Investigating Mandarin Negative Terms: An Evaluation of Semantic-Pragmatic Meanings and Metaphorical Mechanisms

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Abstract

We collected lists of negative terms from past literature and from dictionary searches. From the lists, we selected thirteen negative terms for further observation. These terms were selected because they are not entirely negative although they were categorized as negative terms by others. By analyzing each instance of these terms in the news articles within ten years, we found the proportions of positive, negative, and neutral uses of these terms. Each term has various degrees of positive or negative uses. These different semantic prosodies were explained using metaphorical mechanisms we have established for each item. This study is one of the few studies that look into the significance of negative terms in discourse. Most previous studies aimed to identify or ascribe a label once a term is found. The look into the semantic and pragmatic uses of negative terms is rare, but needed.

1 Introduction

Negative language could be seen from several perspectives. One of the ways is through identifying negative terms, which is often accompanied by negative evaluation. For evaluation, Hunston (2011:23) proposed a "three-move evaluation act", namely:

(1) (a) "identification and classification of an object to be evaluated";
  (b) "ascribing a value to that object"; and
  (c) "identifying the significance of the information".

The object being evaluated could be any forms, but in Hunston's term, it refers to "discoursal and epistemic […] forms of propositions", meaning that the evaluation is found in discourse.

The study of negative terms has many applicational uses. For example, 彭宣維 et al. (2011; 2015) created a database called the *Chinese-English Parallel Corpus of Appraisal Meanings* (漢英對應評價意義語料庫) which provided a tagged version of data according to Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Theory. The theory, although included only the word 'appraisal', has both appraisal and non-appraisal sides. The identification of these appraisal terms fell mostly in the first (or maybe second) step of Hunston's three moves. In addition to the list, there is also the *Taiwan Corpora of Chinese Emotions and Relevant Psychophysiological Data* (臺灣地區華人情緒與相關心理生理資料庫) (EemotioNeT).[1]

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[1] http://ssnre.psy.ntu.edu.tw (requires application to use the database)

This database was used mainly for psychophysiological research. For instance, 陳學志、詹雨臻 and 馮彥茹 (2013), as well as 卓淑玲、陳學志 and 鄭昭明(2013) used the database as a reference for experimental material designs.

Although many intended to create a database of negative terms or of emotive language, most of these studies did not go beyond the second moves – i.e., to identify the significance of the information in discourse. Ascribing and classifying a value to a term (step two) seems possible in both databases mentioned above. However, interpreting the significance of the data was not the main concerns when creating the databases. For instance, interpreting why a certain semantic prosody exists in a negative term requires contextual information. Instead of ascribing a single label to a lexical item, we looked into their possible negative and non-negative meanings in different occurrences. More importantly, we tried to establish the relation between the negative and non-negative meanings of the same term.

In this paper, we will look at words with negative meaning and evaluate their negative meanings by examining their use in news articles. We selected negative terms that could have both negative and non-negative meanings, and examined how they were presented in news discourse. We also analyzed the metaphorical extensions of these negative terms in order to understand the connotation difference carried by a similar term. We will answer the following research questions:

(2) (a) To what extent a potentially negative term will carry non-negative meanings?
(b) How can we explain the different semantic prosodies possessed by a similar item?

By semantic prosody, we refer to the two main two issues brought up by Hunston (2007:265): "the discourse function of an extended unit of meaning, and the attitudinal meanings". For both, we looked into the actual occurrences of the selected negative terms in discourse. In the next section, we provide the literature review of the current work.

2 Negative Words

The discussion of negativity in literature often surrounded 'negative-polarity items' (NPIs) such that it is unacceptable to say a positive-polarity item in a negative sentence (*I'm not pretty please with it) but it is acceptable to say it in a positive sentence (I am pretty pleased with it) (Linebarger, 1980: 7). Such a discussion is not what we intend to pursue in this paper.

