

Appendix:

A Chronological Selection of Papers by W. E. Louw, from 1991 to 2014

An Exploration of the Power of Collocation,

from

Delexicalisation and Relexicalisation

to

Semantic Prosody,

and from

Contextual Prosodic Theory

to

Subtext.

List of papers presented in the Appendix, with full references

- Paper 1:** Louw, W. E. (1991). Classroom concordancing of delexical forms and the case for integrating language and literature. In: *ELR Journal* Vol. 4 1991 *Classroom Concordancing*. 151-178. Birmingham University: ELR. 3
- Paper 2:** Louw, W. E. (1993). Irony in the text or insincerity in the writer? The diagnostic potential of semantic prosodies. In *Text and Technology: In Honour of John Sinclair*. Baker, M., Francis, G. & Tognini-Bonelli, E. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 31
- Paper 3:** Louw, W. E. (1999). Some implications of progressive delexicalisation and semantic prosodies for Hallidayan metaphorical modes of expression and Lakoffian *Metaphors we Live By*. *University of Gent (Belgium)*. 14-17. 48
- Paper 4:** Louw, W. E. (2000). Contextual Prosodic Theory: Bringing semantic prosodies to life. *Words in Context. A Tribute to John Sinclair on his Retirement*. Heffer, C. & Sauntson, H. (eds.). Birmingham: English Language Research. (CD-ROM) 61
- Paper 5:** Louw, W. E. (2003). Dressing up waiver: A stochastic-collocational reading of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). *Quaderni del CeSLiC Occasional Papers*. <http://www.lingue.unibo.it/ceslic/e_occ_papers.htm> 117
- Paper 6:** Louw, W. E. (2006). Data-assisted negotiating: Will it produce a new class of negotiator or destroy the ideology of negotiating? *Language Matters: Studies in the Languages of Africa*. 37(2). 183-205. 187
- Paper 7:** Louw, W. E. (2007a). Truth, literary worlds and devices as collocation. In *Corpora in the foreign language classroom*. Hidalgo, E., Quereda, L., & Santana, J. (eds.), 329-362. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 204
- Paper 8:** Louw, W. E. (2007b). Collocation as the determinant of verbal art. In *Verbal Art Revisited*, D. Miller & M. Turci (eds.), 149-180. London: Equinox. 237
- Paper 9:** Louw, W. E. (2008). Consolidating empirical method in data-assisted stylistics: Towards a corpus-attested glossary of literary terms. In *Directions in Empirical Literary Studies. In Honour of Willie van Peer*. Zyngier, S., Bortolussi, M., Chesnokova A., & Auracher, J. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 270
- Paper 10:** Louw, W. E. (2009). The Analysis and Creation of Humour. In *L'Umoreismo in prospettiva interculturale: Immagini, Aspetti e Linguaggi / Cross-cultural Humour: Images, Aspects, and Languages*. (2014). Coloru, O. & Minunno, J. (eds.). Parma, Atelier 65. 292
- Paper 11:** Louw, B. (2009). Establishing a historiography for corpus-events from their frequency: a celebration of Bertrand Russell's (1948) five postulates. *Corpus Linguistics Conference 2009*. University of Liverpool, UK. 20-23 July 2009. 310
- Paper 12:** Louw, W. E. (2010a). Collocation as instrumentation for meaning: a scientific fact. In *Literary Education and Digital Learning: Methods and Technologies for Humanities Studies*. van Peer, W., Zyngier, S. & Viana, V. (eds.). Hershey, PA: IGI Global. 322
- Paper 13:** Louw, W. E. (2010b). Automating the extraction of literary worlds and their subtexts from the poetry of William Butler Yeats. In *Para por y sobre Luis Quereda*. Falces Sierra M. (ed.). Granada: Granada University Press. 341
- Paper 14:** Louw, W. E. (2014). Literary appreciation from the index of first lines: a corpus-based approach. Moscow: MGIMO University Press. 364

Paper 1, 1991: Classroom Concordancing of Delexical Forms and the Case for Integrating Language and Literature

No digital version existed of this paper, which was first published in 1991, in Volume 4 of the ELR Journal Classroom Concordancing. Birmingham University: ELR. This version is a scanned copy of the author's original. The paper introduces the notion of progressive delexicalisation.

INTRODUCTION

One of the fiercest debates in the field of language and literary studies surrounds the proposal that the teaching of language and literature be integrated. On the language side, those who oppose this integration point to the intangibility of claims that large-scale exposure to literature, especially in ESL and EFL studies, will necessarily lead to enhanced proficiency in the target language. For this reason, literature is often viewed as 'enrichment material': merely one further way amongst many of practising skills as they are acquired. The arguments advanced by the literature camp against integration are generally more traditional and conservative in character: the simultaneous teaching of language and literature will disrupt the literary experience and sever imaginative engagement with the text.

The current consensus among academics and publishers would seem to favour integration (Carter and Burton (1981); Sinclair (1981); Carter (1982); Walker (1983); Louw (1989)) based in large measure on the inseparability of language and literary proficiencies and the benefits, especially at the level of discourse, of placing texts side by side for comparison - a technique which, after all, has been the stock-in-trade of teachers of literature for many years.

Furthermore, as each new trend surfaces in the pedagogy of ELT, language and literature, in terms of their potential for integration are either brought closer together or pushed further apart. Relations between them were probably most strained during the period when structural audio-lingualism and the era of the language pattern practice drill were at their height. Notional-functional approaches brought the two studies closer together; the communicative approach and discourse studies brought them even closer, and so on.

This article examines where this trend is likely to move next and seeks to address, at an early stage, some of the consequences of attempts to integrate language and literature that are likely to arise in the near future. The use of computers in the classroom will afford language teachers who have, up to now, been sceptical of 'lang-lit integration', the means of answering their own increasingly insistent questions: "What is there for proficiency in lang-lit integration? How

much of the language syllabus is covered by the language of these literary texts proposed for study?" Gilroy-Scott (1983) complains that there is a common feeling that the maxi-coat of literature hides the mini-skirt of language skills. Computational analysis will shortly begin to scrutinise the weave and count all the stitches in both garments.

THE LEXICAL SYLLABUS IN INTEGRATING LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Ironically, the changes that are imminent are not, for once, likely to be based on trends in pedagogy. They operate at a level of abstractness way above methodology and are, in consequence, more powerful and far-reaching. The Lexical Syllabus (Sinclair and Renouf 1987) arose from the discovery of new facts about the English Language during the production of the Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary, and not from new suggestions for ELT methodology.

We now have a situation, although writers of materials, with the exception of Willis and Willis (1988) seem slow to recognise it, where all methodology regardless of its origins, cannot afford to ignore the Lexical Syllabus. The principle behind the syllabus is that if the top 2000 or so most frequent words in English are systematically taught in all of their forms and in well-structured materials, they will carry with them most of the grammatical and discourse detail that second and foreign language learners are ever likely to need. On the language side of the debate on integration, one of the key issues will be the extent to which a literature syllabus is capable of demonstrating comprehensive coverage of the Lexical Syllabus.

Why has the response to the proposal that materials writers take account of the lexical syllabus been so slow? The answer to this question is closely related to the central argument of this article and the question needs to be answered before the article can proceed. Therefore, two things become necessary at this point. Firstly, some definition of the term progressive delexicalisation (PD) is needed and secondly there will have to be some explanation of the difficulties that teachers and materials writers are likely to have in understanding the concept and in using it in their work. The problem of understanding is the consequence of a 'blind-spot' in our perception and it *should* disappear once the blind spot has been recognised.

There is a tendency for all words to have a single meaning which human beings are likely to feel intuitively if they are presented with that word on its own, out of context, as a 'citation form'. So, if we are offered the words *see take resurrect*, we are readily able to associate them with the faculty of sight or vision, the act of receiving, picking up or even stealing, and the raising to life of the dead, respectively. However, what our intuition is blind to is just how often the same word is used without the meaning which we feel so strongly and how *many* of these other meanings it may have. Lexicographer and teacher alike are quick to recognise that 'taking a bus' has less to do with the full intuitive meaning of the form than 'taking the money' but both teacher and lexicographer will begin to get defensive if you begin to make a point about a form like 'take a look at this', in which the word is like a mere husk borne on the wind

with its germ of meaning gone! Such 'washed out' forms are termed delexical and the more frequent the incidence of a particular word in the language as a whole, the more progressively washed out meanings it is likely to have. In the case of 'take a look' we can almost feel the traditional categories of *full* and *form* word beginning to fall together.

Of course, the reader may say that this is all quite obvious. Our intuitions have a blind spot and once we have recognised it we can adjust for it and then any need to be defensive would disappear.

Unfortunately, it is not that easy. The reason for this is that the extent of the blind-spot was disclosed *not* by man but by machine: the computer. This becomes face-threatening. Materials writers have used their mind and intuition as their main resource since the beginning of time. Proof that this is deeply flawed will initially cause grave offence and any request for materials based on observation (especially when it is carried out outside of real time) rather than intuition will generate hostility, often just below a veneer of indifference until the first few writers begin to master the technology. Until they can produce their own corpora there will be the added, apparent loss of face involved in having to apply to use an existing corpus.

PROGRESSIVE DELEXICALISATION IN THE INTEGRATION OF LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The next two questions have to be: How well do the literary texts in our ESL/EFL syllabuses measure up in their coverage of progressive delexicalisation (PD) viewed as a phenomenon in the language as a whole? Do literary texts rely, for their literary effects and devices on the presence or absence of progressive delexicalisation? The first question has a strong bearing on language planning and will seem pedestrian to the literary critic. The second question is the more important, striking as it does, at the whole *raison d'être* of lang-lit integration.

Plainly, the more that literary texts draw on a range of different meanings for the same word, the more they will satisfy those who place the greatest importance on the acquisition of language proficiency through the act of reading.

The first difficulty that we encounter in any attempt to answer these questions is that of relating PD to literary devices. This would be a vast undertaking and it could certainly form the subject of a separate study. However, some exemplification is necessary at this point if we are to appreciate whether the phenomenon of PD operates only within the very frequent words or not. The question is beyond the scope or interest of the lexical syllabus in its present form, but it still needs to be examined.

If we assume that PD does work only in the very frequent words like *take*, *run*, *come* etc., then we might need a new label for it if it were found to be operating in the very rare forms.

Traditionally, the term 'metaphor' has been offered by literary criticism for those forms of a word like *ripple* that had nothing to do with water, even if the examples were drawn from a source other than literature.

Using the evidence of the Birmingham University corpus, the first jolt in store for our intuition is that, in the case of *ripple*, only one form in ten occurs with the collocates *water* and *surface*; the second is that a very large number of the delexical occurrences are drawn from literature. The shock here is more powerfully felt, because it has implications for linguistic and literary theory. Sinclair (1981) offers this criticism of stylistics: "... the creation of the subject area of stylistics serves to insulate literature from the more mundane texts of everyday life." Leaving aside the eventual label for the phenomenon, PD or metaphor, literary scholars will be somewhat bewildered to see the extent to which language and literature interpenetrate in the concordance below.

Her legs twitched a little as they lay across my live lap; I stroked them; there she lolled in the right-hand corner, almost asprawl, Lola the bobbysoxer, devouring her immemorial fruit, singing through its juice, losing her slipper, rubbing the heel of her slipperless foot in its sloppy anklet, against the pile of old magazines heaped on my left on the sofa - and every movement she made, every shuffle and ripple, helped me to conceal and to improve the secret system of tactile correspondence between beast and beauty - between my gagged, bursting beast and the beauty of her dimpled body in its innocent cotton frock.

Sometimes she would slide, soundlessly and almost without ripple, into deep water, only to panic as soon as she had submerged and strike out again frantically for the boat.

When there was only half-an-hour left before the sun would plunge swiftly below an horizon, dark blue and from the hilltop a circle perfect as a ripple, travelling rhythmically out over the surface of a deep, still pool, and there was yet no spurt of dust on the track, Francois climbed down the hill and started home despondently.

Kunta's wuolo dog raced ahead chasing watersnakes and big grown turtles down their mudslides into the water, where they left not even a ripple.

She had gained much confidence meanwhile, both in us and in her proper element, and she gambolled round us in the warm sunshine as we dragged the pram across the sand into a still blue sea that reflected the sky without so much as a ripple.

Obscure points of theology or semantics <P 59> presage irreversible schisms which ripple across the world in a prolix scholasticism.

What Jenkins cannot understand is that the politicians and the military will do nothing, absolutely nothing, unless they are pushed by massive popular pressures - pressures which must ripple across Europe in the next three years from one country to another: now Holland and Belgium, now Poland: now Hungary, and now Britain.

The walls of the bedroom were the next to go; they began to bulge and ripple and roar, to flap like pastry, melt like sugar, and run bleeding with hideous hues.

I left the loud lobby and stood outside, on the white steps, looking at the hundreds of powdered bugs wheeling around the lamps in the soggy black night, full of ripple and stir.

Now and again a ripple from the far-off storm would lap against even such remote fastnesses as these, and they would hear stories of wounded and starving Sahiblog hiding in the jungle or among the rocks, and creeping out to beg food from the meanest passer-by.

Araujo's new accusation of treason caused a big ripple in the military services, and the Minister of Defense and Velasco him self followed with denials that any of the officers were guilty of treason.

Judging from the size of the sand grains of which they are composed and the ripple marks on the surface of their bedding planes, they had once formed a sandy beach.

It seems almost barbarous to be incarcerated again within solid, opaque bricks and mortar, no longer permeable to light and air, when even your dreams could be ventilated by scented breezes, supplied with a soundtrack of rustling leaves, backlit with early morning sunshine or varnished with pale moonlight, through the breathing ripple of a canvas membrane scarcely thicker than your closed eyelids.

There was a ripple of amused applause from the newsmen.

But the ripple of apprehension, the prickle of hairs on the skin, the sense of panic flight through crashing undergrowth and under whipping foliage, the alertness of scent and sight bestowed by a flicker of real fear, this he repeatedly provoked.

The former is very pretty doll's-house taste: black and white marble floor, and a ripple of bowfronted, shining-glass, shop windows down which the eye runs with the pleasure of running a stick down iron railings, and a top floor apparently for dwarfs tucked under the roof.

A sudden ripple of energy went through her, as she sat there: she lifted up a hand, and held it there, the fingers spread out, mocking, smiling, serious.

I heard the ripple of flight and pursuit passing up and down the body of the aircraft behind me, but I could see little.

But look also in the big gallery at the four Rubens sketches, and you will see works of the same order as Watteau's, but to a larger rhythm and without that almost audible ripple of melancholy music that haunts all the Frenchman's work.

To his delight when the first slow ripple of notes came rolling out of the bass to be followed by the first deep authoritative, transfiguring chords, he saw Hintza sink to his knees and then, stretching his front legs out in front as far as they would go, place his chin on the rug between them.

In the rectangle's heart a stirring of ears, a ripple of shaken stems, like a trout-wave in a stream.

Through Waterloo Bridge, on your left the last stretch of the Victoria Embankment, and along it in pleasurable dignity, the long ripple of the columns of Somerset House, giving way to the green of

the Temple Gardens, and St.

On still summer days when the tide wells up the beaches without so much as a wrinkle or ripple of wavelet at its edge, the coral floats off on the meniscus of the water, so that the sea seems to be growing flowers as an ornamental pond grows water lilies, delicately branched white and purple flowers on the aquamarine of the clear water.

The crash of rifle fire, when it came, caused no ripple on the surface of the waking city, other than to send a flutter of pigeons skywards for a few moments.

Heat ripple still with us; a most favonian week.

There was no whisper of wind to ripple the surface.

By ten o'clock a breeze had come up - not strong, but fresh enough to ripple the water and cool the men, who sat and watched and said nothing.

Table 1: Sentence concordance of ripple

But the question posed at the beginning of this section runs deeper still: do literary devices rely on the presence or absence of PD for their effect? If they rely on its absence, for example, we might find ourselves hard-pressed to answer the criticism of those who oppose 'lang-lit integration' on the grounds that it fails to extend competence. It would be tempting to rest our case on the evidence of concordances like that for *ripple* above, but when we ask about literary effects, we enter the very heart of literariness, the nature of the devices themselves. These devices are nowhere better exercised than they are in poetry: They are nowhere more deeply discussed than they are in literary criticism. So we really need an example of imagery in a poem and one has been selected below where apart from the device singled out for discussion, the balance of the poem is constructed in so prosaic a way, that it invites comparison in teaching with, say, television commentary.

REFUGEES

With prune dark eyes, thick lips, jostling each other
These, disinterred from Europe, throng the deck
To watch their hope heave up in steel and concrete
Powerful but delicate as a swan's neck,
Thinking, each of them, the worst is over
And we do not want any more to be prominent or rich,
Only to be ourselves, to be unmolested
And make ends meet - an ideal surely which
Here if anywhere is feasible. Their glances
Like wavering antennae feel
Around the sliding limber towers of Wall Street
And count the numbered docks and gingerly steal

Into the hinterland of their own future
Behind this excessive annunciation of towers,
Tracking their future selves through a continent of strangeness.

The liner moves to the magnet; the quay flowers
With faces of people's friends. But these are mostly
Friendless and all they look to meet
Is a secretary who holds his levee among ledgers,
Tells them to take a chair and wait...

And meanwhile the city will go on, regardless
Of any new arrival, trains like prayers
Radiating from stations haughty as cathedrals,
Tableaux of spring in milliners' windows, great affairs
Being endorsed on a vulcanite table, lines of washing
Feebly garish among grimy brick and dour
iron fire-escapes; barrows of cement are rumbling
Up airy planks; a florist adds a flower
To a bouquet that is bound for somebody's beloved
Or for someone ill; in a sombre board-room great
Problems wait to be solved or shelved.
The city goes on but you, you will probably find, must wait
Till something or other turns up. Something-or-Other
Becomes an unexpected angel from the sky,
But do not trust the sky, the blue that looks so candid
Is non-committal, frigid as a harlot's eye.

Gangways - the handclasp of the land. The resurrected,
The brisk or resigned Lazaruses, who want
Another chance, go trooping ashore. But chances
Are dubious. Fate is stingy, recalcitrant
And officialdom greets them blankly as they fumble
Their foreign-looking baggage; they still feel
The movement of the ship while through their imagination
The known and the unheard-of constellations wheel.

In the fragment of MacNeice's poem quoted above, few critics, and I trust, fewer linguists would question that imagery, or the 'making of likenesses' (Cudden 1985, 322) between the refugees described and dead people is the central, compelling device. However, what has in all likelihood escaped the notice of both linguist and critic is the fundamental inadequacy of the individual metaphorical references to bring the 'likeness' about and sustain its effect.

The fact is that a single reference to the refugees as "...these disinterred from Europe..." is inadequate to sustain the death and resurrection image! Why does the reader feel this? Why do we feel that the other members of this 'image cluster' (a term which has long been in the service of the literary critic) are not superfluous? Is it purely a matter of intensification through

repetition? The truth is that literary critics don't know the answer and have been afraid to ask or search because an answer to a question so close to that which makes literariness, might destroy the 'magic'. Linguists, except those with an interest in lang-lit integration have always been less diffident when it comes to laying violent hands on literariness, but even they have had no clear answer to the question. The truth of the matter is that concordance material from the Birmingham University corpus has finally begun to show us what the meaning of very rare words like *disinterred*, and *resurrected* is really like.

I believe that it is a nonrunner" and "an idea which should be buried once and for all and never again disinterred.

But I saw at once that there was an entertaining historical play to be disinterred.

I forced my gaze to a sketch of Madeleine that had been disinterred to aid the police in what I prayed would be a thankless search.

Table 2: Sentence concordance of disinterred

d Thomas Hardy in London, at Westminster Abbey; his heart is interred at Stinsford, next to Emma Lavinia, his first wife, his

to a letter whose contents you don't recall and which is anyway interred in a pile of clamorous unread public relations handouts

ne. Madeleine and Will. I went outside to bring her in, and then interred my only love in her tomb. I stayed with her until dusk

on a sofa, in cashmere socks (considering how the feet of those interred shredded away like leaf tobacco - Humboldt's feet), rec

doubt hoping that the less savoury episodes in its past would be interred with the remains of William McKinley. In 1902 Hearst be

Table 3: KWIC concordance of interred

PD operates in even the very rarest forms and their 'full' intuitively felt meaning ebbs away under the influence of PD as we read. Lest we take the reference in any but the most literal sense, lest we picture these refugees being retrieved as harmlessly as a 'buried' manuscript, we find that the members of the image cluster shore one another up to prevent the ebbing away of meaning through PD. Only repetition within a span of language, the length of which would still need to be determined, is sufficient to prevent the reader from associating the reference with the delexical forms in his mind and experience. The concordances above show proof of

this. The words involved in the image under examination are rare, yet more than half of their authentic occurrences are delexical.

The consequence of such a discovery might be that literary people will feel a diminution of the 'magic'. If this turns out to be so, one can only hope that the reaction will be of short duration, for not only has the corpus offered something heuristic to the sacrosanct world of the device, but future co-operation between linguist and literary critic is left in less doubt. Literary devices can be demonstrated to operate in ways that linguists of sensitivity, and there are some, can enlighten.

However, lang-lit integration implies a level of trust for which neither side may yet be ready. Not only does any critic who is fascinated by the nuts and bolts of devices have to cultivate the computational linguist for more information on how they work, but the linguist keen on using literature for the philistine purpose of teaching language proficiency may well discover that literature does this job especially badly wherever the devices are. It is the devices that are sacrosanct to literary critics because the devices preserve meanings that are unobserved in everyday text and set literature in a state of tension with everyday text. The critics' function is to negotiate meanings from this state of tension. If the linguist were to argue that a particular form in a literary text is unsuitable for the extension of language skills, we might expect the critic simply to retreat into the arcane explanation that a 'special' meaning is intended.

Such special meanings can, of course, be quite recondite. For example, in the poetry of Sylvia Plath, the word *eyes* will frequently appear near the word *bald*. But the foregrounded terms will always be few in number if they are to operate successfully as a literary device in contrast with a background of common core standard forms. If some means of locating the deviant forms could be discovered, the benefits could flow in the direction of both linguist and critic. The critics, relying proudly on the intuition which has served them well since the time of Aristotle, could be offered information relating to devices and the linguist, sceptical of the role of literature in extending language skills could have their worst fears confirmed, but only for one or two device-bound examples.

PD PROFILES AND LANG-LIT INTEGRATION

Preliminaries

The remainder of this article will give some consideration to PD in classroom concordancing. A prerequisite for classroom concordancing of literary texts or language textbooks is that the school should either possess or be able to create or obtain machine-readable versions of these materials. Most of the standard 'literary classics' are available in a machine-readable form from the Oxford Tape Archive. Users of classroom concordance overseas would need to have their texts scanned by some institution that possesses a scanner, such as the university, in their country. Of course, the alternative to scanning is to have the texts keyed in. In the age of high

technology one should not dismiss this possibility too lightly. Access to material such as BU corpus concordances for the purposes of comparison will initially have to be arranged with the University, but this work on lexis is of such great significance in language study that it is just a matter of time before limited amounts of corpus material are made available commercially.

If the school in which you teach has a scanner, even if it is one that is only really suitable for scanning typewriter fonts, do not rule out the idea of experimenting with it. A simple Hewlett-Packard flatbed scanner and software will often read a font like Times Roman reasonably well. Even quite 'dirty' copy is usable if the concordancer is operated intelligently. The author of this paper recently took delivery of a large amount of Zimbabwe Hansard in a 'dirty' copy scanned version. Initially, on the computer screen, it looked unusable. The Onmi-Page package had read 25% of all letter 'e's as 'c's! A word count revealed that the word *people* was a frequent and highly significant form in Hansard. The problem in the case of the word *people* was completely averted by instructing the concordancer to search for *p*opl*!*

Concordancing for PD in Lang-Lit Integration

It may be as well to begin this section with some exemplification of the phenomenon referred to at the end of the section on theoretical aspects. An example has been selected from a Zimbabwean novel in order to illustrate not only the method but the fact that new discoveries are made possible through classroom concordancing.

The text is *Waiting for the Rain* by Charles Mungoshi and it is published in the Heinemann African Writers' Series. The book explores clashes between traditional African values and those of the West. The protagonist is a black Zimbabwean named Lucifer (with all the fertile connotations of etymology and irony that the name implies). Lucifer rejects Africa and its traditional values as he prepares to travel abroad in search of a new life.

At the height of his disillusionment and pessimism he rejects the ability of the earth in Zimbabwe to sustain life, and he utters the following poem.

Home....
Aftermath of an invisible war
A heap of dust and rubble
White immobile heat on the sweltering land
Home....
The sharp-nosed vulture
already smells carrion -
the ancient woman's skirts
give off an odour of trapped time
Home....
Return science to its owners
The witch demands a ransom for your soul

Your roots claim their rightful pound of clay
 Home...?
 Home sweet home?
 muffled thuds
 of soft earth
 on dead wood
 on the nailed
 despair within
 Home....
 Eternal creak-crack of oxcart wheels against gravel
 along the shortest road of the village
 - a road that goes nowhere -
 The Earth takes back its gift.

Against the background of this poem it would seem fair to select as a candidate for concordance, in the novel, the word earth. Not only do we find that earth is animate in the poem, but it is animate throughout the novel. Even soil shows this property.

1) p of the head flowing into the earth.
 2) he stands, nothing between the earth and the sky. <P 2> Again, there is
 3) the Dot seems to sink into the earth and the sky pulls away from the earth
 4) sky a coolness has dropped to earth and, passing by rocks, Garabha feels
 5) us, the living, to appease the Earth. And to preserve the order of the fam
 6) the sky almost comes down to earth behind the Dot which grows bigger a
 7) n smell the heavy newly-turned-earth breath. The face opens its mouth and
 8) he beards of the trees, who on earth can tell him the way? The place is fa
 9) all you see is the naked white earth criss-crossed by the eternal shadow o
 10) d says humor-ously: 'Where on earth did you get such language from? We do
 11) ther away with it.' 'But the Earth fought,' Old Japi offers, but Old Man
 12) himself as the worst sinner on earth, full of repentance and resolutions t
 13) appeared like that, as if the earth had opened up and swallowed them.
 14) t I!' Tongoon's toes claw the earth harder. 'Now, now,' the Old Man say
 15) t his eyes and ears (thank the Earth he has been spared that!) are very al
 16) n't silence thanks enough? The Earth hears,' Old Japi winds it up and ther
 17) 'That's not how we say it. The Earth hears you.' Raina says it for him:
 18) g things and who can blame the Earth if it is angry?' 'Nonsense. Lucife
 19) here is nothing we can do. The Earth is strong.' And again Raina's
 20) ve all run away from home. The Earth is angry with him. You see all our tr
 21) still flows on the face of the earth is no beggar, so, while you are alive
 22) hing as you were told. But the Earth laughed at you. That's all. In all hu
 23) y because he can see where the earth meets the sky and that is a very long
 24) ople are worm's food under the earth. Now, if you will leave us for a
 25) he roots that plant him in the earth of this dark arid country. In spite o
 26) muffled thuds of soft earth on dead wood on the nailed
 27) he who is going away. Does the Earth permit him to leave? Should we let hi
 28) hat now. just there, where the earth pushes a little into the sky, he sees
 29) tle - when grass was still the Earth's grass - now reduced to tea. Old Man

30) : build there, the land is the Earth's, there is enough for everyone. But
 31) de us live. Everything was the Earth's. But they went about destroying eve
 32) ave done what I can - with the Earth's help - to save this House.' 'Don'
 33) as if from somewhere below the earth, she emits a big roar, shaking convul
 34) aks almost to herself: 'So the Earth still wants her.' Slowly Matan
 35) failed. And we shall let the Earth take its own way.' She says all this
 36) it again after today, let the Earth take away its gift....'
 37) any- body - to all of us. The Earth takes back its own.' The old woman
 38) ad that goes nowhere - The Earth takes back its gift.
 39) er, on and over the rim of the earth to the other end of the world, with t
 40) at year there was no rain. The Earth was angry with so much spilling of bl
 41) like this and Those-Under-The-Earth watching over them,' Rhoda answers.
 42) verything is the colour of the earth which turns quickly as you look into
 43) t you are black and no soap on earth will wash that colour away. And out t
 44) nd the sky pulls away from the earth. Yes, the Dot is moving. He waits. He
 45) turbing the deep bowels of the earth. You don't hear it? It is there! Alwa

Table 4: KWIC concordance of earth

1) ret between your heart and the soil.' A little silence, then John says:
 2) e is shown the Old Man's tired soil- coloured face filled with cracks and
 3) een warned several times about soil erosion. Some were even arrested for
 4) whether it's bad or good, the soil grants its children whatever it is tha
 5) e do you want to bring us? The soil has got ears., 'He must get out!'
 6) hing that has no roots on this soil I am resting on. About the importances
 7) that I should have left to the soil - I ask for forgiveness, ignorance bei
 8) rd that leaves your mouth, the soil is turn- ing its face, now its profile
 9) on-in-law?' The mountain of soil jams in Lucifer's throat and he squeak
 10) your church said so until the soil showed you that that was not your drum
 11) im a regular salary. Thank the soil that he can still tell the difference
 12) that is not the colour of this soil.' Tongoon snorts: 'Father, I am a m
 13) tall dry grass and the fertile soil under that grass, into the scorched no
 14) n't the white man's fault: the soil wanted the boy back. 'This white ma
 15) e responsible in choosing. The soil will not have a bull, or a goat, or a
 16) low voice, she says: 'But the soil won't let you hold that baby.' Gasp

Table 5: KWIC concordance of soil

The reader may well believe not only that the matter ends here but may be thinking that earth (apart from its intensificatory idiomatic uses such as *where on earth?*) offers little by way of enlarging the points made about PD in the first section of this paper. However, if earth is animate enough to take 'back its gift', we might wish to verify how much of *take* is delexical. After all, *take* is a frequently cited example of delexicalisation and the COBUILD English Language Dictionary offers almost 30 meanings for it.

1) hing happens. Then I stand up, take a step or two, knock against something
 2) have a boy, even if I have to take a second wife.' 'Imagine that! The sim
 3) aid Father might be tempted to take a second go at his wife with the axe.'
 4) lating and everyone wanting to take a closer look at the radio. The air is
 5) took him aside and told him to take a hold on himself as a man should - no
 6) ys like that, those two. Can't take a sip without wanting to tell the worl
 7) the First Son of the House to take a wife? Thirdly, the Traveller - he wh
 8) whisper, says: 'Why don't you take a hold on yourself, Raina? I said exac
 9) ugh cleaning. This is going to take a long time and demands a lot of energ
 10) st suspends all he is doing to take a good laugh at himself, looking into
 11) wonders whether he is right to take advantage of his father's admission of
 12) ood who have gone before me. I take all and I shall do my best.' After a
 13) ar that Old Makawa is about to take another wife - any marrow in that?'
 14) ver tell and I am not going to take any chances.' The two old women sigh
 15) o storm. And of course I can't take any chances. Her cheerfulness may just
 16) hes his father would slap him, take away that weight and have it done with
 17) that he was praying to God to take away his hatred for Maraini and suppl
 18) er today, let the Earth take away its gift....' 'What will
 19) s in love because she began to take care with her looks. She looked bright
 20) I told my daughter yesterday: "Take care with this township of yours."
 21) orse comes to the worst, I can take care of myself!" My own daughter telli
 22) not fooled by honeyed words. I take full responsibility for all that befall
 23) ou answer her?' 'Betty will take her something to eat.' 'Something t
 24) medicines held and they had to take her to hospital half-dead with two bro
 25) d now if you don't mind I will take her away and scrub her before....' The
 26) his white friends is coming to take him in the morning.' 'Did he ask you
 27) the poor man if he decides to take his axe - you know the axe of course?
 28) . Each time I see my wife Japi take in a handful of sugar, I know how comp
 29) pected to take this while they take it hot.' For a moment she wonders w
 30) ence, wishing his father would take it away. Finally, afraid of the sile
 31) ion and he thought if he could take it too his perpetual hunger would be f
 32) colourless stuff.' 'Do you take it too, John?' Tongoona asks. 'Oh,
 33) trembling fingers she tries to take it from Garabha who closes his hand ro
 34) 'Depends on your strength to take it. And your luck. I didn't want to
 35) The mouth of her! Here it is, take it. But where was it hiding yesterday
 36) 'I am afraid you will have to take it without milk. I am still waiting fo
 37) gave him some but he wouldn't take it.' That was wrong. You should have
 38) ave comes from you and you can take it from us again. Receive this beer an
 39) ed. And we shall let the Earth take its own way.' She says all this like a
 40) lackness with every breath you take. Listen carefully and I will tell you.
 41) she hates John and she doesn't take long with her greetings before she ret
 42) gh. I am not going to let them take Lucifer as well.' A column of bile
 43) us word that he would like to take Makiwa with him to his home
 44) es. Now and again she stops to take off the shoe and shake out the sand, a
 45) nts is king, eh? So I ought to take off my hat and clap my hands and bite
 46) ills in the west. As the hills take on colour and warrenth from the coming
 47) nger here, I would like you to take over - to look after the family.' He
 48) expressionless face. 'You will take over this place and look after everyon

49) kill him. What of his can they take?' Raina stands up, goes out, comes b
50) in his heart. And how can you take that out without destroying him? No, G
51) es near to where his wife will take the bus, which is two stops before Luc
52) ho have come to meet them just take the luggage with a few words and strai
53) e did - 'but how can my family take the chieftainship if I have got only g
54) it clear and quiet. 'If you take the morning air when it is still pure
55) n. Garabha nods his head. 'Take the nuts, then. Settle your stomach.'
56) one dares and he is forced to take the responsibility; 'Then she w
57) on't make me swallow my words. Take the medicines. Take them, if not for m
58) he fire. 'Your son will not take the medicine with him.' <P172>
59) 'Is it true that you won't take the medicines with you?' 'It's true
60) ue, Mother.' 'Why won't you take the medicines, Lucifer?' 'They - ar
61) my words. Take the medicines. Take them, if not for my sake, for your mot
62) 'And does he say why he won't take them?' 'He says he doesn't need the
63) st night. And I am expected to take this while they take it hot.' For a
64) am your father you wouldn't take this long to say your greetings.' Gara
65) ll show her. The boy will then take this medicine with his bath and some o
66) name you would like the boy to take to his friends overseas?' 'Quite ri
67) eath knocks on the door do you take up a spear and say to it: 'Now, you sto
68) hat can he and his friends do? Take up arms and fight the white man? They
69) d potatoes and cold pumpkin to take with his tea. While he eats she stan
70) g to make him peanut butter to take with him when he leaves.' 'When is h
71) first, then given medicine to take with their food, to anoint the body an
72) urries on to tell him: 'I shall take you home and then proceed to the bus-s
73) hear Lucifer saying: 'I won't take you with me to Salisbury if you keep
74) . Grown up as you are. I won't take you on the bus to Salisbury to see t
75) hona: 'Mother bad, huhn? Mother take you away, haahn?' kissing the child's
76) s him: 'The snake was meant to take your mother away with it.' 'But the
77) ' 'Gumbo,' Tongoon orders, 'take your little brothers and go sleep in t

Table 6: KWIC concordance for take from Waiting for the Rain

It will be obvious from the concordance for *take* above that its meaning in *Waiting for the Rain* clusters very heavily at the full, intuitive end of the scale. In that, it shows a pattern of usage distinct from that for *take* in the grammar book that our Zimbabwean students will be studying concurrently with the novel (but during their language lessons, of course).

- 1) f he has been drinking. He can take a quick look at the tyres. If these ar
- 2) O had/were) to be prepared to take an active part in community efforts i
- 3) u should imagine you have just taken), and tell him other family news.
- 4) w exist in Zimb abwe. Measures taken elsewhere to cut the road toll may no
- 5) on to Form 4 - or should they take her o ut of school to get a job of som
- 6) e examination that you have to take in about 15 months' time. In the exa
- 7) support to the views expressed/take issue with the wr iter on several poi
- 8) With respect, I should like to take issue with some of the views recently
- 9) al arêa for a few dollars, and take it back to his place on a borrowed bic

10) same wrapping paper that I had taken it away in, and was, naturally, in pe
 11)) POOR NEIGHBOUR: (Refusing to take it) Threepence? That is a poo r gift.
 12) is turn set up on his own, and take on fresh trainees himself for the trai
 13) ple who will be glad he's been taken out of circulation! Note: We can use
 14) unlikely that the wedding will take p lace in the near future. Sometimes,
 15) to artisan activity. This has taken place for a number of reasons, the ch
 16) nlikely that the marriage will take place at the end of the year. Make u
 17) that the villagers pr efer to take pumped water rather than river water.
 18) ppropriate technology has been taken seriously by many economists, in Zimb
 19) ng using reported speech: I"Take the second turning on the left"" he to
 20) elder warned that chedu should take the c hild back. The man requested th
 21) l JUDGEMENT or OPINION. Let us take the letter paragraph by paragraph.
 22) d and companion of many years, Take this money, and hurry down to Bisi,
 23) ows. The insects would then be taken to the protein plant, where they wou
 24) discuss enjoy fetch get reach take want Look at the box at the bottom o
 25) The first aid measures to be taken when a person faints are: The pati

Table 7: KWIC concordance for take from grammar book

Take, even though it seems a quite unprepossessing candidate for being classed as a 'device' word is, in the case of this novel, just that. It may be less glamorous than *disinterred*, *resurrected* or even *earth* but its involvement in the literariness of *Waiting for the Rain* is without question. It is important to establish this before turning to the argument that it may not enlarge language skills or offer even a small proportion of the COBUILD entries for *take*.

After the literary demonstration above, it would be tempting to dismiss as crass and insensitive any bleating by the linguist that the form provides hardly any extension of language skills. But luckily pedestrian queries can be referred to pedestrian solutions. Our Cambridge or Joint Matriculation Board syllabus will, thoughtfully, have prescribed many more texts than *Waiting for the Rain* and most of them will carry the stamp of approval by being 'standard English classics' written by L1 speakers of the language. This latter point will be of importance to the linguist who may by now be suggesting, with furrowed brow, that texts written by L2 writers have impoverished phrasal verb profiles! In Zimbabwe, these arguments can be thrown back at the planner quite easily: the language textbooks for the entire secondary school cover only about a quarter of the Lexical Syllabus forms as they appear in the COBUILD Dictionary (Louw, 1989b).

AN ENTRY POINT FOR CLASSROOM CONCORDANCING OF LITERATURE

In order to satisfy literary sensibilities sufficiently to make some of our readers proceed this far, the entry point selected for concordancing in *Waiting for the Rain* was the protagonist's poem, which appears in the middle of the work and as part of a crisis central to the book. The classroom teacher may not always be so lucky. Where do we begin if no ready handles, such

as poems in a work of prose fiction, present themselves?

Some literary scholars balk at the idea of using machines or criteria which are divorced from the practice of what might be termed 'normal reading' in order to find a starting point. The author can recall in the early seventies that he was ignored for at least two weeks after having referred his colleagues in the literature section to an article that began with the words:-

In Lady Chatterley's Lover I have noted 293 instances of the verb know. (My list is probably not exhaustive, but I have not intentionally omitted any examples. Instances involving dialect have been included. I have ignored compounds of the verb.) Of these, apart from 11 special cases, all but 40 could be translated into French by some form of the verb savoir; the rest by connaître. (McIntosh and Halliday:1966, p151)

If one discounts the offence that this caused in literary circles in a land far away from England, the sentiments in the above quotation are precisely those of a scholar attempting literary concordance by hand: fear of missing some examples, a decision not to treat the lemma forms, sorting and interpretation. These authors had no idea when they began the count, which must have taken at least four days of undivided attention, just how many instances they would find. They had no descending frequency list, since furnished by the COBUILD research, to guide them or they may have found the whole task far too daunting to take on. Although the task began because of some intuitive feeling that the word was loaded with meaning, the findings are stated in very similar ways to those we now use as we study a concordance output.

What objection could there be to using a descending word frequency list of any work in order to select candidates for concordance? The author hopes to avoid causing grave offence on this occasion because of the intention implied in the title of this article. If word frequency is bound up with PD and the findings of the COBUILD research, its use in literary concordancing is, for the purposes of this article, at least, ineluctable.

For home use, Tim Johns has written a simple word list program called COUNT. It offers the user the choice of an alphabetical or a descending frequency sort. Obviously, most frequency sorts will be headed by *the*, *of* and the like. However, wherever these do not march in step with the COBUILD list (Sinclair 1987: 45) some critical insight will normally suggest itself for the altered order. Indeed, the author has used lists of this kind at lang-lit workshops to produce critical statements that are prompted by external criteria. The instruction is simple: "Every time you find a discrepancy of order between the list for the work under discussion and the list for the English Language derived from the COBUILD study, offer a critical statement about the work which goes some way towards justifying it." The approach produces a refreshing inventory of insights that take participants well away from their preconceptions and prejudices and it will frequently lead to requests from participants to have a hypothesis verified by concordancing.

The first 'full' word one strikes in a descending frequency list will normally be found to

operate, in some way, at the level of the 'literary device'. This is especially the case with poetry from almost any era and discussion will turn to this in the examples below. However, this time it may be worth offering the language teaching bonus at the beginning.

A most useful way of exploiting the wordlist is to make and store descending frequency profiles so that literary examples can be drawn upon during the language lesson. Alternatively, the feature may be used to teach a language point indirectly, almost by stealth, during the literature lesson. This point needs a great deal of emphasis: the literature lesson should never be used to teach language directly (Louw:1988). If it is taught directly, the literature lesson runs a great risk of degenerating into a language lesson and any fool can run one of those! Literature lessons require imaginative engagement with literature as a literary experience. This sensibility is fragile and a laboured point about language will cause it to snap.

Here is the word list for Blake's poem "London":

WORD FREQUENCY >1; TYPES =15; TOKENS = 54					
1)	every	7	9)	d	3
2)	the	7	10)	charter	2
3)	in	6	11)	hear	2
4)	s	5	12)	how	2
5)	i	4	13)	infant	2
6)	of	4	14)	marks	2
7)	and	3	15)	thro	2
8)	cry	3			

Table 8: Word frequency list for Blake's London

The use to which this profile can be put will be immediately apparent. The teacher can teach the poem a week or so before the language syllabus is due to reach the terms *each* and *every*, or a lesson on intensificatory words.

Notice that the benefits afforded by such lists flow into both language and literature. In the list below for Yeats's *Why should Not Old Men be Mad?*, we find that the list has a double benefit: while it has the stylistic benefit of showing how Yeats introduces large numbers of new items into his discourse (of obvious stylistic significance to the critic, although easily missed), it is also of grammatical significance in teaching a lesson on the article (remember to add *an* to the total number for *a* and note that the form *the* appears only once in the entire poem). Vast numbers of such profiles become easy to amass and store in readiness for concordancing before or during the lesson.

Why Should Not Old Men Be Mad?

Why should not old men be mad?
 Some have known a likely lad
 That had a sound fly-fisher's wrist
 Turn to a drunken journalist;
 A girl that knew all Dante once
 Live to bear children to a dunce;
 A Helen of social welfare dream,
 Climb on a wagonette to scream.
 Some think it a matter of course that chance
 Should starve good men and bad advance,
 That if their neighbours figured plain,
 As though upon a lighted screen,
 No single story would they find
 Of an unbroken happy mind,
 A finish worthy of the start.
 Young men know nothing of this sort,
 Observant old men know it well;
 And when they know what old books tell
 And that no better can be had,
 Know why an old man should be mad.

W. B. Yeats. (1936)

The frequency list for this poem is as follows:

WORD FREQUENCY >0; TYPES = 89; TOKENS = 134

1) a	11	31) dante	1	61) plain	1
2) know	5	32) dream	1	62) s	1
3) of	5	33) drunken	1	63) scream	1
4) that	5	34) dunce	1	64) screen	1
5) men	4	35) figured	1	65) single	1
6) old	4	36) find	1	66) social	1
7) to	4	37) finish	1	67) sort	1
8) and	3	38) fisher	1	68) sound	1
9) be	3	39) fly	1	69) start	1
10) should	3	40) girl	1	70) starve	1
11) an	2	41) good	1	71) story	1
12) had	2	42) happy	1	72) tell	1
13) it	2	43) have	1	73) the	1
14) mad	2	44) helen	1	74) their	1
15) no	2	45) if	1	75) think	1
16) some	2	46) journalist	1	76) this	1
17) they	2	47) knew	1	77) though	1
18) why	2	48) lad	1	78) turn	1
19) advance	1	49) lighted	1	79) unbroken	1
20) all	1	50) likely	1	80) upon	1
21) as	1	51) live	1	81) wagonette	1
22) bad	1	52) man	1	82) welfare	1
23) bear	1	53) matter	1	83) well	1

24) better	1	54) mind	1	84) what	1
25) books	1	55) neighbours	1	85) when	1
26) can	1	56) not	1	86) worthy	1
27) chance	1	57) nothing	1	87) would	1
28) children	1	58) observant	1	88) wrist	1
29) climb	1	59) on	1	89) young	1
30) course	1	60) once	1		

Table 9: Word frequency list for Yeats' *Why should not old men be mad?*

It is revealing to compare the frequency of the indefinite article in this poem with the frequency of the definite article in the following passage from D.H. Lawrence. For much of the passage Lawrence uses the definite article to perform the role normally assigned to the indefinite article: new items entering the discourse are labelled with the form *the* in order to suggest to the reader that they are already familiar.

