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Semantic Relations in Statutory Texts: A Study of English and Bulgarian

Abstract

The article reports results from a larger contrastive study of legislative documents across two different legal systems – the codified Roman-law based legal system in Bulgaria and the common law and precedent based system in England. The hypothesis is that the differences are reflected in the language used to conceptualise statutory provisions. The main aspects of the textual component of statutory texts, namely the structure and place of legal qualifications and their relatedness to preceding or following discourse are examined. The study is based on the assumption that the thematic and informational structure of discourse and patterns of cohesion are adequate tertium comparationis in analysing different genres.

The first part of the study (Yankova, forthcoming) analyses the various ways legal provisions are textualised, their syntactic position and thematic organisation in Bulgarian and English statutory texts (200 pages in each language) from the area of criminal law and proceedings. In the second stage of the contrastive study presented here, non-structural text-forming relations which effectuate the semantic textual relations of the text are investigated. The analysis is based on the premise that the way meaning is superficially encoded by cohesive links which contribute to the texture of a stretch of discourse is specific for each genre and varies across languages.

1. Introduction

The present article investigates semantic textual relations (or cohesion) as a tool for exploring the structure of texts taking into account generic, cultural and language characteristics. The analysis is based on the premise that the way meaning is superficially encoded by cohesive links, which contribute to the texture of a stretch of discourse, is specific for each genre and varies across languages. It is part of a larger study which endeavours to delineate similarities and differences in the expression of legislative provisions in the common law and precedent-based practice in England and the codified legal system in Bulgaria originating from Roman law. The ultimate aim is to reveal the generic structure of English and Bulgarian legislative texts by
describing and highlighting the regularities in the construction of this genre. It follows the tenets of applied discourse analysis – the rationale underlying genre types and the regularities in their structuring. The concept of genre is defined after Bhatia (1993: 16) as depending on its communicative purpose, the context in which it is used and the communicative events it is associated with. Thus, the genre of legislative provisions is investigated. Part one of the study (Yankova, forthcoming) looks at the way legal provisions are textualised in the two languages, their syntactic position and their thematic organisation.

2. Theoretical framework

A text is a communicative occurrence which should satisfy seven standards of textuality (Beaugrande & Dressler 1981): the text-centred notions of cohesion and coherence, the user-centred notions of intentionality and acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality. The factors that contribute to text cohesion are recurrence, partial recurrence, parallelism, paraphrase, ellipsis, tense and aspect, junction and pro-forms. In one of the most important and exhaustive works on cohesion, Halliday and Hasan (1976) introduce several topical concepts such as tie and texture. They regard text as a semantic unit and texture as the property of ‘being a text.’ Text is non-structural deriving its unity not from grammatical structure, but from cohesion.

Hasan (1989) views lexical cohesion as the focus of textual analysis, with co-referential relations forming a chain where each element refers to the same entity, while co-classification and co-extension form similarity chains within an identical class or field of meaning. Continuing the tradition of Hallidayan systemic functional grammar, Eggins (1994) analyses lexical cohesion by means of lexical strings and hypothesises that certain texts are characterised by strings that point to the ‘deep’ level of a field, such as technical texts, while everyday texts include items pointing to its ‘shallow’ end. Lexical choices “point upwards to the field dimension of context” (Eggins 1994: 105). For Hoey (1991), lexical cohesion is the only type which can establish multiple connections, with clusters of lexically cohesive items arranged into networks that stretch across the whole text. Most of these studies can be classified into two groups, dealing respectively with cohesive chains or strings and with lexical clusters. The first group (cf. Parsons 1990; Eggins 1994) follows Halliday & Hasan’s (1976) framework; the second group (Wessels 1993; Renouf & Collier
That lexical cohesion in general and repetition in particular is the dominant type of cohesion has been corroborated by several researchers. In Halliday & Hasan’s example, texts over 40% of the ties are lexical (in Hoey 1991). In the studies of expository prose by Witte & Faigley (1981) and Stotsky (1986), lexical ties also constitute the majority of cohesive ties. Most intersentential cohesive ties in three biology, psychology and history passages also occurred in the lexical category and ranged from 95% to 96% of the total number of ties in each text (Lovejoy 1991). Tyler (1994) discusses whether lexical repetition and anaphoric reference are confused with the natural consequences of staying on topic and general pragmatic principles. Reynolds (2001: 440) considers lexical repetition as the principal means of explicitly marking cohesion in a text, as an index of its semantic structure. Hasan (1989) states that repetition is a powerful texture-forming device since it is the most direct and frequent way to create a tie.

One of the few analyses of legal texts from the point of view of cohesion is that by Iedema (1993), where he focuses on referential and conjunctive relations as well as the thematic organisation of clauses in the subgenre of Case Notes and how they contribute to the development and coherence of the text. The present study is another attempt at unveiling cohesive relations in statutory texts.

The working model follows the Hallidayan functional systemic paradigm for examining text-forming strategies. The non-structural, text-forming relations are semantic relations which are not restricted by sentence boundaries. Cohesion can be further defined not as the presence of a particular item as such but as a relation between the presupposing and the presupposed. The different types of cohesion are lexical cohesion, reference, substitution, ellipsis and conjunction. Lexical cohesion (reiteration and collocation) encompasses sequences of lexically cohesive items joined through semantic relations such as synonymy, meronymy, hyponymy and antonymy. ‘Reference’ is when an item refers to another item for its semantic interpretation (in other models the term is ‘pronominalisation’ or ‘pro-forms’) and can be personal, demonstrative and comparative. This study examines only cases of endophoric reference, since exophoric reference within the systemic functional theory is not taken to integrate texts and is therefore not cohesive. ‘Substitution’ is replacement of one lexical entity with another which performs the same
syntactic function, and ‘ellipsis’ is substitution by zero. Cohesion by ‘conjunction’ relates elements by means of conjunctions.

Cohesion within the sentence remains outside the scope of the present work since it is bound by grammatical structure. The object of study here are suprasentential semantic relations.

