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## ON THE METAPHORIZATION OF SPACE: A CLOSER LOOK AT THE ENGLISH *FAR FROM* X-CONSTRUCTION AND ITS POLISH EQUIVALENTS

**Abstract:** Although a fair share of scholarly attention has been paid to the metaphorically driven grammaticalization of the originally spatial English *far from* X-construction into a minimizer, whereby it emphatically points to the subject's non-attainment of a given property or failure to enter a specific eventuality, little has been written about whether, and how, this change finds reflection in the translation of English texts into foreign languages, including Polish. Thus, on the basis of a random sample composed of sentences containing the English *far from* X-construction along with their respective Polish translations extracted from the parallel English-Polish Paralela Corpus, this paper sets out to examine how the grammaticalized English expression is typically rendered into Polish. Considering the variation observed in the data, five main translation categories have been identified, namely those involving (i) spatial markers, (ii) standard minimizers, (iii) simple negation, (iv) omission, and (v) other locutions. The results of the empirical analysis indicate that in slightly more than half of the cases, the metaphorical English construction is translated into Polish with the use of non-spatial expressions, in particular canonical minimizers, a finding which can be accounted for in terms of the fact that the Polish spatial counterparts of *far from* X have generally undergone a lower degree of grammaticalization.

**Key words:** conceptual metaphor, spatial expressions, grammaticalization, equivalence, translation

### Introduction

Spatial expressions such as the English *far from* X exhibit a cross-linguistic tendency to undergo metaphorization and develop into degree modifiers (cf., among others, Akimoto 2001; De Smet et al. 2015; Brinton & Inoue 2020), more specifically, into minimizers (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 596), which emphatically point to the subject's non-attainment of a given property (cf. *It's far from perfect* = *It's not perfect at all*) or failure to enter a specific eventuality (e.g. *We far from*

*nailed it = We didn't nail it at all*). However, such expressions differ cross-linguistically in terms of the extent of their grammaticalization, understood as the frequency with which they function as degree modifiers in language use. For instance, while the English *far from* X-construction is now a fairly well-established minimizer (cf. Brinton & Inoue 2020), the grammaticalization of the Polish *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction is still largely incomplete (cf. Herda 2021). Thus, drawing on empirical data derived from the parallel English-Polish Paralela Corpus, this paper aims at determining whether the aforementioned discrepancy finds reflection in how the English construction is typically rendered into Polish. In other words, it is assumed that the proportion of Polish translations in which *far from* X is rendered with the use of spatial markers should be highly similar to that of those in which the English expression is rendered by means of, e.g., standard minimizers such as *wcale* 'at all.'

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the metaphorically driven grammaticalization of spatial markers into degree modifiers. Section 3 describes the method employed in the empirical investigation, while Section 4 offers an account of the obtained results. Finally, Section 5 summarizes the main observations reached in the study and outlines prospects for further research on the topic.

## **The grammaticalization of spatial markers into degree modifiers**

In the cognitive-functionalist literature, grammaticalization is traditionally defined as a linguistic process whereby lexical (i.e. contentive, more denotatively concrete) expressions, in specific syntagmatic environments, develop more grammatical (i.e. abstract, procedural) meanings, thus increasing their functional potential (cf., among others, Kuryłowicz 1965; Bybee et al. 1994; Hopper & Traugott 2003; Traugott & Trousdale 2013). By way of illustration, the English spatial marker *far*, in contexts where it originally takes a PP-complement headed by *from*, has undergone a considerable degree of grammaticalization into a minimizing expression, which points to the subject's evident failure to attain a property or enter an eventuality denoted by the concomitant predicate, and whose meaning can therefore be paraphrased as 'not X at all/definitely not X' or 'very/completely un-X.'