The small locomotive engine, number 4, came clanking, stumbling down from Selston with seven full waggons. It appeared round the corner with loud threats of speed, but the colt that it startled from among the gorse, which still flickered indistinctly in the raw afternoon, outdistanced it at a canter. A woman, walking up the railway line to Underwood, drew back into the hedge, held her basket aside, and watched the footplate of the engine advancing. The trucks thumped heavily past, one by one, with slow inevitable movement, as she stood insignificantly trapped between the jolting black waggons and the hedge; then they curved away towards the coppice where the withered oak leaves dropped noiselessly, while the birds, pulling at the scarlet hips beside the track, made off into the dusk that had already crept into the spinney. In the open, the smoke from the engine sank and cleaved to the rough grass. The fields were dreary and forsaken, and in the marshy strip that led to the whimsey, a reedy pit-pond, the fowls had already abandoned their run among the alders, to roost in the tarred fowl-house. The pit bank loomed up beyond the pond, flames like red sores licking its ashy sides, in the afternoon's stagnant light. Just beyond rose the tapering chimneys and the clumsy black headstocks of Brinsley Colliery. The two wheels were spinning fast up against the sky, and the winding engine rapped out its little spasms. The miners were being turned up. The engine whistled as it came into the wide bay of railway lines beside the colliery, where rows of trucks stood in harbour. Miners, single, trailing and in groups, passed like shadows diverging home. At the edge of the ribbed level of sidings squats a low cottage, three steps down from the cinder track. A large bony vine clutched at the house, as if to claw down the tiled roof. Round the bricked yard grew a few wintry primroses. Beyond, the long garden sloped down to a bush-covered brook course. There were some twiggy apple trees, winter-crack trees, and ragged cabbages. Beside the path hung dishevelled pink chrysanthemums, like pink cloths hung on bushes. A woman came stooping out of the felt-covered fowl-house, half-way down the garden.

D.H. Lawrence, *Odour of Chrysanthemums*.

The profiles of the definite article may be compared using Tim Johns's MATCH programme. An SDC file for the Lawrence text shows how inordinately frequent the form *the* is in the passage.

DIFFERENCE IN FREQUENCY PER 1000 TOKENS

1) a	61	30) dunce	7	59) sort	7
2) know	37	31) figured	7	60) sound	7
3) men	30	32) find	7	61) start	7
4) old	30	33) finish	7	62) starve	7
5) that	30	34) fisher	7	63) story	7
6) be	22	35) fly	7	64) tell	7
7) should	22	36) girl	7	65) think	7
8) an	15	37) good	7	66) this	7
9) mad	15	38) happy	7	67) though	7
10) no	15	39) have	7	68) turn	7
11) why	15	40) helen	7	69) unbroken	7
12) to	14	41) journalist	7	70) upon	7
13) of	14	42) knew	7	71) wagonette	7
14) some	12	43) lad	7	72) welfare	7
15) they	12	44) lighted	7	73) well	7
16) had	10	45) likely	7	74) what	7
17) advance	7	46) live	7	75) when	7
18) all	7	47) man	7	76) worthy	7
19) bad	7	48) matter	7	77) would	7
20) bear	7	49) mind	7	78) wrist	7
21) better	7	50) nieghbours	7	79) young	7
22) books	7	51) not	7	80) course	5
23) can	7	52) nothing	7	81) if	5
24) chance	7	53) observant	7	82) on	5
25) children	7	54) once	7	83) s	5
26) climb	7	55) plain	7	84) single	5
27) dante	7	56) scream	7	85) their	5
28) dream	7	57) screen	7	86) it	5
29) drunken	7	58) social	7		

Table 10: comparative frequencies of words in the Yeats and Lawrence texts

THE ENTRY POINT OF FREQUENCY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH 'DEVICE'

No sweeping claim is made for the relationship between the first 'full' words that poke up into the 'grammar' or 'form' word 'envelope', but the author has, for a work in progress, subjected hundreds of poems to this treatment. In the case of the vast majority of L1 authored poems there is a very clear relationship between the first full words encountered as one descends in frequency and 'devices' such as imagery, irony, personification and the like. The results are often quite chilling once one knows what one is looking for. For example, in Dylan Thomas's *After the Funeral*, there are two main images of despair at the fact that "humped, dead, Ann" will not breathe again: she will not come back to life any more than that the dry lungs of a fox fur may suddenly fill with air or the fern lay its black seeds on the sill. The word list offers *fox* and *fern* as the two candidates for concordance as one descends through the grammar words!

Here is a list and concordance for Fern Hill. Note in particular the potential for extension of language ability by referring to PD.

WORD FREQUENCY >1: TYPES 61; TOKENS 407

1) the	61	22) with	4	43) is	2
2) and	34	23) fields	3	44) let	2
3) i	13	24) happy	3	45) light	2
4) was	13	25) high	3	46) like	2
5) in	11	26) long	3	47) lovely	2
6) of	11	27) on	3	48) means	2
7) as	9	28) under	3	49) mercy	2
8) green	7	29) young	3	50) moon	2
9) to	7	30) a	2	51) night	2
10) it	6	31) about	2	52) nothing	2
11) my	6	32) apple	2	53) once	2
12) that	6	33) by	2	54) out	2
13) time	6	34) cared	2	55) over	2
14) his	5	35) easy	2	56) sang	2
15) all	4	36) foxes	2	57) simple	2
16) among	4	37) from	2	58) sky	2
17) farm	4	38) grass	2	59) sleep	2
18) golden	4	39) hay	2	60) so	2
19) house	4	40) him	2	61) white	2
20) me	4	41) honoured	2		
21) sun	4	42) horses	2		

Table 11: Word frequency list for Dylan Thomas' Fern hill

- 1) Before the children green an golden Follow him out of grace,
- 2) cy of his means, And green and golden I was huntsman and herdsman, the cal
- 3) Time let me play and be Golden in the mercy of his means, And green
- 4) Time let me hail and climb Golden in the heydays of his eyes, And hono
- 1) in the mercy of his means, And green and golden I was huntsman and herdsma
- 2) songs Before the children green and golden Follow him out of grace
- 3) lovely and watery And fire green as grass. And nightly under the sim
- 4) of his means, Time held me green and dying Though I sang in my chain
- 5) of his means, Time held me green and dying Though I sang in my chain
- 6) use and happy as the grass was green The night above the dingle starry
- 7) g warm Out of the whinnying green stable On to the fields of praise.
- 1) in the mercy of his means, Time held me green and dying Though I san
- 2) n that is young once only Time let me play and be Golden in the me
- 3) t above the dingle starry Time let me hail and climb Golden in the
- 4) d, at my sky blue trades, that time allows In all his tuneful turning so f
- 5) , in the lamb white days, that time take me Up to the swallow thronged lof

Table 12: KWIC Concordances of golden, green, and time from Fern hill

The main pedagogic advantage of this method is the huge amount of curiosity that it generates in the classroom and it need not end with poetry and novels. The author once asked a class to predict the word which would feature in the case of all the language of Lady Macbeth. Dozens of offerings from the intuition of the class such as *blood*, *milk*, *darkness* and the like were forthcoming. The winner, apart from some superb critical evidence involved in the pronouns (which the class felt 'did not count') was the word *great*. The term occurs mostly at the beginning of the play and readers will agree that the following brief concordance almost offers a subtext of the plot.

- 1) he nearest way thou wouldst be great art not without ambition but without
- 2) ion give him tending he brings great news the raven himself is hoarse that
- 3) t of the dark to cry hold hold great glamis worthy cawdor greater than bot
- 4) en it had been as a gap in our great feast and all-thing unbecoming is ban
- 5) ho shall bear the guilt of our great quell who dares receive it other as w
- 6) and you shall put this night's great business into my dispatch which shall

Table 13: Concordance of great from Macbeth

NATURALNESS AND THE SENTENCE CONCORDANCE

In many ways, the most exciting contribution of a package like MICRO-CONCORD to language and literary study is not only the fact that two of its major applications offer us the word and the sentence from vast amounts of text, but that they do so dispassionately. Word and sentence between them make up the heartland of the mentalist tradition in language study. Without them the 'made up example', the appeal to intuition would be impossible and it is here that the strength of concordancing lies. With every trawl, the concordancer discloses the unexpected and by that is meant, on every occasion, some evidence of the mismatch between intuition about language and observation of language. The insights gained are as powerful as they are because they elucidate a 'view of language' and assist in re-aligning this view at a high level of abstractness: concordance provides the evidence from which a change of view from language as 'knowing' to language as 'doing' is made. Before classroom concordance placed the tools for verifying hypotheses about language in the hands of teachers and pupils, the only channels of appeal open to them were intuition or the largely intuitively derived authority of the traditional dictionary.

However, in spite of this, there are still areas of resistance and because one of the larger ones surrounds acceptability of the fact and prevalence of delexical forms, PD has been singled out for treatment in this article. Just as the lexicographers of the traditional school neglected their entries and their readings of delexical forms, so our classroom teachers continue to regard them as less acceptable than those attested to by our intuition.

Readers of this article who are parents may wish to try the perverse experiment which the author has been operating on his daughter's unsuspecting teacher. The experiment is very

simple. Whenever your child asks you to assist in the production of a sentence to illustrate the meaning of a particular word, do so but offer a delexical form. Within days you will find that your help is no longer needed. The teacher's only concession is that the sentences are not marked wrong, but an alternative closer to the full intuitive meaning is always offered!

This carries with it the seeds for a successful classroom application. Ask the class for 'words in sentences' in the normal way and then ask the sentence concordancer for sentences containing the word from your literature or general database. There is not much space in an article of this kind to demonstrate the variety of sentences that can be obtained by this method, but suffice it to say that the delexical uses predominate to the point of eroding teacher resistance and establishing attitudes of open-mindedness and humility!

The procedure serves the aims of 'lang-lit integration' by providing sentences, often long sentences, of great literary charm and curiosity, unceremoniously wrenched from their contexts. Their literariness is often powerful enough to have students demand the title of the book from which they were drawn. The method inculcates a high level of motivation to read literary texts. If the teacher's aim is to produce an understanding of the nature of literariness, the words may be sought not only from poetry and prose but from databases of advertising language or even pop songs. The word *kiss* taken from a sentence in Hansard will look very different to its uses in Wyatt or Sidney. The only constraints on the practice are the availability of data in a machine-readable form and the willingness of the teacher to experiment.

It would be easy to jump to the conclusion that there is always more benefit in the process for literature than there is for language. It works both ways, but one thing we can be sure of it that wherever literature is allowed in, its influence will be deeply humanising. The author is currently writing materials to explain terms used in quality control in Zimbabwean industry. This apparently dull subject can be massively enlivened by using the concordancer to offer literary contexts for the terms as a starting point for teaching their meaning in industry!

There is no space in this article for examples of sentence concordance, but they are well worth the paper used to print them out and they generate a great deal of enthusiasm in classroom use.

COLLOCATING CONCORDANCE: SOME APPLICATIONS

The applications of the collocating function of the concordancer have been saved for last in this paper for two reasons: because the link between the collocating function and PD is slightly more tenuous than the title of the paper would tend to suggest and because the collocator offers what is arguably the most powerful concordance evidence. In fact, it is likely that future developments in stylistics and literary criticism before the end of the century will involve the use of something like collocators and parsers to reconstitute the 'worlds' of authors, works or even characters.

It is worth explaining at this point that the collocating option in MICROCONCORD offers the

user a choice of searching for collocates to the right or the left of the key word or both. The second choice is the length of the horizon in each case (1-5 words). The collocator searches for words in each span until it has the number requested or encounters a sentence boundary. An ingenious ABBS.DAT file checks that any periods encountered are genuine and not forms like *Mr.*.

The link between the collocating function and PD is related to naturalness. Naturalness in language is not only deeply rooted in context of situation and culture in the real world, but it operates too, of necessity, in the world created by literary fiction as it attempts to mirror the real world.

This may prompt the question: "Is there an unreal world set out in language, or reconstitutable from it?" Unfortunately, there is and it operates at the heart of ELT: it is the world of the made-up example. It is a world inhabited by unnatural characters. They are generally called John and Mary. The nature of the pseudo-fiction in which they are involved has been amply and repeatedly demonstrated by Widdowson (1983). They are not drawn from life but from the example and intuition-bound imagination of the language materials writer.

Collocating concordance makes available, at last, some method for putting into practice Firth's well worn "You shall know a word by the company it keeps." If the word in question represents, say, a 'natural' character, we should expect the frequent words near that character to mirror a natural and human world. The world of a made-up character like John in ELT materials is likely to be a world in a state of imbalance, driven by the agenda of language materials design and constructed only for pedagogic purposes.

John in such materials is a shell who predictably knows and says more than he ever feels or looks. Compare the descending frequency of collocates one word to the right of John, as he is found in Zimbabwean ELT materials and Lucifer as he 'lives' in the world of *Waiting for the Rain*. Both lists were arrived at using Tim Johns' COUNT programme on the DIC files created by MICRO-CONCORD.

WORD FREQUENCY >1; TYPES =18; TOKENS = 74					
1) s	18	7) told	3	13) he	2
2) said	15	8) why	3	14) put	2
3) has	4	9) and	2	15) steinbeck	2
4) is	4	10) asks	2	16) wants	2
5) was	4	11) complied	2	17) what	2
6) to	3	12) decided	2	18) you	2

Table 14: Collocates of John in Zimbabwean ELT materials

WORD FREQUENCY >1; TYPES = 54; TOKENS = 243

1) o	24	19) has	3	37) goes	2
2) is	21	20) he	3	38) had	2
3) looks	21	21) knows	3	39) interprets	2
4) and	11	22) notices	3	40) laughs	2
5) doesn	11	23) opens	3	41) leaves	2
6) says	9	24) shakes	3	42) mandengu	2
7) to	9	25) the	3	43) matandangoma	2
8) asks	8	26) turns	3	44) nods	2
9) who	8	27) watches	3	45) quickly	2
10) can	7	28) wonders	3	46) realises	2
11) feels	7	29) are	2	47) saying	2
12) as	4	30) but	2	48) seems	2
13) finds	4	31) claps	2	49) stares	2
14) in	4	32) croaks	2	50) stiffens	2
15) sees	4	33) didn	2	51) then	2
16) that	4	34) enters	2	52) thinks	2
17) you	4	35) follows	2	53) what	2
18) answers	3	36) garabha	2	54) yes	2

Table 15: Collocates of Lucifer in *Waiting for the Rain*

This paper concludes with a suggestion for the use of the collocator which is unashamedly of value to the literary critic alone and has nothing to offer in the integration of language and literature. An example is offered of the collocator at its most powerful in the area of literary stylistics. In the descending frequency count for the whole novel *Waiting for the Rain*, two words offer themselves with suggestively high frequencies. They are the words *drum* and *silence*. Both words operate within a device which Charles Mungoshi sustains throughout the entire novel. Mungoshi offers the analogy that those in traditional Shona society who embrace Western values inextricably or unwittingly are "playing someone else's drum."

But the device is more complicated than that. If you play someone else's drum, you are by definition 'deaf' to your own internal heart-drum and deaf to the drum of the ancestors below the earth who are the custodians of the nation and its destiny.

In the novel, the character, a foil to Lucifer, who upholds the traditional values in practice and not through intellectual argumentation, is Garabha. Garabha "plays the Old Man's drum" the influence of which is finally ineluctable. It is the Old Man's drum which, it is claimed, will finally prevail and bring the rebellious and recalcitrant back into the traditional fold.

At the end of the novel the question is left open as to whether Lucifer will ever return. The stifling pessimism he creates and sustains suggest that his roots have been severed. He is to be a lost spirit deaf to his own drum and deafened by the spiritual silence of his own making.

The power of the collocator is that it can disclose the constellation of collocates that make up this device which is so central to the book. More often than not, Garabha weeps when he plays the drum and these references to crying are collected by the collocator too. The silence of playing someone else's drum is linked, by the word *silence*, to the discord which operates, in consequence, between members of the village community. Silence replaces the 'follow-up' move in much of the book's spoken discourse.

Teachers may wish to experiment further with this collocating function. Collocates four words on either side of *drum* and *silence* are offered below and their significance in the 'world' Mungoshi creates will be even better informed by a close reading of the novel.

WORD FREQUENCY >1; TYPES = 57; TOKENS = 301

1) the	60	20) own	5	39) do	2
2) s	14	21) play	5	40) each	2
3) he	12	22) someone	5	41) enemy	2
4) and	11	23) got	4	42) fingers	2
5) to	10	24) him	4	43) for	2
6) is	9	25) between	3	44) hands	2
7) of	9	26) but	3	45) itching	2
8) playing	8	27) can	3	46) me	2
9) with	8	28) cries	3	47) merely	2
10) your	8	29) crying	3	48) only	2
11) that	7	30) else	3	49) out	2
12) his	6	31) if	3	50) say	2
13) on	6	32) it	3	51) says	2
14) you	6	33) knees	3	52) silence	2
15) a	5	34) making	3	53) smaller	2
16) garabha	5	35) other	3	54) was	2
17) has	5	36) so	3	55) we	2
18) man	5	37) t	3	56) when	2
19) old	5	38) beats	2	57) without	2

Table 16: Collocates of drum in *Waiting for the Rain*

WORD FREQUENCY >1; TYPES = 68; TOKENS = 305

1) the	39	24) an	3	47) himself	2
2) a	24	25) but	3	48) i	2
3) in	17	26) complete	3	49) it	2
4) and	13	27) deep	3	50) john	2
5) of	12	28) for	3	51) makes	2
6) then	10	29) garabha	3	52) mother	2
7) is	7	30) lucifer	3	53) not	2
8) to	7	31) old	3	54) now	2
9) follows	6	32) room	3	55) pre	2
10) he	6	33) s	3	56) says	2

11) him	6	34) tongoona	3	57) settles	2
12) long	6	35) yet	3	58) strange	2
13) her	5	36) breaks	2	59) t	2
14) his	5	37) by	2	60) talk	2
15) into	5	38) dawn	2	61) they	2
16) little	5	39) dead	2	62) this	2
17) short	5	40) drum	2	63) thus	2
18) there	5	41) feel	2	64) trying	2
19) with	5	42) feels	2	65) uneasy	2
20) man	4	43) finally	2	66) when	2
21) that	4	42) following	2	67) while	2
22) you	4	43) has	2	68) yes	2
23) afraid	3	44) heavy	2		

Table 17: Collocates of silence in Waiting for the Rain

CONCLUSION

If lang-lit integration is to be successful it will have to be brought about by some compelling, inescapable factors which are common to both disciplines. Whatever these factors are, they will need to be valued by practitioners in both disciplines, not necessarily for the same reasons, but because of their centrality to the nature of each discipline. For the linguist the factors would need to operate at a high level of abstractness on the one hand and, on the other, be factually and incontrovertibly central to the nature of language in all of its provenances. For the literary scholar the linking factors would need to be central in demonstrable ways to the very nature of literariness.

It is providential that PD comes close to fulfilling these criteria on both sides of the lang-lit divide. However, it is even more providential, as we enter the 'Information Age', that most of our knowledge and understanding of PD came about through COBUILD's massive contribution to lexical computing. A further providential outcome of the COBUILD study is the fact that the Lexical Syllabus consolidates the centrality of PD without any mandatory implications for methodology.

The final piece of providence is that the computer, as the destroyer of reliance on intuition, can be placed in the classroom. Here its conversion of teacher and pupil to new ways of thinking will be a gradual product of their own methodology and ingenuity throughout the entire period of the school education process.

I wish to record my gratitude for the cooperation and support of Professor J.G. Shepherd, Director of the Computer Centre, University of Zimbabwe, in the work reported in this paper.

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Paper 2, 1993: Irony in the Text or Insincerity in the Writer?

The Diagnostic Potential of Semantic Prosodies

Although this text (written for the Festschrift in honour of John Sinclair) is undoubtedly the most well-known and most often quoted of the papers presented in this Appendix, it is nonetheless included in order to provide a more complete overview of the evolution of the methodological approach developed in the thesis.

Abstract

One consequence of the advent of large corpora has been their increased potential for revealing consistencies in the influence of collocation on the behaviour of particular linguistic forms. Irony relies for its effect on a collocative clash which is perceived, albeit subliminally, by the reader. In order for a potential collocative clash to attract the ironist's interest, there must be a sufficiently consistent background of expected collocation against which the instantiation of irony becomes possible. A consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates is referred to in this paper as a semantic prosody. Semantic prosodies have been largely inaccessible to human intuition about language and they cannot be retrieved reliably through introspection. Evidence is emerging that departures in speech or writing from the expected profiles of semantic prosodies, if they are not intended as ironic, may mark the speaker's real attitude even where s/he is at pains to conceal it. This paper explores the question of the diagnostic capability of semantic prosodies and suggests what role they may play in the composition and grading of persuasive language and in 'radical stylistics' in the future.

Happy (trying to quiet Willy): Hey, Pop, come on now
Willy (continuing over Happy's line): They laugh at me, heh? Go to
Filene's, go to the Hub, go to Slattery's, Boston. Call out the name
Willy Loman and see what happens! Big shot!
(Arthur Miller, *Death of a Salesman*, Act I)

0. Introduction

As irony is to form the subject of this paper, one can perhaps be forgiven for allowing certain agreeable ironies in the history of stylistics to contextualise this study.

In 1970, Donald C. Freeman edited a collection of articles under the general title *Linguistics and Literary Style*. In his brief introduction, Freeman (ibid: 6) alludes to Bernard Bloch's definition of style and criticises it:

Another difficulty in the work of the 'style as deviation' school of linguistic stylistics is its definition of the norm from which an author's style is supposed to differ in certain ways. For example, Bernard Bloch defines style as "the message carried by the frequency distributions and transitional probabilities of [a discourse's] linguistic features, especially as they differ from those of the same features in the language as a whole." This definition is a chimera. The 'frequency

distributions and transitional probabilities' of natural language are not known and never will be, and even if they could be ascertained they would constitute no particularly revealing insight into either natural language or style. (emphasis added)

Ironically, all the supposed impossibilities on this fairly comprehensive agenda have been made possible in the past twenty-two years by the author of a paper written in 1966 and reprinted in Freeman's collection, Professor John Sinclair.

Sinclair's research in lexis and collocation over the 26 years can now furnish evidence that the description of vocabulary patterns is both necessary and possible. He writes, for example (1987; 1991) of the patterning associated with the verb *happen* and the phrasal verb *set in*. *Happen* is habitually associated with unpleasant events. The irony in the quotation from Arthur Miller with which this paper begins hinges on the fact that the reader knows that an evaluation like *Big shot!* is unlikely to follow *See what happens!* Of *set in*, Sinclair says the following (1987:155-156):

The most striking feature of this phrasal verb is the nature of the subjects. In general they refer to unpleasant states of affairs. Only three refer to the weather; a few are neutral, such as reaction and trend. The main vocabulary is *rot* (3), *decay*, *malaise*, *despair*, *decadence*, *impoverishment*, *infection*, *prejudice*, *vicious (circle)*, *rigor mortis*, *numbness*, *bitterness*, *mannerism*, *anticlimax*, *anarchy*, *disillusion*, *disillusionment*, *slump*. Not one of these is desirable or attractive. The subjects of *set in* are also ... largely abstractions: several are nominalisations of another part of speech.

This is effectively the first computationally derived 'profile' to appear in print of the phenomenon which Sinclair has begun to refer to as a 'semantic prosody' (personal communication 1988), applying the term 'prosody' in the same sense that Firth (in Palmer 1966:40) used the word to refer to phonological colouring which was capable of transcending segmental boundaries. The nasal prosody in the word *Amen* would be an example: we find that the vowels are imbued with a nasal quality because of their proximity to the nasals *m* and *n*.

In the same way, the habitual collocates of the form *set in* are capable of colouring it, so it can no longer be seen in isolation from its semantic prosody, which is established through the semantic consistency of its subjects.

It is difficult to establish whether the existence of this phenomenon was perceived by traditional semanticists before the advent of linguistic computing. Bréal (1897) seems to have come closest to understanding it. He referred to transference of meaning which is the product of habitual collocation as 'contagion'. Ullmann (1963:185) refers to Bréal's explanation in these words:

Among its widespread semantic ramifications, Latin 'persona' has become a negative particle in French. This change is due to purely linguistic reasons: contiguity with the negative particle *ne* has 'infected' this word, in the same way as *rent*, *passum*, *punctual*, by a process which Bréal has termed 'contagion'.

Bréal as the term '*contagion*' suggests, seemed to sense that there is in the language a preponderance of pejorative examples of this phenomenon. A further detail in which Bréal and Ullmann were correct is that '*contagion*' is a general linguistic phenomenon which pervades every type of language. In other words, no amount of genre-based or register-based study in this century could ever have revealed its presence. However, Bréal offered too few examples for us to infer that semantic prosodies, and in particular their potency and proportions, might be accessible to our intuition. They are essentially a phenomenon that has been only revealed computationally, and whose extent and development can only be properly traced by computational methods.

1. Semantic prosodies in Larkin's poem's

1.1 Semantic prosodies in Larkin's 'First Sight'

Let us turn now to consider a semantic prosody Philip Larkin's poem *First Sight*, which Sinclair analysed in 1966, in the paper referred to above:

First Sight

Lambs that learn to walk in snow
 When their bleating clouds the air
 Meet a vast unwelcome, know
 Nothing but a sunless glare.
 Newly stumbling to and fro
 All they find outside the fold,
 Is a wretched width of cold.

As they wait beside the ewe,
 Her fleeces wetly caked, there lies
 Hidden round them, waiting too,
 Earth's immeasurable surprise.
 They could not grasp it if they knew,
 What so soon will wake and grow
*Utterly*¹ unlike the snow.

The last line is particularly interesting, as is illustrated by the concordance for *utterly* drawn from the original 18 million word corpus at Cobuild. There are 99 citations altogether, and every third one is reproduced here:

1 nothing. The farmers were utterly against the union and utterl
 2 rly against the Union and utterly against the Wages Board. Now
 3 f it everything seemed so utterly altered that I felt illogica
 4 But Io has no wind and is utterly arid. Most likely this erosi
 5 rat thing we'd ever seen, utterly blackened now, the skin on t
 6 in his diary: "Whitehall utterly burned to the ground, nothin
 7 In my experience it gets utterly confused. And there are seve
 8 a ambitious wife, are not utterly convincing. Miguel Fernandes
 9 nfident, well-trained and utterly dedicated to the idea of win
 10 feet. Its hopes appeared utterly demolished in 1956, when Mr
 11 outwards from the centre utterly destroying everything in its
 12 the island the view was utterly different. The filmy enchant
 13 . I think it would be an utterly different kind of programme
 14 probability's sake, not utterly disconfirming the tale of a
 15 ng which could be called utterly effete, self-centred and poi
 16 them. The idea was to be utterly exhaustive, to examine the n
 17 how kind he was, oh how utterly good and what trouble he too
 18 ivor which worked for me utterly. I mean I'm not really inter
 19 to reveal a man who was utterly insensible to the gravity of
 20 monies latent in her was utterly jumbled by the clumsiness an
 21 s listeners but which is utterly meaningless to himself and t
 22 iver. When you think how utterly obsessed by self-denial Engl
 23 our not uniquely evil or utterly out of line with custom and

24 oops would have found it utterly ridiculous. Dean had worked
 25 e, but only if they feel utterly secure, and this is a contra
 26 er words, of course, are utterly stupid, "a hard day's night"
 27 he nearest town. "I'd be utterly terrified to go up, wouldn't
 28 lways making? We fail so utterly to reward responsible marrie
 29 ore 1914. Little of this utterly transformed scene can be tra
 30 and illusion, then it is utterly unreasonable to suppose that
 31 rrasment. Posy had been utterly unsympathetic when she heard
 32 d I feel I fail to do so utterly. Why? The stipulation of the
 33 d of ours and destroy it utterly. "You can work miracles", sa

If we study the collocates to the right of *utterly* we find a phenomenon similar to that identified for *set in*. The concordance shows that *utterly* has an overwhelmingly 'bad' prosody: there are few 'good' right-collocates. Indeed a 'bank' of the bad ones would be easy to establish and would be bound to have its own unique profile.

If one applies this knowledge to Larkin's poem, one discerns at once that the poet's intuition was keenly aware of the presence of a bad semantic prosody on *utterly*. The catch-all word *unlike* after *utterly* in the closing line of the poem allows the cumulative force of the bad prosody, in all its disagreeable variety, to be mustered from our prior knowledge as readers and then ranged against the deceptive homogeneity of the new born lambs' first problem ever: snow's *vast unwelcome*. The poet is content to hint at the myriad cruelties of the world the lambs have just entered and the burden of that hint is borne by the word *utterly*. Sinclair (1966:141) comments on the power of the line *Utterly unlike the snow* in critical language which the evidence of semantic prosodies can now corroborate: "It is the traditional 'brush off' structure: 'Something I'd prefer not to talk about' 'Nothing you won't know all about in time'".

Sinclair makes the point that any attempt to spell out these sinister implications would of necessity be couched in language which paints in too much context. In other words, in order to bring a prosody to the fore, it would have to be laboured upon, and this would be unacceptable for the same reason as the "rarity, in love poetry, of lines like: *Her smile was not in the least like the grin of a decomposing vampire*" (ibid:141)

Let us suggest another prosody in the poem: Larkin's depiction of waking. As corpora at Cobuild have grown since the first 18 million word corpus, we find that we are able to extract examples of the sinister sense of *wake* followed by *and*, as used by Larkin. The following citation is drawn from a more recent 37 million word written corpus, now incorporated into the Bank of English:²

... ancestor lying asleep with his head on his arm who was one day to
wake
and gobble up everything that lives.

It is becoming clearer that the great 'sleeping giant' in the application of Sinclair's work to stylistics lies in matching texts against corpora: this supplies the 'bottom up' *textual evidence* for what has until now been regarded as 'top down' *prior knowledge* in the act of reading (Louw, 1989).

1.2 A semantic prosody in Larkin's 'Days'

Sinclair's stated position has long been that the pursuit of independent word meaning has been as illusory as it has been sustained. Testimony to this can be readily

demonstrated by concordancing for two or more consecutive words chosen from a literary text, rather than just one word, as is often the practice.

The correlation between repeatable aspects of text process and repeatable events outside the text is far more striking than our intuition could ever have predicted. Here is another example, this time from Larkin's poem *Days*:

Days

What are days for?
Days are where we live.
They come, they wake us
Time and time over.
They arc to be happy in:
Where can we live but days?

Ah, solving that question
Brings the priest and the doctor
In their long coats
Running over the fields.

The line *Days are where we live* purports to offer happy associations, but it is a line which leaves the reader with inexplicable feelings of melancholia. It appears to foreshadow the theme of death with which the second half of the poem becomes preoccupied and from which it never escapes. Whatever it is in the reader's prior knowledge that accounts for this, it must be verifiable as a piece of text process in our experience of the whole language. In more than two thirds of the following concordance from the 18 million word corpus, *days are* is followed by words like *gone*, *over*, and *past*. Days are not so much *where we live* as where we *have* lived and where we are likely, possibly sooner rather than later, to die:

1 t it yourself the prices these days are absolutely astronomica
2 ite 'The world is wide, no two days are alike, nor even two ho
3 aye are gone whenel. But those days are almost twenty years go
4 glee extinction when the grey days are done but who are reaso
5 o men for unequal pay. But the days are gone whenel. But those
6 or do I. The big beer drinking days are gone. They drank becau
7 nd cry for peace. My political days are good and over. I'm not
8 ople making these things these days are making money out of th
9 erage trawler when its fishing days are over - as the Morning
10 it was before. Those good old days are over because trout fie
11 Lourenco Marques. Alas those days are over. What did he die
12 o walk means that his babying days are over. The stroking cea
13 ade me regret that my dancing days are over. Rudolph couldn't
14 fate of Czechoslovakia. These days are over, and that is what
15 ng after me Grandad'e working days are past walk along with m
16 a black black sky. But those days are rare and usually to be
17 f I had a striking clock. The days are stretching out again a
18 nese and constancy of country days are the very qualities tha
19 e the only movies I see these days are these nights, on the 1
20 finances of old people these days are very much better than
21 rate that situation. The hard days are with us and they are c

The proportions of this semantic prosody can be further verified from the larger 37 million word corpus. In it the term *days are* appears 104 times and corroborates the profile which emerges from the concordances given above.

2. Irony and semantic prosodies

The remainder of this paper has four objectives:

- (i) It will seek to demonstrate the role of semantic prosodies in making certain forms of irony possible.
- (ii) It will argue that if irony can be shown to be a phenomenon foregrounded by virtue of the fact that it runs counter to a semantic prosody, then this must provide one criterion for the existence of the semantic prosody in question.
- (iii) It will argue that where forms are retrieved which run counter to a semantic prosody but which cannot be shown to have a deliberate ironic intention, an alternative explanation might be inferred from the utterance's context of situation. It may be possible to uncover details about the attitude of speakers or writers which indicate that their utterances are *insincere*. The paper will propose that semantic prosodies, used in this way, help to resolve some of the problems which Grice (1978:124) poses about irony, and thus they could eventually make a contribution to the debate on felicity conditions or pragmatics in general. Where a speaker or writer's insincerity cannot be demonstrated from the context, other hypotheses may be entertained, for example that the speaker is young or is not using his or her first language.
- (iv) It will suggest that semantic prosodies are a powerful component in suasive writing and that they might be pressed into service for the purpose of producing data-driven suasive writing. For example, this section will propose that semantic prosodies can be used to grade advertising copy in order to assess its 'sincerity'.

It is now worth returning to the concordance for *utterly* (see section 1.1 above) with some of these objectives in mind. If one moves through the concordance lines in search of exceptions, i.e. any apparently 'good' collocates instead of 'bad' ones to the right of *utterly*, one finds only four in the entire KWIC concordance drawn from the original 18 million word corpus:³

- 1 nfidant, well-trained and utterly dedicated to the idea of win
- 2 h how kind he was, oh how utterly good and what trouble he too
- 3 it up -"I think it's oh utterly grand of you to give us all
- 4 t. Edward III, placid and utterly venerable, his face flowing

These citations of *utterly* are an excitingly clear example of Mukarovsky's (1932) notion of foregrounding, demonstrated computationally. All of the forms listed here carry a fairly obvious ironic intention. Citation (1) (confident, well-trained and utterly dedicated) may appear at first to be a dubious candidate, but the wider context, when accessed, makes it plain that the subjects are Nazi storm-troopers and that their 'profession' is extermination! Citation (2) is taken from a telephone conversation in the spoken corpus in which the participants are criticising someone else. The irony in (3) is self-evident and the irony in (4) becomes more evident once one realises that the reference is to the king who is, at the time of utterance, dead.

Examples of this kind begin to assist us in determining criteria for recognising semantic prosodies. It is only because the prosody on *utterly* is as consistent as it is that it admits the possibility for irony. Prosodies are undoubtedly the product of a long period of refinement through historical change and even though new prosodies may be in the process of being formed, they cannot be used for the purpose of instantiating irony until their prosody predominates sufficiently strongly.

It will be obvious so far that semantic prosodies must furnish one of the most compelling arguments for building and using larger and larger corpora. Their precise characteristics will only be revealed and be seen to stabilise once the content of a prosody can be collected extensively. The nature of the exponency of irony through exceptions to a prosodic trend will, equally, only begin to gel once one has a reasonably large collection of what is a foregrounded phenomenon and therefore an extremely rare one. The original 18 million word corpus has disclosed only the tip of the iceberg in indicating the prevalence and extent of prosodies in the language. The investigator cannot but yearn for more and more evidence as the Bank of English increases in size and generic range.

Consider for example the following short passage from the novel *Small World* by David Lodge:

*The modern conference resembles the pilgrimage of medieval Christendom in that it allows the participants to indulge themselves in all the pleasures and diversions of travel while appearing to be austere**ly bent on** self-improvement.* (emphasis added)

One finds, upon comparing this with the contexts of *bent on* in the original 18 million word corpus, that its irony is made possible by a small but consistent semantic prosody. Although this corpus rises only to a modest total of ten citations for *bent on*, the seven cited below are sufficiently negative to suggest the consistency of background that Lodge needed in order to create the desired ironic effect:

1 them were so bent on defending themselves and on distinguishin
2 ment is hell bent on destroying British Leyland, aided and abet
3 side, seemed bent on getting down my collar and up the trouser
4 of the crowd bent on harrying the speakers, often for a laugh
5 nt. They are bent on 'improving' and perfecting existing weapo
6 n or persons bent on mayhem had not so far chosen to resort to
7 ated figure, bent on the same routine. Thereafter every Mamous

The remaining three entries for *bent on* in the original 18 million word corpus follow:

8 nergies were bent on convincing her and enlisting her support
9 ryone seemed bent on hurrying to some particular business and
10 resolutely bent on the rescue to which they had been called,

These last three citations deserve comment. We note, for example, that they are drawn from the same literary source and that they are written neither by an American nor a British author. Their frequency in this single source, which raises the frequency of *bent on* in the corpus as a whole, is suggestive of singularity of style rather than any common core; moreover, their use seems blander than the prosody which persists in the other entries. The larger the corpus, the greater the insight it affords us into the nature of the prosody itself and the potential within it for further instantiations of irony. Some measure of the ability of larger corpora to establish a profile of a semantic prosody can be seen in the concordance for *bent on* taken from the 37 million word corpus. There are 103 citations, and again, every third one is reproduced here:

1 in a society hell bent on achievement. Mutable thinkers don't
 2 werful enchanter, bent on bringing Arthur to his ruin this dev
 3 iding donkeys all bent on business, they were forcibly impress
 4 cter development. Bent on change, even to the point of shatter
 5 r world she seems bent on conquering. Well, I suppose that you
 6 overnment is hell bent on demanding greater and greater protec
 7 of Yoller's wood, bent on destroying all survivors before purs
 8 he people who are bent on doing good they can be the danger,
 9 stic savagery and bent on engulfing and drowning trapped men a
 10 sonal safety and bent on escaping not only the enemy, but the
 11 seen seems hell bent on expiating the great Fascist guilt. H
 12 marriage, he was bent on finding a beauty if, while out walks
 13 one else in hell bent on getting fit, I might as well join in
 14 pass but he was bent on going that way, the shortest way, to
 15 , who really was bent on helping his fellow man, and who was
 16 e mine, patently bent on its early despatch and eager to withn
 17 by was I so hell bent on locking myself up in a hotel in orde
 18 er as if she was bent on making me see the Host clearly, then
 19 le making youths bent on mischief coming along my previous pa
 20 y. He seems hell bent on owning all of Colorado.' Fancy findi
 21 d and fast as if bent on placing an irrevocable distance betw
 22 came, but people bent on recreation had a much narrower idea
 23 e Derby, who was bent on resigning, that in the interests of
 24 ish battleships, bent on revenge for the sunken Hood in the s
 25 lean you're hell bent on ruining yourself". And he walked out
 26 a they were hell bent on seeking the comfortable security of
 27 n of individuals bent on some purpose on which they all agree
 28 the 7th is hell bent on success it can be totally destroyed,
 30 he fools were so bent on taking over the national government
 31 f dead but still bent on the most terrible revenge. This is t
 32 atchful eyes are bent on these 700 acres in the sea. There is
 33 ut why he seemed bent on tripping up the deal with all that m
 34 Tartar cavalry, bent on villainy. After which much happened

This concordance shows that the pursuits that people are bent on are almost always negative or unpleasant in some way.

Once one has this much detail of a semantic prosody, one also has the potential for beginning to profile the forms of irony which it makes possible.

Here are some examples of irony which, like Lodge's example, are also built upon the form *bent on*. They are included in the concordance of *bent on* in the 37 million word corpus⁴:

1 am presently only bent on courting you. "Very well then listen
 2 he people who are bent on doing good they can he the danger, s
 3 and one twitcher bent on glory crossed the razor backed rock
 4 lash countrywoman bent on good works and the continuance of tr
 5 r, who really was bent on helping his fellow man, and who was
 6 as they were hell bent on seeking the comfortable security of
 7 to an apprentice bent on sincerity this multiplicity of inter

The length of the concordance span often needs expansion in order for one to appreciate the subtlety and complexity of the prosodies, but in most cases it is the collocate immediately to the right of *bent on* which signals that irony may be intended.

In common with so many areas of language study for which Sinclair's work has revolutionary implications, the theoretical debate on irony has sought to content itself with the study of made-up examples and with made-up contexts. Grice (1978:124) names everything from pragmatics to tone of voice in search of the perceived irony involved in *He's a fine friend*. He assumes far too readily that the expression, as a repeatable event, has no anchor in the conventions of the language apart from tone of voice:

Even if, however, there is no specifically ironic tone, it still might be suggested that a contemptuous or amused tone, when conjoined with a remark which is blatantly false, conventionally indicates that the remark is to be taken in reverse. But the suggestion does not seem to me to have much plausibility ... (i) To be ironical is, among other things, to pretend (as the etymology suggests), and while one wants the pretense to be recognised as such, to announce it as a pretense would spoil the effect. (ii) What is possibly more important, it might well be essential to an element's having conventional significance that it could have been the case that some quite different element should have fulfilled the same semantic purpose; that if a contemptuous tone does in fact conventionally signify in context that a remark is to be taken in reverse then it might have been the case that, e.g. a querulous tone should have been used (instead) for the same purpose. But the connection of irony with the expression of feeling seems to preclude this; if speaking ironically has to be, or at least appear to be, the expression of a certain sort of feeling or attitude, then a tone suitable to such a feeling or attitude seems to be mandatory, at any rate for the least sophisticated examples.

Less sophisticated examples than Grice provides would be difficult to find. It is worth making two observations about his position in the light of semantic prosodies. First, an ironic tone of voice could be used to create a sense irony in almost any piece of language. The criterion for identifying it should be authenticity of usage rather than speculation. The instantiation of irony through a prosodic clash would relieve one of the responsibility of providing a particular tone of voice. Novels like *Small World* are crammed with irony of the most sophisticated kind (an area Grice chooses not to examine) and no reader ever expects phonetic diacritics to be present in the text of a novel to assist them in getting the tone of voice right.

Second, it should never be assumed that corpora have nothing to contribute by way of verifying phenomena, even if the instances for verification are based on made-up examples. In this citation for the phrase *fine friends*, from the 18 million word corpus, tone of voice is patently not the device which brings its irony to our notice:

Six ninety-five at Ohrbach's. The only piece of clothing she had bought since she came to New York. "Will I shame you in front of your *fine friends*?" she said, "A dozen of my *fine friends* will come up to you tonight and ask for your telephone number, he said."

Even from this small extract we can infer the irony of *fine friends*. Its presence seems to be confirmed by the echoing repetition of the authentic example and in some ways by the word shame, acting as it does, as a foil to fine. We find no reference to repetition in Grice. Here are some further citations of *fine* in the environment of *friend(s)*, this time from the 37 million word corpus:

Genteel sufficiency, eh, my *fine friend*. What more can one ask? Superfluity, perhaps.

And now all you *fine friends* of John, all you *fine* and decent people. Her sarcasm curdled the words. You're all here to pay your respects to her.

I damn nearly fired off a piece to the Trib putting the record straight. Bond laughed. He said, "you're a *fine friend*, Felix. When I think of all the trouble I've been to to set you a good example all these years."

Timidly he held out his hand. "Mister" he whined, "You von't turn me down like all my *fine friends*! Gott! Dey none of dem don't know me anymore!

The prosodic profile in the case of *fine* seems to be that it has a good prosody when it appears as an attributive adjective before any noun representing a professional class, such as actress, or objects such as china, works of art and the like. It seems to begin to entertain the possibility of irony when it appears before words which refer to family membership or friendship. Even the term *greeting* seems to be close enough to intimate human concerns to provoke usage in an ironic sense, as this citation, also from the 37 million word corpus, demonstrates:

He blew out his lips. That' s a *fine* greeting after all this time.