We are interested in the semantic and pragmatic use of the negative terms in discourse. In one of the studies we found, 傅奇珅 (2010) examined negative words in news reports about a particular company in Taiwan and computed the number of positive and negative words used in the reports. The determination of positive and negative words was based on whether or not good things or bad things were said about the company. Following 郭先珍 (1996), 傅奇珅's (2010:11) definitions of positive and negative terms are as follows (translated by the current authors):

(3) (a) Positive terms: Terms that contain appraisal (讚許), and confirmation emotions (肯定感情);
(b) Negative terms: Terms that contain demotion (貶斥), denial (否定), resentment(憎恨), disdain (輕蔑) emotions

郭先珍's series of work has become a major reference for many studies as they are the few sources that provided the explicit lists of positive and negative keywords.

In one study, Giora et al. (2004) used a scale of 1 to 7 to test the meaning of positive and negative of adjectives in a continuum: *ugly* (negative), *not pretty* (negative positive), *fairly pretty* (hedged positive), and *pretty* (positive). The salient meaning of a negated concept would not be eradicated by the negation marker (*not*), but be mitigated to a certain degree. The researchers thus suggested that negation markers should be classified as modifiers instead of suppressors. They also tested the pragmatic function of negation. Participants were shown 'nonnegatived negative item (*What you said was a lie*) versus *What you said was not true* and were asked to decide which sentence they would prefer to be polite. The result showed that negated semantically positive element was preferred when people wanted to show politeness or express undesirable state, while non-negated semantically negative constituent was avoided. The finding of this work was among the few that examined the relation between the negative and positive elements of a sentence in a discourse.

In one other study, Xiao and McEnery (2006:113-114) compared the semantic prosody of *result* and the Mandarin equivalent *jie2guo3* (結果). The authors found that "the six near synonyms of *jie2guo3* in Chinese can be arranged on a semantic continuum, from positive to negative, as follows: *shuo4guo3* (碩果), *cheng2guo3* (成果), *jie2guo3* (結果), *hou4guo3* (後果), and *ku3guo3* (苦果)/*e4guo3* (惡果)." Compared to English, these words are divided clearly into negative and positive meanings, with the first two being more positive, and the latter two being negative. The middle *jie2guo3* (結果) seems more neutral.

As there is a continuum between positive and negative meanings, Sobieraj and Berry (2011), on the other hand, found that insulting words could mean different things in different situations. Words such as *idiotic* or *pompous*, when referring to a person or group's behavior, are part of insulting language. However, if these words are used to call person or group, they are name-calling, and thus, a personal attack. Therefore, there is a fine line between evaluation and personal attack. Although not mentioned in Sobieraj and Berry, some negative words could be used positively. For instance, the following example is taken from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English.*[2]

(4) *His face immediately broke into a bright **idiotic** smile.*

Bednarek (2008:130) believed that "it is important to distinguish between the nature of collocates (negative/positive collocates) and the connotation of a lexical item (negative/positive prosody)." In this case, the word *idiotic* is in itself negative but it could have a non-negative meaning if it modifies a word such as *smile*. It would mean 'foolish' but not 'stupid'. In this paper, our aims are to observe some selected negative words to see if different degrees of differentiation can be found in the uses of the negative terms.

3   Metaphorical Extensions

In literature, one of the ways to analyze metaphors is by the use of source and target domains. The main reference of this model is Lakoff and Johnson's (1980:10) Conceptual Metaphor Theory, in that it mentions that, in metaphorical mappings, highlighting and hiding

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[2] https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/

are parts of the "systematicity" of metaphors. In metaphor creation, the 'highlighting aspects' become the foci of a metaphorical concept, whereas the 'hiding aspects' are "other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor." For instance, the metaphorical concept of *speed* in TIME (source) could not be mapped onto the metaphorical concept of *budget* in MONEY (target). Therefore, unrelated concepts are not usually mapped, according to this principle. Only concepts with related variance will be mapped. From this, examples such as *you're **wasting** my time* and *this gadget will **save** you hours,* in which both have a feature that is valuable, especially that of a certain commodity, are mapped between TIME and MONEY (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:8).

