Vilnius University

Faculty of Philology

Department of English Philology

Aira Gecevičiūtė

Tackling Corruption: A Contrastive Study of Metaphors in Lithuanian and English Public Discourse

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of MA in Language for Specific (Legal) Purposes

Supervisor: Prof. Dr Inesa Šeškauskienė

2022

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Dr Inesa Šeškauskienė, my supervisor, for her guidance, encouragement, and willingness to impart her knowledge. I am greatly indebted to her for many suggestions and comments that have been invaluable throughout this study. However, all the errors that remain are my own.

I wish to extend my special thanks to Associate Professor Dr Birutė Ryvitytė who inspired me to continue my academic endeavours, and during all six years at Vilnius University steered me through this significant experience.

I would also like to thank my friends and family for all the unconditional support during this challenging process. Finally, I wish to show my appreciation to my colleagues at the Special Investigation Service of the Republic of Lithuania who have become my mentors in my professional career and enabled this aspiration to be possible.

Table of Contents

Abstract

The paper sets out to examine corruption metaphors in the Lithuanian and English public discourse. The public discourses analysed are formed by lead agencies investigating corruption-related criminal offences and non-governmental organisations seeking transparency. The main objective of the paper is to identify the source domains for conceptualising the abstract corruption phenomenon and compare the most prominent domains in both languages. The method chosen to achieve this objective is based on a combination of the establishment of the most common words using *AntConc* software and partially on the *Metaphor Identification Procedure* (MIP). The results demonstrate that OBJECT, FIGHT and PERSON/ANIMAL source domains prevail in both Lithuanian and English public discourses. Furthermore, it appears that the non-governmental organisations' formation of public discourse on the topics of corruption and transparency, unlike the discourse formed by the law enforcement institutions, is much freer and characterised by a greater variety of metaphors. This variety, especially in the Lithuanian public discourse, is largely determined by the expert, evaluative insights of specific spokespersons, which complement other, more entrenched metaphors, such as *fight against corruption, etc*. In addition, the analysis uncovered several tendencies, namely, anti-corruption/transparency is still considered at a disadvantage while hostility towards corruption is demonstrated in the metaphors analysed.

1. Introduction

1.1 Notion of corruption

There is a saying that corruption shall exist as long as there are at least two people on Earth. However, it is rather difficult to define what corruption is. What is treated as corruption is closely linked to culture (Tänzler 2007), legal tradition (Orts and Almela 2014) and societal perception. Consequently, the notion may to some extent vary from country to country.

Transparency International (hereafter TI) is a non-governmental organisation promoting transparency, accountability and integrity that often invokes positive change in terms of corruption in various sectors. According to the organisation, corruption is "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain" (Transparency International), although this definition is rather broad. As one of the international voices for transparency, Joe Biden, the current President of the United States of America described corruption as "(…) cancer that eats away at a citizen's faith in democracy, diminishes the instinct for innovation and creativity" (Transparency International 2018). This suggests a rather different perspective on corruption. It could be argued that there is no definition that could reveal every aspect of corruption, "consequently, to rigorously attend to a definition would not allow us to grasp any new appearances, forms or qualities the defined entity might have" (Yue and Peters 2015: 446). It seems that there is no single definition that would, on one hand, cover all the different aspects of corrupt practices and on the other, would still be elegant and clear.

The alterations in corruption notion can also be seen in Lithuania. Until recently, there has been little or no talk of corruption in the private sector or much more reserved than in the public sector (Ambrazevičiūtė et al. 2020). As of January 1, 2022, the Law on Corruption Prevention of the Republic of Lithuania defines corruption as the abuse of power for the benefit of oneself or another in the public or private sector. Prior to this pivotal amendment of the Law on Corruption Prevention, corruption in Lithuania had been defined and criminalised only within the scope of the public sector. After 20 years of the enforced law, the focus has shifted and corruption prevention remained obligatory in the public sector, yet encouraged to implement in the private sector as well. The extension of the concept is a direct consequence of this shift.

Within the scope of this study, the notion of corruption is used as it is defined in the most recent Law on Corruption Prevention (see above). This notion appears to be quite universal and encompassing various forms of corruption despite the sector.

1.2 Historical development

A popular belief exists that corruption has always been part of human nature, evidence of this is found starting in Ancient Egypt, China and Greece (Biswas and Tortajada 2018). However, it is quite difficult to pinpoint where unethical behaviour finishes and corruption-related crimes start. The phenomenon of corruption and all the related offences are among the worst problems any country worldwide can face and it is obvious there are no countries free of corruption.

Interestingly, in Lithuania, state officials were imposed with a ban from making illegal profit in their official capacity as early as 1529, the first Statute of Lithuania (Vyriausioji tarnybinės etikos komisija 2020: 5). Despite this, the view that corruption is a Soviet-era heritage or a manifestation of national culture is still often heard in the public sphere (TI Lietuvos skyrius 2009). It could be argued that with the restoration of independence, corruption has finally been transposed from the sphere of ethical values to legal matters. In other words, bribing others that used to be seen as a natural adaptation mechanism to the culture of persistent scarcity became illegal behaviour that damaged the public interest and was reprehensible by the public in general. Naturally, this shift must have been reflected in public life, especially in the language used when talking about corruption. From the legal standpoint, despite the short-term benefits, corruption has become a risk of potentially large reputational and financial losses for all representatives of the public sector, from ordinary civil servants to the heads of state. Bearing in mind the possible risks related to corruption, it could be claimed that corruption spread has become a topic not to be discussed openly, in other words, a certain taboo.

1.3 Current situation in Lithuania

One way to comprehend the current situation regarding corruption in any country is to see how people perceive corruption in that country. In the latest TI sociological survey *Corruption Perceptions Index* (hereafter CPI) 2021, which shows how successfully countries are managing corruption, Lithuania received a score of 61 on a 100-point scale and ranked 34th out of 180 rated countries worldwide. If only Europe is taken into consideration, Lithuania is just in the middle of the index. Even though Lithuania, same as the whole Europe and the world, is still under strain due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the results have barely changed since the last survey of 2020. It is a relatively positive outcome bearing in mind that the last two years have been crucial when transparency may not have been the top priority.

Another important aspect is the fact that the standards of transparency continually increase each year. Thus, it is becoming more and more difficult not only to improve but also to maintain the wanted result. It is worth noting that the goal score of CPI for Lithuania is also indicated in the

National Anti-corruption Programme of the Republic of Lithuanian for 2015-2025, which is expected to be at least 70 points out of 100 by the year 2025 (for further details, see the Appendix of the mentioned Programme). However, based on the expert opinion, the mentioned objective may remain unreached without a greater proactive involvement from the public. As well put by Tänzler in a paper discussing the corruption as a metaphor,

> *(...) phenomena such as corruption at the same time appear to be a socialist legacy and side-effect of a coercive adaptation to a new global economic order. It appears to me to be instructive to shed light on the interplay between these two attempts at correcting the world.* (Tänzler 2007: 5-6)

To put it simply, corruption appears to work as a certain mechanism for ill adaptation to the changing society. This double perspective on corruption as a phenomenon also diminishes the possibility of tackling the issues that corruption is associated with, *inter alia*, unfair competition among businesses, distrust in the authorities, and general pessimism towards the brighter future of the country.

The absolute majority of Lithuanians believe that corruption remains to be widespread in the country. Active and passive bribery and abuse of power are most common in the health care system, among political parties, and among civil servants deciding on the winners of public procurement (Special Eurobarometer 502: Corruption 2020). Researchers from European Commission have found a strong link between how many respondents rate corruption as prevalent in the country and how many of them feel personally affected by corruption in their daily lives (ibid.). In Lithuania's case, it is quite the opposite. Although corruption is seen as a widespread problem by a large number of Lithuanian respondents, only 26 per cent of them have experienced the impact of corruption on their daily lives (ibid.). This perception of Lithuanians is influenced by the predominant public discourse on corruption that is mostly formed by television and online media (Lithuanian Map of Corruption 2021). Not surprisingly, the discourse is saturated with extremely negative metaphors used to describe the unchanging, if not deteriorating, corruption situation in Lithuania. Arguably, such decision is made to draw public attention and reach a broader audience, more precisely, to earn more.

Factual information about corrupt experiences in Lithuania must be taken into account as well. As a matter of fact, only one sociological survey is carried out on the issue of corruption in Lithuania, *The Lithuanian Map of Corruption*. Fortunately, it is one of the oldest and one of the largest in scope surveys to date. Starting with its initiation in 2001, the purpose of this survey is to evaluate the attitude of three target groups, namely, residents, business representatives and civil servants, towards corruption, its prevalence, to reveal experiences had (usually giving or taking bribes) and to determine the anti-corruption potential of Lithuanian society. Based on

the results of the most recent study of 2021, corruption in Lithuania is still seen as an issue that the government, the parliament, law enforcement institutions or public officials in general must deal with (Lithuanian Map of Corruption 2021), even though small much needed steps may be taken by individuals that can provoke positive change in others. Moreover, a decline in the direct experience of corruption has been observed since the beginning of the investigation. For example, in 2011, the number of the residents who had given a bribe in the last twelve months was 22 percent, while in 2021 it was only 10 percent (ibid.). The public, however, does not appear to be inclined to believe in the positive change and still think of bribery as a common practice. As mentioned, this could be a result of the corruption metaphors used to describe the current situation.

Given this, it could be claimed that the way people perceive corruption, does influence the possible ways of preventing it. By the use of metaphor, this difficult to define phenomenon becomes more understandable. Despite the fact that a fair amount of research has been done on the corruption phenomenon, little attention has been paid to the metaphoricity of corruption and how the choice of metaphor may influence the perspective toward corruption. It is the purpose of the present paper to investigate corruption metaphors in Lithuanian and English public discourse. One of the objectives is to investigate the data sources in terms of the most common keywords. It is likely that some differences between the anti-corruption agencies and non-governmental organisations' press releases will be found. Another objective is to identify what source domains prevail in each language and whether there is a common ground in both discourses. Presumably, the dominant source domains of corruption metaphors in Lithuanian public discourse will be distinct from those presented in the studies of other countries' discourses due to cultural differences. Moreover, an attempt will be made to investigate, how specific corruption metaphors are conceptualised and whether there are significant differences in Lithuanian and English data analysed.

This section has been devoted to the overview of different notions and the historical development of corruption, and how it affects public life and the current corruption situation in Lithuania. The following section will provide a review of relevant literature and the most prominent studies on metaphors in general, legal metaphors and corruption. The paper will continue with a description of the collection of data and methods applied for the analysis of corruption metaphors in Lithuanian and English public discourses. Further, the discussion and interpretation of results illustrated with relevant examples will be suggested. Finally, conclusions about the tendencies of metaphoricity of corruption will be drawn and further recommendations will be suggested.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Metaphor

Over the past several decades, the relation between language and human cognition has shifted. This change was possible due to cognitive linguists who challenged the traditional approach to metaphors and viewed them not only as poetic or rhetorical devices. Examples of metaphors and metaphorical language are found as early as Ancient Greece and can be associated with the myth of Oedipus and such personalities as Aristotle or Iustitia (Lady Justice) (Ebbesson 2008; Philippopoulus-Mihalopoulos 2016). The role of metaphor, however, was mostly appreciated only within the boundaries of language. The idea that metaphor is one of the most important tools allowing people to, at least to some extent, comprehend their feelings, experiences, and thoughts emerged and comprehensively discussed in *Metaphors we live by* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). This idea that metaphor is not just a matter of language was further elaborated in later publications (Lakoff et al. 1991, Lakoff 1993). Metaphors are claimed to help us understand abstract, intangible notions in terms of more concrete and structured matters. This revived perspective on metaphor has become a key interest of many researchers.

The cognitive perspective on a metaphor was an addition to the established linguistic aspect. Metaphorical linguistic expressions are used to study the nature of metaphors or, more specifically, metaphorical concepts (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 7). Metaphorical expressions are words or other expressions that come from language and have a more concrete conceptual domain (Kövecses 2002: 4). In other words, metaphorical expressions allow recognising the encoded metaphors in either written or spoken discourse. By way of metaphor, people conceptualise one mental domain in terms of another domain (Lakoff 1993: 202). The two essential domains are titled *target domain* and *source domain*. It is well established that the target domain is understood through the use of the source domain (Lakoff 1980, Kövecses 2002). According to cognitive linguistics conventions, both domains are written in capital letters in order to separate them from a metaphorical expression, for instance, CORRUPTION IS ENEMY. In this example, CORRUPTION is the target domain, while ENEMY is the source domain of the conceptual metaphor. The IS allows to state the metaphor and "should be viewed as a shorthand for some set of experiences on which the metaphor is based and in terms of which we understand it" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 20). Therefore, a recognisable pattern of illustrating metaphor was formed and, in this case, corruption is conceptualised via a fight scenario.

It is claimed that metaphors exist in a large and highly structured system; moreover, most metaphors are used unconsciously, even automatically, and thus are difficult to recognise

(Lakoff 1993). Well-entrenched metaphors are quite easy to miss by any language user, sometimes even a linguist. Given this, many researchers whose field of interest is metaphors have faced the problem of identifying and analysing the selected metaphors objectively and replicating the results provided by other scholars. Understandably, the interpretation of metaphors is highly subjective, thus a solution was needed.

An attempt to link the linguistic and conceptual metaphors was made by Steen (1999) with the introduction of a five step approach. The steps of the analysis included finding metaphorical focus, proposition, comparison, analogy and finally mapping (Steen 2008: 16). Despite further refinement of the proposed method (Steen et al. 2010; Steen 2011), it has received a considerable amount of criticism for the reliability of the tool and the discourse chosen to test the method, for example, on fiction (Šeškauskienė 2012). Nevertheless, three distinct ways in which metaphors can be found were suggested (Steen 2008). The first approach is the already discussed five step procedure proposed by Steen, the second approach is Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), while the third focused on other linguistic forms of expression of metaphor such as simile and analogy (ibid.).

Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) is a method that deals with metaphorically used words in discourse introduced by the Pragglejaz group[1] (2007). The scholars have devoted particular attention to the establishment of tool that could be used by other researchers working with metaphors. After a series of attempts of application in various languages, the method was updated to MIP(VU), however, a fair amount of criticism towards the method was pointed out by some scholars (Stefanowitsch 2006; Steen 2008; Šeškauskienė 2012; Urbonaitė et al. 2019, etc.). The application of MIP(VU) required a close examination of each word, and this posed a risk of losing the overall context of the data analysed. Other approaches to metaphor research aimed at tackling this challenge. A corpus-based method of analysing metaphorical target domains later referred to as *metaphorical pattern analysis* (MPA) was introduced by a corpus linguist Stefanowitsch (2004). This particular method allowed the retrieval of a large number of lexical items and facilitated the identification of the occurring metaphorical patterns (ibid.). The keywords in the source and target domains enabled to identify metaphors and suggested broader tendencies of their use. Later, an attempt was made to prove that MPA is a more precise method to research metaphors than those applied by other authors (Stefanowitsch 2006). It appears, however, that inevitably each method proposed had flaws and limitations.

---

[1] The title is an abbreviation made from group members' first letters of names: Peter Crisp, Raymond Gibbs, Alice Deignan, Graham Low, Gerard Steen, Lynne Cameron, Elena Semino, Joe Grady, Alan Cienki, and Zoltan Kovecses.

Given that metaphors have an infinite impact on the way we look at everyday things, new directions for theorising metaphors are expected. Conceptual metaphor is claimed to be "fundamental to how speakers express themselves, and with metaphor we illustrate how we conceive of the world and our roles in it" (Luchjenbroers and Aldridge 2007: 344). Thus, the changing world may require a change in approach toward metaphor research. Arguably, the contemporary theory of metaphor has served its purpose and appears to be too limiting (Steen 2011). Metaphor is claimed to have a communicative function in addition to linguistic and conceptual (Steen 2011: 59). The communicative function of metaphor is also emphasised in the relevance theory (Gibbs and Tendahl 2008: 1835). It is stated that the combination of cognitive linguistics and relevance theory would allow for more fruitful metaphor analysis (ibid.). The role of metaphor seems to be that of a guide for future action. It appears that "such action will, of course, fit the metaphor. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent" (Chiu and Chang 2011: 156). The choice of metaphor thus is likely to influence future decisions and the experience that leads them.

