-going was no longer the essential social pursuit. Cinema attendance decreased by almost 515 million (Wilinsky 2001), as incomes rose and new leisure activities became available, such as the on-screen entertainment offered by television. Marcarini (2001: 12) observes that this led to the closure of many cinemas, and only the big circuits had the financial strength to survive, making life very difficult for their weaker competitors (i.e. small exhibitors such as art-house cinemas). Furthermore, a shortfall in American films forced British cinemas in general, not only art-house theatres, to increasingly rely on foreign-language films (Marcarini 2001: 245-246). The drop in audiences encouraged distributors and exhibitors to exploit not only their artistic value but also, whenever possible, their more popular flavour and “risqué elements” (Wilinsky 2001: 37) or “adult handling of mature themes” (Wilinsky 2001: 38).

The number of Italian films distributed in the UK went from 31 in the period 1947-1950 to 60 in the period 1951-1954, and an average of almost 20 Italian pictures were distributed every year (Marcarini 2001: 20). As previously mentioned, Italian films associated with neorealism acquired a much more popular flavour. Therefore, it became clear that dubbing would help their box-office chances. At that time, the distribution of dubbed films clearly indicated the filmmakers' (or production companies' or distributors') interest in moving out of the art-house circuit and expanding the exhibition potential of films. There seemed to have been "the desire to break out of the small niche of the art film" (Wilinsky 2001: 36).

Therefore, following this new marketing strategy, in the early 1950s, Giuseppe De Santis' *Riso Amaro* (Bitter Rice, 1949) was initially released in a subtitled version at the Rialto, a West End cinema in London, which specialised in foreign-language films during the post-war period. However, after the success of its first run, lasting nearly two months (March to April 1950), the film was then re-released by Archway in a dubbed English version at the Tatler, a big hall on Charing Cross Road (London), in early 1951. The marketing for the dubbed film drew attention to the physical beauty of the female protagonist, the *maggiorata* actress Silvana Mangano, who was shown wearing shorts and a tight shirt (Wilinsky 2001: 60). This first attempt proved very successful, with 1,400 bookings within a year. However, despite its box-office success, British reviews were negative about the choice of releasing the film with dubbing: "The more sensational aspects of the story are crudely emphasised yet the result is surprisingly tame. Perhaps the dubbing is partly to blame" (Monthly Film Bulletin 1951: 52). The quality of dubbing was not criticised in this review, perhaps because the English version of *Riso Amaro* was produced in Britain using the De Lane Lea process, which ensured an acceptable level of synchronisation between the English dialogue and the actors' lip movements. Still, this review demonstrates once more that critical reception may diverge significantly from audience response and "a negative reception in the press is not an indicator of a poor reception by the public" (Zanotti 2018: 147).

Similarly, after the success of its first run with English subtitles at the Academy (a reputed art house in London) from November 1948 to March 1949 (O'Brian 2018: 43), Roberto Rossellini's *Paisà* (Paisan, 1946) was re-released in a dubbed version in the early 1950s and screened at the more popular Cameo-Poly (London). This marketing choice, which was again a change in the translation modality initially selected, was highly criticised by British film critics for two main reasons. Firstly, because dubbing was not considered the best option for the audience to appreciate the cultural and artistic value of this work, which was described as a film "bound by unity of artistic treatment" in the *BFI Press Cuttings* (1948) and much later lauded by Stephen Watt (1984) as "one of the great

films of our time” in the *Sunday Express*. Secondly, since the British distributor, Film Traders, bought the dubbed copy from the American distributor of the film, Burstyn-Mayer, the English-language version of *Paisà* failed to convince British film critics because of the American-English dubbing: “At least 75 per cent of the film [has] American dialogue [...]. As always, some of the written American appears a little ludicrous in English eyes” (Monthly Film Bulletin 1955: 9).

All of these transformations in the British cinema industry foregrounded the link between translation choices and marketing/industrial needs. In the 1950s, US companies compensated for the drop in the number of American films in the British cinema market by increasing their control in terms of film distribution; as Marcarini reports (2001: 132) “Together, Columbia, United Artists, MGM, Warner Bros., 20th Century Fox and Paramount released over two hundred Italian films from 1950 until the early 1990s through the Odeon and ABC halls”. Their leading role in the distribution of Italian films in the UK – not only popular films and melodramas, but also art-house films with great market potential – resulted in most of these films being released with an American English dubbing, which was met with an unfavourable response from British critics because of its artificial and stereotypical rendering of Italian accents (as in Roberto Rossellini’s *Paisà*). The idea underlying the release and language transfer of Italian films by American distributors in the UK was that these films did not have to be treated as works of art; for American distributors, they were merely financial operations. Due to the supremacy of the US in the UK film industry, the American dubbing of Italian productions was inevitable if these films were to be sold, and British dubbing actors were often supplanted by American dubbers (Marcarini 2001: 163)⁴. British reviews of Italian films from the period reveal a disdain for the supremacy of American English. In addition to *Paisà*, Matarazzo’s *Giuseppe Verdi* (1953) failed to convince British critics because the film was “badly dubbed with transatlantic voices” (Monthly Film Bulletin, 1956: 54). Even when the same film represented both American and British-English, film critics were not enthusiastic. In a review of Giuseppe Amato’s *Donne Proibite* (Forbidden Women, 1953), film critics wrote “[...] the dubbed dialogue, a mixture of American and broken British-English, is often embarrassingly inept” (Monthly Film Bulletin 1957: 19).

In the mid-1950s, not only British film critics but also major Italian neorealist directors and *auteurs* declared their firm opposition to dubbing. In an article published in *Cahiers du Cinéma* in the mid-1950s, Roberto Rossellini considered

⁴ However, as Marcarini (2001: 159) reports, British film critics also complained about the voices of actors who were obviously non-English. A reviewer of Goffredo Alessandrini’s *Don Bosco* (St John Bosco, 1935) remarked that “the English dubbing is a little irritating, as the actors look so essentially Continental!” (Monthly Film Bulletin 1949: 54).

the “dubbing of Italian films in English [...] as a ‘mad idea’” (Betz 2001: 6) and Vittorio De Sica highlighted the negative effects of dubbing through an inquiry published in 1956 by the magazine *Cinema*. One of the major results of these “protests” was a manifesto presented in February 1967, in Amalfi (Italy), at a conference on film language and sound promoted by the Italian magazine *Filmcritica*, which called for the “abolition of the indiscriminate use of dubbing, whose existence compromises the very possibility of an Italian sound cinema [considered as] a vital aspect of the battle [...] to protect effective freedom of expression, and to realise and develop a total cinema” (Nowell-Smith 1968: 146). The manifesto against dubbing was signed, among others, by Michelangelo Antonioni who, writing for the journal *Cinema* in the early 1940s, had already debunked the entire notion of dubbing as a viable modality of film translation from both an aesthetic and ideological point of view (Sisto 2014: 13); in his opinion, dubbing destroyed the audiovisual filmic work of art, and allowed for invisible censorial interventions as the dialogue and music could be totally erased and changed. Antonioni appealed to financial reasons, too: while it is true that “a film in original language appeals to fewer people, the unmade profit would be compensated by the avoided costs incurred by dubbing, which are considerable” (Sisto 2014: 13). The director strongly favoured the use of subtitles which “offer a viable, and well-accepted translation modality for film that moreover does not violate the cinematographic work and the performance of the actors” (Sisto 2014: 65-66).

Another issue was that the quality of dubbing remained poor, especially in terms of synchronisation, and this further reinforced the opposition of British film critics to dubbed Italian art titles (Rowe 1960: 117), echoing what happened in the early years of sound films (see Section 2). The adjective that the British press used most frequently to describe dubbing during the post-war period was “rough” (Marcarini 2001: 161). However, it is important to bear in mind that the marked or, at least, the most frequently expressed preference for a given audiovisual translation modality influences the expectations of a nation’s audience. As a consequence, in post-war UK, it is not surprising that film critics (and art-house cinema audiences) did not show any enthusiasm for the dubbed versions of film genres, such as neorealist and *auteur* titles (despite their more popular vein), because they were accustomed to watching these with subtitles (see Section 3).

5. Final remarks

In the specific context of the British distribution market, the passage from silent to sound cinema was particularly criticised and the issue of language became central, thus emphasising the role of film translation, as shown in

specialised journals (see Section 2). When sound films first entered British theatres, the silent-era translation methods were no longer appropriate, and distributors had to experiment with new translation techniques (O'Sullivan 2019: 270). Among them, subtitling and dubbing later became the two most common options for British audiences: highbrow spectators, composed of high-culture audience members who looked for something more challenging and distinctive than the products of Hollywood, preferred watching films with subtitles; lowbrow spectators, that is "the teen-age-minded public of limited education" (Manvell 1955: 221) preferred watching films with dubbing. This is in line with Betz (2001: 4), who argues that "high/low distinctions determine one's expectations and reactions concerning dubbed versus subtitled films". In fact, the desire to hear an original sound track in its original language is still evoked today as an argument for the superiority of subtitling over dubbing and it was definitely an "absolute exigency" (Betz 2001: 4) in post-war UK to preserve the authenticity and faithfulness of the *auteur's* intentions when it came to foreign-language art films.

In opposition to mainstream English-language Hollywood films and the audience who appreciated them (see Section 2), in the post-war years, Italian-language neorealist and *auteur* pictures came to be seen by the British press and specialised audiences as art cinema mainly addressing young, educated and politically liberal spectators (Staiger 1992). Italian dialogues were an essential ingredient of what was perceived in post-war UK as the typical realism and *auteurism* of these films and highbrow viewers generally liked to enjoy their "authentic foreignness" (Betz 2009: 12). Considering that Italian neorealist and *auteur* films mainly addressed a restricted and educated audience, distributors opted for the cheaper translation mode to distribute them in those days, in the knowledge that the audience was mainly composed of literate cinéphiles (see Section 3). However, when Italian art films first proved to be fairly successful, or were considered to have greater potential than the narrow British art-house circuit, they were subsequently re-released in a dubbed version (see Section 4). Film critics did not show any enthusiasm for the dubbed versions of art titles, because they were accustomed to watching these with subtitles. As one reviewer said at the time, "however well this is done [dubbing], the marriage of English words to the mouthing and playing of foreign actors inevitably remains uncomfortable" (Monthly Film Bulletin 1951: 54). However, the use of dubbing to translate art films became more and more frequent, when the US sector began to virtually control the international film industry: with the decrease in the number of titles produced in Hollywood, US companies tried to compensate for this loss by taking control of foreign film distribution. Consequently, Italian films were firstly dubbed in American English, and then distributed in the UK; this choice, as discussed in Section 4, was heavily criticised by British film critics.

