Expressing Surprise
A Cross-Linguistic Description of Mirativity

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INTRODUCTION

As I have argued elsewhere (Mocini 2009; 2011; 2013), emotions play a decisive role in promotional discourse. The power of logical argument may not be sufficient to convince customers. For this reason, writers or speakers usually appeal to the audience's emotional response to achieve persuasion. Ekman (1999) claims that surprise is one of the basic universal emotions, and only the basic emotions are the real emotions.[1] Following DeLancey (1997; 2001) and other researchers (Dickinson 2000; Aikhenvald 2004; Peterson 2010, 2013), we use the term mirativity to refer to the semantic category employed to mark the fact that some information is new or surprising. Therefore, "mirativity is primarily about surprise and senses related to surprise such as suddenness, unexpectedness, and immediate realization" and "the primary meaning of mirativity is to register the surprise of the speaker" (Peterson 2013: 3). While in speech mirativity is expressed mainly through a specific intonation contour

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[1] According to Ekman, the five basic emotions are fear, surprise, happiness, sadness, anger and disgust.

with the rising tone of the voice, in writing there are a number of ways for the construal of surprise.

This study aims at discussing mirativity markers in the Italian Touring Club's *Guide Verdi*[2] also translated into English. After dwelling upon the explicit encoding of surprise, the analysis deals with the semantic features of the adverb *even* and its exploitation for promotional purposes.

1. FRAMEWORK OF REFERENCE

The theoretical framework used here combines Thompson and Hunston's notions of evaluation, the Appraisal theory and a cross-linguistic approach. Evaluation is a general term used "for the expression of the speaker's or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 5). Within systemic functional linguistics, the Appraisal system is designed to investigate the evaluative use of language, or more precisely "the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations" (Martin 2000: 145). Appraisal resources are classified according to different semantic categories to identify their function in discourse. One category in particular labelled as Affect,[3] relates to the expression of feelings and thus proves particularly suited to the analysis of surprise. Affect includes discourse-semantic resources employed to convey the writer's emotions to readers or to appeal to the readers' emotions. In order to show the central role of evaluative language in the textual construction of interaction between writers and readers, this study also draws on Hunston's corpus-based pattern approach (2000). In keeping with Sinclair (1981), Hunston posits the dual function of evaluation in the organization of discourse and achievement of persuasion. Furthermore, Granger et al underline the fundamental role of corpus linguistics in cross-linguistic research: "corpus analysis of language in contrast and in translation is a rich discovery process" (Granger et al 2003: 13). The main role of extensive authentic corpora is to provide sufficiently exhaustive quantitative evidence of a linguistic phenomenon which does not emerge either from isolated examples or as a result of mere unsupported introspection. Therefore, in our study, the corpora provide not only a wealth of real examples to illustrate different ways of conveying mirative meanings but also a frequency-based account of instances of surprise encoded in a less explicit fashion, providing insight into the potential motivations underlying the behaviour of translators, in terms of strategic moves exploited to attract readers. As a result, our contrastive approach is based on two

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[2] Henceforth TC guides.

[3] Here and henceforward I use the convention to write Appraisal theory's labels with an initial capital letter.

parallel corpora, which are investigated both manually and using Scott's WordSmith Tools (1999). This software allows us to count and retrieve all the occurrences of an item in the corpora under consideration.

One corpus was compiled with eight TC guides in Italian and the other corpus with their corresponding translations in English.[4] By looking at the two corpora, we can discover "subtle meaning distinctions which may go unnoticed if one considers monolingual data only" (Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer 2007: 7). Tables 1 and 2 show the composition of the two corpora analysed.

TC Guides in Italian	Tokens	Types	Type/Token Ratio
Rimini e provincia	53,282	8,616	16.17
Reggio Emilia e provincia	55,020	8,973	16.31
Ravenna e provincia	52,994	9,175	17.31
Macerata e provincia	52,592	8,350	15.88
Gran Paradiso	49,275	7,633	15.49
Biella e provincia	50,182	7,792	15.53
Arezzo e provincia	43,842	7,152	16.31
Ancona e provincia	44,218	7,276	16.45
Overall	401,405	28,037	6.98

Table 1. Italian corpus details.

TC Guides in the English translations	Tokens	Types	Type/Token Ratio
Rimini and its province	50,223	6,365	12.67
Reggio Emilia and its province	58,366	7,118	12.20
Ravenna and its province	56,718	7,407	13.06
Macerata and its province	55,034	5,929	10.77
Gran Paradiso	52,784	5,853	11.09
Biella and its province	32,903	4,824	14.66
Arezzo and its province	49,041	6,507	13.27
Ancona and its province	45,933	5,580	12.15
Overall	401,002	21,323	5.32

Table 2. English corpus details.

