



Law and Language at the European Court of Justice

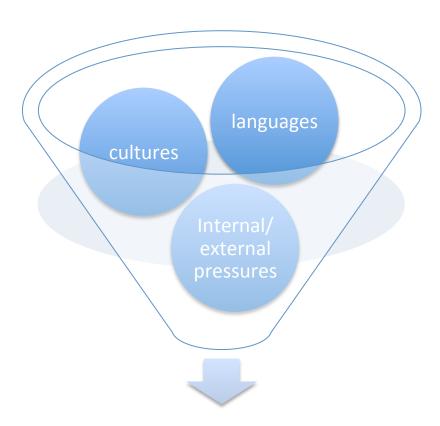
The LLECJ Project







'Cultural Compromises'



- Marc Abélès
- Irène Bellier

Output: cultural compromise

The LLECJ Project

Producing a multilingual jurisprudence

- · a sociology of the ECJ
- has the institutional model changed post 2004?
- a linguistic cultural compromise at the Court?

Reinforcement of constitutional pluralism?

Development of 'precedent' in ECJ judgments

BUT

Precedent:

- a conscious jurisprudential strategy
- · mechanics of jurisprudential drafting

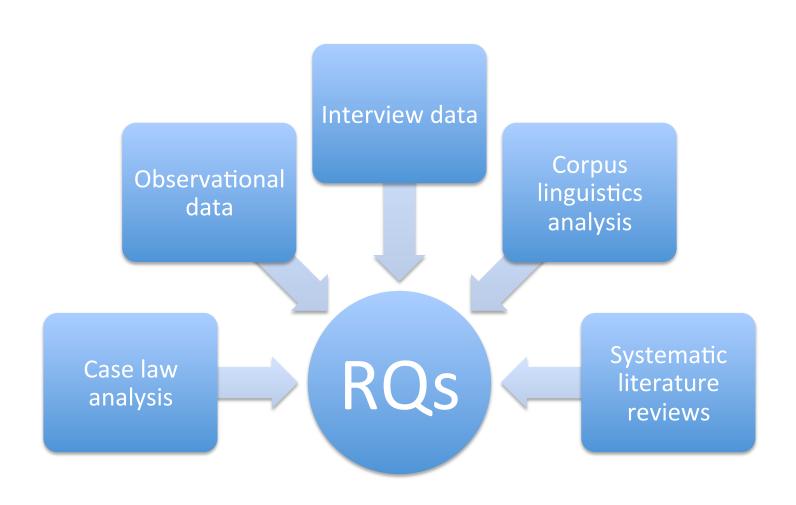
Translation adds another variable

The changing role of the AG

- question of persuasive logics
- •Deliberative effect of language

What does this mean for the development of EU law?

Methodology



Why Language?

Law: a culture-specific communicative system

ECJ: multilingual output (up to 24 languages)

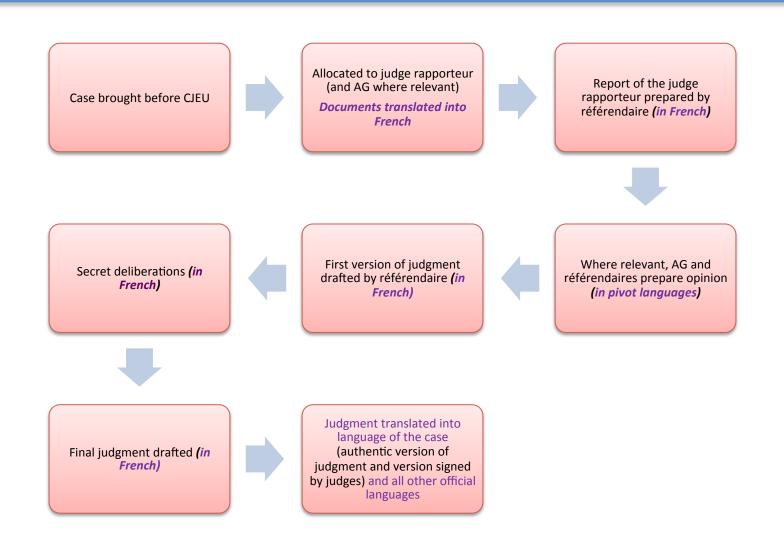
Translation and the incongruency of legal systems

Why Language?

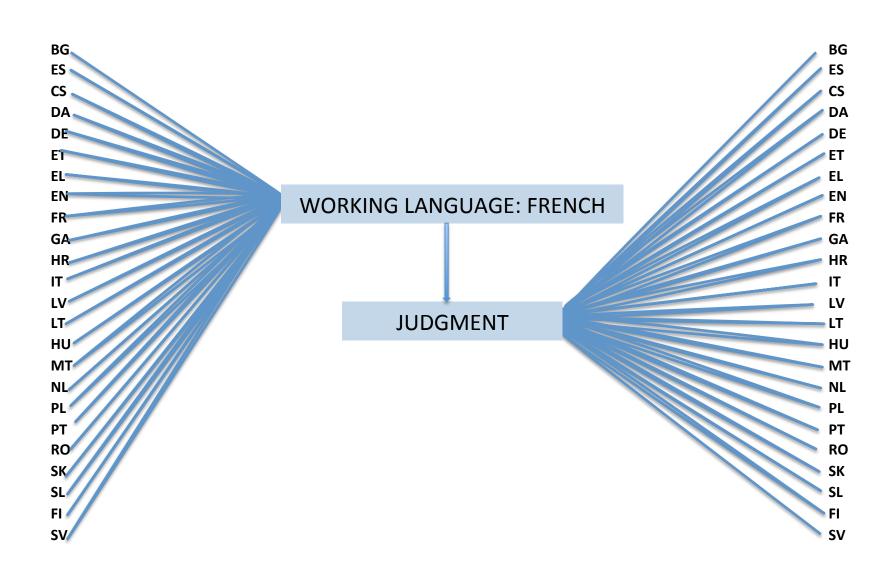
Pommer (2012): The task of the legal translator is "to make the foreign legal text accessible for recipients with a different (legal) background"