Even if the UK is generally considered to be a subtitling country, it belongs in fact to the vast anglophone audiovisual market, and it is actually neither a predominantly subtitling nor dubbing country. With regard to the translation and distribution of Italian art films between the 1940s and 1950s, the UK adopted both audiovisual translation modalities as and when needed. This seems to be confirmed once again by non-film materials and particularly film reviews which appeared in the British press during the post-war period. In fact, as Betz (2001: 5) points out, “when it comes to the distribution and exhibition of non-English-language films in Britain, a variety of factors determine which ones are subtitled and which dubbed” and this has always been the case.

Historical research on audiovisual translation is still in its infancy (Zanotti 2018: 136) and this has resulted in a general neglect of the context in which Italian films have been translated and distributed in foreign markets over the years. Non-film materials, such as the ones chosen for the present study, could help to offer new insights into audiovisual translation and retranslation practices from a historical perspective, while fostering interdisciplinary exchange between film studies, audience studies, and audiovisual translation studies.

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*CORPUS STYLISTICS:
A RESOURCE FOR ANALYSING EFFECTS OF TRANSLATION ON THEME*

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Stylistics has been applied to the study of translation in comparative studies (Malmkjaer 2004; Mastropierro 2017; Mastropierro and Mahlberg 2017) and increasingly in target-oriented research on the style of the translator (Johnson 2016; Saldanha 2014). Cognitive approaches in Stylistics focus on the reader's engagement and the building of literary text-worlds through linguistic and stylistic elements (Gavins 2007). The present study uses corpus methods to compare the construction of literary themes in *The Power* by Naomi Alderman (2016) and its Italian translation *Ragazze elettriche*. Literary criticism has identified as major themes of the novel the reversal of patriarchal gender roles and new power discourse based on physical violence (Ferreira 2018; Yebra 2019). The paper applies corpus techniques such as keyword analysis and collocational relationships to identify how the main themes are constructed first in the ST and then in the TT. It considers stylistic devices of foregrounding, semantic preference, and semantic prosody (McIntyre and Walker 2019).

Corpus stylistics, text-worlds, Naomi Alderman, translation, gender

1. Introduction

Corpus stylistics is a research area that corresponds to the scientific study of language and concerns the analysis of literary language employing computational and quantitative methods (Biber 2011). Corpus approaches to the study of literature are widely used, so much so that we can talk about a 'corpus turn' in stylistics (Balossi 2014; Mahlberg 2013). Recent research, in effect, employs corpus techniques to identify linguistic patterns in literary texts (Hoover et al. 2014; McIntyre and Walker 2019), whether in terms of keyword analysis (Fischer-Starcke 2009; Murphy 2015) or more complete studies focusing on collocational relationships (Brezina et al. 2015; Mahlberg 2013;

Toolan 2009). Cognitive approaches in Stylistics have also been increasingly successful drawing mainly on Text World Theory (Gavins 2007, 2012; Werth 1999) and its subsequent adaptations (Mahlberg and McIntyre 2011; Neurohr and Stewart-Shaw 2019). Here the focus is on the reader's experience of literary text-worlds and the mental representations of this linguistically constructed fictional reality.

Corpus methods are increasingly employed in Translation Studies too. According to Bernardini and Castagnoli "translation is in many senses an ideal field for corpus applications" (Bernardini and Castagnoli 2008: 39). In translation practice corpora may give examples of typical language usage and terminology across different registers and text types. Corpus techniques are also useful in comparative studies of the source text (ST) and the target text (TT) – or of different translations of the same ST – in order to examine linguistic and stylistic similarities and differences (Boase-Beier 2017; Mastropierro 2017; Mastropierro and Mahlberg, 2017). Increasingly relevant are target-oriented studies focusing on the style of the translator and the translated text (Johnson 2016; Saldanha 2014).

According to the Text World Theory, the various linguistic and stylistic items of the literary text become "building blocks of the fictional world and triggers of thematic concerns" (Mastropierro 2017: 67), which contribute to the interpretation of literary texts. In terms of meaning relationships, textual elements can broadly be divided into fictional world signals and thematic signals (Mahlberg and McIntyre 2011: 209). The former are words that describe concrete participants, places, and events of the text world, whereas thematic signals are subjective and open to interpretation. These words do not refer to specific text-world entities but construct meaning on different levels. Consequently, their arrangement and functions determine how readers engage with the ST, and alterations in translation may change the perception of the TT. Boase-Beier (2014) explores how readers interact with the language of texts and create cognitive constructs or mental representations, and how translation may affect this process. A corpus stylistic analysis identifies the structure of text worlds and the construction of thematic networks; it provides interesting data for the study of translation and its effects on the interpretation of the fictional world.

2. Case study: Naomi Alderman's *The Power*

Naomi Alderman's fourth novel *The Power* (2016) is claimed to be "one of those essential feminist works" (Charles 2017) and compared to acclaimed authors such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Ursula Le Guinn, and Alderman's mentor Margaret Atwood (Jordan 2016). In the story teenage girls develop a physical

organ near their collarbone – the skein – that allows them to emit electrical current using their hands. All baby girls are born with this new power and young girls can wake it up in the older women. The narrative evolves into a violent and disturbing dystopia where women become increasingly aggressive and commit crimes against men “murdering and raping men at will” (Alderman 2016: 258). The subversion of gender roles occurs when women physically dominate men showing how “power is the driving force that configures the sexual politics of patriarchy” (Ferreira 2018: 159). The novel deconstructs traditional patriarchal power politics, but it also shows the misuse of power that is based on violence. Therefore, the main theme of the novel is the subversion of gender roles in terms of physical power and control. Gender, power, and violence emerge as ideas of one central theme rather than being separated topics.

The Power is translated into Italian as *Ragazze elettriche* (2017) in the translation of Silvia Bre. The present study takes the ST as the starting point of the analysis comparing the key lexical patterns in the ST and the TT texts. The aim is to identify key thematic signal words that contribute to the thematic structure of the texts. For this purpose, a corpus stylistic analysis of the ST is carried out employing keyword and concordance tools. Subsequently, the ST is compared with the TT structures to identify similarities of discrepancies between the texts. The main goal is to see to what extent translation changes the thematic signal words of the fictional world and how this may contribute to the transmission of the main themes.

3. Methodology

The first part of the quantitative analysis concerns the investigation of the digital version of the ST converted into a .txt file. I used two main corpus analysis tools, the software WordSmith Tools 7.0 and the online free application LancsBox. LancsBox provides an addition to WordSmith in terms of visualization of language data in the format of graphs. I produced a wordlist of *The Power* and employed basic corpus stylistic tools of keywords and concordance analysis. Two reference corpora were used for the keyword analysis: i) the written section of the BNC and ii) a DIY (‘do-it-yourself’) corpus (McEnery et al. 2006: 71). The latter consists of British literary texts contemporary to *The Power* and at the time of the study, it consisted of 440,345 words raising issues of balance and representativeness (McEnery and Hardie 2011). However, this corpus contains more recent literary texts compared to the written section of the BNC and the use of two reference corpora increases keyword accuracy.

For the calculation of keywords with WordSmith, the minimum frequency of occurrences in *The Power* was set to 30, the log-likelihood value to 1,500, and the p-value < 0.0000001. These statistical parameters reduced the entries in

both keyword lists keeping words that better represent the building elements of the textual world. The first keyword list contained 152 keywords, while the second list 92 keywords. The words shared by both lists were 75 including 19 proper names and 24 verbs in the 3rd person singular. Proper nouns are one of the main types of keywords, together with lexical words and high frequency grammatical words (Baker 2006: 127). Within the text-world classification model proper nouns would correspond to the characters or enactors of the text-world and are “conceptual representations of real human characteristics” (Gavins 2007: 64). However, they are less significant for the development of the theme of *The Power*, even if it is interesting to observe that among the 17 proper nouns of a feminist novel, only eight relate to female characters. No high frequency function words appear among the shared keywords, leaving for further analysis lexical words or ‘aboutness’ keywords that point to the subject matter of the text (Bondi and Scott 2010: 7).

At this stage, I classified the keywords into fictional world signals and thematic signals as can be seen in Table 1. According to Gavins, “linguistic elements first set the spatial and temporal boundaries of the text world” (Gavins 2007: 36) and regarding the setting of *The Power* two proper placenames characterize the setting, the fictional *Bessapara* nation – where the feminist revolution turns into its worst – and the *Northstar* training camp for girls. The time of the events is defined by the present tense of the verb forms that create a closeness between the text world and the real discourse world. Besides proper names, the Characters subcategory includes lexical nouns that refer to the participants of the text world, their physical features, objects they use, and actions they do.

Thematic keywords provide insight into the main themes of the text and in the case of *The Power* it is possible to observe how *women*, *power*, *girls*, *body*, *men*, *voice*, and *tree* confirm the themes identified by literary criticism. Keywords such as *women*, *girls*, and *men* relate to the representation of gender roles, whereas *power* and *body* refer to the physical essence of the new power discourse. Thematic keywords have more than one meaning, and for example, *tree* refers to the tree-like symbol of the new power rather than to an actual tree. Likewise, *power* suggests both the electrical charge girls emit, and the control and domination they gain by doing that.

<i>Category</i>	<i>Examples</i>
1. Fictional world signals	
Setting	
Place names	Bessapara, Northstar
Place	Camp

Objects	tree, crowd, stuff
Attributes	smell (+burning, rain)
Characters	
Names	17 proper names (Roxie, Allie, Tunde, Margot, Eve)
Persons	women, girls, mum, men, mom
Body parts	skein, voice, body, palm, laugh
Accessories	power, camera
Action	lets, laughs/laughing, tries, says, puts, feels, holds, smiles, thinks, sees, gives, pulls, finds, takes, looks, starts, knows, makes, goes, comes, turns, sits, wants, gets, send
2. Thematic signals	women, power, girls, body, men, voice, tree

TABLE 1. World building elements in *The Power*.