The primary mechanism lying at the root of the emergence of degree expressions out of spatial markers is that of conceptual metaphor, construed as a mapping between two mental domains, which constitutes a ubiquitous cognitive device enabling, or facilitating, the understanding of more abstract concepts in terms of more concrete, tangible ones (cf., among others, Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2010). Taking grammaticalization to be largely metaphorical in nature,

Heine et al. (1991: 160), based on typological evidence from language change, propose a hierarchy of abstractness according to which expressions representative of the cognitive domain of SPACE reveal a tendency to evolve into temporal and/or quality markers, an observation which is in keeping with the changes observed in the English *far from X*-construction:

(3) PERSON > OBJECT > PROCESS > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY

Following Peters (1994), the transition of spatial markers into degree modifiers occurs through a metaphorical scalar transfer. In other words, the position on a scale representing the physical extent of space is mapped onto an analogous value on a scale pertaining to an abstract dimension of measurement. As Van Goethem et al. (2018: 193-194) maintain, however, the minimizer sense cannot in fact be directly derived from the spatial, the reason being that metaphORIZATION “acts as the ground for the pragmatic extension to the downtoner meaning.”

In addition to metaphORIZATION, the scrutinized instance of language change likewise involves SUBJECTIFICATION, manifesting itself in the backgrounding of “content-related” function to the benefit of “speaker-related” function (Verstraete 2001: 1506). In other words, subjectification can be thought of as referring to the semanticization of synchronic subjectivity, understood as an expression's “relationship to the speaker and the speaker's beliefs and attitudes” (Traugott 2010: 30), i.e. a change whereby linguistic units start to express a more speaker-based view, and whereby this subjective meaning component becomes conventionalized. Analyzing the semantic aspects of grammaticalization, Traugott (1989) distinguishes three strong tendencies, all of which indicate ongoing subjectification:

*Tendency I:*

*Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) described situation.*

*Tendency II:*

*Meanings based in the external or internal described situation > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation.*

*Tendency III:*

*Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude towards the proposition. (Traugott 1989: 34–35)*

Particularly relevant to the subject matter of this paper is the first of the aforementioned tendencies, since expressions such as the English *far from X*, despite originally encoding external, objectively measurable physical distance, come to convey more speaker-centered gradational assessments, indicative of “an emotional attitude of the speaker” (Akimoto 2001: 8).

Although intrinsically semantic, the above-discussed changes are reflected formally in a rise of the grammaticalizing expression's productivity, i.e. in its host-class expansion, which refers to a broadening of the expression's original collocational range, especially an extension to abstract X-complements. Host-class expansion may likewise point to the syntactically reanalyzed status of a grammaticalizing unit, which means that the expression becomes reinterpreted as "belonging to a position differing from its erstwhile positional properties" (Bisang & Wiemer 2004: 9). The English *far from* X-construction, for example, has recently extended its distribution to finite VPs, as in *We far from nailed it* (cf. Brinton & Inoue 2020: 288), where the item *far* can no longer be seen as taking a PP complement headed by *from*, and instead the expression *far from* functions as a single syntactic unit.

## Method

In order to see how the metaphorical English *far from* X-construction is typically rendered into Polish, a random sample of 50 sentences involving this expression along with their respective Polish translations (100 utterances in total) has been extracted from the parallel English-Polish Paralela Corpus. The Polish renderings have been grouped into five categories in accordance with what type of expression has been used to convey the meaning of the English original, i.e. into those involving (a) spatial markers, (b) standard minimizers, (c) simple negation, (d) omission, and (e) other expressions. Additional qualitative comments have been made based on the observed frequencies of particular kinds of translation.

## Results

Table 1 presents the results of the quantitative analysis of the empirical data. According to expectations, only 46% (23/50) of all the Polish sentences constitute instances where the English *far from* X-construction has been translated by means of spatial expressions. Among the most frequent Polish spatial equivalents are the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction (cf., e.g., (20a), (21a), (22a)) and the *daleko do* 'far.ADV to' X-construction (cf., e.g., (1a), (2a), (3a)), which, given the semantics of the prepositions *od* 'from' and *do* 'to,' may be said to present situations from different perspectives. Less common equivalents include the *być odległym od* 'to be distant from' X-construction (cf. (15a) and (19a)) as well as the nominal expression *daleka perspektywa* 'a long way off; lit.: a distant perspective' (cf. (17a)).