Sarçević: "the ultimate goal of legal translation is to produce parallel texts that will be interpreted and applied uniformly by the courts"

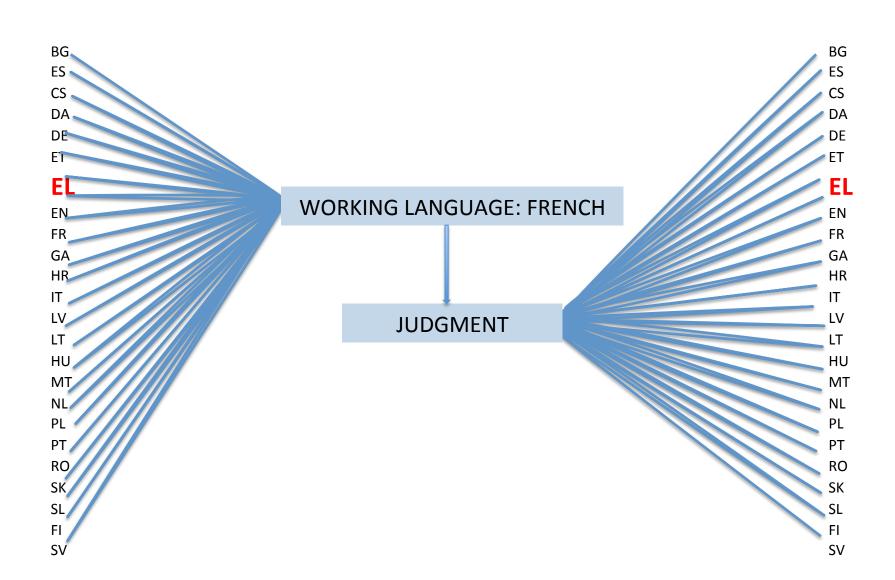
Processing a case through the CJEU



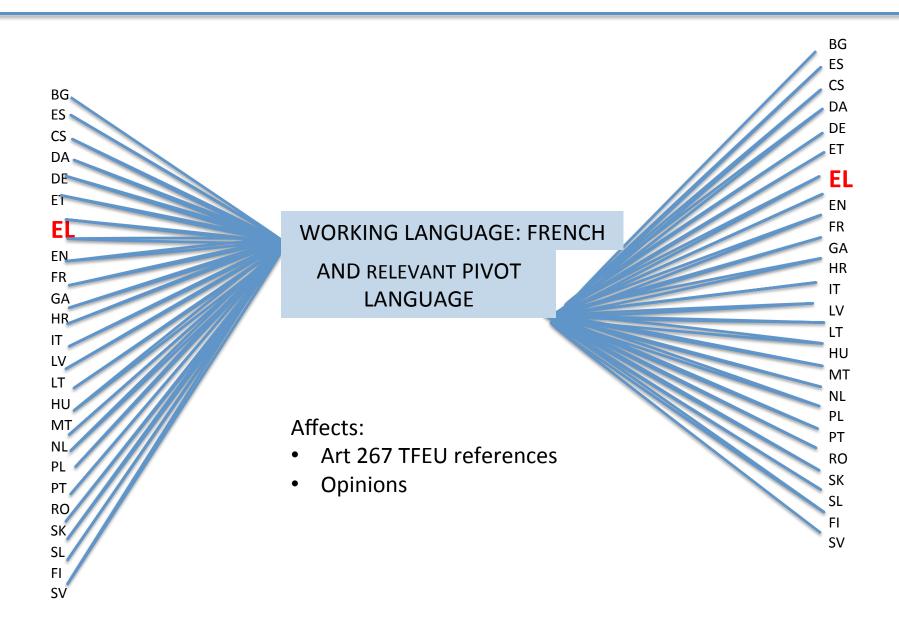
Translation at the ECJ



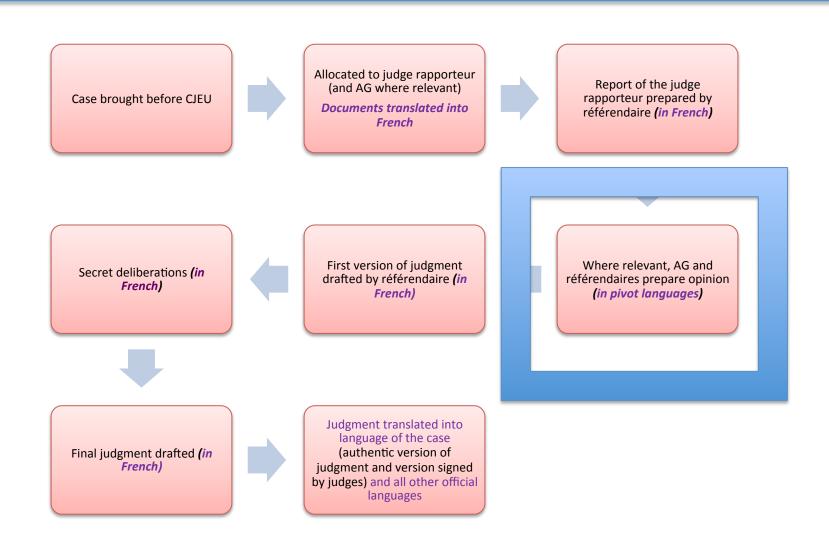
Translation at the ECJ



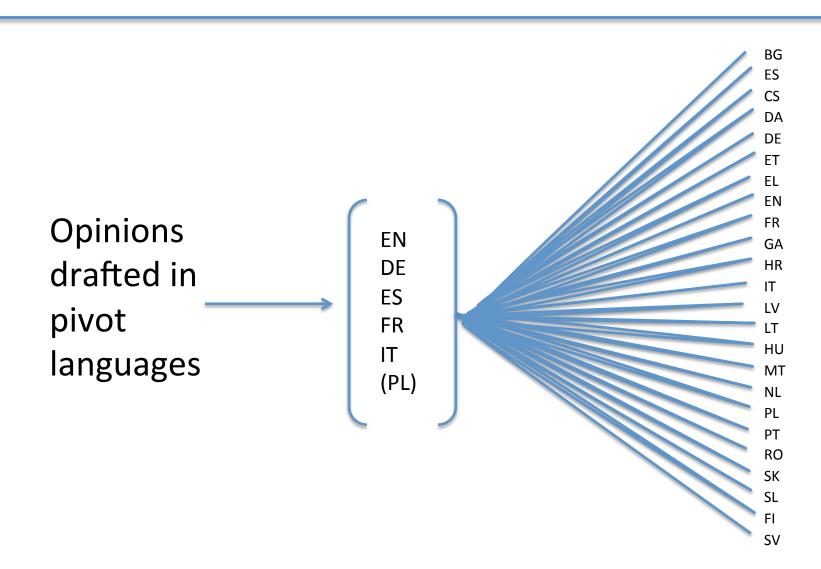
Translation at the ECJ



Processing a case through the CJEU



Since 2004 (Convention)



AG at the CJEU: The Linguistic Aspect

Research questions:

- 1. Does language use have an impact on the 'usefulness' of opinions?
- 2. Has the introduction of the 'pivot' translation system had an impact on the language of opinions?
- 3. Do opinions of AGs drafting in their mother tongue differ linguistically from those drafting in 'pivot' languages?

The AG at the CJEU

Ewelina Tylec: analysis of the literature, focusing on specific (broken down) research questions

Liana Muntean: qualitative interview data

Virginia Mattioli: linguistic analysis of the texts (opinions)





The Role of the Advocate General at the ECJ: A Linguistic Aspect?

Ewelina Tylec-Bakalarz







Research Questions

- To what extent has language use had an impact on the usefulness of opinions? (overarching question);
- How important is the opinion for the development of EU law? (what impact do AGs' opinions have on EU law?);
- 3. Are certain AGs considered more 'influential' than others? Why?

Main focus issues:

Influence of language on persuasiveness of opinions

Language in AGs' opinions as an element shaping the law