3. The corpus

The analysed texts in the study—200 pages (or 100,000 words) of legislative provisions in each language—have been selected from British and Bulgarian Criminal Law. The choice was determined by the assumption that the area of criminal law and proceedings would not manifest great differences cross-culturally and conceptually in the two legal systems and would thus offer a sound basis for a contrastive analysis. Laws governing civil disputes are quite often tainted by idiosyncratic socio-cultural and historical factors. For instance, the fundamental categories of English law concepts of tort or trust are unknown in Continental law. In addition, the choice of corpora was determined by two other factors: first, the indisputable fact that of all varieties of written legal discourse—law textbooks, case reports and statutes—the latter are considered to be the most difficult for native and non-native students alike, as well as for ESP (English for Specific Purposes) teachers; and second, that legislation is the largest source of law in any modern society, besides being the most esoteric form of legal discourse. The corpus comprises the following: British legislation: Administration of Justice Act 1960, Criminal Appeal Act 1968, Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984, and the Bulgarian: Penal Procedure Code 1998 and Penal Code 1998. (For a comprehensive account of the differences between common law and continental law systems and the resulting linguistic variations in drafting statutes see Yankova 2004). Although there is a temporal discrepancy between the Acts and the Codes, they are parallel texts in that they cover the same legislative domain, and this provides a sound tertium comparationis. Moreover, changes within the formulaic, rigid and conservative style of statutory texts occur rather slowly.
4. **Hypothesis**

Prior to the analysis, there was a set of expectations concerning the various cohesive devices that would be employed. Some of these devices were expected to materialise in both the English and the Bulgarian texts since they were thought to belong to the genre of ‘statutory writing’, and were therefore genre-specific; while others were anticipated to be present due to the different legal and language systems, or presumed to be language- or culture-specific. The hypothesis was the following:

**Genre-specific expectations:**

- Since the function of statutes is to legislate and to regulate behaviour, lexical repetition would abound in both languages. The language of statutory provisions strives for both precision of expression and all-inclusiveness with the ultimate purpose of avoiding any misunderstanding or misinterpretation. It was expected that lexical cohesion would be the prevalent device for this particular genre.
- Another surmise was that conjunction would also play an important role in the creation of texture in both languages. Expressing the complex subject matter in a legal norm would call for a clear explication of the relation between the different provisions. A generous incidence of additive, adversative and causal conjunctions used as cohesive devices was anticipated. Not so temporal conjunctions, since statutes are oriented towards the ‘ever present present.’
- Synonymy was dismissed as a possibility since the precision and uniformity of legal terms by definition excludes the idea of resorting to synonyms. The same could be said for ellipsis and substitution.

**Language-and culture-specific expectations:**

- The two different legal systems of English and Bulgarian law entail the following differences: the Continental drafter puts emphasis on the legal principle, on generality, on simplicity of expression, brevity, the use of ordinary grammar. Thus the final result is simplicity of expression. Common law drafting involves emphasis on the precise meaning of terms, on particularity, on detail. Consequently, the texts
are much longer than in Continental Law and the ultimate aim is certainty in meaning. Therefore, the number and density of cohesive ties was expected to be higher in English than in Bulgarian.

– It was assumed that reference would be utilised as a cohesive device more often in Bulgarian owing to the explicitly marked grammatical category of gender in the noun and the lack thereof in the English language.

Widdowson (2005) argues for a comprehensive basis in the interpretation of text which requires an account of the relationship between the semantic and the pragmatic. Such pragmatic issues as facts about the actions, intentions, and inferences of language users and in general the ‘broad context’ that is relevant to a pragmatic study of discourse, however, are not considered in detail and are outside the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, in some cases we resort to pragmatic considerations in the interpretation of facts, since certain linguistic phenomena (e.g. ambiguity, anaphora, reference resolution, etc.) can be said to straddle the boundary between semantics and pragmatics.

5. Results and discussion

The total number of cohesive devices in the texts analysed is 3316 in the English texts and 2301 in the Bulgarian texts (see Chart 1). Their density in the English Acts is 1.4 times higher. All the numbers in the present study indicate a single instance of cohesion, a tie, which is one occurrence of a pair of cohesively related items.
5.1 Lexical cohesion

Lexical cohesion accounts for 84% of all ties in English and 92% in Bulgarian, of which repetition is the prevailing type (99.4% in English and 98.6% in Bulgarian). This is in keeping with most studies to date where lexical repetition has been shown to account for the dominant type of text cohesion in different genres (see section 2). Chart 2 below shows the absolute number of reiterations in the texts under study:

Chart 2. Lexical cohesion

In the English corpus the co-extentional relationship between the ties more often than not involves repetition of whole phrases. This is rare in most types of non-literary texts:

(1) s.36, PCEA
Custody officers at police stations
(1) One or more custody officers shall be appointed for each designated police station.
(2) A custody officer for a designated police station shall be appointed by (…)

In the above example the custody officer or the designated police station in subsection (1) and (2) are not coreferential: they do not have identical reference. The cohesion is due to the relation of the forms. In this case, as in the predominant part of statutory provisions, the situation is putative. Therefore, the matter of common reference is not at issue.

Repetition can also stretch over whole clauses, as in:

(2) s 8, CAA
(3) If the person ordered to be retried was, immediately before the determination of his appeal, liable to be detained in pursuance of an order or direction under Part V of the Mental Health Act 1959 (…)
(3A) If the person ordered to be retried was, immediately before the determination of his appeal, liable to be detained in pursuance of a remand under section 36 of the Mental Health Act (…)

Another specific characteristic of lexical cohesion that surfaced in the present analysis is the length of the cohesive chains. They can spread along the whole section/article or even beyond it:

(3) art 157, PPC
(1) Когато не се яви на разпит без уважителни причини, обвиняемият се довежда принудително, ако явяването му е задължително или съответният орган намери, че то е необходимо.
(2) Обвиняемият и свидетелят могат да бъдат доведени принудително без предварително призоваване, когато са се укрили или нямат постоянно местоживееене.
(3) Принудителното довеждане на обвиняемия се извършва през деня, освен когато не търпи отлагане.
(4) Принудителното довеждане се извършва от органите на МВР.
(5) За принудително довеждане на затворници се прави искане пред администрацията на съответния затвор или поправителен дом.
(6) Военнослужащите се довеждат от съответните военни органи.
(7) Решението за принудително довеждане се предявява на лицето, което трябва да бъде доведено.
(8) Разпоредбите на ал. 3–7 се прилагат и при принудително довеждане на свидетел по чл. 95, ал. 3.
(1) Where the accused fails to appear for interrogation without good reasons, the accused shall be brought in by compulsion should the appearance be obligatory, or should the respective body consider this necessary.¹

(2) The accused and the witness may be brought compulsorily without first being summoned, if they have gone into hiding or have no permanent place of residence.