The term *woman* seems to be sufficiently generic to suffer calumny too:

The judge even reprimanded Sue for not having made friends with this *fine* woman who was trying to take her child away.

If semantic prosodies and the concomitant supportive forms which seem to surround them were to be systematically profiled by the computer, there can be little doubt that candidates for ironic interpretation can be collected and used to assist in the deeper analysis of prosodic profiles. Collocative clash, the use of inverted commas, and repetition would constitute only three of a growing bank of descriptors invoked by such filters. They might begin to identify entries such as the following, and other descriptors could be added to the filter as corpora are enlarged:

You know, Joey, you're going to make some faithful woman a hell of a *fine* fugitive!

And as for that bloody housemaster horror, who told you that love between men was a *fine* ideal so long as it remained ideal!

The most serious change of all is one attributed to John Dean. He said that President Nixon was not only involved in covering up the Watergate escapade but actually congratulated him on 'the *fine* job' he'd done. This is extremely serious, since it immediately implies that the President too had lied and thereby obstructed justice.

3. Prosodic clash and possible insincerity

It has been established so far that ironists, that is, people who mean the opposite of what they say, are amply served by semantic prosodies in their endeavour to be ironic in text. Instances of their irony can, as we have seen, be recovered from corpora. However, something else that can be recovered from corpora is exceptions to prosodies which are apparently not intended as ironic by their encoders. What are we to make of them?

If we take the not indefensible view that an ironic statement is a deliberate 'device', to borrow a term from literary criticism, then we can safely say that the ironist wittingly 'writes the device' in order to achieve the ironic effect. In the cases we have been examining, this involves deliberate foregrounding of an exception against the prosody, which in Mukarovskiy's (1932) terms has become 'automatised' through semantic change over a period of time. Prosodies, therefore, are reflections of either pejorative or ameliorative changes that have run their course sufficiently to allow irony to be instantiable against them through the deliberate creation of an exception to the trend.

However, if we find ourselves confronted with forms that are not intended as ironic, but which are still 'devices' in the sense that they run counter to a well established prosody, how are we to determine their status? To say that they are 'slips of the tongue' is no longer entirely satisfying when we consider the extent to which the evidence in corpora suggests that they are indicative of something other than this. Consider the following example, recorded in a live interview on Zimbabwe Television. This is a transcript of an interview with Richard Francis, Director General of the British Council, conducted by Masimba Musariri and broadcast on 24 January 1989:

Musariri: The British Council is concerned with education and culture et cetera. Is the British Council concerned with anything else?

Francis: Well, they cover a multitude of sins. I mean, when you talk about training, that really is vast.

Musariri: I also note that the British Council has been culturing contact between the University of Zimbabwe and British universities. How wide is the network in the UK with our university here?

Francis: Well, it's very wide. I mean, it's *symptomatic of* the University of Zimbabwe which has such a high reputation that there are fifteen links between departments in the university here and equivalent departments in all sorts of institutions, universities, polytechnics in Britain. That is a huge number of links and reflects not only the closeness with which Zimbabwean and British educators have been working but, as I say, the level of the University of Zimbabwe.

Plainly, a form like *symptomatic of* is unlikely to be followed by a reference to the high reputation of the University of Zimbabwe. The rigidity of the semantic prosody can be established instantly, and the idiom multitude of sins seems to act as a precursor to the attitudes beneath this prosody. Here is the KWIC concordance for symptomatic of drawn from the 37 million word corpus. There were 44 citations, of which every second one is reproduced below. The reader is invited to consider what the concordance reveals about the possible attitude of Mr Francis.

1 these stages as symptomatic of our growth as a human spirit, t
2 a not in itself symptomatic of something deeply wrong in our o
3 and fathers are symptomatic of a parental paralysis which appe
4 is behaviour is symptomatic of other management inadequacies.
5 al difficulties symptomatic of little more than excess wealth
6 and planners is symptomatic of the need to compensate for inst
7 may be thought symptomatic of deeper and endemic tensions in
8 d particular is symptomatic of English Cultural Studies' prior
9 suspicions were symptomatic of a problem which was to bedevil
10 paranoia, one symptomatic of a system stagnating after being
11 ed in the war. Symptomatic of this was the fact that in Octob
12 ed, Jupiter is symptomatic of over-optimism, lack of forethou
13 of science is symptomatic of the general development of that
14 The forest is symptomatic of the quest which leads nowhere,
15 ugh in extremo symptomatic of the intended fate of trade unio
16 claim fully is symptomatic of the fact that even his youthful
17 Air Force were symptomatic of this organizational monomania w
18 intake, may be symptomatic of numerous disorders some of them
19 , which may be symptomatic of generalized internal bleeding m
20 ntury. This is symptomatic of your new broom, is it, Director
21 None alone is symptomatic of a clinical depression, but the
22 ou, Carter, as symptomatic of a vain or proud man who is not

This overwhelming evidence of a negative prosody in this concordance, considered in conjunction with the high level of linguistic and professional sophistication of the speaker, make the possibility of a slip of the tongue very unlikely. It begins to look as though a default hypothesis is possible.

It is plain that the speaker believes that the University of Zimbabwe badly needs assistance from Britain. Truly high standards at the University of Zimbabwe would render assistance in the form of more than a dozen funded link, unnecessary. The speaker tries skilfully to avoid making the statement on Zimbabwe's national television that the University is dependent on Britain for assistance in the area of teaching and research. He tries instead to suggest the links are in place because the University has high standards and a high reputation. However, even if this were the case at the level of policy, the choice of the form symptomatic of seems to be an indicator of the speaker's own attitude. The standards at the University of Zimbabwe, whatever they are in reality, are momentarily matched against the full paradigmatic range following the form symptomatic of in the language as a whole, in much the same way as Larkin's utterly precluded any unequivocally good outcome in the poem quoted at the beginning of this paper.

The full hypothesis may now be stated. Where encoders intend their remarks to be interpreted ironically, they 'write the device' in the form of an exception to an established semantic prosody. Conversely, where an utterance runs contrary to an established semantic prosody and it is clear from its context that it is not intended by the encoder to be interpreted ironically, we find that 'the device writes the encoder'.

4. Grading suasive texts: 'good' and 'bad' prosodies

There seem, *prima facie*, to be more 'bad' prosodies than 'good' ones, but the latter certainly exist and the principles on which they work are the same as those mentioned earlier. As the research stands at present, it looks as though the prosodies based on very frequent forms can bifurcate into 'good' and 'bad', using a grammatical principle like transitivity in order to do so. For example, where *build up* is used transitively, with a human subject, the form of the prosody is uniformly good. People *build up organisations, better understanding* and so on. Where things or forces, such as *cholesterol, toxins, and armaments* build up intransitively, of their own accord, they are uniformly bad. The forms offer us an exciting vignette of man either in control of his destiny or at the mercy of forces over which he has little or no control. This is an example, from the 37 million word corpus, of irony which is instantiated against a background of the 'good' prosody of build up, used transitively:

And the reason they suffer is conditioning. You *build up* tension habits. Everybody *builds up* tension habits. And I mean everybody. Even people who think they're perfectly relaxed.

Equally, a form like *nurture* ought to be followed by desirable things worthy of the act of nurturing. Where this is not the case, we look for an ironic situation which we find in this citation:

Once it had developed a structure that was seemingly secure, the structure would *nurture* antagonistic forces that would challenge and then destroy it. A new structure would then emerge, and then the process of conflict and destruction would begin again anew.

It is worth noting that the irony in both of these examples is not only textual but situational as well. That is, it points to a frequently observed situational irony which often characterises the human condition: that we often work against our own best interests. This is recoverable in the first citation above and appears in other prosodies such as the reflexive forms in *victim of*:

1 break it. Being the victim of her moods, she had so few that h
2 nd become less of a victim of her own feelings. The service re
3 into the offing, a victim of his own over emphatic persuasion
4 urself from being a victim of your past. You, and you alone, a
5 helpless, hopeless victim of your body and of the tradition b
6 t Thierfelder was a victim of his own flak and that there was
7 ray and box was the victim of his moods constructive today,des
8 wasn't ultimately a victim of his own charlatanism, Butler gav
9 ry fixation makes a victim of itself. If you pay attention to

5. Conclusion

By way of concluding this discussion, it is worth making two further observations about the behaviour of semantic prosodies.

First, it is clear that in many cases semantic prosodies 'hunt in packs' and potentiate and bolster one another in rather the same way that images are forced to cluster in poetry in order to prevent full 'intuitive' meaning from ebbing away into delexical meaning (Louw 1991). To return for a moment to the prosody of *bent on*, notice how other

prosodically loaded forms crowd around the phrase in these two expanded citations, from the 37 million word corpus and *The Independent* respectively:

I had only to look into the perambulators to realise that life, having invented the pattern, was *bent on* repeating it. There they sat reiterated suckling dynasts, regarding the world with lofty stares ...

Michael Heseltine would not now be standing against his leader supported by a relatively small group of people *bent on* change and hopeful of drama. There were moments over the last 21 days when Mrs Thatcher might have been allowed to escape unchallenged.

One even finds that the assistance of metaphor can be enlisted both to prepare us for the advent of a semantic prosody and to maintain its intensity once it has appeared. Consider the following expanded concordance for the word *rampant*, from *The Times*:

... once more, with remarkable anticipation of a later wisdom it is to darkest Waterloo, we are in the *rampant* heartland of the two old problems. The twin bindweeds of homelessness and drink and drugs are deeply embedded. and have even started to destroy the fabric of the place.

A second point to be made here is that it should not be too readily assumed that semantic prosodies can be recovered with ease from corpora. Corpus linguistics has recently begun to reveal their existence, but it has certainly not begun to reveal their extent. It may well turn out to be the case that semantic prosodies are less accessible through human intuition than most other phenomena to do with language. As corpus linguistics reveals a greater and greater mismatch between the products of introspection about language and those of direct observation, it is easy to become blasé as we receive these new facts about language. A common problem is what might be called 'twenty-twenty hindsight': the tendency to claim that one 'felt' the presence of a form which was inaccessible to one's intuition until it was revealed through research. The only cure for twenty-twenty hindsight lies in constant exposure, of the most humbling kind, to real examples.

The following is a small test of the reader's intuitive perceptions of semantic prosodies, the 'answer' to which is to be found in the Appendix. Examination of the corpus shows that one of the frequent collocates to be found immediately to the left of the word *feeling* is *without*; in terms of frequency it follows only *a*, *the*, *of*, *was*, *and*, *are*, *this*, *you*, *that*, *be*, and *is*. Before turning to the Appendix, you, the reader, are invited to write down as many examples as you can invent which contain the two word structure *without feeling*, and then compare your examples with the concordance given there (drawn from the 37 million word corpus). If the concordance does not gratify your expectations, you might attempt to state why this is so.

It is plain that semantic prosodies will be of great assistance in the persuasion industry. Propaganda, advertising and promotional copy will now be gradable against the semantic prosodies of the whole language in the same way that the grading of literary texts against corpora will take the study of literary criticism into a new data-driven domain.

Semantic prosodies have, in large measure and for thousands of years, remained hidden from our perception and inaccessible to our intuition. They might never have been disclosed even through computational research and corpus linguistics had it not been for the particular demands, such as machine-driven lexicography from ever larger corpora, which John Sinclair's work has made on these disciplines. At present, corpora are just large enough to allow us to extract profiles of semantic prosodies from them. From these prosodies we may then extract the narrow band of irony or insincerity they contain. As corpora grow larger even instances of irony and insincerity will assume their own profiles. Semantic prosodies will be at the heart of 'radical stylistics' for many decades to come.

Author's Address:

English Department, University of Zimbabwe, Box MP 167, Harare, ZIMBABWE.

Notes

1. In this and subsequent examples and quotations. the emphasis on particular words is mine: these are the node words of the concordances in question.
2. This 37 million word corpus no longer exists as such. It has been incorporated into a much larger written corpus, which itself forms part of the Bank of English. The Bank of English is the name given to Cobuild's new corpus-building initiative. It is expanding rapidly, and currently comprises almost 200 million words of running text, offering a balanced representation of a wide variety of written and spoken language.
3. Only the first two of these are included in the concordance for *utterly* in section 1.1; this is because, for reasons of space, only one in three of the available citations could be listed.
4. Again, not all of these are included in the fuller concordance, as only one in three of the available citations could be listed.

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Appendix Concordance of *without feeling*

1. . these sessions without feeling a great deal of tension and without
2. r. baby abandoned without feeling, all for the sake of an unfeminine c
3. awe extra energy, without feeling an image might be at stake. Leo risi
4. and dead an area without feeling and sensation. There is a lack of mo
5. do the exercise without feeling anxious. Depending on the severity o
6. world in Troilus without feeling any threat to his or her own faith.
7. troll up its face without feeling any strain in his legs or any shorte
8. rhed her gravely without feeling any call for alarm not, that is, unt
9. re is a dead area without feeling around the ankle, or the opposite. T
10. =trot your weight without feeling at all deprived. You'll eliminate a.:
11. to accept this without feeling betrayed or disillusioned. When they
12. accept a request without feeling criticized. Finally, keep in mind th
13. =not visit it all without feeling decidedly unwell and even stolidly u
14. ; you can look at without feeling depressed. Apart from that, at the d
15. :• to accept this without feeling devalued and worthless. On the other
16. tt of pain relief without feeling dozey. The addictive properties of m
17. w to survive them without feeling either too guilty, distressed, or to
18. :an talk out loud without feeling embarrassed. Scene 1. Imagine that y
19. til you can do so without feeling embarrassed or guilty about saying n
20. s cf 50 years ago without feeling endlessly and personally betrayed. T
21. about your life without feeling exhausted. The potential total benef
22. ern of bedwetting without feeling foolish or uncomfortable. The self-e
23. yourself out loud without feeling foolish. The fact is that you can, a
24. ots are relevant. Without feeling for historical continuity he assumed
25. ret of saying no without feeling guilty is to acknowledge certain bas
26. refuse requests without feeling guilty. The right to have your own o
27. n't normally cook without feeling guilty. Since Andy Casey was leaving
28. ng all that money without feeling guilty myself. We all laughed then a
29. t difficult to do without feeling guilty or inadequate. There are many
30. ;ued, you should, without feeling guilty at all, allow yourself to res
31. He treated her without feeling. He had no gentleness in his charact
32. with such a woman without feeling her pain. The KGB instructors hadn't
33. y, his hands were without feeling, his arms racked. The first soldier
34. nd tied the laces without feeling his head lurch. His stomach was mere
35. foot on shipboard without feeling his stomach lurch, sink like a stone
36. cod night's sleep without feeling hung over the next morning. Lavender
37. tching others eat without feeling hunger pangs yourself. You will retu
38. dy's inner depots without feeling hungry. This happens already during
39. be to date again without feeling intensely anxious. It would be a goo
40. is family's flat, without feeling it at all. And later, when he was a
41. t their sexuality without feeling it is a breach of contract, a betray
42. one can live with without feeling like a martyr. Then, as needed, fat
43. acity to be alone without feeling lonely. That capacity to bear separa
44. ortable situation without feeling nervous, and then try to reach that
45. to repeat himself without feeling offended. And progressively, it gave

46. oftly, mercifully without feeling or pain, into an eternity of silence
 47. icts of mothering without feeling such a sense of failure. As Nell Wye
 48. able to say them without feeling tense. Second, pay some attention to
 49. ough this exercise without feeling tense or self-conscious about your e
 50. and comfortably, without feeling terribly sick or in pain. Another ex
 51. long as you want, without feeling that everything is lost. How you phr
 52. ng as you can go, without feeling that it is painful. Each position ne
 53. Cosmic Community without feeling that we own the universe. We must fi
 54. streets for hours without feeling that he is either visible or existen
 55. my brother's name without feeling that dull sensation of loss. Miranda
 56. ou my old friend, without feeling that I am disloyal to my commanding
 57. ed over his death without feeling that her own inadequacy was somehow
 58. er ends and means without feeling that the outcome is predetermined or
 59. nothing going on without feeling that it could be improved were they
 60. ck. We can see S, without feeling the prick. But as soon as we feel th
 61. d him to carry on without feeling the strain of responsibility to be t
 62. y on their career without feeling the lack of closeness. They can get
 63. anation for tears without feeling the need to explore their well-epri
 64. 1 ability to talk without feeling the need to breathe. Yet now it was
 65. more healthy diet without feeling they are missing out. Of course you
 66. eir own mistakes, without feeling this makes them failures. Children a
 67. re saying to you, without feeling threatened. Accept personal responsi
 68. are most capable without feeling threatened by one another. Parents a
 69. ly on the new one without feeling unduly flustered. In fact their urea
 70. a sexual request without feeling uptight about it. They pay some atte
 71. til you can do so without feeling uptight and until you find them at 1
 72. ng very bulky and without feeling very wet. Some have an adhesive stri
 73. ht do. A romantic without feeling. Well, thank you. Actually, I'm not
 74. bis at the moment without feeling you had got left behind. Ros

Paper 3, 1999: Some Implications of Progressive Delexicalisation and Semantic Prosodies for Hallidayan Metaphorical Modes of Expression and Lakoffian ‘Metaphors We Live By’.

The alternative title of this paper is ‘Progressive Delexicalisation and Semantic Prosodies as Early Empirical Indicators of the Death of Metaphors.’ It was presented at the 11th Euro-International Systemic Functional Workshop: Metaphor in Systemic Functional Perspectives, University of Gent (Belgium), 14-17 July 1999.

ABSTRACT

Much of the textual material which has formed the subject matter for recent research on metaphor has tended to be drawn from the intuition of the investigator him/herself and often appears in the form of made-up examples which are provided as citation forms. One disadvantage of such studies is that the metaphorical status of citation forms tends to be much more readily attested by human intuition than the empirical evidence of corpus based studies would support. This paper examines progressive delexicalisation in forms such as those which Michael Halliday and George Lakoff refer to as types of metaphor. However, it does so with a view to demonstrating that in continuous and authentic text, as opposed to their intuitively perceived status as citation forms, these examples of 'grammatical metaphor' or even 'metaphors we live by' are often less than metaphorical, to the point that the very label may be misleading. Although their function is undeniably rhetorical, the force of the apparent metaphor is often established cumulatively in continuous text not as a metaphor, but as only as one part of a ‘pack’ of unrelated apparent metaphors which make up the pragmatic meaning of a semantic prosody. In such cases, it is often the desire of the author of the text in which apparent metaphors appear, to use them delexically, i.e. with their full intuitive citational meanings ‘washed out’ (Sinclair, personal communication), in order to express, say, a semantic prosody of disapproval, rather than with a literal meaning which is rendered unsupportable beyond the citational single sentence in which it occurs. Fixed expressions are delexical in nature and are often erroneously segmented into full intuitive meanings if they are viewed within the comfort zone of the citational example. If the authors of continuous texts intended such forms to have descript metaphorical meanings, they would put in place the same level of collocational support which is provided by poets as they create the clusters of metaphor commonly referred to as

imagery. The paper argues for the revitalisation of the functional role of collocation in SF and its introduction into Lakoffian studies and further proposes a greater theoretical commitment to desist from the production for the purposes of grammatical theory of citational examples sundered from any authentic context and cotext. This is *a fortiori* the case in an age where the evidence to support linguistic theories is readily available computationally. This study is supported by reference to the Bank of English (currently 343 million words of running text) at COBUILD in Birmingham UK, to whom the author expresses his gratitude.

Introduction

Moments of retrospective revaluation in the development of linguistic theory are always exciting occasions. They often present a brief window of opportunity for considering the appropriateness and purity of those sheltered areas, which theories, if they are to operate untrammelled, are forced to regard not only as ‘given’, but as unassailable. Metalanguage is the very underpinning of theory. It must be viewed as immutable if the research predicated upon it is to be consistent in its procedures and if its results are to be considered valid. This paper seeks respectfully, and, in a spirit which is cooperative rather than iconoclastic, to place before the 11th Euro- International Systemic Functional Workshop, within 200 days of the new millennium, an indication of how ‘metaphor’ is currently seen and recoverable within corpus linguistics, a science which has emerged from the same Neo-Firthian tradition that gave birth to systemic functional studies. It is hoped that a retrospective view of Neo-Firthian linguistics around the time of the new millennium will not only lead to a better understanding of the common origins of many of our most active areas of research, but will facilitate their reintegration in a climate characterised by cordial rapprochement.

Naturally, if it were to be demonstrated that a term in our metalanguage, such as **metaphor**, were being used by us daily in our research and theory, at some degree of mismatch with the findings of empiricism or another related area of study, we would be under no obligation to alter our terminology. We may, however, be willing to circumscribe definitions of our metalanguage provided that new discoveries through research enhance the perception of our goals, especially as these are perceived through our shared origins and traditions.

The early systemicists had no difficulty with this. Margaret Berry, although she was writing in a period before corpora became a serious rival to human intuition, regarded verification as the duty of what she called the ‘systemic school’:-

Systemic linguistics, like other schools, appreciates the importance of synchronic studies, has developed a technical vocabulary and attempts to seek verification of its hypotheses. (Berry, 1975:22)

Berry plainly believed that there is a dynamic connection between synchronic studies, the technical vocabulary of systemic linguistics and the verification of hypotheses. She would, it seems, have been uncomfortable if the technical vocabulary of systemic linguistics had ‘developed’ at some degree of mismatch with the findings of synchronic studies. It is unclear whether this apparent discomfort would have extended to mismatches of perception as these are beginning to emerge from comparisons of the intuitive feelings about language of the common man with the growing body of corpus-based evidence. Such comparisons often reveal flaws and blindspots in human intuition about language. Intuitive perceptions are often the subject of fierce debate. However, empirical evidence is seldom challenged with the same degree of heat as intuitive evidence, and as the 21st century becomes more fully established, it is likely that intuitive studies will be forced, not only to evince greater humility, but to begin to entertain the possibility of satisfying empirical proofs where these are advanced.

It is hoped that this paper will begin to clear the way for the rehabilitation within systemic functional studies of a concept which is already and historically part of its long and distinguished Neo-Firthian tradition: the role of **collocation** not only in metaphor as the term is broadly understood, but also within ‘grammatical metaphor’, an area of great and growing theoretical importance within systemic functional studies.

1.1 Metaphorical Status: Full Intuitive Citational vs ‘Dead’, Delexical, Phraseological, Textual, Authentic?

The role of intuition in attesting metaphorical status is not only influential but perhaps insufficiently challenged. It may be worth beginning with examples which fall beyond

the tradition of systemic functional studies. The mentalist tradition and in particular the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980:4) has made much of its central averral that there are 'metaphors we live by'.

There can be little doubt that the example: 'He shot down all of my arguments' when offered as a citation form within an authorially and hence intuitively provided schema, 'argument is war', unsupported by any authentic textual contexts, creates a vivid metaphorical image in the intuition of the hearer/reader. We are easily persuaded that living by this metaphor is precisely what human beings do and that for Lakoff and Johnson to state it, at last, has been a welcome, if somewhat trite, development.

However, in mentalist circles it would probably be less than politic to state that as recently as the broadly acknowledged influence of Malinowski on Firth, Lakoff and Johnson's hypothesis would need to be tested by locating authentic contexts for their intuitively derived examples. This is what Malinowski and Firth (1957) referred to as language as a 'mode of action', in rebus.

Once this has been done, it is respectfully submitted that if there is a metaphor present that we live by, it is what the layman would call a 'dead' one; what the corpus linguist would call a 'delexical' form and what a systemic functionalist would seek to classify as grammatical or lexical, in some way that would still render the classification subservient to the notion of system. The problem cries out for an authentic example.

The following situation occurred at this author's university in Zimbabwe less than a year ago. An elderly woman professor arrived 40 minutes late for a meeting. She announced her apologies to the chairman as follows:-

"I am sorry I'm late. I was hijacked."

Every member present, and there were more than fifteen of them, assumed that she meant that she had been prevented from arriving at the meeting on time because she had probably encountered a particularly loquacious colleague who had prevented her, like Coleridge's wedding guest, and by means of both a restraining arm and linguistic narrative, from reaching her destination timeously. If one had asked any one of those present to comment upon possible meanings of hijack as a citation form, the

interpretation would have been as radically different as what had indeed overtaken this unfortunate woman.

She had driven home for lunch during the lunch hour to her house in the suburbs. As she reached her front gate a speeding car pulled up beside her. Three men alighted, opened the door of her car. They manhandled her out of the driver's seat and threw her into a storm water drain. She pleaded with them to be allowed to keep her examination file and her handbag. The file and the handbag minus the purse were thrown on top of her as she lay in the drain. The men sped off in her car and even now it has not been recovered by the police. She hitched a lift eight kilometers back to the campus, entered her meeting and made her apologies.

It is significant, in linguistic terms, that although such occurrences are frequent in Zimbabwe, all academics present at the meeting imposed a delexical interpretation upon an utterance whose metaphorical force was intended far more strongly than any which Lakoff and Johnson might muster, either from their personal experience, or, to quote Firth, by 'fishing in their own tank'. The academic committee demonstrated that its members do indeed live by that metaphor, but only in its more delexical sense.

1.2 The Pressures of Authentic Text

This example begins to focus something of the dilemma which metalanguage faces. There is no disgrace attached to the fact that the metaphors we identify are largely delexical or 'washed out' by comparison with the full meaning which our intuition places upon them when they are presented as citation forms outside of any context of situation. The situation only becomes disreputable if we solemnly aver that our perception of metaphors becomes less delexical the more we stare at delexical forms in isolation. Today's rooster is tomorrow's feather duster. However, it would be disreputable to spectator feather dusters to the point of increasing rather than diminishing returns, declaring how much the feather duster is the spitting image of a rooster, and then crossing the line, like the delusional King Lear breathing life into the dead Cordelia.

This scenario is indeed exaggerated, but it is only exaggerated because sight has been lost of language as a mode of action in rebus. The textual dimension of metaphor is

needed to guide and enhance our perception of where, if at all, the shoe pinches in the way we use our metalanguage. Before we abandon Lakoff and Johnson, consider the following textually situated example of ‘down in flames’. The example with flames included is deliberate: flames and shot would be perceived even more graphically as citation forms. But note their fate in what follows.

"Racing: Haines takes reins for sweet surgery

By JOHN KARTER, Racing Correspondent

THE much-maligned men of the Jockey Club have found a ‘sugar daddy’ to boost their image with a little cosmetic surgery. That has been the typically cynical reaction to the appointment of Christopher Haines, a high-flyer from the sugar industry, as the Club's first ever chief executive.

Constructive criticism is a healthy thing, particularly where a self-electing body like the Jockey Club is concerned. However, the type of cynicism **greeting** the arrival of Haines, who was officially introduced to the media yesterday on his second day in office, **smacks** very much **of** a “Pavlov's dogs” response which assumes every move the Club makes is anachronistic and autocratic and therefore automatically to be **shot down in flames**. (The Independent, 4 October 1989)

The text is a superb lure both for those who might wish to reason tendentiously, arguing for the relatedness of metaphors as well as for others who might wish to put a contrary point of view. The proponents of metaphor will be quick to observe that in spite of the distance separating them, high-flyer and shot down in flames appear to be related. But, suppose one chose a different investigative path.

Interpretation of the passage above in metaphorical terms alone leaves the investigator hard pressed to treat greet and smacks (unless one pushes the sugar-daddy metaphor to undesirably far-fetched limits!) as forms of related metaphor. However, as negative semantic prosodies, they assist the reading very strongly, in that they ‘hunt as a pack’ (Louw, 1993:169) in the run-up to the central and **related** metaphor, which is itself unashamedly delexical; there being little sense in which ‘move’ is to be perceived, even tendentiously, as an aeroplane or missile surrogate. For a detailed working definition of semantic prosodies see Louw (2000:10) and Sinclair (1996:77).

In the same way that a subtechnical term like move is what is being shot down, we ought perhaps to notice that the subject of greeting is cynicism, a type of form to which Halliday assigns assigns categorial status (1994:344) when he offers the example: “...the fifth day saw them at the summit.” In fact the semantic prosody that operates in respect of greet* demonstrates that where human beings are present in the situational context and are greeting one another, the prosody is demonstrably warmer than it is where apathy, dismay, disbelief, scepticism and the like are left to operate as subjects, with the ‘persons, personalities’ deleted.

The negative semantic prosody is caused, in Firthian terms, quite simply, because its negative aspects are the product of a fractured context of situation. Firth describes context of situation as follows.

A key concept in the technique of the London group is the concept of context of situation. The context of situation for Malinowski is an ordered series of events considered in rebus.

My view was, and still is, that “context of situation” is best used as a suitable schematic construct to apply to language events, and that it is a group of related categories at a different level from grammatical categories, but rather of the same abstract nature. A context of situation for linguistic work brings into relation the following categories:

A. The relevant features of participants: persons, personalities.

(i) The verbal action of the participants.

(ii) The non-verbal action of the participants.

B. The relevant objects.

C. The effect of the verbal action.

(Firth, 1950, reprinted 1957)

Note that, in the passage we are considering, where the ‘persons’ and ‘personalities’ are present and where the non-verbal aspects of greetings and the ‘relevant objects’ such as hands being shaken or even a door are present, the semantic prosody of such a pristine or pre-delexical form of ‘greeting’ is more positive (see table 1, (a) to (c) below containing material from the Bank of English at Cobuild). Notice that in (b) one

reference is to bouncers lying in wait. Those who climb the stairs, though, are 'greeted' by a notice rather than a human being, hence the negative prosody in that line:-

Table 1

(a)

e buyer, let's call him Mr. Tanaka, greeted both of us warmly. He asked me how . Hime's retraction has been warmly greeted by many theoretical physicists. Ther s his opening remark after they had greeted each other warmly. Really -This i en brass polish for months. Griffin greeted her warmly. Ginny had telephoned hi inaire at 3.30. Met Pat Hayes & greeted her warmly: she is smashing. It was a 'regular' was waiting. Dr Bahadur greeted him warmly but when the donor saw m marble desk where the receptionist greeted him warmly before asking his name. e? Tomlinson: He's been very warmly greeted, I think largely because not--not o erformance and the audience at once greeted it warmly as a sure-fire winner, th Room 405 by 6.30 local time. Hamadi greeted me warmly and all the pages and my h the town to the gendarmerie. They greeted me warmly and Dagallier came out of good indeed, lovely hair style. She greeted me warmly & I took her to dinne met up with him again recently. He greeted me warmly. He seemed less surly, mo fying for the Queen to be so warmly greeted on her return to Britain by seven f n omelettes for the three of us. He greeted us warmly. As we walked into his Tu a jolly woman in her late 50s, who greeted us warmly. She appeared to be balan were selling for \$10. But Johnson, greeted warmly by the crowd, was beaten in , the prime minister's decision was greeted warmly by the crowd of protesters g d. His entrance and first touch was greeted warmly by the crowd and Ablett was

(b)

e groceries, the shopper is usually greeted at the door by a banquet of fresh nged the interior. Edwards: We were greeted at the door by the inn's general a anised. You walk up the path and are greeted at the door by someone - They take in a Republican household. You are greeted at the door by a fragrant woman wi lk of the **bouncers**. Customers were greeted at the door by a **notice** saying nd servants quarters. Catherine was greeted at the door by a woman in her fort had met. As Diana arrived, she was greeted at the door by Mother Teresa. They he way. She opened the door and was greeted by a delicious scent of roasting l came in the kitchen door, they were greeted by Miss Gertrude Hardy, their fath e white-painted inner door, and was greeted by an urbane voice. `My dear Andre # He knocked on the door and was greeted by a scantily clad young lady. She s face as Irena opened the door and greeted her with a wide smile. `Wonderful n, and went next door where Farling greeted him with a sardonic grin. So what d his villa at 1.00 a.m. His butler greeted him at the door. `Would you care f t time his cell door opened Abramov greeted him with unaccustomed friendliness but I was a bit startled when Ingo greeted me at the door of his hotel room. ed through the door, Judy, my wife, greeted me with the news that she had just gud's dressing-room door once to be greeted - Thank God it's you. For one drea s waiting at her own door where she greeted them in her turn, before making te nsulation up there already - Marie greeted us at the door. She hugged me

(c)

of the University of California and greeted with widespread scepticism, is now s), was drafted with scepticism and greeted with boredom, and was abandoned wh pment in the Soviet Union has to be greeted with profound scepticism (though e growth next year would probably be greeted with scepticism in the markets. Si as a significant interest, has been greeted with scepticism by some City analy Hussein's latest remarks have been greeted with scepticism - For its part, th nes. However, the research has been greeted with some scepticism and it is of ings. The report has inevitably been greeted with some scepticism in the US. It s the ministry's statement has been greeted with open scepticism even by Japan ificant progress, but this has been greeted with some scepticism in the regio, l currencies - These were initially greeted with scepticism but have subsequen s nuclear promises are now at least greeted with scepticism and a degree of en ve sources of electricity are often greeted with scepticism. Take wind power f at he said, of course. Now this was greeted with great scepticism. But then su stablishment of the new society was greeted with some scepticism and ridicule. an end to the siege of Gorazde was greeted with scepticism by Mr Silajdzic. S airman, said. The announcement was greeted with some scepticism by Dairy Cres -Iraqi coalition could break up was greeted with scepticism by American Congre day spots. The vaccine, spf66, was greeted with scepticism when announced by

to 33,630 in the last quarter were greeted with scepticism by the housing lob

A key issue which needs to be decided now forces itself upon our consciousness: Is the fact that the delexical forms are indisputably metaphorical in some sense (*a fortiori* so if they are taken as citational forms out of both textual and situational context) to be regarded as more important than the negative attitude of the writer of the passage we are considering and which shows clearly in the semantic prosody? The awkwardness comes when we realise that *greet* is not metaphorical when the conditions of context of situation are satisfied, but metaphorical in some not entirely satisfactory sense when they are breached. Given this situation, the prosody does appear to exercise some primacy over the apparent metaphor. If anything there is something undesirably tendentious rather than functional in the selection of citational forms which are themselves the product of intuition in the first place. However, it could be the case, and verifiable within the equally neglected realm of diachronic studies, that semantic prosodies that are based upon metaphors, and, that over a period of time, they dwarf the literal forms from which they are derived. Halliday is aware of the problem and proposes the term congruent rather than literal (1994:342) to cover the distinction. However, even Halliday would probably be unable to predict with accuracy that only one form out of 69 of fan*+the+flames+of qualifies to be termed congruent in his sense of the term. Halliday's example chasing+skirts, elicits the reply: 'no matches' from the entire Bank of English. See Appendix A for a full concordance of fan* the flames of at the end of this paper. Note that only one line (59) out of 69 is literal! For the ironic example in this semantic prosody and for reference to the fixed expression I am indebted to Rosamund Moon of Cobuild (1998:161; 256).

The negative semantic prosody is caused by the fact that delexicalisation fractures or weakens the conditions which optimally constitute situational context. Entry (2) of (c) above demonstrates that the free-floating nature of the collocational aspect of the prosody, makes it very difficult to prescribe ways in which this can be handled within system. One can write the term 'colloc' above or below it, as Halliday does (1994:335), but that does not reduce it to a rule. However, the rule, which governs the semantic prosody, when we discover rather than impose it, is not un-Hallidayan: at a high level of abstractness, transitivity forms its basis (see build+up in Appendix C, where transitive forms are always positive and intransitive forms always negative in their semantic

prosody). If *greet* has no human subject, the prosody alters, but note that the pejorative semantic change has not yet run its full historical course and forms like *greeted with enthusiasm* are still possible, if outnumbered. The over-provision of *enthusiasm* ought also to be viewed as a fractured context (Louw, 2000:9).

It is possible to verify such phenomena in corpus-derived material, say, by isolating all spans in which a 'person or personality' is present but not yet identified. For example, in the concordance which follows for *footsteps*, we are left with a sense of foreboding wherever we do not know whose footsteps are being referred to. The 'persons, personalities' in Firth's taxonomy are incomplete: man, in the sense of mankind, feels insecure in such situations. Note that this occurs even though we are operating outside of direct speech events of the type: "I'm going to get one for Bert", in which Firth seemed to predict that the 'effects of the verbal action' would operate with the decisiveness of cause and effect. Compare this form of *footsteps* with the 'learned' expression, follow in *'s footsteps in Appendix B. It may well be worth distinguishing certain types of semantic prosody as primal in cases where persons, personalities, relevant objects or whole events are deleted. The term something, which is examined later in this paper, qualifies for this label, as does one of its most notable collocates: happen (see below).

Table 2

1 church; the wool rugs absorbing footsteps; the lined damask curtains
2 retracing his subjects' actual footsteps has never worked more
3 quaking at the sound of adult footsteps on the stairs. I knew what hel
4 the procession. The advancing footsteps echo, almost like a slow march
5 She heard the door close again. Footsteps came closer. A woman's footste
6 sed as I heard a door open, and footsteps in the hall below us. Trish?"
7 the door being smashed in, and footsteps in the hall," he says. "I
8 opped, swings were listless and footsteps leaden. <p> If a drive was
9 ing shadows, sudden sounds, and footsteps immediately catch one's
10 he Persian rug. The voices and footsteps halted at the crashing, and
11 door open and click shut, and footsteps scattering the grit on the road.
12 utside to secure the door. And footsteps retreated. Help!" cried Pete. `
13 erted him - voices outside and footsteps on the gravel. A second later, a
14 outside strained to enter and footsteps pounded along dark, empty
15 Furness could hear voices and footsteps outside. At least a foot of snow
16 f> The window slammed down and footsteps receded down the flagstone path.
17 <p> The radio had stopped and footsteps were crossing the floor above.
18 t a few degrees above zero and footsteps crunch sharply on the snow.
19 r doors opened and closed, and footsteps crunched down the path. A
20 e you hear heavy breathing and footsteps crunching on fallen leaves and
21 es on the stairs below me, and footsteps coming up. They were out of sight
22 clash of a door swing open and footsteps. Then the last door banged open.
23 another sound, a voice angry, footsteps too close. I tell you it was
24 noring the lodge, anticipating footsteps, hurried or cautious. Harrell
25 at was why he hadn't heard any footsteps approaching, the rubber-tyred
26 I don't think I will hear any footsteps. If he catches--gains two days on
27 cry "don't" when, appallingly, footsteps were heard in the hall. <p> L
28 iriel had heard them approach. Footsteps rang out on the metal deckplates
29 otsteps # Sound of approaching footsteps # Sound of drawer opening # So

30 then the sound of approaching footsteps as the Russian strode back
 31 He didn't hear the approaching footsteps above the drunken voice which
 32 heard the sound of approaching footsteps on the driveway. Had the sound
 33 aring the sound of approaching footsteps outside in the corridor. Here
 34 And then I heard approaching footsteps, and turned my head - to see a
 35 m the sound of his approaching footsteps, but the rages proved to be
 36 heard the sound of approaching footsteps. 'Sssh. I think Zlotin's comin
 37 st at the sound of approaching footsteps. He stared at Bardi without a
 38 light was. I felt approaching footsteps. I stretched out my hand as I
 39 heard the sound of approaching footsteps. It was Yemenkov and Whitlock.
 40 heard the sound of approaching footsteps. Moments later a shadow fell
 41 ess than last night. There are footsteps in the house - down the corridor
 42 His voice stopped abruptly as footsteps approached. Elmer Brine's
 43 to speak, then fell silent as footsteps approached. A large grey- haired
 44 topping sound of an attacker's footsteps closing on me down a dark alley

The cause and effect 'outcome' of primal semantic prosodies is often much more attenuated in literary texts such as novels. Note how the semantic prosody which operates in respect of something is in a state of tension with happen in Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* and finally culminates in the line (9): "Even Gatsby could happen without any particular wonder." The semantic prosody on something governs the course of much of the taut suspense we experience in the book. Scott Fitzgerald is plainly aware that something collocates with happen and deliberately chooses to use it only twice: firstly in order to draw the reader's attention to Tom's affair (see line 22 below in the concordance for something) and to justify, in the light of this, a parallel love affair in the life of Daisy (see line 9 below in the concordance for happen and line 28 in the concordance for something)

1 he said decisively. 'But how did it happen? Did you run into the wall?'
 2 atron of Gatsby's library. 'How'd it happen?' He shrugged his shoulders.
 3 us in haughty rivalry. 'Anything can happen now that we've slid over this
 4 alling her back inside? What would happen now in the dim, incalculable
 5 sured her. 'It's a bona-fide deal. I happen to know about it.' Tom flung
 6 with Meyer Wolfsheim - that much I happen to know. I've made a little
 7 burglar blowing a safe. 'How did he happen to do that?' I asked after a
 8 how?' demanded Tom of me. 'How'd you happen to come up this far to eat?'
 9 ything at all ...' Even Gatsby could happen, without any particular wonder

1 and I won- dered if there wasn't something a little sinister about him,
 2 e said finally. 'I thought he knew something about breeding, but he wasn't
 3 rves. 'Well, I'm going to tell you something about my life,' he interrupte
 4 n, 'so I thought you ought to know something about me. I didn't want you to
 5 sentimentality, I was reminded of something - an elusive rhythm, a frag
 6 e I reached the hedge I remembered something and turned around. 'They're a
 7 alled: 'Wait! 'I forgot to ask you something, and it's important. We heard
 8 from nothing to noth- ing. She saw something awful in the very simplicity s
 9 . ' 'I've got to speak to you about something before you go.' He followed me
 10 ead as though I had been warned of something behind. Over the ashheaps the
 11 I was sure that they were selling something: bonds or insurance or autom
 12 The butler came back and murmured something close to Tom's ear, whereupon
 13 ting on Gatsby. Mr Sloane murmured something close to her ear. 'We won't be
 14 for the last time in history with something commensurate to his capacity
 15 ays had some resolves like this or something. Do you notice what he's got
 16 hing - most affecta- tions conceal something eventually, even though they
 17 ly her voice came over the wire as something fresh and cool, as if a divot
 18 m harshly. 'I just got wised up to something funny the last two days,' rem
 19 and sixty- five dollars.' 'There's something funny about a fellow that'll d
 20 ell me about it, but I knew it was something funny.' 'You mean your wife b

21 successful gestures, then there was something gorgeous about him, some height
 22 I want to hear what happens.' 'Is something happening?' I inquired innocently.
 23 et. 'Can't you talk about crops or something?' I meant nothing in particular
 24 m still a little afraid of missing something if I forget that, as my father
 25 ng the silver pepper of the stars. Something in his leisurely movements and
 26 for amour at all - and yet there's something in that voice of hers ... Well
 27 he said, but the policeman caught something in the tone and looked over w
 28 e tired.' 'And Daisy ought to have something in her life,' murmured Jordan
 29 I just don't think he went there.' Something in her tone reminded me of the
 30 . Wilson at the Gasoline Pump," or something like that.' Catherine leaned
 31 snorted Tom contemptuously, 'or something like that.' 'Listen, Tom. If
 32 took hold of hers, and as she said something low in his ear he turned towa
 33 rtisement,' Michaelis assured him. Something made him turn away from the w
 34 everyone knew her name. Then it was something more. I wasn't actually in lov
 35 ack at me, as if he were alert for something more. 'I'd be a God damned for
 36 she turned to the world concealed something - most affectations conceal
 37 ded Jordan too. She must have seen something of this in my expression, fo
 38 ree generations. The Carraways are something of a clan, and we have a trad
 39 n that pose I think he could make something of it.' We all looked in sile
 40 ly tottered a little and given her something of a fright. Again a sort of a
 41 fact, there's a sort of picnic or something. Of course I'll do my very b
 42 tinued Tom slowly, 'but you've got something on now that Walter's afr
 43 a little, as if she were balancing something on it which was quite likely t
 44 d all that. Do you see?' There was something pathetic in his concentration,
 45 asy anyhow until he had given them something, realizing in a vague way that
 46 ne had changed before my eyes into something significant, elemental, and
 47 gathered that he wanted to recover something, some idea of himself perhaps,
 48 began to dress - I felt that I had something to tell him, something to war
 49 or, and he was still searching for something to do on the day that Dan Cody
 50 quickly, ringing bells. 'I'll have something to drink for you in just a min
 51 that I had something to tell him, something to warn him about, and mornin
 52 to prig was so complete. 'I've got something to tell you, old sport - ' began
 53 tinually increasing and now he had something to show me. 'Jimmy sent me
 54 got to his feet. 'You McKees have something to drink,' he said. 'Get s
 55 made him sit down while I sent for something to eat. But he wouldn't eat,
 56 y. I was sure the request would be something utterly fantastic, and for a
 57 oons when everyone's away. There's something very sensuous about it -
 58 She laughed again, as if she said something very witty, and held my hand
 59 elieved to find that I was coming. Something was up. And yet I couldn't
 60 t he had been depressed by a book. Something was making him nibble at the
 61 ne: 'Chester, I think you could do something with her,' she broke out, but
 62 nside. As if his absence quickened something within her, Daisy leaned
 63 r beside her bed. And all the time something within her was crying for a
 64 egular tough underneath it all.' Something worried me. 'Why didn't he
 65 d then miss it.' 'We ought to plan something,' yawned Miss Baker, sitting

These examples from the novel are offered by way of a foil and a preparation for considering Halliday's citational and intuitive: "Mary saw something wonderful..." (1994:344). The form saw+something+wonderful does not occur in the Bank of English. However, if we consider the nature of the semantic prosody on *something*, there is no way that Halliday can postulate convincingly, as an equivalent: Mary came upon a wonderful sight. This form does prompt the reader to interrogate it, but not in the same way that something does. Something carries a primal semantic prosody and creates a sinister expectation in the reader/hearer. Where the writer insists upon the form something wonderful, as we see in the concordance from the Bank of English below, the reader is left with a strong sense that the promise implied by wonderful will be left unfulfilled. A number of the lines refer to contexts of evangelism and marketing. The entire concordance is shot through with irony and insincerity.