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[4] All guides used here were published between 2000 and 2007.

As Dyvik states, a cross-linguistic analysis "brings a desirable multi-lingual perspective into the study of linguistic semantics" (Dyvik 1998: 51). Therefore, translation is a heuristic device for delineating the semantic field of a word belonging to the target language but also an invaluable tool for understanding the strategic role played by translation in the field of tourist promotion, since some linguistic choices appear to be the result of a translation process. Although the semantics of *even* has been discussed by other researchers (Kartunnen and Peters 1979; Bennett 1982; Kay 1990; Lycan 1991; Francescotti 1995; Giannakidou 2007), the peculiarity of the present study is to show how this adverb is selected by the translators of TC guides for promotional ends.

2. EXPLICIT MIRATIVE LEXIS

The two chief functions of travel guides are generally to inform and express positive opinions on the locations being described. Writers convey their stance through evaluative lexis whose key role is to place readers in a positively receptive position by appealing mainly to their emotions. As Hunston and Thompson state, "the act of evaluating something can be done along several different parameters" (Hunston and Thompson 2000: 22). Besides the good-bad, or the positive-negative, they identify three additional parameters: certainty, importance and expectedness, though "the most basic parameter, the one to which the others can be seen to relate, is the good-bad parameter" (Hunston and Thompson 2000: 25). The presence of mirative lexis places a positive evaluation along the expectedness parameter since, in a tourist context, unexpectedness is typically associated with positivity. Mirativity is linguistically realized in various ways. Besides all the forms derived from the lexical item *surprise* which are discussed here, the sense of unexpectedness is also present in words such as *amaze*, *stunning*, *sudden* and *unexpected*, all conflating unexpectedness with positive evaluation.

In order to investigate how mirativity is lexically construed in TC tourist guides and in their corresponding translations in English, I shall outline the lexico-grammatical patterns associated with the semantic elements involved in the expression of surprise: Emoter, Emotion and Trigger. The labels employed here are the same used by a number of researchers for the analysis of emotions (Fillmore 1997; Hunston 2000; Galasinki 2004; Martin and White 2005; Bednarek 2008). The following definitions, in particular, are taken from Bednarek:

Emoter: the one to whom an emotional response is assigned: who is said to 'feel'[5] an emotion;
Emotion: the particular emotion involved;
Trigger: what causes the emotional response; what is 'evaluated'[6] emotionally; what the emotion is about; the cause, reason or target of an emotion. (Bednarek 2008: 70)

To complete the analysis, I will use two additional category labels taken from Hunston and Sinclair (2000), namely Restriction on Emotion (what the emotion specifically relates to) and Hinge[7] (the link verb which provides a connection between parts of patterns).

Surprise is a feeling construed as directed at/reacting to some external Trigger. We can record a pattern with the Emotion realized as an attributive adjective qualifying the head noun acting as Trigger:

Si percorre un tratto di corso d'Augusto, dove si assapora la vivacità e la *sorprendente*[8] bellezza del centro storico che armonizza le botteghe artigiane alle boutique delle grandi firme. (Rimini)[9]

Follow a stretch of Corso d'Augusto, where you will experience the vivacity and *surprising* beauty of an old city centre that mixes handicraft workshops with designer boutiques.

Here the Emoter is the pronoun *you* in the TT[10] and the impersonal *si* in the ST. The mapping is: Emoter, Hinge, Emotion/Trigger, as displayed in Table 3.

Emoter	Hinge	Emotion/Trigger
impersonal pronoun	*link verb*	*noun group with emotion as attributive adjective*
Si (understood: visitors)	assapora	la sorprendente bellezza del centro storico
Emoter	**Hinge**	**Emotion/Trigger**
noun group	*link verb*	*noun group with emotion as epithet*
You	will experience	the… surprising beauty of an old city centre

Table 3. Emotion as an attributive adjective.

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[5] The quotation marks are Bednarek's.

[6] The quotation marks are Bednareck's.

[7] The term *hinge* is used by Barnbrook and Sinclair (1995) to refer to the word linking the left-hand and the right-hand sides of a definition.

[8] Here and in the other quotations, the lexical item conveying Emotion is in italics.

[9] Here and elsewhere the guide from which the quotation is taken is given in brackets.

[10] Henceforth TT and ST are used for Target Text and Source Text respectively.

As for the Hinge, one might add that unlike the Italian emotional verb *assapora*, which is heavily charged with sensuous connotations, the generic English *experience* is more neutral. But the use of the future in the TT creates greater expectation of surprise than the ST present tense. Notice also the conflation of the Emotion and Trigger into the same noun group.