The quantitative analysis was followed by a qualitative investigation of the concordances in order to “reveal the meaningfulness of keyword” (Mahlberg and McIntyre 2011: 207). Although all keywords were examined in their context, the focus was on the collocational patterns of the thematic signal keywords. Collocational relationships are shown mainly – for reasons of space – in terms of rare exclusivity (MI score), although directionality (Delta P) of collocates is also considered (Brezina 2018: 70). The electronic version of *Ragazze elettriche* was also queried with WordSmith searching for the corresponding Italian translations of the thematic signal keywords – *donne, potere, ragazze, corpo, uomini, voce, albero*. The patterns of the thematic keywords were compared in terms of foregrounded elements and stylistic features like semantic preference. Foregrounding refers to unusual patterns that draw attention, while semantic preference shows the semantic field of collocates (McIntyre and Walker 2019: 25ff).

4. Findings

In this section, the selected thematic keywords *women* and *girls* are discussed, showing their ST and TT patterns and collocational relationships. The findings are limited to only two keywords, due to space reasons, but associations with other thematic keywords are referred to.

4.1 Women

The thematic keyword *women* occurs 234 times in the ST and 231 times in the TT and Table 2 shows the top ten immediate collocates of *women* and *donne* ranked by MI score:

<i>Women</i>				<i>Donne</i>			
<i>Rank</i>	<i>Collocate</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>MI score</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Collocate</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>MI score</i>
1.	older	6	7.30	1.	adulte	5	8.61
2.	young	14	6.88	2.	giovani	9	7.24
3.	hundred	5	6.74	3.	delle	37	6.09
4.	watching	6	6.42	4.	alle	17	5.92
5.	camp	5	6.07	5.	davanti	5	5.70
6.	men	17	5.48	6.	avevano	8	5.48
7.	who	21	5.21	7.	uomini	16	5.41
8.	are	43	5.14	8.	quelle	7	5.29
9.	these	8	5.10	9.	le	120	5.23
10.	were	10	4.96	10.	tutte	7	5.16

TABLE 2. Top ten collocates of *women* and *donne* by MI score.

The first two collocates *older* and *young* and the corresponding Italian translations *adulte* and *giovani* stand out as two adjectives belonging to the semantic field of age. No other adjectives figure among the strongest collocates so women are described mostly by their age; considering that only young girls develop the skin, age is significant. In the ST, besides *older* (6 instances) and *young* (12 instances), other less frequent collocates describe the age of women: *grown* (3 instances), *younger* (1 instance), and *adult* (1 instance), resulting in a total of 23 instances of collocates from the semantic field of age.

In the Italian translation, however, the frequency of age-related words is lower with 5 instances of *adulte*, and 9 instances of *young* and 1 instance of *anziane*. The phrase *young women* is translated three times simply as *ragazze* as in Example (1) and (2):

- (1) ST: The young women around him laugh.
 TT: Le ragazze intorno a lui ridono.

- (2) ST: It's not ok to talk about shooting young women.
TT: Non va bene che si parli di sparare alle ragazze.

The cluster *older women* has four different translations of which *donne più grandi* (Example 3) is the equivalent of the ST expression, while *donne anziane* (Example 4) and *donne adulte* (Example 5) are more specific translations of *older*.

- (3) ST: Teenage girls can wake this thing up in older women.
TT: Le adolescenti possono risvegliare quella cosa nelle donne più grandi.
- (4) ST: One of the older women calls out.
TT: Una delle donne anziane grida.
- (5) ST: She said to the older women, 'Take in the younger'.
TT: Aveva sollecitato le donne adulte: 'Accogliete le più giovani'.

Adulte is also used to translate *grown women* and Example (6) shows how *adulte* functions as a female noun while the node word is omitted. In the ST the structure *adjective of age + women* is consistently repeated, while in the TT there is no uniformity of translation of this cluster. The TT replaces the node word *women* with other nouns that refer to the age and carry the grammatical gender (*ragazze, adulte*).

- (6) ST: Younger girls awaken it in older women.
TT: Le ragazze più giovani lo risvegliano nelle adulte.

The analysis of the collocate *young* in Concordance 1 shows some interesting tendencies. The noun phrase functions as the subject and the active agent of the verb three times (*showing off, laugh, advancing*), while in the rest of the sentences it is a direct object (lines 1, 2, 3, 7) or indirect object (line 6, 8). *Young women* are therefore talked about rather than active participants of the story. Another interesting aspect is the use of adverbs of quantity and collective expressions such as *a lot of* (line 5), *many* (line 3), *circle of* (line 6), and *a group of five dozen* (line 10) to refer to young women. This is also confirmed in Table 2 by the third strongest collocate of women – *hundred* – suggesting that *women* have a semantic preference for words that characterize them as a group.

1 They take in young men and young women, too; they give them shelter;
2 it's not OK to talk about shooting young women.' Yeah. I know. Yeah. Just
3 accident which is befalling many young women today. Jocelyn and I hope that
4 It's great to know that we have young women like you ready to defend the
5 on Jos's knee. 'Like a lot of young women,' she says, 'my daughter Jocelyn
6 looks around the circle of young women, meeting each of their eyes in

7 on hoardings now, with sassy young women showing off their long, curved
8 are close to God, they say, and young women, especially. Our Lady was only
9 the NorthStar training camps for young women? Is that why you were chosen
10 in the group of five dozen young women dwelling with the nuns. They were
11 some men and women watching. The young women around him laugh and point at
12 the picture comes back there are young women advancing across the centre of the

TABLE 3. Concordance of the cluster *young women*.

The noun phrase *young women* is present in the TT as *giovani donne* with the collocate in the immediate position to the left of the node word. Instead, the collocate *adulte* occurs to the immediate right of *donne* (see Example 5) that is considered the unmarked position of adjectives in Italian. If used before the noun, the adjective *giovani* is foregrounded in the TT and has a more generic and descriptive value. Table 4 also attests to the use of determiners of quantity such as *sessanta* (line 8), *tante* (line 5) and *cerchio* (line 3), which corresponds to the patterns in the ST. Additionally, *giovani donne* are active agents of the verb only twice in line 7 (*vengono avanti*) and in line 1 (*esibiscono*) which suggests that women – especially as a group – are not as active and dynamic as one could expect from the plot of the story.

1 cartelloni pubblicitari, adesso, con giovani donne sfacciate che esibiscono
2 e in particolar modo le giovani donne. Nostra Signora aveva solo
3 lo sguardo sul cerchio delle giovani donne, fissandole a una a una negli
4 addestramento NorthStar per le giovani donne? È per questo che hanno
5 ginocchio di Jos. “Come tante giovani donne,” dice, “mia figlia Jocelyn
6 È magnifico sapere che abbiamo giovani donne come te pronte a difendere il
7 centro dello schermo ci sono giovani donne che vengono avanti, ognuna
8 llora, le leader delle sessanta giovani donne che abitavano con le suore.

TABLE 4. Concordance of the cluster *giovani donne*.

The cluster *women are* (21 instances) should indicate some main tendencies of how women are described. In 7 cases *women are* is followed by a verb in the

present progressive form and women are the active performers of the verb as in the following examples:

- (7) ST: The women are watching him.
TT: Le donne lo osservano.
- (8) ST: The women are gathering, shouting and marching.
TT: Dove sono radunate le donne, a gridare e marciare.

Four times *women are* is followed by an adjective (*clever, not glad, quiet, surprised*) or by a phrase characterizing their behaviour (*no good with cars*). In the TT these are translated as *perspicaci, non sono contente, calme, sorprese* and *non vanno bene in automobile* which shows a close translation to the ST. However, Examples (9) and (10) convey something intimidating or threatening about women, as well as the adjective *clever* and its translation *perpicaci* may have a negative meaning. Semantic prosody indicates the attitudinal meaning of single collocates or extended units (McIntyre & Walker, 2019, p. 42) and in this case, *women are* seems to express a slightly negative attitude about women. Moreover, the cluster *women are not once* expresses a strongly positive feature or behaviour of women.

- (9) ST: The women are quiet watching the men.
TT: Le donne sono calme, e li stanno a guardare.
- (10) ST: The women are surprised, then suspicious.
TT: Le donne sembrano sorprese, poi sospettose.

In Example (7) the verb *watching* corresponds to the fourth strongest collocate of women in Table 2. Other verbs related to the sense of sight that collocate with *women* are *look* (7 instances), *see* (2 instances), *glance* (1 instance), and *stare* (1 instance). The semantic field of sight is also evoked by the word *eyes* for example in Table 3 line 3. However, half of these verbs occur in one specific scene at the beginning of the novel where the only male main character Tunde must strip in front of women to ensure he is unarmed. Tunde is the first reporter to film on camera how women practice their electrical power, and the keyword *camera* is a fictional world building element as seen in Table 1. The semantic field of sight is linked to the keyword *power* in different ways. Through his camera, Tunde witnesses the girls' physical power, but he is also the object of women's staring and watching men as a statement of their power. Example (9) describes a scene where some girls show their new skills and other men and women as spectators are watching them. The men react by showing fear, while the women's behaviour is described by associating sight twice (*stare, eyes*) with collocates that show strong instinctive desire and evoke figurative hunger and even thirst (*hungrily, parched*). In the TT *stare* is translated as *fissano*, but the

second part regarding their eyes is lost by substituting the physical description of eyes by the feeling of surprise they express. *Hungrily* is translated as *invidia*, which does not convey the feeling of desire that women have for the new power.

(11) ST: The men flinch. The women stare hungrily. Their eyes are parched for the sight of it.

TT: Gli uomini sono stupidi. Le donne fissano la scena con invidia. Non riescono a crederci.

Watching collocates with *women* six times and in the TT the verbs *osservare* (twice) and *guardare* (three times) are used together with one instance of *seguire la scena*. Overall, the verbs related to the sight are maintained also in the TT and the patterns between the keywords *women*, *men*, *camera*, and *power* are kept with some exceptions.

In Example (9) the keyword *men* is omitted in the TT, even if the ST stresses the opposition of the two sexes and the reversal of the normal balance between them. In this last example, women are in control of the situation and their superiority is tacit rather than violent. However, the theme of violence is central, and Concordance 1 includes words such as *shooting* (line 2) and *defend* (line 4) that belong to the semantic field of violence. In a span of five positions to the left and the right the word *kill* collocates three times with women, as well as the word *war*. The novel depicts a world where women develop a physical electrical power that makes them physically superior and enables them to take control over men. Women pass from being the victims to be the perpetrators of crimes against men. Example (12) shows the repetition of clusters *trafficked women* and *shackled women* stressing how in the past women were victims of sexual exploitation. *Women* collocate with words such as *chains* (twice) and *chained* (twice) and though not immediate collocates of *women*, words *lock up* and *locked* are used to describe the situation of women and girls as in Example (13).