2.2 Legal discourse and metaphor

Legal discourse has been researched over the years from various perspectives despite its key features, namely, intricacy. This type of discourse is considered to be challenging to both lawyers and non-lawyers for its formulaicity (Tiersma and Solan 2012; Šeškauskienė, Talačka and Niunka 2016). Nevertheless, as a discourse, law is crucially dependent on language. A variety of distinct legal genres could be evidence of this. It is not unexpected that "in order to provide a firm foundation for legal decision-making processes, which have to be systematic and just, the text of the law needs to be clear, explicit, and precise" (Tiersma and Solan 2012: 39). In other words, any piece of legal discourse must be non-figurative and non-ambiguous to properly perform its functions. Arguably, that is why the main distinctive features of a legal discourse are the use of both ordinary language and highly technical terms, sentence length as part of the style, and a high degree of intertextuality (ibid.).

There is a belief that the complexity of legal language is crucial for lawyers and other law professionals to maintain the power dynamic and for their self-image (Ebbesson 2008). Consequently, professional language becomes an instrument to preserve one's place in the exclusive community of legal professionals. The use of metaphors also builds the self-image since it indicates a certain evaluation on the part of the author (Šeškauskienė and Stepančuk 2014) that otherwise would not be explicit in legal discourse. From a historical point of view, some criticism was suggested that the method of "hiding the law", i.e., ensuring it is

incomprehensible to laypersons, could be used to monopolise the legal services (Tiersma and Solan 2012).

Despite all the above reasons, metaphor maintained its "unnatural" position in legal discourse. A metaphor yields multiple meanings and interpretations instead of a single meaning that legal text is required to have, thus, the question of why metaphors are quite common in legal discourse can be raised. It appears that there are at least several reasons for this. Metaphors are rather entrenched in this discourse and "guide even the most mundane legal matters" (Lloyd 2016: 91). Many authors adhere to the view that legal metaphors are used to such an extent in order to make legal discourse at least slightly more comprehensible. Interestingly, several characteristics could be applied to legal metaphors that would determine their success in the discourse (Philippopoulus-Mihalopoulos 2016). Metaphors must be part of the consistent system; they must be repeated and finally provoke an affective response (ibid.). The effective use of legal metaphors seems to require a certain skill. In addition, metaphors are claimed to "enrich and facilitate legal communication through useful analogies" (Ebbesson 2008: 260). In other words, they allow to convince and convert people who otherwise would be indifferent to legal argumentation. Bearing all this in mind, it is not surprising that metaphors in legal discourse have been investigated quite extensively.

Another function of metaphors is to shape the way people think about certain legal matters. As mentioned, the law relies on language and each lexical choice indicates how others can be encouraged to perceive persons, actions or events (Luchjenbroers and Aldridge 2007). According to Gedzevičienė (2016a, 2016b), metaphor in legal discourse not only expresses and reflects the values and emotions of the discourse participants, e.g., the society, but also in a sense forms certain stereotypical models of perspective towards criminals. Not surprisingly, the dominant relation of law enforcement and criminals is fierce opposition (Gedzevičienė 2016b). Moreover, when the jury is taken into account, the use of metaphors may also adjust the perspective toward witnesses and their interpretation of events (Luchjenbroers and Aldridge 2007).

The choice of metaphor can also affect the perceptions about complex issues such as crime. The role of metaphor in reasoning was tested via five related experiments in an insightful study by Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011). The participants of the study were provided with a survey containing a short paragraph about the criminality in a fictional town and a few follow-up questions. By focusing on two contrasting metaphors about crime, namely, CRIME IS A BEAST and CRIME IS A VIRUS, the authors were trying to test the hypothesis whether the opinion of the participants on how to solve the social problem of crime will change (ibid.). Unexpectedly,

the article demonstrates that the opinion of a person is more influenced by the metaphor used rather than the political views or gender of that person, which once again emphasises the important role that a metaphor plays in various discourses including legal (Thibodeau and Boroditsky 2011).

There is a variety of legal metaphor categories based on the source domain; however, some scholars specifically underline the role of the FIGHT metaphor in legal discourse. The functions of FIGHT metaphors appear to be that of guiding the society to take action (Chiu and Chang 2011). Nevertheless, this influential effect should not be taken for granted. It is claimed that both legal professionals and laypersons "should take a more reflective approach to their linguistic behaviour" and "should reconsider how FIGHT metaphors affect the legal culture and, by extension, individuals' lives as part of society" (Chiu and Chang 2011: 909). Given this, the prevalence of FIGHT metaphors is far from being exceptional to Lithuanian public discourse as can be witnessed in Gedzevičienė (2016a, 2016b), but can be seen in discourses of other countries as well.

2.3 Corruption metaphor

The phenomenon of corruption is part of a complex system of law and is rather challenging to understand. An issue with the terminology used may be one of the reasons for this challenge. The results of a study of Spanish and English corruption terminology suggest that when it comes to corruption, rather broad umbrella terms are common in the media, that do not shed more light on corruption as a phenomenon (Orts and Almela 2014). The aim of the mentioned study was to analyse the use of corruption terminology in legal discourses of both languages and to compare it with terminology in the media (ibid.). It is claimed that a well-informed society would allow to more aptly recognise and probably report corruption rather than the society having all the codified rules against corruption (ibid.). Interestingly, legal discourse is not able to catch up with the pressing issue of corruption and covers the criminal terminology only narrowly (Orts and Almela 2014). It is important to note that the law is a conservative institution, and both the law and legal discourse are not likely to keep up with the social change (Tiersma and Solan 2012). The press, performing an important role in informing the society, should change more efficiently; however, is sometimes unwilling to raise its voice against corruption (Orts and Almela 2014). This behaviour may, in turn, make society to act accordingly, i.e., be tolerant of corruption.

Corruption, like legal discourse in general, may be better understood via certain metaphors. Corruption itself is argued to be a metaphor (Tänzler 2007), especially from Romanian and

German societal perceptions. Therefore, when it comes to describing corruption cases, specific terminology must be employed, the use of metaphors once again allows to maintain the balance of comprehensibility of the text, whether it is a news article or a press release. Corruption is dependent on the language as well. One of the examples of this is the fact that arranging a bribe constitutes a crime that can be committed through words alone, as emphasised by Tiersma and Solan (2012: 345). From the legal standpoint, corruption is far from being a one-sided phenomenon and can be a combination of various crimes and offences. The phenomenon can take many forms. Arguably, corruption is experienced and should be treated not only passively, e.g., as a disease or a plague, but also as an everyday activity for many social groups (Tänzler 2007: 7). The metaphoricity of corruption should echo the complexity of the corruption phenomenon.

The overview of research articles dealing with corruption metaphors revealed that corruption is realised using a spectrum of different source domains. It seems that the prevailing metaphors in the Spanish press discourse are CORRUPTION IS DIRT, SEA or POISON (Negro 2015); whereas CORRUPTION IS DISEASE, VERMIN, WEED or SLOVENRY in China's anti-corruption discourse (Jing-Schmidt and Peng 2007). The former author focuses on the conceptualisation of corruption through the analysis of linguistic and verbo-pictorial metaphors used by the Spanish press (Negro 2015). As pointed out by the authors of the latter study, which examined the choice of metaphor in Chinese and English, the absence of common ground in terms of shared cultural knowledge, beliefs, values, memories and practices may be an indispensable criterion in metaphor interpretation and proper use in different languages (Jing-Schmidt and Peng 2007: 19). In other words, it can be claimed that metaphors used to describe corruption may have fewer similarities moving from country to country than can be expected given that corruption rarely abides by borders. Metaphorical mappings are claimed to vary in terms of universality. Some are rather universal and more widespread while others seem to be more culture-specific (Lakoff 1993). Thus, an assumption can be made that, for instance, the Lithuanian public discourse and the English public discourse may have distinct metaphors or strategies of corruption metaphor realisation.

2.4 Genre of press releases

Public discourse is claimed to have a specific feature of the pursuit of the public good (Sellers 2003). Society benefits from being more informed, given arguments for certain legal processes in the state or when the value or belief system is challenged to fit the modern world. Public discourse includes a variety of genres, expert opinions and institutional press releases among them. A genre is defined as "a class of communicative events, the members of which share

some set of communicative purposes" (Swales 1990: 58), press release is one of the examples. The genre is claimed to have an impact on what is expected and what interpretations can be made from the text. Furthermore, when metaphors are considered, "it is impossible to overestimate the influence of genre as a factor co-determining the construal of metaphors, and their interpretation" (Forceville 2016: 12). Within the context of a press release, any metaphor may have a greater influence on the target audience.

Press releases are defined as "short, typically one-page, written texts that are issued to the media on behalf of a wide range of organisations, from businesses and government agencies to political parties and non-for-profit organisations" (Jacobs 2014: 583). Consequently, the role of press releases in the public discourse could be referred to as evident. It is argued that press releases are not necessarily a traditional genre, but more a media channel, or medium of communication between, for example, the government and the public (Lassen 2006). Thus, through press release an organisation or a governmental institution may announce new or in another way relevant information. Such information usually provokes some reactions from the readers which can be directed at the situation or at the institution. Understandably, when evaluating the activities of law enforcement institutions, the public often relies on obvious performance results, namely, facts that support the decisions of the institutions (Navickienė and Gutauskas 2019: 100). The performance results are often given in the form of a press release, for instance, initiation of pre-trial investigation, court decisions, etc. News on the corruption investigation also allows comprehending the issues that corruption raises and possible negative impact that it has on the well-being of a country. Therefore, a press release once again can be considered a powerful tool to employ while forming the public discourse.

The purpose of the press release is rather clear, i.e., to be published. Taking this into account, several features prevail that allow preformulated press releases to be easily copied by the media to match editorial and stylistic requirements of news reporting (Strobbe and Jacobs 2005). The features include headlines, lead paragraph, third person self-reference and pseudo-quotations (Strobbe and Jacobs 2005: 289). The headline and lead paragraph in a sense imitate the style of a news article and simplify the text itself via repetition, while third person self-reference seems to indicate a rather neutral position of the writer.

Pseudo-quotations are an interesting case since they are mostly used as an "untouchable" quotation by the representative of an organisation and must be copied word for word, despite the fact that those words may be written in advance and just approved by a person quoted. Within the thematic field of corruption, examples of such pseudo-quotations can be that of famous and influential heads of organisations seeking transparency, usually the spokespersons

and advocates of certain topics. For example, "people's indifference is the best breeding ground for corruption to grow" which is a quote from Delia Ferreira, the chair of Transparency International or Kofi Annan former UN Secretary General and Nobel Peace Prize laureate claiming that "if corruption is a disease, transparency is essential part of its treatment" (Transparency International 2018).[2] As mentioned, pseudo-quotations are difficult to edit, thus it is a well-thought means to convey an unaltered message to the audience.

Over the past few decades, however, with the expansion of the internet, traditional press releases vanished from the journalists' desks and became present in the online format in a form of electronic releases (Jacobs 2014). The features of genre remained the same, however, the role of the media was to some extent eliminated. Given this, the percentage of published press releases became much higher with all the key messages already formulated. This allowed institutions to have a greater and more direct impact on the public discourse. For instance, an anti-corruption agency or non-governmental organisation may seek to transform public opinion with the help of carefully selected metaphors that would form a new perspective on corruption. Taking all this into account press releases appear to be a rather complex type of text, having a variety of at times conflicting objectives and are worth further consideration.

---

[2]Interestingly, corruption metaphors can be found in each of the quotes. In the former, corruption is realised through a source domain of ANIMAL as suggested by the context words *breeding ground*, whereas in the latter the source domain is DISEASE.

3. Data and Methods

3.1 Data

This section describes the data and the process of its collection, also the methods that were applied in the analysis of corruption metaphors. The press releases of institutions specifically aimed at combating corruption provide direct and convenient access to up-to-date material.

In order to understand metaphors of corruption-related offences, a specific corpus of two sub-corpora of institutional press releases in English and Lithuanian was compiled. Lithuanian press releases were gathered from the official website of the Special Investigation Service of the Republic of Lithuania (hereafter, STT): www.stt.lt. STT is the main anti-corruption institution accountable only to the Parliament and President of the Republic of Lithuania. The choice of institutional press releases was motivated by the fact that there is no other similar institution in Lithuania aimed at reducing the exposure of the state to corruption not only by criminal prosecution, but also by means of analytical anti-corruption intelligence, corruption prevention and anti-corruption awareness raising. STT press releases were selected one by one from the homepage section *Infocentras* (Infocentre) which is aimed at awareness raising of the public about relevant tendencies or new measures introduced to fight corruption, developing a corruption-resistant environment or current corruption risks in different sectors.

The second half of the Lithuanian sub-corpus was gathered from the official website of Transparency International (hereafter, TI) Lithuanian Chapter: www.transparency.lt. Transparency International is a global non-profit non-governmental organisation that, similarly to the STT, also has the purpose of fighting corruption by promoting transparency, accountability, and integrity. The TI Lithuanian Chapter significantly contributes to the moulding of Lithuanian public discourse on challenges such as the accountability of state and municipal institutions, fight against corruption, management of conflicts of interest, transparency of business and civil society, etc. The press releases were selected from the sections *Naujienos* (News) and *Naujienų archyvas* (News archive). Given the wide spectrum of topics covered by TI Lithuanian Chapter press releases, only those press releases that had any indication of the corruption topic were selected for the analysis.

The compilation of the English sub-corpus, however, posed some challenges. One of them was concerned with the choice of an English-speaking institution similar to the STT that could be selected for this contrastive analysis. To put it another way, a *tertium comparationis* was needed. Data from similar in nature institutions allow an adequate comparison of public discourses generated by those institutions in both languages. It also contributes to the credibility

of the data. The most likely option was the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), a domestic intelligence and security service of the United States, *inter alia* investigating public corruption. Bearing in mind that the STT was established on the institutional model of the FBI, this appeared to be a reasonable choice. The English sub-corpus was retrieved from the official institutional website: www.fbi.gov. On the FBI website, the search for press releases related to corruption was narrowed down by selecting the section *What we investigate,* then *Public Corruption,* and finally, *Public Corruption News*.

The second challenge was concerned with the absence of TI Chapter in the United States. Therefore, press releases from www.transparency.org were selected. The page could be treated as the primary website of Transparency International as an organisation, all information of which is in English. All press releases starting with the most recent were chosen from the page section *News* distinguishing corruption-related texts according to the keywords such as *corruption, bribe* or *bribery.*

The data for the present study were gathered during the period of January-February 2022 by selecting the most recent press releases that specifically comment on corruption cases until the necessary amount of data was reached in both sub-corpora. The compiled corpus for this study comprised 75, 154 words: 41, 762 words of English and 33, 392 words of Lithuanian press releases. Such corpus helped to identify at least some tendencies in the conceptualisation of corruption. Prior to the next step, which is the analysis of the press releases, the texts were cleared out from any redundancies such as the date of publishing, details about the author, etc. The details of the corpus are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Composition of the corpus in terms of the number of texts and words

	Lithuanian sub-corpus		English sub-corpus	
Anti-corruption agency press releases	STT		FBI	
	No. of texts	No. of words	No. of texts	No. of words
	31	16, 043	30	20, 839
Non-governmental organisation press releases	TILT[3]		TI	
	43	16, 332	15	20, 072
Total	**74**	**32, 375**	**45**	**40, 911**

It should be noted that during the data gathering process the number of the STT press releases available for the analysis was rather limited. Publishing such STT expert texts that would offer insights of evaluative nature and whose target group would be the public began only a few years

---

[3]In the course of this study, the abbreviation "TILT" rather than the full title of the Transparency International Lithuanian Chapter will be used to refer to the source of press releases for the sake of clarity and conciseness. Press releases of other institutions will be named with abbreviations accordingly.

ago. This had influence on the selected amount of data from the TILT. The use of normalised frequency, however, allowed to observe the tendencies in both sub-corpora.