Influence of language on persuasiveness of opinions

Persuasiveness:

- Ability of AGs to convince the Court to follow their opinions
- Ability to make a wider long-term impact on the development of the EU law
- Ability to become part of a debate in the academic and non-academic circles outside the ECJ

Three main elements of persuasiveness

Language

Tone of voice

Gestures



To persuade:

'Induce (someone) to do something through reasoning or argument'

Source: Oxford Dictionary

Persuasiveness:

Personal authority of Advocates General

Advocates' General 'tactics' of convincing:

- AG Maurice Lagrange: difficulties in settling the argument
- AG Alain Louis Dutheillet de Lamothe: regret in choosing one solution over another
- AG Giuseppe Tesauro: 'it is unquestionable that', 'it is only too clear that'

Vocabulary: 'source State', 'exit restriction', 'social tourism', 'reverse discrimination'

Perceived/expected quality of opinions + langage, personal charisma, reputation for hard work, number of years of experience

Persuasiveness:

Language (diplomatic and tactful or not?)

AG Maurice Lagrange in HAG II: 'dubious pedigree', 'spurious doctrine'

Style

'No matter how eloquent, how persuasive an opinion may be, it may be disregarded for, after all, judges are grown-ups capable of making their own minds.'

Philippe Léger

Language in AGs' opinions as an element shaping the law

'[A]ny interpretation of the supposedly uniform legal text will persistently be coloured by the language, not to mention the culture to which the interpreter belongs'.