Therefore, for metaphorical extensions that occur within a word, a certain kind of metaphor mapping should be observed. Many people have looked at source and target domains from mapped domains, but we would like to apply this to look at metaphorical meanings that may derive from a source meaning, especially when the meanings could change from positive to negative, and vice versa. Murphy (2003) discussed the relations between semantics and lexicon; in this paper, the relations between the co-existence of positive and negative senses, if any, will be scrutinized in fine-grained analyses.

The following shows our steps in selected our keywords of interest.

4   Methodology

First, we collected a list of negative terms from previous literature, including the list of negative terms from the *Dictionary of Frequently Used Positive and Negative Terms* (常用褒貶義詞語詳解詞典) complied by 郭先珍, 張偉, 劉緒 and 王玲 (1996), as well as Zhang's (2014) sadness expressions in Mandarin.

Zhang's list consists of (a) English expressions of sadness taken from the Bank of English; (b) Chinese expressions taken from the Chinese Corpus from the Center for Chinese Linguistics (CCL); and (c) a match of the two lists by checking them in the Babel English-Chinese Parallel Corpus. The list was divided according to 'Extroversion', 'Introversion', 'Verb', 'Modifier', 'Feeling', 'People involved', 'Cause', 'Modifies', and 'Others'.

From the list of expressions, we identified 92 expressions that are potentially negative in Mandarin.

Category	English	Chinese
Verb	*induce/ give rise to/ lead to/ invite*	惹
		鬧
Modifier	*heavy*	沉重
	with grief	沉痛
Feeling	*extremely*	悲痛欲絕
	grief	悲痛
	sorrow	悲傷
		悲哀
	sad	悲
	sad	難過
		難受
	sad	傷心
	immensely sad/ heartbroken	心碎
	mourn	哀悼
	depression	抑鬱
		抑鬱症
		憂鬱症
	melancholy	憂鬱
	depressed	壓抑
	melancholy	憂傷
	gloomy	陰鬱
	gloomy	悶悶不樂
	dejected	沮喪
		喪氣
		垂頭喪氣
	disheartened	心灰意冷
		灰心喪氣
	low-spirited	情緒低落
	despondent	灰心
	anguish	痛苦
	low-spirited	消沉
	discouraged	氣餒
	frustrated	失意
	pessimistic	悲觀
	indignation	憤怒
	grief and indignation	悲憤
	annoyance/ anger	生氣
	agitated/ perturbed	煩
		煩躁
		心煩
	anxious	焦慮
	dreary	沉悶
	worry	憂愁
		憂
		愁
	woebegone	愁眉苦臉
		愁容滿面
	gloomy	苦悶
	grievance/ feel wronged	委屈
	uneasiness	不安
	vexation	煩惱
	worried	苦惱
	fear	恐懼
		害怕
	despair	絕望
	disappointment	失望
	loneliness	孤獨
		寂寞
		孤寂
	shame	羞愧
	regret	後悔
People involved	*victim*	死難者
		罹難者
		遇害者
		受難者
Cause	*news about the death of a beloved person*	噩耗
	failure	失敗
	setback	挫折
	hardship	艱難
	misfortune	不幸
	loss	失去
	disaster	災難
	die/ death	死
		死去
		死亡
		逝世
		去世
	die of disease	病逝
	be killed in a disaster	罹難
		遇難
		遇害
		身亡
Others	*(of sorrow) be blocked*	鬱結
		鬱積
	intestine+broken	腸斷
	gall bladder+crack	膽裂

torment	折磨	
torture	煎熬	
suicide	自殺	
desolate	淒涼	
sad	悲慘	
chained	束縛	

Table 1. List of Negative Terms Organized from Zhang (2014)

In addition to this list, we also went over the list of negative terms taken from the *Dictionary of Frequently Used Positive and Negative Terms*. There were altogether 506 positive terms and 587 negative terms in their dictionary. The negative terms were categorized according to 'Resentment' (憎惡), 'Blame' (貶責), 'Criticism' (批評), and 'Distain' (鄙夷). From the list, we selected three from the first three categories and one from the final categories for further analysis. Three other terms were added in the process from searches in dictionary (placed in 'Others' in Table 2). In total, there were thirteen terms to be investigated in details.