3.2 Methods

For the purpose of this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed. At first the texts were converted into a plain text format and a list of keywords identified in both sub-corpora by using the *Wordlist* function of the computer software *AntConc* (Anthony 2021). Unicode (UTF-8) was chosen for the encoding of the text, which is applicable to both English and Lithuanian.

Given that articles and prepositions have little to no contribution to metaphors or conceptual content in general, they were disregarded. Only notional words, i.e., parts of speech that have lexical meaning, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives were taken into account as keywords in each source of press releases. The selection of keywords was rather simple, that is, sorting the words by frequency and focusing on words with lexical meaning. In terms of criteria for the length of the keywords list, two criteria were applied: a) the most frequent words having no less than 30 occurrences were included; b) priority was also given to words that were thematically linked to the topic of corruption. The remaining words were deemed less significant due to a decrease in their number of occurrences.

Further analysis was mostly manual, based on the *Metaphorical Identification Procedure* (hereafter – MIP) introduced by the Pragglejaz group (2007). Its later version was called MIPVU, yet the key principles remained unchanged:

> 1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
> 2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse.
> 3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
> (b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be
> - more concrete [what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste];
> - Related to bodily action;
> - More precise (as opposed to vague);
> - Historically older;
> Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
> (c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
> 4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3)

The altered MIPVU version suggests the following:

5. When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor.
6. When words are used for the purpose of lexico-grammatical substitution, such as third person personal pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor.
7. When a word functions as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may be at play, mark it as a metaphor flag (Steen et al. 2010: 26).

After taking into consideration the challenges of both MIP and MIPVU application, especially its compatibility with the identification of metaphors in Lithuanian and other methodological challenges, comprehensively discussed by Urbonaitė (2015) and Urbonaitė, Šeškauskienė and Cibulskienė (2019), the method for this study was applied only partially in combination with the previously discussed selection of the most common words in the corpus which allow to narrow down the analysis and the amount of manual work. It is worth noting that this methodological combination was coined by Šeškauskienė (2012) and later applied by other scholars.

In the next step, the context of the selected words such as *corruption* or *bribe* was taken into consideration, namely whether the meaning of each instance is metaphorical or not. In other words, the basic meaning (usually the most physical one) was selected according to the meanings found in the dictionaries chosen and then compared to the meaning found in the corpus. Four monolingual dictionaries have been used for this purpose: *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (LKŽ, *Dictionary of Lithuanian*)*, Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (DLKŽ, *Dictionary of Contemporary Lithuanian), the Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and *the Cambridge Dictionary* (CD).

Considering that the analysis through some of the keywords may not accurately depict the tendencies of metaphoricity, this method, where necessary, was complemented by a close reading of the press releases in both Lithuanian and English. After identifying the remaining metaphors, the next and final step was to focus on the major tendencies of metaphors found and the comparison of the most common source domains of Lithuanian and English corruption metaphors in institutional and non-governmental organisations' press releases.

The next section will focus on the discussion and interpretation of the results of the analysis.

4. Results and Discussion on Corruption Metaphors

This section focuses on the major tendencies of metaphoricity. First, the overall tendencies in terms of frequencies are discussed. Particular attention is paid to the similarities and differences in corpus text length, then the major tendencies of keywords in both sub-corpora are discussed in greater depth. Then the interpretation is offered. The results of the analysis are examined based on the most frequent source domains of metaphors found in each Lithuanian and English sub-corpus. The prevailing source domains of metaphors in both languages are discussed further in this section. The discussion of results is illustrated by examples from the corpus. The full list of texts selected for the analysis (Appendix 1) together with the analysis of metaphors (Appendix 2) is available in the Appendices.

4.1 Text length tendencies

The press releases in the corpus vary in terms of length. It can be anticipated that law enforcement agencies' press releases are less wordy and provide straight-to-the-point information. Press releases provided by non-governmental organisations, on the other hand, can have more flexibility and disregard the rules that bind public authorities. Table 2 offers an overview of press releases length by source:

Table 2. Number of words per text

	Lithuanian sub-corpus		English sub-corpus	
	STT	**TILT**	**FBI**	**TI**
Shortest text	49	37	220	540
Longest text	1, 105	1, 720	1, 491	3, 430
Average text length	**517.5**	**379.8**	**694.6**	**1, 338.1**

As can be seen from the average text length, the press releases of the Lithuanian sub-corpus in general were much shorter than the press releases of the English sub-corpus. A relatively small number of Lithuanian texts was more than 1, 000 words; however, it was especially common in the press releases of TI. Interestingly, while the FBI's, a law enforcement agency, press releases were shorter than TI's, a non-governmental organisation, it is quite different in the Lithuanian sub-corpus. Further analysis of corruption metaphors will indicate whether the average length of text had some influence on the number of metaphors found in each of the sources of press releases.

It appears that the shortest texts overall are produced by the TILT, whereas the longest text was found among the TI press releases. It is important to mention that, unlike other sources, the TILT press releases were often supplemented by links to audio or video interviews on the topic and the text could be treated more as a summary of the information given in the interview. The shortest press releases came from TILT; however, it had little influence on the analysis of metaphors, since, if needed, audio and video material provided a broader context that allowed to decide whether there is a metaphor or not.

4.2 Keywords in the Lithuanian sub-corpus

Bearing in mind that Lithuanian is a synthetic language and has an infinite variety of word forms, the identification of keywords posed some challenges. Taking this into account, all the keywords are listed in their basic form, e.g. the singular nominative (nouns) or the bare infinitive (verbs). All other inflections were included in the total word frequency using the tools in the *AntConc* software.

In order to clarify the figures, both Lithuanian and English sub-corpora were analysed based on the source of press releases and kept as two separate parts of analysis. The following are the top 30 keywords of STT press releases (Table 3):

Table 3. STT keywords and their raw frequencies

No.	Frequency	Word	No.	Frequency	Word
1.	267	**korupcija**[4]	16.	67	informacija
2.	187	STT	17.	63	tarnyba
3.	141	galėti	18.	57	verslas
4.	121	tyrimas	19.	55	procentas
5.	107	asmuo	20.	53	pirkimas
6.	101	valstybė	21.	47	specialus
7.	92	tai	22.	47	teismas
8.	90	veikla	23.	45	pavyzdys
9.	89	teisė	24.	43	žvalgyba
10.	87	viešas	25.	43	aplinka
11.	86	Lietuva	26.	42	prevencija
12.	85	metai	27.	42	**kyšis**
13.	80	rizika	28.	41	visuomenė
14.	78	institucija	29.	39	kontrolė
15.	68	turėti	30.	37	kriminalinis

---

[4] The words in bold in the following tables were selected for further analysis of corruption metaphors.

As might be expected, in press releases of the law enforcement agency that is aimed at fighting corruption, the word *korupcija* (corruption) is at the top of the list. A rather well-known acronym of the title of the institution, *STT,* also occupies a high position on the list. One of the main functions of the STT is criminal prosecution, thus keywords associated with this process such as *tyrimas* (investigation)*, informacija* (information), *teismas* (court), *žvalgyba* (intelligence) and *kriminalinis* (criminal) were among the most frequent.

However, *kyšis* (bribe) which is a thematically closely linked word to *corruption* is rather low on the list of the top keywords. Moreover, two verbs that are prominent on the list *galėti* (to be able to) and *turėti* (to have) are rather interesting, especially since *galėti* is twice as frequent as *turėti*. The former suggests more freedom of choice and is not binding in nature, while the latter indicates an obligation, something which would be expected from a law enforcement institution to communicate about. Therefore, it is rather strange to see that *galėti* is more frequent than *turėti*, but it is difficult to suggest any explicit reasons for this without any in depth analysis.

Most keywords on the STT list are negatively connoted by default, for instance, *kyšis, nusikaltimas*, but it is not the case when we take a closer look at the TILT list. One of the reasons for this could be the fact that unlike the STT, the TI Lithuanian Chapter is a part of non-governmental organisation that has a "freer", less binding position and impact on society. The organisation's representatives thus may express their position at ease on various issues. The issues discussed are not necessarily related to criminal acts. Consider the following results of the TILT keywords found:

Table 4. TILT keywords and their raw frequencies

No.	Frequency	Word	No.	Frequency	Word
1.	140	**korupcija**	16.	71	vadovas
2.	137	**kyšis**	17.	67	ministerija
3.	134	tai	18.	59	Muravjovas
4.	134	turėti	19.	58	gydyti
5.	122	Lietuva	20.	58	sprendimas
6.	113	galėti	21.	57	mes
7.	104	valstybė	22.	55	euras
8.	94	metai	23.	54	sveikata
9.	91	dovana	24.	52	įmonė
10.	90	darbas	25.	47	sektorius
11.	88	žmogus	26.	46	interesas
12.	88	**skaidrumas**	27.	46	visuomenė
13.	85	savivaldybė	28.	44	seimas
14.	81	įstatymas	29.	44	aš
15.	74	įstaiga	30.	43	apsauga

Equally noticeable is *corruption* as the most common keyword in both sections of the Lithuanian sub-corpus. However, *kyšis* (bribe) occupies a much higher position on the TILT list. *Skaidrumas* (transparency) is left out of the STT keyword list, nevertheless, this word should be in a high position on the TILT list. This is not entirely unexpected given that transparency is one of the main organisational values of Transparency International, hence the title of the organisation. However, it was not the case. From the general background knowledge on the organisation, the more likely result would have been that *kyšis* would be lower, while *skaidrumas* would be higher on the list, Table 4 indicates otherwise.

Both lists are also different in terms of words denoting state or municipal institutions. In the STT press releases more general words such as *valstybė* (state), *Lietuva* (Lithuania) or *institucija* (institution) are frequent, whereas in the TILT press releases the institutional keywords are more specific, namely, *savivaldybė* (municipality), *ministerija* (ministry) and *seimas* (parliament). One of possible reasons could be concerned with distinct "call to action" strategies aimed at the decision makers' anti-corruption awareness raising that law enforcement agencies and NGOs may have.

Interestingly, the personal pronouns *mes* (we) and *aš* (I) are among the top 30 words on the TILT list, whereas on the STT list no such words were found. Institutional press releases are usually seen as and seek to be objective due to and by the use of third-person self-reference, thus *the STT* or *TI* are preferred to *we*. In this case, however, the all-inclusive *we* could be understood as a means to create unity in fighting corruption, but *I* is slightly misleading. It is important to mention that the Transparency International Lithuanian Chapter is a small section (up to 10 people) of the global organisation, and this could be the reason why the main messages are generated via one or few spokespersons. In the majority of cases that spokesperson is Sergejus Muravjovas, the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the TI Lithuanian Chapter. This tendency is confirmed by the fact that the surname of S. Muravjovas is one of the 30 keywords, while his first name is also found on a more extended list of TILT keywords.

There are a few words identifiable in both sections of the Lithuanian sub-corpus: *asmuo* and *žmogus* (both could be translated as person), also *visuomenė* (society). It can thus be claimed that not only the anti-corruption agency but also the NGO focuses on the person and probably tends to work for the person and for the society as a whole. Another interpretation could be that by such words, individuals and society are encouraged to actively participate in the fight against corruption in contrast with passively observing the efforts of law enforcement agencies or non-governmental organisations.

4.3 Keywords in the English sub-corpus

With English being an analytical language, the compilation of keyword lists of the English sub-corpus was less problematic. The English sub-corpus was analysed in the same way as the Lithuanian sub-corpus, i.e. based on the source of press releases, and kept as two separate parts of analysis.

As mentioned in the previous section, similarly to the STT, the FBI inter alia investigates corruption. Some differences in keywords, however, are expected since criminal prosecution is the only FBI function directly aimed at combating corruption, while the STT has three "softer" measures of corruption prevention. The top 30 FBI keywords are listed in Table 5 below.

Table 5. FBI keywords and their raw frequencies

No.	Frequency	Word	No.	Frequency	Word
1.	170	**bribe**	16.	78	office
2.	119	plea	17.	73	criminal
3.	117	charge	18.	72	company
4.	103	investigation	19.	70	**corruption**
5.	102	payment	20.	66	district
6.	99	public	21.	64	department
7.	88	agreement	22.	64	fbi
8.	86	attorney	23.	63	united
9.	85	guilt	24.	63	it
10.	85	state	25.	62	scheme
11.	82	service	26.	55	cash
12.	80	federal	27.	52	government
13.	80	official	28.	50	agent
14.	79	conspiracy	29.	48	court
15.	78	city	30.	47	prison

It is quite natural to see the word *bribe* at the top of the list; however, *corruption* is found in the second half of the keyword list. On the STT list the word *bribe* is found in the second half, while on the TILT list, the mentioned words are in the first two positions. In terms of crime investigation, it is understandable that words associated with this topic including *plea, charge, investigation, attorney, guilt* and many others dominate the list. This could be explained by the role of the FBI in fighting corruption rather than taking part in anti-corruption awareness raising, which is more common to the TILT or the STT.

Differently from the STT, the abbreviation of the FBI title is only found on the last third of the list and is not as frequently used as *STT*. It can probably be associated with the fact that FBI press releases can be found not on the official website of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, but via a link to the website of the United States Department of Justice (DoJ) which has the

obligation to inform the public on the different stages of public corruption investigation carried out by public officials including FBI agents.

A closer examination of the FBI keyword list points at another tendency. Individual cases of corruption are prominent on a more local level, for instance, in municipalities; nevertheless, the impact of such investigation is relevant to the well-being of the state in general. This tendency emerges due to the dominance of words such as *company, city* or *district* in contrast with *state, federal* or *government*.

The TI section of the English sub-corpus in many aspects differs from the already discussed. Consider the TI keyword list in Table 6 below.

Table 6. TI keywords and their raw frequencies

No.	Frequency	Word	No.	Frequency	Word
1.	383	**corruption**	16.	55	financial
2.	188	country	17.	53	real
3.	139	it	18.	53	need
4.	115	government	19.	51	**bribe**
5.	99	right	20.	46	top
6.	85	public	21.	45	beneficial
7.	84	company	22.	45	health
8.	79	money	23.	45	ensure
9.	78	people	24.	44	tax
10.	77	**transparency**	25.	43	covid
11.	76	ownership	26.	43	estate
12.	73	human	27.	39	foreign
13.	70	political	28.	39	world
14.	66	laundering	29.	37	global
15.	55	international	30.	32	information

Despite the fact that the non-governmental organisation is called Transparency International, *transparency* is not the most common keyword, whereas *corruption* is. *Transparency* is found at the bottom of the top 10 keywords. Unlike the FBI list, *bribe* is only found in the second half of the TI list. The rest of the list could be described as the most versatile of all the keyword lists. It can be argued that the diversity of the keywords on the TI list in a sense reflects the variety of topics promoted by the organisation worldwide. Examples of words indicating a variety of topics include *company*, *ownership*, *political*, *financial*, *health*, *tax*.

In the TI press releases, particular attention is paid to corruption as a phenomenon and the damage that it causes on a daily basis worldwide. Words related to this prevailing storyline would be expected to have strong negative connotations, yet the TI keyword list appears to be

neutral. The only negatively connoted words on the list are *corruption*, *bribe* and *laundering*, as may be prompted by the topic of the texts.

Another distinctive aspect that can be seen on the TI list is anthropocentricity identifiable in the high frequency of words *public*, *people*, *human* and *world*. This is not found on the FBI list (see Table 5 above), which only includes words referring to professions: *attorney, criminal*, and *agent*. As previously mentioned, the emphasis on a person can be seen in the Lithuanian sub-corpus as well.

It is important to note that of all four keyword lists of the two sub-corpora, only the words in bold were selected for further analysis of corruption metaphors in Lithuanian and English public discourse. These words are *korupcija* and its English equivalent *corruption*, *kyšis* and its English equivalent *bribe*, also *skaidrumas* and its English equivalent *transparency*. Moreover, after taking into consideration that quite a few metaphorical expressions related to corruption that do not have the selected keywords are left out by the *AntConc* software, words *tai* and its English equivalent *it* were also added to the data for the analysis. Unfortunately, only a relatively small number of utterances containing *tai* or *it* were identified as metaphorical.