Martina Künnecke

Opinions:

Individual style and background

Opinions are work of individuals (broader in scope and clear in arguments)

Six different functions of Advocates General (Michal Bobek): Framer, Researcher, Controller, Innovator, Tester, Explainer and Dissenter

Examples:

Obituary of the British Advocate General Jean-Pierre Warner published in *The Times*:

'[B]y patiently anglicizing some of the Court's procedures he laid the foundations of a bridge between the common law and the civil law traditions'

Examples

Advocate General Maurice Lagrange:

Academic style of writing

 Played a significant role in the development of the European embryonic legal system

Language as an obstacle to the efficient functioning of the Court

'Language is, to some extent, a constraint on the development of EU law'

Karen McAuliffe

Main gaps and findings:

 Lack of scholarship which would address the topic in a more comprehensive manner.

• Literature focuses on the 'output', not on the process.

• Broad understanding of the term: 'language'.

Main gaps and findings

- 1. The research available does not give due consideration to the fact that the outputs produced by the ECJ and Advocates General are [mostly] drafted by jurists in a language that is not their mother tongue.
- Legal scholars focus on the output rather than on the process which leads to its formulation. Particularly in the multicultural and multi-linguistic environment such as the ECJ this process may have serious implications for development of opinions or case-law.

Main gaps and findings

3. As the field of legal linguistics is still emerging there has still been little attention paid to the issue of legal translation and comparative law considerations that it entails.

4. Because there have been identified some differences in the language used by the Court and by the AGs, it would be interesting to see whether there are any more variations in the language used by them and by the Court.

Thank you!

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The Role of Language in Advocate Generals' Opinions: Consequences for ECJ Case Law?

Liana Muntean







Focus of the study

whether and how AG opinions have been affected by the 2004 pivot languages

whether these opinions have become more constrained, less persuasive

AG opinions - more than an individually drafted opinion

Structure of presentation

General info on AG Cabinets

Methodology

Process of drafting an AG Opinion

Relevant findings from interviews

Advocates General's Cabinets

Structure: 1 AG + 4 REFs (référendaires or law clerks)

Drafting language – pivot languages

Methodology

In-depth qualitative interviews with:

- 3 Advocates General
- 13 Referendaires
- 7 Lawyer-linguists

Involved in drafting or working on AG opinions;

Challenges and lessons learned while organizing interviews;

Anonymous interviews;

Transcribed, then approved by interviewee;

Process of drafting an AG Opinion

1st layer

- Référendaire responsible for the first draft;
- AG intervenes in the drafting process once there is a first draft;

2nd layer

Linguistic assistance – Final draft sent to lawyer-linguist;

3rd layer

Translation – lawyer-linguist and/or freelancer;

Publication.

Effects of the 2004 linguistic regime on AG Cabinets

Interviewer: Has it affected in any way your work

[...]?

Respondent: No, I haven't seen any.

Interviewer: You haven't seen?

Respondent: No, I haven't seen from our point of

view, we haven't seen it. No. No.

Drafting in mother tongue v. Drafting in non-mother tongue

If you can draft in your own language, you are much more efficient and you master the language more thoroughly. I mean, in [mother tongue] I would be able to give every small nuance, every slight difference of meaning that would use the precise words. In English, I hope I draft rather well but still I'm not native, so yeah, I'm a bit less efficient and the result is, I hope, good, but would have been better in [mother tongue]. But hey, that's our job, that's how things work here.

Theoretical view v. actual situation

Yeah, for me it's inevitable that the language you use shapes a little bit the way you think. I think it's inevitable, the concept, the words. But after all, I mean, we are doing cases. It's not that I would ever imagine that by using another language you would get to a different result. [...]if you ask me to draft an opinion in Italian, in English or in French, I could do the three, I will always come to the same result and the arguments would be the same well, you could have a small difference here and there, but the reasoning and the substance would be the same.

AGs

I would say you are less tempted to use sophisticated vocabulary.

(Interview with Advocate General)

if you do English and you've got prose then I mean you can be slightly more, how shall I put it, concise, snappy, the language wants shorter sentences, easier structure of the paragraphs and of the statements. You do more of individual propositions and do more full stops than everywhere else and so forth with certain drafting. [...] in French of course it might be slightly different yet again when I do that I rarely try to be shorter and comprehensible. [...] yeah. I don't think there would be a huge difference, no.

(Interview with Advocate General)

Drafting in mother tongue is a disadvantage

Respondent: I don't know if you have had this response from others, but actually when it is my mother tongue it sort of disturbs the circuit in my brain.

Revealing aspects observed during interviews

Attitudes of Référendaires towards their AG

Strong personality of an AG

Meticulous approach to draft opinions

Building up the cabinet to counteract linguistic constraints

Language skills in the cabinet

International profile

Academic and practitioner

Different nationalities

French native speaker – at least one

Adapting working methods

Respondent: Normally, we work bilaterally with the Advocate General. [...] But, there is a point where somebody else from the Cabinet will also take a closer look at the case so that he will give her another opinion, drafting suggestions, structure or even legal solutions.

Interviewer: That's what I was also going to ask, if you have this policies of swapping drafts to correct each other, or to review each other?

Respondent: Yes, this is very helpful, we do review each other, yes.

Adapting working methods (2)

Interviewer: Would they swap drafts between themselves [...]?