The second most frequent category comprises instances where *far from* X has been translated with the help of standard minimizing units, the exact value

standing at 11, which amounts to 22% of all the Polish renderings. The pertinent attestations include, among others, the expressions *zdecydowanie (nie)* ‘definitely (not)’ (cf. (1b), (8b)), *wcale (nie)* ‘(not) at all’ (cf. (2b), (4b)), (7b), (9b), (10b)), and *absolutnie (nie)* ‘absolutely (not)’ (cf. (6b)).

Another numerous group is made up of translations in which expressions labelled as ‘other’ have been employed. Instances in which *far from X* has been rendered by means of units other than spatial markers, standard minimizers, or simple negators make up for 16% (8/50) of all the Polish translations in the dataset. The most common expression representative of this category is the idiomatic verbal phrase *pozostawiać wiele do życzenia* ‘leave a lot to be desired’ (cf. (1e) and (7e)). The other interesting ways of rendering the English *far from X*-construction include using the somewhat euphemistic expression *mniej niż X* ‘less than X’ (cf. *mniej niż jasne* ‘less than clear’ in (2e)) as well as the verbal form *odbiegać od X* ‘to diverge from X’ (cf. (3e)). Another noteworthy example of this kind is (8e), in which the subjective component of the English original has been expressed by the stance adverb *niestety* ‘unfortunately,’ which is why the sentence at issue cannot be viewed as an instance of plain negation.

In the data under analysis, there are moreover seven examples in which *far from X* has been rendered by means of simple negation (cf. (1c)–(7c)), which amounts to 14% of all the Polish translations under scrutiny. What is somewhat problematic about such renderings, however, is the loss of the emphatic, subjective component present in the original, a slight impoverishment which can nevertheless be accounted for considering the fact that most of the analyzed examples represent a formal style, as they come from the renderings of political speeches, where an excessive employment of emphatic subjectivity markers should rather be avoided.

Finally, the dataset contains one instance in which the English *far from X*-construction has been totally omitted (cf. (1d)), which can in fact be explained in terms of the apparent irrelevance of the comment *far from abating*, present in the English original, to the message being conveyed.

**Table 1. The English *far from X*-construction and its Polish translations**

Type	Example	English original	Polish translation
1	2	3	4
a) spatial expressions	1a	These are a few initiatives that could at last enable us to reach <i>the goal of financing research and development set at 3 % of GDP by 2020, which is far from being achieved</i> , in particular for France, which still only devotes 2 % of its GDP to R&D. (Paralela)	<i>Do realizacji tego celu jest jeszcze daleko</i> , w szczególności Francji, która nadal przeznaczają jedynie 2 % PKB na badania i rozwój. (Paralela)