1 tough. When I was 15, something wonderful happened - I learned to braid
 2 I was whingeing about something wonderful. So it was an isolating story an
 3 During adolescence something wonderful happens to the thinking processes
 4 role. <p> There's always something wonderful to do but if this is my greatest ha
 5 switched him on. <p> And something wonderful happened. <p> He brought us the ro
 6 itself, I guess # As something wonderful that had been conceived in a mind I
 7 wanted us to see sex as something wonderful (not furtive and dirty), then Ken
 8 aking shape. It would be something wonderful for track and field," said There's
 9 marvellous. Of becoming something wonderful . Of seeding the universe with
 10 wine. We could have been something wonderful together, wonderful as this re
 11 ub?" What would you call something wonderful and out of the ordinary? `Neat #
 12 expected, but certainly something wonderful. I would look in the mirror and
 13 sexual arousal circuit something wonderful. <p> And there's nothing wrong is
 14 ow Serena, 23, demanded `something wonderful for Africa". <p> She is a good than
 15 hank the boys - they did something wonderful. <p> It was a major fit - enough t
 16 occasionally you can do something wonderful in the way of expression # <p> I
 17 hese things. But he does something wonderful every time, every now and then,
 18 earning a wage are doing something wonderful: They are making sure they are not
 19 know that they have done something wonderful for someone else. Leukaemia is say
 20 legend, an explanation, something wonderful to report, something valuable, at
 21 her husband is, in fact, something wonderful. And I think that the ambiguity the
 22 There's a joy in finding something wonderful in an ordinary shop," says Ms th
 23 they are hoping for something wonderful in every department, with enough
 24 promotional trips for `Something Wonderful" but I did a fair number of it mig
 25 they are hoping for something wonderful in every department, with enough
 26 that if they just let go something wonderful would happen, and it did. First-
 27 and Gentlemen! I got something wonderful for you tonight!" The overall know
 28 Erm and he said God has something wonderful for you but. And I should have
 29 it might have grown into something wonderful. Understanding each other's ways
 30 story and turn it into something wonderful. Many of their films create a
 31 du-Pape, here there is something wonderful for everyone. <p> The area you alon
 32 And I think that this is something wonderful about fantasy that many of them
 33 this church there is something wonderful happening # between you and Jesus
 34 the Nativity story is something wonderful which celebrates life, and helps s
 35 coming, and there is something wonderful in the way DiCillo never cheapens
 36 Skinner's case there is something wonderful about it. <p> Integrity and how Ser
 37 two erm but there is something wonderful about watching a woman with an Er
 38 th--the advantage of it, something wonderful. But he wanted to have it just her
 39 the tension and you knew something wonderful was on the cards. The difficult be
 40 ad rush because she knew something wonderful # besides her mistress was in the
 41 hat it was worth living. Something wonderful will happen that you would've Sub?"
 42 <p> That he has made something wonderful from this contradiction holds out
 43 writer, and has shown me something wonderful: that my life has a shape. In at
 44 writer, and has shown me something wonderful: that my life has a <p> This se
 45 I'm afraid I might miss something wonderful. Entrepreneurs have no shortage tha
 46 the raw ingredients of something wonderful. By removing the roses, new co
 47 at all would happen, or something wonderful was in store. Dennis explained <
 48 with one in particular. `Something Wonderful' under the name Universal Liverpool
 49 iverpool The Picket: Zoo/Something Wonderful <p> London Acton Dicey Reilley'
 50 and when you do produce something wonderful you are sure that you don't
 51 the otters represent something wonderful about the future and I feel last
 52 <h> Restaurant Review: Something wonderful is cooking at the Cook Book </h> ta
 53 was in the room. Something wonderful was a small calico cat sitting on a
 54 kitchen to make Rupert something wonderful to eat. Why wasn't Martha, with a
 55 tell me I've served something wonderful. <p> Where I'm luckier than women
 56 f Marilyn Horne to sing `Something Wonderful." I did not know that she'd been
 57 Marilyn Horne singing `Something Wonderful") <p> Maucherry: You know, we
 58 Marilyn Horne singing `Something Wonderful") <p> Conan: The choice of of Maril
 59 Another single `Something Wonderful" from The King and I was due for
 60 and radiated substance: something wonderful was about to befall her. Love, mad
 61 inside tells me that something wonderful is going to happen. <p> I don't sw
 62 Once he told them that something wonderful was going to take place in the tha
 63 call. Sniffing that something wonderful is about to happen, he goes into
 64 given the message that something wonderful but terribly secret happens that it
 65 last ounce of hope that something wonderful and miraculous is going to happen.
 66 o read those words. Then something wonderful happened. I began to sing. <p> My
 67 says he shares. `There's something wonderful and sensuous about cutting up and
 68 that every road leads to something wonderful simply because it does not lead
 69 hat he was very close to something wonderful, something that would come of its
 70 better to fail at trying something wonderful than to achieve something earning
 71 am sandwich tarted it up something wonderful; <p> a few tossed into a du-Pape
 72 the firelight. There was something wonderful about <70> his eyes, they were
 73 surrounding country, was something wonderful. <p> A street organ was droning
 74 religions. `That was something wonderful in that place. Many of my Bible
 75 and how awful it was! Something wonderful had happened, and yet you writer,
 76 ou along. Just this week something wonderful happened. <p> Every Monday I have
 77 it! <p> But this week, something wonderful happened. <p> My daughter got
 78 my journal except when something wonderful or disastrous happens. Perhaps
 79 really. When will something wonderful happen? - fool I am. 195 1 #wine.

Paper 4, 2000: Contextual prosodic theory: bringing semantic prosodies to life

This, the second most frequently cited of Louw's papers, was first published in electronic format, in December 2000 on the CD-ROM: Words in Context, A tribute to John Sinclair On his Retirement, Edited by Chris Heffer and Helen Sauntson.

In 2008, it was republished by François Rastier in Texto! Textes & Cultures, the online journal. The paper begins with a poem by Ted Hughes.

Hawk Roosting

I sit in the top of the wood, my eyes closed.
Inaction, no falsifying dream
Between my hooked head and hooked feet:
Or in sleep rehearse perfect kills and eat.

The convenience of the high trees!
The air's buoyancy and the sun's ray
Are of advantage to me;
And the earth's face upward for my inspection.

My feet are locked upon the rough bark.
It took the whole of Creation
To produce my foot, my each feather:
Now I hold Creation in my foot

Or fly up, and revolve it all slowly -
I kill where I please because it is all mine.
There is no sophistry in my body:
My manners are tearing off heads -

The allotment of death.
For the one path of my flight is direct
Through the bones of the living.
No arguments assert my right:

The sun is behind me.
Nothing has changed since I began.
My eye has permitted no change.
I am going to keep things like this.

(Ted Hughes 1957)

1 Introduction

John Sinclair's pioneering work on what have come to be known as semantic prosodies has, since the advent of the volume *Text and Technology* (Baker *et al* 1993), attracted the attention of scholars both within corpus linguistics and beyond. Most writers who

have commented upon semantic prosodies (SPs) have recognised that they are a collocational phenomenon and one which is preferably to be regarded as recoverable computationally from large language corpora rather than intuitively. Sinclair (1996: 75) demonstrated something of the interface between semantic prosodies and their role in determining units of meaning. His recent work has come closer to providing us with a working definition of SPs. He says of them:

A semantic prosody is attitudinal and on the pragmatic side of the semantics/ pragmatics continuum...once noticed among the variety of expression, it is immediately clear that the semantic prosody has a leading role to play in the integration of an item with its surroundings. It expresses something close to the 'function' of an item. (1966: 87)

Stubbs (1996: 173) has amplified the involvement of strongly negative semantic prosodies in causation. In 40,000 examples of the lemma *cause*, Stubbs reports that its most characteristic collocates are: accident, concern, damage, death and trouble. Jeffries (1996: 171), writing as a stylistician, favours the view, unpopular with many literary critics, that semantic prosodies are an intertextual rather than a purely intratextual phenomenon within a work of art. In other words, semantic prosodies are part of all readers' prior knowledge. Mercer (forthcoming) writing from the perspective of an educational theorist in the mentalist tradition suggests a possible area of rapprochement between corpora as they affect semantic prosodies and the workings of the mind.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: (1) to review our current state of knowledge of semantic prosodies, move towards a revised working definition of the term and summarise the major issues which are still to be resolved; and (2) to demonstrate the presence of corpus-based evidence to support a link, at the level of linguistic theory, between the linguistic contexts of semantic prosodies and their situational counterparts. A Contextual Prosodic Theory (CPT) would seek to elucidate through semantic prosodies the Firthian view that situational and linguistic contexts are co-extensive. The work of John Sinclair, arguably more than that of any other Neo-Firthian linguist, is demonstrably underpinned by this view. The move towards Contextual Prosodic Theory follows logically upon Sinclair's assertion:

Having arrived at the semantic prosody, we have probably come close to the boundary of the lexical item. (1996: 88)

2 Our current understanding of semantic prosodies

When scholars compare the peculiar power of written text with that of the visual media, the single feature which is commonly identified as text's main strength is that it is *connotative*. The fact that pictures are *denotative* is often seen as a weakness, because they leave too little to the imagination. Hence, the visual medium is regarded as being too iconic for its own good, whilst the richly suggestive qualities of text continue to be revered as they sustain the complex art of literary appreciation.

2.1 Are semantic prosodies a form of connotation?

We need to make it plain that semantic prosodies are not merely connotational. The COBUILD definition of *connotation* runs as follows:

The connotations of a particular word or name are the ideas or qualities which it makes you think of. (1995: 343)

One of the examples provided in the dictionary entry reads:

'Urchin', with its connotations of mischievousness, may not be a particularly apt word.

However, suppose we were to ask the average reader what the connotations of the phrasal verb *build + up* are? Is that reader likely to reply with the question: 'Transitive or intransitive?' Is connotation ever subjected to this type of rigorous precondition? Is connotation too loosely intuitive ever to prompt this sort of question? Connotation was rightly considered sufficiently important to operate at a high level of computational and lexicographic abstractness in the first edition of the COBUILD dictionary (1987) as the following examples attest:

A *housebreaker* is **someone** who enters another person's house...in order to steal their possessions.

A *house guest* is a **person** who is staying at someone's house for a period of time. (1987: 706) (emphasis added, although read with hindsight, *someone's house* may have required revision if that particular dictionary were being written after the advent of SPs)

Whereas knowledge of connotations is often a form of schematic knowledge (see Bartlett 1932; Minsky 1977 and Stubbs, this collection) of repeatable events, e.g. what *urchins* do, where they live, their financial means or lack of it and how they behave, etc, SPs are more strictly functional or attitudinal. They relate more directly to what literary critics call authorial *tone* and are supported by a series of collocates such as those mentioned earlier in Stubbs' analysis of *cause*. These are sufficiently monolithically negative for the introduction of a positive collocate, e.g. *joy*, to make a powerful adjustment to the *tone*: it becomes ironic if the choice of *joy* was deliberate or insincere if it was inadvertent. The force behind SPs is more strongly collocational than the schematic aspects of connotation. Most SPs accumulate and concentrate their power within the nine-word window of acknowledged collocational force.

On the other hand, the reversal of schematic knowledge is insufficient to identify a semantic prosody. For example, all weddings are meant to be happy and all funerals sad. Hence, when Philip Larkin describes *The Whitsun Weddings* as being '... like a happy funeral...', he is reversing a connotative pattern and not a semantic prosody. Literary critics are thrown back upon traditional labels such as simile and oxymoron in order to cope with the phenomenon.

Other aspects of our current understanding of semantic prosodies will bear upon the question of connotation and these will be referred to as we reach them below.

2.2 All of the SPs in the language ought to be recoverable by computational means

The recovery of SPs computationally is not a simple or straightforward matter. Knowing that SPs are attitudinal, pragmatic and functional does not take the investigator very far down the path of providing specific instructions to the computer's searching software. However, a number of avenues of approach can be opened up in the expectation that as each begins to yield data in ever larger quantities, software can be developed in order to link and integrate the methods for finding semantic prosodies.

Most investigators would wish to begin with the criterion of frequency and this is proposed in greater detail in Section 4 below, with the potential for discovering forms of prosodic activity even within the most frequent forms in the Bank of English, such as *a*.

Even forms which we consider free-standing and uncontroversially prosodic such as *happen* are dependent for much their prosodic power upon the fact that their subject is effectively deleted or remains latent or only potential. The proxy form and frequent collocate *something* almost seems to direct much of the prosodic power of *happen* by creating a fractured context of situation which human beings find disquieting (see Section 4 below). Note that even where forms with *some** are in the object position and well away from *happen* their prosodic power survives. All forms that begin with *some** inject into a text or situation a sinister indeterminateness which invites interrogation, inference and which drives the reader towards resolution. This can be immensely powerful in literary texts: refer to the line with which this paper concludes.

So we see that the collocates of known prosodies are likely to assist in the process of their computational recovery. This process may be assisted by the fact that in some cases, especially where a prosody reflects human foibles or popular culture, there may be a clutch of grammatically related collocates which can assist the investigator. Hence, a computer programmer can begin to craft software which links instances where prosodies proceed through narrow grammatical defiles. Appendix 1, for example, shows the output of COBUILD's programme called 'picture' for the form *ended up*.

If one concordances for *ended up looking* (Appendix 2) the prosody is easier to see. Because SPs are functional, it is always useful to **state** the function of the prosody. Here the function is to express irritation at situations which leave a human being's image or status impaired. The irritation also extends to the instances of insincerity. For example, the irritation in line 3 is that some people thrive on adversity.

2.3 SPs are often 'positive' or 'negative' and negative semantic prosodies are much more frequent than positive ones

The fact that negative prosodies are more frequent than positive ones ought not to surprise us greatly. In the same way that unrequited love forms most of the subject matter for the greatest love poetry in English and not required love (with the superb

exception of John Donne's *The Good Morrow*), we ought not to be surprised to find that contented human beings utter much less than discontented ones. Besides, requited love is a fairly busy and time consuming state and one which is as inimical to the act of writing. However, if fracture and discord are the basis of unhappy contexts of situation, then the over-provision of intimacy, comfort, food, drink and possessions are likely to form the basis of contented situations. John Sinclair long ago indicated to the author (personal communication) that the author might find the positive prosodies clustering around forms such as *warm*.

The concordance for *warmth and* bears this out and creates scope for the investigation of positive prosodies with objectivity rather than *schmaltz*. However, it should be noted that this concordance for *warmth and* (Appendix 3) does not single out a semantic prosody, because its authorial function hardly rises above the banal and it fails too on the related criterion of pragmatism. It is a good example, however, of the strong provision of connotation.

A theoretical position with regard to positive and negative prosodies is postulated in more detail in Section 4 below.

2.4 SPs demonstrate some relationship with transitivity

SPs demonstrate some relationship with transitivity and in the case of *build up*, at least, this relationship is demonstrably consistent computationally within large corpora. Louw (1993) points out that where human beings are in control of their own destiny and are shaping it transitively for themselves, the semantic prosody is positive, but where people are at the mercy of forces beyond their control, the things which build up intransitively are negative and uniformly threatening. Appendices 4 and 5 show some KWIC concordances for *build + up + of* and *build + up + a* which demonstrate the phenomenon. The nominal form with *of* (Appendix 4) presents us with an impressive array of the products of the intransitive form in action.

The transitive form followed by *a* (Appendix 5) provides an insight into those aspects of life's rich pageant which people can build up for themselves. Note that the relative absence of ironic forms is due to the fact that only perverse and dangerous people deliberately build up bad things. If the corpus were captured from the records of secret service dark operations or from the washroom conversations of the operatives one encounters in spy thrillers, one might well discover forms such as: 'We must build up more resentment in the community.' To reverse the prosody in this concordance is to flag an evil motive. Only citations 6, 7 and especially 116 appear to come close to this and the presence of a motive would need to be verified from an extended context (which this author is unable to access remotely from his country!).

Sinclair (1990) offers an early reference to SPs in the form *break out*, with the explanation:

A set of real examples may show, collectively, aspects of the language that are not obvious individually.

The moment work stops, disorder is liable to break out.
If he gets promoted, all hell will break out.
This caused an epidemic to break out among them.
This final destructive fever had to break out somewhere.

Note that it is bad things that break out, not good ones. Any such points emerging from a set of constructed examples could not, of course, be trusted. (1990: xi)

Ten years later, a transitive set of *break out* followed by *the* from the Bank of English can be used to bear out the involvement of transitivity in SPs, with the stronger ironies on lines 1 and 46 (Appendix 6):

It is clear that the link between SPs and transitivity is very old and, for this reason, very reliable. A great deal of productive work is now possible in the area of semantic prosodies and transitivity and much of this will be assisted computationally through the use of parsed and tagged corpora.

2.5 SPs operate in a binary relationship between *irony* and *insincerity* and only the choice of irony is fully advertent.

In the case of irony, there is always some well calculated collocational deviance from a SP present. However, rather than some ‘value-added’ phenomenon like the Russian Formalists’ *ostranenie* or ‘making strange or difficult’ for poetic effect, the deviance from an SP, because it is collocational, operates in ways which make our intuition move more slowly as we unravel the meaning. Also present is the Aristotelian criterion that the process of unravelling will always contain overtones of mockery. Moon (1998: 161, 256) offers the superb example from the Bank of English:

President Clinton fanned the flames of optimism in Northern Ireland. (Appendix 7: line 42)

The conclusion we reach as we unravel this line becomes an act of critical literacy. For a split second the form is rejected as incoherent on the basis that *optimism* bears no resemblance to the normal collocates of this fixed expression. However, within a further split second, the critical message of the writer is unravelled: the peace process is, *ironically*, almost as aggressive as the war it is designed to end. The line has to be an intentional comment on US foreign policy. The power to reach this conclusion can only come from the fact that our prior knowledge grasps the purport and drift of all of the collocates to the right of this fixed expression as part of the act of reading (see line 42). Part of the interpretation process, too, is the exclusion of *embers* during the reasoning process: this consolidates the question of advertency on the part of the author. This is confirmed elsewhere in the same concordance by the appearance of a second ironic form, *life* at line 38. However, the corpus offers us what has never been possible before: the ability to verify and explain in detail how the phenomenon works. This marks the much awaited advent of **instrumentation** in language study. The power of the Information Age lies not in the information but in the altered act of reading.

Some measure of just how delexical the expression is, may be gauged from the fact that only one reference to real, literal flames rather than figurative ones occurs in the entire concordance (line 59). This offers a further indication that Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 4) would do well to appreciate that ‘the metaphors we live by’ are all delexical. The implications for Hallidayan ‘grammatical’ metaphor are no different. Those ‘metaphors’ we intuitively *think* we live by may also be offered solely in order to act as part of a constellation of prosodies, where the intention is merely to provide what must be regarded as atmospheric support in the form of a cluster of prosodies all of which have the same functional, attitudinal and pragmatic aim (see Karter's racing report quoted in 2.7 below).

2.6 SPs frequently operate in the presence of reflexive forms and often do so ironically and to express disapproval and irritation

We have already seen in 2.2 above that *end + up + *ing* offers us evidence of the irritation human beings feel when pragmatic situations, especially those which were ‘full of’ promise, suffer a reversal which causes them loss of face and humiliation. The diligent SP taxonomist of the future would find a fair number of them through the form *up: finish + up* and *wind + up* are cases in point. Participial forms such as *faced + with* and forms which act as a situational fulcrum such as *only + to + be + *ed* will assist in filling out this area of SPs.

However, the same functional component of the SP perseveres in many reflexive forms. This is especially the case where the speaker/writer's tone is one of irritation at the mismatch between the rich promise which was expected of a situational outcome and the hazardous and humiliating scenario which has or is likely to take its place. The SP often expresses irritation at the fact that individuals have to extricate themselves from a particular situation. The irritation may be caused by the fact that some dilatory conduct in an individual requires fairly drastic forms of repair. The irritation may also appear as a warning. The form *get + *self + *ed* (Appendix 8) carries the prosody fairly strongly. Note that it does not carry all of the prosody: in the case of *herself*, the term *pregnant* is frequent as a negative and often secretly envious evaluation.

The situational irony is altogether stronger and more poignant in the case of SPs involving reflexives. The situations often involve disagreeable aspects of human nature. In Section 4 below we see how the characterisation of SP reflects the characters of the human participants. Firth had the foresight to include the term *personalities* in his taxonomy of context of situation. So, when Sinclair speaks of a ‘semantic prosody of reluctance-inability’ in relation to the form *true feelings* (1996: 90), his observation is subsumed by Firth's term *...persons, personalities*. Equally, in relation to the monolithically negative prosody in the form *brook* (1996: 91), Sinclair's reference to the intransigence of leaders and their propensity to threaten, is also covered by Firth's term *...persons, personalities*.

Human nature is particularly reluctant to reward *success*, as the reflexive prosody *victim + of + 3own* reflects in Appendix 9. Note the ferocity with which it applies to

success in business in a globalised world. Most of these references follow *its + own + success* below. It is in evidence of this kind that we see very clearly the co-extensive nature of situational and verbal irony.

2.7 SPs ‘hunt in packs’ like those of kinesics

SPs ‘hunt in packs’ like those of kinesics and a single occurrence of a semantic prosody is rarer than the appearance of several whose lexical content is collectively subservient to the expression of an attitude. Speakers and writers will usually avoid any lexical similarities between component SPs in a single constellation or ‘pack’ as such similarities might revive full lexical status in the perception of the reader/hearer. Poetry on the other hand relies for the creation of imagery on the fact that, as Jakobson explains: ‘...the poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination’ (1960: 358). Louw (forthcoming) offered the following extract to demonstrate that its author tries (not entirely successfully) to keep his negative SPs lexically disparate. This type of phenomenon in extended text is likely to have far-reaching consequences for the Hallidayan notion of ‘grammatical metaphor’ which has apparently been constructed, like those of Lakoff and Johnson, from single sentence citation forms (see Halliday 1985, 1994).

Racing: Haines takes reins for sweet surgery

By JOHN KARTER, Racing Correspondent

THE much-maligned men of the Jockey Club have found a 'sugar daddy' to boost their image with a little cosmetic surgery. That has been the typically cynical reaction to the appointment of Christopher Haines, a high-flyer from the sugar industry, as the Club's first ever chief executive.

Constructive criticism is a healthy thing, particularly where a self-electing body like the Jockey Club is concerned. However, the type of cynicism greeting the arrival of Haines, who was officially introduced to the media yesterday on his second day in office, smacks very much of a "Pavlov's dogs" response which assumes every move the Club makes is anachronistic and autocratic and therefore automatically to be shot down in flames."

(*The Independent*, 4 October 1989)

2.8 SPs are often delexical and may appear in fixed expressions. The ability to recognise SPs intuitively often depends upon the grammatical constructions in which they are embedded.

SPs are likely to be progressively delexical, frequent and may often be recovered within fixed expressions. Their positive or negative status is akin to what historical semantists like Ullmann (1962: 231) refer to as ameliorative or pejorative semantic change. Such change carries with it the phenomenon of delexicalisation. In the case of SPs, one

is dealing with forms which are functional, attitudinal and pragmatic rather than purely lexical. Hence a form like *take* is both frequent and delexicalised, but it has no prosodic function. It is significant, by comparison, that in *fan* + the + flames* as it is extracted from the Bank of English, only one instance in 69 carries a reference to flames that are **literal**. Hence, the prosody of disapproval is carried by an expression which, because it is monolithically negative and frequent and attitudinal, and forms part of prior knowledge. However, ironically, the single literal form is made to look like a cliché! This is evidence of the fact that readers' prior knowledge assembled into the future by data-assisted means will add a totally new dimension to what was an intuitive preserve.

Here is a further example. In the city in which the author lives, a fleet of delivery trucks carries the following message painted on all of its trucks: 'Another Load of Crystal Candy and Cadbury's Chocolate Being Delivered.' To the author of the message, the term *load* carries the fully lexical meaning as it is understood on a daily basis by the owner of a sweet factory: a delivery involves the transportation of a *load*.

However, note the way in which the literal message is undermined by the delexical and negatively prosodic status of *load of* (Appendix 10). Chocolate sits peculiarly uneasily with some of the collocates to the right of the expression. Yet the writer of the message is blithely oblivious of the surrounding delexical menace.

One might have thought that the syntax of *load of* would have been sufficiently compelling to forestall the painting of the message onto the vehicles, but the gap between the fully lexical and the delexical is much more opaque than Lakoff and Johnson or even Halliday would have us believe. After all, it forms the mainspring for some of our most respected humour:

Ronnie Barker: But now a sketch set in Frankenstein's castle in which I **take** the all important part of the monster.

Ronnie Corbett: And I make him put it back!

(Vincent 1977: 26, emphasis added)

It is precisely the opacity of many SPs at the level of intuition that provides the excitement for the data-assisted literary critic. Louw (1997: 242) offers an analysis of *gives rise to* in a poem by Philip Larkin. Larkin's line is:

...Strange reciprocity,
The circumstance we cause,
In time gives rise to us,
Becomes our memory.

Larkin's intuition far outstrips that of ordinary readers. The form *gives rise to*, once verified from the corpus, is found to be monolithically negative, but our intuition has difficulty seeing this.

SPs will be amenable to recognition *intuitively* only where the dictates of grammatical structure foster this and possibly not even then (see Louw's example of *without feeling* 1993: 175). Here human intuition assigns nominal rather than verbal status to a

citation form. The distance of the citation form offered from a sentence boundary will probably have a role in this process. It is risible to suggest that we ought to remain made-up-example mentalists with an aversion for offering an opinion on anything too far from a sentence boundary.

2.9 A working definition of semantic prosodies

A semantic prosody refers to a form of meaning which is established through the proximity of a consistent series of collocates, often characterisable as positive or negative, and whose primary function is the expression of the attitude of its speaker or writer towards some pragmatic situation. A secondary, although no less important attitudinal function of semantic prosodies is the creation of irony through the deliberate injection of a form which clashes with the prosody's consistent series of collocates. Where such reversals are inadvertent they are indicative of the speaker's or writer's insincerity. Semantic prosodies may also be found where the integrity of normal contexts of situation are fractured: (1) through the use of delexical apparent metaphors and learned expressions, whose force, over a period of time, has effectively been to delete human participants from contexts of situation, through their conversion into and replacement by certain desirable or undesirable human characteristics; and (2) through the use of forms of language which mark incomplete contexts of situation or those which are threatened with some form of fracture through the occurrence of some event which is either caused or spontaneous. The extent to which semantic prosodies are co-extensive with contexts of situation is verifiably determinable by and through Contextual Prosodic Theory (CPT) (see Section 4 below).

3 Issues still outstanding in the investigation of semantic prosodies

SPs are not easily accounted for within existing taxonomies of language function. For example, according to Jakobson's quasi-formalist Prague School taxonomy, SPs would slip through the net: irony would straddle his poetic and emotive functions and, on occasion, the phatic function as well. No provision is made by Jakobson for the capture taxonomically of insincerity and play in language or the ability of human intuition to recognise them.

Yet interest in the diagnostic applications of SPs continues to grow, based on the premise suggested by Louw (1993) that when we are being insincere, the prosodies we place into our text, **write** us. Even mentalist linguists have been at pains to express something of the possibility that certain aspects of language appear to offer a deep and plausible link with the emotions of a community and aspects of its popular culture.

If there are metaphors we live by, they are all likely to be found to be delexical and a bottom up approach to the subject is likely to reveal colossal mismatches between intuition and the direct observation of authentic data. For example, a search of the term *argument* reveals that arguments are statistically more complex and multi-faceted than

they are steeped in the hoary metaphors of war as Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 4) blithely suppose.

3.1 The affective aspect of semantic prosodies

SPs often betray a speaker/writer's attitude and appear to operate almost as a verbal kinesic in much the same way as kinesic clusters and constellations have been demonstrated to operate in the work of Morris (1977) and Birdwhistell (1971) on body language. In the same way that body language is considered a reliable marker of a speaker's attitude, because kinesic activity is a 'vestigial' remnant of man's ancient link with the higher primates, SPs may equally be difficult to fake with any apparent authenticity. They may have the status of a verbal kinesic.

Where groups recognise the negative aspects of a prosody and wish, for ideological reasons to reverse it, they may take steps at the level of policy in order to do so. A case in point is the movement which supports euthanasia. They recognise that to *cause* death is less satisfactory from their point of view than it is to bring it about. The following small number of instances appear in the Bank of English.

invasive event" which is designed	to bring about death rather than the
even if such action is likely	to bring about death . <p> A later act of
he said. <p> Secondly, they	bring about death and destruction of
or using some other means	to bring about death . The right being
issue of removing food and fluids	to bring about death . Basic care--food,
be openly and readily available	to bring about death , and families would

SPs are also associated with affective factors which culminate in forms of insincerity (see examples of racism, suasive text etc in the extended contexts of *a recipe for success* in Appendix 11 to be discussed below). In extreme cases semantic prosodies are affected by psychiatric trauma. Psychiatric patients who had waived their rights to justice at South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings were asked to comment on the work of the TRC. Several referred to it as a good organisation:

The (commission's) idea that speaking out **causes healing** is a wonderful one.

(*New Nation*, 19 April 1996, emphasis added)

The only instance of the same form in the Bank of English would tend to align this outcome of the TRC's work with forms of trickery and magic:

family for support, eased their minds as well as their bodies. When Thenotte kept watch all night outside the sick woman's house, she focused the neighborhood's attention on the patient's suffering, a process of support that might in itself **cause healing**. The effect of the healer-diviners on their communities cannot be underestimated. One English healer had forty

customers a week; it was said that people traveled twenty to forty miles to consult a witch. Elizabeth Cracklow of Oxfordshire had been

3.2 Differences between spoken and written corpora

No serious investigation of differences between spoken and written instances of SPs has so far been attempted. There may well be subtle differences and the extent to which these are due to issues of corpus development rather than mode of discourse will need to be investigated. The following is a brief KWIC concordance for *all sorts of* from the spoken corpus. The sampling of the spoken language of senior citizens may have captured the ‘halo effect’ of retrospection in old age. This would need to be verified and differentiated from the possibility of their having been caused by a semantic shift within the space of a generation.

1 time I suppose. And so er they did all sorts of accommodation for them an earlie
2 r vacation she became nursemaid to all sorts of families and of course was treat
3 led scrapesies. Anyway there were all sorts of games that I remember that we pl
4 s up in the medical school who got all sorts of grants <M01> Oh yes. <M02> from
5 re or less yes. We had erm we had all sorts of hangers-on it you used to it alw
6 he progressive group and organized all sorts of lectures and seminars and things
7 + <ZF0> university was [pause] had all sorts of links. <M01> Yes it That's right
8 ctually exciting place. Er because all sorts of new things were going on new ide
9 m. <M01> but they may be freed for all sorts of other much more rewarding kinds
10 ppened in Magdalene and there were all sorts of people there like MX and [pause]
11 they said they kept bumping in to all sorts of people <FOX> That they knew yeah
12 Y> ? <M01> Yes I was influenced by all sorts of people and er I er it's very dif
13 o dinners in men's colleges and to all sorts of plays like when the when a Greek
14 I did literature and she we passed all sorts of she lent me a wonderful book whi
15 nd they went down the park and did all sorts of stuff. <FOX> And it's this is pr
16 he at the <PN1> Bodleian <PN0> and all sorts of things and writing an essay on i
17 0> and but because of that I'd And all sorts of things started to come. I rememb
18 of the war so we were involved in all sorts of things like helping with washing
19 referendum on the constitution er all sorts of things and you know <F01> An all
20 yes. <M01> they get bed sores and all sorts of things and she revolutionised er

21 at these provisions and of course all sorts of universities <ZF1> I think I <ZF
 22 e me examiner in English and I did all sorts of very nice things extramural <ZGY
 23 ence. [pause] And erm they went in all sorts of walks of life. Er but you know <
 24 s I had these mature students from all sorts of walks of life and it was er co-e
 25 laughs] <M01> You know there were all sorts of ways in which you could have mis
 26 ecoming you know less agreeable in all sorts of ways. <M01> Yeah. <M02> And but

4. Towards a contextual prosodic theory (CPT)

The fact that semantic prosodies are part of all of us rather than quasi-literary inventions is my point of departure for an attempt to see if they can sustain, albeit mildly, the status of a linguistic theory.

An area of neglect (caused by genuine puzzlement over a number of years) in the work on semantic prosodies has been the failure of investigators, this author included, to propose some means of finding *all* of the semantic prosodies in the language, and that, preferably by computational means.

However, for semantic prosodies to attain the status of theory, vulnerable statements, of a strictly Popperian type, will not only have to be made about how they work, but such statements will also need to be proved correct. Sir Karl Popper (1963) points out that it is the first duty of the scientist to ensure that his claims are potentially falsifiable.

4.1 Does situational meaning drive grammar?

In this regard, some preliminary work has already been done. Louw (1993: 171) refers to the fact that the positive as opposed to the negative prosody on *build up* is driven by the presence or absence of transitivity. Taking the matter further means that one is forced to confront the issue of whether, as averred by Chomsky:

...grammar is autonomous and independent of meaning... (1957: 17)

and that corpus data is flawed (1964: 207).

or whether in the Malinowskian spirit of Firthian and Neo-Firthian investigation, situational meaning is likely to be found to be inextricably related to grammar. Advances have been slow. More than half of the community of linguists rejected all authentic evidence and spent fifty years evolving a complicated notation for the description of made up examples.

This brings us to the issue behind the poem, *Hawk Roosting* with which this article begins. In this poem, Hughes shows us a fictional world presided over by a hawk which has evolved to a position of unchallenged supremacy. Man as hunter could offer a fatal challenge to this situation, but this is not stated by the poet. However, the world in which the hawk lives would be challenged instantly if one were to proceed down the list

of word frequencies from COBUILD, threatening as one went, to add the next word listed there to this poem. The challenge would occur as early as position 5. One cannot add the word *a* to the poem without destroying the hawk's universe.

In the same way, one needs to ask where, in terms of descending frequency, falcomorphic man's sense of security might begin to feel challenged and express itself in the presence or absence of linguistic data? If it is the role of *a* to introduce new elements into a context of situation, then the same *homo sapiens* who is awed by *build-ups* which are not of his/her own making, is likely find new developments threatening by and large. If the change of prosody brought about by the presence or absence of transitivity can drive meaning to the extent that acts lose all positive reference, warmth and rapport when man is not the actor, then one should indeed begin the search for semantic prosodies as early as position 5 in the descending frequency list, if not earlier.

New events of great suddenness ought to carry with them some indication of the tremor in the human domain that they engender. The term *heart + attack* is a case in point. The fact that *a* almost always precedes the form *heart attack* and hardly ever the form *the*, would be regarded as little more than grammatical choice within the noun phrase by the followers of Chomsky. The fact that proportions of *the + dog* to *a + dog* are never challenged allows the expectation perhaps of one occurring as against the other to settle at around fifty-fifty.

Yet, if one asks someone in the street why it is that heart attacks never attract a second reference, the answer is likely to be quick in coming: because they are followed both in language and in life by the collocate or the event: **death**. Inviting one's interlocutor to recall a particular heart attack is both discourteous and insensitive. Only insensitive busybodies quiz the bereaved (see the COBUILD 'picture' file for *heart + attack*).

The management of data surrounding the fifth most frequent form in the language would be a huge undertaking. Yet, if we follow the lead given us by delexicalisation in fixed expressions like *fan + the + flames*, fixed expressions which involve the use of *a* might bear out the hypothesis central to the creation of a theory: that *a* involves events and expectations that human beings find situationally disquieting, simply because they are new. Our desired evolution towards comfort finds them as threatening as they would be to Hughes' *Hawk Roosting* at the start of this paper, even if we shrink from admitting this. For the most part the occurrence of *a* might be like a knock at the front door, harmless most of the time, but, *before* the door has been opened, with key persons and personalities missing from its Firthian context of situation, palpable discomfort remains. Two delexical fixed expressions: *the + recipe + for* and *a + recipe + for* will be examined below.

Intuitively, we feel that the latter embodies a negative semantic prosody and intuitively we are even prepared to hazard a guess that *disaster* is the most likely collocate to the right. At this high level of frequency, involving a fixed or learned expression, intuition is not surprisingly more reliable. But what of the form *the + recipe + for*?

In attempting to confirm our theory, we need to hypothesise that **if** the form *the + recipe + for + disaster* occurs at all in the Bank of English, it will need to refer to a recurrent type of disaster of which, almost perversely, we are both fully aware and

whose occurrence we are powerless to avert. Gratifyingly, there is an occurrence in the corpus, but only one.

starting with the bankrupt TWA, but Murphy says bankruptcy and fare wars are not the only problems the industry faces. <p> KEVIN MURPHY, Morgan Stanley: The industry suffers from overcapacity. The recession plus over capacity in any industry is the recipe for disaster, so you just can't say well it was the bankrupt carriers, they caused havoc in the industry. No. It's a whole host of things. <p> RADKE: Another issue Congress will consider this week concerns Boeing's leading rival, the European

The hypothesis is borne out so far. It may sound perverse to say that the effects of the combination of the recession and overcapacity are sufficiently common and repeatable to be a disaster which is 'familiar' enough to attract the term *the* rather than *a*, but for an expert like Kevin Murphy with a firm of financial consultants, Morgan Stanley, this is very likely to be the case. Within his own economic schemata, overcapacity and recession are repeatable events and their behaviour in combination, to financial consultants, at any rate, is so familiar that it has lost a great deal of the fear of the unknown which the term *a* in this fixed expression always implies.

A further source of fear for the proposer of a hypothesis is the occurrence of 23 instances in the corpus of *a + recipe + for + success*. A KWIC concordance for these appears below.

```
1      the old Arsenal diet but, as a recipe for success, a certain Double
2      back over the old ground is not a recipe for success. As a teacher, I
3      an adventure comedy sounds like a recipe for success. But Undercover Blues
4      rinciples of war", not so much as a recipe for success but as a guide or
5      Olive Stone and it sounds like a recipe for success. But sadly, something
6      HOWARD P FRI PROPERTY Secret a recipe for success GEORGE Kirmos will gi
7      h> KITCHEN OF THE MONTH <A RECIPE FOR SUCCESS </h> Moving fr
8      1089p. <p> <h> Alpha serves up a recipe for success;City </h> George
9      lawyers? It hardly sounds like a recipe for success in the notoriously
10     AND MODERN CONVENIENCE IS A RECIPE FOR SUCCESS IN THE KITCHEN.
11     cars from the Third World provide a recipe for success in the U.S # especially
12 Graduate Plus: Beefeater cooks up a recipe for success # Innovative staff
13 realise that a supplement is not a recipe for success - it can only work if
14 other on the menu may actually be a recipe for success. Dr Martin Brookes
15 past. <p> This is not necessarily a recipe for success. <p>A friend suggested
16     the manager and the set-up is a recipe for success." <p> The fee is also
17     a combination of both is a recipe for success," says Mr Dugdale. <p>
18     <b> SMART G </b> Double dose a recipe for success SUNSHINE Marlins
19     and her no-fuss feast proved a recipe for success. The well-planned me
20     round your knees isn't much of a recipe for success. The proper answer is
21     me companies they are not always a recipe for success. Vital research and
22     <p> Billy Casper believed that a recipe for success was more important.
23     If being nice to people is such a recipe for success, why isn't everybody
```

What, then would need to be wrong with these instances if the hypothesis is to be borne out? It would be tempting to use the argument of serendipity: not all newly arrived recipes herald disasters, because some must succeed albeit purely by chance. However, there is enough clear evidence for us to eschew that argument.

At the very least, for the hypothesis to succeed, the expanded contexts for the concordance lines above would need to evince either of the criteria of *insincerity* or *irony* (Louw 1993) as a result of their having breached so substantially the negative semantic prosody. There is enough evidence and scope for a shout of 'Eureka!', but every line needs to be justified for the theory to hold water. The author is grateful to the editors for their generosity and forbearance in allowing the fully expanded contexts of *a recipe for success* to appear, with interpretive comments, as Appendix 11.

There is, of course, a great deal of *prima facie* evidence to demonstrate that the theory is upheld. In particular, the term *hardly* acts as a fulcrum for much of the irony, as do the negatives and a cluster of *but* to the right of the node. This can be further verified by the forms ***synonymous*** with *success* which the investigator obtains by concordancing for *hardly* and *not*.

Hardly a recipe for

1 to all parties. This is hardly a recipe for strong leadership but the
 2 ecipe for riotous living. Hardly a recipe seed packets. It could have been a
 3 secretary to her father. Hardly a recipe for riotous living. Hardly a recipe
 4 he other worries, that is hardly a recipe for outperformance. <p BUSINESS
 5 ecipe for riotous living. Hardly a recipe for meeting men. No, till recently
 6 commitment to change is hardly a recipe for longer-term electoral approval.
 7 as just plain batty, hardly a recipe for successful flotation. <p>
 8 eeks and garlic. There is hardly a recipe for a main course or starter which
 9 ducks and not much else. Hardly a recipe for a balanced environment. <p>
 10 than a year. <p> This is hardly a recipe for a booming economy. Indeed, t
 11 the consortium. That is hardly a recipe for holding down Airbus's costs.
 12 looked outdated. It was hardly a recipe for enjoying fashion, and women
 13 into 21 cabinet seats hardly a recipe for harmony and unselfish teamwo
 14 <p> THE lawyers? It hardly sounds like a recipe for success in the notor
 15 looks of hookers hardly sounds like a recipe for ratings success, but

Not a recipe for

1 to pull in their horns are not a recipe for growth but a recipe for
 2 is DNA survival, this is not a recipe for happiness. So long as DNA is
 3 on short-term cost-cutting is not a recipe for long-term growth. Our proposal
 4 And booze and junk food are not a recipe for peak physical fitness. Glenn
 5 about the inconsequential is not a recipe for sustaining interest for long.
 6 This misguided indignation is not a recipe for serious reform. It's a recipe
 7 and his neo-fascist allies # not a recipe for stability. <p> Pien za, the
 8 realise that a supplement is not a recipe for success - it can only work if
 9 back over the old ground is not a recipe for success. As a teacher, I
 10 aster." He stuck a are not a recipe for growth but a recipe for recessi
 11 contender. `This is certainly not a recipe for winning a popularity contest,"
 12 passkeys, shredders - not a recipe for a happy presidential campaign.
 13 our weight: too much fat is not a recipe for a super-healthy body. But if
 14 and continued violence. It is not a recipe for a society at ease with itself,
 15 leadership changes, this is not a recipe for a peaceful or orderly transfer
 16 India must stand alone" was not a recipe for a coherent policy.1 In this and
 17 Civil Aviation Authority are not a recipe for failure but a time-bomb for
 18 reactions to what you do is not a recipe for corporate bliss. Believer
 19 is `a platform of opportunity, not a recipe for dependency". By and large this
 20 from 12 separate interests is not a recipe for dynamism. It was said that a
 21 has hit rock bottom. This is not a recipe for electoral success," he said. Mr
 22 <p> Simply `being there" is not a recipe for career success. I was looking

5 Is Contextual Prosodic Theory new?

Contextual Prosodic Theory is confirmatory of the Firthian tradition rather than new. Such confirmation is particularly welcome at the turn of the millennium. Firth died in 1960. In that year the most powerful computer in the United Kingdom had little more than 10K of RAM (John Sinclair, personal communication). Firth could not verify his theories computationally, but when he gave us his taxonomy for the Context of Situation, he, and indirectly Malinowski, were really, unwittingly, giving us the key to SPs. SPs arise from ***fractured*** contexts of situation. If there are elements missing such as persons/personalities and/or relevant objects or even outcomes, negative SPs occur.