4.4 The etymologies of *corruption* and *transparency*

Before moving to the discussion and interpretation of the results, it would be worthwhile to shed some light on the origin of the word *corruption*. Even though corruption is often treated as a reasonably well understood and identifiable phenomenon (Yue & Peters 2015), the meaning of the word changed and lost some of its meanings over time. Currently, the word is not understood as a metaphor, yet, if viewed diachronically, corruption had a more basic, more physical meaning. The OED suggests that *corruption* derived from the Latin *corrumpere*, then found its place in Old French, then Middle English, and finally, in Modern English as *corrupt*. The OED provides the following obsolete meanings of *corruption*:

I. Physical.
1.
a. The destruction or spoiling of anything, esp. by disintegration or by decomposition with its attendant unwholesomeness; and loathsomeness; putrefaction. *Obsolete.*
b. spec. Decomposition as a consequence of death; dissolution.
c. Applied to inorganic matter: The breaking up or decomposition of a body, the oxidation or corrosion of metals, etc. *Obsolete.*
d. In a more general sense: Destruction, dissolution of the constitution which makes a thing what it is. *Obsolete.*

2.

a. Infection, infected condition; also figurative contagion, taint. *Obsolete.*

b. *Law.* corruption of blood: the effect of an attainder upon a person attainted, by which his blood was held to have become tainted or 'corrupted' by his crime, so that he and his descendants lost all rights of rank and title; in consequence of which he could no longer retain possession of land which he held, nor leave it to heirs, nor could his descendants inherit from him.

From a diachronic perspective corruption had the sense of rot or decay, like corruption of an apple, and this meaning would allow to better understand how today's politicians are "corrupted" together making the phenomenon of corruption more tangible. Despite the fact that some of the physical meanings are obsolete, it could be argued that one of them has gained a new meaning in the field of electronics and computing. The word corruption is used to describe damaged or flawed software or data, also tools used to transfer or keep information such as disks, etc. Nevertheless, corruption is not understood as linked to physical rotting or decay anymore and is used to name an abstract phenomenon that causes damage and is difficult to pinpoint.

When discussing corruption, one more word becomes helpful, and it is *transparency*. Nowadays, the word is mostly used to describe a certain characteristic or feature of an object that can be seen through, which indicates a rather physical meaning of *transparency*. Another, probably more complex, meaning is describing a situation or process where something is done in an open way that invokes trust and is without any secrets (CD). It could be claimed that the latter meaning is more relevant when talking about corruption as a phenomenon since it provides a certain spectrum from widespread corruption to a state of full transparency. Thus the process of moving from one spectrum end to the other could be called either fighting corruption or seeking transparency.

From the diachronic point of view, however, *transparency* is not defined through reference to corruption. According to the OED, *transparency* originated from medieval Latin *transpārēntia* and has the following meanings:

1.

a. The quality or condition of being transparent; perviousness to light; diaphaneity, pellucidity.

b. Linguistics. The state or quality of being transparent.

c. Of reproduced sound: the state or quality of being transparent.

d. The state or quality of transmitting or allowing the passage of sound waves without distortion.

2.

a. That which is transparent; a transparent object or medium.

b. spec. A picture, print, inscription, or device on some translucent substance, made visible by means of a light behind.

c. A photograph or picture on glass or other transparent substance, intended to be seen by transmitted light. Also, used as an advertising sign. Also attributive.

3. Heraldry. An outline figure, or the shadow of a charge, without the charge itself, painted the same colour as the field, but of a darker tint. *Obsolete.*

From the given meanings, *transparency* appears to be mostly associated with either light or sound. In a more specific context, it is also related to photography. Thus, it could be argued that the word *transparency* in its essence is more physical rather than abstract.

However, similarly to *corruption, transparency* is now used to describe an abstract phenomenon. The difference is that *corruption* has lost most of the physical meanings, whereas *transparency* has preserved most of them and gained a new meaning. The new meaning is related to something which is right or lawful or lawfulness in general. Bearing this in mind, the results of the analysis suggest that in the majority of cases both *corruption* and *transparency* are used metaphorically. The differences can be seen in the interpretation of tendencies in the main source domains used to describe these abstract notions.

4.5 Major tendencies of metaphoricity

A manual analysis of selected keywords, namely *corruption, transparency*, *bribe* and *it* and their Lithuanian equivalents in context revealed that of 2, 054 utterances containing the above keywords, 759 cases can be treated as metaphorical. In several cases, more than one metaphor was seen overlapping in the same utterance, thus each metaphor was accounted for. The data analysis revealed that there is no correlation between the length of the text and metaphoricity, for example, the FBI texts were among the longest, yet had the smallest number of metaphorical expressions. Further, major tendencies of metaphoricity will be discussed in each of the two sub-corpora.

4.5.1 Lithuanian sub-corpus

The results of the analysis demonstrate that the key source domains to conceptualise corruption in the Lithuanian sub-corpus are OBJECT, FIGHT, and PERSON/ANIMAL. Unexpectedly, a variety of much less frequent source domains was identified as well. All source domains of

conceptual metaphors in the Lithuanian sub-corpus and raw and normalised frequencies of linguistic metaphors realising them are given in Table 7 below. The frequencies in the corpus were normalised per 10, 000 words.

Table 7. Metaphor source domains in the Lithuanian sub-corpus

Source domain	STT		TILT		Total normalised freq. of MEs	
	Raw freq. of MEs[5]	Normalised freq. of MEs	Raw freq. of MEs	Normalised freq. of MEs		
OBJECT	124	77	97	59	136	48.6%
FIGHT	106	66	51	31	97	34.6%
PERSON/ANIMAL	25	16	21	12	28	10%
JOURNEY	6	4	6	4	8	3%
TEACHING SUBJECT	-	-	6	4	4	1.4%
DIRT	2	1	3	2	3	1%
PLANT	-	-	3	2	2	0.7%
OTHER: DISEASE, HUMAN CREATION, LEGACY	2	1	1	1	2	0.7%
Total	265	**165**	188	**115**	280	100%

In this section, the three most numerous source domains in the Lithuanian sub-corpus will be discussed in greater detail and the most interesting cases of metaphor realisation will be highlighted.

4.5.1.1 OBJECT

As indicated in Table 7 above, OBJECT is the most productive source domain in the Lithuanian data analysed. This source domain accounts for nearly half of all the metaphorical expressions found. Bearing in mind the number of examples in this broad category it is rather difficult to establish the most typical features of an object. However, certain reoccurring attributes allowed identifying this source domain, namely, measurability, materiality, reference to mechanism or puzzle. Other less frequent attributes will be discussed further in the section.

Typically, metaphorical patterns are made by combining words that refer to abstract notions with concrete words in the immediate environment surrounding the abstract word in question. Objects are usually material, they can be touched, held, measured, etc., thus they are more concrete. Based on the data, contextual words such as *smulkus/stambus* (petty/grand)*, lygis* (level)*, rodiklis* (rate)*, žemėlapis* (map) and *indeksas* (index) indicated the attribute of

---

[5]The abbreviation MEs is used to refer to metaphorical expressions.

measurability and allowed to place metaphorical expressions found under the category of OBJECT metaphor. Consider the following examples:

(1) *Labai svarbu, kad nebūtų sudarytų sąlygų <u>smulkiosios korupcijos</u> atvejams* (…). [STT2]

  'It is important not to create conditions for <u>petty corruption</u> cases (…)'[6]

(2) *Per pastaruosius kelerius metus bendras savivaldybių <u>skaidrumo lygis</u> išaugo.* [TILT21]

  'Over the last few years, the overall <u>level of transparency</u> in municipalities has increased.'

(3) (…) *Artimiausio dešimtmečio uždavinys – <u>mažinti korupciją</u> politikoje* (…). [TILT22]

  '(…) The objective for the next decade is to <u>reduce corruption</u> in politics (…).'

(4) *STT atstovė pristatė Tarnybos inicijuoto tyrimo „Lietuvos <u>korupcijos žemėlapis</u> 2020" duomenis.* [STT23]

  'The representative of STT presented the data of the survey "Lithuanian <u>Map of Corruption</u> 2020" initiated by the Service'

In example (1) corruption is realised as consisting of small particles that can be felt touching with one's palms. In (2) and (3) there is an indication of a scale that can be moved upwards and downwards according to the desired result. The lower the corruption scale, the better, logically, with the scale of transparency it is vice versa: the higher the transparency, the better. Example (4) shows that corruption can be represented graphically on a drawing of the surface of land (DLKŽ) and mapped as territory.

Another dominant attribute of the OBJECT is materiality, for example, spread or resistance to physical activity point at a material. The following are examples where this aspect is identifiable:

(5) (…) *aiškinomės, kaip įvairiose institucijose yra <u>paplitusi korupcija</u>,* (…). [STT7]

  '(…) we investigated how <u>widespread corruption</u> is in various institutions, (…).'

(6) *Sveikatos sektoriui būdingas <u>korupcijos mastas</u> – nuo smulkiausio iki stambiausio.* [STT22]

  'The <u>scale of corruption</u> in the health sector ranges from the lowest to the highest.'

(7) *Ar valstybė pasiruošusi naujam <u>atsparumo korupcijai</u> testui?* [TILT38]

  'Is the state ready for a new <u>corruption resistance</u> test?'

In example (5) and (6) corruption is objectified as having a dimension that tends to expand in size, similar to water or scent. Interestingly, in example (7) *atsparumas* (resistance) indicates a

---

[6] Hereafter the translation is done by the author of the paper.

scenario where an object does not yield to external action or forces (DLKŽ) e.g. a waterproof raincoat. According to this scenario, i.e., a description of possible actions and/or outcomes, corruption is realised as the force that may breach the state.

Apart from the most numerous examples of the OBJECT metaphor, there were a few interesting cases that are worth considering. It should be emphasised that they were single occurrences. Here are some of the most unexpected realisations of the source domain of OBJECT:

(8) (…) *kaip prastas sumanymas, kuris dar labiau pravertų politinės korupcijos skrynią.* [TILT42]

'(…) a poor idea that would further open the chest of political corruption.'

(9) *Kriminalinė žvalgyba, neviešo pobūdžio veiksmai, yra būtini, siekiant atskleisti korupcinius nusikaltimus,* (…). [STT20]

'Criminal intelligence, non-public actions are necessary to expose corruption crimes, (…).'

Example (8) suggests that corruption may be placed in a container, in this case, a chest. Arguably, it could be interpreted as a reference to Pandora's box, a source of unforeseen curses and troubles. Corruption not only can be placed in a chest, but also may be revealed. In (9) corruption is realised as a hidden object that is kept in secret, behind closed curtains or a veil. This element of hiding occurs in some other cases as well.

Moreover, corruption in the Lithuanian sub-corpus was realised as other rather specific objects:

(10) (…) *kyšininkavimas yra viešosios paslaugos brokas, kuriam ne vieta demokratinėje gerovės valstybėje,* (…). [TILT2]

'(…) bribery is a public service defect that has no place in a democratic welfare state, (…).'

(11) (…) *kiekvienas Lietuvos gyventojas jaus atsakomybę netoleruoti korupcijos,* (…). [STT30]

'(…) every Lithuanian resident will feel the responsibility not to tolerate corruption, (…).'

It appears that corruption may be interpreted via a scenario where a product or good has a defect, as seen in example (10). What is more, a few cases were found where corruption is realised as food or medicine. Example (11) above shows that corruption can be tolerated, i.e. be used or consumed (DLKŽ). However, differently from food intolerance, not being able to tolerate corruption can be interpreted as a positive result for both person and state. Despite these specific realisations of the OBJECT source domain, in the majority of cases, it was rather difficult to

accurately determine what kind of object is indicated in the immediate environment of the abstract word in question. The reason could be that the characteristics of the object were rather blurred or a more accurate description of the object was not the key element for the target domain conceptualisation.

4.5.1.2 FIGHT

The second most prominent source domain in the Lithuanian sub-corpus is FIGHT. More than one third of all the cases can be attributed to this source domain (see Table 7). It is usually signalled by the following words: *fight, damage, risks, enemies*, etc. Consider examples below:

(12) (…) *apklausos rezultatai siunčia aiškią žinią: seni <u>kovos su korupcija</u> metodai Lietuvai nebetinka.* [TILT2]

'(…) the results of the survey send a clear message: the old methods of <u>fighting corruption</u> are no longer suitable for Lithuania.'

(13) *Tarptautinės <u>už skaidrumą kovojančios</u> organizacijos „Transparency International" Lietuvos skyrius* (…). [TILT22]

'International organisation's <u>fighting for transparency</u> "Transparency International" Lithuanian Chapter (…).'

(14) (…) *ieškant sprendimų, kaip <u>išsivaduoti iš korupcijos pinklių</u>.* [STT30]

'(…) searching for solutions how <u>to liberate from the corruption trap</u>.'

(15) (…) *tačiau toks funkcijų derinys* (…) – *<u>sprogstamasis korupcijos rizikų mišinys</u>.* [STT12]

'(…) however, this combination of functions (…) is <u>an explosive mixture of corruption risks</u>.'

The CORRUPTION IS AN ENEMY metaphor is rather well established in the Lithuanian discourse. It is, after all, a dead metaphor, very well-entrenched in the language. Corruption is seen as a phenomenon that is fought against (12), needs to be avoided or escaped from (14), or raises potential risks (15). As can be seen from a variety of examples, the FIGHT source domain is realised both in more entrenched scenario of a rather straightforward fight (see examples 12 and 13) and in more thrilling variations, e.g. in (15) and others. In contrast, example (13) shows that transparency is realised as a wanted effect or an ally who needs to be protected and fought for.

As already noted, more than one metaphor may be identified in the same utterance. In example (14) FIGHT metaphor is linked to an OBJECT metaphor which is indicated by the word *pinklės* (trap). The word is an indication of a weaved trap that entails the difficulty of unweaving this

intricacy. Moreover, it could be claimed that the person who is responsible for the production of the weaved trap is clever, that is why getting out of the trap is difficult. In other words, corruption is shown as something that is hard to understand, escape from and rather easy to be entangled in, and thus should be avoided.

Example (15) suggests that uncontrollable corruption risks can be interpreted as a time sensitive bomb that will be detonated if no precautions or preventative measures are taken. The context word *mixture* enhances this impression and indicates the challenge of solving this issue, i.e., defusing this bomb. Additionally, waiting in this situation could be perceived as harmful.

Within the source domain FIGHT, some attributes that would refer to human beings or active agents, for example, evil entity causing damage are also found, e.g.:

(16) (…) *suteikėme progą ir platformas diskutuoti apie <u>korupcijos žalą</u> ir skaidrumo naudą,* (…). [STT7]

'(…) we provided an opportunity and platforms to discuss the <u>damage of corruption</u> and benefits of transparency, (…).'

In other cases, however, there is an indication of resistance rather than a fight, this can be seen in more than 50 examples of an established collocation "corruption prevention":

(17) *Informacija apie kandidatus į rinkimus – svarbi geresnei <u>korupcijos prevencijai</u> užtikrinti*. [TILT10]

'Information on election candidates is important to ensure better <u>corruption prevention</u>.'

The word *prevencija* (prevention) refers to certain obstruction or anticipation (LKŽ, DLKŽ) rather than a direct fight. Interestingly, prevention also entails resistance where coercion leads to wanted or beneficial goals. Thus, arguably, within the FIGHT metaphor, a spectrum of intensity may be witnessed which begins with unwillingness or reluctance and ends with a fierce fight and vast damage to anyone involved.

4.5.1.3 PERSON/ANIMAL

Identified in 10 per cent of all metaphorical expressions, personification is the third most dominant source domain in the Lithuanian sub-corpus (Table 7). In the cases analysed, corruption is described as a person who has an attitude, preferences or can be controlled, for example:

(18) <u>*Korupcijos požiūriu*</u>, *sveikatos apsaugos sritis – viena rizikingiausių* (…). [STT22]

'<u>From a corruption point of view</u>, health care is one of the riskiest areas (…).'