(3) The compulsory bringing in of the accused shall be effectuated in daytime, except where it should suffer no delay.

(4) The compulsory bringing in shall be performed by bodies of the Ministry of Interior.

(5) For compulsory bringing in of prisoners, request shall be made to the administration of the respective prison or correctional institution.

(6) Members of the armed forces shall be brought in by the respective military bodies.

(7) The decision for compulsory bringing in shall be served on the person who must be brought in.

(8) The provisions of paragraphs (3)–(7) shall also apply in the case of compulsory bringing in of witness pursuant to Article 95, paragraph (3).

The higher incidence of lexical cohesion in the English texts can be attributed to several factors. First of all, the nature of Common law drafting, which is based on conciseness of expression, is different from the Continental style, which is based on statements of general principles (cf. David & Brierley 1968). Secondly, differences in language conventions affect the choice and number of cohesive devices. According to Hawkins (1986), English as a whole allows for more ambiguity than German due to the level of surface form mapping.

Similarly to German, in the Bulgarian language there is more one-to-one mapping between form and meaning. For instance, the grammatical distinction of nouns classified by gender allows for a referential density effectuated through other means in English, most commonly through lexical repetition. The genre of statutory writing in English has always had a very high propensity for reiteration, or in other words, the genre allows it and the language system demands it (cf. Hervey, Higgins & Loughbridge 1995). Therefore, the differences in English and Bulgarian language conventions affect the degree of recurrence of lexical items – in this case the grammatical distinction of gender and the accepted level of repetition in both languages.

¹ Texts within square brackets are English translations of Bulgarian provisions provided by Ciela 2004.
The repeated lexical item can be accompanied by the definite article. Its function in general is to indicate that there is a particular referent in the environment to which the reiterated item points.

**Chart 3.** Lexical reiteration

**Chart 4.** Lexical reiteration with a demonstrative

The incidence of lexical reiteration and lexical reiteration with a demonstrative (*the, this, that*) differs significantly in the two languages (see Charts 3 and 4). The English corpus shows a marked tendency for opting for the former, while the Bulgarian displays a propensity for the latter.

(4) *art 317, PPC*

(1) Жалбата и протестът се подават в седемдневен срок от обявяването на присъдата, а в случаите на чл. 306 – в двуседмичен срок.

(2) Жалбата и протестът се подават чрез съда, който е произнесъл присъдата.
[(1) The appeal and the protest shall be filed within seven days following the
pronouncement of the sentence, and in the cases under Article 306 within
fourteen days.
(2) The appeal and the protest shall be filed through the court which has
pronounced the sentence.]

Art. 317 stipulates the terms and procedures for filing an appeal and
protest. The definite article (the appeal and the protest) has a specific
reference to the protests and appeals enumerated in the previous art. 316
and the drafter is obviously not worried that other contingencies might
arise.

(5) s 34, CAA
(1) An application to the Court of Appeal for leave to appeal to the House of
Lords shall be made within the period of fourteen days beginning with the
date of the decision of the Court (…)
(2) The House of Lords or the Court of Appeal may…. extend the time within
which an application may be made (…)
(3) An appeal to the House of Lords shall be treated as pending until any
application for leave to appeal is disposed of….; and for the purposes of
this Part of this Act an application for leave to appeal shall be treated as
disposed of at the expiration of the time (…)

Employing the indefinite article in its generic use emphasises the all-
inclusiveness of the above provision, which is further strengthened by the
combination of any + application in subsection (3), thus signifying ‘any
representative member of the class’ (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik
1997) or ‘universal generic meaning’ (Stankov 1995).

Owing to the different legal principles that underlie the two systems,
in Bulgarian we find:

(6) art 379, PPC
При предварителното и съдебното следствие се събират данни за дня,месеца и годината на раждането на непълнолетния (…)

[In the course of the preliminary inquiry and the judicial inquiry
information shall be collected about the date, month and year of birth of the
minor (…)]

This preliminary inquiry becomes clear if we go back to art. 377, which
reads:
Art. 379 employs the definite article to make the reader look for the missing information in the text, searching for the specific inquiry. The English text shows a marked tendency for repeating the circumstances or conditions to which the legal rule applies, thus making the use of the definite article unnecessary. In this vein, art. 379 can be paraphrased as:

An observation to be taken into account is that in Bulgarian, a generically used noun is, as a rule, accompanied by the definite article when it is the grammatical subject and is part of the theme (Ivančev 1978). In addition, whether a generically used noun is with or without the definite article depends on its thematic or rhematic position in the sentence (see also Šamrai 1989, Stoyanov 1980 for a syntactic explanation of the use and omission of articles).

Another reason for the discrepancy between the repeated lexical items, with or without a demonstrative, may be found in the different choice of surface expression of similar content in the two languages. Where in English a noun is accompanied by the generic indefinite article in sentences beginning with ‘An appellant who….., A constable who….., A person who…..’ in Bulgarian this is usually rendered by a substantivised form of a relative pronoun within a nominal relative clause functioning as subject:
[Who propagates or incites racial or national hostility or hatred or racial discrimination shall be punished by imprisonment of up to three years and by public reprobation.]

The underlying meaning, however, is the same: *a person who propagates or incites*. According to Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik (1997: 1244), “nominal relative clauses are unique among relative clauses in that they ‘contain’ their antecedents.”