Respondent: No, what we do here, we have something like a plenary. So, before the opinion is sent to the translation, we discuss in a plenary. So, me and all the référendaires, we are discussing paragraph by paragraph, and I assure the control over all amendments.

(Interview with Advocate General)

2nd layer – Pivot languages impact on Lawyer linguists

The pivot language [system] was **a necessity** with 22 or 23 languages, yeah. It was not technically possible to produce that many combinations of language.

(Interview with lawyer linguist)

I think it's **enabled the court to process** because it was clearly — otherwise, it would have been impossible, I think, — so, I think it was [...] a good way of dealing with this linguistic issue.

(Interview with lawyer linguist)

It definitely **makes our work possible**, because otherwise, every linguistic unit would be obliged to cover 23 languages.

(Interview with lawyer linguist)

Necessary evil?

I'm not very keen on it. I mean, I can see why we have to have it because there are so many language combinations and you're not going to get 30 or even 40 translators to cover all the possible combinations, so we have to do it. But it is really second best because, you know, [...], it's another layer. And if you have no inkling of what's in the original [...]And so it's a necessary evil, I think, doing pivot languages. We have to have it, but it's not ideal. And I think it was just accepted because people could see it had to be done. I suppose it's made things easier even if it hasn't necessarily made them better.

(Interview with lawyer linguist)

Drafting in English v. French

[...] the eternal problem with English. Everyone's using it, but hardly anyone really has a sufficient knowledge of the language to really use it in adequate manner in legal reasoning, at least, whereas French, I mean, people tend to be more self-conscious [...] So from a strictly linguistic point of view, [...] I expect that in 90 percent of the cases what we get is something that is, from a linguistic point of view, vastly correct, so there is not much to do. [...] I understand, by talking to friends in chambers, by talking to colleagues from the English unit, that it's not the case for opinions drafted in English by non-native speakers.

(Interview with lawyer linguist)

French and English Lawyer-linguists – the most affected

It seems to me that a growing number of advocate generals are working in either French or English, and English perhaps even more than French, which wasn't the case a few years ago, and it brings specific problems, for obvious reasons, because the members of the chamber concerned are not native speakers and so they basically have to write a legal reasoning in a language that they fully understand but perhaps they are not so at ease with when it comes to drafting.

(Interview with lawyer-linguist)

Extra work/role

[...] editing work comes basically on top of the translating work. And it's a very specific work on top of it. Why? Well, basically because it can be extremely time consuming when the author of the document is not at ease, or it can be extremely easy when the author of the document is perhaps not a native speaker but has had some academic background in Britain or in the USA. So there are lots of differences, so it's very difficult to predict the amount of editing work involved beforehand. (Interview with lawyer-linguist)

Editing has to be done – how shall I say - when the stars are aligned, when the advocate general has been able to stick to his or her schedule, we have perhaps one week or ten days, but sometimes due to the constraints of the advocate general's work, they send us their first draft at a very late stage. (Interview with lawyer-linguist)

Substantive contribution to the AG opinion?

[...] we serve the legal reasoning. We don't alter it. We should not alter it. We should serve it, and serving it means sometimes to make things more readable, more accessible, to reinforce perhaps the logic of the whole thing by adding or deleting words, and this is something that is not easy. You need experience in drafting yourself. (Interview with lawyer linguist)

[...] when the référendaire, so the legal secretary, is drafting his or her document, they use documents from a variety of sources, which have not necessarily full coherence, and when you do this editing work, you have to ensure that what is written in one document is fully coherent (Interview with lawyer linguist)

Good lawyer-linguist/linguistic assistance

[...] you have to accept that you **intervene very modestly** on a given document. That's the first quality. Second quality, you have [...] to be economical with your intervention. Also in the sense that you have to be able to make a difference between essential things and nonessential interventions [...] You have also — and this seems to be very essential, you have to be a **good lawyer yourself**, because editing work is about understanding the content. You are not merely working on words. [...] So you have to accept that **the author is the author**, so you should be modest in your interventions. So what is in the document is not necessarily what you would like, you would have wanted to write, but what the advocate general will eventually sign. So you have to be modest and say, "Okay, it's his opinion, her opinion," and you have to accept it. You have to accept that you possibly disagree with the legal reasoning and that it's not your job now to put everything into question. (interview with lawyer-linguist)

Good lawyer-linguist according to AG cabinet

I had once, twice, not more, discussions on the substance of a case and I had once, specially I remember one case where a lawyer linguist said, "Well, I don't agree with what you're saying, and here, this is another argument," and I said, "Well, of course, that's the opinion of the Advocate General, so your work is to translate. If you don't agree that's... we can discuss it over a beer if you want, but there is nothing you can do".

Freelancers & Translations

Respondent: I think **there is less of revision going on** there and there is more of workload [...] And **they outsource more than before**, that's for sure. If you look at numbers, they translate more and more and more and more and we produce more and more judgements and opinions, more and more. It's just that they can skip revision [...] And they can outsource.

Interviewer: So you think there was more revision before?

Respondent: Yes, of course. Of course. [...] Everything was revised. [...] And things were revised twice after 2004 in translation, even twice. During a couple of first years, I would say, the first five years everything was revised by two people. Now sometimes there are no revisions at all and it's a freelance translator who does the translation and ...(whistles), it goes through. (Interview with AG's référendaire)

Quality of translations

Interviewer: Can you spot the difference when it's a freelancer doing the translation?