'Resentment' (憎惡)	慣技	抱頭鼠竄	保護傘
'Blame' (貶責)	奇貨可居	無所不至	貨色
'Criticism' (批評)	瞻前顧後	八面玲瓏	兩面光
'Distain' (鄙夷)	平庸		
Others	卵翼	冒泡	暴發戶

Table 2. Selected Terms for Analyses

Terms	Definitions[3]
1. 平庸	平凡 'ordinary; mediocre'
2. 慣技	時常用的方法、手段 'customary tactic'
3. 卵翼	鳥以羽翼護卵，孵出小鳥。比喻養育或庇護。'Birds hatching eggs with wings – a metaphor of fostering or shielding'
4. 暴發戶	稱突然發跡，得財或得勢的人。'parvenu; someone who has suddenly become rich or powerful'

5. 抱頭鼠竄	形容像鼠懼人一般，狼狽逃走的樣子。'To descibe a rat-like timid behavior, running to hide'
6. 瞻前顧後	(1)比喻做事謹慎周密。'Cautious and careful' (2) 形容做事猶豫不決，顧慮太多。'People who are hesitant to do things, worry too much'
7. 保護傘	比喻賴以不受傷害的資本 'To not harm as the basic principle' [Literally, 'protective umbrella']
8. 八面玲瓏	形容人處世圓滑，面面俱到。'People who are sleek and cover all dimensions'
9. 貨色	(1)商品的種類及質料 'Different kinds of goods' (2)財貨、女色 'money; women'
10.兩面光	比喻做人處事老練成熟，兩方面討好。'People who are experienced and sophisticated , always please both sides'
11.奇貨可居	珍異的貨品，可以收藏聚集起來，等候高價出售。後比喻仗持某種專長或有利用價值的東西作為資本以謀利。'Precious goods that are kept so that they could be sold at a higher price later on; Used to describe someone who earn profit by selling precious goods'
12.無所不至	(1)沒有到達不了的地方 'Nowhere is unreachable' (2)形容細心周到：'Careful and thoughtful' (3)形容才藝精通：'Talented' (4)比喻什麼壞事都做得出來：'Capable of any crime' (5)沒有不會發生的：'Nothing won't happen'
13. 冒泡	由下往上或往外透出氣泡。'Effervesce' *美得冒泡：嘲諷的話。諷刺人自以為是，想得太美。'To sneer at someone who believe him/herself infallible'

Table 3.Translation of the Negative Terms

These thirteen terms were numbered so that they could be matched to their results in the next section. Some words have more than one sense (#6, #9, #12). Among the senses, we could see that some

senses carry a positive meaning. Therefore, it is not right to provide a 'negative' tag to these terms. The next section will provide the analysis of news articles.

5 Results

For all thirteen terms, they were searched in the *UDN News* in the *United Daily News Database* for the period of ten years from October 1, 2008 through October 1, 2018. The number of news articles found is shown in Table 4 below, with the highest being #7 'protective umbrella' (保護傘), followed by #1 'ordinary; mediocre'(平庸). A total of 1460 articles were collected.