There are several instances of ellipsis in Bulgarian which would correspond to lexical repetition plus a demonstrative in English:

(10) *art 20, para 1, PPC*

Не се образува наказателно производство, а образуваното се прекратява, когато (…) [No penal proceedings shall be instituted, and the instituted (proceedings) shall be terminated where: (…)]

There were instances of fuzzy and misleading lexical cohesion in the corpus, as in:

(11) *art 160, PPC*

(1) Призовките, съобщенията и книжата се връчват срещу разписка, подписана от лицето, за което са предназначени.

(2) Когато лицето отсъства, те се връчват на пълнолетен член на семейството му, а ако няма пълнолетен член на семейството – на домоуправителя, домоначалника или портиера, както и на съквартирант или съсед, когато поеме задължение да ги предаде.

(3) Ако получателят или лицето по предходната алинея не може или откаже да подпише, връчителят прави бележка за това в присъствието поне на едно лице, което се подписва.

[(1) Summons, subpoenas and papers shall be served against receipt signed by the person for whom they are intended.

(2) Where the person is absent, they shall be served on an adult member of the person's family, and if there is no adult member of the family – on the house steward, house manager or janitor, as well as on a room-mate or neighbour, where the latter shall assume the obligation to deliver them.

(3) If the recipient or person under the preceding paragraph cannot sign or refuses to sign, the serving person shall make a note of this in the presence of at least one person who shall sign.]
A linguistic analysis of the above provision concludes that *the person* in subsections (1), (2) and (3) refers to one and the same person. When this was presented to a lawyer, however, his interpretation revealed that *the recipient* in subsection (3) co-refers with *the person* in subsections (1) and (2) and that the antecedent for *the person under the preceding paragraph* is an adult member of the family... house steward, house manager or janitor... room-mate or neighbour.

Another explanation for the high incidence of lexical cohesive devices is that they help disambiguate meaning. Bearing in mind the complex subject matter of provisions, lexical cohesion helps elucidate relations, sequences, and contingencies which would otherwise remain unclear. E.g.:

(12) *s 39, sub–s 3, PCEA*
If the person detained is subsequently returned to the custody of the custody officer, it shall be the duty of the officer investigating the offence to report to the custody officer as to the manner in which this section and the codes of practice have been complied with while that person was in his custody.

If not for the lexical reiteration of items like person, custody officer, officer investigating the offence, the provision would be unintelligible. The use of personal pronouns would not disambiguate the meaning owing to the number of items mentioned to which the same pronoun would correspond.

However, there are quite a few examples of rather hazy pronominalisation, as in:

(13) *s 42, sub–s 8, PCEA*
The officer to whom it falls to determine whether to give the authorization may refuse to hear oral representations from the person in detention if he considers that he is unfit to make such representation by reason of his condition or behaviour.

In such cases it is more a matter of general knowledge that helps us disambiguate the meaning of the provision. The recipients of the text resort to pragmatic considerations in identifying the drafter’s intention in producing the statute.

Contrary to expectations, there were several instances of *synonymy* in the texts under study (see Chart 5). In the following example, appellant and person are contextual synonyms:
(14) s 22, CAA
Right of appellant to be present
(1) Except as provided by this section, an appellant shall be entitled to be present, if he wishes it, on the hearing of his appeal, although he may be in custody.
(2) A person in custody shall not be entitled to be present –
(a) where his appeal is on some ground (…)

In the next two provisions the following words are synonymous: делото/производството ‘case/proceedings’, претърсване/обиск ‘search/perquisition’:

(15) art 386, PPC
(1) Когда обвинението е повдигнато срещу непълнолетен за престъпление извършено от него преди да навърши пълнолетие, делото се разглежда по обшия ред.
(2) Когда престъплението е извършено от непълнолетен в съучастие с пълнолетен, обвиненията не се разделят и производството се разглежда по обшия ред.

[(1) Where an accusation has been brought against an adult for a crime committed by him prior to having reached maturity, the case shall be conducted under general procedure.
(2) Where the crime has been perpetrated by a minor in complicity with an adult, the accusations shall not be separated and the proceedings shall be conducted under general procedure.]

(16) art 138, PPC
(1) Претърсване на лице без разрешение на прокурора се допуска: (…)  
(2) Обискът се извършва от лице от същия пол (…)  

[(1) Search of a person without permission by the prosecutor shall be allowed: (…)  
(2) The perquisition shall be performed by (…)]

Synonyms and near synonyms are sometimes used in statutory language to express every possible contingency, legal subjects, legal actions and to include all duties and obligations that might arise in particular circumstances, as in:
(17) *s 3, sub–s2, Local Government Act 1999*
For the purpose of deciding how to fulfil the duty arising under subsection (1) an authority must consult–
(a) representatives of persons liable to pay any *tax, precept or levy* to or in respect of the authority (…)

Some of these pairs, known as binomials, resulted from the process of preserving a French term and a term from Old English, lest misunderstanding should arise at the time of the Norman Conquest: devise and bequeath, goods and chattels, will and testament.

![Chart 5. Number of synonyms](chart5.png)

Besides presenting a case of intrasentential cohesion, the use of synonymous expressions in the examples from the present corpora is not necessitated by the exigency to show different aspects of one and the same referent. It is either an oversight on the part of the drafter or a desire to reformulate the same idea, to vary the language. Moreover, their number is not statistically significant to merit further detailed discussion and analysis.

The number of instances of cohesion through *collocation* in the texts under study is as follows:
Chart 6. Collocation

There were several types of semantic relations:

Meronymy (the semantic relation that holds between a part and the whole):

(18) art 266, PPC

Когато подсъдимият, частният обвинител, частният тъжител, гражданският ищец или гражданският ответник не спазва реда на съдебното заседание, председателят го предупреждава, че при повторно нарушение ще бъде отстранен от съдебната зала. Ако той продължава да нарушава реда, съдът може да го отстрани от съдебната зала за определено време.

[Where the accused, the private accuser, the private complainant, the civil claimant or the civil defendant fail to observe the order in the court hearing, the presiding judge shall warn them that upon second violation they shall be removed from the court room. Should such a person continue to violate the order, the court may remove that person from the court room for a specified period of time.]

Hyponymy (relationship between a general term and specific instances):

(19) art 111, PPC

1) Когато веществените доказателства не могат да се отделят от мястото, където са намерени, както и в други предвидени в този кодекс случаи, се изготвят фотоснимки, диапозитиви, кинозаписи, видеозаписи, звукозаписи, планове, схеми, отливки или отпечатъци.