Positive SPs are very likely the product of fracture through over-provision. Here is Firth's taxonomy:

A key concept in the technique of the London group is the concept of *context of situation*...

The context of situation for Malinowski is an ordered series of events considered *in rebus*.

My view was, and still is, that "context of situation" is best used as a suitable schematic construct to apply to language events, and that it is a group of related categories at a different level from grammatical categories, but rather of the same abstract nature. A context of situation for linguistic work brings into relation the following categories:

A. The relevant features of participants: persons, personalities.

(i) The verbal action of the participants.

(ii) The non-verbal action of the participants.

B. The relevant objects.

C. The effect of the verbal action.

(Firth 1950, reprinted 1957)

Delexicalisation makes these fractured contexts *appear* to be metaphorical in Halliday's sense. For example, when the form *greet* has the human subject replaced by a characteristic such as *cynicism*, a negative semantic prosody results. It is worth noting that *love* cannot ordinarily act as the subject in order to convert the SP into a positive one, but its provision in jest satisfies the criterion of irony.

Just as negative SPs are the product of fractured contexts of situation, positive ones are the product of abundant over-provision. We see this in *build up* used transitively. *Sybaritic* (Appendix 12) prompts the sort of collocates to its right which show something of the quality of over-provision of people, objects and outcomes that human beings relish. Its prosodic status must be considered dubious precisely because no author has made bold to instantiate an irony against the monolith of positive collocates (with the possible exception of *myopia*, reminiscent of 'Eyes Wide Shut' below). However, its content will please and console those who find connotation a source of fascination.

6 Conclusion

Will Contextual Prosodic Theory tell us anything new about language and life? It will tell us more about the former and less about the latter. Human beings emerge just as we might have expected: selfish, comfort-loving, nea-phobic complainers – who are often insincere (and can now be outed diagnostically through semantic prosodies), but who have a well-cultivated sense of humour and use irony, apparently in jest, to invoke the momentary threat of the unusual.

However, human beings are fascinated by the extent to which their language can read them and they are unlikely to pass up the opportunity of seeing the fuller picture of the functionally attitudinal aspects of their lives as this is recovered from corpora. The technology for building irony and insincerity detectors ought not to take long in coming. Writers may even discover to their surprise that as they sit before their word processors,

writing ‘of course, this has caused us both great joy’ they are confronted with a flag on the screen which says: ‘Are you perhaps being insincere? Or are you being deliberately ironic? Press any key to continue.’ Curiosity will secure the future of CPT.

What will the corpus linguist discover who ventures southwards down the descending word frequency list at the Bank of English, looking for contexts fractured or over-provided? Semantic prosodies will be there for the finding. Some of the frequent ones hunt in packs even within a particular literary work. Louw (forthcoming) shows how they dominate the creation of suspense in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, through the use of the term *something*, to show the lacunae in the lives of the persons and personalities yearning for ‘over-provision’ and they culminate in *something*’s most celebrated collocate, the first semantic prosody noted by John Sinclair:

Even Gatsby could *happen*, without any particular wonder

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Appendices

Appendix 1: 'Picture' for *end up*

the	and	and	NODE	up	in	the
and	the	i	NODE		with	a
of	but	he	NODE		on	in
a	that	we	NODE		being	to
<p>	<p>	have	NODE		as	hospital
to	so	they	NODE		at	on
that	i	it	NODE		doing	an
in	we	she	NODE		having	for
s	they	but	NODE		going	and
i	of	has	NODE		getting	it
but	would	had	NODE		a	his
so	it	who	NODE		playing	with
it	he	ve	NODE		taking	at
his	how	which	NODE		losing	her
was	could	you	NODE		paying	<p>
he	if	that	NODE		spending	more
for	where	all	NODE		making	like
we	what	eventually	NODE		looking	bed
on	to	just	NODE		staying	this
with	then	always	NODE		by	that
how	might	s	NODE		not	one
where	his	still	NODE		buying	two
would	she	often	NODE		back	court
their	have	actually	NODE		giving	my
her	why	also	NODE		working	them
my	a	finally	NODE		living	him
one	before	both	NODE		the	me
two	in	probably	NODE		here	was
last	when	d	NODE		winning	about
him	time	then	NODE		sitting	as
is	all	index	NODE		feeling	out
they	may	average	NODE		dead	i
said	s	nearly	NODE		using	their
you	well	them	NODE		sleeping	all
me	year	somehow	NODE		like	pound
from	them	usually	NODE		writing	three
time	d	ball	NODE		costing	only
could	him	even	NODE		marrying	our
out	had	shares	NODE		running	prison
many	which	almost	NODE		putting	of
year	you	many	NODE		talking	some
at	er	people	NODE		<p>	jail
years	my	others	NODE		that	something
as	this	family	NODE		selling	over
why	end	women	NODE		behind	or
or	one	men	NODE		telling	its
all	erm	invariably	NODE		sounding	four
new	who	only	NODE		sharing	into
this	me	what	NODE		just	he
up	two	yields	NODE		hitting	most

Appendix 2: end up looking

and sophisticated, you'll end up looking 15 years older than you really
lifted look, just to end up looking a bit smoother and a lot
boyfriend like mad and still end up looking absolutely great? <p> Some
women
room, I'm worried it will end up looking all cramped and messy. Any
ideas?
was at Doncaster once and you end up looking an amateurish prat on Denis
Norden'
own stupid fault if they end up looking and suffering like survivors of
a
the dehydration, you'll only end up looking as shiny as a sardine. What
your
mortar sets or the wall will end up looking as though someone has loosed
But the daft thing is, they end up looking as if they're going to expire."
I didn't think that I would end up looking at mysticism and Buddhism and
the
2: People are going to just end up looking at the screen more than they're
under the law and they would end up looking at substantial time in prison.
I
It's real work, because you end up looking at three times as many things
as
was a real chance I would end up looking at an uncertain future. I was
too much and you'll end up looking bright orange. We liked
Revlon's
hair the rest of us just end up looking butch and big-nosed. What on
earth
contradictory items only to end up looking confused and directionless. By
attempts at sexual daring end up looking crude rather than suggestive,
more
some golden hand- shakes may end up looking distinctly tarnished. <p>
SUNDAY
work and bled feet that end up looking effortless." Rickman's own
you know the old problem. You end up looking for the keys underneath the
lamp '
drinkers are also likely to end up looking for the nearest Systemsbolaget,
as
one artist has got and they end up looking for the same for their client.
It
are thousands of hopefuls who end up looking for a new job. <p> Fewer than a
and other features, which may end up looking grotesque on the figure of an
next 30 years so that I can end up looking just like him." Robert has just
the shadow of the tower would end up looking like lesser- spotted characters
like trees" And, of course, I end up looking like a total git and people
sneer,
should wear so that you don't end up looking like a former communist. <p> GQ
ensure that magicians won't end up looking like extras from ER (Nine,
8.30)
<p> The Garden State could end up looking like this," he said. <p> What's
thought about last and they end up looking like an after thought and not
photo shoot # I don't want to end up looking like a Chelsea lady # She
kissed
exception. Many transvestites end up looking like Joan Collins because they
can'
or even charcoal. It can end up looking like a drawing! it isn't cheap
accessories. You don't end up looking like the Invisible Man <p>
are. But be careful not to end up looking like the Michelin Man. <p>
Talking
frightened. I didn't want to end up looking like a mincing, faggoty thing.
My
off 10 pounds because I could end up looking like a pre-Betty Ford/Liz
Taylor
that all too common trap and end up looking like a total stranger on your
big

worked on because he didn't end up looking like a woman. He was truly
 <ZF1> They <ZF0> they could end up looking like nothing else <ZG1> and
 maybe
 er in line with what we'd end up looking like <ZGY> the job description.
 I
 be on them, but they end up looking like misunderstood innocents on
 dollar; 40 million, and still end up looking like a sari advert on the Hindu
 from their current slots will end up looking like compromises," the
 pessimists
 had this job would ultimately end up looking like Swiss cheese. <p> Ydstie:
 problem, Saddam Hussein may end up looking like even more of an Arab hero,
 all the time I could soon end up looking like you". This was borne out
 by
 s going on in there, I'll end up looking like an even bigger jerk than I
 Ann. <p> We'll see. I may end up looking like Medusa. Where are <f> you
 <f>
 serving, the companies may end up looking like rank opportunists instead
 of
 it's much more natural to end up looking like a stiff. So it's quite
 gleaming new centres may end up looking like expensive mistakes in a
 few
 climbers may bush out and end up looking like wayward birds' nests,
 which
 time. If they did, they would end up looking like a Christmas tree. A woman
 may
 an extent that they often end up looking like their cleaning women
 waiting
 these days is that I don't end up looking like a fool." <p> An unlikely
 is always a danger you will end up looking like Kevin Keegan did. On the
 you don't watch out you can end up looking like an extra from Top Gun. I
 know
 auburn style - even if he did end up looking like Eric Idle's younger
 brother.
 people are worried they might end up looking like Michael Jackson. <p> It's
 a
 you like, but I reckon he'd end up looking like Quasimodo. Only from
 behind,
 eating raw food" they could end up looking like her. So don't say she
 didn't
 is firmly on WEA Records, who end up looking more than a little foolish and
 out
 if you're not careful, it can end up looking more obvious than before # For
 is not careful, it could end up looking more conservative than the
 a peace plan, which could end up looking more attractive than it did.
 Early
 naff, but the conversions end up looking more like traditional pubs than
 get it. But when it comes, we end up looking over its shoulder # for the
 bill
 Mary Spillane's advice, we'd end up looking pretty dull indeed nay blue
 suit,
 that the universe would end up looking pretty much as it does today
 all surprised if he doesn't end up looking rather like that eight-year-old
 martyrdom beckons: she could end up looking ridiculous. Leading article,
 page
 ve bought on holiday, you can end up looking ridiculous." <p> Yet Jones
 skin tone, otherwise you may end up looking sallow. Pinky beiges such as
 going on around you then you end up looking silly in the end # <p> Norman #
 ecological niches - to end up looking similar. This is called
 convergent
 otherwise curtains will end up looking skimpy. <p> Linings help
 curtains
 you stick out your chest you end up looking slightly plaited from the waist
 be too eager to please and end up looking smarmy. He'd posh up his accent
 for you? And wouldn't I just end up looking stupid if he said, that's your
 the real attractions. It will end up looking stupid. The finals will be
 is that most ballet shots can end up looking the same - just one long
 no two women are going to end up looking the same.' <p> Of course Amanda
 rules and all the women end up looking the same. <p> <h> Happy return;

Some worry that Elan could end up looking too much like the pharmacuetical Buchanan, he could end up looking too extreme, alienate most of his carefully, otherwise it could end up looking untidy. There are several beds final settlement is likely to end up looking very similar to it. The document

<tc text=laughs> <F05> You end up looking worse than before. You end up

Appendix 3: *Warmth and*

1 out rhythmic variations added warmth and a certain roundedness to the and
2 Terracotta walls provide visual warmth and a feeling of tradition. I tha
3 is the drawback. There is humour, warmth and a personal touch in Die and
4 little substitute for good feeding, warmth and, above all, comfort and talk lovi
5 tter on telly." Her combination of warmth and absence of danger proved to be fou
6 e fact that the client should find warmth and acceptance in the counseling close
7 particularly delicious because the warmth and acidity of the sauce lifts, and
8 erwhelmed by the seemingly genuine warmth and affection bestowed upon myself the
9 Nancy did not feel from him the warmth and affection she needed and he was en
10 Now lots of fathers are afraid of warmth and affection, but I think there is
11 e contrary, he thought of her with warmth and affection. <p> By now he had s
12 if you're brought up without the warmth and affection." <p> Absurdly co
13 aggression, responds well to warmth and affection.' Natikeiel ventured,
14 of America have welcomed me with a warmth and an appreciation of my work that
15 <p> The answer came in a wave of warmth and appreciation from 35,234 fans.
16 how they wanted it to be, feeling warmth and arousal and the parting of her. He
17 personality which had brought warmth and assurance to all who have known is
18 nd the bare brick walls add to the warmth and atmosphere: <p> When I moved <p>
19 supportive parents should combine warmth and authoritativeness, become hall on
20 n't see. 'Doc," he says, with such warmth and authority I hardly recognize the c
21 is agony. <p> My heart loses the warmth and beat. <p> I am not saved by
22 easures of cruising as well as the warmth and beauty of the South Pacific as
23 and I sank more deeply into its warmth and blackness and rejoiced in my re
24 wanted a dream, a fantasy with the warmth and breath of life. Look to your ha
25 were wrapped in flak jackets for warmth and bundled into another Bradley, s,
26 s echoing response was full of # warmth and camaraderie. They were so good 'h
27 know how to manage conflict, model warmth and caring, and respect each other'
28 furniture and floors add warmth and character to the interior of This
29 with a tube amplifier gives valve warmth and character with solid state shade,
30 worktop material is still adding warmth and character to modern kitchens. t
31 he low, beamed ceilings and adding warmth and character # The painters er she <t
32 has used small details to give it warmth and character-without compromising w
33 will express their affection with warmth and charm. They have a flirtatious
34 the world as skilled in spreading warmth and cheer among the young, the sick
35 Elgar performance has extra warmth and clarity, while the original stunni
36 sex can produce tremendous warmth and closeness, as well as passion,
37 a home-from-home overflowing with warmth and colour and happiness - that
38 and Weber, particularly, bring warmth and colour to Garbarek's rather a n
39 lies on sandstone, which gives warmth and colour to the landscape and wil
40 spend the Christmas season in some warmth and comfort at its centres. <p>
41 ll and just wanted a little bit of warmth and comfort before he went." John uè
42 hen on I felt surrounded by a deep warmth and comfort, knowing they were and
43 alk lovingly to it; offer it love, warmth and comfort. <p> A recurrent theme
44 provides insulation to maintain warmth and comfort. The room temperature t
45 rtherner, but because I wanted his warmth and comic gift on stage. He was and
46 to apply his talents, his Northern warmth and common sense, to bring to Opus pi
47 unless it is complemented by the warmth and companionship of loving human s
48 all the good things, all the milk, warmth and companionship, for itself. The
49 ability to radiate paternalistic warmth and concern - to make you The sight of
50 eated an atmosphere of exceptional warmth and consideration towards guests, <
51 country house, full of charm, warmth and courteous hospitality. <p> b
52 move towards democracy and for the warmth and courtesy of his Angolan for al
53 to-the-skin lycra, designed for warmth and curve hugging style. <p> is looki
54 parts of the role with engulfing warmth and cuts a moving figure. John s m
55 oints # pound; 13.99) has striking warmth and deep fruit. Sets the cockles an o
56 who feels ready for mutual caring, warmth and discovery, age, colour enables h
57 who feels ready for mutual caring, warmth and discovery, age, colour is agon
58 the very late afternoon, a bit of warmth and dryness is essential for a that ha
59 tyle and dwell instead on comfort. Warmth and ease of movement should be the the
60 joy it brought us! With you I find warmth and ease and laughter. Of course to
61 strict protocol they demonstrated warmth and encouragement with each new a
62 but they responded instead with warmth and encouragement. They said it was

63 all on Friday night responded with warmth and enthusiasm to the Queensland compu
 64 e PGA Tour is he greeted with such warmth and enthusiasm # and he appreciates pl
 65 <p> Dubrovnik welcomed Mesic with warmth and enthusiasm. There was a rally can'
 66 of greater warmth albeit emotional warmth and er a # different kind of warmth
 67 to keep in flower. Given regular warmth and feeding, humidity and good 3.65 (
 68 the sun, acknowledging the rising warmth and feeling the earth beneath his sur
 69 with Barbirolli's special brand of warmth and fervour remains to be heard.
 70 aeroplane do almost anything for warmth and food: the deal might not be of
 71 she said -- adding that the person warmth and friendliness of staff and molus
 72 she <tc text=pause> brought great warmth and friendship and managed to of gre
 73 the <55> Dragonslayer, with great warmth and friendship. In time, Sigurd and
 74 other's languages will add to the warmth and fun with perhaps no formal thin
 75 a brood of children. She has great warmth and generosity. But then, you see, mo
 76 and his wife Winnie exercised the warmth and good talk that attracted so overwh
 77 is prices will be kept down. The warmth and good-heartedness of Romanians ha
 78 4.70 <p> Skilfully blended for warmth and gracious drinking" is Laytons' in
 79 and reading may make us forget the warmth and 'grassy form" of the real gives N
 80 een received with friendliness and warmth and he thought there was now a s move
 81 is an addictive drink, full of warmth and hidden sweetness. The Bushmills
 82 stress can cause infertility, so warmth and hope may have helped you relax.
 83 s looking forward to returning the warmth and hospitality the performers supp
 84 of being a 'character", a man of warmth and human colour, in contrast to ot
 85 by using technology you lose the warmth and humanity of acoustic a brood of
 86 s magazine style but are full of warmth and humanity, with a couple of we w
 87 rwell's 'commitment and anger, his warmth and humanity." 'A living story of
 88 powerful, at the same time full of warmth and humanity. <p> This peters out, hi
 89 lassic performances and a profound warmth and humanity. Don't miss it. - with
 90 thriving in their millions in the warmth and humidity of carpets, upholstery i
 91 illusions and a great deal of warmth and humour is designed for all the pl
 92 Ben), will remember a man of great warmth and humour, a true friend and an Orwe
 93 his connection gives his biography warmth and immediacy, and Mr Jones It is the
 94 'relate" with the same consistent warmth and interest to an individual who Sun
 95 the game, the prize is closeness, warmth and intimacy with someone who cares cr
 96 ntermittence, seemed never to lose warmth and intimacy. Perhaps this is where
 97 is supportive friendship, personal warmth and intuition, his kindness and inter
 98 ere were also some words of mutual warmth and it could be argued that is pri
 99 the food and drink abundant, the warmth and kindness and love something their
 100 I thank all the staff for their warmth and kindness. I enjoy life more
 101 , but his sparkling gray eyes held warmth and laughter. Those eyes glinted as be
 102 him with a stagy overabundance of warmth and led them at once to what must kn
 103 rain and lighting fires to create warmth and 'lept high that the crops might be
 104 he other hand, had more to do with warmth and light and love. Catherine were
 105 was entering a wonderful place of warmth and light and the presence of God. Yet
 106 iaroscuro of the city at night, of warmth and light, artistic tension and
 107 <h> A flexible system for all-day warmth and long, wakeful nights </h> stil
 108 a parent in order to be granted warmth and love may lead to all sorts of r
 109 t is the way Mr Behr builds up the warmth and love of members of a suburban
 110 will these walls be so steeped in warmth and love, life and death, that as of
 111 encies. The cafe would offer food, warmth and medical help. <p> During to appl
 112 at has astounded everyone with its warmth and mutual respect. 'Everything is ca
 113 brought to life by Grove's warmth and narrative flair. There were not
 114 en able to break away for a little warmth and nourishment. And at $ 60
 115 e black community. It reveals the 'warmth and nurturance of the womblike
 116 he sleeps as long as he has food, warmth and, of course, lots of love and
 117 s a dream to wear, coddling you in warmth and offering oodles of options. king
 118 ds, says my friend. She glows with warmth and open-heartedness. To turn from
 119 morning the child's enchanting warmth and openness not only synthesized
 120 king of the crooners also breathes warmth and passion into other seasonal class
 121 of God to fill your heart with the warmth and passion of praise. Fill my
 122 mputerised characters have so much warmth and personality you tend to forget
 123 she felt the need for the type of warmth and physical intimacy <343> that ch
 124 not on the scale of the Savoy, but warmth and pleasure in abundance. I the
 125 men cannot be free in expressing warmth and pleasure in another man's Nan
 126 t their own fantasies of nurturant warmth and plenty combined with a stress
 127 itches # Reflection took me to the warmth and pretty welcome of South Africa.
 128 once again to share his mother's warmth and previously exclusive love # 5 al
 129 and love, and though her lover's warmth and protection certainly enable her
 130 r. He surrounded her in a shell of warmth and protection, until she relaxed
 131 harshness in this painting. All is warmth and radiance - in the foreground is no
 132 ose with someone special? Felt the warmth and release in your muscles after t
 133 a neutral grad were fitted to add warmth and retain density in the sky <p> wa
 134 .65 (above, top). Earth Shades add warmth and richness, and Spice Lights he s
 135 reenter it, will shock us with its warmth and righteousness. Carlton believes
 136 Cape Afrika Pinotage, of equal warmth and robustness. The fruit here is e
 137 things up?' They lay together for warmth and safety, the house breathing and
 138 the sleep of animals grouped for warmth and safety. <p> The lights were on
 139 these indoor meetings from the warmth and satellite-linked comfort of in the

140 Bragg novel shows the real warmth and satisfaction and love in then on
 141 umpin'? <p> May I reciprocate your warmth and say I now understand why you're
 142 m, curiously eager and intent. The warmth and security of the animal angered tow
 143 for all its faults, offered cosy warmth and security, and not too much the bla
 144 unning and brought all her natural warmth and sense of fun to the part. This
 145 tter when you are around; you have warmth and sense of fun, but the green rel
 146 ays Maria, assuring us of Tanner's warmth and sensitivity. <p> On the pendant
 147 the 'seductress' who uses her warmth and sexuality to control and style an
 148 who does a lovely job of bringing warmth and sharply-observed satire to a i
 149 volunteers, who provided food, warmth and shelter for hundreds of agencies.
 150 eir cosy little homes in search of warmth and shelter. Just sit it out, and chia
 151 und it could not match the humour, warmth and simple appeal of an endless the PG
 152 change in the man was noticeable. Warmth and sincerity shone like a lamp gods,
 153 urely prefer to be remembered with warmth and smiles than cold, monumental sh
 154 leasures in life is luxuriating in warmth and snoozing the day away. They thr
 155 enough, C would tell you how the warmth and spaciousness of the early Acid bet
 156 ost travellers in Sri Lanka is the warmth and spontaneity of the people and
 157 and let himself into the blessed warmth and stillness. The house was very t
 158 by her curvaceous vowels, the warmth and strange breathiness of her pr
 159 knit design giving you the utmost warmth and style. All you have to do is all
 160 was so HOT, and I was drawn to the warmth and suddenly I was becoming the low,
 161 signs of life in response to the warmth and sunshine. No one ever came here
 162 relationships will lack emotional warmth and support, which no amount of littl
 163 ward the Soviet Union for maternal warmth and sustenance, many Soviets began
 164 we were happy just to soak up the warmth and the atmosphere of this ancient, s
 165 boxes. We burned the boxes for warmth and the ammunition soon rusted up. su
 166 60s and 70s with intelligence, warmth and the compassion that comes from be
 167 heart; it's the people who add the warmth and the color. When I bring to this
 168 and stepped into the shower. The warmth and the stinging spray brought some
 169 late in the afternoon for the warmth and the great pictures and the unl
 170 about her? <p> Horowitz: All the warmth and the love and the caring. <p>
 171 you get their loyalty and their warmth and there are no better kids Terr
 172 still retains much of its summer warmth and there will be considerable root
 173 senses responded to sunshine and warmth and to a sky of tranquil joy it brou
 174 auses Merchant to be nostalgic for warmth and to reminisce about a holiday p
 175 and openness will always arouse warmth and trust in others, while worktop
 176 family. There's a feeling of warmth and trust here among musicians who'
 177 so sorrowful? Or was it the deep warmth and understanding that passes him, cur
 178 away from his eyes. In a flush of warmth and understanding, Amos recognizes to
 179 ring outlook, also campaigned with warmth and verve. But to overturn the huge
 180 was dull and placid and Heather's warmth and vitality greatly appealed to
 181 moluscs needing nothing but light warmth and water to survive. That is the bee
 182 enables him to utilise the natural warmth and wit which were not necessarily w
 183 <p> I can't hope to convey all its warmth and wit, its invention, its raw was

Appendix 4: Build up of

1 ds for storage by encouraging the build up of a sterilizing toxin within them al
2 grain for the winter we risk the build up of aflatoxins from natural moulds afl
3 1 1 ZG 0 Thereafter the American build up of air ZG 1 1 ZG 0 craft, combined wi
4 FCH Code name for the ZG 1 1 ZG 0 build up of American troops and materials ZG 1
5 dership. 43 The initiation of the build up of American ground forces in 1965 was
6 me, too, as a result of the rapid build up of Anti Aircraft Command, London and
7 out a week which leads to a rapid build up of aphid populations. LTH LCH A heads
8 out a week which leads to a rapid build up of aphid populations. LTH The same sp
9 he environment and leading to the build up of armaments which threatens to lead
10 . For many people, that is a slow build up of arousal, followed by a climax, fol
11 dase it may well help prevent the build up of arterial plaque by preventing dama
12 is one of the major causes of the build up of arterial blockages, and so of hear
13 ges are in part the result of the build up of arterial plaque, known as atheroma
14 ake exercise. This means that the build up of atheroma has to be well advanced b
15 LBH exercise. This means that the build up of atheroma has to be well advanced b
16 actual mechanism that causes the build up of atheromas there is no doubt that t
17 ng rather differently against the build up of atherosclerosis. LTH FCH Magnesium
18 ood, that are responsible for the build up of atherosclerotic plaque in the arte
19 e the North desist. The graduated build up of attacks allowed the development of
20 produce certain conditions for a build up of bacteria to occur in the mouth tha
21 intellectual level, leading to a build up of bitterness and in some cases to il
22 these areas, which can lead to a build up of bitterness and further increase ou
23 ll in relationships, leading to a build up of bitterness and in some cases to il
24 will, LTH FCH which can lead to a build up of bitterness and in some cases to il
25 munity affairs this may lead to a build up of bitterness and in some cases to il
26 lic standing, which may lead to a build up of bitterness and in some cases to il
27 cial matters, which can lead to a build up of bitterness and in some cases ilne
28 y in sexual matters, leading to a build up of bitterness and in some cases to il
29 will not have pain but instead a build up of blood in the atria and veins upstr
30 nes FCH can be either an improper build up of calcium crystals or cholesterol, e
31 to prevent de oxygenation or the build up of carbon dioxide and nitrogenous was
32 permitted in industry. The rapid build up of carbon monoxide in the blood of a
33 mpany colds or flu is caused by a build up of catarrh in the sinuses. LTH FCH Ex
34 ensible basic diet to prevent the build up of catarrh and to sustain good energy
35 to relieve pressure caused by the build up of cerebrospinal fluid. There is a su
36 rteries have become narrowed by a build up of cholesterol the condition is made
37 im very clearly FCH just what the build up of cholesterol in his arteries can re
38 in may help reduce or prevent the build up of cholesterol in the arteries. LTH E
39 els have been responsible for the build up of coastal spits like the 8 miles of
40 f vitamin C helps fight the mucus build up of colds, does it reduce mucus in the
41 Responding to a perceived Soviet build up of conventional and nuclear weapons,
42 ack of nourishment, but also by a build up of crystals which are formed from the
43 ygienists have observed a greater build up of dental plaque in patients that are
44 ely upset the picture he tried to build up of Douglas having been killed an hour
45 rregularities may lead to an over build up of endometrial tissue called ENDOMETR
46 explain the sense of the enormous build up of energy that cannot be released alo
47 spiritual healer and there was a build up of energy within her body that was ca
48 d strength of pressure suggests a build up of energy without sufficient outlet.
49 spiritual healer and there was a build up of energy within her body that was ca
50 s as though the build up of excessive homocysteine prematurely
51 s implies that the man allows his build up of excitement to take place slowly. I
52 t time to examine too closely the build up of fascist forces on the Continent th
53 ed physical training results in a build up of fatigue toxins which remain in the
54 irin every day. It can reduce the build up of fats in the circulation as well as
55 substance which helps prevent the build up of fats and cholesterol. LTH When inf
56 e extra work for the kidneys or a build up of fats in the blood and in the arter
57 to poor fatty acid metabolism, a build up of fats outside the cells and a lower
58 n turn, this is often caused by a build up of fatty deposits in the arteries whi
59 esterol thus helping to prevent a build up of fatty deposits in the body. It is
60 l and there may then be a gradual build up of fatty deposits in the body. This c
61 Narrowing is caused by a gradual build up of fatty material the lipid, choleste
62 the contraction should be a slow build up of FCH EXPLANATIONS AND SUMMARY OF ME
63 he feet and ankles is caused by a build up of fluid in the body during pregnancy
64 ll that day' s new foods. LTH The build up of foods is cumulative that is, you s
65 divert so many resources from the build up of forces in Britain that a cross Cha
66 f North Sea oil has financed this build up of foreign assets according to the Ba
67 e or violence. LTH The continuous build up of frustrated energy becomes increasi
68 of emotions and urges leads to a build up of frustrated energy which will inevi
69 emotions and drives leading to a build up of frustrated energy and possible phy
70 and when they arise, leading to a build up of frustrated emotions. Frequently we
71 active imagination resulting in a build up of frustrated energy at a subconsciou
72 r our mother, which can lead to a build up of frustration and in some cases to i
73 rticular our father, leading to a build up of frustration and bitterness, and in
74 ar ZG 1 1 ZG 0 kov unaware of the build up of German ZG 1 1 ZG 0 forces there fo

75 ed atherosclerosis. Over years, a build up of greasy material, mainly cholestero
 76 Staff, who ZG 1 1 ZG 0 favoured a build up of ground forces. By ZG 1 1 ZG 0 Marc
 77 ion of unemployment may lead to a build up of hate, bitterness and resentment wh
 78 e surface. The effect is like the build up of heavy tension with a sense of pres
 79 mage to our self confidence and a build up of hidden anger and resentment. LTH Z
 80 indigestion of milk will cause a build up of immune complexes on the sensitized
 81 er possibility is that there is a build up of immunity against LTH FCH LBH 100 L
 82 TH LBH Figure 5 6 illustrates the build up of influences in the 1922 chart. Here
 83 ced in the muscles is caused by a build up of lactic acid, and by massaging the
 84 loss of appetite, nervous tension build up of lactic acid in the brain phobias,
 85 , headaches are often caused by a build up of LTH FCH Banish Headaches 122 LTH F
 86 nsport problems pri ZGY or to the build up of men and materials before D Day had
 87 d in some cases may help remove a build up of menstrual fluid from retrograde bl
 88 foreign firms and preventing the build up of much personal wealth, many interme
 89 They become blocked, leading to a build up of mucus and the characteristic catar
 90 es, slowly. LTH There should be a build up of muscular effort, coinciding with t
 91 reate health problems through the build up of nervous tension. Accidents and mis
 92 stomach has a ph conducive to the build up of nitrate reducing bacteria. The enc
 93 t. When there' s too rapid a build up of nitrogen bubbles in the blood when
 94 resulting in the atherosclerotic build up of occluding plaque. LTH So there you
 95 modern way of life. In fact, the build up of plaque so called thickening of the
 96 sms and then LTH LBH In fact, the build up of plaque often called thickening of
 97 t. See Fig 2 LTH LBH In fact, the build up of plaque often called thickening of
 98 dealing with the question of the build up of Polish forces. The British militar
 99 ties began to be concerned by the build up of population in the Beirut camps, ca
 100 se four Elements. Here there is a build up of power which can be explosive if no
 101 be killed in war, the greater the build up of power and the stronger the ego. LT
 102 traction. Always attempt a smooth build up of power in the muscle s and a slow s
 103 uches in the colon as a result of build up of pressure from a low fibre diet. If
 104 ausing weakness and lethargy. The build up of pressure in the left ventricle pre
 105 y the Spring.' 10 As part of this build up of pressure the British accepted a co
 106 afety valve needed to release the build up of pressures of the past and the emot
 107 owth hormone which encourages the build up of protein reserves and mobilizes the
 108 What were they FCH LTH Probably a build up of psychic energies in the atmosphere
 109 molten state. Others had seen the build up of sediments at river mouths and in l
 110 ns, we are free to experience the build up of sexual tension and the release of
 111 enin shell and induce the gradual build up of specific antibodies. LTH Alternati
 112 nditions. It is simply a harmless build up of static electricity, but without th
 113 d represents no more than a local build up of static which then discharges itsel
 114 August sales peak will involve a build up of stocks LTH prior to this date, an
 115 next chapter LTH FCH looks at how build up of stress affects our health, and how
 116 to executives so as to reduce the build up of stress. LTH A more profound method
 117 supported by 1 ZG 0 the continued build up of superior equip ZG 1 1 ZG 0 ment se
 118 to irritability and involves the build up of tension during a latent phase betw
 119 xibility. LTH They discourage the build up of tension and are therefore helpful
 120 l upbringing, which may lead to a build up of tension and in some cases to illne
 121 ues, he LTH FCH believes, exert a build up of tension in the already contracted
 122 so that you will be aware of the build up of tension as soon as it starts. Afte
 123 ions, which permits us to avoid a build up of tension and sickness, and to adjus
 124 times their moods can result in a build up of tension which must be countered if
 125 e explained that she could feel a build up of tension from the beginning of Marc
 126 ong sort of bedding and perhaps a build up of tension because of the subsequent
 127 rayal of our ideals, leading to a build up of tension and in some cases to physi
 128 e conversation then turned to the build up of tension on the West Bank. LTH The
 129 at it involves a continuous inner build up of tension which tends to wreak havoc
 130 sion of emotion since there is no build up of tension in the first place. LTH A
 131 to worry. This, like the possible build up of tension, could be something needin
 132 society we are often left with a build up of tension. It is very important to h
 133 dividual to learn to control this build up of tension. Relaxation therapy, combi
 134 synthetic progesterone to prevent build up of the uterine lining endometrium Obv
 135 hich lead to this cause a gradual build up of the drug in the system and there a
 136 ral part of initiatory tests. The build up of the first part of the ceremony wou
 137 work effectively and to combat a build up of the substances which cause fatigue
 138 , when there might otherwise be a build up of the urge and no conscious control
 139 ngs. This results in an excessive build up of the acetylcholine. LTH FCH Contact
 140 ches. For example, to prevent the build up of the pressure, choose, before the m
 141 Buddhist belief which avoids the build up of the anger and resentment that lead
 142 y ZG 1 1 ZG 0 responsible for the build up of the Soviet ZG 1 1 ZG 0 cruiser and
 143 le increase in side effects and a build up of the drug in the body. Alkaline for
 144 ein May be caused by an excessive build up of the end products of the reaction o
 145 ein May be caused by an excessive build up of the end products of the reaction o
 146 an happen when there is a regular build up of these toxins. LTH FCH Worry and th
 147 ormones and protein synthesis the build up of tissue for growth and repair also
 148 ffensive, the ZG 1 1 ZG 0 massive build up of troops and supplies on ZG 1 1 ZG 0
 149 the tail. Usually caused by a FCH build up of unexpressed resentment. For exampl
 150 s blocking them could result in a build up of unhealthy chemicals in a room, esp
 151 lity to get rid of them, causes a build up of uric acid which then forms sodium

152 e feet and finger joints due to a build up of uric acid crystals. In osteoarthritis
 153 in their system which allows the build up of uric acid in the bloodstream to re
 154 its principal characteristic is a build up of uric acid crystals in tissues arou
 155 aly. During 1942 the ZG 1 1 ZG 0 build up of US military strength and Soviet ZG
 156 aly. During 1942 the ZG 1 1 ZG 0 build up of US military strength and Soviet ZG
 157 to energy production. LTH ZDY The build up of wastes and toxins which interfere
 158 une response involves an enormous build up of Wbcs white blood cells to fight ba
 159 sm and cause inaction and hence a build up of weight. LTH The Taurean metabolism
 160 the Allies time to effect a rapid build up of ZG 1 1 ZG 0 Southwest Pacific forc
 161 1 ZG 0 moment in the battle. The build up of ZG 1 1 ZG 0 German strength in the

Appendix 5: *Build up a*

1 frequency or severity of which may build up a behaviour pattern that limits the
 2 already in this book the body may build up a better resistance to the various i
 3 to change the body physiology and build up a better level of health and, no mat
 4 I' m going to get FCH more FCH to build up a breeding nucleus. This land is hug
 5 had used his Mars in Capricorn to build up a business specializing in the produ
 6 antly fighting down the impulse to build up a case against the person who seemed
 7 ngle sex hostels. Their aim was to build up a class of commuters,' blacks who co
 8 ents or hints, for these will help build up a clear picture as you become more c
 9 down as many things as you can, to build up a clear and detailed picture of your
 10 or maybe, for instance, you could build up a coach full of people they have kno
 11 ted Saturn always makes it hard to build up a coherent outlook on life, to get i
 12 sses, and exercise which will help build up a complete picture and highlight any
 13 LTH When a patient comes to us we build up a complete picture. In a woman, we a
 14 s of marketing organization and to build up a complete picture in that way. LTH
 15 n all branches of astrology and to build up a comprehensive thesis on the subjec
 16 remove us from our own selves and build up a condition where we become unaware
 17 park, pretty soon you' re going to build up a conditioned tension reflex that' s
 18 lockwise around the circle. Try to build up a consecutive story as this helps yo
 19 of intelligent diplomacy aiming to build up a constructive Chinese commitment to
 20 mind, it will become necessary to build up a contact line of your own when you
 21 aware' of the timing and begins to build up a day or so ahead of time. LTH Don'
 22 LTH In a fairly short time you can build up a delightful collection of fragrance
 23 r association will present. We now build up a detailed picture of how this relat
 24 is way he can perhaps be helped to build up a faith both in himself and in other
 25 night. Fill your mind with it and build up a feeling of pleasant anticipation.
 26 Europe, Africa, and Asia so as to build up a financial citadel while achieving
 27 sles and Nile Delta, her airmen to build up a force that, by subjecting the Reic
 28 ved. LTH FCH Ideally, if Sue could build up a friendship with someone who would
 29 your legs first and then, slowly, build up a general need for movement that can
 30 mass of particulars from which to build up a general LTH their comprehension, b
 31 a mass of particular from which to build up a general concept. When we are deali
 32 le and silky. LTH If you intend to build up a good stock of oils and a wonderful
 33 He was the prime example of how to build up a great business of international st
 34 instinct of self preservation. To build up a group mind of any endurance some m
 35 away, allowing the other person to build up a head of anxiety. Try something gen
 36 and soothed by touch CES helps to build up a healthy body image and body ego.'
 37 e tendency to overwork in order to build up a healthy bank balance, and as a res
 38 y, sad, empty and depressed. So we build up a hundred and one defence mechanisms
 39 . He ZG 1 1 ZG 0 at first hoped to build up a large, coherent ZG 1 1 ZG 0 battle
 40 ons. As a result, they can quickly build up a level of authority and prestige fa
 41 y through. LTH LBH 1 She needed to build up a life of her own instead of spendin
 42 languages, and is endeavouring to build up a life of her own. LTH She went to c
 43 t you know a good fantasy needs to build up a little tension before it comes to
 44 financial failure. But it sure did build up a lot of goodwill. LTH My next ventu
 45 ut for a quick meal, Hogg began to build up a mental picture of the third victim
 46 or the first few days, you want to build up a minimum range of safe' foods that
 47 nd continuous activity designed to build up a model of the outer world we will c
 48 the revolutionary movement and to build up a momentum. Preparation would be bot
 49 r her to try and help the child to build up a more satisfactory picture of himse
 50 of yourself. In this way you will build up a more objective self image. Do you
 51 avishly from his Russian money, to build up a network of agents and to convert d
 52 nt. In this way you will gradually build up a network of interlocking treatments
 53 r community Starhawk Small circles build up a network into larger groups and lar
 54 times before. LTH LBH Lyn began to build up a new life for herself, working towa
 55 rategy I find that the best way to build up a painting is to draw in the main sh
 56 een federals and anti federals and build up a party for himself on that' quoted
 57 and spare parts which between them build up a personality, and, on the other han
 58 ht order. iii Helping the child to build up a phonic analysis of his language. E
 59 ea of reincarnation, enables us to build up a picture in which the working out o
 60 l symbolism, so he will be able to build up a picture of the way in which future
 61 LTH The imagination will gradually build up a picture of this time and place, an
 62 ticular operation, they' ll try to build up a picture of regular abortions, unde
 63 ling, geologists have been able to build up a picture of the patterns of time, a

64 s many girls as you can to try and build up a picture of the sort of person you
 65 as any intelligence available, to build up a picture of the enemy and the progr
 66 e a crook LTH Let' s start now and build up a picture of a power player in a typ
 67 tionnaire which follows and try to build up a picture of your predominant respon
 68 of significance in any attempt to build up a picture of the Celtic supernatural
 69 each case. By this means he could build up a planetary type' a list of descript
 70 es not wish to grow prize leeks or build up a portfolio of shares. Even the news
 71 ffects one' s entire existence. To build up a positive self image you may practi
 72 is only through others that it can build up a positive picture of itself. Conseq
 73 and caring caretakers in order to build up a positive image of themselves, the
 74 rail to teach you, so that you may build up a potent Mass to say alone, or with
 75 n against allowing the Russians to build up a presence there. This was the basic
 76 necessary to my investigation as I build up a profile of a resourceful and dange
 77 LTH The only way you' re going to build up a proper visualization is to work ou
 78 rbances, the uterus is not able to build up a proper lining to receive a release
 79 farm labourers. I was beginning to build up a rapport with those who came. They
 80 that she had used conversation to build up a rapport with her kidnappers, from
 81 cumstances. In order to be able to build up a realistic picture of the world, a
 82 are using for a particular ritual. Build up a reference library. It does not hav
 83 ner with information but also help build up a relationship between them. It give
 84 t what we' re trying to do here is build up a relaxation habit. We' re building
 85 habit, so you have consciously to build up a relaxation habit. LTH The key word
 86 ble 8 LTH FCH LBH personality, and build up a repertoire of funny stories. Make
 87 th. But she needs standards KUA to build up a repertoire.' LTH LTH They went on
 88 hter side of your personality, and build up a repetoire of funny stories. Make a
 89 him in his efforts to ZG 1 1 ZG 0 build up a republican army. When Sun died ZG
 90 o freeze multiple sperm samples to build up a respectable count and then use tha
 91 jail was scarcely the best way to build up a respectable practice. Kemp hesitat
 92 ck to it FCH The object here is to build up a routine and follow it through with
 93 ards to the Halls of Osiris. LTH 2 Build up a scene with a quiet house of biblic
 94 f it. You need more than veneer to build up a school the way he has. Browne has
 95 ther image, gives us the energy to build up a secure world view. Both these appr
 96 als and through that understanding build up a sense of fraternity Latin FCH soci
 97 FCH love and encouragement FCH to build up a sense of their own worth. LTH FCH
 98 for teachers and parents to try to build up a set of social values in adolescent
 99 ive at the fifth plane. There they build up a shell of fifth plane matter with t
 100 a regular basis, you will begin to build up a small surplus. This can be used at
 101 ted to go international, trying to build up a stake in Pearson, the British publ
 102 r have to waste your time. You can build up a stock of minimal and mental exerci
 103 at was nowhere near long enough to build up a strong connection between, as it w
 104 able in a relatively short time to build up a strong organization and claim nume
 105 never stay anywhere long enough to build up a strong foundation. Your private li
 106 ed that the Reich would eventually build up a sufficiently large force of battle
 107 any complex ways see Fig. 2 we can build up a tale of cultural evolution and reg
 108 hem frequently, your body tends to build up a tolerance, leading to increased us
 109 his information the therapist will build up a total picture of you and only then
 110 from outside. They need to try to build up a trust, a foundation on which to bu
 111 vision and so on and you will soon build up a useful number without taking up an
 112 this kind of exercise can help us build up a very realistic picture of the kind
 113 eming and devious in an attempt to build up a wall of defence around herself. Sh
 114 ZG 1 Every r ZG 0 eligion tends to build up a wall of separation which divides i
 115 Valya for love or money. He would build up a whole album of photographs, but Va
 116 was that the Heimwehr appeared to build up a working class following in Upper S
 117 e improvement of the enterprise 51 build up a worth living in, ' happy and bright

Appendix 6: *Break out the*

1 he heard the news from Kuzloduy. `Break out the anti-radiation suits. Get
 2 tell me all about yourself." <p> I'll break out the apple cider, Luke," Pa said
 3 Day as more than just a chance to break out the barbecue. <p> President nic
 4 and Rodney Weidland. <p> Should we break out the Barossa Pearl to celebrate?
 5 politically correct, in our sense, to break out the beer, though it has been h
 6 or `springy # <p> Yes? <p> Right, break out the Bollinger because you band
 7 the pair could do to celebrate - break out the Bolly! <p> Jennifer,
 8 unformed streets and threatening to break out the booze. <p> The fact that in
 9 sprint to the plane, settle in and break out the briefcase. <p> Upon marvell
 10 right, and co-driver Russell Ingall, break out the bubbly yesterday. <p> <h>
 11 right, and co-driver Russell Ingall, break out the bubbly yesterday. <p> <h> r
 12 Joanna Lumley, have another reason to break out the bubbly # they have been un
 13 Joanna Lumley, have another reason to break out the bubbly # they have been Joan
 14 while Oz Clarke and Jilly Goolden break out the Californian and Italian lai
 15 interlude where Bob and David Barbe break out the chairs and strum their way
 16 a loan officer is still readier to break out the champagne when his project
 17 is progress. We are not ready to break out the champagne yet, but there is
 18 marvellous. <p> Occasionally we will break out the champagne to loosen up the