The two following excerpts contain instances of Emotion realized as a noun:

> Per chi giunge da oriente, l'arrivo a Piòraco (m 443, ab. 1226) rappresenta una vera *sorpresa*. (Macerata)

> For those coming from the east, the arrival at Pioraco (elev. 443 m, pop. 1,226) will be quite a *surprise*.

Here surprise is anaphorically realized, with the Trigger preceding the Emotion. Furthermore, if we look at Table 4 below, which mirrors the mapping of surprise construed in the two foregoing quotations, we can notice how differently the amplification is expressed, namely by means of "focus" in the ST and, grammatically, through the intensifier *quite*, in the English translation. Through "focus", the adjective *vera* turns a non-gradable category like *surprise* into a gradable one with "the effect of adjusting the strength of boundaries between categories, constructing core and peripheral types of things" (Martin and White 2005: 37). As a result, the Emotion is amplified by reference to prototypicality, being implicitly compared to other types of emotions which lie beyond the margins of the category of surprise. Notice also the prospective construal of surprise, with the Trigger preceding the Emotion:

Emoter	Trigger	Hinge	Emotion
prepositional phrase	*noun group*	*link verb*	*intensifier + noun phrase*
Per chi giunge da oriente	l'arrivo a Pioraco	rappresenta	una vera sorpresa
For those coming from the east	the arrival at Pioraco	will be	quite a surprise

Table 4. Emotion as a noun phrase with amplification.

In the following quotation, the Emotion is not only reinforced by focus, namely by the attributive adjective *autentica*, but also by the very structure of the sentence itself. This latter emphasis is present in the English translation too:

> Singolare e signorile borgo di montagna, autentica *sorpresa* per chi vi giunge per la prima volta, Rosazza (m 882, ab. 89) deve gran parte del suo attuale aspetto all'opera del suo più illustre concittadino, Federico Rosazza Pistolet. (Biella)

> An unusual and refined mountain village, Rosazza (elev. 882 m, pop. 89) owes much of its present appearance to its most illustrious citizen, Federico Rosazza Pistolet.

It is interesting to note that the translator eliminates the second appositive noun group which, in the ST, lexicalizes both the Emotion and the Emoter. Nonetheless, mirativity is equally realized structurally. Indeed, in both texts, the noun group (*Singolare e signorile borgo di montagna/An unusual and refined mountain village*) functioning as an attribute for Rosazza, rather than following it, is placed before it. Thompson argues that preposed attribuitive "smuggles in a bit more information before the writer gets down to his or her real message" (Thompson 1996: 163). This anticipation arouses expectations in the reader and attracts his/her attention to the entity acting as Trigger. Since the latter is not completely revealed at the very beginning of the clause, an atmosphere of expectation is created. Probably the translator deems the sole structural organisation of the sentence sufficient to convey the sense of unexpectedness which determines surprise.

Rather than being an entity, the Trigger can be represented by a process typically realized as a verb group with complementation:

> Una vera *sorpresa* sarà per molti, infine, scoprire che Macerata è tra le province italiane con il maggior numero di teatri storici, piccoli gioielli che testimoniano di una passione per l'opera e il teatro di prosa che dal Settecento si è mantenuta inalterata fino a oggi. (Macerata)

> Lastly, many visitors will be *surprised* to discover that Macerata is one of the Italian provinces with the largest number of historic theatres, little architectural jewels that attest to the locals' passion for opera and theatre.

> Muovere alla scoperta di questi tesori è una vera *sorpresa* per il visitatore, accresciuta dal fatto che la città, pudicamente, non li ostenta. (Ancona)

> Seeking out these treasures will be a true *surprise* for visitors, enhanced by the fact that the 'modest' city does not show them off.

This pattern is illustrated in Tables 5 and 6 below, where we can also notice the different realization of the Emotion, either cataphorically in Table 5, with the Emotion preceding the Trigger, or anaphorically in Table 6, with the Trigger preceding the Emotion.

Emotion	Hinge	Emoter	Trigger
noun group + intensifier	*link verb*	*prepositional phrase*	*verb group + complementation*
Una vera sorpresa	sarà	per molti	scoprire che macerata è…
Emoter	**Hinge**	**Emotion**	**Trigger**
noun group	*link verb*	*adjective group*	*infinitive clause*
Many visitors	will be	surprised	to discover that...

Table 5. Trigger as non-finite clause and Emotion cataphorically realized as a noun group.

Trigger	Hinge	Emotion	Emoter
Verb group + complementation	*link verb*	*noun group + int.*	*prepositional phrase*
Muovere alla scoperta di questi tesori	è	una vera sorpresa	per il visitatore
Seeking out these treasures	will be	a true surprise	for visitors

Table 6. Trigger as a non-finite clause and Emotion anaphorically realized as a noun group.