1	2	3	4
	2a	While the Commission 's proposals on the Seventh Framework Programme (FP7) include provisions for some Technology Platforms to become Joint Technology Initiatives and thus receive direct co-funding from the European Commission, <i>those that remain Technology Platforms are far from failures</i> [...]. (Paralela)	Choć propozycje Komisji dotyczące siódmego programu ramowego (7.PR) przewidują przekształcenie niektórych platform technologicznych we wspólne inicjatywy technologiczne i w ten sposób zapewnienie im bezpośredniego współfinansowania z Komisji Europejskiej, <i>pozostałym platformom daleko do porażki</i> [...]. (Paralela)
	3a	We have to admit that <i>we are still far from achieving anything significant</i> in the area of child participation. (Paralela)	Musimy przyznać, że <i>daleko nam jeszcze do uzyskania znaczących osiągnięć</i> w dziedzinie uczestnictwa dzieci. (Paralela)
	4a	<i>So far from having long understood you</i> , I have been in a most complete error with respect to your views, till this moment. (Paralela)	<i>Byłam tak daleka od zrozumienia pana</i> , że aż do tej chwili tłumaczyłam sobie całkiem błędnie pańskie zamiary. (Paralela)
	5a	<i>This result is far from the EU 's position on the matter</i> , and it is also far from what is needed to protect the climate. (Paralela)	<i>Rezultaty konferencji są dalekie od stanowiska UE w tej sprawie</i> i są również dalekie od środków niezbędnych z punktu widzenia ochrony klimatu. (Paralela)
	6a	<i>Far from seeking to favour large corporate groups</i> , competition policy is actually intended to protect smaller operators from practices that distort competition. (Paralela)	<i>Daleka od faworyzowania grup dużych korporacji</i> polityka w obszarze konkurencji jest w rzeczywistości ukierunkowana na ochronę drobniejszych podmiotów przed praktykami, które zakłócają konkurencję. (Paralela)

1	2	3	4
	7a	I had the opportunity to be the rapporteur for the Committee on Culture and Education and I believe that the agreement which has been reached, <i>albeit far from perfect</i> , is probably the best we could achieve in the current economic climate. (Paralela)	Miał em okazję być sprawozdawcą Komisji Kultury i Edukacji i uważam, że wypracowane porozumienie, <i>choć dalekie od ideału</i> , jest prawdopodobnie najlepszym kompromisem, jaki mogliśmy wypracować w obecnym klimacie gospodarczym. (Paralela)
	8a	For example, <i>the goals for employing our citizens and relieving them from poverty are far from being reached</i> . (Paralela)	Na przykład <i>daleko nam jeszcze do osiągnięcia celów zatrudnienia naszych obywateli i wyciągnięcia ich z ubóstwa</i> . (Paralela)
	9a	Can the Commission state whether and how it intends to take quick and effective measures with the Member States to ensure that high-speed internet market are [ <i>sic!</i> ] accessible to all citizens, which, given the current wide difference in prices, <i>is far from being the case at present?</i> (Paralela)	Czy Komisja może powiedzieć, czy i jak zamierza ona podjąć szybkie i skuteczne środki wraz z państwami członkowskimi, w celu zapewnienia dostępu do rynku szybkich łączy internetowych wszystkim obywatelom, co jest, biorąc pod uwagę obecne znaczne różnice w zakresie cen, <i>dalekie od obecnej sytuacji?</i> (Paralela)
	10a	‘ <i>Although causation is far from certain</i> , this evidence could tentatively suggest that habitat might be a factor in driving the morphological plasticity seen in the dataset,’ the authors write. (Paralela)	„ <i>Chociaż przyczynowość jest daleka od pewności</i> , ten dowód może wstępnie sugerować, że siedlisko może być czynnikiem wywołującym plastyczność morfologiczną zaobserwowaną w zbiorze danych” – twierdzą autorzy artykułu. (Paralela)