(12) ST: Many of whom were trafficked women, shackled women, women who would have died alone in the dark.

TT: Molte delle quali sono state donne comprate e vendute, donne incatenate, donne che sarebbero morte oscuramente in solitudine.

(13) ST: The men lock Roxy in the cupboard.

TT: Gli uomini chiudono Roxy nell'armadio.

Trafficked women is translated as *donne comprate e vendute* that makes it clear how women were objects at men's disposal. The TT maintains the repetition of clusters that stress the suffering of women by men (Example 12) and in Example (11) *lock* is translated with its Italian equivalent *chiudono*. In the TT other words collocating with *donne* that refer to the deprivation

of women of their physical freedom are *rinchiuse* (once), *incatenate* (twice), *rinchiudono* (twice) and *catene* that collocates once with *donne* and once with *ragazze*. Physical power is central in the novel and the female body is first an object exploited by men, and then the lethal weapon that reverses traditional gender roles.

Yebra underlines how violence that is intrinsic to culture, whether dominated by men or women, becomes almost invisible since it is “the ‘normal’ state of things” (Yebra 2019: 76). In the novel, women become the powerful sex and their supremacy is taken for granted. Ferreira argues that “violent women are just violent people” (Ferreira 2018: 158) and a thorough analysis of the concordances shows that in 31 instances over 234 women are, in effect, described as violent. Considering that the semantic field of age is evoked in 23 cases and women as victims in 17 cases, violence becomes one of the main attributes of women.

Examples (7) and (9) already showed the contrast between men and women so far as to talk about a “holy war between men and women” (Alderman 2016: 153). Example (14) shows explicit violence of women against men and the repetition of the pattern *specific type of crime + committed against men* stresses their vulnerability both in the ST and in the TT.

(14) ST: Have you seen the numbers on domestic violence against men? On murders of men by women?

TT: Hai visto le cifre delle violenze domestiche contro gli uomini. Degli omicidi di uomini da parte di donne?

Violence is clearly a predominant aspect of the dystopic society, but often in the text it is present as a threatening atmosphere rather than a specific physical hurting. Example (15) shows the subversion of patriarchal relationships. Men have become the weaker sex and need protection from women who in turn are presented as threatening and dangerous in terms of needing to be controlled.

(15) ST: We need laws now to protect men. We need curfews on women.

TT: Adesso ci servono leggi che proteggano gli uomini. Ci serve il coprifuoco per le donne.

Regardless of this emphasis on violence, out of 11 instances of the cluster *men and women* it functions negatively only once. Here the two sexes act together as a group, as unspecified people just like in the case of the use of collectives with *women*. The narrative also provides a different and more optimistic viewpoint where women and men act together to fight injustice.

4.2 Girls

The thematic keyword *girls* occurs 174 times in the ST and 164 times in the TT. The lower occurrence is curious since the cluster *young women* is translated three times as *ragazze* instead of *donne*; two translation strategies explain the lower frequency. First, the ST clusters *baby girls* and *girls born*, are translated with a more precise Italian equivalent *neonate* that carries the grammatical female gender (Example 16). Second, the node word is omitted in the TT (Example 17) since other words such as *quelle*, *le* and the adjectives already carry the grammatical gender. Grammatical difference between the two languages determines therefore some natural variation in translation and gender becomes even more stressed and linguistically visible in the TT.

- (16) ST: All girls born from now on will have the power.
 TT: Tutte le neonate d'ora in avanti avranno quel potere.
- (17) ST: They were not the charismatic ones, not the most popular, or the funniest, or the prettiest, or the cleverest girls.
 TT: Non erano quelle dotate di carisma, né le più popolari, né le più divertenti, o le più carine, o le più intelligenti.

Table 5 shows the top ten collocates of *girls* ranked by MI score. *Boys* is the most frequent collocate of *girls* even if *boys* – differently from *men* – is not a thematic keyword. The next two collocates (*Northstar*, *convent*) as well as *camp*, associate girls with a specific place, whether the training camp Northstar or the convent. Even if the collocate *camp* is not present among the collocates of the Italian text, it is probably due to the use of both singular (*campo*) and plural (*campi*) forms. Other collocates such as *together*, *these*, and *other* confirm a prevalence of words that specify the number of girls and stress their collective, indefinite entity. In the TT *alcune*, *altre* and *tutte* are indefinite adjectives that also describe *ragazze* as a multitude of people rather than specific individuals. Regarding *women* numerals or quantitative adverbs were used and this tendency is confirmed in the concordance of *girls*.

<i>Girls</i>				<i>Ragazze</i>			
<i>Rank</i>	<i>Collocate</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>MI score</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Collocate</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>MI score</i>
1.	boys	10	7.24	1.	Northstar	7	7.27
2.	Northstar	7	7.21	2.	convento	6	7.25
3.	convent	6	7.19	3.	alcune	9	7.22
4.	other	23	6.59	4.	altre	18	7.09
5.	camp	5	6.50	5.	vogliono	6	6.78

6.	together	5	5.56	6.	ragazzi	8	6.64
7.	were	11	5.53	7.	tutte	11	6.30
8.	doing	5	5.50	8.	alle	13	6.02
9.	day	5	5.48	9.	delle	25	6.02
10.	these	7	5.33	10.	erano	10	5.78

TABLE 5. Top ten collocates of *girls* and *ragazze* by MI score.

Table 5 also illustrates some differences between the ST and the TT, namely *together* and *day* as collocates in the ST and *vogliono* in the TT. These differences, however, are mostly caused by the software and the identification of collocates according to the parameters. The minimum collocate frequency was set to 5 in a span of 5 words to the left and to the right of the node word, thus leaving out collocates that have a low frequency. The collocate *day*, for example, is used in the cluster *Day of the Girls* (4 times) which is translated each time as *Giornata delle Ragazze*. In the TT, however, *giornata* does not collocate with *ragazze* more than four times and is thus not included in Table 5.

1	only one woman doing it; a dozen convent	girls couldn't have acted together
2	a group of highly strung teenage girls cooped up together for months	
3	if anything drew them together, the	girls who had suffered the most, their
4	'One: set up safe spaces for the	girls to practise their power together.
5	message boards are encouraging the	girls to get together to do terrible

TABLE 6. Concordance of *girls* and the collocate *together* in a span of 5L-5R.

Table 6 displays the collocate *together* that refers both to solidarity between girls (line 3) and girls being perceived and described as a single group (line 1, 5). The Italian *insieme* collocates only three times with *ragazze* and is not included among the frequent collocates. In Example (18) the node *ragazze* and *insieme* do not occur in the pre-set span of 5 words on each side of the node, while in Example (19) *ragazze* is omitted, but the idea of adolescent girls being together remains.

Doveva farlo una donna da sola. Una decina di ragazze del convento non sarebbero riuscite ad agire insieme altrettanto rapidamente.

Non per il Vaticano, e neanche per un gruppo di adolescenti molto nervose costrette a stare insieme per mesi piene di angoscia.

The collocate *vogliono* in the TT could point to some exciting aspects of what girls want, and its absence in the ST appears worth investigating. Of the 6 instances of *vogliono* four are also present as *want* in the ST, whereas Examples (20) and (21) show slight changes in translation. In the former, translation adds elements clarifying what *everyone* refers to; in the latter *girls* are not the subject and one common verb is substituted with another one.

ST: Everyone wants to date a doctor, huh?

TT: Tutte le ragazze vogliono uscire con un dottore, vero?

ST: For a job like this you take girls

TT: Per un lavoro come quello ci vogliono le ragazze

So far, the analysis of the strongest collocates points to some important aspects of how girls – and women – are described, but the collocates alone are not enough to identify linguistic and semantic patterns. What emerges, however, is that girls are associated with the specific places of the training camp Northstar and the convent and this distinguishes them from women who appear less in these places. The concordance of *girls* shows 11 instances related to their training and teaching as can be seen in Example (22). In this training camp managed by the state young girls are trained to use their new power properly, but they are also controlled and contained. In these sentences, girls are not the active subject, but a collective group that *have been trained* or are *to teach* translated as *sono state addestrate* and *insegnare*. Out of the total number of occurrences of girls in 24 cases they function as the object of the sentence.

ST: I like Northstar. Teaching girls to be warriors.

TT: Mi piace la Northstar. Insegnare alle ragazze a essere guerriere.

By way of contrast, the convent represents a place where girls find shelter and are kept off the street. Many girls abandoned by their families gather in the convent that becomes the headquarter of their leader Mother Eve.

1 that there for a bit. Some of the girls in the convent want to spar with Roxy,
2 but the atmosphere among the girls in the convent is such that no mere
3 up the sea with her hands. The girls from the convent watch her from
4 can go home.’ The women nod. The girls from the convent turn and walk away as one
5 ‘Not so much. We’re only a few girls in a convent. Practising our religion
6 woman doing it; a dozen convent girls couldn’t have acted together so quickly

TABLE 7. Concordance of *girls* and the collocate *convent* in a span of 5L-5R.

Table 7 and 8 show the pattern of the collocate *convent* that both in the ST and the TT is linked to *girls* by a preposition that indicates place (*in, from*)

or place of origin (*di*). The convent is a place where girls learn to use their power (Table 7 line 1; Table 8 line 3), but here they are not controlled by an external authority and are self-sufficient. Girls do what they *want* (Table 7 line 1; Concordance 5 line 3) and can train to use their power and practice their religion (Table 7 line 5; Table 8 line 6). In Table 7, girls act *as one* (line 4) or *act together* (line 6) conveying solidarity and unity between the girls. In the TT these are translated respectively as *tutte* (Table 8 line 5) and *insieme*, but the latter does not occur in the span of 5 words as shows the extended concordance line 4 in Table 8: *una decina di ragazze del convento non sarebbero riuscite ad agire insieme*.