Respondent: I think you would. I think you would easily, yes. But yeah, so the quality, I think, in the longer run the quality of the translations will be a problem, yeah. Or is a problem already. I can tell you that the translation of legal acts, legislative acts, is very problematic. That is my experience.

Conclusion

AGs and référendaires are constrained when they do not draft opinions in their mother tongues

Differing perspectives among actors involved in drafting/editing;

The quality of translations is affected;

Persuasiveness?

Hidden actors;

Thank you!



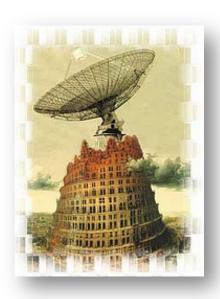


The influence of the 2004 language reform on the Advocate Generals' opinions: a corpus-based study

Virginia Mattioli







The influence of the 2004 language reform on the Advocate Generals' opinions: a corpus-based study

Virginia Mattioli



Theoretical framework

Main concepts considered for the linguistic analysis:

The importance of the Advocate Generals' opinions on the European Court of Justice's jurisprudence

The 2004 linguistic reform

Research interest

Observing the influence that the 2004 linguistic reform had on the nature of the opinions from a stylistic perspective.

Style > Eloquence > Persuasive function

Hypothesis

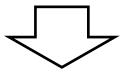
Opinions drafted after the 2004 linguistic reform by non-native Advocate Generals (AGs) are **stylistically simpler and less fluent** than the ones drafted by native Advocate Generals before 2004.

Main objective

Determining if the opinions drafted after 2004 maintain the same eloquent and academic style of the ones drafted before the linguistic reform.

Research questions

Do the opinions become stylistically simpler and less fluent after 2004?



Which linguistic features do represent the fluency and the stylistic simplicity/complexity of a text?

How can such features be identified in the considered opinions?

Do the opinions drafted before 2004 present more features representing stylistic complexity and fluency than the ones drafted after 2004?

Specific goals

Compiling corpora of opinions representing texts drafted before and after 2004 from native and non-native Advocates General

Determining the features related to fluency and stylistic simplicity/complexity

Search for the determined features in each corpus

Compare the results obtained from the corpora representing opinions drafted in native and non-native language

Methodological framework

Corpus-based methodology applied to the opinions drafted in

English

French

Analysed corpus

Opinions drafted by English native Advocate Generals between 1993 and 2003 (1 914 195 tokens) Opinions drafted by non-English native Advocate Generals between 2005 and 2015 FN OPINIONS (3 319 145 tokens) Opinions drafted by English native Advocate Generals between 2005 and 2015 (2 734 426 tokens) Opinions drafted by French native Advocate Generals between 1993 and 2003 (2 591 349 tokens) Opinions drafted by non-French native Advocate FR OPINIONS Generals between 2005 and 2015 (3 775 458 tokens) Opinions drafted by French native Advocate Generals between 2005 and 2015 (3 801 414 tokens)

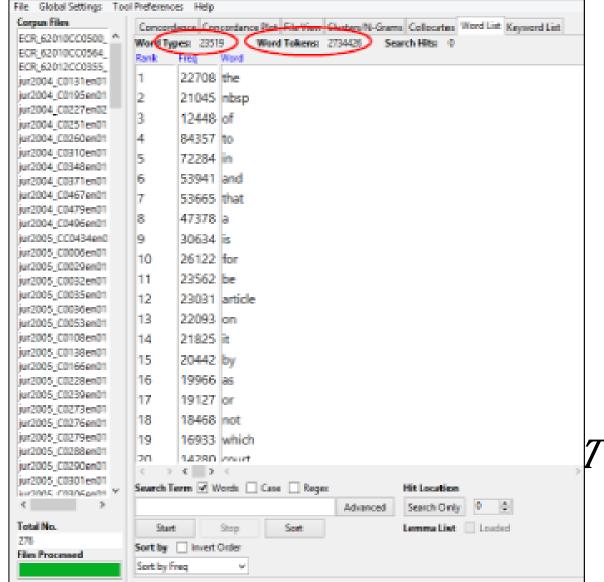
Methodology

- 1. Determination of the features related to fluency and stylistic simplicity/complexity
- 2. Search of each one of the determined features in each subcorpus
- 3. Comparison of the results obtained from the three analyzed sets of texts
- 4. Extra examinations

1st step: determination of the features related to fluency and stylistic simplicity/complexity

- Lexical variety: the relation between the number of different words and the total words of a text (Xiao and Yue, 2009:253)
- Lexical density: the relation between the lexical and the functional words of a text (Xiao and Yue, 2009:253)
- Sentence length (Baker, 1998:52)
- Presence of hypotactic structures: subordination

2nd step: search of each one of the determined features in each subcorpus



LEXICAL VARIETY

Creation of a WORD LIST

TTR=types/tokens ×100

2nd step: search of each one of the determined features in each subcorpus

LEXICAL DENSITY

Lexical words: terms with a semantic meaning e.g. courts, come, article

Functional words: terms with no semantic meaning used to connect semantic words e.g. pronouns (you, me, etc.), auxiliaries (to be, to have), conjunctions (but, so, etc.)