Mirative meaning can also be realized in the ST by an adverb modifying an adjective group. In the translation the Italian *soprendentemente* is eliminated:

È nella seguente grande stagione imperiale, quella ottoniana dal 951 al 1003, che Ravenna si fa soggetto di un arricchimento monumentale ancor oggi *sorprendentemente* ammirevole: i campanili, le cripte, le pievi, i grandi monasteri annessi alle basiliche. (Ravenna)

It was in the next great Imperial period, that of Otto, from 951 to 1003, that Ravenna became enriched with what are still admirable monuments: the bell-towers, crypts, parish churches and great monasteries, annexed to basilicas.

One finds the TT disappointing because of the translator's failure to render the ST's *sorprendentemente*, thus weaking the emotional impact of the English text. Furthermore, in both texts the adjectives *ammirevole/admirable* are modified by the time adverbs *ancora oggi/still* which convey mirative meaning by expressing surprise at the condition of the monuments despite the passing of time. Surprise stems from the discrepancy between expectation and reality. In fact, the sentences presuppose that the imperial splendour may have diminished with the passing of time, but the aim of the utterances is to contradict this false assumption, thus creating surprise. If the mirative particles *ancora*/still were cancelled, this effect would be lost.

There is also a sequence in which the Trigger may be split, resulting in the pattern: Trigger, Emotion, Emoter (via inference), Trigger. But as shown in Table 7 below, the prepositional phrase does not realize a completely different Trigger, rather it acts as a restrictor on the first, highlighting one or more of its specific aspects.

Trigger	Hinge/Emotion		Emoter	Restriction on Trigger
noun group	*link verb*			*prepositional phrase*
il capolavoro…	sorprende		(via inference: visitors)	per l'appassionata vitalità delle figure
Trigger	**Hinge**	**Emotion**	**Emoter**	**Restriction on Trigger**
noun group	*link verb*	*adjective group*		*prepositional phrase*
This work, considered as the masterpiece…	ss	surprising	(via inference: visitors)	for the passionate vitality of the figures

Table 7. Restriction on Trigger.

In the two languages, mirativity can also occur in two completely different patterns, as shown by the two following quotations and as displayed in Table 8:

Sorprendono la netta distinzione e al tempo stesso la complementarità tra la città-giardino di Milano Marittima e il nucleo storico di Cervia. (Rimini)

People are *surprised* by how markedly different the garden city of Milano Marittima and the old town centre of Cervia are and, yet, how well they complement each other.

Emotion	Emoter	Trigger	
verb group		*noun group*	
Sorprendono	(via inference: visitors)	la netta distinzione e…la complementarità tra..	
Emoter	**Hinge**	**Emotion**	**Trigger**
noun group	*link verb*	*adjective group*	*prepositional phrase*
People	are	surprised	by how markedly different…how well they complement each other.

Table 8. Completely different patterns in the two languages.

Apart from the different realization of the Emotion (verb group in ST vs. adjective group in TT), the two versions diverge mainly in the construction of the Trigger. In the Italian text there are two noun-forms derived from their corresponding verbs. Instead, the translator opts for a more congruent wording of the Trigger using an adjective form as well as a verb. By unpacking the ST's nominalizations, the TT is rendered less impersonal and more subjective. This effect is further reinforced by the greater intensification carried out not only via repetition (*how… how*) but also by the adverb *well*, which conveys an attitudinal meaning. As a result, this solution reveals the subjective presence of the translator who enthuses about what is being described and thus positions his/her readers to do likewise.

From the examples analysed so far, it emerges that Triggers are entities or events which act as tourist destination markers. Writers exploit mirativity to make them emotionally appealing. By appraising things in such emotional terms, guides create an empathetic connection with the readership.

As we have seen, surprise is not a vague mood but an Emotion evoked by the presence of *realis*[11] Triggers considered unexpected. Furthermore, the writer "first tells us what he or she thinks about something and then offers a rationale for that opinion" (Hoey 2000: 28). The term evidentiality relates to "the kinds of evidence a person has for making factual claims" (Anderson 1986: 273). Indeed, writers may corroborate their evaluative claims by providing some evidence, by adding details "to attach a great deal of credence" (Hunston 2000: 178) to the information provided. If we refer to Sinclair's model (1981) of the two planes of discourse, we can say that on the autonomous plane the writer of the guide "says things" about the world. On this plane, evaluation "relates to the expression of the writer's 'angle' on the world" (Hunston 2000: 176). At the same time, on the interactive plane, the writer's assessment is given a positive value, by being substantiated in the following text:

> Oggi è soprattutto la navigazione da diporto, serrata tra due alti argini da cui spuntano torri e campanili delle cittadine padane, a offrire la scoperta di un mondo ancora capace di *sorprendere*. In questo tratto il Po è al centro della Padania e segna il confine con la Lombardia, scandito dal fitto succedersi di piccoli e grandi paesi: Brescello, Boretto, Gualtieri, Guastalla e Luzzara a sud, Viadana, Pomponesco, Correggio, Verde, Dòsolo e Villastrada a nord, fissati nelle immagini di Paul Strand e nei racconti di Giovanni Guareschi e Cesare Zavattini. Panorami che sembrano eterni e sempre cangianti, nello scorrere del fiume ora lento e placido ora impetuoso. (Reggio Emilia)

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[11] Emotions can relate to existing states (*realis*) or future ones (*irrealis*). Accordingly, *realis* Triggers already exist whereas *irrealis* Triggers lie in the future (Martin and White 2005; Bednarek 2008).

Today, navigation on the river is mostly for pleasure and travellers, closed between the two high riverbanks from which to spy bell-towers and spires, discover a world that still offers pleasant *surprises*. In this stretch of water, the River Po flows through the centre of the area and marks the boundary with Lombardy, passing through a succession of small towns and villages: Brescello, Boretto, Gualtieri, Guastalla and Luzzara to the south, Viadana, Pomponesco, Correggio, Verde, Dòsolo and Villastrada to the north, immortalised in the works of Paul Strand and in the tales of Giovanni Guareschi and Cesare Zavattini. Here the landscape is timeless though ever changing as the river flows calm and serene or wildly turbulent.

In the two preceding quotations, the statement "un mondo ancora capace di sorprendere/a world that still offers many surprises" is an evaluation on the autonomous plane since an entity (*mondo/world*) is labelled as *sorprendente/offers…surprises*. The stretch of water can surprise travellers with its "timeless though ever changing landscape", with "the river which flows calm and serene or wildly turbulent". Such evidence markers are further supported by reference to the works of Paul Strand and the tales of Guareschi and Zavattini, which add credence to the writer's initial claim.

At times the proof may be less direct, being based exclusively on perceptual evidence. What can be felt by the senses is worthy of trust, especially if sensory perceptions of various kind are involved:

Una lunghissima costa sabbiosa interrotta, di colpo, dalle rocce di una ripida montagna con le sue scogliere a picco sul mare: per chi percorre la bassa riviera orientale il monte Conero è una *sorpresa* fatta di bianchi scogli immersi negli odori della macchia mediterranea che scende fino a sfiorare il blu profondo del mar Adriatico. (Ancona)

An extremely long sandy coast is suddenly interrupted by the rocks of a steep mountain with sheer cliffs rising above the sea. For a traveller heading along the flat eastern coast, Mt Conero comes as a *surprise* of white boulders amid the fragrances of the Mediterranean maquis that reaches down to the deep blue of the Adriatic Sea.

Evidence for evaluation may be based on encyclopaedic information. Such shared knowledge becomes evident in the adverbs *di solito/usually*. Indeed, in the translation this kind of proof is reinforced through a translation strategy known as *amplification* (Malone 1988). In the English quotation below, the underlined segment is added to the ST to further emphasise the surprise at finding turkey oaks at an unexpected altitude:

Un'altra *sorpresa* si prepara al viaggiatore che, risalito dal versante tiberino, si affacci a quello adriatico sulle pendici marnose sotto al Fumaiolo o tra le valli di Foglia e Marecchia: a quote intorno ai mille metri, dove di solito prevale la foresta montana, il paesaggio presenta a tratti forme d'erosione denudate, di stile giottesco, ma anche dolci distese di seminativi e pascoli, con insediamenti rurali, prati ondulati da cui si staccano i torrioni calcarei dei Sassi di Simone e Simoncello, circondati da una famosa cerreta. (Arezzo)

Another *surprise* lies in store for visitors who climb the Tiber valley and reach the Adriatic side of the mountains on the marlacious slopes beneath Mt. Fumaiolo or between the Foglia and Marecchia river valleys. At 1,000 meters, an altitude at which mountain forests usually prevail, the almost Giottesque landscape is partly eroded and bare, but also partly covered in gentle stretches of farmland and pasture, with rural settlements, and rolling hills out of which rise the limestone peaks of Mts. Simone and Simoncello, surrounded by a famous wood of turkey oaks that grow here at an altitude more usually associated with beech trees.