1	illumina il mare con le mani. Le ragazze del convento la osservano dall'alto del
2	ma l'atmosfera tra le ragazze del convento è tale che non può certo
3	sospese nell'aria. Alcune delle ragazze del convento vogliono allenarsi con Rox
4	donna da sola; una decina di ragazze del convento non sarebbero riuscite ad
5	donne annuiscono. Le ragazze del convento si voltano e vanno via tutte
6	Siamo solo un po' di ragazze in un convento. Che praticano la loro

TABLE 8. Concordance of *ragazze* and the collocate *convento* in a span of 5L-5R

Another feature emerging is the semantic field of violence. The simple examination of the concordance shows 13 instances of girls suffering (*thrown out, segregated, blinded, burned, etc.*) and 9 instances where girls are described as violent (*tried to kill, scare, electrocuting people, do terrible things, etc.*). Often the violence is almost indirect and much less brutal than in the case of *women*. In one of the most brutal scenes towards the end of the novel, and before the Cataclysm permanently reverses gender roles, women commit horrible crimes “just brutally” (Alderman 2016: 218). In this scene, however, the female characters are always referred to as *women* and not *girls*, even if the participants are still the same young women. This tendency is also observable when sexual crimes are committed against *women* (Example 10) and never against *girls*, except for Allie’s story. Because of these findings, the use of *women* and *girls* depends on different factors rather than only on the age of the characters. The indefinite crowd of female people is referred to as *women* when they become increasingly violent and especially in case of sexual violence. Girls are associated with the physical power and their bodies, as well as with the mystic and religious part of this power.

In Table 1 *body* is a thematic keyword and other fictional world-building elements such as *skein, palm, and voice* all represent the physical essence of the

new power. *Body* is not a frequent collocate of *girls*, but the context analysis reveals many instances where the girls' body is talked about referring to their *skein* (3 times) or *collarbones* (2). Moreover, their body is associated with abnormality and pain as in Example (23) and deformations of the *skein* must be treated. Unexpectedly, the *skein* causes suffering, and some girls even try to cut it out by themselves. The body is "a metaphor of power" (Yebra 2019: 73) and symbolic of the reversal of gender roles. But just as some girls do not want the *skein*, they do not want supremacy based on physical violence.

(23) ST: He spoke to doctors about treating 156 girls with *skein* deformations and problems. Not all girls have it, [...]. Some of the girls don't want it and try to cut it out of themselves.

TT: Intervistava alcuni medici sulla possibilità di curare le ragazze con deformazioni e problemi di matassa. Non tutte le ragazze ce l'hanno [...] Alcune ragazze non la vogliono, e tentano di togliersela.

5. Conclusion

The generation of keywords is a basic technique of corpus methods and a simple way to examine foregrounded linguistic elements. In this paper, keywords were further categorised into fictional world signals and thematic signals. The former are keywords that characterize the text world in terms of setting, participants, and atmosphere and have primarily one concrete meaning. Thematic signals provide information about the theme and are polysemous.

The keywords of Naomi Alderman's *The Power* give evidence about the setting and the characters of the novel. The Northstar camp and the women's nation Bessapara are the key places of the story described through *crowd*, *tree*, and *smell*. The characters are referred to by plural nouns stating their gender – *women*, *girls*, *men* – and the two spellings of *mum* and *mom*. Keywords also highlight the body parts and the voice of the participants: *skein*, *palm*, *laugh*, *voice* refer to the female characters, while Tunde is described by an accessory – his *camera*.

Thematic signal keywords *women*, *girls*, and *men* embody thematic concerns and represent the biologically determined gender categories. *Body* and *power* refer to the complex theme of power relationships between the sexes. Women's body – once *trafficked* (*comprate e vendute*) and *chained* (*incatenate*) – becomes a metaphor for the subversion of the conventional patriarchal power especially when women in a threatening way *stare* (*fissano*) and *watch* (*osservano*) men. The objectified and sexualized female body gains physical superiority by developing the new electrostatic power and this reverses the natural balance between the sexes. However, this reversal of sexual roles is one-dimensional,

since women become increasingly violent, and their power is based on physical control and domination just as the patriarchal power politics.

The analysis of concordances and collocational relationships showed interesting tendencies like the semantic field of age in describing women. Age-related adjectives occur slightly less in the Italian translation where a more specific noun is used. However, in the TT the cluster *giovani donne* is foregrounded as the adjective is to the left of the noun instead of the unmarked position on the right. Another aspect concerns determiners that collocate with *women* and *girls* that convey collectiveness and indefinite nature of female characters. The TT maintains this aspect by using collocates such as *tutte, alcune, quelle, altre* and the Italian grammatical gender of adjectives and nouns emphasizes unspecified female references.

In conclusion, the paper aimed at outlining a potential way to analyse translation and especially how thematic networks are constructed. Corpus stylistics is a potential resource to examine translation effects on the structure of fictional worlds, with the comparison of linguistic patterns in the ST and the TT. The theme of gender in *The Power* and in its Italian translation is represented through the conventional and binary categories of *women, girls, and men* and the subversion of the gender roles is obtained by simply reversing gender hierarchy.

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ERNESTO MALTRAVERS: THE TRANSLATOR AS 'OPPOSING LAWYER' AND 'COUNTER-ATTACKER'

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In 1838 Francesco Cusani (1802-1879) published the Italian translation of Bulwer's *Ernest Maltravers*, which had been on the English market only for one year. This translation is Cusani's second effort in translating Bulwer's works, after *Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei* (1835-36). But Cusani was not a novice translator. He had already translated some of Scott's historical novels, short-stories and poems as well as Cooper's *The Red Rover* and Morier's literary works. This study draws on Malmkjær's (2003) model of translational stylistics, and Batchelor's (2018, 2019) redefinition of 'paratext', which builds on Genette's (1997a, 1997b) conception of "transtextuality". The aim is to investigate the relationship between Cusani's stylistic choices in his translations before 1838 – but also his other works – and the complex paratextual system of his later translation, *Ernesto Maltravers* (1838). I will show how the paratextual interventions (e.g. the translator's prefaces and footnotes) modify the reader's perception of the author and of his literary work. Cusani and his attitude as a historian are very evident in his translations; he uses his historical knowledge – adding his cutting comments on the author's style – as a powerful tool not only to mediate between two different cultures – English and Italian – but predominantly to defend the Italian culture from Bulwer's *libellous* and *exaggerated* claims and to launch his counter-attacks. Through the analysis of paratexts in the translation of *Ernest*, I will show how Cusani reveals his multifarious facets: he is a polygrapher (a translator, a literary critic, a writer, a scholar, a historian) and he uses translation both to act as 19th-century's Italy 'opposing lawyer' and to counter-attack Bulwer's sarcastic statements about Italian culture.

Francesco Cusani, Edward George Bulwer Lytton, Ernesto Maltravers, literary translation, paratexts

1. Introduction

Francesco Cusani Confalonieri (1802-1879) was a famous Milanese historian and writer who began his career as a translator in order to bring his family back

from a difficult economic situation.¹ Although he was a much-appreciated historian, he always continued his activity as a translator throughout his life and, together with his authorial writings, he also carried out and edited many translations of modern English novelists, such as Walter Scott (1771-1832) and Edward George Bulwer-Lytton (1803-1873). Moreover, it is possible to state that Cusani, who had a deep knowledge of written English, probably translated their novels directly from English editions.² This was an exception to most of the translators of his time. In fact, translators generally used translated French editions of English literary texts in order to translate in their native languages. During the 19th century, the language from which many literary and non-literary texts were translated was French and these texts constituted one third of all translations from any other languages. In this period, Italian translations from English editions held the third position after those from German.³

Vital to Cusani's successful translation activity were the accuracy of his translations and the direct use of the English editions. Furthermore, Cusani's translation strategies often included a deep historical, cultural and linguistic analysis of the source texts, that he intentionally showed to the readership through an extensive use of paratexts,⁴ which are the "places of potential translation or translator visibility", using Batchelor's (2018: 32) definition.

One of the authors translated by Cusani almost to his last days was the already-mentioned Edward George Bulwer-Lytton, one of the most influential English writers of the 19th century and forerunner of Newgate and Dandy novels.⁵ If Walter Scott had represented the first attempts of Cusani's translating activities between 1828 and 1831, the Italian translations of Bulwer's literary works covered the entire period of Cusani's life. *Rienzi. L'ultimo dei tribuni romani* was re-published in 1879 in a fourth two-volume

¹ Cusani's best and well-known writing is the uncompleted historical eight-volume work *Storia di Milano dall'origine ai nostri giorni*, which he started to compose in 1861 until the last days of his life. There is no much relevant information and bibliography on his profile, apart from Vittori (1985) and Re (2018,2022).

² This can be inferred from the temporal proximity between the publication dates of the translated novels and the publication dates of the source texts, as well as from the paratextual elements in the front pages of some of his translated English novels where it was explicated that Cusani had translated them directly from English. This hypothesis is also supported by Re (2018: 132-3).

³ For further information, see bibliographical references in Ondelli and Zaini (2013); in particular Benedetti (1974).

⁴ In this article, I use the term "paratexts" in its plural form of the noun, according to the modern scholarly use of the concept as synonym of paratextual elements, even if paratext was initially used as a macro-system composed of different paratextual elements. See Genette (1997a).

⁵ Among the relevant studies on Bulwer, see: Christensen (2004); Marucci (2003); Mitchell (2003); and their bibliographies.

edition and “nuovamente riveduta e corretta sul testo inglese per cura di F. Cusani”, as the front-page reported.⁶

Considering just the first editions and excluding the reprinted or re-edited versions of the same novels, Cusani translated a total of five Bulwer’s novels: *Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei* 1835-36; *Ernesto Maltravers* 1838-39; *Alice o i misteri* 1839-40; *Rienzi. L’ultimo de’ Tribuni* 1847; *Zanoni* 1848. Although a complex paratextual system was already a stylistic feature of Bulwer’s writing, these translations contain a more complex and amplified use of paratexts due to the translator’s interventions.

In this article, I first examine the concept of paratext in translation that underpins the present study; then, I investigate the profile of Cusani as a translator and main editor of an Italian collection of novels, entitled *Serie di Romanzi Storici e d’altro genere de’ più celebri Scrittori moderni*. Finally, focusing on Cusani’s translation *Ernesto Maltravers* (1838-39), I analyse its peritexts and epitexts in order to fathom how and why – using Malmkjær’s (2003) model – Cusani worked on the source text and its style, producing a *maltrattato* translated novel, as the title of this article suggests.

2. Paratexts and translation

A renewed interest in the connection between translation and paratexts has taken hold of many translation scholars’ debates over the past few years. On 12 September 2018 Kathryn Batchelor presented her new monograph *Translation and Paratexts* during the ARTIS (Advancing Research in Translation and Interpreting Studies) event, entitled *Verbal and Visual Paratexts in Translation and Interpreting*. In her book, moving away from Genette’s conception of paratext,⁷ Batchelor redefines paratext as “a consciously crafted threshold for a text which has the potential to influence the way(s) in which the text is received” (Batchelor 2018: 142). She explains that, unlike Genette’s disregard towards translated texts, her new definition regards translations not as paratext of a source text, but as texts in their own right and with their own paratexts. Besides, Genette’s analysis of paratext was predominantly in the context of literary print culture and he had by and large distinguished the paratext in two different macro-sections. Paratextual elements that surround the core text within the printed book constitute the “peritext”, while those that are outside are elements of the “epitext”.⁸

⁶ In this article, I checked all bibliographical information on the publication dates of Cusani’s translations through the use of the Italian Online Public Access Catalogue of National Library Service (OPAC SBN: <https://opac.sbn.it/>).