19 institutions. In Philadelphia, we'd break out the champagne when we heard a
20 John Ydstie reports, it's not time to break out the champagne just yet. <p> S
21 his best to date is almost certain to break out the champagne and order Beluga
22 Everyone knows the result so let's break out the champagne and get the post-
23 celebrate # you have every reason to break out the champagne! <p> <h> poems A
24 Feeling <p> Big Life/All formats) <p> BREAK OUT the champagne, it's the new a wi
25 manager John Lyall will be able to break out the champagne. <p> Osman th
26 and singing about black holes - break out the champagne. <p> The all the
27 to the States later this week don't break out the champagne; <p> I'm to front
28 s golden moments into the schedule. Break out the chest wigs and swing those
29 ER. <p> <h> SUNDAY DAY BY DAY </h> BREAK out the claret and the silk. <p> ta
30 hour. <p> Renee Montagne, host: <p> Break out the coffee and the cherry pie,
31 taupe, olive, mustard and spice. <p> Break out the credit card! <p> CD Jets ri
32 taupe, olive, mustard and spice. <p> Break out the credit card! <p> CD Jets ta
33 in a new era. <p> Glitz is okay. <p> Break out the Dom P., even if it is made
34 dollar; 96 million. Shearson doesn't break out the earnings of its and, at leas
35 all the time # It may not be time to break out the entry in the Oxford Book of
36 the eyes of an armchair sports fan BREAK out the esky, lock the door of the
37 For a change, she was going to break out the good furniture. She couldn'
38 it's a great week to be Irish BREAK out the Guinness # St Patrick's Day
39 sexy. Food is, in fact, the new sex. Break out the Haagen-Dazs ice-cream: the
40 <p> SHANE DYE (Nothin' Leica Dane # Break out the Kleenex if 'Billy Idol" by
41 band will play all your favourites - break out the Levis. <p> ELVIS BELOW, USE-
42 Edition." I'm Liane Hansen. <p> Break out the marshmallow fluff, grab John
43 s most satisfying car maker. Well, break out the maypoles everyone and let's
44 the day's your oyster # so why not break out the morning sherry, whack on
45 Gramps dies and Mom and Dad don't break out the noisemakers and confetti,
46 I don't think there is any need to break out the obituaries yet," he said.
47 Comar Tel: 0983 282400). <p> <h> Break out the old oilies </h> Here's a ce
48 blonde for royal circuit LONDON: Break out the royal wedding mugs. <p> in
49 nice Hooverball game? <p> De Decker: Break out the rubbing medicine. <p> politi
50 Crusoe. <p> What came top? <p> Break out the sandwiches, chaps. With s
51 have indicated that were trouble to break out the state leadership would not
52 to front up with a dozen red roses or break out the velvet cat o' nine tails.
53 football season over, it's time to break out the zinc cream, the terry- his b

Appendix 7: *Fan the flames of*

1 <p> The research will fan the flames of a long-running debate over
2 interest. It has also fanned the flames of a hot debate among those who
3 piece of pianism which fanned the flames of an impetuous and orchestral s
4 e execution of hostages fanned the flames of anti-German sentiment, de Gaulle
5 aged Nazis would merely fan the flames of anti-Semitism. The hangings at f
6 popular press an excuse to fan the flames of anti-homosexual feeling. A f
7 om the Third World and fanning the flames of anti-Americanism everywhere. He t
8 om the east has further fanned the flames of anxiety. <p> As Ernst Neubau, a t
9 ere isn't anyone that will fan the flames of any type of resentment towards t
10 he flames - as well as fanning the flames of ardour as she saunters off into
11 Islamic or not - would fan the flames of Azeri nationalism within Iran.
12 has been accused of fanning the flames of bigotry by several people who
13 thorn. When accused of fanning the flames of caste war, he replies that the
14 where they've helped fan the flames of civil unrest </h> 1981 Riots in
15 ends to dampen rather than fan the flames of conflict. Research shows that, C
16 ngress, accusing it of fanning the flames of confrontation in the country. He l
17 ngress, accusing it of fanning the flames of confrontation in the country. He C
18 profile protestants fanned the flames of controversy - with Heston
19 cap. Wisely reluctant to fan the flames of controversy with the oxygen of
20 fe of Malcolm X, is set to fan the flames of controversy even higher. Barbara
21 the team manager, fanned the flames of debate yesterday by directly
22 ush fire, and instantly fanned the flames of desire in a million drooling h
23 that foreigners were fanning the flames of discord in the USSR -- the kind
24 accuses as a class of fanning the flames of discord and destabilisation.
25 <p> <h> Sarajevo arsonists fan the flames of ethnic separation </h>
26 was just one way of fanning the flames of evangelism.' Family magazine
27 ccused the Tories of # fanning the flames of extremism on which racial
28 flax," and ways of fanning the flames of faith require much more study
29 man. <p> Philip Ridley fans the flames of fantasy with Mercedes Ice (
30 Minister Paul Braddy # Fanning the flames of fear" Perspectives, May 4) is
31 utrageous talk show hosts, fan the flames of fear. And we see more of that
32 or those he accused of fanning the flames of hatred with their speeches
33 n yobbos in Cup mayhem Fanning the flames of hatred 1. Baton-wielding French
34 now accusing others of fanning the flames of hatred, but it was he who said: `
35 some intellectuals for fanning the flames of inter-ethnic relation and thus

36 nearly every state are fanning the flames of intolerance and bigotry, f
37 om Rafsanjani to cease fanning the flames of Islamic fundamentalism among the w
38 ose hair is white with fanning the flames of life. <195> You are younger than t
39 and Tom Ellis, who fanned the flames of Nationalism, but `their
40 e medium-term it will only fan the flames of nationalism. In its editorial,
41 to Life, says this will fan the flames of opposition. <p> Johnson: As the
42 <p> **PRESIDENT Clinton fanned the flames of optimism in Northern Ireland**
43 on Europe's media for `fanning the flames of panic" over BSE. All the EU
44 physical exercise, can fan the flames of passion, at least to a limited
45 left to do other than fan the flames of passion. This is probably true,
46 trouble and disparity fan the flames of politically oriented Islamic
47 fearing any comments would fan the flames of public division. They believe
48 and bases itself on fanning the flames of racial division. To equate the
49 campaign was an effort to `fan the flames of racial, ethnic and religious t
50 e Liberal Democrats had fanned the flames of racism in Tower Hamlets by their t
51 lice corruption further fanned the flames of resentment that finally exploded
52 on the inside could fan the flames of revolt--while the GIP, on the
53 its independence he fanned the flames of Serbian nationalism further by A
54 hletic Federation, for fanning the flames of speculation during what has been
55 of old quarrels and fanning the flames of still-smoking remembered wrongs,
56 lack of evidence seems to fan the flames of suspicion. This confused me
57 s instigating trouble, fanning the flames of that violence and itself running
58 an camp, the report has fanned the flames of the ivory debate. Headlines such
59 of the eucalyptus trees to fan the flames of the fire, softly in the dying
60 he evangelical leaders who fan the flames of the right-to-life movement want
61 has no interest in fanning the flames of the South Pacific tests dispute.
62 findings of the poll will fan the flames of the home ownership row that has
63 have succeeded in fanning the flames of this resentment. Racist remarks
64 <ZZ0> Michael Heseltine fanned the flames of Tory turmoil # what a lovely
65 President de Klerk of fanning the flames of violence. But the President has
66 this month could even `fan the flames of war in Europe". Poland, the
67 force of history, who fanned the flames of war from the Serb side. <p> In
68 did nothing more than fan the flames of Weinberger's anti-Israel
69 ome inspired ideas for fanning the flames of your own Austen romance <p> IT l

Appendix 8: *Get+*self+*ed*

1 that it took Gascoigne 24 minutes to get himself noticed, a sliding tackle on
2 love life then dress powerfully and get yourself noticed. A forceful aspect
3 plans-step into the spotlight and get yourself noticed-you'll adore being
4 Party is actually going to manage to get itself unified again? BARNES) I
5 Not entirely. Anyway, darling, get yourself organised and I'll tell you
6 only are you passing over a chance to get yourself noticed and state your
7 had hoped. <p> The third thing is to get yourself organized, and that's what
8 Mr Ashdown has to fight clever to get himself noticed, and there is no
9 sat quietly by the fire, `and go and get himself killed and win a medal. I
10 I was single, I was always trying to get myself validated and I might have
11 summer, and we've been after him to get himself looked at, but apparently
12 effectively ended when he managed to get himself pinned between his Jag and a
13 Match me, Sidney # You're dead, go get yourself buried," sort of thing),
14 to the war - it ended before he could get himself organized - but he did
15 somehow persistently failed to get himself martyred by Poland's
16 people," he went on. `That way you get yourself confused. I want to compare
17 because she loved me." How did she get herself killed?" Dean raided the
18 you don't like well then you can get yourself disabled er and sit back
19 her next week and I'll I'm going to get myself dropped down again <M01>
20 phone for maybe three hours trying to get myself calmed down enough so that I
21 at Crystal Palace's Richard Shaw to get himself dismissed early in the
22 <ZZ1> unintelligible <ZZ0> <M01> Get yourself organized. <F0X> Oh.
23 he was going to get himself cured or get himself kicked. feel lonesome." <p>
24 City in January 1991, he managed to get himself booked five seconds after
25 Think yourself lucky that I didn't get myself shaved for a Mohican. Don't
26 at 38, has moved heaven and earth to get himself picked for this competition.
27 think of is blood." I'm not about to get myself hanged for killing one of the
28 now about sour cream recipes, so just get yourself fortified with your coffee,
29 t, you'd take the day off, go out and get yourself fried silly. <p> Judging
30 a judgment on whether what he did to get himself banned from baseball wipes
31 of Tennessee Williams, even to get himself banned from the stage of the
32 his best friend is saying Oh don't get yourself involved fuck her off you
33 --above the running around, `Get yourself armed. Get yourself armed. We
34 one of the sergeants running around, `Get yourself armed. Get yourself armed.
35 morning do the chemist get my linctus get myself sorted go to and do my day's
36 If the little ray of sunshine doesn't get himself killed he may turn into a

37 I packed it in, I reckon. Before I get myself killed.' He nearly got
 38 and mentioning that name? You could get yourself killed." He says this in
 39 ll right, caused Carlos to go off and get himself drowned … When he
 40 What were you tryin'na do tonight, get yourself killed?" Her hands softly
 41 of them meant it. `See, a tape can get itself doctored. How do I know from
 42 You'll pick the wrong one one day and get yourself killed." I thought of that
 43 stardom in the courtroom if she could get herself focused. I always had a
 44 chasing that Norman Shaw cabinet and get yourself killed. I'm not! So do you
 45 will want to beat us. I can easily get myself motivated, I've just got to
 46 I can't believe he's stupid enough to get himself involved in anything as
 47 ither get the approval immediately or get myself shit-canned. In any case, you'
 48 hat tracks him down, and consequently get himself involved in plenty sword
 49 He's a nice big guy, but he seems to get himself involved in all sorts of
 50 olumnist. <subh> MONDAY </subh> 10am: GET myself involved in something I
 51 you to make your own way home and get yourself robbed in some smelly
 52 ave been an intruder who'd managed to get himself locked in over-night.' No, I
 53 s moving on to the Internet, `I don't get myself involved in it. <p> It is out
 54 that. But <ZF1> I <ZF0> I've got to get myself sorted in myself first you
 55 aiting to receive you with open arms. Get yourself trained in a skill or get
 56 fraid that at some point Russia would get itself involved in this kind of
 57 better than for this country to get itself involved in a national debate
 58 <F0X> Mm # <F02> by the time I get myself organized in the morning
 59 a law-enforcement officer, can get himself involved in. But I think
 60 doing well. If there's someone there, get yourself invited in. Accept the tea,
 61 was any political party ever going to get itself voted into power on a policy
 62 child, somehow Oldman managed to get himself talked into being party to
 63 of # flow over you and sort of you get yourself sucked into it all I #
 64 now. The report on how Mattie came to get himself kidnapped is pretty
 65 at a crossroads. If Europe could get itself organized, it would be able #
 66 he was going to get himself cured or get himself kicked. It was among the
 67 topping a man once he's begun, or you get yourself raped. Just get it over.
 68 is poems are about it. It's stupid to get yourself killed <F0X> <ZGY> <M01>
 69 on't go. I forbid it. I forbid you to get yourself killed on a whim. You won't
 70 son? You'd run off to some dump and get yourself killed too? Just to teach
 71 ried. You can't go after them! You'll get yourself killed # I know," breathed
 72 with Berkli would be a good way to get yourself killed! Ellel hates him
 73 York City taxicab is a good place to get yourself killed, although in real
 74 don't you dare go out there and get yourself killed; I can't stand it! I
 75 the things that I could say to get myself killed, like `I am a <f>
 76 a couple of years ago. And I couldn't get myself scripted. <M01> Why couldn't
 77 the love of God," I pleaded, `don't get yourself mixed up in that drug
 78 know you have plenty on hand. <o> Why get yourself mixed up in it?" <p> He
 79 welcome recognition that Labour must get itself sorted. Much of what the
 80 It's also a good opportunity to get yourself noticed by the people who
 81 241144. <p> <h> A number of ways to get yourself noticed; Car 96; Motoring
 82 with something?" <p> And maybe he'll get himself killed. <o> By the way, we
 83 o is take a job in a foreign country, get yourself convicted of a brutal
 84 ad approached Melville and managed to get himself hired on Leon Morin, Priest.
 85 the act of actually paying money to get yourself started on the road to Elle
 86 has hatched a complicated plot to get himself slapped on the transfer
 87 of the things you have been doing to get yourself turned on. Do not, however,
 88 be an afternoon on the golf course to get myself acclimatised. One of the
 89 to mean either that he was going to get himself cured or get himself kicked.
 90 eems one vast he was going to get himself cured or get himself kicked. I
 91 <p> It's great: just get the boat and get yourself organised and away you go."
 92 as well of its potential. <p> <p> Get yourself organised, hold your own in
 93 be counter-punched with the right and get himself knocked out - and that's
 94 softness. It's a kindness to let him get himself sorted out and then
 95 ust to have a nice break. I'd like to get myself sorted out then have a bit of
 96 fro your number one soccer mag. <p> Get yourself kitted out with some super
 97 ession. <p> The idea that you come to get yourself sorted out and carry on is
 98 Pete Sampras yesterday contrived to get himself knocked out of the Italian
 99 she said. `I knew I had to get myself sorted out when I looked in
 100 lots of obvious reasons but he must get himself sorted out. I know he now
 101 in an outplacement firm who helped me get myself sorted out. They suggested I
 102 in London when I go back home # if I get myself sorted out." <p> Peters
 103 Australia has given me the chance to get myself sorted out." <p> <h> Felon v
 104 to take a year out from football and get himself sorted out. But I wouldn't
 105 substitute for thinking and planning. Get yourself sorted out; then you can
 106 oblivion. <p> She couldn't let Frank get himself killed. <p> She heard her
 107 Altman is the grandson of Robert) to get itself noticed. <p> Box office: 0131-
 108 he Family Values State, she needed to get herself married. <p> As it happened,
 109 has dumped her detectives might just get herself mugged. <p> <h> Cubs die in
 110 down, Mireille pulled me together. `Get yourself organised, Peter,' she'd
 111 is party's dominance in parliament to get himself appointed president for a
 112 relationship with an idiot about to get himself killed (probably for some
 113 a good sort, but if he wanted to get himself killed quickly that was his

114 ago.' Pity that engineer didn't just get himself killed," Rawlins said.
 115 enjoying it. then Cohn runs to get himself satisfied-full sex-with the
 116 was thinking that Dora warned me I'd get myself killed, she'll never let me
 117 s that?" <p> Pretty easy for a guy to get himself killed, sometimes. Happens a
 118 and now I feel that if I don't get myself organised soon I'll go round
 119 are properly cold. Resist them. Get yourself sorted first, build
 120 affairs. A special guide and video, Get Yourself Sorted # is available for
 121 lubber. 'Gotta be joking, love. Gotta get yourself sorted before you come
 122 he can come and stay at ours till you get yourself sorted but I won't allow
 123 that you needed to hear, I think, to get yourself started. <p> Malo:
 124 photography, and what better way to get yourself motivated than a very easy
 125 Damn it, if he didn't go and get himself killed that summer." <p>
 126 he said. 'I'll go find my room and get myself organized.' The trouble
 127 to please the policymaker to get himself promoted, then I wouldn't
 128 to say, 'So, when are you going to get yourself married, then?' Also Daniel
 129 for things to happen, that I should get myself involved throughout the game.
 130 the field. Well, it's stupid to get yourself tied down when you're 22,
 131 secret agents and that you managed to get yourself kidnapped to learn from the
 132 r for worse. <p> She couldn't seem to get herself organized to do anything
 133 ine-up. But Flowers was determined to get himself noticed, to make history and
 134 were a lot tougher, and trying to get yourself organised to do the study
 135 So the last thing we want to do is to get yourself attached to you know poor
 136 fantasy in your own mind. Continue to get yourself aroused to a point where
 137 self especially if you're class Get yourself trained in a skill or get you
 138 s relaxation then this is the time to get yourself unwrapped (which is hard
 139 Mm. <F01> I'm not going to I can't get myself worked up about this it's
 140 have to tell herself she could do it, get herself psyched up for it, and her
 141 over in Britain and hope that I can get myself fixed up with a club." <p>
 142 ay's work. <p> But what I won't do is get myself worked up into a state like I
 143 Wilson <p> SORRY, but I can't get myself worked up into a patriotic
 144 not on pole for Sunday's race. <p> I get myself worked up too much on pole."
 145 him. When I asked him why he did not get himself fixed up with a room
 146 accordion in Lofgren cut # He used to get himself charged up to write or
 147 <p> Some people are saying to me 'why get yourself mixed up with that?', but
 148 about the topic--a perfect way to get himself warmed up and moving. He's
 149 out. She wasn't going to let Charlie get himself mixed up with Century. That
 150 to think about football, never mind get myself psyched up to play. When
 151 unless this 800-pound gorilla can get itself picked up, dusted off and
 152 If she's out there, she's going to get herself locked up." <p> Narcotics?"
 153 of you drinking from a bottle. You'll get yourself stitched up." <p> Peter is
 154 that it seems to take forever to get myself worked up. Even when I
 155 Erm so you get yourself up and you get yourself washed # <F02> Oh yes. I do
 156 as long as I could to call. Go on, get yourself washed. I'll sit tight."
 157 running around, 'Get yourself armed. Get yourself armed. We're going to war.
 158 very unhealthy factors. Like you can get yourself killed, which is about as
 159 er er army # business go out and get himself killed? Why does somebody
 160 words a week <tc text=pause> when I get myself organized with this and have
 161 supporter. Brecht had also managed to get himself involved with the cabaret
 162 buy your own string of horses. <p> Or get yourself involved with a big yard
 163 I must be 'some kind of nut' to get myself involved with murderers on
 164 to bounce briefly off his trampoline, get himself sorted with life insurance
 165 the same. <p> But I can't. <p> Don't get yourself worked up about it," she'll
 166 running around, 'Get yourself armed. Get yourself armed. Yeah. <p> Gov.

Appendix 9: Victim+of+3own

1 heory put forward is that he was a victim of Achmer's own flak. <p> Perhaps
 2 ole suddenly becomes the surprised victim of her own success. She wanted you,
 3 the better. <h> Why Esther is a victim of her own success; Esther Rantzen a kn
 4 career woman # But is she now a victim of her own philosophy and a warning
 5 doesn't necessarily mean she was a victim of her own philosophy. Kelsey's t
 6 ew the 23-year-old Irish girl as a victim of her own passions. <p> It heard fund
 7 for tragedy; as it is, she is a victim of her own bent for the gaudy and mak
 8 ome suspect that she is becoming a victim of her own propaganda. <p> The <p> M
 9 programming. Kaplana's mother is a victim of her own values. Yet she wasn't th
 10 and believes that Mabel was the victim of her own vulnerability. There is
 11 ower. Her husband--she really is a victim of her own policies of a--of a--of o
 12 isuse, but not before this hapless victim of her own vanity was driven is a trui
 13 strength and become less of a victim of her own feelings. The service theo
 14 to an extent she has been the victim of her own success. Running the <
 15 s, I think, to be construed as the victim of her own evasion, as if the possi
 16 left her helpless and desolate, a victim of her own despair. <p> She exhaled
 17 Glenn, of Boleat, Northants, was a victim of her own greed and emotional down a

18 <p> The actress believes she is a victim of her own success. <p> She said: `

19 response was # Why # or # She's a victim of her own mythology # But perhaps fe

20 ri to make himself into the hero-victim of his own narrative. But the So

21 to do too much. He is almost the victim of his own knowledge--he knows so di

22 taring morosely into the offing, a victim of his own over-emphatic represent

23 ery high poll ratings. Now he is a victim of his own success. People feel Vash

24 believed that Thierfelder was a victim of his own flak and that there was

25 Mr Gyllenhammar was rather the victim of his own mistakes: having today's Ru

26 is a theory that Wilkinson is a victim of his own success. When he went to

27 more famous. He was in the end a victim of his own versatility which, while

28 claimed that Ferguson was more a victim of his own reputation than any long."

29 and on each occasion he has been a victim of his own excess. Bright forties s

30 <p> IF ANY film-maker is a victim of his own reputation, it's Bill

31 level, Agassi was almost a victim of his own complacency. <p> Up at t

32 themselves at him, that he is the victim of his own mythology. Horvath's Bourne

33 the mission. <p> Mr Dole is the victim of his own presidential ambition. an

34 and realising he was too much a victim of his own fear to do them any mome

35 Mr Lim appears to have become the victim of his own rhetoric. The `political

36 the PFA dinner last Sunday, was a victim of his own vulgarity before kick- view

37 > But the ex-steel tycoon is now a victim of his own bank account. He told <p

38 wn a peg or two. <p> He has been a victim of his own success at Arsenal in JACK

39 ACK NICKLAUS became an embarrassed victim of his own brand of rugged course-

40 for that, but soon became the victim of his own success when he made the

41 years he is, to some degree, the victim of his own success, in that he money

42 regime. <p> Graeme was almost a victim of his own standards, which were But

43 said the Dane could have fallen victim of his own desire to halt Derby's ha

44 ll-rounder title. I believe he's a victim of his own versatility. He turns belea

45 I am thinking of an even bigger victim of his own actions, someone who AXE

46 to do. <p> Mike Tyson has been a victim of his own fame. Unfortunately, r

47 me his short life story. He was a victim of his own qualifications, unable th

48 that Fernandez Cuesta had been the victim of his own benevolence. Franco a

49 d. And Nietzsche himself, ever the victim of his own categories, after the

50 s tale, was he fated to become a victim of his own morbid fantasies, it is cle

51 is clear that Singletary became a victim of his own propaganda. He believed T

52 his eccentricities, he was a victim of his own excesses. Dwight was Parker

53 Roddy Frame continues to be the victim of his own talent and tastefulness. an

54 ost famous mini-miller may prove a victim of his own success. Masanari to

55 <p> Mr Allen's friends say he is a victim of his own ambition. As the first

56 effective. <p> But he became the victim of his own tunnel-vision. trouble star

57 wer, Mr. Monieson contends he is a victim of his own celebrity. The CFTC was

58 AXED John Crawford insists he's a victim of his own success. The Largs boss,

59 r were others involved? Was he the victim of his own perverse sexuality and in

60 st be the least funky man alive, a victim of his own need to be thought a role

61 earable; the fact that Haines is a victim of his own addiction. He was born must

62 liver. <p> To be fair, Barnes is a victim of his own reputation. He shouldn't b

63 r it may be that the director is a victim of his own success and he's making

64 and then said he had become a victim of his own success. <p> For the more,

65 emerges clearly is that he was a victim of his own heroic character, an Vod

66 <p> Yesterday it seems he was the victim of his own front-running. <p> In a

67 twentieth century. He has become a victim of his own publicity and his

68 that Wray may have been the victim of his own trusting nature. respons

69 for 16 years but he really was a victim of his own life," said Kevin Breen,

70 Rob Borbidge said Mr Goss was `a victim of his own treachery". <p> I can R

71 re, Douglas played a man who was a victim of his own libido and recklessness.

72 Rob Borbidge said Mr Goss was `a victim of his own treachery". <p> I can and

73 ucial point, that Trump became the victim of his own hype. Property developer

74 world as a jungle where man is the victim of his own or others' passions, he

75 off that he was to be the next victim of his own squad. He decided to go no

76 o stranger to adversity. Often the victim of his own petulance, he once was no

77 o stranger to adversity. Often the victim of his own petulance, he once was

78 the painter PaulGauguin was the victim of his own heroic character. emerg

79 <F01> That door is a victim of it's own success isn't it? <M02>

80 analysts say Suez could become a victim of its own success: By adding an tower

81 for: virtuosity. Archaos is the victim of its own publicity. Everyone has

82 League, maybe rugby league was a victim of its own success. <p> I've been reg

83 ny ways, French farming has been a victim of its own success - or, more

84 policies. <p> But KDI is a victim of its own influence. During its

85 as Mr Bhagwati says, it was a victim of its own success. As trade many ways

86 The government risks becoming a victim of its own initial boosting of to

87 lp the arts." <p> The lottery is a victim of its own gigantic success. Sir

88 amid fears that it has become a victim of its own success. From modest worl

89 liance forged in the 1930s was the victim of its own success. The social left

90 Vodafone runs the risk of being a victim of its own success. Six months ago, br

91 leaguered estate may soon become a victim of its own success. For with many

92 egion. <p> But it risks becoming a victim of its own success, as cash- <p> The

93 <p> The Slingshot risks becoming a victim of its own publicity with the for

94 his year. <p> But FKI has become a victim of its own success. After more than b

95 Leisure looks to have been a victim of its own success. <p> Many of the
 96 diagnostic habits - a potential victim of its own success. <p> Canny the
 97 collapse. Already the system is a victim of its own success. The lottery has A
 98 usy. Here, sadly, it has failed, a victim of its own success and good Or it may
 99 26 <h> The Investment Column: FKI victim of its own success </h> By TOM th
 100 p> Heathrow, however, is largely a victim of its own success. With airline
 101 rhaps Punta del Este is becoming a victim of its own success. Rich Argentines m
 102 iling up. <p> It is in many ways a victim of its own success; <p> and the <p>
 103 and the show is the dreary victim of its own disconnected spectacle. pi
 104 weekend in US sport, has become a victim of its own success. <p> The
 105 market expectations. Apple is a victim of its own success; all year it has <
 106 multi- millionaires has become a victim of its own success. <p> For Formula
 107 ouble started because Mexico was a victim of its own success. <p> During 1994
 108 Sadly, Sunshine House has become a victim of its own success. It has outgrown b
 109 he argues that Cambodia has been a victim of its own geo-political position,
 110 urne admits: `Umbrella is partly a victim of its own success." By building up sa
 111 id the News Of The World) became a victim of its own excellence. <p> I've a cu
 112 a cult following, but it becomes a victim of its own success. Have I Got News
 113 generation is destined to become a victim of its own level of puritanism. <p>
 114 s output, however, has been the victim of its own uniqueness - no one is
 115 again leads into Falmouth Week. A victim of its own success, the ever-larger de
 116 ay the country has simply become a victim of its own success in protecting cent
 117 entury, the motor car has become a victim of its own success. Where does it to g
 118 David Seymour on Today - </h> a victim of its own excess By DAVID ca
 119 is that the Internet may become a victim of its own success. New users, it
 120 marks. In a way, Solidarity is a victim of its own success. When its crucial p
 121 n a traffic jam. <p> Taiwan is the victim of its own phenomenal economic is
 122 the country's economy has become a victim of its own success. One of the main
 123 d videotape. Has Sundance become a victim of its own success? Can a festival
 124 ut police warn Carnival could be a victim of its own success </h> By Adeline th
 125 moment is that the magazine was a victim of its own success, and this is sel
 126 he two-day Carnival could become a victim of its own success. Saying that the
 127 Unfortunately HDRA has been a victim of its own success. The Heritage
 128 e # hospice movement should be the victim of its own success # <M01> Mm # the
 129 a truism that the North-East is a victim of its own past achievements. The mad.
 130 arrow transplantation may become a victim of its own success. The number of
 131 But the government may be the victim of its own success. Egyptian to do
 132 slagged off for just that. It is a victim of its own success. I heard someone
 133 in the UK, Volvo has been a victim of its own success, an effect slagge
 134 director, says the party is a victim of its own success. <p> Frank to ve
 135 as such, was finished forever: a victim of its own success. Better that woman
 136 reserve formula, has become a victim of its own rapaciousness <p> He f
 137 nd tan muscle, was in many cases a victim of its own popularity. Whatever the
 138 whether conservation has become a victim of its own success. Restricting
 139 But this form of treatment is a victim of its own success. Thanks to the
 140 of the problem here. The game is a victim of its own success, and so are the P
 141 Vashon Island, it would seem, is a victim of its own beauty. As the ferry is t
 142 Parliament/Funkadelic was almost a victim of its own success. Squabbling
 143 ense, the National Cycle Show is a victim of its own success,' explained BA <p
 144 and threatens to make it a victim of its own success. Today, about 1 po
 145 Carolyn Pegler asked. `Yes, I'm a victim of my own stupidity and cowardice.
 146 the cause as two-fold. `We are a victim of our own success," Nigel Crisp, more
 147 is this idea that we are kind of a victim of our own success. The fact of the t
 148 as if Peps seemed set to become a victim of their own success they received
 149 parks have in some areas become a victim of their own success. The quality tw
 150 ewers' superpub ambitions became a victim of their own success in Ealing, Va
 151 scale. I think they are a victim of their own success-they seem to sen
 152 quoted as being <tc text=pause> a victim of their own success in th as much
 153 oney is no object. Liverpool are a victim of their own success." <p> He is
 154 ransplant operations have become a victim of their own success. <p> Dr. David
 155 to. I reckon we w # Everybody's a victim of their own circumstances like the #
 156 old Sandiford: `You are entirely a victim of your own conduct." <p> <p> But the

Appendix 10: *load of* (This very long list was originally presented as a separate file.)

1 1 rm load <LTH> Set 3 = ten reps at a load of 100 per cent of the 10rm load >
 2 a load of vicars.<F0X> Who? Who has a load of 1254 load of vicars.<F0X> Who? W
 3 2 it can pull a 10 tonne wagon with a load of 14 tonne at over 60 kph.<h> THE >
 4 3 and a floor stressed to accept a load of 150 lb/sq ft.<t> It can thus be >
 5 4 to fly five sorties carrying a full load of 16 missiles. Each helicopter >
 6 5 ozen fish.<LTH> The vessel's entire load of 170 tonnes of cod, worth pounds >
 7 6 a port that would accept its deadly load of 2 000 tonnes of chemical waste. >
 8 7 at. If the tram had a full standing load of 206 passengers, the figure would >

9 8 of Spain has spilled most of its load of 23 million gallons of crude oil #
 10 9 scowered Kiskadee generated a shock load of 230kg in coming to a stop from 2 >
 11 0 n altitude of 5,000 ft, with a full load of 29 monks and nuns. He was uneasy >
 12 1 of pull whilst sustaining a test load of 3 tons. <LTH> The winch can be >
 13 2 > < in which each officer has a case-load of 35, compared with 177 in Brit >
 14 3 1991 is hampered by a foreign debt load of \$39.2 billion. West Germany also >
 15 4 washing machine can launder a full load of 4 kg to 5 kg <LTH> A TYPICAL 4 kg >
 16 5 Nathan: I came personally with a load of 4,000 cases, of 75,000 liters of >
 17 6 the device # has a safe working load of 420 lbs and revealed no visual >
 18 8 xample: <LTH> Set 1 = ten reps at a load of 50 per cent of the 10rm load >
 19 7 Pyramid is: Set 1-eight reps at a load of 50 per cent of 1RM. Set 2-four >
 20 0 in Swansea harbour with a full load of 500 passengers. The ship was >
 21 9 she begins sailing there may be a load of 500 kg, half a ton, baring down on >
 22 1 Britain was pilloried when a sample load of 51 boat people was deported in >
 23 2 o be a jet-age Mosquito with a bomb load of 6,000 lb, and a top speed of 570 >
 24 3 on together, of handling a start load of 6.5kw. Although it is very >
 25 4 engines geared down for a trailing load of 60 tons, appeared i 1937. <LTH> >
 26 5 and it is straining to roll out a load of 747s and other jets during the >
 27 7 r cent of 1RM. Set 2-four reps at a load of 75 per cent of 1RM. Set 3-one rep >
 28 6 rm load <LTH> Set 2 = ten reps at a load of 75 per cent of the 10rm load >
 29 8 credit-earners have an average debt load of 77% and devote an average 27% of >
 30 MicroConcord search SW: load of 80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/>
 31 9 ntly round a cleat generated a peak load of 90kg and brought her to a >
 32 0 per cent of 1RM. Set 3-one rep at a load of 95 per cent of 1RM. Again, >
 33 1 has turned back out to sea with its load of about 10,000 metric tons of wheat >
 34 2 nd <M01> Yeah.<F02> all I got was a load of abuse and he said all we're >
 35 3 pie until we sussed it was all a load of acutely pretentious twaddle. Then >
 36 4 Team members then follow the load of aid to the front line, and at the >
 37 5 I do, but I don't have to carry the load of all his doubts and fears." She >
 38 6 s staff arrived with the last plane load of American hostages and were met an >
 39 7 who got her mother to send over a load of American cookbooks. <t> We >
 40 8 bless him. <t> In this rollicking load of amiable cobblers, Hauer plays >
 41 9 <ZF1> Un <ZF0> unless you take a load of amps.<M01> Right. Get it.<M02> >
 42 0 for daughters who inherit a double load of angst # their mother's doomed >
 43 1 An Arab truck driver carrying a load of animal hides to the city had seen >
 44 2 > < Revolution (he was taking `a car-load of antibiotics'). His account of >
 45 3 memory. The plan at once removed a load of anxiety and pain off the minds of >
 46 4 ot use a <ZZ1> stressed schwa <ZZ0> load of anything.<F0X> Mm # <ZGY> <M0X> >
 47 5 to science. Erm there's a whole load of appalling questions from it <X0X> >
 48 6 that a fight. What a larf. Just a load of arm-waving.Pity I missed the Man >
 49 7 o make its return trip with another load of armour before he takes President >
 50 8 According to the rebel side a boat load of arms from Taiwan has just arrived >
 51 9 orning at Caldwell and that a truck load of army reinforcements going to the >
 52 0 and Sarah Siddons giving a trailing load of around 220 tons away form both >
 53 1 > < who gasps her way through a crate-load of asthma inhalers. <t> This is >
 54 2 > <act of illegal entry so far, a plane-load of asylum applicants from India >
 55 3 The Hendon club would send a van load of at least 200 birds. The London >
 56 4 of time above mentioned, take on a load of at least 170 pounds avoirdupois, >
 57 5 at us up backstage, they were all a load of babies. <LTH> Same with >
 58 8 e commercial banks have an enormous load of bad debt on their books er loans >
 59 6 ssumption proves unfounded, the new load of bad debts will hurt banks badly. >
 60 7 system as the banks founder under a load of bad debt based on overvalued >
 61 9 or official, a driver, and a big load of baggage on board. The crowning >
 62 0 e plot's pretty simple: throw out a load of baggy classics which (already) >
 63 1 It <ZF1> shows <ZF0> shows what a load of balderdash that was doesn't it. >
 64 2 Billy Bowles's truck with a big load of bales.." Sometimes it's just >
 65 3 Reading, when some goon let loose a load of balloons intended for Inspiral >
 66 4 out into the street & launch a load of balloons: I did it with great >
 67 5 echnology: Improve your wash with a load of balls </h> <ZZ1> 205) <ZZ0> <ZZ1> >
 68 6 M02> In fact she said Well it was a load of balls MX.laughter # <M02> You >
 69 7 letters, please. <LTH> <LHH> WHAT A LOAD OF BALLS! <LTH> HEY, EVER wondered >
 70 8 ssive hit. So we did it an absolute load of balls.laughter # <M02> He [pause] >
 71 9 It makes for a double-barreled load of ballsiness, this contest to be >
 72 4 e on the phone.<M01> I think it's a load of baloney FX.<F01> That er <M01> Er >
 73 3 M01> Well sounds like I mean it's a load of baloney they show it on <ZF1> >
 74 0 didn't go anywhere last year what a load of baloney that is. I mean they are >
 75 2 th all due respect to you MX it's a load of baloney er five times as many >
 76 1 I mean you're right I mean it's a load of baloney isn't it he said touching >
 77 5 is sounding hollow. <t> That's a load of baloney," said Pearl Hyslop, >
 78 9 insists that the whole thing is a load of baloney. In goes his letter to >
 79 6 away. It's a <ZF1> load <ZF0> load of baloney.<M03> But having said >
 80 8 reasonableness". It was also a load of baloney. It is impossible to >
 81 7 is not very poorly paid. What a load of baloney.<F05> No come on it yes >
 82 0 checking for specials # A surprise load of bananas might come in # Last week >
 83 1 esidence # <t> He's always talked a load of bang-my-arse # <t> There's a >
 84 2 . > prepared to pull out an entire parcel-load of bank notes to pay for his d >
 85 3 the decline # Wait 'til they get a load of Bar Sumo.bar sounds, cheers, >

86 4 he > < out words faster than a barrow-load of Barbara Cartlands, unaware
87 5 that or she's <LHH> still got a load of barbiturate in her veins. 'OK, I'
88 6 eamed slowly along, carrying a full load of barrels of port and other >
89 7 er the nature of life as a # prissy load of bastards # He is equally >
90 8 <M01> Well she could g+ just get a load of beads <F0X> Out of my own head. >
91 9 this man's movements.<F0X> A van load of beagles has arrived at the animal
92 0 the brook, walking backwards with a load of bedding under its chin. It was an
93 1 <LTH> I once had to throw away a load of bedding plants I had raised. I >
94 2 automatically by an enormous load of behavioral baggage.Blacks were >
95 3 f onstage, you've been baffled by a load of biased ranting on some kind of >
96 4 Beardsley, I'm afraid looked like a load of bien pensants from the once- >
97 5 used the French delicacies to lan a load of big chub. <LTH> Russ, from >
98 6 If you ask me anything, it's all a load of billclap # <t> Shall we perch >
99 7 dy Doran, was struggling with a van load of bin bags bulging with cans and >
100 8 a white farmer rumbles past with a load of black workers bouncing in the >
101 9 hen we got on to the street I saw a load of black smoke rising into the air. >
102 2 more power that way # <t> That's a load of bloody old shite," screamed Matty.
103 0 as far as he was concerned it was a load of bloody old tripe, but it would be
104 1 Don't get much worth anything here. Load of bloody rubbish. Look at it # <t> >
105 3 > < s case, your man does a trailer-load of blues covers and the occas
106 4 > < than political refugees. One plane-load of boat people was sent back ag
107 5 show that Cuban music isn't just a load of boleros and rumbas. As with most >
108 6 <M01> <ZGY> <M02> I think they're a load of bollocks [pause] to be honest >
109 7 of Bouncers.I mean I think it's a load of bollocks quite frankly. Erm I >
110 4 t interview David Bowie. That's a load of bollocks. We sat and talked,about
111 3 I think <ZGY> you can tell that's a load of bollocks. I went there for a bag >
112 2 aughter # <M01> <ZGY> this is all a load of bollocks. [laughs # <F0X> <ZF1> I
113 8 me and guns in the newspapers was a load of bollocks. An ex-girlfriend went >
114 9 between the sexes. I think that's a load of bollocks. We ought to be friends,
115 1 between the sexes. I think that's a load of bollocks. We ought to be friends,
116 0 Yeah.<M02> <ZGY> I think they're a load of bollocks. But like that one up in
117 5 o-called 'revolution # <LTH> It's a load of bollocks. I'm sick to death of >
118 6 work far more insidiously than a load of boneheads shouting niggers out # >
119 7 sank. The sediments, with their load of bones, were pressed into hard >
120 8 the <ZGY> Anyway she was renewing a load of books this morning and that was >
121 0 the <ZGY> Anyway she was renewing a load of books this morning and that was >
122 9 and chemistry and they gave me a load of books to look through what's >
123 1 > < find a Pacific island, take a trunk-load of books and read under a palm
124 2 athers 'staggering as usual under a load of books,and he said: <CQ1> I have >
125 3 s my little honey bun, <LTH> Get a load of bouncy bun tonight, <LTH> I'm >
126 4 > < which had opened to let a trolley-load of boxes out. From the shop b
127 5 old f # er? A f # ing wagon load of boy scouts on Bob-A-Job day >
128 6 as > < <t> Now, that is quite a barrel-load of boys to take on all at once
129 7 of climbing rickety ladders with a load of bricks in a hod, of yanking back >
130 8 and I shall fly to Germany with a load of bricks and mortar, to do what I >
131 9 CQ1> looked like he'd been hit by a load of bricks. <CQ0> <t> <CQ1> I thought
132 0 he was referring to the media as a load of bricks. It is doubtful whether
133 1 is 'Uniforms' all over again) and a load of brilliant pre-techno 'Baba O' >
134 2 ld < is not hard to spot among a plane-load of brisk, sleek Euro-execs # Th
135 5 a lot of arrest the other night: a load of British Lennox Lewis fans were >
136 3 of freedom came yesterday one coach load of British tourists trapped in >
137 4 <dt> 04 July 1992 </dt> <t> A COACH load of British tourists rescued by TODAY
138 6 the next main arrival, a jumbo jet load of Britons due back in England at >
139 7 > < to speed the process. A plane-load of Britons, mainly those held a
140 8 H> < would have out of winning a wagon-load of Brits.<LTH> Like the picture
141 9 to laugh. And the next day a whole load of brothers came down.' <LTH> The >
142 0 ouble-breasted gabardine macs and a load of Brylcreem. This ten-year-old was >
143 1 BSS can, to be honest, sound like a load of BS: it's hard to feel sympathetic
144 2 > <<LTH> I never witnessed such a lorry-load of budgerigars myself, although
145 8 at docks by Major Woodings.Quite a load of bull in the Production Centre. >
146 7 t fifteen-year-olds right? That's a load of bull eh <M01> Yeah.<M02> that's a
147 3 could get in and give them a load of bull about how well we had done >
148 4 <LTH> Ted is a Taurus. Walker's load of bull yesterday for those who >
149 6 think it's <ZF1> a [pause] <ZF0> a load of bull to be quite honest because >
150 5 often in December.<LTH> Q: That's a load of bull isn't it?<LTH> A: Yes. It's >
151 9 performance in recent trials was 'a load of bull" and that the Exchange is >
152 0 to his discovery.<LTH> That's a load of bull, really," chortles Reed. 'It'
153 1 <t> That was really off-balance, a load of bull. That's not to say they don't>
154 2 ith his contract looming up." <h> A load of Bull;Football </h> <dt> 14 >
155 3 ure > <year.Risen Moon provided one trolley-load of bullion when winning the
156 4 sist the temptation to say # What a load of bullocks!' <LTH> And finally, >
157 5 about <KPD> 6,000. There's a whole load of bullshit around ans what we >
158 6 doing coke # that's who. And what a load of bullshit they handed down as a >
159 7 erylthing's too big'. I mean, what a load of bullshit! Not accepting different
160 8 riss Kross and Hank Marvin # what a load of bullshit! <LTH> In future, get >
161 9 and that I'm coy, because that's a load of bullshit,' she spits # That's >
162 0 Z0> <LHH> WHAT A DUD # <LTH> WHAT a load of bullshit. The music? The paper? >