Summing up, on the interactive plane the writer's assertions are evaluated in terms of credibility. As a result, what can be proven by evidence is positively evaluated by readers as true. While on the autonomous plane the objects of evaluation are entities of the world, on the interactive plane what is evaluated is a discourse entity, namely an assertion. And while in the former case the evaluation is in terms of expectation, in the latter the parameter is epistemic. The process of giving value on the interactive plane also contributes to the organization of the text. Not only do evaluations express the writer's opinion on what he/she is describing but they also suggest a connection with what follows, establishing a cohesive link.

3. THE ADVERB *EVEN*

Besides explicit lexicalization, mirativity can also be parasitic of other linguistic resources. For example, in the following quotation, the adverb *even* signals the writer's (and thus the reader's) surprise at finding an ingredient of the local cuisine mentioned in Boccaccio's *Decameron*:

The basic ingredient of most of the local dishes, Parmigiano Reggiano was *even*[12] mentioned in the second tale of day VIII of Giovanni Boccaccio's «Decameron», and it has now become a 'cult feature' in Emilian cuisine.[13]

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[12] In this and in the other quotations the adverb *even/not even* and its translation correspondents in the ST are in italics.

[13] For the sake of simplicity, I will quote the English text first, while bearing in mind that it is a translation from Italian into English, and not vice versa.

*Altre **Modernità** / Otras **Modernidades** / Autres **Modernités** / Other **Modernities***
....

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I realized that the frequency of *even* in the English translations of TC guides was unexpectedly high compared to the Italian *prima facie* equivalent *persino/perfino*. The following table displays the occurrences of Italian items which are translated into English with the adverb *even*:

Items in ST	Occurrences
anche	14
0 (= non presence of an equivalent term)	11
ancor (più/meno)	10
neppure[14]	5
stesso/i/a/e	4
nemmeno	2
ancora	2
addirittura	2
talvolta	1
perfino	1
tanto da	1
fino a	1
non a caso	1
dunque	1
forse	1
persino	1
fin	1
poi	1
ben	1

Table 6. Corpus occurrences of Italian items translated into English with the adverb *even*.[15]

What should be noted as particularly relevant for the purpose of this study is the fact that in many cases (11) a zero-correspondence with the ST occurs. Therefore, the word *even* is introduced by the translator to serve some specific function. The contrastive perspective gives us the opportunity of shedding light on the semantic field of this adverb and may explain its extensive use in the translation of the tourist guides under consideration. Unlike circumstantial adverbs, which are part of the core propositional content of a sentence, *even* is a focus adverb which may be omitted without disrupting the meaning of the sentence since its function is "to add information to other linguistic elements which can stand on their own, semantically as well as syntactically" (Ramat and Ricca 1998: 187). Thus, its deletion would not change the information that the writer wants to convey. *Even* belongs to the class of cross-

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[14] The table also includes the Italian adverbs *neppure* and *nemmeno* translated by *not even*.

[15] The concessive meaning of *even* in combination with *though/if*, is not dealt with in the present study.

categorical operators (Konig 1991) whose scope is not limited to any particular morpho-syntactic category but can modify noun, adjective, verb and adverbial groups as well as prepositional phrases.

Even has a scalar meaning, marking the scoped element as being low on a scale of alternatives ranked in terms of likelihood. In the above quotation, the adverb *even* emphasizes the fact that Parmigiano Reggiano is unexpectedly mentioned in an illustrious work of literature. This typical product is more likely to have been quoted elsewhere but Boccaccio's special mention is deemed to be less likely. Therefore, the added information is unexpected and thus surprising. If we look at the ST, we discover that the adverb *anche* shares the additive meaning of *even* but not the mirative function, since the scoped element is not ranked at the lower end of the likelihood scale:

> Ingrediente base dell'universalità dei piatti locali, il parmigiano-reggiano è citato *anche* nella seconda novella dell'VIII giornata del «Decameron» di Giovanni Boccaccio, e costituisce ormai un «cult» della gastronomia emiliana. (Reggio Emilia)

In the following excerpt, the enumeration of the items shows explicitly a certain rank order which allows for direct comparison:

> On the last Sundays in April and October, Piazzo's lovely Piazza Cisterna comes alive with stalls offering a thousand oddities – old postcards and photographs, valuable prints, rare old books and *even* the new papers handmade by true artists and used to create everyday objects.