2nd step: search of each one of the determined features in each subcorpus

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text file	Overall	62042	62013	000 40	000 04	000 04	000 4
				62042			
file size	26.216.920	111.838				76.733	
tokens (running words) in text	2.998.033	13.724		7.697	8.256		
tokens used for word list	2.792.963	12.779	16.136	7.164	7.573	8.578	8.80
sum of entries							
types (distinct words)	23.472	1.486	1.587	966	990	1.039	1.31
type/token ratio (TTR)	0,84	11,63	9,84	13,48	13,07	12,11	14,9
standardised TTR	30,04	30,48	29,34	28,20	28,01	27,21	32,5
STTR std.dev.	70,25	62,81	65,94	60,93	62,83	63,43	59,0
STTR basis	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.00
mean word length (in characters)	4,76	4,84	4,73	4,76	4,48	4,72	4,7
word length std.dev.	2,83	2,83	2,75	2,75	2,63	2,80	2,8
sentences	50.714	181	270	84	92	87	14
mean (in words)	55,07	70,60	59,76	85,30	82,32	98,61	59,88
std.dev.	66,50	65,75	67,61	76,57	87,02	139,86	61,02
paragraphs	276	1	1	1	1	1	
mean (in words)	10.119,43	12.779,00	16.136,00	7.164,00	7.500	8.500	8.80
std.dev.	6.444,78						
headings							
mean (in words)							
std.dev.							
sections	276	1	1	1	1	1	
mean (in words)	10.119.43	12.779.00	16.136,00	7.164.00	7.500	8.500	8.80
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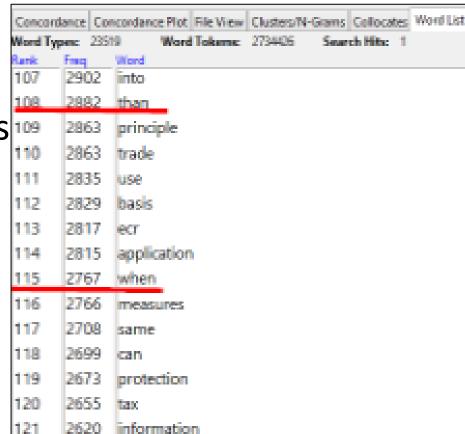
SENTENCE LENGTH

Wordsmith tolos 7,0 (Scott, 2016)

2nd step: search of each one of the determined features in each subcorpus

HYPOTACTIC STRUCTURES

- Choice of an exhaustive list of subordinate conjunctions
- (e.g. when, than, because, etc.)
- Identification of each conjunction within the wordlist and of its frequency
- Sum of the frequency of each subordinate conjunction included in the considered list





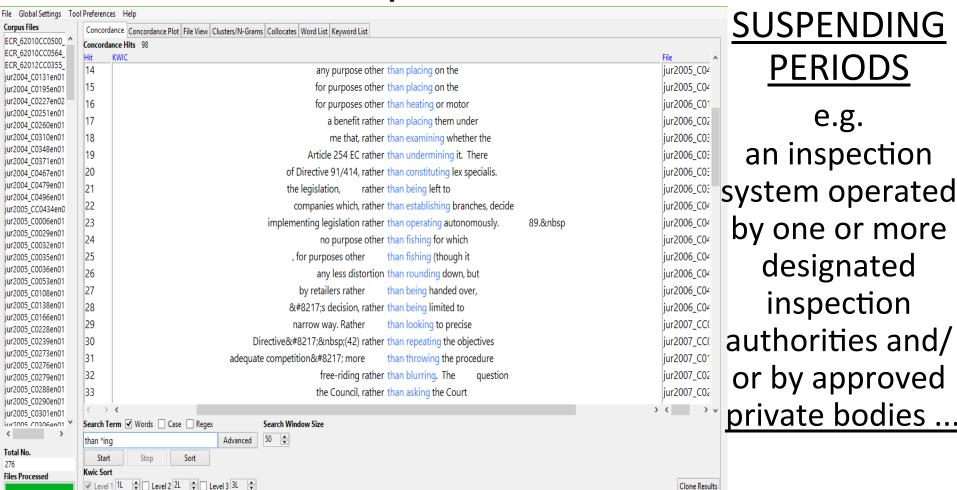
3rd step: comparison of the results obtained from the three analyzed sets of texts

Opinions drafted in Advocate Generals' native language between 1993 and 2003

Opinions drafted in Advocate Generals' non-native language between 2005 and 2015

Opinions drafted in Advocate Generals' native language between 2005 and 2015

4th step: extra exams



NON-FINITE CLAUSES -ING TO -ED

e.g. the common commercial policy was justified because permitting the Member States to exercise concurrent powers

4th step: extra exams

CREATION AND ANALYSIS OF A KEYWORD LIST

KEYWORDS: words which frequency highlights with respect to a reference corpus

They are more used in the analyzed corpus than in the reference one

They are more typical of the analyzed corpus than of the reference one.