Terms	No. of Articles	%
7. 保護傘	405	27.57
1. 平庸	384	26.14
6. 瞻前顧後	167	11.37
9. 貨色	136	9.26
11. 奇貨可居	133	9.05
4. 暴發戶	111	7.56
8. 八面玲瓏	51	3.47
10. 兩面光	26	1.77
13. 冒泡	17	1.16
5. 抱頭鼠竄	12	0.82
2. 慣技	11	0.75
3. 卵翼	10	0.68
12. 無所不至	6	0.41
Total	**1469**	**100.00**

Table 4. Number of UDN New Articles within 1o years

From 1469 news articles, a total of 1543 occurrences of these terms were found. For each occurrence, annotated was made by identifying if the thirteen terms were indeed negative, positive, or neutral. Using 平庸 *píngyōng* 'ordinary; mediocre' (#1) as example, we provide the following examples.

(4) Negative

　好 作家　謙虛，**平庸** 作家　驕狂，
hǎo zuòjiā qiānxū, píngyōng zuòjiā jiāokuáng,
good writer humble mediocre writer arrogant

明明　　文字 不佳 卻 也　意見　最多。
míngmíng wénzì bùjiā què yě yìjiàn zuìduō
obviously word not.good but also opinion most
'Good writers are humble while mediocre writers are arrogant. Mediocre writers' works are not so good but they have too many opinions.'

(5) Positive

　你　現在　沒　了 膽、少 了　腎，
nǐ xiànzài méi le dǎn, shǎo le shèn,
you now　Neg. LE gallbladder lack LE kidney
從　今天　起 要 多　一點　**平庸**、
cóng jīntiān qǐ　yào duō yīdiǎn píngyōng,
from　today start want more little　ordinary
多　一點 微笑，　以　自己　為　優先。
duō yīdiǎn wéixiào, yǐ　zìjǐ　wèi yōuxiān.
more little　smile　for yourself as priority
'Now, you lose your gallbladder and kidney. From today, you should become more simple [ordinary] with more smile; make yourself the priority.'

(6) Neutral

老天　保佑，資質　**平庸**　的 兒子
lǎotiān bǎoyòu, zīzhì píngyōng de érzi
god　bless　talent ordinary DE son
終於　可以 免 受　　基測
zhōngyú kěyǐ miǎn shòu　jīcè
finally can avoid suffer competence.test
之 苦，好好　享受　　國中　　生活
zhī kǔ hǎohǎo xiǎngshòu guózhōng　shēnghuó
ZHI pain well　enjoy junior.high.school　life
'God bless my son. My ordinary boy finally can avoid the suffering of the competence test and enjoy his junior high school life.'

Based on the above criteria, we annotated all thirteen terms and the results are provided in Table 5.

Terms	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Total
1. 平庸	396	6	49	451
2. 慣技	9	0	2	11
3. 卵翼	8	2	0	10
4. 暴發戶	92	8	17	117
5. 抱頭鼠竄	9	0	3	12

6. 瞻前顧後	120	19	28	167
7. 保護傘	202	176	27	405
8. 八面玲瓏	13	21	17	51
9. 貨色	30	5	101	136
10. 兩面光	5	10	11	26
11. 奇貨可居	23	28	82	133
12. 無所不至	1	4	1	6
13. 冒泡	2	11	5	18
Total	**910**	**291**	**343**	**1543**

Table 5. Negative, Positive, and Neutral Use

The results in Table 4 can be clearly compared in Figure 1 when converted to percentages.
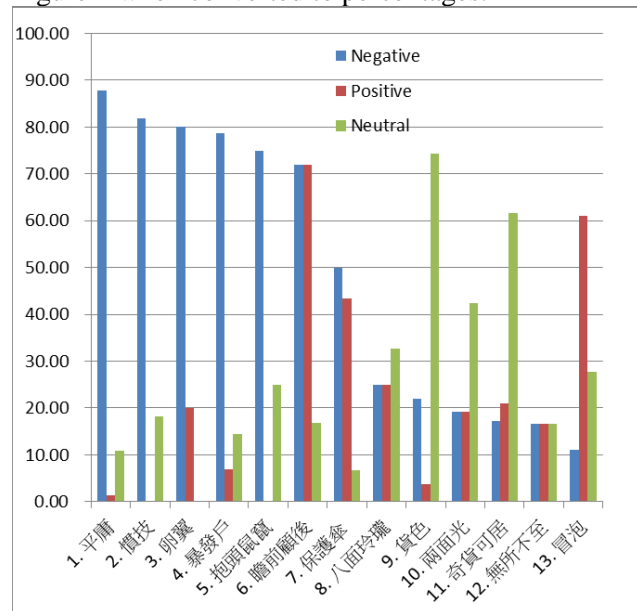