1	2	3	4
	11a	<i>The JRC's work in relation to the tsunami is far from over.</i> (Paralela)	<i>Daleko jeszcze jednak do zakończenia prac JRC w związku z tsunami.</i> (Paralela)
	12a	A very rich minority comprised of Colonial-era landholders and a small clique of businesspeople have managed to amass so much wealth that statistically speaking the country appears to be comprised of a middle class, <i>an image which is far from the truth.</i> (Paralela)	Bardzo bogatej mniejszości obejmującej właścicieli ziemskich z epoki kolonializmu oraz niewielkiej klice przedsiębiorców udało się zgromadzić tyle bogactwa, że pod względem statystycznym kraj wydaje się plasować w klasie średniej – <i>wizerunek bardzo daleki od rzeczywistości.</i> (Paralela)
	13a	<i>The crisis is far from over.</i> (Paralela)	<i>Do zakończenia kryzysu jeszcze daleko.</i> (Paralela)
	14a	In fact, <i>its potential is far from having been achieved as yet.</i> (Paralela)	W rzeczywistości <i>jej potencjał jest nadal daleki od realizacji.</i> (Paralela)
	15a	As well as new research in the areas of security and space, a frontier research capability under the ERC, and better integration and cohesion in an enlarged EU, the report concludes that <i>'The European Research Area is still far from a reality [...].'</i> (Paralela)	W podsumowaniu raportu autorzy stwierdzają, że - podobnie jak nowe badania w dziedzinach bezpieczeństwa i przestrzeni kosmicznej, badania przekraczające granice wiedzy inicjowane przez ERC oraz poprawa integracji i spójności w rozszerzonej UE – <i>„pełna realizacja Europejskiej Przestrzeni Badawczej jest wciąż odległa [...]”.</i> (Paralela)
	16a	Yet these so-called <i>'drug eluting stents'</i> are still far from perfect. (Paralela)	Jednak <i>te tak zwane „stenty uwalniające leki” wciąż są dalekie od doskonałości.</i> (Paralela)



1	2	3	4
	17a	I should like to begin by welcoming the method involving the holding of a genuine industrial audit with all the stakeholders, with a view to specifying an industrial policy for the automotive sector [...] in an internal market <i>which is far from complete.</i> (Paralela)	Chciałbym rozpocząć od pochwalenia metody, obejmującej przeprowadzenie prawdziwego audytu przemysłowego ze wszystkimi zainteresowanymi stronami, w celu określenia polityki przemysłowej dla sektora motoryzacyjnego [...] na rynku wewnętrznym, <i>którego pełne ustanowienie jest jeszcze daleką perspektywą.</i> (Paralela)
	18a	<i>The potential of the Three Rs is far from being exhausted.</i> (Paralela)	<i>Daleko nam jeszcze do wyczerpania potencjału tkwiącego w „trzech R”.</i> (Paralela)
	19a	We need to seek allies among those with whom we share common values and common interests, and not among those <i>who are very far from us.</i> (Paralela)	Musimy szukać sojuszników wśród tych, z którymi dzielimy wspólne wartości i interesy, a nie tych, <i>którzy są od nas odlegli.</i> (Paralela)
	20a	<i>Representing a region whose overall experience of the common fisheries policy has been far from positive,</i> I must say that my natural inclination is strongly against the imposition of any EU-based management system. (Paralela)	<i>Reprezentując region, w którym całościowe doświadczenie w zakresie wspólnej polityki rybołówstwa jest dalekie od pozytywnego,</i> muszę powiedzieć, że jestem przeciwny wprowadzeniu jakiegokolwiek opracowanego przez Unię systemu zarządzania. (Paralela)
	21a	Secondly, the Community executive should take actions regarding the discrimination against certain ethnic categories on the Italian labour market, <i>since at this moment Italy is far from achieving the objective of full employment.</i> (Paralela)	Po drugie, władze Wspólnoty powinny podjąć działania w stosunku do dyskryminacji wobec pewnych grup etnicznych na włoskim rynku pracy, <i>ponieważ na chwilę obecną Włochy są dalekie od osiągnięcia celu pełnego zatrudnienia.</i> (Paralela)