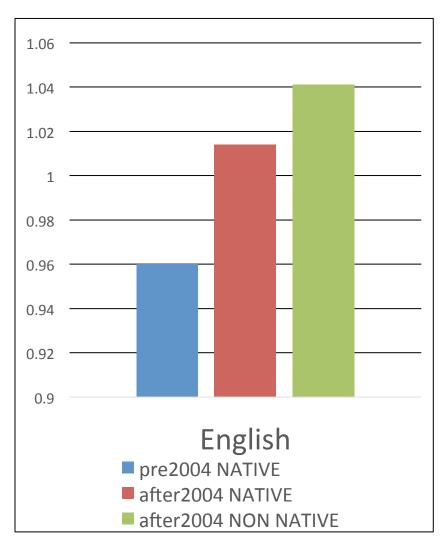
Results

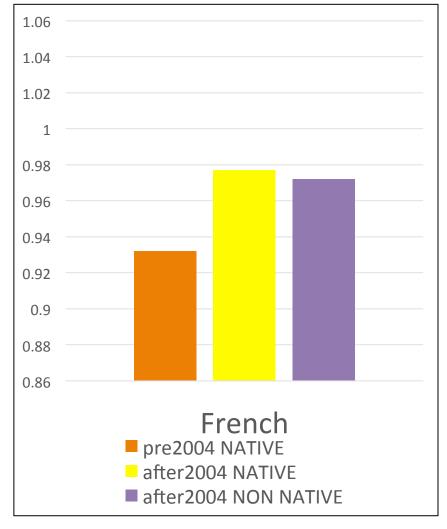
Opinions drafted by non-native AGs are stylistically simpler and less fluent than the ones drafted by native AGs

- Lexical variety
- Sentence length
- Presence of hypotactic structures

Results

Lexical density changes diachronically

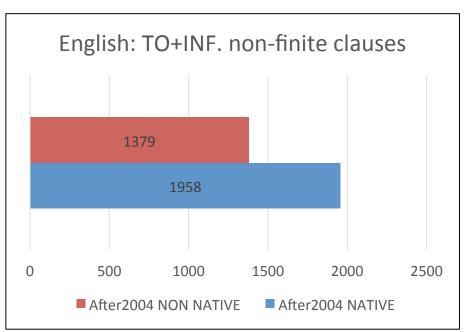


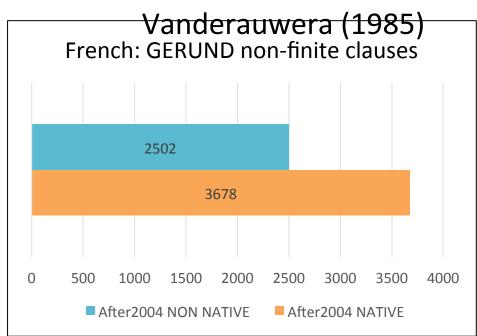


Further results

The opinions drafted by non-native Advocate Generals can be considered a kind of translations in terms of effort and stylistic characteristics

In translation complex syntax is simplified replacing non-finite clauses with finite ones





Further results (English corpus)

One of the features of the translation simplification is the presence of more high frequency words (i.e. repetitions) than original texts

Laviosa (1998)

Items with a frequency higher than 500 occurrences				
After2004 NATIVE	After2004 NON- NATIVE	STATYSTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCE (LL)		
718 350	927 474	LL: 1545.93		

Qualitative results

Opinions drafted by native AGs present more keywords related to **current issues** than the ones drafted by non-native AGs

	After2004 NATIVE	After2004 NON- NATIVE
EN	8 092 (LL: +318.29)	7 371
FR	7 862 (LL: +82.81)	6 714

Opinions drafted by non-native
AGs include more specific legal
terms than the ones drafted by
native AGs

	After2004 NATIVE	After2004 NON-NATIVE
EN	214 606	282 155 (LL: +780.12)
FR	286 254	291 016 (LL: +78.72)

Hypothesis: native AGs are more interested in the topic of the case while the cause of the non-native ones' concern seems to be the linguistic form

Qualitative results

Opinions written by native AGs become gradually more similar to the ones drafted by non-native AGs

Linguistic feature		Pre2004 NATIVE	After2004 NATIVE	After2004 NON NATIVE	
Decreasing lexical variety	EN FR	1,146 1,103	0,860 0,893	0,849 0,788	
Increasing lexical density	EN FR	0,960 0,932	1,014 0,977	1,041 0,972	
Decreasing quantity of lexical words tokens	EN FR	LL: +353.76 LL: +3536.62	LL: +41.70	Stat. significance	
Increasing number of most frequent words common to both corpora	EN FR	LL: +185.18 LL: +466.81	LL: -21.19 LL: -37.26	of the difference (LL) with respect to the NON NATIVE	
Decreasing quantity of relative clauses	EN FR	LL: +531.44 LL: +482.34	LL: +150.78 LL: -190.15		
Decreasing number of keywords	EN	LL: +2928.81	LL: +318.29		

Conclusions

The 2004 linguistic reform did have an influence on the style and the fluency of the opinions

Opinions became stylistically simpler

They are less eloquent

They lose part of the influence that they had on the judgments.

Qualitative conclusions

The results point to a DIACHRONICAL PERSPECTIVE

- To reach a deeper knowledge about the causes of the gradual change of the opinions
- To assess the impact of the change of the opinions on the jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice

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