2) Материалите по предходната алинея се прилагат към делото.
[(1) Where material evidence cannot be separated from the place, where it was found, and also in other cases specified by this Code, prepared shall be photographs, slides, films, video tapes, sound-recordings, layouts, schemes, casts or prints thereof.

(2) The materials under the preceding paragraph shall be attached to the case file.]

(20) s 21, PCEA

(1) A constable who seizes anything in the exercise of a power conferred by any enactment, including an enactment contained in an Act passed after this Act, shall, if so requested by a person (…) Provide that person with a record of what he seized.

(2) The officer shall provide the record within a reasonable time from the making of the request for it.

Antonymy (the relationship between two words denoting opposite meanings):

(21) s 13, CAA

(1) Subject to the provisions of this section, the Court of Appeal shall allow an appeal under section 12 of this Act if they are of opinion (…) Provide that person with a record of what he seized.

(2) The Court of Appeal may dismiss an appeal under section 12 of this Act, if (…)

Although statistically insignificant, the number of synonyms and collocations used as cohesive devices is almost double in the Bulgarian Codes (see Charts 5 and 6). One explanation is system-specific: the more ‘flexible’ interpretation of the statute in the Bulgarian legal system allows for restatement and reformulation as opposed to the ‘rigid’ approach in the English Acts.

Lexical repetition is preferred in legal, academic, and administrative texts, i.e. texts in which clarity and lack of ambiguity is highly desirable. In statutory texts it is used either to point to the same referent (especially when accompanied by the definite article) or to denote one and the same condition as background for different actions and doers.

There are cases in which lexical repetition is absolutely necessary when the ties demonstrate remoteness from one another or when ambiguity can arise. If the lexical ties are too dense, however, they can hamper comprehension. Employing repetition too frequently can lead to a lower degree of informativity because either no new information is presented or the information is blurred by disproportionate reiteration of co-textually or contextually evident items. Shuy and Larkin’s study (1978) demonstrates
that frequent repetition of lexical items is the principal reason why insurance policy language is difficult to read.

In statutes, preciseness of content is enormously important and sometimes the usual considerations of informativity present in other types of discourse are disregarded. Conciseness is one of the more permanent trends in statutory writing: everything which is not necessary in a text is dangerous (Bennion 1995: 94). Superfluous words are likely to obscure the meaning. Thus, legal discourse is over-compact and each sentence is made to count for too much.

5.2 Reference as a cohesive device in statutory texts

Reference items shorten and simplify the surface text and allow the recipient to keep text content in active storage without the need for the author to restate it. Anaphora is the most common form of reference in most genres and also in the texts under study. Chart 7 gives the incidence and the type of reference used as a text-forming device in the Bulgarian and English corpora.

![Chart 7: Reference](image)

**Chart 7. Reference**

**Personal Reference:**

(22) *art 316, para 3, PPC*

Подсъдимият може да обжалва присъдата във всичките й части. Той може да я обжалва и само относно мотивите и основанията за оправдаването му.

[The defendant may appeal the sentence in all its parts. He may appeal it also only with regard to the reasons and the grounds for his acquittal.]
(23) s 61, PCEA

(7) In a case where by virtue of subsection (3) or (6) above a person’s fingerprints are taken without the appropriate consent.

(8) If he is detained at a police station when the fingerprints are taken (…)

Most of the examples of comparative reference display the semantic relations of similarity and identity:

(24) art 192, PC

(1) Родител или друг сродник, който получи откуп, за да разреши на своя дъщеря или сродница, ненавършила 16-годишна възраст, да заживее съпружески с другиго, се наказва с лишаване от свобода до две години или с глоба до десет хиляди лева, както и с обществено порицание.

(2) Същото наказание се налага и на този, който дава или посредничи при даването на такъв откуп.

[(1) A parent or another relative who receives a ransom in order to permit his daughter or relative under 16 years of age to lead a connubial life with another shall be punished by imprisonment of up to two years or by a fine of one hundred to three hundred levs, as well as by public reprobation.

(2) The same punishment shall be imposed to those who give or mediate in the giving of such a ransom.]

(25) s 15, PCEA

(1) This section and section 16 below have effect in relation to the issue to constables under any enactment (…) of warrants to enter and search premises (…)

(2) Where a constable applies for any such warrant, it shall be his duty –

(…)

There is only one instance of cataphoric reference:

(26) s 15, PCEA

(3) Subject to subsection (4) below, a custody officer may seize and retain any such thing or cause any such thing to be seized and retained.

(4) Clothes and personal effects may only be seized if the custody officer –

(a) believes that the person from whom they are seized may use them –

(i) to cause physical injury to himself or any other person;

(ii) to damage property;

(iii) to interfere with evidence (…)
In fiction, cataphora is usually employed to generate unpredictability and intensify readers’ interest. It can be a powerful tool for creating focus on specific content in a text. In the above example, however, the cataphoric *such* is used to reduce the length of subsection (3), which introduces the legal subject and the legal action. The additional conditions are enumerated in subsection (4) within a rather verbose qualification. The drafter obviously decided to reduce the content by splitting the case description and the main provision into different subsections.

The following article is an interesting example of combining lexical repetition and reference. There are two legal subjects—a custody officer and a person granted bail. Undoubtedly pronominal reference alone would not help ineliciting the correct antecedent. The drafter has opted for reiteration in the case of the custody officer (the chain is: a custody officer, the custody officer, the custody officer) and for reiteration and pronominal reference in the second case (a person, that person, a person, he, his, him). In other words, pronominal reference was only resorted to when referring to one and the same antecedent.

(27) *s 47, PCEA*

(4) Where a **custody officer** has granted bail to a **person** subject to a duty to appear at a police station, the **custody officer** may give notice in writing to that **person** that his attendance at the police station is not required.

(5) Where a **person** arrested for an offence who was released on bail subject to a duty to attend at a police station so attends, he may be detained without charge in connection with that offence only if the **custody officer** at the police station has reasonable grounds for believing that his detention is necessary –
(a) to secure or preserve evidence relating to the offence; or
(b) to obtain such evidence by questioning him.