> Le ultime domeniche di aprile e ottobre, la suggestiva piazza Cisterna al Piazzo si anima di banchetti dalle mille curiosità: vecchie cartoline e fotografie, stampe pregiate, libri rari e antichi, *fino* a recenti carte fatte a mano da veri e propri artisti, impiegate per realizzare oggetti di uso quotidiano. (Biella)

The list of oddities can be rank-ordered according to the parameters of unexpectedness. As usual, the entity in the focus of *even* ranks lower than the other items in terms of likelihood and is thus marked as surprising. In the ST the prepositional phrase *fino a* conveys the additive meaning of "to the point of completing the range", without emphasizing surprise. Notice how the prominence given by the translator to the event taking place at Stia is completely absent in the Italian text:

> Sansepolcro is the venue for biennial lace and gold fairs, Strada has a stonework show, Cortona has one on copper, Monte San Savino a ceramics show, Pratovecchio a woodwork fair, and Stia *even* has an event dedicated to the art of the blacksmith.

> E, ancora, la Biennale del Merletto e quella degli Orafi a Sansepolcro, la Mostra della Pietra lavorata a Strada, quella del Rame a Cortona, la Mostra ceramica a Monte San Savino, le Forme del legno a Pratovecchio, la Biennale dell'Arte fabbrile a Stia, in un alternarsi di incontri folcloristici o culturali sempre di grande risonanza. (Arezzo)

Typically, the introduction of the pattern *and...even* into the sentence prompts readers to construct a mental model in which alternative sets are ordered on a scale of likelihood or expectation in relation to the scoped event. The possessive attribute assigned to Stia is characterized as ranking lower in probability than the ones assigned to the other potentially "competitive" villages (Sansepolcro, Strada, etc.) and thus surprising. While in the foregoing example the set of alternatives is explicitly lexicalized, there are instances in which the alternatives are inferred by readers on the basis of their world knowledge, choosing from anything that belongs to the same semantic category as the scoped element, in this case Ravenna's different areas:

> Lower Ravenna, *even* close to the coast, is an area constructed, to a large degree, by man and by rivers, something incomprehensible without reference to the major hydraulic operations of the early-Modern age (Po at Primaro-Reno etc.) and, more recently, the diversion of the Montone and Ronco Rivers (Fiumi Uniti, 1739) the excavation of the Canale Corsini (middle decades of the 18th cent.) and the grandiose reclamation of the Lamone (1846-1950s).

> […] la Bassa ravennate, *anche* in prossimità della costa, è un territorio in larga misura costruito dall'uomo e dai fiumi, incomprensibile senza il riferimento ai grandi interventi idraulici dell'età proto-moderna (Po di Primaro-Reno ecc.) e più recente, dalla deviazione del Montone e del Ronco (Fiumi Uniti, 1739) alla escavazione del canale Corsini (decenni centrali del sec. XVIII), alla grandiosa cassa di colmata del Lamone (dal 1846 agli anni '50 del Novecento). (Ravenna)

In both texts, readers posit the existence of other areas besides those nearest the coast which share the same features, but the English text also implicates a comparison in terms of likelihood, emphasizing the unexpectedness associated to the Lower Ravenna zone.

A different scalar implicature occurs when *even* translates the Italian adverb *soprattutto*:

> The eye-catching contours of the craggy pinnacles and theater-like hollows that punctuate the Balze uplands become *even* more striking in the spring and summer when the ocher and orange hues of the exposed rock face stand out against the deep green of the woodland and the bright yellow of the flowering broom shrubs.

> Il fantastico scenario di guglie, torri e grandiosi anfiteatri delle Balze sa offrire emozioni uniche, *soprattutto* tra la primavera e l'estate quando all'ocra e all'arancione della roccia fanno da contraltare il verde cupo della vegetazione e il giallo luminoso delle ginestre in fiore. (Arezzo)

Here, the two corresponding adverbs, *even* and *soprattutto*, share the additive meaning but give rise to a different scalar implicature. While *even* has the additional function of marking the scoped element as being minimally the case, *soprattutto* implicates a comparison between the degree of occurrence of several events. The ST highlights the fact that the event takes place at a higher rate of occurrence in two seasons in particular, whereas the translator underlines the unexpectedly more striking scenery in the spring and summer.

The scale mechanism discussed so far applies to sentences with positive polarity. With negative sentences the opposite is true:

> The monumental complex on the square, of which Palazzo della Provincia is the greatest expression, should be seen as a, not completely unsuccessful, attempt to modernise Ravenna. In fact, *not even* the postwar construction, despite having fittingly resolved the link between the railway station and the centre of Piazza del Popolo, managed to produce noteworthy complexes such as this one in Piazza dei Caduti.