Figure 1. Proportions of Negative, Positive, and Neutral Uses

From Figure 1, we can clearly see that, the top seven terms are highly negative, although #6 (瞻前顧後) has similar proportion of positive and negative use. If we look at Table 3, we could see that this word has two sense -- 'Cautious and careful' and 'People who are hesitant to do things, worry too much' -- between the two senses, the first one is considered more positive than the second sense. From the results, we could also see that both senses are equally used.

　It is worth noting that, we took these terms from a list of words listed under negative terms by other dictionaries and resources. The results we found

showed that these terms are not entirely negative. In another example, a potentially negative term 保護傘 'protective umbrella', a metaphorical use, which means 'to not harm as the basic principle', is slightly high in negative use, although its positive use is also frequent. Examples are given in (7) and (8).

(8) Negative
　法治　　　　底線　　　　撤守，
　fǎzhì　　*dǐxiàn*　　*chèshǒu*
　rule.of.law　bottom.line　withdrawn
　成　了　鬧事　者　　的
　chéng　le nàoshì zhě　de
　become　LE　make trouble　person　DE
　保護傘
　bǎohùsǎn
　protective.umbrella
　'The failure of defending the rule of laws [literally, the bottom line of the rule of laws withdrew] has become the protective umbrella [excuses] of the troublemakers.'

(9) Positive
　柯文哲　昨天　　　　受訪　　　表示，
　kēwénzhé　zuótiān　　shòufǎng　biǎoshì
　KeWenzhe　yesterday　　interviewed indicated
　大　巨蛋　公開　　　透明，
　dà　jùdàn　gōngkāi　tòumíng
　Big dome　open　　　transparent
　反而　　是　　　　**保護傘**，
　fǎnér　shì　　　bǎohùsǎn
　instead　is　　protective.umbrella
　後續　　　處理　　就是　安全　合法
　hòuxù　　chùlǐ　jiùshì ānquán　héfǎ
　follow-up　procedure is　　safe　　legal
　'Wenzhe Ke [Mayor of Taipei] said yesterday that the [procedures of building] Big Dome is open and transparent, and because of this, it has become a protective umbrella. Therefore, the follow-up procedures will be safe and legal.'

The use of 'protective umbrella' is not entirely negative too. Other terms from #9 to #13 are more neutral or positive than the other terms on the left of Figure 1. Terms that are more positive than negative are #11(奇貨可居) and #13(冒泡), between which the latter is highly positive.

Examples of positive and negative use of 冒泡 'effervesce' re given in (10) below.

(10) 但 「央行 不 樂見 這些 地區
　　 dàn ˋyāngháng bù lèjiàn zhèxiē dìqū
　　 but Central.bank Neg. glad.see these districts
　　 一直　　　　 冒泡」，
　　 yīzhí　　　 màopào
　　 continuously effervesce
　　 因為 房價 不斷 飆高，
　　 yīnwèi fángjià bùduàn biāogāo,
　　 because house.price coninou rise.high
　　 日後 跌 下來 也 會 很 慘
　　 rìhòu diē xiàlái yě huì hěn cǎn
　　 future fall down also want very disastrous
　　 'However, the central bank is not willing to see the house transaction keeps happening[to effervesce]. If the housing price keeps rising rapidly, when it falls down in an unexpected way, it will be disasterous. '