(19) (…) *iki šiol dažnai <u>antikorupcija</u> savivaldybėse <u>buvo pamestinukės vietoje</u>*. [TILT13]

'(…) till now <u>anti-corruption</u> in municipalities <u>has</u> often <u>been treated as an abandoned child</u>.'

It is worth noting that such metaphorical expressions as *korupcijos požiūriu* (from the point of view of corruption) are well established and to many non-scholars would be rather difficult to identify. Nevertheless, in example (18), attitude is one of the attributes that a human being usually has, thus the utterance is metaphorical. In contrast with (18), in (19) corruption is compared to an abandoned child which shows a certain innovation of the author in realising this source domain. In other words, this conceptualisation of corruption is unique in the data analysed. In this scenario, the anti-corruption (an opposition to corruption) can be interpreted as someone who is not cared about or not taken care of, maybe also hurt. Given this, the person is not in the best place to be in. Moreover, in Lithuanian *corruption* is a feminine gender noun, that is why *pamestinukė* refers to a female child, a girl, which makes this example even more delicate. No such indication is possible in the English language. It could also be claimed that different stages of a person's life may be relevant in the realisation of corruption metaphors.

A few cases were found where it is rather difficult to decide whether corruption is associated with a person or an animal and could thus be referred to as a living being, e.g.:

(20) *Pabėgimo kambarys „Išsivaduok iš korupcijos" leido „uždaryti" korupciją kambaryje* (…). [STT7]
'An escape room "Liberate from Corruption" allowed to <u>"close" corruption in a room</u> (…).'

The inverted commas in example (20) may suggest that the author of the text is aware of the indirect meaning of the word *close*. In other words, the inverted commas are indicative of purposeful wordplay. The word *uždaryti* may also imply confinement of corruption. It is not clear, whether a person, most likely a child, or an animal, such as a pet is meant in this case.

Sometimes corruption can be interpreted as a living organism as in example (21):

(21) <u>*Korupcijos ir šešėlio simbiozė*</u> (…). [STT1]
'<u>A symbiosis of corruption</u> and shadow [economy] (…).'

There are two unconventional "organisms" in this example, namely, corruption and the shadow economy, both of them are metaphorical. Symbiosis is defined as a close coexistence of the two organisms that usually benefits them (LKŽ); interestingly, the coexistence in this case can only entail a bad result for everyone except those two mentioned organisms.

In other cases, *corruption* or *transparency* is rather clearly described as an animal:

(22) (…) *indekso rezultatai rodo, kad viešasis sektorius <u>turi prisijaukinti skaidrumą</u>* (…).
[TILT4]

'(…) results of the index show that the public sector <u>needs to tame transparency</u> (…).'

Example (22) shows transparency as a wild animal that should be domesticated or tamed to benefit from it. Perhaps the animal represents a new perception or understanding of transparency and the active role that the public may need to take to become the *owners* of transparency. This conceptualisation may also mean taking on more responsibility. Nevertheless, not in all cases the realisation of an animal is positive or neutral, consider the following example:

(23) (…) *kritikų ir komentatorių, kuriančių savą krrraupiąją istoriją api <u>krrraupiąją korupcijos prevenciją</u>, interpretacijas.* [STT18]

'(…) interpretations by critics and commentators who create their own scarrry stories about the <u>horrrible corruption prevention</u>.'

In this case, by the emphatic *krrraupiąją[7] (horrible or dreadful) the author portrays corruption as a beast that is uncomfortable and scary (DLKŽ) to encounter. Moreover, (23) is a great example of alliteration when the letter "k" is tripled in *kraupiąją korupcijos prevenciją.* The emphasis on the sound "r" may also be interpreted as an imitation of a roar. It appears that like in (19), corruption prevention is once again portrayed as an entity that is neglected and should be avoided due to possible complications it may cause.

4.5.2 English sub-corpus

Despite a relatively larger size of the English sub-corpus (as discussed in the Data section), there were fewer metaphorical expressions found. The results show that the most dominant source domains to conceptualise corruption in the English public discourse are the same as in Lithuanian: OBJECT, FIGHT, and PERSON/ANIMAL. Bearing in mind the findings of other researchers, this result is unexpected and possible causes will be suggested further in the paper.

In the English sub-corpus, however, the frequencies of the source domains are more evenly distributed in comparison to the Lithuanian sub-corpus (Table 7). Moreover, an additional source domain related to space and movement was found only in the English sub-corpus. Consider the list of source domains and raw and normalised frequencies of metaphorical expressions in the English sub-corpus in Table 8 below. The frequencies in the corpus were normalised per 10, 000 words.

---

[7] Deliberately written a grammatically incorrect word.

Table 8. Metaphor source domains in the English sub-corpus

Source domain	FBI		TI		Total normalised freq. of MEs	
	Raw freq. of MEs	Normalised freq. of MEs	Raw freq. of MEs	Normalised freq. of MEs		
OBJECT	39	18	100	50	68	45%
FIGHT	4	2	86	43	45	30%
PERSON/ANIMAL	5	3	44	22	25	16.5%
PLANT	4	2	6	3	5	3.3%
SPATIAL	-	-	11	5	5	3.3%
VEHICLE	-	-	3	1	1	0.6%
OTHER: CONTAINER, DIRT, DISEASE, JOURNEY	-	-	4	2	2	1.3%
Total	52	**25**	254	**126**	151	**100%**

Following the already established structure of this section, the three most dominant source domains will be discussed in more detail. Major tendencies of the metaphoricity in the English sub-corpus will be discussed further, simultaneously comparing them to the results of the Lithuanian sub-corpus.

4.5.2.1 OBJECT

As can be seen in Table 8 above, almost half of the metaphorical expressions in the English sub-corpus were attributed to the OBJECT source domain. In most cases, this source domain is signalled by such words as *schemes, levels, rates,* that indicate measurability. For example:

(24) *Our analysis shows that such <u>corruption schemes</u> – often facilitated by advanced economies* (…). [TI1]

(25) *Governments blatantly ignored civil society's calls to address <u>grand corruption</u> – so much so that they refused to even acknowledge it.* [TI4]

(26) (…) *while countries with <u>lower levels of corruption</u> exhibited, on average, a more democratic handling of the pandemic,* (…). [TI14]

The word *scheme* in (24) suggests that corruption can be planned and has a certain system (CD) that could be presented on a sheet of paper or board. In example (25) a scale of size is indicated which is also attributed to objects that are tangible. Such cases of measurability and tangibility were also found in the Lithuanian sub-corpus. Corruption can also be measured in terms of levels as in (26), suggesting a vertical scale of measurement. Once again, the lower the level on the scale is, the better situation in the country can be seen. Naturally, when it comes to such matters as crime rate or cases of corruption, the best possible result is no result at all, which means that there is no crime or corruption.

The most frequent characteristics of the OBJECT source domain are similar in both sub-corpora, first, the already discussed measurability, and second, the element of hiding. Consider the following examples:

(27) *Protect all who* <u>*expose corruption*</u>*, including through fully transposing the EU Whistleblower Protection Directive* (…). [TI9]

(28) <u>*Keeping corruption out of the public eye*</u> *is essential to ensure that those who participate in it face no consequences.* [TI3]

Like in utterance (27), in most cases, an urge for revelation can be witnessed. Such words as *expose* or *disguise* indicate that something is not seen and needs to be uncovered. Moreover, in (28) another layer of this scenario is given since hiding corruption is beneficial to those who are involved in criminal acts, such as criminals. By keeping corruption out of the public eye, corrupt individuals ensure that no questions will be asked and reduce the possibility of retaliation. To put it differently, it is crucial that the public keeps an eye on potential corruption.

In the examples discussed above, there is almost no indication of what kind of object corruption is realised as. This was seen in the Lithuanian sub-corpus as well. In other cases, the OBJECT source domain is more specific:

(29) *Linares played integral roles in the corrupt scheme* <u>*to funnel*</u> *Odebrecht* <u>*bribes*</u> *to a high-ranking Panamanian government official,* (…). [FBI15]

(30) *In his plea agreement, Nuru admits he received* <u>*a stream of bribes*</u> *from Walter Wong.* [FBI11]

(31) *In other cases,* <u>*corruption might permeate*</u> *the administration of justice* (…). [TI3]

Example (29) suggests that bribes or corruption in general can be poured as a liquid or powder through a narrow neck of a funnel. This scenario can be interpreted accordingly: the scale of corruption is so great that specific tools are necessary to channel the money appropriately and achieve the desired result. This scenario is also reflected in (30) with an indication of water continuously flowing along a bed on the earth (OED), e.g. *a stream*.

As can be seen in example (31), control of corruption is necessary in order to avoid its deeper penetration and spread (OED). In this case, corruption is once again realised as a liquid. The "spillage" of corruption is shown as an unwanted effect that should be avoided at any cost. Interestingly, the realisation of corruption as a liquid or powdery object is not found in the Lithuanian sub-corpus and arguably, is unique to the English public discourse.

The following are a few more diverse examples of the OBJECT source domain in the English sub-corpus. In some cases, corruption in the Lithuanian sub-corpus is realised as food or medicine, this can also be observed in the English sub-corpus:

(32) *We will <u>not tolerate public corruption</u> and will hold perpetrators accountable for their actions.* [FBI11]

The same verb, *tolerate* is used in both sub-corpora, which could be interpreted as an instance of the same international public discourse on corruption. Such established collocations as *food/drug intolerance* suggest that in this example corruption is conceptualised through the source domain of food or medicine.

Another interesting case of corruption realisation can be seen in (33):

(33) *(…) foreign bribery, as shown by our recent <u>Exporting Corruption</u> report.* [TI12]

The contextual word *exporting* allows the interpretation of corruption as a commodity that is sent from one country to another (OED). Arguably, countries on the receiving end do not wish to import corruption willingly; however, this process remains unhindered by the will of another country.

The last example of the OBJECT source domain that is worth mentioning is the following:

(34) *But police officers <u>who line their pockets with bribes,</u> no matter how big or small will be held accountable for* (…). [FBI28]

In the case above, corruption, more precisely, bribes, is shown as an object that can be put in a person's pocket, thus having a rather clear limitation in terms of size. In addition, the metaphorical expression is enriched with an idiom *to line one's pocket,* i.e. to earn money using dishonest or illegal methods (CD).

The findings about the OBJECT source domain in the present study are comparable to the findings of other scholars. On several occasions they have pointed out the prominence of this source domain. The OBJECT is the most frequent source domain in other studies related to Lithuanian legal discourse such as Šeškauskienė and Stepančuk (2014), Šeškauskienė, Talačka and Niunka (2016), Šeškauskienė and Urbonaitė (2018). Moreover, conceptualising corruption through the source domain of an OBJECT[8] is also prevalent in the Spanish press discourse (Negro 2015).

---

[8] Due to terminology differences, the OBJECT source domain in the article is referred as ENTITY.

4.5.2.2 FIGHT

FIGHT was the second most dominant source domain in the Lithuanian sub-corpus, this can also be seen in the English sub-corpus. The domain amounts to almost one third of all metaphorical expression (see Table 8). The results of the analysis suggest that the metaphor is well established in both sub-corpora. Contextual words, *fighting (against), combatting, tackling, controlling, safeguards*, etc. point at FIGHT metaphor. In most cases, the realisation of corruption as an enemy is rather straightforward, for example:

(35) *This case is part of a larger federal investigation <u>targeting public corruption</u> in the City and County of San Francisco.* [FBI11]

(36) *(…) organisations to bring collective compensation claims on behalf of <u>victims of corruption</u>.* [TI4]

In (35) corruption becomes the enemy at which weapons are aimed. This interpretation is based on the analysis of the metaphorical pattern which involves the word *targeting*. Example (36) demonstrates the aftermath of facing corruption, the casualties of the damage caused. This again suggests that corruption should be avoided.

Like in the Lithuanian sub-corpus, a certain spectrum of intensity in metaphorical expressions related to FIGHT can also be found in the English sub-corpus. For example, in some cases, there is no clear indication of a direct fight or violence. However, there is a realisation of entrapment or liberation indirectly suggest the fight scenario:

(37) *(…) hold power to account, trapping them in a <u>vicious cycle of corruption</u> and oppression.* [TI2]

(38) *Detroit deserve a city government that is <u>free of bribes and corruption</u>.* [FBI10]

Example (37) shows that corruption entraps the victims in a continuous unsolvable situation where one problem leads to another (CD). This example could be interpreted as a rather innovative perspective on the entrenched FIGHT metaphor. It implies, without a direct reference to a battle, a horrifying continuous situation, even suffering. In (38), liberation is demonstrated simultaneously realising corruption as an oppressor.

Furthermore, the spectrum of intensity of FIGHT metaphors is continued without a fight, but rather with resistance and prevention:

(39) *(…) countries with well-protected civil and political liberties generally <u>control corruption better</u>.* [TI1]

(40) *(…) failing to put adequate measures in place <u>to prevent the bribery</u> of foreign government officials (…).* [TI12]

(41) *Standing up to corruption can be difficult.* [TI7]

In all three examples above, like in the Lithuanian sub-corpus, unwillingness rather than fierce fight is expressed. It could be interpreted so that contextual words *control* in (39) and *prevention* in (40) show a desire to regain power. Moreover, a preparation to confront corruption is also identifiable. In other words, when facing corruption, countries may incur fewer damages if they have prepared safeguards in advance. In example (41) corruption could be interpreted not necessarily as an enemy, but rather as a bully, someone who hurts or frightens others. In this case, a scenario of defence and unfair treatment is indicated.

The findings of this study are in line with other scholars' argumentation on the prevalence of the FIGHT metaphor in legal discourse (for further details see Chiu and Chiang 2011). FIGHT metaphors are also quite common in a more focused legal discourse related to sports fraud (Campos-Pardillos 2019) and in other discourses such as English financial reporting discourse (Charteris-Black and Musolff 2003). Moreover, the WAR metaphor is claimed to be the single most popular metaphor in Anglo-American political discourse related to corruption (Jing-Schmidt and Peng 2007: 21).

4.5.2.3 PERSON/ANIMAL

As seen in the Lithuanian sub-corpus, the source domain PERSON/ANIMAL is also the third most frequent in the English data analysed. It resulted in a sixth of all the cases in the English sub-corpus (Table 8). In general, personification seems to be very common in legal or public discourse (Šeškauskienė and Stepančuk 2014; Šeškauskienė, Talačka and Niunka 2016; Šeškauskienė and Urbonaitė 2018, etc.). Unexpectedly, it was not as frequent in the data of this study.

In the English sub-corpus, the PERSON/ANIMAL metaphor is mostly signalled by the contextual words such as *undermines, affects, contributes, hinders*, etc. that point at active involvement, for example:

(42) (…) *Public corruption undermines the faith of the people in their leaders*. [FBI4]

(43) *Flawed framework, inertia in implementation thwarting transparency efforts*. [TI5]

(44) (…) *not only fosters criminal activity inside and outside of the prison, but it also insults the integrity of every law enforcement officer* (…). [FBI7]

As seen in the examples above, personification in the English sub-corpus often bears negative connotations, whereas in the Lithuanian sub-corpus it is more neutral or cannot be identified as positively or negatively connoted. In (42) corruption is understood as an evil entity that dugs

beneath the surface and gradually weakens and destroys (OED) where it acts, while in (43) it interferes with transparency. Moreover, in (44) corruption is also capable of offending someone, in this case, integrity. It is clear from a broader context of the utterance that in (44) *it* refers to corruption. The former two examples once again show the tendency that transparency/anti-corruption/integrity, or the opposition to corruption, is mostly shown as a victim of this scenario. This was also observed in the Lithuanian sub-corpus.