The English corpus contains 2.5 times more instances of reference than the Bulgarian texts. One explanation for this discrepancy is grammatical: since Bulgarian is a pro-drop language, personal pronouns can be omitted, e.g.: 

(28) *art 194, para 1, PPC*

Когато следователят откаже да образува предварително следствие, Φ изпраща материалите на прокурора.
Elliptical subjects are also possible if the zero subject of the subordinate clause is co-referent with the subject of the main clause, as in the following example:

(29)  *art. 453, para 3, PPC*

Ако Ø отмени определението, втората инстанция решава делото.

The two provisions above are translated into English with the respective pronouns in subject position:

[Where the examining magistrate refuses to institute preliminary proceedings, he/she shall forward the materials to the prosecutor.]

[Should it revoke the ruling, the intermediate appellate review court shall decide the case.]

Regarding omission of pronouns in Bulgarian, Ilieva (1995) holds the view that explicit expression of a pronoun in subject position is anaphorically connected with an antecedent which is not in subject position in the previous text; while if it is implicitly expressed, i.e. ellipted, it is co-referential with an antecedent which is the subject of the preceding text. The Bulgarian corpus, however, manifests a number of instances where the pronominal subject is not ellipted even when it co-refers to the subject of the preceding text, as in:

(30)  *art. 71, PPC*

Защитникът не може да се откаже от приетата защита, освен ако стане невъзможно да изпълнява задълженията си по независещи от него причини. В последния случай тої е длъжен да уведоми своевременно обвиняемия.

[The defence counsel may not renounce the accepted defence, except where it becomes impossible to carry out his obligations for reasons beyond his control. In the latter case he shall be obliged to notify the accused in due time.]

This can be attributed to genre requirements: the highly formulaic and standardised expression of statutes, where frequent ellipsis would not be considered sufficiently formal or ceremonial.

Another explanation for the fewer cases of reference as a cohesive link in Bulgarian is that the more complex structure of the legislative
provision in English calls for explicit reference either by means of reiteration or by pronominalisation, especially in long, left-branching and verbose qualifications specifying the circumstances to which a legal provision applies.

5.3 Ellipsis, conjunction and substitution as textual relations

While lexical cohesion and reference are relations on the semantic level, substitution and ellipsis are grammatical. They represent a relation within the text and a substitute item has the same grammatical function as the one it substitutes. The number of instances of substitution, conjunction and ellipsis as cohesive devices is shown on Chart 8:

![Chart 8. Ellipsis, conjunction, substitution]

Ellipsis is a frequent phenomenon for the Bulgarian language, since a lot of the information necessary for correct comprehension lies in the grammatical categories of person and number of the verb, and subject ellipsis is an exceptionally common device for suprasentential cohesion. A text with fully explicit elements would require greater effort to unpack. If applied in moderation, ellipsis leads to language economy. Moreover, the recipient can focus on the most important part of the discourse. There were 11 examples of ellipsis as a cohesive link in the Bulgarian texts and none in the English statutes.

(31) art 216, PPC
(1) След като проучат материалите, съответните лица могат да правят искания, бележки и възражения.
(2) After examination of the materials, the respective persons may make requests, remarks and objections. The written requests, remarks and objections shall be attached to the case file, and the verbal shall be entered into the protocol for presentation of the investigation.

If we compare the Bulgarian provisions with their translation in English (CIELA 2004), we see that the elliptic forms are rendered by substitution (art. 216, PPC) or lexical repetition.

5.3.1 Conjunction

The few cases of conjunction in Bulgarian were mainly adversative and additive, and one sequential:

(32) art 347, PPC
Съдът, който е постановил определението, може сам да го отмени или измени в разпоредително заседание. В противен случай съдът изпраща на втората инстанция частната жалба и протеста с обяснения, а при нужда – и делото.

The court which has pronounced the ruling may itself revoke or modify it at an executive sitting. Otherwise, the court shall forward the private appeal and protest to the intermediate appellate review court with explanations and also the case file, if necessary.

In the English statutes, cohesive conjunctions were found after semicolons. Nevertheless, the effect is cohesive, since the two parts are not connected structurally:

(33) s 17, sub-s 4, AJA
An appeal under section one of this Act shall be treated for the purposes of this Act pending until any application for leave to appeal is disposed of and, if leave to appeal is granted, until the appeal is disposed of; and for the purposes of this Act an application for leave to appeal shall be treated as disposed of at the expiration of the time within which it may be made, if it is not made within that time.
Even though the conjunction in the above example is not a suprasentential link formally, it can be considered cohesive, because the section in fact consists of two separate provisions: a) the conditions when an application for leave to appeal is considered pending, and b) the conditions when an application will be considered disposed of.

The semicolon comes immediately after the period in the hierarchy and is the coordinating mark of punctuation. It may also be followed by a coordinator, such as *and* or *but*, and this use is chiefly found in highly formal writing and in cases where sentence complexity already involves the use of several commas. The aspiration to put all possible cases and contingencies in one provision in English has led to the need to explicate the relations within this complex subject matter. The conjunctions in English in such use were the additive *and* and the adversative *but*.

On the whole, there were no causal conjunctions and rarely were temporal conjunctions employed as cohesive links. These semantic relations were signaled by other means, such as ordering sequences in lists and placing conditions and circumstances in separate provisions. The fact that statutes are oriented to the ‘ever present present’ explains the lack of temporal conjunctions. Instead, the Bulgarian drafter makes use of the present tense to stipulate options, alternatives and sequence. In English, employing the modal ‘shall’ imposes legal obligations that extend from the past to the future. Other genres with standard expository order, for instance the narrative, employ many more conjunctive devices to explicate the relations between the various parts of a text. The fact that each legislative sentence is comparatively complete semantically and the aspiration of the drafter to squeeze everything into one provision account for the lack of conjunctive cohesive relations above the sentence. Moreover, orthography plays an important role in the structuring of Acts – they are, after all, formulaic texts.