1	2	3	4
	22a	However, according to recent industrial reports, <i>the cost of a typical integration project is still far from negligible.</i> (Paralela)	Jednakże według ostatnich raportów z rynku, <i>koszt typowego projektu integracji jest nadal daleki od nieistotnego.</i> (Paralela)
	23a	These remarks, <i>far from being nostalgic</i> , are an appeal by one of Europe 's activists, and are directed not only at Germany, whose reunification we are celebrating, but at all the Member States. (Paralela)	Uwagi te, <i>którym daleko do nostalgii</i> , stanowią apel jednej z osób działających w europejskich instytucjach i są skierowane nie tylko do Niemiec, których zjednoczenie dziś świętujemy, ale do wszystkich państw członkowskich. (Paralela)
<b>b) standard minimizers</b>	1b	I voted in favour of the European Parliament motion for a resolution on the impact of aviation security measures and body scanners, [...], because I agree with the rapporteurs that this control measure, <i>far from being merely technical</i> , has a serious impact on the right to privacy, the right to data protection and the right to personal dignity. (Paralela)	Głosowałem za przyjęciem projektu rezolucji Parlamentu Europejskiego w sprawie wpływu środków bezpieczeństwa oraz urządzeń do obrazowania [...], ponieważ zgadzam się ze sprawozdawcami, że ten środek kontroli, który <i>zdecydowanie nie jest tylko środkiem technicznym</i> , poważnie narusza prawo do prywatności, prawo do ochrony danych oraz prawo do godności osobistej. (Paralela)
	2b	And thus, <i>far from being a limitation of its remit</i> , this provision that I just mentioned is instead designed to prevent the duplication of the Council of Europe 's activities. (Paralela)	A więc zapis, o którym właśnie wspomniałam, <i>nie stanowi wcale ograniczenia kompetencji Rady Europy</i> , lecz ma na celu zapobieżenie powielaniu jej działań. (Paralela)

1	2	3	4
	3b	Three years after the end of the transition period, <i>the employment of Poles in middle-management positions (heads of divisions) at the EC Directorates-General is far from satisfactory</i> : the target quota of 74 such positions to be taken by Poles was filled to the level of 45 at peak time, and now stands at 33. (Paralela)	Po trzech latach od zakończenia okresu przejściowego <i>stan zatrudnienia Polaków na stanowiskach zwłaszcza średniego szczebla kierowniczego (szefów wydziałów) w Dyrekcjach Generalnych KE jest w wysokim stopniu niezadawalający</i> : docelowa dla Polski kwota 74 stanowisk tego szczebla w szczytowym momencie była wypełniona na poziomie 45, zaś aktualnie pozostaje na poziomie 33. (Paralela)
	4b	<i>The success of this pan-European undertaking is far from being assured.</i> (Paralela)	<i>Sukces tego pan-europejskiego przedsięwzięcia nie jest wcale przesądzony.</i> (Paralela)
	5b	<i>‘Although our work is far from a complete description of European American population history, for the purpose of disease gene mapping studies it is adequate to measure how closely each person’s genetic ancestry resembles three populations [...].’</i> (Paralela)	<i>Nasz artykuł z pewnością nie w pełni opisuje historię populacji Amerykanów pochodzenia europejskiego, ale do celów mapowania genów chorób wystarczy ustalić, na ile genetyczne dziedzictwo badanej osoby jest zbliżone do jednej z trzech grup populacji [...].’</i> (Paralela)
	6b	But it is not out of any disrespect to the Committee or indeed to you personally at all; <i>far from it.</i> (Paralela)	Nie jest to jednak wyraz braku szacunku wobec Komisji, ani też osobiście wobec Pani; <i>absolutnie nie.</i> (Paralela)