⁷ See Genette (1997a, 1997b).

⁸ This distinction can still be useful for those who work with printed texts, but the conception

The origin of scholarly interest in the relationship between paratexts and translation can be traced back to Kovala's (1996) case study. In this work, Kovala analysed the use of paratexts in translations of Anglo-American literature in Finland between 1890 and 1939, as well as the functions that paratexts may generally fulfil. Kovala focused his study on paratexts as "mediators between the text and the reader and their potential influence on the reader's reading and the reception of the works in question" (Kovala, 1996, p.120). He carried out a paratextual analysis of three literary translated works, focusing on some of their peritextual elements (front and back covers, book flaps, title pages, blurbs, illustrations, introductions, prefaces and endnotes). His analysis identified and illustrated four different types of paratext: the "modest" paratext, constituted by some necessary elements (title, author's name and the price on the back cover); the commercial paratext, which has the purpose to advertise other books of the same publisher; the informative paratext, devoted to describing the work itself and contextualizing it; and the illustrative paratext, which regards illustrations on the front and back covers and sometimes within the text itself (Kovala 1996: 127).⁹ Kovala contended that more attention was to be given to the cultural use of paratexts for "a more careful analysis of the way ideology – implicitly or explicitly – makes itself present in paratextual discourse" (Kovala 1996: 141).

More recently, a research group at the University of Vigo in Spain has developed a specific approach to the analysis of paratexts in translation, called *paratranslation* (Yuste Frías 2010). According to this perspective, the translation of paratexts includes "omission, re-ordering of elements, re-design of layout and the insertion of additional explicatory elements and illustrations" (Pellatt 2013: 87). Also, paratranslation reveals "information about a range of manipulation strategies and about the translator's subjectivity" (Pellatt 2013: 87).¹⁰

After having expounded paratexts in translation, I am now going to introduce the profile and the translating style of Francesco Cusani as a famous translator and editor of the 19th century and then analyse the paratexts of the translated text *Ernesto Maltravers*.

of a text, in particular nowadays, is not limited to printed editions. It is enough to think of digital texts, such as hypertexts, e-books, or other kinds of texts, such as films, TV series, video games; see Batchelor (2018, 2019). However, in this article I apply Genette's distinction – using the two terms in their plural forms, according to the modern scholarly use – to carry out my print-based paratextual analysis, although the status of translation as a text in its own right and with its own paratexts remains true and undeniable.

⁹ The term "paratext" is considered by Kovala in a singular form according to its first use. See footnote n.4.

¹⁰ As regards the relationship between paratexts and translation, see also the following references and their bibliographies: Catalano and Marcialis (2020); Batchelor (2019); Luo and Zhang (2018); Elefante (2012); Gil-Bardají, Orero and Rovira-Esteva (2012); Tahir Gürçağlar (2011); Santoro and Tavoni (2005).

3. Francesco Cusani as an Italian translator of Bulwer and the use of paratexts

As already stated in section 1, one of the stylistic features in Bulwer's novels is the extensive use of paratexts. Many of his literary works are characterized by a large presence of prefaces, introductions, epigraphs, chapters' titles, footnotes, appendixes and other textual spaces that often have anticipatory and explanatory functions, thereby helping his readers not to get lost amidst stylistically dense narrative sequences.

In writing his books, Bulwer carried out painstaking documentary research, which was:

confinata in prefazioni, note a piè di pagina e apparati eruditi e prolissi, e un certo appiattimento dell'immaginazione sacrificata all'esame ravvicinato degli eventi pubblici. Non c'è romanziere storico che sfoggerà più cultura nozionistica di Bulwer: le sue epigrafi rimangono memorabilia, insuperate in qualità e quantità, sempre ingombranti in apertura di capitoli e spesso diametrali nel tenore, ricavate da Omero e dallo scrittore di infima categoria (Marucci, 2003, p.16).¹¹

Bulwer's research, independently of whether it was included in the core text or in the paratexts, indicates the didactic aim of his writings. Examples that confirm Bulwer's didactic approach are his continuous references to cultural, philosophical and historical issues that often take the form of a dialogue between characters, even in novels that are not specifically historical. Bulwer's didactic aim can be clearly seen towards the end of the second volume in *Alice or the Mysteries* (1838), where he addressed his readers directly, as he often used to do:

What I am now about to set down may be wearisome, but it is not episodal; and I promise that it shall be the last didactic conversation in the work (Bulwer-Lytton, 1838, vol.2: 262).

Translating literary works with so many paratexts and maintaining their reader-orienting perspective pose a real challenge for the translator. Bearing in mind his readers and the cultural and historical differences between Italy and England, Cusani had to use particular translation strategies. Interestingly, it was the addition of specific paratexts to his first three-volume translation of Bulwer's historical novel *Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei* (1835-36) that made Cusani one of the most recognized and erudite translators of Bulwer in the

¹¹ "confined to prefaces, footnotes and erudite and verbose apparatuses, and a certain flattening of the imagination sacrificed to a close examination of the public events. There is no historical novelist who will show off more notional culture than Bulwer: his epigraphs remain memorabilia, unsurpassed in quality and quantity, always bulky at the opening of chapters and often diametrical in tenor, taken by Homer or by the writer of the lowest category" (my English translation). About Bulwer's style, his use and the functions of paratexts, see also: Mulvey-Roberts (2016); Mitchell (2003: XVIII-XXI).

19th century. Indeed, Cusani's choice to include a preliminary essay, footnotes, some lithographs which depicted Pompei's buildings and excavations, as well as a topographical map of the archaeological area derived from William Gell's work *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii: The results of Excavations since 1819* (1832)¹² led this target text to overtake the previous Italian translation of the novel in popularity.¹³

3.1 Cusani's editorial project *Serie di Romanzi storici e d'altro genere and the translated novel* Ernesto Maltravers

In the same years, Cusani was also the main editor and mastermind of an Italian collection of novels, entitled *Serie di Romanzi Storici e d'altro genere de' più celebri Scrittori moderni per la prima volta tradotti nell'idioma italiano*, published between 1834 and 1844 in eight series by the Milanese publishing house Pirotta and Company. The idea behind this editorial project was to divulge the latest and most famous novels written in other countries and to educate the readership through them (Re 2018: 173-206). As regards the purpose of divulgation, it may be interesting to note that the idea of translation as a means for cultural exchange, enrichment and progress was not unfamiliar to that milieu. By way of example, in 1816 the first issue of the Italian journal *Biblioteca Italiana ossia Giornale di Letteratura, Scienze ed Arti*¹⁴ published the Italian translation of the essay *Sulla maniera e la utilità delle Traduzioni*, originally written by Anne Luoise Germaine de Staël (1766-1817), commonly known as Madame de Staël. The journal editors shared what de Staël declared about the principle of knowing other cultures to enrich the Italian one:

Perciò gl'intelletti della bella Italia, se amano di non giacere oziosi, rivolgano spesso l'attenzione di là dall'Alpi, non dico per vestire le fogge straniere, ma per conoscerle; non per diventare imitatori, ma per uscire di quelle usanze viete, le quali durano nella letteratura come nelle compagnie i complimenti, a pregiudizio della naturale schiettezza. (De Staël 1816: 16).¹⁵

¹² Cusani's addition of Gell's topographical map as paratext of his translation was a thoughtful and carefully considered choice since Bulwer's novel was dedicated to the archaeologist and illustrator Sir William Gell (1777-1836).

¹³ The reference is to the previous Italian two-volume edition *Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei* (1835), translated by Gaetano Barbieri in Milan for the publishing house Antonio Fortunato Stella and sons. See Bertani (2014: 313-14).

¹⁴ *Biblioteca Italiana* was a trimestral journal published in Milan from January 1816 to December 1840. The entire collection is available at <http://www.internetculturale.it/it/913/emeroteca-digitale-italiana/periodic/testata/7566> (last accessed on 13.06.2021).

¹⁵ "Thus, if scholars of *bella Italia* wish not to be idler, they should frequently look beyond the Alps, not to wear strangers' skin, but to know – not to imitate, but to emancipate themselves from certain conventional forms that persist in literature like flattery in society at the expense of natural bluntness" (my English translation). On the topic of translation, de Staël's essay and its cultural background, see Palumbo (2018) and its bibliography.

Interestingly, the *Biblioteca Italiana* published two reviews of Cusani's Italian translations, those of *Ernesto Maltraverso* and *Alice o i misteri*, respectively in 1839 and in 1840. Regarding the value of novels as a way to educate the Italian readership, it may be relevant here to consider that in the review of Cusani's *Ernesto Maltraverso* mentioned above, the anonymous reviewer underlined this issue at the beginning of the text, explaining his/her perplexities:

Lasciandoci a tutti una piena libertà di pensare e di sentire a loro modo, noi però crediamo che non ci faremo mai capaci d'imitare i magnanimi fatti e i generosi sacrifici se non verrà la istoria a narrarceli fedelmente col suo grave e severo stile, e non potremo mai persuaderci che sdolcinate novelle, omiopatiche descrizioni, pagine palpitanti ora di svenevoli amori, ora di libidine, ora di orribile crudeltà possano apprendere sapienza e virtù a noi nipoti di grandi avi che in ben diverse scuole le appresero. (Anonymous review of *Ernesto*, 1839: 120)¹⁶

Apart from the reviewer's personal opinions, it is apparent in this long passage that the theme of the education of *sapienza* (wisdom) and *virtù* (virtue) through novels was one of the issues discussed in the world of letters at the beginning of 19th century.¹⁷ Cusani was in favour of the genre of novels and, as the editor of *Serie di Romanzi storici e d'altro genere*, he advocated their educative function, which also mirrored perfectly the didactic aim of Bulwer's novels and his use of paratexts.