In other, less frequent metaphorical expressions, corruption is realised as a person than can be trusted or at least benefited from, e.g.:

(45) *Similarly, private actors can <u>rely on bribery</u> and/or personal connections to ensure that (…).* [TI3]

It is worth noting that unlike the Lithuanian sub-corpus, there are no indications of different stages of a person's life in the English sub-corpus. In addition, corruption is much less frequently conceptualised as an animal. Only several rather unique examples were found:

(46) *<u>Corruption</u> and emergencies <u>feed off each other</u>, (…).* [TI14]
(47) *(…) democratic decline, along with restrictions to fundamental freedoms and <u>rampant corruption</u>.* [TI3]

Example (46) shows that corruption is an animal, this is signalled by the phrase *feeds off* rather than *eats*. The question remains whether this animal can be controlled or tamed. What is more, a close two-way relationship between corruption and emergency, a dangerous or serious unexpected situation (CD), is indicated. This case resembles the symbiosis of corruption and shadow economy (21) mentioned in the Lithuanian sub-corpus. Bearing in mind the basic knowledge of the world and, for example, the current pandemic situation, this corruption-and-emergency relationship can be witnessed in reality, not just in the text. Example (47) suggests that corruption can be a fierce lion that rears or stands with the forepaws in the air (OED). Based on this, the corruption phenomenon is conceptualised through a rather threatening visualisation.

As already mentioned, it is not so common for personification to be among the less frequent source domains found. Arguably, the results of this paper may be determined by the selected sources of texts. In other words, the depersonalisation of institutional press releases and the use of third person self-reference may have contributed to the "depersonalisation" of the corruption metaphor.

Conclusions together with suggestions and recommendations for further research will be provided in the next section.

5. Conclusions

The present analysis of Lithuanian and English public discourse, more specifically, anti-corruption agencies and non-governmental organisations' press releases, has revealed that this type of discourse relies mainly on OBJECT, FIGHT and PERSON/ANIMAL source domains of conceptual metaphors where the target domain is LAW, or, more specifically, CORRUPTION. The source domains are distributed accordingly: the OBJECT source domain accounts for nearly half of all metaphors found in Lithuanian and close to half in the English sub-corpus; the FIGHT source domain accounts for more than one third and almost a third of metaphors found in Lithuanian and English public discourses; finally, the source domain PERSON/ANIMAL is found in one tenth of metaphors in Lithuanian and one sixth of metaphors in the English public discourse.

The OBJECT metaphors turned out to be the most productive in both sub-corpora, Lithuanian and English. The findings suggest that the conceptualisation of corruption in terms of OBJECT is manifested through such features as measurability and materiality. In the Lithuanian sub-corpus, at the linguistic level, the metaphor was realised through some specific images like chest, also food or medicine, while in the English sub-corpus the contextual clues suggested that the object was liquid, powder, sometimes conceptualised as a commodity, etc. In accordance with the theory chosen for this investigation, corruption, conceptualised as a more physical, tangible, measurable object, gives a better understanding of the phenomenon. Furthermore, such objectification allows both the experts in the field and the public to reason about possible tackling of corruption.

The second major source domain in the data analysed is FIGHT. There is a prevalent tendency to perceive corruption as something that can be fought with, controlled, liberate from, which can cause serious damage, in other words, corruption is conceptualised as an enemy. This metaphor is almost to the same extent identifiable in both Lithuanian and English sub-corpora. Unexpectedly, the analysis of FIGHT metaphors revealed that such metaphors may be placed on a spectrum of intensity of the fight, from active, open fight to passive resistance. The well-entrenched metaphor may suggest that dealing with corruption is a continuous process that will remain persistent until the public unanimously decides that corruption needs to be stopped, hence the negative connotation of the enemy.

During the analysis, another source domain of conceptual metaphor became salient, namely, PERSON/ANIMAL, it was mostly identified by such contextual clues as attitude, active involvement or other characteristics that would only apply to a living being. Moreover,

corruption and transparency were conceptualised as ANIMAL; however, corruption as a beast had a more negative connotation, while transparency as a pet was realised in a positive light. Personification in the Lithuanian sub-corpus was realised through images like child, organism, and rarely a beast, thus it was more neutral, whereas in the English sub-corpus personification often bore a negative connotation which was signalled by the words as undermine, insult, etc. The personification of corruption and transparency might have several implications. Understanding corruption in terms of a living being or person suggests that it is active and capable of affecting others; at the same time, it may also be more actively responsive to any impact from outside. On the other hand, the perception of anti-corruption/transparency as someone forgotten, abandoned or even hurt may invoke instinctive care; therefore, transparency would be nurtured to a greater extent.

Overall, the assumption that there will be differences in discourse formed due to the nature of the organisation, namely, governmental vs. non-governmental, was confirmed. It appears that the non-governmental organisations' press releases on the topics of corruption and transparency, unlike those by the law enforcement institutions, are much freer and characterised by a greater variety of metaphors. This variety, especially in the Lithuanian public discourse, is also largely determined by the expert, evaluative insights of specific spokespersons, which complement other, more entrenched metaphors, such as *fight against corruption, corruption prevention* and others. Moreover, it was uncovered that anti-corruption/transparency is still considered at a disadvantage while hostility towards corruption is demonstrated in the metaphors analysed. Perhaps such metaphors reflect the prevailing attitudes in society.

The analysis was based on a limited manually compiled data corpus and manifested some interesting tendencies. They are in line with previous research; however, in further research they could be verified on a larger corpus. It would be interesting to extend the analysis of corruption metaphors by comparing the tendencies identified in the corpus of expert opinions to those of media representatives commenting on the same issues. One more possibility for further research would be to investigate what source domains that conceptualise corruption are prevalent in the discourse formed by the judicial system, which is characterised by texts of evaluative nature. Bearing in mind the importance of challenges that corruption poses in any country, it seems that there may be a pressing need for broader cross-linguistic studies on corruption conceptualisation to be pursued by other researchers.

6. Data sources

Federal Bureau of Investigation (official website), available from: https://www.fbi.gov/.

Special Investigation Service of the Republic of Lithuania (official website), available from: https://www.stt.lt/.

Transparency International (official website), available from: https://www.transparency.org/en.

Transparency International Lithuanian Chapter (official website), available from: https://www.transparency.lt/.[9]

7. References

Ambrazevičiūtė, K., E. Kavoliūnaitė-Ragauskienė and P. Ragauskas. 2020. *Korupcija privačiame sektoriuje* (Corruption in the private sector). Vilnius: Lietuvos teisės institutas.

Anthony, L. 2021. *AntConc* (Version 3.5.8) (Computer Software). Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University, available from: https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/.

Biswas, A. K. and C. Tortajada. 2018. *From Ancestors to Modern Leaders, All Do it: The story of corruption*, available from: https://theconversation.com/from-our-ancestors-to-modern-leaders-all-do-it-the-story-of-corruption-102164.

CD—*Cambridge Dictionary*, available from: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/.

Campos-Pardillos, M. A. 2019. Fighting for integrity against a corruption disease: The legal metaphors of sports fraud, in M. Callies and M. Levin (eds) *Corpus Approaches to the Language of Sports: Texts, Media, Modalities*. London: Bloomsbury. 161–179.

Charteris-Black, J. and A. Musolff. 2003. 'Battered hero' or 'innocent victim'? A comparative study of metaphors for euro trading in British and German financial reporting. *English for Specific Purposes* 22: 153–176.

Chiu, S. and W. Chiang. 2011. Fight Metaphors in Legal Discourse: What is unsaid in the story? *Language and Linguistics* 12(4): 877–915.

Corruption Perceptions Index 2021 available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2021/index/ltu.

DLKŽ—*Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (Dictionary of Contemporary Lithuanian), available from: https://ekalba.lt/dabartines-lietuviu-kalbos-zodynas/.

---

[9] The full list of texts analysed is provided in the Appendix 1.

Ebbesson, J. 2008. Law, power and language: Beware of metaphors. *Scandinavian Studies in Law* 53: 259–269.

Forceville, Ch. 2016. Pictorial and multimodal metaphor, in M. Klug and H. Stockl (eds) *Handbuch Sprache im multimodalen Kontext* (The Language in Multimodal Contexts Handbook). Linguistic Knowledge Series. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 241–260.

Gedzevičienė, D. 2016. Nusikaltėlio ir nusikaltimo metaforos Lietuvos viešajame kriminologiniame diskurse (Metaphors of criminal and crime in Lithuanian public criminological discourse). *Res Humanitariae* 19: 79–96.

Gedzevičienė, D. 2016. Metaforinių scenarijų realizacija Lietuvos viešajame kriminologiniame diskurse (Realisation of metaphorical scenarios in Lithuanian public criminological discourse), in J. Paužaitė-Kulvinskienė and P. Ragauskas (eds) *Ketvirtis amžiaus tiriant ir reformuojant Lietuvos teisinę sistemą*. Vilnius: Akademinė leidyba. 267–295.

Gibbs, R. W., Jr. and M. Tendahl. 2008. Complementary perspectives on metaphor: Cognitive linguistics and relevance theory. *Journal of Pragmatics* 40(11): 1823–1864.

Jacobs, G. 2014. Press releases in K. P. Schneider and A. Barron (eds) *Pragmatics of Discourse*. De Gruyter Mouton. 583–599.

Jing-Schmidt, Z. and X. Peng. 2007. Winds and tigers: metaphor choice in China's anticorruption discourse. *Lingua Sinica* 3(2): 1–26.

Kövecses, Z. 2002. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G., J. Espenson and A. Schwartz. 1991. *Master Metaphor List*. Berkeley: University of California.

Lakoff, G. 1993. The contemporary theory of metaphor, in A. Ortony (ed.) *Metaphor and Thought* (2nd Edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 202–251.

Lassen, I. 2006. Is the press release a genre? A study of form and content. *Discourse Studies* 8(4): 503–530.

LKŽ—*Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (Dictionary of Lithuanian), available from: http://www.lkz.lt/.

Lietuvos korupcijos žemėlapis (Lithuanian Map of corruption). 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/analitine-antikorupcine-zvalgyba/lietuvos-korupcijos-zemelapis/7437.

Lietuvos Respublikos korupcijos prevencijos įstatymas (Republic of Lithuanian Law on Corruption Prevention), available from: https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.168154/asr.

Lietuvos Respublikos nacionalinė kovos su korupcija 2015-2025 metų programa (National Anti-corruption Programme of the Republic of Lithuanian for 2015-2025), available from: https://www.e-tar.lt/portal/lt/legalAct/25c529d0cbcd11e4aaa0e90fce879681.

Lloyd, H. A. 2016. Law as Trope: Framing and evaluating conceptual metaphors. *Pace Law Review* 37(1): 89–114.

Luchjenbroers, J. and M. Aldridge. 2007. Conceptual manipulation by metaphors and frames: Dealing with rape victims in legal discourse. *Text and Talk* 27(3): 339–359.

Navickienė, Ž. and A. Gutauskas. 2019. Skaidrumas ir viešumas *versus* konfidencialumas: praktinės šių etikos principų realizavimo gairės Lietuvos teisėjų veikloje (Transparency and publicity versus confidentiality: Guidelines for implementing ethical principles in the activities of Lithuanian judges). *Societal Studies* 11(1): 99–113.

Negro, I. 2015. Corruption is dirt: Metaphors for political corruption in the Spanish press. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 92(3): 213–238.

OED—*Oxford English Dictionary*, available from: https://www.oed.com/.

Orts, M. A. and A. Almela. 2014. Corruption in words: A study of Spanish and English criminal terminology in Europe. *Language for Specific Purposes Journal* 5(1): 21–40.

Philippopoulus-Mihalopoulos, A. 2016. Flesh of the law: Material legal metaphors. *Journal of Law and Society* 43(1): 45–65.

Pragglejaz group. 2007. MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol* 22(1): 1–39.

Sellers, M. 2003. Ideals of public discourse, in M. N. S. Sellers *Republican Legal Theory* (Chapter 8)*.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Šeškauskienė, I. 2012. Metaforų tyrimo klausimu, arba kaip nustatyti metaforas (On metaphor research methodology, or how to identify metaphors). *Darbai ir dienos* 58: 65–79. Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo Universitetas.

Šeškauskienė, I. and J. Stepančuk. 2014. Evidence speaks for itself: Metaphors in courtroom hearings. *Filologija* 19: 102–120.

Šeškauskienė, I., M. Talačka and V. Niunka. 2016. How dirty is dirty money in English and Lithuanian? Metaphors in EU directives on some criminal matters: a cross-linguistic analysis. *Žmogus ir žodis / Man and The Word: Foreign Languages* 18(3): 80–102.

Šeškauskienė, I. and J. Urbonaitė. 2018. Deprivation of liberty or imprisonment? Metaphorical motivation of some terms in the Criminal Code of the Republic of Lithuania and their translation into English. *International Journal of Legal Discourse* 3(2): 1–23.

Specialusis Eurobarometras Nr. 502: Korupcija (Special Eurobarometer 502: Corruption). 2020. Overview of Lithuanian results available from: https://www.stt.lt/doclib/ewuhagqraznuwz75puc641dpdbw4mmf7.

Steen, G. J. 1999. From linguistic to conceptual metaphor in five steps, in R. W. Gibbs Jr. and G. J. Steen (eds) *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 57–77.

Steen, G. 2008. Finding metaphor in discourse: Pragglejaz and beyond. *Culture, Language and Representation* 5: 9–25.

Steen, G. J., A. G. Dorst, J. B. Herrmann, A. A. Kaal and T. Krennmayr. 2010. Metaphor in usage. *Cognitive Linguistics* 21(4): 757–788.

Steen, G. 2011. The contemporary theory of metaphor — Now new and improved! *Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 9(1): 26–64.

Stefanowitsch, A. 2004. Happiness in English and German: A metaphorical patterns analysis, in M. Achard and S. Kemmer (eds) *Language, Culture, and Mind.* CSLI Publications. 137–149.

Stefanowitsch, A. 2006. Words and Their Metaphors: A corpus-based approach, in W. Bisang, H. H. Hock and W. Winter (eds) *Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 171.* New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 63–105.

Strobbe, I. and G. Jacobs. 2005. E-releases: A view from linguistic pragmatics. *Public Relations Review* 31: 289–291.

Swales, J. 1990. *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tänzler, D. 2007. Corruption as a metaphor. *Crime and Culture. Discussion Paper Series No. 8*. Konstanz: University of Konstanz.

Tiersma, P. M. and L. M. Solan (eds). 2012. *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Law.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thibodeau, P. H. and L. Boroditsky. 2011. Metaphors we think with: The role of metaphor in reasoning. *Public Library of Science One* 6(2): 1–11.

Transparency International Lietuvos skyrius (Lithuanian Chapter). 2009. *Korupcijos mįslės (The riddles of corruption)*. Vilnius: Eugrimas.

Transparency International. 2018. *10 Quotes about Corruption and Transparency to Inspire You*, available from: https://voices.transparency.org/10-quotes-about-corruption-and-transparency-to-inspire-you-cd107d594148.

Urbonaitė, J. 2015. Metaphor identification procedure MIPVU: An attempt to apply it to Lithuanian. *Taikomoji kalbotyra* 7: 1–25.

Urbonaitė, J., I. Šeškauskienė and J. Cibulskienė. 2019. Linguistic metaphor identification in Lithuanian, in S. Nacey, A. G. Dorst, T. Krennmayr and W. G. Reijnierse (eds) *Metaphor Identification in Multiple Languages*. *MIPVU around the world*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. 159–182.

Vyriausioji tarnybinės etikos komisija (VTEK, Chief Official Ethics Commission). 2020. *Rekomendacinės gairės dėl dovanų ir paslaugų priėmimo apribojimų* (Recommended guidelines on restrictions of acceptance of gifts and services), available from: https://vtek.lt/images/Duomenys/VTEK_Rekomendacines_gaires_del_dovanu_ir_pasla ugu_priemimo_apribojimu_20200312_fin.pdf.

Yue, A. R. and L. Peters. 2015. Corruption as co-created rupture: A definitional etymological approach. *Ephemera theory & politics in organization* 15(2): 445–452.