1	2	3	4
	7b	<i>The progress made, however, is far from adequate:</i> regulations relating to National Councils are not yet in place and legislation guaranteeing self-determination for minorities is lacking. (Paralela)	<i>Dokonany postęp zdecydowanie nie jest jednak wystarczający</i> – nie wdrożono jeszcze rozporządzeń dotyczących rad krajowych i brak jest prawodawstwa umożliwiającego mniejszościom samookreślenie. (Paralela)
	8b	For example, when it comes to the mutual simulation of digital and analogue radio frequency parts, <i>standard time-domain techniques alone are far from sufficient.</i> (Paralela)	Na przykład w przypadku wzajemnej symulacji części cyfrowych i analogicznych częstotliwości radiowej, same tylko standardowe <i>techniki domeny czasu są zdecydowanie niewystarczające.</i> (Paralela)
	9b	As others have said, counterfeiting is often seen as a victimless crime, but of course, as we are discussing, <i>it is far from it.</i> (Paralela)	Jak mówią niektórzy, podrabianie często uważane jest za przestępstwo bez ofiar, ale z dyskusji widać, że <i>wcale tak nie jest.</i> (Paralela)
	10b	Looking back ten years, it beggars belief that things that we all take for granted today, such as the free movement of persons or the European legal order, <i>were far from certain before accession.</i> (Paralela)	Z perspektywy ostatnich 10 lat aż trudno uwierzyć, że tak oczywiste dla nas wszystkich rzeczy, jak wolny przepływ osób czy europejski porządek prawny <i>przed akcesją nie były wcale takie pewne.</i> (Paralela)
	11b	CCS is one of the activities which will also be addressed, <i>but it is far from being the real answer.</i> (Paralela)	Wychwytywanie i składowanie dwutlenku węgla to jedno z działań, które należy rozpatrzyć, <i>ale nawet w najmniejszym stopniu nie jest to rozwiązanie wystarczające.</i> (Paralela)

1	2	3	4
<b>c) simple negation</b>	1c	<i>The success stories listed in this brochure are far from a comprehensive overview of the creativity and inventiveness of the members of the Jean Monnet family.</i> (Paralela)	<i>Historie sukcesu przytoczone w niniejszej broszurze nie stanowią kompleksowego przeglądu kreatywności i nowatorstwa członków społeczności Jean Monnet.</i> (Paralela)
	2c	<i>The question of when to start treatment is far from simple, as the drugs used to treat HIV are highly toxic; therefore, giving them to patients that do not need them could be harmful.</i> (Paralela)	<i>Pytanie o moment rozpoczęcia leczenia nie jest proste, ponieważ leki stosowane w leczeniu HIV są silnie trujące, a przez to podawanie ich pacjentom, którzy ich nie potrzebują może być szkodliwe.</i> (Paralela)
	3c	<i>She was not struck by anything remarkably clever in Miss Smith's conversation, but she found her altogether very engaging--not inconveniently shy, not unwilling to talk--and yet so far from pushing [...].</i> (Paralela)	<i>Panna Smith nie zdradzała w rozmowie niezwyklej inteligencji, lecz Emma uważała, że jest bardzo ujmująca: nie będąc przesadnie nieśmiała, rozmawiała chętnie, a jednak bez narzucania się [...].</i> (Paralela)
	4c	<i>The scientists maintained that the leap from using one photon to two photons was far from trivial because the two particles need to be identical in every way and because of the way these particles interfere, or interact, with each other.</i> (Paralela)	<i>Naukowcy utrzymują, że przeskok z jednego na dwa fotony nie był łatwy, ponieważ dwie cząstki muszą być identyczne pod każdym względem oraz z powodu ich interferowania czy też wzajemnego oddziaływania.</i> (Paralela)
	5c	<i>Mr President, Commissioner, of course, the attempt to reach good international agreements is very praiseworthy and I freely admit that this is a far from easy task.</i> (Paralela)	<i>Próba zawarcia dobrych umów międzynarodowych jest godna pochwały i przyznaję, że nie jest to łatwe zadanie.</i> (Paralela)
	6c	<i>The EU is far from being the main culprit for this failure.</i> (Paralela)	<i>UE nie jest głównym sprawcą tej porażki.</i> (Paralela)