The first literary translation of one of Bulwer's works in the editorial collection *Serie di Romanzi storici e d'altro genere* was *Eugenio Aram* (1836), translated by Francesco Ambrosoli¹⁸ and including a two-page anonymous preface to the text. It was included as the last three volumes of the second series of the Italian collection and up until now there is no documentary evidence of Cusani's involvement in writing or drafting the final edition of this literary work. A different case was the second Bulwer's work included in the fourth series of the collection, which is the object of this study, that is Cusani's translation *Ernesto Maltraverso* (1838-39).

¹⁶ "Letting everyone feel completely free to think and reason in their own way, however we believe that we will never be able to imitate the magnanimous deeds and generous sacrifices if it is not History to faithfully narrate them in its grave and severe style. We will never be able to persuade ourselves that corny stories, homeopathic descriptions, trembling pages full of swooning loves, of lust or of horrible cruelty, could teach wisdom and virtue to us, descendants of great ancestors who learned them in very different schools" (my English translation). I will come back to the value of these reviews as epitexts of Cusani's translation *Ernesto Maltraverso* (1838-39) in section 3.1.2.

¹⁷ The idea of reading novels as educative tools is an issue which can be dated back to the origins of the novel. There are many literary studies on the topic; by way of example, see McMurrin (2010, pp.27-43).

¹⁸ Very few references about his profile are available; see Asor Rosa (1960) and Carrannante (1982).

Ernesto Maltravers, translated for the first time in Italian as required by the *Serie*, was not included in the historical works, but belonged to novels “d’altro genere” (of a different kind). Respecting faithfully the general structure of the source text, this translation is divided in three volumes, nine books and 77 chapters.¹⁹ The first volume constituted the sixth tome of the fourth editorial series and was published in 1838, while the other two, the seventh and the eighth tomes, were published in 1839. The narrative of *Ernesto* is very complex and consists of a series of intrigues and adventures. Together with the three-volume *Eugenio Aram*, it is catalogued among the famous English Newgate novels of that time (Marucci 2003: 17-20). Unlike *Eugenio*, the three-volume novel *Ernesto* was left uncompleted since it was not followed by the sequel *Alice o i misteri* (1839-40).²⁰ More specifically, the three volumes of *Alice o i misteri* are the last tomes (the tenth, the eleventh and the twelfth ones) of the fifth *Serie* and, like *Ernesto*’s books, as I will show in the next section, include a lithograph at the beginning of the volumes, underlining a continuity with *Ernesto*, not only at the level of content, but also in the formal aspects of these translations.

Therefore, with their six volumes in total, *Ernesto* and *Alice* are two novels in series which fit perfectly into Cusani’s editorial idea by reinforcing the bond between the readership and the Italian collection as sequences of the latest and newest novels not to be missed. From the editor’s and the translator’s perspectives, which in this case overlap in the profile of Francesco Cusani, there is always particular attention to the relationship with the readers.

After this brief introduction to the text and the context in which it was conceived, I can now move to the analysis of peritextual and, then, epitextual elements in *Ernesto*.

3.1.1. *Ernesto Maltravers*’ peritexts

According to Genette’s printed-based distinction between peritexts and epitexts, in this section I analyse the peritexts of the translated text *Ernesto Maltravers* (1838-39), comparing them quantitatively and qualitatively with those of the source text. For the purpose of this comparison, I follow Malmkjær’s (2003: 37-58) model of translational stylistics. I therefore refer to the binary distinction between how-stage and why-stage, in which the how-stage stands for how a text (target or source) means what it does and the why-stage stands for why a writer (a translator, in the case of a translation) may have chosen to shape the text in that particular way.

¹⁹ According to Genette’s classification (see Genette, 1997b), this textual feature belongs to what he called *architextuality*, one of the hyponyms of the broad concept *transtextuality*. Architextuality is the relationship that determines the attribution of a text to a specific genre.

²⁰ The English three-volume novel *Alice, or the Mysteries* was published for the first time in 1838 and, thanks to Cusani’s *Serie*, the Italian translation of the first two volumes appeared in Italy in 1839, whereas the last volume was published a year later.

Apart from the first pages with the indication of the number of the series and of the tomes, in *Ernesto* the second page of each tome has an iconographic peritextual element which anticipates the classic front page with all the details about the novel (title, author, translator's name, volume's number, publication date, publisher and so on).²¹ Like in the last two volumes, but with more emphasis on its function due to being the first one, the iconographic peritext of the first volume is an anonymous lithograph with the illustration of Ernest hugging Alice, the two main characters of the narrated love story. This picture may be a way to indicate the type of novel the reader will engage with. The other two lithographs represent two other important random narrative sequences of the story and have the same engaging function.

As reported on the front page of *Ernesto*, Cusani translated the text from the English edition, and not from a French edition, which was the common procedure of other translators of that period.²² Cusani's source text was, in fact, the first edition of the English novel published with Saunders and Otley publishing house in London. Cusani also translated the dedication "to the great German people" and the authorial section "A word to the reader". Moreover, he reported almost all epigraphs of the source text which were included at the beginning of each chapter and each book.

<i>Ernest Maltravers</i> by E. G. Bulwer-Lytton (1837)	<i>Ernesto Maltravers</i> Translation by F. Cusani (1838-39)
	Each of the three volumes contains a page with the title of the editorial series and the tome's number
	A lithograph at the beginning of each volume
Front-page with editorial information	Front-page with editorial information (of the target text)
Dedication	Dedication (translated peritext)
	Translator's preface
A word to the reader	<i>Una parola al lettore</i> (translated peritext)
Each of the 77 chapters contains a page header with the title of the narrative sequences	

²¹ There are no lithographs in the English source three volumes.

²² See 1 and, in particular, footnote n.3.

125 epigraphs: - 11 in Greek (each of them accompanied by an English translation) - 101 in English (of which 11 are the translations of the Greek ones) - 6 in Latin - 6 in French - 1 in Spanish	104 epigraphs (Italian translations of the ST epigraphs)
6 authorial footnotes	35 footnotes: 2 authorial footnotes and 33 translator's ones

TABLE 1. Comparison between Ernest Maltravers' peritexts and those in Cusani's translation

As Table 1 above shows, a noticeable difference between these two peritextual systems is given by four paratextual features: firstly, the presence of the translator's preface written by Cusani for his Italian readership between the dedication and the translated authorial peritext *Una parola al lettore*; secondly, the absence in the target text of the titles for the narrative sequences in the novel's chapters, which were positioned in the source text as page headers; thirdly, the fact that all the epigraphs were translated into Italian, even if not all of them were in English; and finally, the larger amount of footnotes in the Italian translation as compared to those contained in the source text (35 in the TT versus 6 in the ST).

Looking closely at the translator's preface, this peritext provides us with some information about the why-stage, that is why Cusani may have decided to shape his translation in the way he did. Aside from the information content that Cusani deliberately did not discuss in detail in order not to spoil the story, he affirmed:

Quanto alla traduzione cercai di conservare l'andamento piano e narrativo dell'originale, che avrei falsato adoperando lo stile degli *Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* (Bulwer-Lytton, 1838-39, vol.1: 8).²³

It is interesting at this point to compare what he had written about his translation strategies in *Ragionamento Preliminare*, the preface which introduces his Italian translation *Gli ultimi giorni di di Pompei* (1835-36), and how he considered Bulwer's style. In his *Ragionamento*, he wrote:

²³ "With regard to this translation, I have tried to preserve the original slow storytelling that I would have distorted by using the style of *Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei*" (my English translation).

Lo stile è sostenuto ed elegante, ma cade nel gonfio e nel manierato per soverchie fioriture e per arditissime metafore. E le poesie profuse a piene mani nel libro? (...) egli è mancante in generale di chiarezza e spontaneità. (Bulwer-Lytton 1835-36, vol.1: XXI).²⁴

and then added:

Cercai di uniformarmi coll'autore, serbandone il carattere, la fisionomia, sempre che l'indole diversa delle due lingue il permettesse (...). Il voltare in prosa tutti gli squarci lirici era un rendere freddo il romanzo, impresa difficilissima il tradurli in versi (...). Pure volli tentar la prova: attenendomi possibilmente al testo, e serbando i pensieri dell'autore, studiai di farli italiani, e di render poesia per poesia. (Bulwer-Lytton, 1835-36, vol.1: XXII-XXIII).²⁵

This is the way in which he generally seemed to act in his translations – respecting the author's style and preserving the original narrative, as he affirmed in his preface to *Ernesto*. However, he rendered in prose all the poems in *Ernest*, criticising Bulwer's style, as shown in the comments included in his footnotes.

As regards the titles of the narrative sequences, it may be assumed that they fulfil an anticipatory and explanatory function. They orient the reader through the narrative passages of the story and their absence in the target text is hard to explain, also considering the other peritexts used by Cusani. I would not say that it is a possible editorial choice, because in the second *Serie* of the same editorial project Ambrosoli's translation *Eugenio Aram* contains the source text narrative sequences' titles, even if they are listed in a table of contents at the end of each volume and not as page headers.

As to Bulwer's epigraphs in the source text, they are placed at the beginning of each chapter and each book, and were written in their original languages, except for the Greek ones, which Bulwer inserted only at the beginning of each book and accompanied with an English translation. Coming from a wide range of classical and modern well-known and little-known texts, all quotations – written not only in English, but also in Latin, Spanish and French – are integral parts of the peritextual system of the novel, representing also a complex intertextual system which offers a clear view of Bulwer's highfalutin style.²⁶ Cusani's choice to translate them into Italian (except for the Spanish

²⁴ “The style is buoyant and elegant, but it falls into puffiness and into mannerism for his strong phrases and bold metaphors. What about his poems? (...) he generally lacks clarity and spontaneity” (my English translation)..

²⁵ “I'll try to be in line with the author, preserving his personality, his aspect, when the difference between the two languages makes it possible (...). Turning all the lyrical passages into prose would have meant rendering the novel cold; translating them into verses was very difficult (...). I gave it a try anyway, by adhering possibly to the text and preserving authorial thoughts, I endeavoured to make them sound Italian and translate poetry into poetry” (my English translation)..

²⁶ For a definition of intertext, I refer to Genette (1997b). On the relationship between intertextual

one, possibly because of the strong similarity between the two languages) is a simplification for the Italian reader and this *domesticating* process, in Venuti's (2008: 19) terminology, was used in the previous translation, *Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei* (1835-36), and also for the other three translations by Cusani (*Alice o i misteri*, 1839-40; *Rienzi. L'ultimo dei tribuni romani*, 1847; and *Zanoni*, 1848).