### 5.3.2 Substitution

Substitution as a cohesive device accounts for only four instances in the corpora: three in the English Acts and one in the Bulgarian Codes. The following is an example of clausal substitution:

\[(34) \ s\ 37,\ PCEA\]

\[(2) \text{If the custody officer determines that he does not have such evidence before him the person arrested shall be released either on bail or without}\]
bail, unless the custody officer has reasonable grounds for believing
that his detention without being charged is necessary to secure or
preserve evidence relating to an offence for which he is under
arrest or to obtain such evidence by questioning him.

(3) If the custody officer has reasonable grounds for so believing, he may
authorize the person arrested to be kept in police detention.

The legal draftsman has opted to reduce verbosity by not repeating the
whole clause. The meaning is clear and unambiguous as a result of the use
of the clausal substitute so.

Article 23 of the Bulgarian Penal Code provides for punishments for
multiple crimes. Същото (the same) substitutes the provision that certain
punishments shall be accrued to the most severe punishment and this shall
also apply to compulsory domicile:

(3) art 23, para 2, PC
Наложените наказания задължително заселване, обществено
порицание и лишаване от права по чл. 37, точки 6–9 се присъединяват
към определеното най-тежко наказание. Ако е постановено лишаване
от еднакви права, налага се онова от тях, което е за най-дълъг срок.
Същото се прилага и по отношение на задължителното заселване.

[The imposed punishments of compulsory domicile, public reprobation and
deprivation of rights pursuant to art. 37, para 1, item 6, and 9 shall be
accrued to the most serious punishment imposed. If deprivation of equal
rights is ruled the one with the longest term shall be imposed. The same
applies in cases of compulsory domicile.]

Substitution is not a common cohesive device in the corpora. Moreover, it
is much more typical for the English language: the nominal one, the verbal
do and the clausal so and not are usually rendered by other means in
Bulgarian, such as reference and ellipsis.

What is important in considering texture is not only a single instance
of cohesion, but also the multiple references to an extralinguistic object and
the chain these references form. Identity chains are co-referential: every
member of the chain refers to the same referent. Similarity chains are based
on the relation of co-classification or co-extension. In the overall structure
of the statutes under study the identity chain is very powerful as an
integrative device in both languages:
(36) s 4, PCEA

(1) This section shall have effect in relation to the conduct of road checks by police officers (…)

(2) For the purposes of this section a road check consists of (…)

(3) Subject to subsection (5) below, there may only be such a road check if a police officer (…)

(4) An officer may authorize a road check under subsection (3) above for the purpose (…)

(5) An officer…may authorize such a road check if it appears to him (…)

(6) (…)

(7) (…)

(8) An officer to whom a report is made under subsection (6) above may, in writing, authorize the road check to continue.

(9) If such an officer considers that the road check should not continue (…)

(10) (…)

(11) An officer (…) shall specify a period (…) during which the road check may continue (…)

It is clear from the above example that the sequence in the chains is from the more general to the particular; the co-referential structure is made narrower by resorting to the definite article or a demonstrative or comparative pronoun.

Consider the next example:

(37) art 266, PPC

(1) Когда подсъдимият, частният тъжител, гражданинският ищец или гражданският ответник ((не спазва реда)) на съдебното заседание, председателят го предупреждава, че при повторно ((нарушение)) ще бъде ОТСТРАНЕН от съдебната зала. Ако той продължава да ((нарушава реда)), съдът може да го ОТСТРАНИ от съдебната зала за определено време.

(2) След като ОТСТРАНЯЯТ се завърне в съдебната зала, председателят му съобщава действията, които са били извършени в негово отсъствие.

(3) Когато прокурорът, защитникът или повереникът и след предупреждението на председателя продължава да ((нарушава реда)) в съдебната зала, съдът може да отложи разглеждането на делото, ако не е възможно да бъде заменен по съответния ред с друго лице без вреда за делото. За ((нарушението)) председателят съобщава на съответния орган или обществена организация.

(4) Когато други лица ((нарушават реда)), председателят може да ги ОТСТРАНИ от съдебната зала, а съдът да им наложи глоба до 400 лева.
(1) Where the accused, the private accuser, the private complainant, the civil claimant or the civil defendant ((fail to observe the order)) in the court hearing, the presiding judge shall warn them that upon second ((violation)) they shall be REMOVED from the court room. Should such a person continue to ((violate the order)), the court may REMOVE that person from the court room for a specified period of time.

(2) When the REMOVED PERSONS return to the court room, the presiding judge shall inform such persons of the actions performed in their absence.

(3) Where the prosecutor, the defence counsel or the attorney, even after the warning of the presiding judge continue to ((violate the order)) in the court room, the court may adjourn the examination of the case if it is impossible to replace any of them with another person under the respective procedure without prejudice to the case. The presiding judge shall inform the respective body about the ((violation)).

(4) Where other persons ((violate the order)), the presiding judge may REMOVE them from the courtroom and the court may impose on them a fine of up to four thousand leva.

Several cohesive chains bind the text together. Two chains (in small capitals and double brackets) provide the topic of the provision – the removal from the courtroom in cases of non-observance of the order of the court hearing. Another chain (in bold) specifies the people to whom the provision applies (the accused, the private accuser, the private complainant, the civil claimant or the civil defendant, the prosecutor, the defence counsel or the attorney, another person, other persons). Then there is the legal subject (in italics): the presiding judge, the court and the setting (underlined): courtroom.

Paragraph (2) provides an item which participates in two chains – removed (persons). It coheres both with the chain removed, remove and with the chain the accused, the private accuser, the private complainant, the civil claimant, the civil defendant, the prosecutor, the defence counsel, the attorney, other persons.

One of the factors that determine the choice of a cohesive device is the place of the co-referential device in the co-referential chain. The most common patterns are: antecedent (lexical item), lexical repetition (lexical item plus a demonstrative, usually the definite article), reference (personal pronoun), as in срок, този срок, го (period, this period, it) or antecedent (lexical item), lexical repetition (lexical item), reference (comparative pronoun), lexical repetition (lexical item plus a demonstrative), as in road checks, road checks, such a road check, the road check.
A substantial variation of chain length becomes evident when comparing the texts: as a rule chains in the English Acts are over double in length compared to chains in the Bulgarian Codes. What is also important is the distance between the presupposed item and the co-referent. If the items are too far apart, the cohesive force is weaker and the interpretation becomes harder. In such cases it is mostly lexical repetition that the drafter resorts to. In general, all these factors determine the degree of tight or loose structure of the text.