163 1 sandwich stall some trade. What a load of bum. <LTH> The afternoon is only >
164 2 take notice John. And I've got er a load of bumph. It's gonna take me a month >
165 3 t see why he should get it. It's a load of bunkum.<M01> <ZF1> I think <ZF0> >
166 4 because <ZF1> that <ZF0> that is a load of bunkum.<M05> Well when they no of >
167 5 hrees. Because of that, there was a load of burkes come panicking up after >
168 6 one time we went and brought a load of cabbage back # You know, it's >
169 7 like a cat being dismembered over a load of cacky stale pub rock were RIDE (>
170 8 > < accounts for only 5% of the work-load of California's industry.<p> The >
171 9 but Mayo didn't end up killing a load of Californians. He came over to >
172 0 > WRU BOLDERSON JAKARTA </h> <t> A boat-load of Cambodian refugees appears to >
173 1 CAMBODIAN REFUGEES </h> <t> A boat-load of Cambodian refugees appears to >
174 2 > < Keith Dalton.It's the second boat-load of Cambodians to reach Australia >
175 3 has risen since the first boat load of Cambodians reached Australia last >
176 4 Machine' is rolling again. What a load of camel crap. They've beaten a 10- >
177 5 > street-chaos and the arrival of a bus-load of Canadian majorettes. <LTH> The >
178 6 into the middle of the river when a load of canoes started to come up the >
179 7 sensationalism laced with a bucket load of cant that drives the tabloids >
180 8 in the tropics # was adding to the load of carbon in the atmosphere, in the >
181 9 J MASCIS, Richard and Judy had a load of carefully tousled models wearing >
182 0 to each feeder full. If you pile a load of casters into the feed at the >
183 1 travelled hopefully home with a load of ceiling fans for sale at Dollars >
184 2 concerned at the prospect of a load of cement being dumped in the >
185 3 t's j+ You know it leaves me with a load of change then doesn't it <M01> Oh >
186 4 it c+ er <M05> And there's a whole load of changes and it's really clever. >
187 5 it c+ er <M05> And there's a whole load of changes and it's really clever. >
188 6 s much too chilly for us to watch a load of chaps in jodhpurs charging around >
189 7 th This Island's Mine, just a whole load of characters I was interested in >
190 8 Supporting the chart holder and its load of charts requires the stiffness of >
191 9 on 'Soup'. <LTH> It begins with a load of chattering cellos (synthesised, >
192 0 silence, then there was a whole load of cheers. I think it's liberating >
193 1 > campaign against farmers. <t> A lorry-load of chickens were burned alive i >
194 2 > We lose the equivalent of a jumbo load of children dead on our roads every >
195 3 > We lose the equivalent of a jumbo load of children dead on our roads every >
196 4 h > < Parsons, a teacher with a carriage-load of chirpy infants from Sheff >
197 5 it any more. I'd give in and eat a load of chocolate and feel guilty and >
198 6 hose levels when fed an extra-large load of cholesterol. Even the American >
199 7 to life in Monrovia. A plane load of Christmas goodies landed this >
200 8 > < as beds fill with the winter case-load of chronic bronchitis, heart >
201 9 ittle Eyolf. Grieg is not exactly a load of chuckles either. <LTH> So I was >
202 0 ob mcness, an owner-driver taking a load of citric acid to Italy, said: They >
203 1 umpteen times removed to this barmy load of clannites. Very soon I'd have the >
204 4 e.Unidentified Trucker: I brought a load of clothes hangers up from Canada. >
205 2 > When she began to carry the first load of clothes out to the car,Walker's >
206 3 : Big cheques, loadsa women, a shit load of clothes <LTH> TM: Brian, Terry, >
207 5 t make sense if you know you have a load of cluster bombs, does it make sense >
208 6 protesting vainly against the heavy load of coal brick it was obliged to haul >
209 7 of being the place where the first load of coals was put on the River Wear, >
210 8 ended. <h> Culture? What a load of cobbers # Jaci Stephen's Column >
211 9 that greens are good for you is a load of cobblers," says Vincent Marks, >
212 0 of that smoky, delightful pub, The Load of Cobblers.<p> It was Christmas >
213 1 have been able to stop this latest load of cocaine reaching the streets. <t> >
214 2 police have seized a large load of cocaine after a plane came down >
215 3 loud as June tourists, talking a load of cock about Art, came off the >
216 4 I had to go later and I went with a load of Cockneys. And they hated my >
217 5 mentioned # <t> Oh, that! A typical load of cod's # <S0> But, as I said, we' >
218 6 curity file was true # <t> It was a load of cods, Dell. That whole thing was >
219 7 ew Statesman hasn't written a whole load of codswallop about you. Hmmm, it >
220 8 mething definite they'd handed me a load of codswallop. I didn't believe that >
221 9 een treated to such an embarrassing load of codswallop.Thursday, 16 June # >
222 0 > <which try to sell a single container-load of coffee or whatever," he >
223 1 it found an opportunity to take a load of coffee back to Bordeaux, whence >
224 2 of a Jamaican mule who smuggles a load of coke into Britain, robs his >
225 3 ou came back and they'd delivered a load of coke in the yard in the meantime [>
226 4 ve, > <trolley and help yourself. A trolley-load of coloured sticky-backed pla >
227 5 The aircraft had more than its full load of combat gear aboard <KUA> Johns >
228 6 eople.<F01> No.<F02> MX says it's a load of commercial crap and he erm didn't >
229 7 Bridge to be swamped with an extra load of commuters, including East Bay >
230 8 LK TALK TALK <LTH> It's VIC'N'BOB'S Load Of Complete Shite! <LTH> VIC: Howay! >
231 9 turns over the soil he adds another load of compost from his huge bins # >
232 0 at gunpoint by a gang who stole his load of computer games yesterday. <t> The >
233 1 s are ridiculous and nothing but a mule-load of conceit. What do you mean you >
234 2 says that by lightening the load of consumer debt, the Federal >
235 3 more, if you like). Along with the load of cookies, remind every baker to >
236 4 lear skies, bound for Fuchau with a load of coolies and mixed cargo.Her >
237 5 ve got again I've brought [pause] a load of copies of these books which we >
238 6 a sense of shared relief, the last load of corn was brought triumphantly >
239 7 m.<M06> and we have with us a whole load of councillors in particular >

240 8 would be cool and fab instead of a load of counter-jumping philistines. <t> >
 241 9 re <ZF0> they're trying to create a load of countries to work together <M01> >
 242 0 And no hairsplitting.<LTH> 9. LOAD OF COX <LTH> Global warming is good >
 243 3 o ahead.<M02> He described DIS as a load of crap <M01> laughs] <M02> you see.
 244 4 <FCH> was 'all the same just a load of crap # they had an almost >
 245 5 <LTH> Sounds to me like the usual load of crap # he said and, ordering >
 246 6 enworthy? I've heard enough of that load of crap from <FCH> him <FCH> <t> >
 247 2 PHOTO <ZZ0> <LHH> WHY SUEDE ARE A LOAD OF CRAP BUT THE MUSIC PRESS WON'T >
 248 8 U2 BEND <LTH> HANDS OFF U2! What a load of crap you write! Your article was >
 249 9 s they say I used to think it was a load of crap but this thing about [pause]
 250 0 W. had asked him not to come, and a load of crap about 'I must obey my >
 251 7 eeing.<F0X> Modern art.<F0X> It's a load of crap really.<F0X> We won't hold >
 252 1 wanted to prove that like that's a load of crap you know it doesn't mean to >
 253 2 m.<F02> and erm and like voting's a load of crap and all that sort of thing >
 254 3 01> The other the it's a commercial load of crap ploy.<F02> Oh yes. Yes.<F01> >
 255 4 guy that said that my plaster was a load of crap and he'd got <ZF1> a <ZF0> a
 256 5 in London. And I think it's a load of crap talked about Cantonese food.
 257 1 M02> Galaxina.<M01> It's probably a load of crap actually now I've read the >
 258 0 then said she wanted to see another load of crap on ITV (I wanted to see the >
 259 9 laughs # <F02> Well er what a load of crap honestly.<F01> laughs # >
 260 6 an the content, I just think it's a load of crap # <LTH> Banks seems >
 261 8 been in to Uppers. I mean <ZGY> a load of crap <ZF1> what's <ZF0> what's >
 262 7 wadays. No one has any ear. Another load of crap from the Vikram Seth >
 263 1 <AAC> e's passports.<t> This is a load of crap!" growled he. 'Tex Manacle >
 264 2 me and shouted 'Kennif Willyams! Load of crap!" and I began to think they >
 265 5 terest in the film. It is the usual load of crap, and the company is death. >
 266 3 comes to news. <CQ0> <t> This was a load of crap, and Mary Ann knew it. The >
 267 4 till a lot of work to do # That's a load of crap, surely? How often is the >
 268 7 t talk to me about honour. That's a load of crap.' <LTH> SAM 'I suppose I'm >
 269 6 up the doll. She said Oh this is a load of crap. [pause] <ZF1> Then the doll
 270 5 r you think it could be. Which is a load of crap. But that's not what's >
 271 4 Because the political game was a load of crap. Because he couldn't wait to
 272 3 the dancing around afterwards is a load of crap. If I tried to do a backward
 273 6 I think it would be fun to write a load of crap. But that's just my warped >
 274 7 and the tenants' group is saying Load of crap.<M01> Right.<M02> No? They >
 275 8 it. It is a tedious, humourless load of crap. 'Would-be shocking # amp; >
 276 2 dear .." etc. etc.The full fawning load of crap. Did the love scene on the >
 277 1 2 # The selectors, basically, are a load of crap. They couldn't pick a good >
 278 9 want nowadays.<F0X> That's such a load of crap.<F0X> Well I think it is. >
 279 0 o familiar.Get stewed # Books are a load of crap.<LTH> Philip Larkin <LTH> >
 280 8 fan # is this, or is this not, a load of crap? <LTH> Just because I enjoy >
 281 9 this nameless factory. It carried a load of crates # <S0> Nice denies the >
 282 0 sections set at odd angles. The load of crates, with engines inside, was >
 283 1 Guinness, trying to ignore a train load of crazy people dribbling in front >
 284 2 stem that is crushed under the case load of criminal cases without any >
 285 3 in processing the growing load of criminal cases through the >
 286 4 re accurate. And, of course,a whole load of critical as well as personal shit
 287 5 angrily. 'I've never heard such a load of crow dung in my life! They are >
 288 6 after the Exxon Valdez emptied its load of crude oil into the icy waters of >
 289 7 If nothing is done, Eureka, and its load of crystals, seeds, shrimp eggs, and
 290 8 rappers, journalists and even a van load of curious police turned out to >
 291 9 are still examining a third truck load of cylinders that arrived in Turkey >
 292 0 are still examining a third truck load of cylinders which arrived in Turkey
 293 1 <ZG0> I've got erm I've given FX a load of dates for next few weeks when I'm
 294 2 <ZG0> I've got erm I've given FX a load of dates for next few weeks when I'm
 295 3 impression that she's carrying a load of dead wood. Carlotti supplies the >
 296 4 ve been in the hotel when the truck load of death arrived # <t> However, >
 297 5 himbleful of cash and a wheelbarrow load of debt to attempt the takeover of a
 298 6 West must also deal with the heavy load of debt owed by the poorest >
 299 7 companies have lightened their load of debt, and # most of all -North >
 300 8 entity is saddled with an enormous load of debt, though it has few taxes to >
 301 1 saddled the industry with a huge load of debt. By 1990 the five big >
 302 9 consumers have had to bear a heavy load of debt. They have also faced >
 303 0 it difficult to service their heavy load of debt. The debt-service burden of >
 304 2 any kind of style.' <LTH> We did a load of demos, but we didn't know whether
 305 3 ve failed because it sounded like a load of demos. Instead, we get # Even >
 306 4 but too much of what follows is a load of depressingly anonymous snarling >
 307 5 hese aircraft,carrying their deadly load of destruction, that formed the main
 308 6 ddest gigs was in Newcastle, when a load of didgeridoo players suddenly came >
 309 0 ally is working # there'll be whole load of different things that suddenly >
 310 7 ally is working # there'll be whole load of different things that suddenly
 311 9 it.<F01> Mm.<F02> Oh they gave me a load of different dates so I don't think >
 312 8 ming out from a reaction would be a load of different types of nuclei # We >
 313 1 gear and ram the pile,try and get a load of dirt # I raise the bucket a >
 314 2 cries of # Gee! Clark! Lois! Get a load of dis noo band who're mixing up a >
 315 3 she decided to take the plunge. The load of discretion was becoming too much >
 316 4 he said. 'I was relieved to find a load of disparate wallies like me." The >

317 5 ght be a disturbing addition to the load of distress that he already carried.>
 318 6 this was persuaded to hand over his load of documents to an official of >
 319 7 Edwards # A truck driver hauled his load of dog food all the way from Los >
 320 8 fatuous and frankly inaccurate load of dog's plop. Thanks (No problem- >
 321 9 tapes locked in this cage, with a load of dogs. I had to pose with me bum >
 322 0 morrow for war-torn Sarajevo with a load of donated food and medical >
 323 1 n'gals-tastic, 24-hour fake party load of donkey shite, mate. Their brain- >
 324 2 oint. Mind you, legally importing a load of dope into the country caused us a >
 325 3 > your life. I suggest you smoke a shit-load of dope-GM <LTH> <LHH> HELLO! YO >
 326 4 go past it often enough, you see a load of .. dossers, really, It's very >
 327 5 it. <CQ0> She said it from under a load of dresses on hangers # <CQ1> We can >
 328 8 therapy rather than pitch another load of drugs at a troubled patient. `A >
 329 6 them off. We were going to buy a load of drugs and <ZF1> the <ZF0> the >
 330 7 d relationships with, I just took a load of drugs and used them to distort my >
 331 9 <t> Mr Brownhill was faced with a load of drunken businessmen who had been >
 332 0 'd just launched into Mozart when a load of drunken daytrippers stumbled in >
 333 1 s original script was, indeed, a load of dung. By the end of the evening, >
 334 2 <SO> What a heap, it banged like a load of dustbins.<t> He threw the lorry >
 335 3 demonise it as being # just a load of dykes # many of its so-called >
 336 4 e > <could have cheerfully thrown a truck-load of dynamite after them. I was m >
 337 program. On some campuses part of the load of each full 336 taff Ratio: Each m >
 338 6 taff Ratio: Each manager has a case load of eight patients.Percentage of >
 339 7 brilliant, that's not just a load of electrical currents going round a >
 340 8 you.<MOX> Erm like he applied for a load of electricity shares but he wasn't >
 341 9 shows, ergo they can't exist! <LTH> Load of elitist nonsense, anyway, if you >
 342 0 lot, sir. His people came up with a load of embarrassing information and >
 343 1 far I was the only female out of a load of engineers who been taking <F01> >
 344 2 things to people who don't want a load of equations".<LTH> Exploiting the >
 345 3 > < are fully satisfied. <t> A cargo-load of equipment left for Malmo by >
 346 5 ough baby who seems to need a lorry load of equipment and clothes to go any >
 347 4 rk at Calais' ferry port, his wagon load of equipment for the off-shore oil >
 348 6 with <ZF1> a [pause] <ZF0> a great load of er small change <ZGY> <F0X> Ooh >
 349 7 ll they got was <ZF1> a a l <ZF0> a load of er claptrap you know.<M01> Mm. [>
 350 8 I mean they just consider them a load of erm er left-wing nancy boys or >
 351 9 > < LIFE IN KUWAIT </h> <t> A plane-load of evacuees from Kuwait, many o >
 352 0 items, Chavez would be carrying a load of exactly fifty-eight pounds. That >
 353 1 my education. I just did a whole load of exams and got through my gces. >
 354 2 he < inflicted. <LTH> My, what a cargo-load of excess we carry in our weary >
 355 3 pressuring them into accepting a load of excess baggage belonging to >
 356 4 lash which resulted in a whole boat load of excise officers being found next >
 357 5 Nine games, five wins and a load of excitement later, they've >
 358 6 n flames and they'd come out with a load of excuses as usual from the whiz >
 359 7 his parents for putting too heavy a load of expectations upon him and gone to >
 360 8 turn up for a first date with a load of expectations about finding love, >
 361 9 Light & Magic shop to pick up a load of expensive looking neon creatures, >
 362 0 t> < failed to find out why. <t> A lorry-load of explosives intended for the >
 363 1 that carried an astonishingly heavy load of explosives; but these ponderous >
 364 2 F # ing in the Street # signed a load of f # ed-up,hard-nosed Mid-Western >
 365 3 <M01> Right.<F01> MX used to take a load of facts that you knew as well as he >
 366 4 occupied the furnished flat No. 10. Load of fan mail has arrived.Monday, 6 >
 367 5 PD> 300 for the GSE MPE-100s buys a load of fancy post-production facilities >
 368 6 t actually sacrificing or dumping a load of fans because I want to do this or >
 369 7 straight out just cos you've got a load of fans, or it doesn't go in at all. >
 370 8 ill keep me from drooping under the load of fatigue and tedium. I have begun >
 371 9 eg and exclaimed: <CQ1> Well, get a load of <FCH> that, <FCH> would you? >
 372 0 s delivery-van had dropped a load of <FCH> saucisson <FCH> by mistake. >
 373 1 x on the B-side, headfreaks) as # A load of feelings and images strung >
 374 2 > < hole, The Groucho Club. A bus-load of fellow students at Magdalen ca >
 375 3 > < to say nothing of a happy lorry-load of field-workers being trucked >
 376 4 to leave their country, a plane load of fifty-one people, flew to >
 377 5 spent almost 30,000 to buy a load of filet mignon for the patients # >
 378 6 that # Just yesterday, there was a load of firewood coming into Sarajevo # >
 379 7 > < An Arab tradesman, with his barrow-load of fish, could be a terrorist. >
 380 8 e two boats alternately hauled in a load of fish, then shot the net again >
 381 9 the medicines were merely a load of fish.<LTH> The aphorism `Give a >
 382 0 tel van, which had just delivered a load of fish. We had a wonderful time >
 383 1 been totally empty at the time, its load of food and tins having been >
 384 3 leaving Sustad to carry the heavy load of food and gas cylinders up alone. >
 385 2 ast week when they brought a pickup load of food to the town, there was a mob >
 386 4 m > < nations to provide aid.One plane-load of food and medicines from the >
 387 5 y > < heading down the beach with a sling-load of food supplies for the homele >
 388 6 rnod had thin tyres and an enormous load of food. He could not push his bike >
 389 7 said to have a bloody great trolley load of food. Used to go with a little >
 390 8 y > neighbouring countries. Another plane-load of foodstuffs, grain and medici >
 391 9 lf and other issues # A first plane load of foreigners has left the Iraqi >
 392 0 <LTH> The first eye-witnesses # a car-load of four refugees who managed to >
 393 1 in fact, it was because I wanted a load of free mushrooms for myself!<t> >

394 2 return leg in London, which sees a load of French footballers playing a set >
 395 3 oom crowded with idiots, including a load of Frenchmen who were there to blow >
 396 4 concert, it's a party with a whole load of friends I haven't seen for a >
 397 5 signer. They think that fashion # a load of frivolous, foolish frockmakers # >
 398 6 FDA to ship a bacteria-contaminated load of frog legs back to India, says >
 399 7 to jump out of his cab to stop his load of fruit and vegetables being eaten.
 400 02> They ha 503 > C D A T they're a load of fucking idiots. Load of idiots. >
 401 ards # > < 502 > <A T they're a load of fucking idiots. Load of idiots. <M01
 402 3 hat you do already. <M0X> Yeah and a load of fucking <F0X> And it's extremely >
 403 2 <F0X> laughs # <M0X> is sticking a load of fucking er <F0X> Oh you were the >
 404 8 ast party at FX's I think you put a load of fucking clingfilm over there and >
 405 9 Gonna have to prove to you what a load of fucking bollocks you've been >
 406 0 street name <ZZ0> C D A T they're a load of fucking idiots. Load of idiots. >
 407 1 .Load of idiots. > <A T they're a load of fucking idiots. Load of idiots. <M01
 408 4 irst around-the-world flight on one load of fuel was completed at Edwards Air
 409 5 the cold # Despite the plane's full load of fuel, it did not catch fire # The
 410 6 he reactor still holds its original load of fuel, as the North Koreans claim, >
 411 7 a neighbouring country to pick up a load of fuel. <t> Belgrade-controlled >
 412 8 by its records or its current load of fuel. <LTH> One method of doing >
 413 9 s removal from these shores another load of fun happy White trouble makers; >
 414 0 e. P.S. was awful! Strung together a load of funnies and couldn't deliver >
 415 1 the impression that this was a van load of fuzzy-wuzzies who had been >
 416 2 have said Ossie Ardiles left me a load of garbage but that's just not true.
 417 3 says # Personally, I think that's a load of garbage! I've seen horses pull >
 418 4 But he seems to come out with a load of garbage, doesn't he # <LTH> Mrs >
 419 5 # <LTH> Scientists say it is all a load of garbanzo beans, Father. They say >
 420 6 itish Gas <ZF1> here <ZF0> here's a load of gas you distribute it along your >
 421 7 He went back to his van, got a load of gasoline, and phmph! I mean, you >
 422 8 n the dancefloor in the middle of a load of gay men and they come every time,
 423 9 crime was to suggest lightening the load of gcse's taken by middle school >
 424 1 <M01> Right. <M02> I bought myself a load of gear thinking I'll wean myself >
 425 0 LTH> Meanwhile, The Dogs have had a load of gear nicked from out of their van,
 426 2 can it be constitutional to have a load of geriatric judges deciding what >
 427 3 n < But even the departure of the ship-load of Ghanaians and Nigerians was
 428 4 into a box with an old jumper by a load of gibbering foreigners who kept >
 429 5 victims of the civil war. A special load of gifts was flown in today, even >
 430 6 s real, and that they've all done a load of gigs around the country first. >
 431 8 rough the door. And there was a car load of girls who turned up at half past >
 432 7 Party were coming down with erm a load of girls from Scotland and they were
 433 9 Z1> PHOTO WITH CAPTION <ZZ0> What a load of glossers! That legendary Pollocks
 434 0 > <in those early postwar years a plane-load of gold in big bars would land
 435 1 gratification, but you do a whole load of good for the Spastics Society. >
 436 2 her day and just happened to have a load of goodies in the back so, while >
 437 4 the most free-for-all fun with a load of gorgeous sentimentality thrown >
 438 3 and there's currently a whole load of gorgeous UK-sourced components >
 439 5 this mess because we are a selfish load of grabbers living in a 'me, me, me'
 440 6 aimed, about half the first barrel load of grape shot took Hunter in the >
 441 7 ears of drought to ripen their full load of grapes # An increasing number of >
 442 9 It is tempting to use it to buy a load of gravel or pay for the next hole >
 443 8 as they pushed along with their load of gravel for Rotterdam. I was >
 444 0 is driving on his way to deliver a load of gravel. <t> What happened between
 445 1 for Gordon, he's managed to slop a load of grease over it. His idea of a >
 446 2 e much more effective at tackling a load of greasy pots and pans than hand >
 447 3 is a gallic pleasure trip .. Grab a load of Greatest Hits this month: take >
 448 4 pal. <F0X> laughs # <M0X> Give 'em a load of grief <ZGY> MX and his little >
 449 5 ice of a small car I bought a lorry load of ground up tree bits called >
 450 6 > <at the Vietnam War as seen by a boat-load of grunts taking Martin Sheen
 451 9 you, there's no need to accept the load of guilt that other people are so >
 452 0 adding to the already accumulated Load of guilt lying upon the Land in >
 453 1 It is. But it's better than your load of guilt just because you can't # >
 454 7 out that? Well, you can imagine the load of guilt that lumbered him with. His
 455 8 asking the Germans to live with a load of guilt for ever <KUA> or even for >
 456 2 s removal from these shores another load of gun happy White trouble makers; >
 457 3 Malcolm X. In the background are a load of gun-toting black kids. One of >
 458 5 > < his bend. Blue! BLUE!'' <LTH> A car-load of guys is over from the Birmingham
 459 4 > < calling for a ride and a car-load of guys came over and started
 460 6 agged me close in. <LTH> If I had a load of hair I would have pulled it out. >
 461 8 by devious means". There followed a load of half-truths, liberally sprinkled >
 462 7 but not go into the studio with a load of half-baked ideas and hope some of
 463 9 several processors can share the load of handling data in a single >
 464 0 to ensure that you come home with a load of happy memories, rather than an >
 465 1 If so, the arrival of a van load of hard-drinking, cynical journo- >
 466 3 ke cobbler or pie, maybe pull off a load of hay # lead the horse to the fork >
 467 4 know whether you fellows ever had a load of hay or a tree fall on you. But >
 468 2 president. It was, he said, as if a load of hay had fallen on him. <p> Divided
 469 6 A swarm of bees in May Is worth a load of hay. <t> A swarm of bees in June >
 470 5 the field as he drove by with a big load of hay. <t> <CQ1> He was an >

471 7 her <KUA> Mum was on her way with a load of her things, the phone had been >
 472 8 her, <CQ0> said Thack # <CQ1> Get a load of her. <CQ0> <t> The object of his >
 473 0 ou're not so smart. You smuggle one load of heroin and you're hooked, Costa >
 474 9 eak away with you. We're bringing a load of heroin aboard, Costa, and just to >
 475 1 he proceeds of the sale of his last load of heroin. He is going back into >
 476 2 > the guy who had tried to stop a barge-load of High Stand logs in the Georg >
 477 3 o expect # <t> Couldn't she carry a load of high dudgeon with her into >
 478 4 their personal philosophy, but a load of hip music-biz types schmoozing >
 479 5 s, and < is implicitly elegiac. An aeroplane-load of his friends arrived in T >
 480 6 the proprietor and confiscated a load of his hash leaf insignia baseball >
 481 7 his wake encumbered by a monstrous load of his accoutrements. I have noted >
 482 8 se to speak yesterday, he carried a load of history on his back. He was >
 483 0 me to own up that it was all just a load of hogwash and instead take up pig- >
 484 9 p into types and of course it was a load of hogwash you know.<FOX> Well it's >
 485 1 stand # <LTH> Sugar said it was a `load of hogwash" that he was not >
 486 3 <t> His lawyer claimed: `This is a load of hogwash. It's a wage-and-hour >
 487 2 you know.<FOX> Well it's not a load of hogwash.<FOX> Well no. But it's >
 488 4 M ALWAYS puzzled by people who take load of holiday snaps. One can buy >
 489 5 <dt> 05 May 1992 </dt> <t> A PLANE load of holidaymakers stranded when their >
 490 6 offee: Camp again.<t> What? Another load of homework?<t> Just a short one >
 491 7 applauded. It is like playing to a load of hopeless drunks # show them >
 492 8 F01> Right.<F02> Apart from we're a load of horrible old drunks.<F01> Yeah >
 493 9 he politics. I thought it was all a load of horse shit, all that `we're like >
 494 0 task after the Army was shipping a load of horses and Welsh ponies by sea >
 495 1 left Ankara, Turkey, today with a load of hostage women and children who >
 496 2 Jeremy Cooke: This latest plane load of hostages to be allowed to leave >
 497 3 measures # Tories Green Dream is a load of Hot Air" proclaims the Daily >
 498 5 had shown permission to send a boat load of humanitarian supplies through the >
 499 6 cargo plane had just delivered a load of humanitarian supplies and was >
 500 4 cargo plane had just delivered a load of humanitarian supplies and was >
 501 7 what is it?16 Was `anti-fat pill" a load of hype?24 The doctors who have died >
 502 8 everything was laid on. It wasn't a load of hyped lies. We weren't out to rip >
 503 9 CRY HAVOC, and let slip a barrel load of hyperactive monkeys! Blink are >
 504 0 lot aren't they.<M04> Er they're a load of hypocrites.<M01> Yeah.<M04> Now >
 505 1 of the mainland UK because we're a load of hypocritical fascist bastards # >
 506 s. > <A T they're a load of fucking idiots.Load of idiots.<M01> 402 <FOX> >
 507 3 > C D A T they're a load of fucking idiots.Load of idiots. > <A T they're a >
 508 Z0> C D A T they're a load of fucking idiots.Load of idiots. > < 401 .Load o >
 509 2 > <A T they're a load of fucking idiots.Load of idiots.<M01> Mm.<M02> They >
 510 g idiots.Load of idiots. > < 401 .Load of idiots. > <A T they're a load of >
 511 4 g-eyed, and then strings together a load of images to do with cars, sex and >
 512 5 They are terrible. This one was a load of inconsequential rubbish about >
 513 6 UN SOLOMON </h> <t> The first plane load of Indian refugees stranded in Amman >
 514 7 > < <t> In Australia the biggest boat-load of Indo-Chinese refugees to reac >
 515 8 > < SYDNEY </h> <t> The biggest boat-load of Indo-Chinese refugees to reac >
 516 9 ildren 30 years ago reveals a heavy load of information, lightened only by >
 517 0 urst--eyes, has been lightening the load of inpatient departments like this >
 518 1 That Russell Davies was on with a load of intellectuals manque who >
 519 2 ight in the West End, in front of a load of invited people and I'm doing the >
 520 3 ight in the West End, in front of a load of invited people and I'm doing the >
 521 4 d exploded a car bomb next to a bus load of Iraqi troops and, in another, >
 522 5 > < in London when he encounters a van-load of Irish terrorists trying to bum >
 523 6 I hope at least you'll have left a load of ironing. <LTH> I got a lot of my >
 524 7 involved in the attack upon a bus load of Israeli tourists in February >
 525 8 S letter was perhaps the biggest load of issue-avoiding toss it has been >
 526 9 literally buckling under the load of its own melancholy. <LTH> Clam >
 527 0 > < Matterhorn and you'll find a coach-load of Japanese tourists coming up >
 528 1 deal is baffling, until you get a load of Jason Kaye. Bouncing around the >
 529 2 that carry with them a precious load of jobs, as well as a less easily >
 530 3 e > <LTH> May you be buried under a lorry-load of Johnny Rogan books, you misg >
 531 4 > < talking to them, when another car-load of journalists arrived.<t> It was >
 532 5 hat we actually don't mind buying a load of junk as a nation.<M04> Well er >
 533 6 So what sort of mail did he get?A load of junk, basically. I get to get >
 534 7 So what sort of mail did he get?A load of junk, basically. I get to get >
 535 8 not too fine-tuned to carry a large load of junk. And so, I believe, it must >
 536 9 then remarked, `It sounds like a load of karma corn to me." I laughed so >
 537 2 ecause there's downstairs there's a load of kids loads of people the phones >
 538 0 sedan with raucous exhausts and a load of kids career past, and he thought >
 539 1 workers on the estate. There's a load of kids and they won't go off the >
 540 3 Labour leader in power as `a great load of Kinnocks". <t> He said: `You can' >
 541 6 ing; It's all Kinnocks. A great big load of Kinnocks. <t> ANSWERS IN OUR >
 542 4 <t> It's all Kinnocks # a great big load of Kinnocks." <t> Tory Chairman >
 543 5 <t> It's all Kinnocks. A great big load of Kinnocks." <t> MICHAEL HESELTINE >
 544 7 nt to Sugar's bar where we joined a load of lads from HMS Reclaim. It was >
 545 8 dare burden my parents with another load of large wedding bills. I designed >
 546 9 > < 50 years, three wars and a lorry-load of latex costumes, appears to h >
 547 0 > < A pair of dray horses pulls a wagon-load of laughing visitors close to w >

548 1 a great look, a lot of style and a load of laughs. <LTH> 7) Bob mccabe <LTH>
549 2 originally intended to spread the load of launching and recovering across a
550 3 he # didn't really belong'' with a load of lawyers' sons. <LTH> I began to >
551 4 <t> Hijackers who had stolen a load of leather jackets attracted >
552 5 action would be that if there are a load of leaves and debris on the water >
553 6 I suddenly found there was a whole load of left hands I could play # <LTH> >
554 7 housewives? Why not call the band a load of lefty pooves and get The Sun to >
555 8 contract could not bear the entire load of `legitimation". Universal >
556 9 in show business.Tuesday, 14 May # Load of letters about the poetry sent by >
557 0 Yeah.<M0X> and they've sent me a load of letters <ZGY> know <ZG0> just >
558 ut there's a load of liars. There's a load of liars > < 554 politicians ther >
559 2 there's a load of liars. There's a load of liars and especially amongst >
560 > How do you tell when > w 555 's a load of liars > < there's a load of lia >
561 re's a load of liars > < there's a load of liars 552 there's a load of lia >
562 1 there's a load of liars. There's a load of liars > < there's a load of lia >
563 < there's a load of liars. There's a load of liars and e 556 love, isn't it? >
564 5 's a load of liars > < there's a load of liars. There's a load of liars and >
565 ow <ZG0> just > < 551 there's a load of liars. There's a load of liars >
566 re's a load of liars 552 there's a load of liars. There's a load of liars and >
567 4 politicians there's <ZF1> a <ZF0> a load of liars.<M01> How do you tell when >
568 3 world MX.<M06> But there's a load of liars. There's a load of liars >
569 6 love, isn't it? <t> You know it's a load of lies but .. even when I knew >
570 7 taken place # They are making up a load of lies,'' she added. <LTH> >
571 8 get at me by the rape claim--it's a load of lies.'' said Weekes. <LTH> >
572 9 up to that point there was a whole load of light, dappled like water from >
573 0 what they di done was they threw a load of litter all over the Bristol Road >
574 1 And who says dance music is just a load of little men in backwards caps and >
575 2 p there it's standardization it's a load of loads of bloody rubbish. The >
576 3 > trans-shipped. In Puget Sound a barge-load of logs is a common enough sigh >
577 5 Neighbors would come to him with a load of logs and say they needed a >
578 4 two days after he had let the barge load of logs be towed over his inflatable >
579 6 means a 600-mile round-trip for one load of logs. No matter how far they >
580 7 > < Andy's arrival with another sledge-load of logs. There was no work to >
581 8 > a flicker of recognition, a whole car-load of London busy-bodies coming to p >
582 9 to the well, a car that took a huge load of long-standing garage detritus to >
583 0 people don't have to listen to a load of long-haired tossers what wear >
584 1 aving a good time. Or a multi-media load of loonies. But The Smell Of Burning >
585 2 scr scheme getting rid of a load of loonies. You look over the >
586 3 Robin has held up another wagon # load of loot, he spits out all sorts of >
587 4 quisition. What he fondles to as 'a load of lovely junk'is a diverse and >
588 5 > they are often carrying a double work-load of low-paid employment and domes >
589 6 ght of the tour, Metallica dumped a load of # <LTH> Ian # goldfish # <LTH> >
590 7 tree and yawned, ignoring the heavy load of lumber he carried # <CQ1> Nice >
591 8 a dainty sidestep,Snoot dropped his load of lumber, shed it, in a perfect row >
592 9 Hanson has decided to swap it for a load of lumber. As presented, it is a >
593 0 sort of <M02> Yeah. <M01> talk to a load of <M02> He told all the managers. >
594 1 game against Arsenal was a complete load of Maastricht, shrugged his >
595 2 auler was traversing Chicago with a load of machinery that just had to get to >
596 3 vernment men in suits supervising a load of maize and there, sitting in the >
597 4 when he described Shakespeare as a load of manure # or words to that >
598 5 wonder if somebody's just brought a load of manure.<F0X> All right FX. Just >
599 6 went to ask another neighbour for a load of manure. `Eh?" he said, lifting >
600 7 e > to dig in but if not, order a trailer-load of manure. Any type will do, >
601 8 they are examining a similar truck load of material which was stopped by >
602 9 presenting the system with a large load of material readily absorbed into >
603 0 ome missionaries hadn't delivered a load of mattocks to Dlase for ground >
604 1 n English teacher who has a student load of maybe 125 or 135 or 145 kids, it'>
605 2 pad into other things a whole load of mds of record companies have law >
606 3 n, they've taken what's basically a load of meaty, Yankee Richenbaker-abusing >
607 4 the whole thing was just another load of media malarkey # <t> Wood pursued >
608 8 rkish government is sending a plane load of medical supplies and other relief >
609 5 lew to Iraq over the weekend with a load of medical supplies to try and >
610 7 they always have erm a whole load of medical questions which you go >
611 6 to have flown in with a cargo load of medical supplies. These friendly >
612 9 an Iranian delegation will escort a load of medicine and food supplies to >
613 0 it again. Landed myself in another load of mediocrity & no talent or >
614 1 To me he was collecting an enormous load of memories, and walking on a carpet >
615 2 > home from the bar and there was a van-load of men # they usually come in >
616 3 > < psychedelic pioneers 0 a magic bus-load of merry musical pranksters who >
617 4 Went on all day and I had to buy a load of Methadone to take with me.I was >
618 5 flower conscious I wonder? Oh for a load of `mile a minute'vines to cover gas >
619 6 loot, for guns. They found <KUA> a load of military bugles.<t> They belonged >
620 7 > < needs of the Iraqi people. A ship-load of milk powder purchased from th >
621 8 ave any bollocks anymore. They're a load of miserable sheep.'' <LTH> <LHH> >
622 9 ithin cells. The train was taking a load of mitochondria to a site where they >
623 0 Truman Fogg had got himself another load of moldy Canadian hay.<t> Snoot >
624 7 d that. And thinking get yourself a load of money together if you get found >

625 6 ve to go out tonight. I mean with a load of money to buy enough gear to last >
626 5 about when you get success and a load of money and get comfortable?' But >
627 1 tepped in from Sire and gave them a load of money to do the record for >
628 2 MARK E: I did, yeah, and I got a load of money out of them. <LTH> DAVE: So >
629 4 yeah.<F01> If you suddenly got a load of money like not too much but you >
630 3 amateur outfit who'd been given a load of money and didn't know what to do >
631 8 I'm never going to earn Island a load of money, but to make money at all >
632 9 buying there # They were getting a load of money.Zwerdling: So Siad Barre's >
633 0 > <a million copies and made you a shit-load of money. What would you do with >
634 1 eing as she's as clever as a barrel load of monkeys herself." He paused. >
635 2 the soft approach had caught many a load of monkeys.<t> Although unshaven, >
636 3 consequently they sit there like a load of morons I mean some of them have >
637 4 Irish police found him with a car load of mortars last year. Detectives >
638 5 Yeah.<F02> At the moment I've got a load of mothballs down.<M01> Oh you're >
639 6 Yeah.<F02> At the moment I've got a load of mothballs down.<M01> Oh you're >
640 7 licensing applications, and a fair load of motoring offences for the Bench >
641 8 , worth pounds > < Hurd, and a Maastricht-division-load of mps. Mr Clarke >
642 9 thinking as a veneer for a whole load of muck that needs to come out and >
643 0 himself into a stupor. Another load of muck to sit through.Thursday, 22 >
644 1 t give acupuncture a whirl. <LTH> A load of mumbo jumbo, my love, if you're >
645 2 o sceptics who claim astrology is a load of mumbo jumbo, says top astrologer >
646 3 Yes. [Laughs # <M08> You've got a load of mums there moaning and groaning >
647 4 hat's alright then. Uh, no. I did a load of mushrooms last night. I was >
648 5 mpire's 'Horn Track', but without a load of mushy breakbeats. <LTH> <LHH> RED >
649 6 that much more, provided I put in a load of music, I can offer you the >
650 7 > < to liberate a whole PA and a shit-load of musical instruments from a lo >
651 8 r > < else, and my mother has a house-load of my stuff, too. <LTH> I love >
652 9 sporadic sex had lightened the load of my life. A drowning man escaping >
653 0 Well it was continuous <ZGY> like a load of nails stuck in your stomach hard >
654 1 y 11.5 inches wide but takes a full load of nearly 8 lb of boilies. <LTH> The >
655 2 accumulated free radicals-the total load of neotoxins-cause the tissue damage >
656 3 social situation. And reduce your load of neotoxins. <LTH> What is a >
657 7 s rear-ended by a big rig hauling a load of new cars # One of the recruited >
658 4 smoke, the van carrying the last load of New Age travellers rattled off >
659 6 Scott's already written a whole load of new songs # They're very simple >
660 5 th a great big attitude and a whole load of new pop. Like SUNBEAR, some >
661 8 you can pick up anything from a load of nine millimetre pistols to a >
662 9 yelling from Michael Querico and a load of nods and winks to the encroaching >
663 0 Cos in my experience, babies make a load of noise when you're trying to watch >
664 1 ur record cover and make an oblique load of noise with someone swearing over >
665 2 me that Techno was not music but a load of 'noisy trash' that automatically >
666 3 the banks facing an unprecedented load of non-performing debt, these are >
667 4 being called a fucking animal by a load of nonces who know nothing about >
668 9 <dt> 22 June 1992 </dt> <t> WHAT a load of nonsense is talked about zoos. >
669 8 id: 'I am very happy here .. it's a load of nonsense to say I'm not settled. >
670 5 Bolsover. 'I've never heard such a load of nonsense as the Action Group gave >
671 7 re cheaper. I think that's always a load of nonsense to say that the prices >
672 6 ictures to prove conclusively what a load of nonsense Sainsbury's research >
673 0 e boardroom-and the bedroom. What a load of nonsense! <LTH> SKETCH # <LHH> >
674 1 a headline in a tabloid which is a load of nonsense, but in television you >
675 2 wanted Natasha back. <t> It's a load of nonsense," he said. <t> The >
676 8 ent and everything else it's such a load of nonsense. I'm a widow and I live >
677 7 you didn't fear <M23> What a load of nonsense.<M0X> Rubbish. There was >
678 3 isn't it wonderful .. that's a load of nonsense.'" <LTH> Yes, but if one >
679 4 But 21-stone Manning said: 'It's a load of nonsense. I'm a friend of Lynn's >
680 6 day, Arnold. Said the scheme was a load of nonsense. To talk of boats >
681 5 urely, they must think, it is all a load of nonsense. Politicians couldn't >
682 9 with a show that starts with a load of nonsensical rubbish with >
683 0 birds and seals from the tanker load of Norwegian oil. Sad to report, not >
684 1 on wormy beams and got clocked by a load of nosy yokels.<t> He was right. He >
685 2 uldn't see anyone # <t> Does seem a load of nothing. But it's always the way. >
686 3 ossils, a Stradivarius violin and a load of nuclear fuel.Jean Cochran, >
687 4 e cell and, in plants, releases its load of nutrients in sizes thousands of >
688 5 s ecological output, discharging a load of nutritious silt washed from >
689 3 <LTH> PHOTO WITH CAPTION # <LHH> A LOAD OF OLD YANK <LTH> THE Empire Strikes >
690 4 ot at distinguishing whether it's a load of old cobblers or not. The dealers >
691 5 expect us to be interest in this load of old joss sticks! <LTH> F # ing >
692 2 the better man I was, which is a load of old rubbish # <LTH> But stories >
693 7 at why Spanish wine is no longer a load of old bull <LTH> There are certain >
694 8 WEEK ENDING 2 MAY 1993 <LTH> <LHH> LOAD OF OLD TOSH <LTH> When Athletic >
695 9 r else a derivative and pretentious load of old Hollywood tat." Sheridan >
696 6 and concluded by saying it was a load of old tripe. Why can't he at least >
697 0 ession on PIP printing: they were a load of old Mary Anns forever hair- >
698 4 Lodge' is much more than the usual load of old iron. <LTH> <LHH> REVOLTING >
699 5 ensuring the only stench is from a load of old garbage. <LTH> Evil Lyla >
700 6 <date> 930109 </date> <h> Can load of old rubbish save Essex from the >
701 1 TH> Ha Ha Ha! Only joking-this is a load of old trip. (2) <LTH> John Harris >