> Il complesso monumentale della piazza, che ha nel palazzo della Provincia la sua espressione maggiore, va considerato come un tentativo, non del tutto infelice, di rammodernare Ravenna. In effetti *neppure* l'edilizia postbellica, pur avendo sistemato degnamente il collegamento della Stazione ferroviaria con il centro di piazza del Popolo, è riuscita a produrre complessi rimarchevoli come questo di piazza dei Caduti. (Ravenna)

Here, the value of the *even* phrase is no longer associated with the lower/est ranked element on the likelihood scale, but instead it appears the most likely event which might have produced a similar noteworthy complex. Likewise, in the following quotation, *even* evokes a scaled meaning but with the Great Augustan port as the element least likely to have disappeared:

> The environmental framework of Ravenna has changed as well as its structure, form and size. It is no longer ringed by water and marshes (except partially to the northeast, on the lagoon side, between pine grove and sea) nor by the network of rivers that still used to surround – and cross – it in the final centuries of the Roman Empire. *Not even* the great Augustan port still exists. For years now an extensive and growing archaeological park has taken its place.

Di Ravenna non sono cambiate solo la struttura, la forma, le dimensioni ma anche il quadro ambientale: non la cingono più acque e paludi (se non, in parte, a nord-est, dal lato delle pialasse, tra la pineta e il mare), né la rete di fiumi che la circondavano e l'attraversavano ancora negli ultimi secoli dell'impero di Roma. *Neppure* il grande porto augusteo esiste più: al suo posto da anni sta crescendo un esteso parco archeologico. (Ravenna)

The best translation match occurs when the adverb *even* is the chosen equivalent for the Italian words *perfino*/*persino*/*addirittura*, which equally act as scalar focus particles, conflating attitudinal and mirative meanings:

Perfino i calanchi – solchi prodotti dall'erosione delle acque sui fianchi argillosi delle colline – non modificano, con la loro asprezza, la dolcezza del paesaggio, ma semmai l'arricchiscono introducendo una nota di diversificazione, insieme con i banchi sedimentari a stratificazione orizzontale che emergono qua e là sia lungo il corso del Senio che lungo quello del Lamone. (Ravenna)

Even the harsh erosion furrows – produced by water erosion on the clayey hillsides – do not alter the gentle landscape, if anything enriching it by introducing a touch of diversification, along with the sedimentary horizontally stratified bars with that surface here and there along the course of the Senio River and that of the Lamone.

Sempre sul fronte marino, lo stoccafisso, la cui ricetta, con patate, pomodori ed erbe aromatiche, più olive e acciughe, è *addirittura* tutelata da un'apposita Accademia. (Ancona)

Another interesting sea dish is the stockfish, with its recipe *even* protected by a specific Academy.

La gara si svolge nell'arena sferisterio intitolata a Carlo Didimi (1798-1877), campione locale di nobile famiglia famosissimo in tutta Italia, il cui talento sportivo affascinò *persino* Leopardi, che a lui dedicò la canzone "A un vincitore nel pallone" (1821). (Macerata)

The game itself is played in the fronton named after Carlo Didimi (1798-1877), a local champion of noble stock who was famous throughout Italy and whose athletic prowess *even* fascinated Leopardi, who dedicated a poem to him, "A un vincitore nel pallone" ("To a Pelota Champion," 1821).
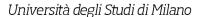
4. Conclusion

In TC tourist guides, surprise is a form of affect that is always non-authorial, as being ascribed to someone else such as the potential tourist who acts as a surrogate for the writer. What determines surprise is evaluated positively through the emotional response attributed to travellers, either directly or via inference. The positivity of this kind of emotion is contextually implied. In the field of tourism something that is new and unexpected is normally evaluated positively. As we have seen, surprise is not construed as a vague mood but as an Emotion evoked by the presence of *realis* Triggers assessed as unexpected. This cross-linguistic analysis has shown that the mapping and the lexico-grammatical realizations of mirativity may diverge in the two languages. Nevertheless, mirative resources appear to be operating on both planes of discourse: the autonomous and the interactive. The evidential relation between the affectual evaluation and the evidence provided mirrors the double role of the writer, as informer and text constructor at the same time.

Mirativity may also be linguistically encoded in a less explicit way. Pylkkö claims that "what we experience as a surprise betrays a gap, or incongruity, between expectations and what is actually encountered, and the surprise exploits the energy which is released by the incongruity" (Pylkkö 1996: 283). Therefore, expression of surprise cannot exist without violation of expectation. As shown above, *even* acts as an expectation marker, signalling that some information is characterized as unexpected and thus surprising. The addition of this adverb does not affect the propositional content of the sentence and, as a result, may be inserted by translators without disrupting the overall meaning of the ST. Therefore, its recurrence in translations also when there is no mirative meaning in the original text may be accounted for on promotional grounds, indicating a strong emphasis and personal involvement on the part of the translator whose intention it is to focus the readership's attention on a specific tourist attraction.

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