(11) Positive
　　 比起 往年， 花 開 得
　　 bǐqǐ wǎngnián, huā kāi de
　　 compare previous.year flowers open DE
　　 又 多、 又 漂亮！ 令 民眾
　　 yòu duō yòu piàoliang lìng mínzhòng
　　 so many so pretty let people
　　 直呼 「真的 美 得 冒泡！」
　　 zhí hū ˋzhēnde měi dé màopào
　　 directly.say really pretty DE effervesce
　　 "Compared with the last few years, more blossom of flowers and more beautiful flowers are seen. People sighed that 'the flowers are really beautiful [until effervesce].'"

From the above, we can see that, some terms which are potentially negative, or may have been collected as part of negative words, can still be used positively, or non-negatively. In Table 5 below, we provide the possible metaphorical extension from negative to positive meanings. The metaphorical concepts are in lower capitals. The translation is underlined.

Terms	Metaphorical Extensions
1. 平庸	Being ordinary is BAD, but being ordinary brings simplicity and therefore could become GOOD.
2. 慣技	No positive meaning is found.
3. 卵翼	To provide a shield is BAD when used for people with bad intent; but for people who gain benefits from it, it is a GOOD thing.
4. 暴發戶	A parvenu refers to someone usually from a LOWER STATUS who has become rich but his or her manner does not improve. It is later used to mean the QUANTITY THAT EXPLODES which is seen as a good thing.
5. 抱頭鼠竄	No positive meaning is found.
6. 瞻前顧後	To do things with caution is a VIRTUE; but over-caution could mean TIMIDITY.
7. 保護傘	Like #3, to be a protective umbrella is BAD when used for people with bad intent; but for people who gain benefits from it, it is a GOOD thing.
8. 八面玲瓏	Someone who is sleek and cover all dimensions is HARD TO TRUST; but someone who can do this well could SUCCEED IN SOCIALIZATION.
9. 貨色	People, especially women, who have been objectified is referred to as different kinds of goods, which is a BAD LABEL FOR WOMEN. However, some skilled people or goods that can use this label to mean they are of RARE GOOD QUALITY.
10. 兩面光	Like, #8, someone who is experienced and sophisticated , always please both sides is HARD TO TRUST; but someone who can do this well could SUCCEED IN SOCIALIZATION.
11. 奇貨可居	Someone who keeps precious goods so that to sell a t higher price is HARD TO TRUST for their ultimate goal is profit; It is later used to refer to people who know SUCCEED IN BUSINESS for they how to do business by selling at the right time.
12. 無所不至	When someone or something is able to reach all corners, it is something GOOD for things are well taken care of. But it could become BAD when the reaching is for a bad purpose.
13. 冒泡	Literally, 'to effervesce' is neutral. But if something happens too rapidly like the formation of bubles, it is seen as a BAD SIGN. A good side of this use is not

	found except in describing beauty. Originally to describe someone's beauty to the extent that it effervesces, it is OVER-CONFIDENCE of one's beauty, but it is later used to mean beauty that kills.

Table 6. Metaphorical Mechanisms of Each Term

From the above, we can see the semantic pragmatics meanings of potentially negative terms, and the possible metaphorical mechanisms at play when a potentially negative meaning could become positive, or vice versa.

6 Conclusion and Limitations

We started out by collecting lists of negative terms and ended up focusing on thirteen that we have observed to serve both positive and negative meanings. We then evaluated the negative meanings of these thirteen words by examining their use in news articles. By looking into the context of each of the occurrence, we found the proportions of positive, negative, and neutral uses. We then summarized the metaphorical mechanisms that may have caused the change or meanings in each term. This study, however, did not analyze the different senses of each item, if any, in the separate context. For words that have more than one sense, it is possible that a particular sense if predominantly positive or negative. We leave this for future study.

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