1	2	3	4
	7c	<i>However, it is far from perfect.</i> (Paralela)	<i>Nie jest on jednak doskonały.</i> (Paralela)
<b>d) omission</b>	1d	Contrary to expectations, the financial crisis that started in America last year, triggered by the unregulated, speculative financial processes there, has now, <i>far from abating</i> , shaken the whole world, including Europe. (Paralela)	Wbrew oczekiwaniom, kryzys finansowy, który rozpoczął się w Ameryce w zeszłym roku, spowodowany zachodzącymi tam nieuregulowanymi i spekulacyjnymi procesami, wstrząsnął całym światem, również Europą. (Paralela)
<b>e) other</b>	1e	Unfortunately, <i>this traditional approach is far from perfect</i> ; its success rate can top the 90% mark, or fall below 5%. (Paralela)	Niestety <i>tradycyjna metoda pozostawia wiele do życzenia</i> , a jej skuteczność potrafi sięgać 90 % albo spadać poniżej 50 %. (Paralela)
	2e	And, even if they are aware of this right, <i>the rules and procedures are often far from clear.</i> (Paralela)	A nawet jeśli wiedzą o tym prawie, to <i>procedury i reguły są często mniej niż jasne.</i> (Paralela)
	3e	At present, <i>the overall recovery rate is far from the desirable level.</i> (Paralela)	Obecnie <i>ogólna stopa odzysku znacznie odbiega od pożądanego poziomu.</i> (Paralela)
	4e	Madam President, we all look at this region of the world with great concern and we are well aware that <i>the risk of a civil war is far from banished.</i> (Paralela)	Wszyscy spoglądamy z ogromnym niepokojem na ten region świata i wszyscy jesteśmy świadomi, jak <i>niewielka jest szansa, by wojna domowa na zawsze się w tym kraju zakończyła.</i> (Paralela)
	5e	However, <i>this is far from a trivial question.</i> (Paralela)	Niemniej <i>to pytanie nie ma w sobie cienia banalności.</i> (Paralela)
	6e	The story is ongoing but <i>the achievements, likewise, are very far from being inconsiderable.</i> (Paralela)	Proces ten nadal trwa, ale <i>osiągnięcia są znaczne.</i> (Paralela)

1	2	3	4
	7e	<i>The political system is also far from satisfactory</i> , especially concerning the continued repression of political parties other than the governing party, and also the repression of various religious groups. (Paralela)	<i>System polityczny również pozostawia wiele do życzenia</i> , zwłaszcza jeśli chodzi o ciągle represje względem innych partii politycznych niż rządzące, jak też represje wobec różnych grup religijnych. (Paralela)
	8e	Without questioning the need to ensure that Community financial resources are being used appropriately and in a timely fashion ( <i>which is far from the case</i> ), the report makes a few somewhat mistaken and overly ambiguous points. (Paralela)	Nie kwestionując konieczności zadbania o to, aby środki finansowe Wspólnoty były wykorzystywane we właściwy sposób i terminowo ( <i>a niestety tak się nie dzieje</i> ), chciałbym powiedzieć, że w przedmiotowym sprawozdaniu zawartych jest kilka błędnych i zbyt dwuznacznych stwierdzeń. (Paralela)

## Conclusion

Based on an analysis of a random sample composed of 50 sentences involving the English *far from* X-construction together with their respective Polish translations derived from the parallel English-Polish Paralela Corpus, this study has aimed at determining how the metaphorical English expression is typically rendered into Polish. In accordance with the assumed hypothesis, it has turned out that the percentage of Polish renderings in which the English construction has been translated by means of spatial markers is comparable to that of those where *far from* X has been rendered with the help of expressions representative of other categories, notably standard minimizers. This finding can be explained in terms of the fact that Polish lacks originally spatial constructions which would be highly grammaticalized in the minimizer function. Nevertheless, it has been observed that apart from the formally equivalent *daleki od* ‘far.ADJ from’ X-construction (cf. Herda 2021), the English *far from* X is oftentimes translated by means of the *daleko do* ‘far.ADV to’ X-construction, which, given the different preposition, presents a distinct perspective on the described eventualities. Since the latter Polish construction has not yet been investigated empirically, future research on the topic should involve a fine-grained corpus-

based analysis of its current degree of grammaticalization, including a comparison between its metaphorical potential and that of the former Polish expression.

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