Still comparing the difference between the source and the target text from Table 1, Cusani translated the first authorial footnote, which is a description of similarity parallelism between the co-protagonist of the story, Alice, characterized by innocent ignorance, and a historical fact concerning a similar woman discovered in 1835 and documented in a journal of Bulwer's epoch (Bulwer-Lytton, 1838-39, vol.1: 48). This evidence attests the painstaking documentary research of the author when writing his novels. The second authorial footnote that Cusani accidentally reported as his own – he signed the footnote with *Il Trad.*, but it was Bulwer's – is a simple clarification with the specific name of “un vecchio autore inglese” (an old English author) to which the text refers (Bulwer-Lytton, 1838-39, vol.1: 242). The other four not-translated authorial footnotes may have been considered superficial in Cusani's view since three of them were specifications of some terms or expressions that in the Italian translation were rendered with the direct use of terms recognizable by the new readership, and the other one²⁷ included Bulwer's personal opinion on some French writers adding nothing new to the narrated story.

The 33 additional translator's footnotes are the most interesting ones because they enable us to investigate how and why Cusani intervened in the way he did. I have divided them into four categories: most of them are used for orienting and supporting the target reader with some information on the source text or on the historical details of the narrated story (18 footnotes); three of them are Cusani's interventions on the false or preposterous statements and theories written by Bulwer in the text; nine footnotes include comments on the authorial style; and the last three are Cusani's defence of the Italian culture from Bulwer's attacks.²⁸ While the first two categories are basically related to some cultural, historical or philosophical-ideological specifications with an explanatory aim, so coveted by Bulwer, a close analysis of the last two types of footnotes is useful to investigate Cusani's paratextual interventions.

Considering the third category, what Cusani wrote in the two footnotes is worth mentioning:

references and Bulwer's style, see Barletta (2019).

²⁷ See Bulwer-Lytton (1837, vol.1: 284).

²⁸ Considering Bulwer-Lytton (1838-39), I have divided footnotes as follow: first category (vol.1, pp.217, 218, 247, 248, 251; vol.2: 8, 113, 120, 223, 225/6, 250a, 250b; vol.3: 19, 132, 195, 259, 262, 264); second category (vol.1: 256; vol.2: 15; vol.3: 199a); third category (vol.1: 214, 216, 237, 240, 262; vol.2: 13, 121; vol.3: 68, 199b); fourth category (vol.1: 221, 243; vol.3: 255).

Il lettore troverà stentate e puerile queste strofe al nostro bel lago di Como. Ripeterò quanto dissi nella mia Introduzione agli *Ultimi Giorni di Pompei*, che Bulwer non è poeta ad onta delle sue metafore, dei gonfi pensieri e dell'oscurità spesso inintelligibile dei traslati. (Bulwer-Lytton, 1838-39, vol.1: 214)²⁹

Altre esagerazioni e oscurità come sopra. I versi del Bulwer mi sembrano sì ripugnanti all'indole della poesia italiana che preferii la prosa, e di più tradussi con molta libertà. (Bulwer-Lytton, 1838-39, vol.1: 216)³⁰

The examples in this third category are significant not only because they express negative comments on Bulwer's style, often declared "astruso" (abstruse), "inintelligibile" (unintelligible), "di pessimo gusto" (in bad taste), "d'una prolissità viziosa" (with a vicious verbosity) and so on, but also because they explain the reasons why Cusani decided not to "tentar la prova" (give it a try) of translating poems into poems, as declared in *Ragionamento Preliminare* (Bulwer-Lytton, 1835-36, vol.1, p.XXIII). Moreover, Bulwer's statements and his insults towards the Italian culture are unacceptable, so much so that Cusani, as the fourth category of footnotes demonstrates, intervened in defence of his culture. He commented with expressions such as "avventato giudizio" (thoughtless judgement) (Bulwer-Lytton, 1838-39, vol.1, p.221) when the English author wrote negatively on Italian music and he added that it was "abbastanza noto che per scrittori stranieri il parlar male dell'Italia e degli Italiani è affare di moda" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1838-39, vol.1, p.221)³¹, and when Bulwer attacked Italian historians, Cusani – who curiously was one of them – added in a footnote just the sentence "Anche questa sentenza ha bisogno di prove, e molte" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1838-39, vol.1, p.243)³², with a clear sarcastic tone.

Unlike other peritexts, footnotes are in this case not only a mere tool to guide the reader throughout the text, but also an instrument for the defence of Italian cultural values. They appeared in the text as repeated critical interventions, as old kinds of pop-ups which interrupt the reading and the reader's "illusion"³³.

²⁹ "The reader will find these stanzas dedicated to our beautiful Lake Como stunted and childish. I will repeat what I said in my Introduction to *Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei* that Bulwer is not a poet in spite of his metaphors, of his puffy thoughts and of the often-unintelligible obscurity of his phrases" (my English translation).

³⁰ "Other exaggerations and obscurities as above. Bulwer's lines seem to me so repugnant to the nature of Italian poetry that I preferred poetry, translating them with greater freedom" (my English translation).

³¹ "quite known that speaking badly about Italy and Italians is fashionable among foreign writers" (my English translation).

³² "Even this verdict needs proofs, and many" (my English translation).

³³ Hermans defined the reading of translated literary texts as an activity which includes an "illusion" for the reader and he stated: "while reading translated fiction, readers are normally meant to forget that what they are reading is a translation" (Hermans 1996: 26).

3.1.2 Ernesto Maltravers' *epitexts*

Considering Genette's (1997a) conception of paratexts in its duality, even epitexts deserve a thorough consideration. In 1839, soon after the publication of the last volume of *Ernesto Maltravers*, an anonymous writer published an almost entirely negative review in *Biblioteca Italiana* (Review of *Ernesto*, 1839: 120-7).³⁴ *Ernesto* was attacked mainly for its plot. Apart from the issue on the impossibility to educate readers through novels (discussed in section 3.1), the charges were the presence of never-ending sentences, descriptions and dialogues, and the incompleteness of the novel since *Alice o i misteri* represents the sequel of the story. According to the reviewer, the novel had "povera l'invenzione, strana la condotta ed inconcludente lo scopo" (Review of *Ernesto*, 1839: 126)³⁵ and, due to its style, it caused "noja" (boredom) (Review of *Ernesto*, 1839: 127). To justify his/her critical opinion, he/she recalled some of the translator's footnotes, in particular that in which Cusani attacked Bulwer because of "tali minuzie e ripetizioni che lo rendono di una prolissità veramente viziosa" (Bulwer-Lytton 1838-39, vol.3: 68)³⁶.

The translator's reply was not long in coming. In his new preface to the sequel *Alice o i misteri* (1839-40), entitled *Lettori!*,³⁷ Cusani advocated Bulwer's previous work and his translation:

questo romanzo del Bulwer invece di noja destò molto interesse, e piacque generalmente. (...) l'antipatia del critico pei romanzi lo ha reso di soverchio parziale nel suo giudizio. (Bulwer-Lytton, 1839-40, vol.1: XIII-XIV)³⁸

After being attacked as historian and after the defence of his native culture, Cusani continued to proudly carry out his task as translator and to counterattack against the critical comments on Bulwer's text. This literary exchange of views is actually the more likely cause of the significant reduction in the number of Cusani's critical footnotes on the authorial style in *Alice* (only four and often reporting the English text for a comparison). Most of his footnotes were, in fact, intended to help and guide the reader (5 footnotes in the preface and 34 in the core text).

Nonetheless, Cusani's defence of Bulwer in *Lettori!* cost him a harsh assessment:

³⁴ See footnote n.14.

³⁵ "a poor invention, a strange development and an inconclusive purpose" (my English translation).

³⁶ "such minutiae and repetitions that makes him [an author] with a really vicious verbosity" (my English translation).

³⁷ It may be relevant here to consider the epitextual function of the preface *Lettori!*. It certainly represents a peritext of the translation *Alice o i misteri* (1839-40), but in this case it is considered an epitext of *Ernesto Maltravers* (1838-39) as the quoted reviews.

³⁸ "This novel does not cause boredom, but it has aroused great interest and readers generally like it. (...) the antipathy of the reviewer for novels made it biased in his judgement" (my English translation).

Forse il Cusani adopera come que' padri, che, non essendo restii a dir male della condotta dei loro figli, non soffrono però che ciò da altri si faccia! (Review of *Alice* 1840: 274).³⁹

4. Conclusion

To sum up, *Ernesto Maltraverso* (1838-39), Cusani's translation of a Bulwer's work and the object of this study, presents a network of paratexts which is more complex than that of the source text. Cusani recognized the value of the source text as he demonstrated in the epitexts, but – as an Italian translator and historian – he felt the urge to intervene during the translation process in favour of his culture. Moreover, the translator chose to intervene through the use of many paratexts, even if this procedure – which often included cutting comments on the author's style as regards peritexts, or a discussion about reviewers' criticisms on the translated text in the case of epitexts – may have interrupted the flow of the reading.

In conclusion, Cusani surely used his cultural, historical knowledge as a powerful tool to mediate between two different languages and cultures. He also used any possible paratextual space in the translation to express his personal opinion, to underline the fallacy or the flimsiness of Bulwer's claims, and to defend the Italian culture from the author's attacks as if he were an opposing lawyer or a counter-attacker in a cultural battle in which paratexts are the translator's weapons.

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³⁹ "Perhaps Cusani behaves like those fathers who, not being reluctant to speak badly of their sons' behaviour, do not however allow this to be done by others!" (my English translation).

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The contributions collected in this volume are a selection of papers presented at the XXIX AIA conference. They explore a variety of linguistic phenomena using “out-of-the-box” approaches. Getting out of the box challenges us to consider possibilities previously not even imagined, and to extend our vision – of the world and ourselves – to include alternative, complementary, or even contrasting perspectives. It means engaging in self-reflective, creative and/or lateral thinking, beyond what is obvious or commonplace, or even implicit in what we say and do. Most of all, it means becoming aware of the existence of “the box” (i.e. what we take for granted and how this conditions our conduct) and also being willing to question the validity of our convictions so as to expand our knowledge. In linguistics, language teaching, translation studies and terminology, it may involve re-labelling phenomena and concepts; investigating familiar communicative practices through novel methods; checking whether the concepts we use are suitable for describing the phenomena we study; determining to what extent our claims and assumptions are supported by the evidence available; and exploring approaches that are sometimes claimed to have reached the limits of their potential. Thinking out of the box may also be considered in terms of innovation, creativity, a rethinking of attitudes and approaches, and even a “daring” return to theories and practices that may have been swept aside in the drive to move ever forward.

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