6. Conclusions

Cohesion is clearly a useful tool for exploring the structure of texts in connection with the requirements of different genres, cultural preferences and linguistic characteristics (cf. Yankova 2005). The cohesive devices in the corpora demonstrate the following:

**Genre-specific characteristics:** The predominant type of cohesive device in both the Bulgarian and English texts under study is lexical repetition, with higher frequency in English. It was anticipated since terms can hardly be substituted in statutory language. In cases of complex syntax, lexical reiteration is necessary owing to words with grammatical and semantic characteristics identical with the antecedent. In addition, there are cases when the distance between the antecedent and the co-referent calls for lexical repetition.

If cohesion is considered a set of relations in language, three different kinds of relations surface: relatedness of form, relatedness of reference, semantic connection (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 304). The type of cohesion that corresponds to each relation is respectively a) substitution, ellipsis, lexical collocation; b) reference, lexical reiteration; c) conjunction.

The cohesive devices in the texts under study demonstrate a marked preference for lexical repetition and reference. Therefore, the predominant nature of cohesive relation is relatedness of reference. This phenomenon is determined by the specifics of the genre of statutory texts and is in keeping with the legal reasoning behind this type of legislative text. Legal theorists have defined statutory writing as simultaneously precise and all-inclusive or abstract. This logic finds expression in the linguistic means used to conceptualise it on a suprasentential level. Reference as a cohesive device in both the Bulgarian and English texts is predominantly personal and demonstrative – in most cases it has the same referent. The interpretation of one item is effectuated by means of being identified with another: it is
definite and precise. With lexical reiteration, the reference need not be identical, apart from cases when the lexical item is accompanied by the definite article. Statutory texts strive to include all possible conditions, cases and contingencies that a provision can apply to. The aim is to encompass ‘any’, thus ‘all’, people, situations and actions. The language has to be precise, informationally accurate and never ambiguous. Therefore, the two predominant types of cohesion reflect the gist of legal reasoning and the function of statutory writing.

Substitution, ellipsis and conjunction do not play a significant role in the cohesion of the texts under consideration. This is again determined by genre characteristics. In substitution there is no identity of referent, there is usually a redefinition of the item.

Therefore, genre is one of the factors that determine the choice of cohesive devices. The main aim of drafting is to convey the intention of the legislature. The discourse structure of the statutes under study (and all statutes for that matter) is not always chronological. In most cases, it is compressed into a single sentence with no tense markers. Great demands are made on the reader’s non-grammatical interpretative abilities. The choice of a cohesive device is also reflected in the peculiarities of drafting – it is not identical to other kinds of writing and its complexity necessitates guarding against over-generalisations, such as arguing for a standard syntax. Functional clarity depends not only on clarity of language, but also on clarity of concept, organisation and context. Sometimes statutes are written by different draftsmen and amended at different times, a phenomenon called ‘patchwork drafting’ (cf. Brightman 2002) or ‘legislation by reference.’

**Language and culture-specific differences:** There is a higher incidence of lexical repetition in the English Acts. It can be accounted for by the certainty in meaning and simplicity of expression, typical for Common Law drafting as different from the Continental style, which focuses on statements of general principle with little attention to detail. On the whole, the English text is explicit and little is left for conjecture, while the Bulgarian text is implicit, requiring the recipient to search for the facts.

In view of the observation that English as a whole allows for more ambiguity of forms than Bulgarian due to the level of surface form mapping, it is only logical that lexical repetition should be employed more frequently in English than in Bulgarian. However, excessive lexical repetition is one of the factors that make legal English more difficult to comprehend – it lowers the degree of informativity.
In addition, the more complex syntax of the legislative provision in English calls for explicit reference either by means of reiteration or by pronominalisation. Pronominal reference cannot always disambiguate meaning, since the nouns used in the statutory texts are predominantly third person singular, masculine gender.

In the Bulgarian corpus there is a higher number of same item repetition accompanied by the definite article. The generic use of the indefinite article in English where the definite is resorted to in Bulgarian accentuates the all-inclusiveness of the provision in English. The generalising meaning of the indefinite article and of any in English is rendered with the definite article in Bulgarian.

Another reason for the discrepancy between the repeated lexical items with or without a demonstrative may be found in the different choice of surface expression of similar content in the two languages. Where in English a noun is accompanied by the generic indefinite article in sentences beginning with an appellant who, a constable who, a person who, in Bulgarian it is construed by който употреби насилие, който образува или ръководи организация [who applies violence, who forms or heads an organisation].

The ratio of pronominal reference of English to Bulgarian is 2.6:1. One of the explanations for the fewer cases of reference as a cohesive device in Bulgarian is grammatical: the subject can be omitted. Personal pronouns in subject position can be dropped; deletion of subject could help in disambiguating reference while the English text would opt for lexical repetition in most cases.

There are no cases of ellipsis as a cohesive link in the English Acts. Ellipsis is a common phenomenon for the Bulgarian language, since a lot of the information necessary for adequate comprehension lies in the grammatical categories of person and number of the verb – and it is connected with the fewer instances of reference in Bulgarian.

Other factors that have a bearing on the choice of device are: its place in the co-referential chain, the grammatical and semantic characteristics of the words (a pronoun might refer to more than one antecedent) and subjective factors such as the drafter’s personal style.

The present analysis does not claim to be exhaustive on the topic of semantic relatedness of legislative texts. It can, however, serve as a basis for the further study of the text and context of statutes as well as for comparing the data of penal statutory texts regarding the number, density and types of cohesive devices with those of other legislative texts (e.g.
property law, international law, etc.) or other genres altogether (e.g. fiction, academic writing). In general, further and more detailed research on the textual patterning of the legislative provision, on the incidence, type and density of cohesive devices, as well as on the distribution of given and new information, can help develop schemata that represent writing within this particular discourse community.

Appendix: List of abbreviations

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References


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