8. Summary in Lithuanian

Besikeičiant kartoms ir kintant visuomenei, korupcija ir jos keliami iššūkiai išlieka aktualūs ir Lietuvoje, ir užsienio valstybėse. Metaforų tyrėjų įrodyta, kad konceptualiosios metaforos daro įtaką mūsų mąstymui, todėl, sąmoningai ir taikliai parinktos, jos gali iš esmės pakeisti visuomenės požiūrį ir elgesį susidūrus su tokiais reiškiniais kaip korupcija. Šiame darbe siekiama išanalizuoti korupcijos metaforas viešajame diskurse lietuvių ir anglų kalbomis. Tyrimo medžiagą sudaro šių institucijų ir organizacijų pranešimai spaudai bei jų atstovų ekspertinės nuomonės straipsniai: Lietuvos Respublikos specialiųjų tyrimų tarnybos (STT), Jungtinių Amerikos Valstijų Federalinio tyrimų biuro (FTB), „Transparency International" (TI) pagrindinio ir Lietuvos skyrių. Tekstynas susideda iš 119 tekstų, kiek daugiau nei 73 tūkst. žodžių. Pagrindiniai tyrimo tikslai: nustatyti abstraktaus korupcijos reiškinio konceptualizavimo šaltinio sritis (angl. *source domains*) ir palyginti metaforizacijos tendencijas abiejose kalbose. Šiam darbui pasirinktas metodas yra paremtas dažniausiai vartojamų žodžių (*keywords*) nustatymo naudojant „AntConc" programinę įrangą ir dalinės metaforų identifikavimo procedūros (*metaphor identification procedure,* MIP) deriniu.

Apžvelgus gautus tyrimo rezultatus paaiškėjo, kad, skirtingai nuo kitų autorių darbuose nustatytų tendencijų, tiek lietuvių, tiek anglų kalbos viešuosiuose diskursuose vyrauja OBJEKTO (OBJECT), KOVOS (FIGHT) ir ASMENS / GYVŪNO (PERSON/ANIMAL) šaltinio sritys. Labiausiai paplitusi šaltinio sritis yra OBJEKTAS, ji sudaro beveik pusę visų rastų metaforų viešajame diskurse lietuvių kalba ir kiek mažiau nei trečdalį metaforų anglų kalba, KOVOS šaltinio sritis atitinkamai priskirta daugiau negu trečdaliui lietuviškame ir beveik trečdaliui metaforų viešajame diskurse anglų kalba, trečioje vietoje esanti ASMENS / GYVŪNO šaltinio sritis – dešimtadaliui lietuviškame ir šeštadaliui angliškame diskurse rastų metaforų. Remiantis tyrimo duomenimis, daroma išvada, kad nevyriausybinių organizacijų viešojo diskurso formavimas korupcijos ir skaidrumo temomis, skirtingai nei teisėsaugos institucijų, yra kur kas laisvesnis ir pasižymi didesne metaforų įvairove. Ši įvairovė, ypač diskurse lietuvių kalba, yra nemaža dalimi nulemta konkrečių asmenybių, tokių kaip Rūta Kaziliūnaitė ar Sergejus Muravjovas, ekspertinėmis, vertinamojo pobūdžio įžvalgomis, kurios papildo kitas, labiau įsigalėjusias, metaforas, pavyzdžiui, *kovoti su korupcija*. Tolimesniuose tyrimuose būtų įdomu išplėsti korupcijos metaforų analizę ir palyginti nustatytas ekspertų formuojamo diskurso tendencijas su, pavyzdžiui, žiniasklaidos atstovų ar teismų sistemos formuluojamo diskurso korupcijos konceptualizavimu.

9. Appendices

Appendix 1. The full list of texts analysed

FBI1: *Florida Dentist Sentenced to 12 Months and a Day in Prison for Public Corruption Scheme Involving Former Arkansas State Senator*. January 24, 2022. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdar/pr/florida-dentist-sentenced-12-months-and-day-prison-public-corruption-scheme-involving.

FBI2: *Former Corrections Officer Sentenced in Public Corruption Case*. January 21, 2022. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdal/pr/former-corrections-officer-sentenced-public-corruption-case.

FBI3: *Penitas Public Servants Convicted*. January 21, 2022. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdtx/pr/penitas-public-servants-convicted.

FBI4: *Detroit City Councilman Andre Spivey Sentenced to Prison for Bribery Conspiracy*. January 19, 2022. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-edmi/pr/detroit-city-councilman-andre-spivey-sentenced-prison-bribery-conspiracy.

FBI5: *Former DoD OIG Official Sentenced for Accepting Bribes and Defrauding the United States*. January 14, 2022. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-edva/pr/former-dod-oig-official-sentenced-accepting-bribes-and-defrauding-united-states.

FBI6: *La Joya ISD Trustee Convicted in Bribery Conspiracy*. January 6, 2022. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdtx/pr/la-joya-isd-trustee-convicted-bribery-conspiracy.

FBI7: *Federal Corrections Officer and Inmates Charged with Bribery, Smuggling, and Drug Conspiracy*. December 30, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndga/pr/federal-corrections-officer-and-inmates-charged-bribery-smuggling-and-drug-conspiracy.

FBI8: *Connecticut Contractor Pleads Guilty to Paying Bribes for the Procurement of Consultation Contracts*. December 22, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-ma/pr/connecticut-contractor-pleads-guilty-paying-bribes-procurement-consultation-contracts.

FBI9: *Government Contractor Indicted for Bribing Public Official*. December 20, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/government-contractor-indicted-bribing-public-official.

FB10: *Former Detroit Police Detective Charged with Bribery*. December 17, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-edmi/pr/former-detroit-police-detective-charged-bribery.

FBI11: *Former San Francisco Public Works Director Admits to String of Briberies and Corruption During Years in Office*. December 17, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndca/pr/former-san-francisco-public-works-director-admits-string-briberies-and-corruption.

FBI12: *Guilty Pleas Entered and HISD Official Indicted in Federal Corruption Probe*. December 16, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdtx/pr/guilty-pleas-entered-and-hisd-official-indicted-federal-corruption-probe.

FBI13: *Former Mayor of Aguas Buenas Pleads Guilty to Accepting Bribes in Exchange for Ten Year Municipal Contract*. December 16, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-pr/pr/former-mayor-aguas-buenas-pleads-guilty-accepting-bribes-exchange-ten-year-municipal.

FBI14: *Former Netflix Executive Sentenced to 30 Months for Bribes and Kickbacks from Netflix Vendors*. December 14, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndca/pr/former-netflix-executive-sentenced-30-months-bribes-and-kickbacks-netflix-vendors.

FBI15: *Panamanian Intermediary Pleads Guilty for His Role in an International Bribery and Money Laundering Scheme*. December 14, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/panamanian-intermediary-pleads-guilty-his-role-international-bribery-and-money-1.

FBI16: *Six Individuals, Including a Village of Brewster Police Officer, Charged in Sex Trafficking and Bribery Scheme*. December 14, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/six-individuals-including-village-brewster-police-officer-charged-sex-trafficking-and.

FBI17: *Former Program Coordinator for the Kentucky Administrative Office of the Courts Sentenced for Bribery Scheme*. December 10, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdky/pr/former-program-coordinator-kentucky-administrative-office-courts-sentenced-bribery.

FBI18: *Mayor of Guaynabo Arrested for Accepting Bribes & Executive Assistant to Mayor of Trujillo Also Arrested for Accepting Bribes*. December 9, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-pr/pr/mayor-guaynabo-arrested-accepting-bribes-executive-assistant-mayor-trujillo-also-arrested.

FBI19: *Former Head of LADWP Agrees to Plead Guilty to Bribery Charge*. December 6, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/former-head-ladwp-agrees-plead-guilty-bribery-charge.

FBI20: *Mayor of Cataño Pleads Guilty to Accepting Bribes in Exchange for Millions in Municipal Contracts and Contractor Arrested for Paying Bribes*. December 2, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-pr/pr/mayor-cata-o-pleads-guilty-accepting-bribes-exchange-millions-municipal-contracts-and.

FBI21: *Former St. Tammany Parish Sheriff Jack Strain Pleads Guilty to Soliciting and Receiving Bribes Involving Contract for Privatization of Work Release Program in St. Tammany Parish*. December 1, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-edla/pr/former-st-tammany-parish-sheriff-jack-strain-pleads-guilty-soliciting-and-receiving.

FBI22: *Maryland Woman Sentenced for Paying More than $6,500 in Bribes to Metropolitan Police Department Employee Cash Was Paid for Personal Identifying Information of Traffic Crash Victims*. December 1, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/pr/maryland-woman-sentenced-paying-more-6500-bribes-metropolitan-police-department-employee.

FBI23: *City of Taylor Official Pleads Guilty to Accepting Bribes While Taylor's Manager of Community Development and Treasurer of Mayor Sollars' Campaign Fund*. November 30, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-edmi/pr/city-taylor-official-pleads-guilty-accepting-bribes-while-taylor-s-manager-community.

FBI24: *Goose Creek Correctional Center Officer Pleads Guilty to Conspiracy and Bribery Charges*. November 23, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-ak/pr/goose-creek-correctional-center-officer-pleads-guilty-conspiracy-and-bribery-charges.

FBI25: *Mother of FCI Petersburg Inmate who Spearheaded Bribery Scheme Sentenced*. November 19, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-edva/pr/mother-fci-petersburg-inmate-who-spearheaded-bribery-scheme-sentenced.

FBI26: *Former Crestwood Mayor Pleads Guilty to Participating in Bribery Scheme Involving Red-Light Camera Services*. November 17, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndil/pr/former-crestwood-mayor-pleads-guilty-participating-bribery-scheme-involving-red-light.

FBI27: *Texas Woman Pleads Guilty to Schemes to Procure Adoptions from Uganda and Poland through Bribery and Fraud*. November 17, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/texas-woman-pleads-guilty-schemes-procure-adoptions-uganda-and-poland-through-bribery-and.

FBI28: *Former Detroit Police Department Officer Pleads Guilty to Taking Bribes*. November 16, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-edmi/pr/former-detroit-police-department-officer-pleads-guilty-taking-bribes.

FBI29: *Local 98 Leader John Dougherty, Philadelphia City Councilmember Robert Henon Found Guilty of Public Corruption*. November 15, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-edpa/pr/local-98-leader-john-dougherty-philadelphia-city-councilmember-robert-henon-found.

FBI30: *Former Corrections Officer Sentenced to Prison for Role in Bribery Conspiracy Involving Contraband Cellphones Smuggled into the Indiana County Jail*. November 10, 2021. Available from: https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdpa/pr/former-corrections-officer-sentenced-prison-role-bribery-conspiracy-involving.

STT1: Kaziliūnaitė, R. *Korupcijos ir šešėlio simbiozė*. December 21, 2021. Available from: https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1568444/ruta-kaziliunaite-korupcijos-ir-seselio-simbioze.

STT2: *Apie korupcijos atvejus techninės apžiūros srityje*. December 20, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/apie-korupcijos-atvejus-technines-apziuros-srityje:3282.

STT3: Kaziliūnaitė, R. *Korupcija – grėsmė nacionaliniam saugumui?* November 8, 2021. Available from: https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1535220/ruta-kaziliunaite-korupcija-gresme-nacionaliniam-saugumui.

STT4: Kaziliūnaitė, R. *Skaidrūs viešieji pirkimai? Pradėkime nuo savęs*. November 8, 2021. Available from: https://www.statybunaujienos.lt/naujiena/Skaidrus-viesieji-pirkimai-Pradekime-nuo-saves/17717.

STT5: *Kodėl svarbu, kad verslo priežiūra būtų vykdoma skaidriai?* September 30, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/kodel-svarbu-kad-verslo-prieziura-butu-vykdoma-skaidriai:3217.

STT6: *Radijo byla: STT pristato naują e. mokymo platformą*. Septermber 23, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/radijo-byla-stt-pristato-nauja-e.-mokymo-platforma:3214.

STT7: *STT specialistas įvardino, nuo ko priklauso antikorupcinė aplinka*. September 21, 2021. Available from: https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/stt-secialistas-ivardino-nuo-ko-priklauso-antikorupcine-aplinka-

56-1568376?fbclid=IwAR1pe1iJvKBJgbp-tipmYg8W1WqvTidgDDNcR_M4QD9H4MUtWDyNsC7-J3k&copied.

STT8: *Mitas #10 – Ar tikrai STT yra sovietinis palikimas?* June 9, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/mitas-10-ar-tikrai-stt-yra-sovietinis-palikimas:3160.

STT9: Kaziliūnaitė, R. *Kaip neprisvilinti paramos teikimo proceso?* June 1, 2021. Available from: https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1422424/ruta-kaziliunaite-kaip-neprisvilinti-paramos-teikimo-proceso.

STT10: *Mitas #9 – Ar tikrai korupcijos prevencija yra betikslė veikla?* June 2, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/mitas-9-ar-tikrai-korupcijos-prevencija-yra-betiksle-veikla:3152.

STT11: *Mitas #8 – Ar tikrai STT vilkina bylas?* May 26, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/mitas-8-ar-tikrai-stt-vilkina-bylas:3143.

STT12: Kaziliūnaitė, R. *Korupcijos rizikos veiksniai ūkio subjektų priežiūroje: kur aš tai girdėjau?..* May 21, 2021. Available from: https://www.vz.lt/izvalgos/2021/05/21/r-kaziliunaite-korupcijos-rizikos-veiksniai-ukio-subjektu-prieziuroje-kur-as-tai-girdejau&icVk2.

STT13: *Mitas #7 – Ar tikrai korupcijos situacija Lietuvoje negerėja?* May 19, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/mitas-7-ar-tikrai-korupcijos-situacija-lietuvoje-negereja:3140.

STT14: *Mitas #6 – Ar tikrai STT veikla nukreipta prieš verslą?* May 12, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/mitas-6-ar-tikrai-stt-veikla-nukreipta-pries-versla:3132.

STT15: *Mitas #5 – Ar tikrai STT stengiasi įbauginti sulaikydama asmenis?* May 5, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/mitas-5-ar-tikrai-stt-stengiasi-ibauginti-sulaikydama-asmenis:3125.

STT16: *Įsidarbinti STT gali ne kiekvienas: pareigūnams svarbiausia – motyvacija.* May 3, 2021. Available from: https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/law/isidarbinti-stt-gali-ne-kiekvienas-pareigunams-svarbiausia-motyvacija.d?id=87093727&fbclid=IwAR1tmpp4wVP-uHJl3qLDgra3SeBYdFWHjkp630AeSpiZl6ihsFYmK0taVGA.

STT17: *Mitas #4 – ar tikrai STT rengia „juoduosius sąrašus"?* April 28, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/mitas-4-ar-tikrai-stt-rengia-juoduosius-sarasus:3119.

STT18: Kaziliūnaitė, R. *Krrraupioji korupcijos prevencija.* April 21, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/ruta-kaziliunaite.-krrraupioji-korupcijos-prevencija:3113.

STT19: *Mitas #3 – STT „užsakymų stalas"?* April 21, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/mitas-3-stt-uzsakymu-stalas:3112.

STT20: *Mitas #2 – kriminalinė žvalgyba (ne)kontroliuojama?* April 14, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/mitas-2-kriminaline-zvalgyba-nekontroliuojama:3108.

STT21: *Mitas #1 – STT bylos „subliūkšta"?* April 7, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/mitas-1-stt-bylos-subliuksta:3103.

STT22: Gaidamavičius, G. *STT atstovė: sveikatos sektorius nuolat sulaukia mūsų dėmesio.* April 2, 2021. Available from: https://lsveikata.lt/aktualijos/stt-atstove-sveikatos-sektorius-nuolat-sulaukia-musu-demesio-13473.

STT23: *Radijo byla: Ką liudija naujausi „Lietuvos korupcijos žemėlapio" duomenys?* March 9, 2021. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/radijo-byla-ka-liudija-naujausi-lietuvos-korupcijos-zemelapio-duomenys:3097.

STT24: Kaziliūnaitė, R. *2021 metais – daugiau aiškumo ir viešumo „asmenų patikrinimo" ir analitinės žvalgybos srityse.* December 29, 2020. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/2021-metais-daugiau-aiskumo-ir-viesumo-asmenu-patikrinimo-ir-analitines-zvalgybos-srityse:3035.

STT25: Berenta, J. *STT komentaras: kuo skiriasi dovanos ir kyšiai?* December 19, 2020. Available from: https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/law/stt-komentaras-kuo-skiriasi-dovanos-ir-kysiai.d?id=86039749.

STT26: *Vardan tos. Pilietiškumas ir kova su korupcija.* December 9, 2020. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/vardan-tos.-pilietiskumas-ir-kova-su-korupcija:3023.

STT27: Kaziliūnaitė, R. *STT asmenų patikra: faktai ir mitai.* November 4, 2020. Available from: https://iq.alfa.lt/komentarai/stt-asmenu-patikra-faktai-ir-mitai/214133?fbclid=IwAR2p2dKNC8MT_TAPSEvEUr_7ykl3mFy0NR-VC_OScgesqhGdTqipI1z6v4Q.

STT28: Kaziliūnaitė, R. *Kuršių marių tarša, padangų gaisras, šunų daugyklos... O prie ko čia STT?* November 2, 2020. Available from: https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/law/kursiu-mariu-tarsa-padangu-gaisras-sunu-daugyklos-o-prie-ko-cia-stt.d?id=85612257&fbclid=IwAR3zDV9LdO0wbUHvQf4Q3kMZxB_2MIdOPuBIn1eDfzMvJIQ7RtNVe0_8Zi0.

STT29: Kaziliūnaitė, R. *Paradoksalūs dėsningumai teritorijų planavimo procese*. July 18, 2020. Available from: https://www.vz.lt/nekilnojamasis-turtas-statyba/2020/07/18/paradoksalus-desningumai-teritoriju-planavimo-procese#ixzz6SiSCNEWz.

STT30: *Kova su korupcija – visų Lietuvos piliečių reikalas*. May 16, 2019. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/kova-su-korupcija-visu-lietuvos-pilieciu-reikalas:407.

STT31: Gailius, B. *Teisėjų byla – pavojaus signalas*. March 1, 2019. Available from: https://www.stt.lt/infocentras/4993/teiseju-byla-pavojaus-signalas:405.

TI1: *CPI 2021: Highlights and Insights*. January 25, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/cpi-2021-highlights-insights.

TI2: *CPI 2021: Trouble at the Top*. January 25, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/cpi-2021-trouble-at-the-top.

TI3: *CPI 2021: Corruption, Human Rights and Democracy*. January 25, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/cpi-2021-corruption-human-rights-democracy.

TI4: *International Anti-corruption Day 2021: Tackling Interlinked Corruption and Democracy Crises*. December 8, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/international-anti-corruption-day-2021-summit-for-democracy-civil-society.

TI5: *Panama: Corporate Service Providers Still Guarding Anonymous Companies*. September 30, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/panama-corporate-service-providers-beneficial-ownership-panama-papers.

TI6: *People See Low Political Integrity throughout the European Union.* September 28, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/low-political-integrity-throughout-the-european-union-gcb-eu-2021.

TI7: *Local Steps, Global Goals: How Ordinary People Promote Sustainable Development by Reporting Corruption*. July 2, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/local-steps-global-goals-sustainable-development.

TI8: *World Whistleblowers Day 2021: Speaking Up Against Corruption is Crucial for a Just World, and We're Here to Help*. June 22, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/world-whistleblowers-day-2021-speaking-up-against-corruption-crucial-just-world-alacs-can-help.

TI9: *Global Corruption Barometer EU: People Worried About Unchecked Abuses of Power*. June 15, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/gcb-eu-2021-survey-people-worry-corruption-unchecked-impunity-business-politics.

TI10: *Powerful Player, Smaller Bill: Risks of Corruption in Governments' Tax Policies*. May 21, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/governments-tax-incentives-policies.

TI11: *CPI 2020: Global Highlights*. January 28, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/cpi-2020-global-highlights.

TI12: *CPI 2020: Five Cases of Trouble at the Top*. January 28, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/cpi-2020-trouble-at-the-top-cases.

TI13: *CPI 2020: Trouble in the Top 25 Countries*. January 28, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/cpi-2020-trouble-in-the-top-25-countries.

TI14: *Why Fighting Corruption Matters in Times of Covid-19*. January 28, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/cpi-2020-research-analysis-why-fighting-corruption-matters-in-times-of-covid-19.

TI15: *Knocking on Kleptocrats' Doors*. December 18, 2020. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/en/news/real-estate-data-knocking-on-kleptocrats-doors.

TILT1: *Gyventojai mano, jog į stambių interesų grupių poreikius įsiklausoma dažniau nei jų*. February 3, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/gyventojai-mano-jog-i-stambiu-interesu-grupiu-poreikius-isiklausoma-dazniau-nei-ju/.

TILT2: Andrukaitytė, M. and A. Masiokaitė-Liubinienė. *Seni kovos su korupcija metodai Lietuvai nebetinka*. February 1, 2021. Available from: https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1603830/muravjovas-tai-kad-kas-desimtam-lietuviui-dar-tenka-duoti-kysi-bado-akis?fbclid=IwAR00aYMy6yXIhRzbp7r29T0Ytp3hY18GujGQxhNG0wsSJzS2oeqxsz2NYkY.

TILT3: *Viešojo sektoriaus institucijos turėtų nusimatyti aiškius antikorupcinius tikslus*. January 25, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/viesojo-sektoriaus-institucijos-turetu-nusimatyti-aiskius-antikorupcinius-tikslus/.

TILT4: *Viešasis sektorius turėtų dar labiau prisijaukinti skaidrumą*. January 25, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/viesasis-sektorius-turetu-dar-labiau-prisijaukinti-skaidruma/.

TILT5: *Jei norime pasiekti skaidriausių valstybių viršūnę, turime nemažai namų darbų*. January 25, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/jei-norime-pasiekti-skaidriausiu-valstybiu-virsune-turime-nemazai-namu-darbu/.

TILT6: *Korupcijos nesumažės reikšmingai tol, kol tai netaps vienu iš valdžios prioritetų*. January 18, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/korupcijos-nesumazes-reiksmingai-tol-kol-tai-netaps-vienu-is-valdzios-prioritetu/.

TILT7: *Kyšis – nepasitikėjimo viešojo sektoriaus teikiamomis paslaugomis išraiška*. January 18, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/kysis-nepasitikejimo-viesojo-sektoriaus-teikiamomis-paslaugomis-israiska/.

TILT8: *Apie korupcijos prevenciją sveikatos sektoriuje turėtume kalbėti ne tik iškilus skandalams*. January 14, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/apie-korupcijos-prevencija-sveikatos-sektoriuje-turetume-kalbeti-ne-tik-iskilus-skandalams/.

TILT9: *Informacija apie kandidatus į politinius postus neturi būti slepiama nuo visuomenės*. January 5, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/informacija-apie-kandidatus-i-politinius-postus-neturi-buti-slepiama-nuo-visuomenes/.

TILT10: *Informacija apie kandidatus į rinkimus – svarbi geresnei korupcijos prevencijai užtikrinti*. January 5, 2022. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/informacija-apie-kandidatus-i-politinius-postus-svarbi-geresnei-korupcijos-prevencijai-uztikrinti/.

TILT11: Abuašvili, J. *Prasleidė šydą, kas dedasi už uždarų medikų durų – kyšiai ir dovanos stulbina*. December 25, 2021. Available from: https://www.tv3.lt/naujiena/lietuva/praskleide-syda-kas-dedasi-uz-uzdaru-mediku-duru-kysiai-ir-dovanos-stulbina-n1129769.

TILT12: Staselis, R. *TILS vadovas S.Muravjovas: „Pagarba iš baimės mediką žemina"*. December 13, 2021. Available from: https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/tils-vadovas-s-muravjovas-pagarba-is-baimes-medika-zemina-56-1612858?copied.

TILT13: Karsokaitė, V. *Muravjovas: „Politikai kartais pasinaudoja priedanga – pasirenka nežinoti"*. November 26, 2021. Available from: https://www.15min.lt/verslas/naujiena/kvadratinis-metras/nekilnojamasis-turtas/s-muravjovas-politikai-kartais-pasinaudoja-priedanga-pasirenka-nezinoti-973-1604402?copied.

TILT14: *Viešumas tik į gera*. November 14, 2021. Available from: https://www.anyksta.lt/viesumas-tik-i-gera/.

TILT15: *Sveikatos apsaugos ministerija turi skirti daugiau dėmesio korupcijos prevencijai*. November 5, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/sveikatos-apsaugos-ministerija-turi-skirti-daugiau-demesio-korupcijos-prevencijai/.

TILT16: *Svarbu iš anksto pagalvoti, kaip suvaldyti galimas korupcines rizikas bei jų regimybę*. October 29, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/svarbu-is-anksto-pagalvoti-kaip-suvaldyti-galimas-korupcines-rizikas-bei-ju-regimybe/.

TILT17: *Atverkime duomenis, kurie gali padėti laiku užkirsti kelią pinigų plovimui ir korupcijai*. October 4, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/atverkime-duomenis-kurie-gali-padeti-uzkirsti-kelia-pinigu-plovimui/.

TILT18: *Kokios priemonės padeda suvaldyti korupcijos rizikas?* September 27, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/kokios-priemones-padeda-suvaldyti-korupcijos-rizikas/.

TILT19: *Skaidrumas yra geriausia dezinfekuojanti priemonė*. September 9, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/skaidrumas-yra-geriausia-dezinfekuojanti-priemone/.

TILT20: *Nėra aišku, kaip gydymo įstaigoms sekasi suvaldyti korupcines rizikas*. August 24, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/nera-aisku-kaip-gydymo-istaigoms-sekasi-suvaldyti-korupcines-rizikas/.

TILT21: Budriūnaitė, U. *Ekspertė: Šimašiaus žmonos istorija dar kartą priminė opią skaidrumo savivaldoje problemą*. August 11, 2021. Available from: https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/verslas/4/1466841/eksperte-simasiaus-zmonos-istorija-dar-karta-primine-opia-skaidrumo-savivaldoje-problema.

TILT22: Praleika, A. *Antikorupcinis iššūkis Lietuvai – daugiau skaidrumo politikoje*. August 7, 2021. Available from: https://www.alfa.lt/aktualijos/lietuva/antikorpucinis-issukis-lietuvai-daugiau-skaidrumo-politikoje/227316/?fbclid=IwAR3NBrmgvDP6XKzV1rH8JBo574bV8ItGXG0XZ8iPbmPFco-1IlX4QV0ctQ0.

TILT23: *Šiuo metu nėra aišku, kaip gydymo įstaigos matuoja savo antikorupcinę sėkmę*. June 16, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/siuo-metu-nera-aisku-kaip-gydymo-istaigos-matuoja-savo-antikorupcine-sekme/.

TILT24: *Gydymo įstaigos turi aiškiai ir viešai išsakyti savo antikorupcinę poziciją*. June 16, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/gydymo-istaigos-turi-aiskiai-ir-viesai-issakyti-savo-antikorupcine-pozicija/.

TILT25: *Susitvarkę su kyšininkavimu sveikatos sektoriuje atrodytume kaip šiaurės kaimynai*. June 16, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/susitvarke-su-kysininkavimu-sveikatos-sektoriuje-atrodytume-kaip-siaures-kaimynai/.

TILT26: *Kyšininkavimas – viešosios paslaugos brokas*. June 16, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/kysininkavimas-viesosios-paslaugos-brokas/.

TILT27: *Penktadalis pacientų prisipažįsta davę kyšį valstybinėse klinikose ar ligoninėse*. June 15, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/penktadalis-pacientu-prisipazista-dave-kysi-valstybinese-klinikose-ar-ligoninese/.

TILT28: *Nepotizmas – vienas iš svarbiausių mūsų dešimtmečio iššūkių*. April 23, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/nepotizmas-vienas-is-svarbiausiu-musu-desimtmecio-issukiu/.

TILT29: Katinaitė, E. *Karantinas atsiliepė ir kyšininkams: vietoj pinigų pareigūnams siūlo kavos, konjako, dyzelino, remonto paslaugų*. April 4, 2021. Available from: https://www.lrytas.lt/auto/technika/2022/01/22/news/r-skaisgirys-esu-daves-priesaika-su-kuo-lietuvoje-niekada-nesipyksiu-22114789.

TILT30: *Sveikatos apsaugos įstaigos turėtų nusimatyti dar aiškesnius antikorupcinius tikslus*. March 5, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/sveikatos-apsaugos-istaigos-turetu-nusimatyti-dar-aiskesnius-antikorupcinius-tikslus/.

TILT31: *TILS: stambiosios korupcijos ir politikos skaidrumo tema turi tapti esmine valdantiesiems*. February 25, 2021. Available from: https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/tils-stambiosios-korupcijos-ir-politikos-skaidrumo-tema-turi-tapti-esmine-valdantiesiems-56-1461644.

TILT32: *Atėjo laikas kalbėti apie korupcijos priežastis*. March 3, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/atejo-laikas-kalbeti-apie-korupcijos-priezastis/.

TILT33: *Skaidrus verslas: auginkime pasitikėjimą patys atskleisdami daugiau informacijos*. February 24, 2021. Available from: https://www.delfi.lt/verslo-poziuris/verslas-pranesa/skaidrus-verslas-auginkime-pasitikejima-patys-atskleisdami-daugiau-informacijos.d?id=86553955.

TILT34: *Korupcijos prevencija nebėra tik teisėtvarkos institucijų rankose*. February 1, 2021. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/korupcijos-prevencija-nebera-tik-teisetvarkos-instituciju-rankose/.

TILT35: *Kokių kitų žingsnių vertėtų imtis siekiant sumažinti korupciją lietuvoje?* December 9, 2020. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/kokiu-kitu-zingsniu-vertetu-imtis-siekiant-sumazinti-korupcija-lietuvoje/.

TILT36: *Kaip užkirsti kelią verslo kyšininkavimui užsienyje?* October 14, 2020. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/kaip-uzkirsti-kelia-verslo-kysininkavimui-uzsienyje/.

TILT37: *Pandemija skatina įsivertinti imunitetą korupcijai*. October 6, 2020. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/turime-buti-tikri-jog-mokesciu-moketoju-pinigai-yra-leiziami-efektyviai/.

TILT38: *Ar valstybė pasiruošusi naujam atsparumo korupcijai testui?* July 23, 2020. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/ar-valstybe-pasiruosusi-naujam-atsparumo-korupcijai-testui/.

TILT39: Pankūnas, G. *Net ir maža dovana gali tapti pakiša, bet ne visos ministerijos ryžtasi užkirsti tam kelią*. July 10, 2020. Available from: https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1194068/net-ir-maza-dovana-gali-tapti-pakisa-bet-ne-visos-ministerijos-ryztasi-uzkirsti-tam-kelia.

TILT40: *Metas pradėti kalbėti apie politinę korupciją*. June 4, 2020. Available from: https://www.transparency.lt/metas-pradeti-kalbeti-apie-politine-korupcija/.

TILT41: Jakubauskas, R. *Būtina tobulinti lobistinės veiklos teisinį reguliavimą – „Transparency International"*. June 2, 2021. Available from: https://www.bns.lt/topic/1912/news/61416899/.

TILT42: Davidonytė, B. *Seime – siūlymas lengvinti kadencijas baigusių tarnautojų ir politikų įsidarbinimo galimybes*. May 11, 2020. Available from: https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/seime-siulymas-lengvinti-kadencijas-baigusiu-tarnautoju-ir-politiku-isidarbinimo-galimybes-56-1315036?fbclid=IwAR1X01fQMRqxvtHcduG01NErojJNareqiVFivzEKHr0GEQYUwqUnN5NvbT0.

TILT43: Davidonytė, B. *Prie statytojams palankių įstatymo pataisų galėjo prisidėti ne tik Seimo nariai, bet ir statybų advokatė*. April 9, 2020. Available from: https://www.15min.lt/verslas/naujiena/kvadratinis-metras/nekilnojamasis-turtas/prie-statytojams-palankiu-istatymo-pataisu-galejo-prisideti-ne-tik-seimo-nariai-bet-ir-statybu-advokate-973-1298464?fbclid=IwAR1yE0Ss-cdNmkMon_VXzIw_jiTtNHkLbz712nYtHEkikss_D2Sq0k9olJg.

Appendix 2. Analysis of utterances based on the keywords (available in additional excel file *Appendix 2* attached to the paper).