702 8 a 31 year-old Brummie singer and a load of old blokes in sequins on loan >
703 9 eague Disco, Liverpool <LTH> What a load of old poppycock # IM <LTH> OK, FAIR >
704 0 indie types get away with writing a load of old cobblers. <LTH> Certain >
705 7 and, to me at least, as much a load of old nonsense as Rosemary's Baby. >
706 3 to suggest that it's yet another load of old rubbish tends to be shouted >
707 1 Coningsby, 1988: 'The Tornado F.3? Load of old rubbish. Now if only we could >
708 2 Carry On Cruising. The script is a load of old rubbish as usual. After that, >
709 3 hat I've been telling you is just a load of old crap; the sort of stuff to >
710 0 I can hear them now, in 2007: 'EFA? Load of old rubbish. Wish we could have >
711 5 <LTH> PHOTO WITH CAPTION # <LHH> A Load Of Old Stipe <LTH> What a facer. >
712 6 Beatles, ABBA, John Lennon <KUA> a load of old rubbish, that's what you've >
713 Michael Ball sings the UK's load of old tosh, while assorted >
714 1 me are. And I've got to say, what a load of old shit. I dunno what these so- >
715 2 No 98 at Jever, 1955, 'The Hunter? Load of old rubbish, can't go above 25, >
716 3 ALBUM OF THE MONTH <LTH> It's not a load of old boleros honest-Gloria Estefan >
717 4 yesterday, they was looking like a load of old 'uns. What's yer name, now, I >
718 9 they're Kylie or k d lang. What a load of old cock. On this Bikini Kill >
719 6 Than Death # <LTH> Well, that's a load of old bollocks for a start! So, say >
720 7 1960, No 74:The Lightning? Load of old rubbish. Now we could >
721 8 dding of Princess Alexandra. What a load of old hogwash.Friday, 26 April # >
722 5 t sounds like a lot more fun than a load of old dinosaurs. <LTH> PHOTO WITH >
723 6 continues. <h> Top cowgirl eats a load of old bull;Anneli Anstey </h> <bl> >
724 6 Depository. Croydon way. We got a load of old stuff they'd had since the >
725 7 as has been suggested elsewhere, a load of old rubbish. <t> We further >
726 8 out there who secretly believe this load of old adolescent cobblers. <t> As >
727 5 laxed,witty and saying isn't this a load of old crap? Laughing at them. >
728 0 than receive the junk mail.It's a load of old rubbish.You wish it was a >
729 1 r her. <t> I am deeply hurt. It's a load of old rubbish and totally untrue," >
730 2 would have come out." <t> It's a load of old codswallop. I never did >
731 9 rather see Juice than this frozen load of old cobblers # so September can't >
732 3 like most things in the end it's a load of old baloney.<M03> Well yeah if >
733 7 A were out of touch. <t> They are a load of old fuddy-duddies who have no >
734 8 looks set to destroy the sexist load of old bull rules for ever. <t> >
735 9 <t> What Beth has said is a load of old rubbish, absolute nonsense," >
736 4 <ZZ0> Copenhagen Summit: A load of old cobblers for Mates' last >
737 1 is out." The Daily Telegraph It's a load of old tosh. But it's tosh in the >
738 2 ineptitude of this deeply tedious load of old cobblers but suffice to say >
739 3 and says, 'Prime Minister, that's a load of old rubbish". TV journalists in >
740 0 wine merchant.<LTH> God, what a load of old rubbish. I've never believed >
741 2 <ZZ0> Leading Article: A load of old Pollux <ZZ1> 405) <ZZ0> <LTH> >
742 5 name <ZZ0> yes. And there were a load of old characters in Ripon. Ask any >
743 6 were just that for the most part a load of old fantasy. Er this fella was >
744 7 pause] these guys talk an old awful load of old cobblers er yeah they do er >
745 4 I regarded the poem-cum-play as a load of old laver-bread. I have now.<LTH> >
746 9 otally back. Not many. Plus another load of old how's-your-father from Oxford >
747 0 esterday everybody says Oh that's a load of old baloney. It's not. They're >
748 1 music, which McLaren dismissed as a load of old Faces bollocks. It was the >
749 8 the economics though John it's a load of old phooey because <ZF1> the >
750 4 but actually is only just a tatty load of old wood and you know people >
751 5 and don't let him be bothered by a load of old fuddy-duddies like me # From >
752 6 French property developer a nice load of old stones. Cluny was founded in >
753 7 our borders with nothing but a load of old Kalashnikovs.REP: General >
754 8 an su er er I mean horoscopes are a load of old baloney aren't they.<M08> >
755 3 ny common sense would think it is a load of old crap # <LTH> Steve, aged 24, >
756 2 I was concerned I thought it was a load of old cobblers and erm you know >
757 9 Morse production crew had brought a load of old junk into her house and >
758 1 <M01> Somebody's telling her a load of old codswallop there aren't they?>
759 0 <M01> Somebody's telling her a load of old codswallop there aren't they?>
760 7 d > < at Wunstorf around 1952: 'The Venom?Load of old rubbish, the wings come >
761 8 he Iraqi town of Mosul. It said the load of one hundred smaller steel pipes >
762 9 stament stuff about casting off the load of one sins and John and all the >
763 0 or politically, I have done a load of one-dimensional, superficial >
764 1 a lot of girls # If I was having a load of one-night stands my friends would >
765 2 > would appear they've attacked a lorry-load of onions <M01> laughs # <M05> >
766 3 You will be looking at a whole load of options, savings, spending, >
767 2 mocracy but that is down to a whole load of other political ideas whether we >
768 1 executors put it in to sell with a load of other stuff <CES> conditional, >
769 0 insolent and stubborn, and a whole load of other things. And it began to >
770 9 to find yourself lumped in with a load of other bands in a press-created >
771 4 atheism, humanism and a whole load of other 'isms', the Christian >
772 5 disease then so I was tested for a load of other things such a yellow fever >
773 8 re not going to be lumped in with a load of other bands.'" <LTH> Bassist Nick >
774 6 how they were taken with a jeep load of other men and boys to an area >
775 7 Valentine lived, with Fuzz and a load of other friends of mine. And I'd >
776 3 of guys who're dead, alongside a load of others who hit their peak in the >
777 4 > < I told him, less than a bus-load of our readers could care less wh >
778 5 ntrigued?You will be when you get a load of our competition. Ten double-packs >

779 6 SOD to cope with the damaging load of oxygen radicals seem not to be >
780 7 he same operation. We looked like a load of pandas. After that I was fine >
781 8 began to list off Guernsey when its load of paper was soaked. <h> And this is
782 9 w < of Finance.It required a shit-load of paperwork, Ewing reported.
783 0 sgorged more than a dozen men and a load of paraphernalia. Several wore >
784 1 were filing out of the back like a load of paratroopers on exercise. <t> >
785 2 women who have carried the primary load of parenting. We watch our children >
786 3 Er <ZF1> i+ <ZF0> i+ I th I know a load of parents tend to sort of push >
787 4 om the other direction with another load of passengers for another `gold >
788 5 airport this morning with a full load of passengers including a European >
789 8 Airport this morning with a full load of passengers, including a European >
790 6 Airport this morning with a full load of passengers, including a European >
791 7 for Los Angeles with a capacity load of passengers,Flight 191 rolled onto
792 9 Horrible really.<M0X> I glued a load of patches to some j+ I had some >
793 0 can no longer handle his increasing load of patients # Piero Roccini [sp] >
794 1 tabloid reported that a separate load of pcbs was en route in a Soviet >
795 2 previously; however with a good load of peat, some large pieces of tufa >
796 3 ussia wants to be responsible for a load of pensioners from the north. >
797 4 so. But she seemed to have such a load of pent-up frustration that she made
798 5 > < Aid Centre where Pat works her case-load of people facing repossession ha
799 7 is sport actually not to sit have a load of people sat on horses chasing a >
800 6 It could help to ease the work load of people in high pressure jobs like
801 5 the door. But there's also a whole load of people who aren't interested in >
802 4 s managed to fill this venue with a load of people who-in the absence of any >
803 3 lice. She just said there must be a load of people who'd really got it in for
804 2 pause] er as creating an academic load of people to be taught by various >
805 6 n turn up anywhere, any time, and a load of people will turn up just to see >
806 7 It could help to ease the work load of people in high pressure jobs like
807 1 sticks and I just imagined a whole load of people getting clubbed and I didn'
808 0 <ZF1> We <ZF0> we've got rid of a load of people and er Not just numbers. >
809 8 there.<M02> Yeah but there's a load of people who only come when they >
810 9 ne of the dance tracks, and watch a load of people in expensive tracksuits >
811 8 e dealing with, feller. These are a load of personable bums who've been >
812 9 n here like a bull in a china shop! Load of philanthropists, aren't you? <SO>
813 0 she killed anybody.<t> It's all a load of phoney lies.<t> My dad says it's >
814 1 caves must carry with them a fair load of phytoplankton, and it may be that
815 2 think you've just said the biggest load of piffle out. West Bromwich Albion >
816 5 O'Sullivan, 33, thought it was a load of piffle. <t> I thought at least >
817 3 Yeah.<M03> And believe me it's a load of piffle.<M01> Yeah. There isn't? >
818 4 p sometimes because he talks such a load of piffle. I mean when he talks >
819 6 Imagine you have in front of you a load of ping pong balls, some marked C >
820 7 or not-when it's being played by a load of pink giraffes with a penchant for
821 8 ruck at the port of Patras with his load of pipes which British customs say >
822 9 > < experts are still examining a truck-load of pipes which arrived in Turke
823 0 around.'" <LTH> You can pick up a load of plant pots at a sale very >
824 1 tubes". It was headlined `What a Load of Plonkers # Sgt Nurthen said that >
825 2 tubes". It was headlined `What a Load of Plonkers # Sgt Nurthen said that >
826 3 desultory rays of watery sun and a load of podgy Britons with lurid sunbed >
827 4 wrote to say that erm she found a load of poems er <ZF1> on on <ZF0> on one
828 5 is to risk severe injury from a load of pogoing 12-year-old bully boys, >
829 6 animal with a single arrow whose load of poison kills in minutes. These >
830 7 down a tanker driver who dumped a load of poisonous waste into a >
831 8 titles are wanky), sounds like a load of police sirens and burglar alarms >
832 9 > < Akande, 34, was stopped by a van-load of police while walking to a frie
833 0 d that > <cavalry in the shape of a helicopter-load of policemen.Had there bee
834 1 hat Mike needs on his show is not a load of Pommies but a few real characters
835 2 uld most like to appear. <t> What a load of pompous, pseudo-intellectual rot.
836 3 have preferred the cold cash to a load of poncey decorations. But then he >
837 4 classical), and to others # a load of poofs . `Friday, 5 April # Went >
838 5 uring rain,sitting in clubs with a load of poofs, living at a filthy little >
839 6 heard. One man said `They're only a load of pooves .. I feel sorry for them >
840 7 were both in good form. I wrote a load of pornographic filth on their >
841 8 esn't shoot the ball down; that's a load of porridge. <t> Ten minutes later >
842 9 him # There could be a whole load of--of possibilities of what's >
843 0 f a united Europe can easily drop a load of pounds, marks or francs in no >
844 1 An efficient bulb may lighten the load of power stations, but the gas as >
845 2 rea reaction will take place at any load of power production. Per >
846 3 sluiced off the fields with its load of precious soil, uncovering the >
847 4 mile I had to pick away at the load of prejudice with which I started my
848 5 n only make out the whingeings of a load of prematurely bitter old gits. I no
849 6 ed up with the word # type # What a load of pretentious waff, i.e # the >
850 7 lad in the group had a fit. A whole load of prison officers rushed in >
851 8 iter for the day-and win yourself a load of prizes in the bargain. <LTH> Show
852 9 took several payments for each load of produce and inflated their yield >
853 0 > < they seemed to lose an entire lorry-load of produce. The team sat and wa
854 1 our production we send a jeep load of products down about every week to
855 2 in the sun with plenty of goals, a load of promise for next season and a >

856 3 s > <about 62 cents a gallon for a tanker-load of propane # Now he's paying a
 857 4 with that is you end up with a load of punters you don't actually like.'
 858 5 ff by the thought of driving with a load of pyrotechnics ahead of them. <t> >
 859 6 rights by some professor with a load of qualifications behind his name. >
 860 7 nd. <LTH> then they have to field a load of questions about whether Prince is
 861 8 than having to field an insulting load of questions more suited to the News
 862 9 > sky and a swelling sea to join a boat-load of race-goers # <SO> What goes o
 863 0 single over there and apparently a load of radio stations are already behind
 864 1 a truck arriving from Idaho with a load of radioactive waste # The truck >
 865 2 oulder. That Home Secretary pulls a load of rank and calls the shots. That's >
 866 3 170 a day. Similarly, a specified load of ready-mixed concrete, delivered on
 867 4 the other hand, it's good: a whole load of real horseshit bands will be >
 868 5 ow one little white lie'd lead to a load of really dark ones. Erm that was >
 869 6 y and they said we're leaving for a load of reasons. 'We can't say # <t> >
 870 7 these bands had someone not sold a load of records off being a dirtball.' >
 871 8 or they recently acquired a lorry load of records by obscure German >
 872 1 e Perrier Awards party, I'd spilt a load of red wine down my top and this guy
 873 9 s delivered to the Palace its daily load of red leather dispatch cases, >
 874 0 fternoon. I don't want to play to a load of Red Hot Chili Pepper fans who'd >
 875 2 mes to an anticlimax in Helsinki (a load of redundant dockers out to drown >
 876 3 ay doubt whether under such a heavy load of regulations any major land-use >
 877 4 Yeah, I heard they'd block-booked a load of rehearsal time at a studio about >
 878 5 has to call in a whole submarine load of reinforcement cannon fodder to be
 879 6 Extension can take a heaped load of relatively light but bulky waste >
 880 0 > < out this morning with another plane-load of relief supplies; but I'm goi
 881 7 > < out this morning with another plane-load of relief supplies; but I'm goi
 882 9 > < It was the first private plane-load of relief provisions to come to
 883 8 > < as Mrs Chalker declared: plane-load of relief supplies .But I'm goi
 884 1 Everybody feared that the load of reparations demanded by the >
 885 2 > < for what turned out to be a taxi-load of reporters, seemed to understa
 886 3 its blizzards with their heavy work load of rescue operations. If Leap-horn >
 887 4 itself with an insupportable load of responsibilities, and, more >
 888 5 rn to the 'Other Power" to take the load of responsibility off our backs.<t> >
 889 8 trip in Baidoa, ready to deliver its load of rice and beans for the crowded >
 890 6 besieged city of Monrovia, the boat load of rice now on its way from Sierra >
 891 7 to Konakree before taking another load of rice back to Monrovia.<dt> T >
 892 9 of the world. It's nice to see a load of rich, affluent kids enjoying >
 893 0 and that's why we've got such a load of riff raff on the streets now. >
 894 1 > <spot within minutes, thanks to a bus-load of riot police who stopped and
 895 2 pple trees that kneel beneath their load of ripening fruit.Where Huron >
 896 3 belching funnel and its long load of roaring coaches plunging through >
 897 4 because they're a <ZF1> l+ <ZF0> load of robbing bastards.<F01> Yes <ZGY> >
 898 5 of East Burra a dump truck drops a load of rock creating a barricade that >
 899 6 up and down mountainsides with a load of rocks on his back (the villagers,
 900 7 ut when he trod on it he loosened a load of rocks and slid down a gully then >
 901 8 an early-morning crossing with his load of rolls of paper. Normally there >
 902 9 to me <ZF1> he <ZF0> he's talking a load of ru+ complete rubbish.<M01> Mm. >
 903 0 my back and belly, and with a thick load of rubber bands coiled over my >
 904 6 n behind these walls and they see a load of rubbish in the newspapers and on >
 905 5 is the most egotistical, puerile load of rubbish you're ever likely to >
 906 4 in it for the money erm and talks a load of rubbish really.<M01> Okay MX. >
 907 3 next move.Well, they are signing a load of rubbish # It sounded pure >
 908 2 between these two stools is A Load of Rubbish by Lesley Newton (Simon &
 909 1 elieve in it. It's not a commercial load of rubbish it's nice.<F01> It is >
 910 7 ke the C Ds that I buy Oh they're a load of rubbish what did you buy them for
 911 4 party and then they come up with a load of rubbish like this and as you >
 912 5 18, of Whitley Bay said: 'It was a load of rubbish # a waste of the ticket >
 913 6 in God, sometimes I think it's a load of rubbish # <LTH> Worshipping God >
 914 0 and Angela said permaculture was a load of rubbish because its devotees didn'
 915 8 but when we went to see it it was a load of rubbish and it was really >
 916 9 emarks that Christy's photos were a load of rubbish and that he had thrown >
 917 7 That," she said, 'is the biggest load of rubbish I ever heard # <SO> Why >
 918 3 played now now come on I this is a load of rubbish <F02> Oh <M01> I played >
 919 7 ook us to Anglia TV for a ludicrous load of rubbish about hotels & >
 920 8 hey are doing this guy's speaking a load of rubbish or whatever.<F0X> Even >
 921 9 on it about you know Well this is a load of rubbish <ZGY> or This is shit >
 922 6 just <ZG0> keeps saying it's all a load of rubbish and I say That's what >
 923 1 played now now come on I this is a load of rubbish <F02> Oh <M01> I played >
 924 2 t> 06 January 1992 </dt> <t> WHAT a load of rubbish the BBC turned out on New
 925 0 verbank in it and dumped her like a load of rubbish # Goodman said >
 926 8 but when we went to see it it was a load of rubbish and it was really >
 927 9 my books and my records but it's a load of rubbish really. I like people, >
 928 0 s? <subh> Threat </subh> <t> What a load of rubbish it is when people say he >
 929 1 HH> GH FIRST THOUGHTS <LTH> <LHH> A load of rubbish <LTH> PENNY VINCENZI >
 930 5 party and then they come up with a load of rubbish like this and as you >
 931 3 the <ZG1> papers <ZG0> well it's a load of rubbish in the erm in these [>
 932 4 bbles' anthem with chants of what a load of rubbish # and Dicks has every >

933 2 that MX.<M05> Mhm.<M01> Which is a load of rubbish I'm telling you # <ZF1> >
 934 1 believe it. That probably sounds a load of rubbish to you it did to me three
 935 0 I've got that single.<F0X> Ah.<M01> Load of rubbish eh eh.<M01> No I said >
 936 1 art doing it when we've got a whole load of rubbish inside us we tend to use >
 937 2 mistake of seeing Shunt's work as a load of rubbish about railway timetables.
 938 9 his <ZGY> <F0X> I think it's a load of rubbish I mean <ZGY> <M0X> Erm FX
 939 4 want and er it's like <ZGY> it's a load of rubbish # <ZG1> This <ZG0> <M01> >
 940 5 ver to the BBC which is the biggest load of rubbish in the country <M01> >
 941 3 at the moment?<M07> Oh don't talk a load of rubbish # <ZF1> The Palest <ZF0> >
 942 6 r put down.<M01> Nonsense. That's a load of rubbish Ken.<M05> Well I'm a >
 943 2 get you some change. Thanks.<M0X> Load of rubbish but never enough.<M01> >
 944 3 <ZGY> <ZG1> pence <ZG0> <M0X> <ZF1> Load of rubbish <ZF0> <M01> I'll just get
 945 4 I mean. They tell you the biggest load of rubbish you've ever heard and you
 946 8 such as describing our work as # a load of rubbish # <LTH> Richard monitored
 947 6 ood anyway.<M01> I thought it was a load of rubbish personally. Oh [laughs # >
 948 7 who has written the biggest load of rubbish about the Orkney islands >
 949 5 s always interrupting you. It's a load of rubbish that money's the crucial >
 950 2 been on now he's talked the biggest load of rubbish I've heard in my life. >
 951 6 It was the most rambling, pathetic load of rubbish I've ever read in your >
 952 7 crap was his phrase absolute junk load of rubbish naff. Erm <ZF1> he was >
 953 8 on Sunday. <LTH> Road racing-it's a load of rubbish # quipped an obviously >
 954 5 .<F06> And we have to put up with a load of rubbish on the telly.<M01> Yeah >
 955 0 qualifications that erm you know a load of rubbish and er the law is go it's
 956 1 think <ZF1> it's it's <ZF0> it's a load of rubbish at the moment. There's >
 957 9 XX with the evening meal # I took a load of rubbish & grass cuttings to the >
 958 7 chant of the English boys # What a load of rubbish # was the only thing that
 959 8 y I cannot bat there is the biggest load of rubbish I have heard. I have made
 960 9 talking piffle. That's the biggest load of rubbish I've ever heard is that >
 961 0 <F02> Mm. <F01> do you think it's a load of rubbish # <ZF1> Would you <ZF0> >
 962 4 e put a carpet on the floor. It's a load of rubbish they're just being greedy
 963 3 but Mark Williams said: 'It is a load of rubbish about him coming back. He
 964 1 his kick his success.<M0X> That's a load of rubbish forget it. Yeah. That's >
 965 2 firmations. I know you think it's a load of rubbish but you've got nothing >
 966 5 using a bit of improvisation and a load of rubbish! <LTH> <Z21> PHOTO <Z20> >
 967 3 limo Linhof <LTH> <LHH> WHAT A LOAD OF RUBBISH! <LTH> John Evans shows >
 968 4 ay from their Black culture. What a load of rubbish! <LTH> As a man you have >
 969 4 of supporters who chanted: 'What a load of rubbish' as the players left the >
 970 3 aring their own fans chant, 'What a load of rubbish', the Gunners got the >
 971 2 verdict of this match with 'what a load of rubbish'. <t> They were right .. >
 972 1 Dawson told the audience 'This is a load of rubbish' and Christopher Timothy >
 973 6 his critics in chanting 'What a load of rubbish'.<LTH> Superficially it >
 974 7 jeer the players and chant 'what a load of rubbish' as England struggled to >
 975 0 hluter, who has said 'ideology is a load of rubbish', has walked a constant >
 976 8 he crowd may sometimes sing 'What a Load of Rubbish'. In Izmir they throw it.>
 977 9 o suggest otherwise, he says, is 'A load of rubbish'. If stress were that >
 978 5 with the fans who chanted 'what a load of rubbish'. They went to The Dell >
 979 9 irst of all everybody said it was a load of rubbish, so that was OK. You >
 980 8 out and got the papers. The usual load of rubbish, apart from an >
 981 7 Pounds 2.4 million. <t> That's a load of rubbish, totally inaccurate," he >
 982 6 off the wall than Cooper, he was a load of rubbish, but you loved the man >
 983 5 unshine of good cheer".<LTH> What a load of rubbish," the fans chanted, as >
 984 4 ften say you've been treated like a load of rubbish, but it's always in fun >
 985 6 up wondering how she got into this load of rubbish, have moved to a small >
 986 7 five people that say, 'That was a load of rubbish, there are another five >
 987 8 have to keep reminding him # It's a load of rubbish,' scowls the Nottingham >
 988 9 This, of course, is a complete load of rubbish," he said. Her background
 989 3 for the match, said: 'It's a load of rubbish, Liverpool is no worse >
 990 2 ink that nothing was sacred. It's a load of rubbish, they make the stories >
 991 0 many unfoldings # <CQ1> This is a load of rubbish, but I thought you might >
 992 1 th all the members. They all talk a load of rubbish, but I listen to them. >
 993 2 Season, all I can say is: what a load of rubbish. <LTH> The anglers who >
 994 ince George Best's a load of rubbish. Load of rubbish.<M01> > < 1012 Season
 995 1 st footballer since George Best's a load of rubbish. Load of rubbish.<M01> >
 996 0 a member of the team", that's a load of rubbish. It's been a way of >
 997 < George Best's a load of rubbish. Load of rubbish.<M01> Mm. A 1010 a me
 998 rs who > < 1013 ce George Best's a load of rubbish. Load of rubbish.<M01> >
 999 8 George Best's a load of rubbish. Load of rubbish.<M01> Mm. Ah I mean <ZF1>
 1000 e+ there+ < 1008 George Best's a load of rubbish. Load of rubbish.<M01> Mm.
 1001 7 of inflation <M02> That's another load of rubbish.<M01> <ZF1> there+ there+
 1002 6 hy some people though Radio I was a load of rubbish. <LTH> There were >
 1003 9 bish.<M01> > < George Best's a load of rubbish. Load of rubbish.<M01> Mm.
 1004 5 good photograph or even art: it's a load of rubbish. Soft, blurred and badly >
 1005 4 ar old dad yes.<M10> I think it's a load of rubbish.<M01> What you mean <ZF1>
 1006 3 ar old dad yes.<M10> I think it's a load of rubbish.<M01> What you mean <ZF1>
 1007 2 and listening <M01> Yeah.<M04> to a load of rubbish. How many people they've >
 1008 1 to ask us where we had got such a load of rubbish. For that reason, we >
 1009 0 ow <M01> Mm.<M02> I think they're a load of rubbish.<M01> Yeah but <ZF1> I >

1010 3 ce George Best's a load of rubbish. Load of rubbish.<M01> > < George Best
1011 8 gismos you can do.<M03> That's a load of rubbish. [laughs # <M01> No >
1012 7 of the I D card system?<M0X> <ZGY> load of rubbish.<M05> Er well I think >
1013 6 view. But not the farmers. It's a load of rubbish. I don't believe a >
1014 5 League Cup Final which was a right load of rubbish. The Glenn Hoddle record >
1015 4 smile # <CQ1> You're right.It's a load of rubbish. <CQ0> <t> Miss Treves >
1016 9 knew that what I was studying was a load of rubbish.'' What it boiled down to >
1017 0 then about an England team being a load of rubbish.<LTH> The pair played >
1018 0 Paula's remarks, Nina says: `What a load of rubbish. To make such a >
1019 9 et. I heard our fans singing what a load of rubbish. That's fair # they pay >
1020 8 of a socialist state have been a 7 load of rubbish. The socialist experiment >
1021 7 <M01> Yeah.<M02> It's a bloody load of rubbish.<M01> Yeah. Well you >
1022 6 week. And erm you know it's just a load of rubbish.<M01> Do you know what >
1023 1 <M01> No course it won't. What a load of rubbish.<M03> No it will.<M01> Oh >
1024 4 e brighter than bottle-fed # what a load of rubbish. It just means more >
1025 3 d Max visits the New World # what a load of rubbish." <t> Writer Diane, 40, >
1026 2 I just sit there thinking what a load of rubbish.<FOX> Yeah.<FOX> What are >
1027 1 and to be honest I thought it was a load of rubbish.<M01> Mhm.<F03> I thought >
1028 5 Peter Collins said firmly: `It's a load of rubbish. Mika has a contract with >
1029 4 hey say it's their country that's a load of rubbish.The blacks were there >
1030 3 attracted. Read all the papers. Load of rubbish.Monday, 16 March # Awful >
1031 2 angry Botham snapped: `It's all a load of rubbish." <h> Hunt pack savages >
1032 1 was being because you're talking a load of rubbish. [laughs] But you know >
1033 0 <CES> Bloody Provo house, bloody load of rubbish. He thought there was >
1034 9 laughter # <FOX> Cos I've won.<M01> Load of rubbish.<FOX> <ZGY> Can always >
1035 2 to crumble away, she snapped:A load of rubbish. I have been teaching for >
1036 3 n future 'cos you're talking such a load of rubbish. Erm no I couldn't >
1037 4 make head or tail of it. Sounded a load of rubbish. A group of gay pieces >
1038 8 the riverbank and tipped out like a load of rubbish.The thought angered him. >
1039 7 hey say it's their country that's a load of rubbish.The blacks were there >
1040 5 in Topic.I talked and talked a load of rubbish. Hope he will sort >
1041 6 at us. <t> Chemical castration is a load of rubbish. You give a guy some >
1042 5 nyway, the score of Governess was a load of rubbish: he was good enough for >
1043 6 and then die away. Erm is this a load of rubbish? You didn't die away did >
1044 7 the party at 11 o'clock. and sat with a load of sailors from Belfast in the B' >
1045 8 > < of food shipments # the first plane-load of salami and canned meat has >
1046 9 's high in cholesterol that's got a load of salt in it and this is >
1047 0 hink that sea water only contains a load of salt, thin again.French scientist >
1048 1 hit by something heavy # This is a load of salvage from a town that's been >
1049 2 hit by something heavy # This is a load of salvage from a town that's been >
1050 3 another group of Indians dumped a load of sand on southern Ontario's main >
1051 4 complete with half a dump truck's load of sand. All the things that his two- >
1052 5 esthetes that all footballers are a load of sausage-brained GEORGE BENSON >
1053 6 if they do, the railroad can have a load of scabs in here in twenty-four >
1054 7 n > < dispensary, while this year a truck-load of school books and pens will b >
1055 8 > < the other, in December 1988, a `bus-load of schoolchildren were held ranso >
1056 9 < the other, in December 1988, a `bus-load of schoolchildren were held ranso >
1057 0 changes hourly, says Massin. The load of scrap copper you can sell for >
1058 1 I was so surprised. Mine was just a load of scrawl.<M01> Yes.<F03> I just >
1059 2 I was so surprised. Mine was just a load of scrawl.<M01> Yes.<F03> I just >
1060 3 then called Datsun UK) shipped a load of second-hand Minis back to Japan >
1061 4 ssax. <t> The three thugs drove his load of Sega games to an unknown >
1062 5 Supplement; Rose's work was a load of self-seeking rubbish, he declared. >
1063 6 except for an old bus from which a load of senior citizens were >
1064 7 tes while a green bus dropped off a load of senior citizens, eyes uniformly >
1065 8 <t> When I heard about this bill. A load of sentimental twaddle <FCH> that >
1066 9 > < Somers. The officials say a truck-load of several cylinders was halted >
1067 0 she feel anything else, with this load of shame, which she alone had to >
1068 1 more than 10 per cent of our base load of shares in any year. Many left the >
1069 2 these ridiculous measures like a load of sheep .. nobody is protesting .. >
1070 3 on < to have a better view than a lorry-load of sheep on their way across Eu >
1071 4 forms and precedents to lighten the load of sheer paperwork. Working hours >
1072 5 r a year in Mount Desert received a load of shingles for their service, >
1073 6 of missing it. <LTH> Please put a load of shirts & things in the machine >
1074 7 you said the orchestrations were a load of shit and Barry (the orchestrator) >
1075 8 to MX and erm [pause] that's a load of shit <ZF1> and [tuts] <ZF0> and >
1076 9 er, deep.. <LTH> I think it's all a load of shit! I hate watching us play. I >
1077 0 with `Your show last night was a load of shit, why don't you get another >
1078 1 in my face and starts giving me a load of shit, I guess there was something >
1079 9 I think <ZGY> Well that's a <ZG0> load of shit.<F0X> <ZF1> They're <ZF0> >
1080 8 up thinking,God! You're just a big load of shit.<t> Anyone who says they >
1081 7 p thinking, `God! You're just a big load of shit.<t> Who am I doing all this >
1082 2 Politicians for me are a load of shit. They promise and promise >
1083 3 re a rotten but typical first night load of shit." John Lahr reviewing it for >
1084 6 enjoyed it. I thought it'd be a load of shit. The people there were pigs,>
1085 4 shoot poetry!We're here to shoot a load of shit." First time I've ever heard >
1086 5 o the stage where I thought this is load of shit.<M01> Mm.<M02> You know. We >

1087 0 up with quite possibly the biggest load of shite I've ever heard. <LTH> No, >
1088 1 Eds) write for you? He blurts out a load of shite about Pearl Jam (17/07/93) >
1089 2 Dung. All those old men are a load of shits .." As if any proof was >
1090 3 table is already creaking under a load of shoeboxes and baskets, crammed >
1091 4 of the firm: It will accept a load of short-term risk in exchange for >
1092 5 toots as it passes by with another load of sightseers. A miniature golf >
1093 6 and er had a stand there and got a load of signatures there and we were on >
1094 7 year in the rains it brought down a load of silt which made its banks >
1095 0 awyers # You're not starting with a load of silver in the middle of the floor- >
1096 8 mashed a window to get in, nicked a load of silver cups that can't be worth >
1097 9 successful day and added to the load of silver to be taken home by their >
1098 1 in the souks of Marrakech for a load of silver, amber and Berber beads. >
1099 2 com has gone, leaving nothing but a load of sit, not the ones who accept >
1100 3 as their bodies start to share the load of sitting properly." <t> Moule >
1101 4 went out of control, we played to a load of skinheads, and this guy came up >
1102 5 razilian firm which offers to buy a load of slag from a German steel plant. >
1103 6 This time I wore my hair up, a full load of `slap" on my face and four-inch >
1104 7 which swung open silently under its load of snow # <SO> Swimming pools can be >
1105 8 an 90 per cent of the Nile's annual load of some 100 million tonnes of silt >
1106 9 asked for a tribunal and they got a load of spectators in who saw the >
1107 0 was a robbery last Wednesday and a load of sporting trophies was pinched. >
1108 1 he freighter, bound for Iraq with a load of Sri Lankan tea, refused to heed >
1109 2 the number of riders. There were a load of stack-ups.' <LTH> Simeon >
1110 3 lowers single is a lifeless, pompous load of stadium tedium. It's the sort of >
1111 4 in company, counter with `That's a load of steamed bananas. I know a much >
1112 5 meaning of brotherhood. And what a load of steaming horseshit they talk. >
1113 6 after customs officials seized his load of steel pipes bound for Iraq, is >
1114 8 nearby. <t> Then a lorry shed its load of steel bars which littered the >
1115 7 with the seizure of a truck load of steel cylinders bound for Iraq. >
1116 9 > confirmed they were examining a truck-load of steel tubes bound for Iraq >
1117 0 Martyr Saint turns out to be just a load of sticky brown stuff # <LTH> With >
1118 1 > < night's stay by crushing a barrel-load of stone for road making and f >
1119 2 to run up and down mountains with a load of stones on his back or to wash his >
1120 3 onstage to perform in front of a load of strangers is indulgent in >
1121 4 is weekend, it would have been that load of straw that broke the old camel's >
1122 4 time, or his, by glibly burbling a load of stuff we've heard before. <LTH> >
1123 3 come out of this a hero. There's a load of stuff there. It won't look too >
1124 2 e? That would not be nice # <t> The load of stuff was still in the flat in >
1125 1 walk through Heathrow with a heavy load of stuff in a rucksack. Most of them >
1126 5 m sure it's that other pizza with a load of stuff on top # <LTH> Barney picks >
1127 6 nored,' explains Brian # There's a load of stuff out there happening just on >
1128 7 of Scallywag he'd made up a whole load of stuff about police officers. You >
1129 0 records # <t> Oh, yeah. They's a load of stuff in there # <SO> We got >
1130 8 seeing. Elsewhere there's a whole load of stuff going on. Special seminars, >
1131 9 they're going to buy a whole load of stuff they wouldn't normally buy >
1132 5 would be for you to lose track of a load of stuff. Got me? That would not be >
1133 6 thought," she said. They're a load of stupid fuckers, I said. `Excuse >
1134 7 human race is being juggled by a load of stupid Arabs and Commies # <t> I >
1135 8 me to terms with each other, with a load of sub-Taggart nonsense set in a >
1136 9 y TODAY dash after TODAY flew in a helicopter-load of supplies to the service >
1137 2 them maintain order when the next load of supplies arrived. Translator: OK? >
1138 1 return to pick them up and drop a load of supplies for the refugees # The >
1139 0 team who arrived with a plane load of supplies but they were refused >
1140 3 eological curiosity until a coach # load of swish Italians arrives, chatting >
1141 4 MUSIC? MY ARSE # FMB ARE FAB .. A LOAD OF SYMBOLLOCKS .. <LTH> <LHH> SEXISM >
1142 5 in the house weighted down with its load of symbols and inscriptions.<t> As >
1143 6 y stuff anyway from Spain and get a load of syringes and needles and swabs >
1144 took a load of warm clothes we took a load of > t 1260 Please give me >
1145 7 He arrived at 4.30am and took one load of tackle to his swim. When he came >
1146 8 the average angler's substantial load of tackle, bait and groundbait, but >
1147 9 his pre-war policy of spreading the load of taxes on as many luxury items as >
1148 0 ich is still too weak for the heavy load of taxes he's proposing, especially >
1149 1 gateway to the Persian Gulf, with a load of tea.Pete Williams: The decision >
1150 2 > < at the family corpse, putting a bus-load of teenagers in the power of ex- >
1151 3 Colombia is carrying an assorted load of telescopes and other devices up >
1152 4 to < now since I sent our first plane-load of tents and blankets and suppl >
1153 5 to < now since I sent our first plane-load of tents and blankets and suppl >
1154 6 > <played our socks off, and said kop-a-load of that <LTH> and put away a pi >
1155 7 he Blue Nile are Truly Great. Get a load of that title. Note the question >
1156 8 > < over them and burn them." A bus-load of the military bared buttocks to >
1157 9 > < crime rates go up, so will the case-load of the criminal courts. As more >
1158 0 of bombs, more than three times the load of the twin-engine Wellington, but >
1159 1 ZG0> <ZG1> Sarcina <ZGY> of erm the load of the human being erm is >
1160 2 back Barry Sanders to carry the load of the Lions' offense, they were >
1161 9 t mind doing their bit-sharing the load of the chat-up-but they're bored >
1162 0 hose foods which increase the toxic load of the tissues, producing excessive >
1163 1 and at the same time lightening the load of the international debt that >

1164 2 y which would abolish or lessen the load of the Poll Tax, or Community >
1165 3 id this by identifying the critical load of the dominant soil type in each >
1166 8 happened. <t> The lorry, carrying a load of the girders, was travelling at >
1167 7 knees, which will lessen the work load of the heart # Continue to reassure >
1168 4 of some whizz and Edik had bought a load of the wrong pills. He'd done a pile >
1169 5 capable of ferrying three times the load of the current Hercules C130 >
1170 6 knees, which will lessen the work load of the heart # Continue to reassure >
1171 3 > < bombers carrying five times the war-load of the best aircraft available to >
1172 4 > <back-ache accounts for half the work-load of the average Registered >
1173 5 > < pressure greatly increases the work-load of the left side of the heart, w >
1174 6 > < Secretary Daniels brought a boat-load of them out here, including the >
1175 7 netton.<F0X> Oh.<F0X> They've got a load of them for ninety-nine P.<F0X> Oh. >
1176 8 ied down then. They left me alone a load of them round here.<M01> Mm.<F01> My >
1177 9 I can do impressions, but there's a load of them, people like Mike) Yarwood >
1178 0 atsuma's?<M01> Yeah. My mum's got a load of them.<F01> They're nice aren't >
1179 1 to prevent a spillage from its main load of thirty-eight-million gallons. >
1180 2 to prevent a spillage from its main load of thirty-eight-million gallons.<h> >
1181 3 use Of Commons Mace, have you got a load of this fat bastard? With Lamont it >
1182 4 > < UNLIKELIES <LTH> Bo # Ere Cop A Load Of This <LTH> Musidisc/CD only) >
1183 5 Football Experience <LTH> GET A LOAD OF THIS <LTH> Ten places for the >
1184 6 to the airport.' <LTH> Girls! Get a load of this! Seems that life ain't so >
1185 7 CQ1> Say, Jack! Come here and get a load of this, will you? <CQ0> <t> Another >
1186 8 abstract sounds. And, yes, (get a load of this-Ed) they still provide the >
1187 9 <ZZ1> Australian accent <ZZ0> get a load of this.<M07> that'd make people >
1188 0 old patchboard ones. Flood's got a load of those and they really sounded >
1189 1 ugar or annoying wimp factor. Get a load of those `frogs. 7 Max Bell <LTH> >
1190 2 t deliver # Hi. I'm flat. But get a load of those nipples # <LTH> If we lived >
1191 3 <ZZ0> Television: Kop a load of those prices <ZZ1> 715) <ZZ0> >
1192 4 e system seems to have bred a whole load of thugs who cannot add up. I hope >
1193 5 put something down concrete 'cos a load of ticks can mean <F01> Absolutely >
1194 6 from Tilbury, Essex, to Hull with a load of timber when he pulled into a >
1195 7 <t> Obviously this is another load of timber coming down from your >
1196 8 November.Bound for the south with a load of timber, she met a fierce storm in >
1197 9 nt on the road and died the death a load of times. One of the worst was at a >
1198 0 who can find no record of selling a load of titles to some crazy who's now on >
1199 1 a lorry accidentally spilled its load of tomatoes in the village square, >
1200 ant to mix > < 1258 lothes we took a load of > took a load of warm clothes we >
1201 2 ok a load of warm clothes we took a load of > took a load of warm clothes we >
1202 3 stunning Middy Masters trophy and a load of top tips after a session at >
1203 4 > <male workforce.<LTH> One day a lorry-load of top-shelfers was being mashe >
1204 5 o and that, in turn, means a bucket load of torque. Whichever one of the six >
1205 6 guise is a formless, directionless load of tosh dressed up as something >
1206 7 of naked young girls and talking a load of tosh about Art (yes, another one >
1207 8 e Voice, April 6) about Islam was a load of tosh. <LTH> He said that Arab >
1208 This load of toss > < 1193 TH> This load of toss > < us and a load of toss.'' >
1209 1 merica. It is gangsta karaoke and a load of toss whose only redeeming feature >
1210 t us and a load of toss.'' <LTH> This load of toss > < 1193 TH> This load of t >
1211 < us and a load of toss.'' <LTH> This load of toss is g 1194 ffink about music >
1212 9 us and a load of toss.'' <LTH> This load of toss is given credible gravitas >
1213 0 us and a load of toss.'' <LTH> This load of toss > < us and a load of toss.'' >
1214 3 TH> This load of toss > < us and a load of toss.'' <LTH> This load of toss is >
1215 said that Arab > < 1189 us and a load of toss.'' <LTH> This load of toss is >
1216 credible gravitas > < 1190 us and a load of toss.'' <LTH> This load of toss >
1217 2 real people, but it's just us and a load of toss.'' <LTH> This load of toss >
1218 <LTH> This load of toss > < us and a load of toss.'' < 1191 merica. It is gang >
1219 4 ffink about music and they're all a load of tossers what wouldn't know a good >
1220 5 was the least of it. He made up a load of total f # ing lies.Apparently we >
1221 6 reat landcruisers had brought their load of tourists for the day and they >
1222 7 It came just 24 hours after a boat load of tourists jeered when she was >
1223 8 just another Wednesday and another load of tourists, but the 20 people >
1224 9 the economic logic behind dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest wage >
1225 0 ropped her husband off behind a van load of travelers. There was barely time >
1226 1 ist-shrouded forest, we find just a load of trees, with only a handful sturdy >
1227 2 Matthews? Don't worry, just get a load of Trevor Sinclair. Even the wrinkly >
1228 3 e > us, and next day they dropped a plane-load of trilbies. It was heart-warmi >
1229 6 d er I don't like it I think it's a load of tripe to be honest with you.<M01> >
1230 4 her things that <M05> That's just a load of tripe John.<M01> Well it <M05> Do >
1231 5 ll actually I've never heard such a load of tripe in all my life as that lady >
1232 7 paint. It's estimated that one boat load of trochus shells can earn each crew >
1233 8 an < suburb of Mutendere said a truck-load of troops drove around firing i >
1234 9 he < township of Mutendere said a truck-load of troops drove up and down the >
1235 0 19. <LTH> The 150 peg event offers load of trophies. The age limit is 19 >
1236 1 asn't him I don't want to set off a load of trouble by getting the police >
1237 2 my God you know this is gonna be a load of trouble for me I'd better not buy >
1238 5 space audibly groaning beneath its load of trouble.<t> My impulse was to >
1239 3 Reynolds, the raiders have stolen a load of trouble. <t> Nineteen birds can >
1240 4 smiling. `It's the start of a whole load of trouble." And she walked on, >

1241 6 to shore itself up against a heavy load of troubled Third World loans. Two >
1242 7 o shore itself up against its heavy load of troubled loans to developing >
1243 8 Harvey (Too Pure) <LTH> 24 9 TRUCK LOAD OF TROUBLES The Pastels (Paperhouse) >
1244 9 and er I'm hoping to take 'em a load of trousers suitable for knocking >
1245 0 You're not going to want a load of truants because there's going to >
1246 1 simple, really, Sting. You made a load of truly dreadful records that lots >
1247 2 ne of the church being made up of a load of tuneless happy-clappies.<LTH> So >
1248 3 n the cup final. A lorry carrying a load of turnips and cauliflowers has been >
1249 4 nd you <ZGY> was particularly <M01> Load of twaddle in that book mind you. >
1250 5 nd you <ZGY> was particularly <M01> Load of twaddle in that book mind you. >
1251 8 it is. <F05> laughs # <M01> It's a load of twaddle.<F05> But by the time you >
1252 6 Yeah.<M03> I thought they talked a load of twaddle.<M01> Did you in what way? >
1253 7 it is. <F05> laughs # <M01> It's a load of twaddle.<F05> But by the time you >
1254 9 driver told how he had saved his load of twenty tons of tuna fish from >
1255 0 him in the fog. <LTH> Another great load of Twins Research through the post # >
1256 1 to pull there with my wagon and a load of two gallon tins about twenty four >
1257 2 > < against their own country. A plane-load of two hundred Libyans was flow >
1258 3 prove more receptive than a plane load of tycoons as Maurice Gibb, who was >
1259 4 an do apart from edit. So I found a load of U-Matic reels in a skip up the >
1260 5 us go through life carrying a heavy load of unhappiness, fear, doubt, >
1261 6 or. They know they can string off a load of unintelligible rubbish and >
1262 7 he upper portion," he said. 'It's a load of unnecessary mystery and it >
1263 8 ptember, 1922. It collapsed under a load of unreal debt <KUA> like Germany. >
1264 1 side in the war. It carried a bomb load of up to 22,000 lb # three times >
1265 9 haul to Tibet from Bangkok with a load of up to twenty-two tons, it became >
1266 0 fighter-bomber, can carry a weapons load of up to 24,500lb (11,113kg). The >
1267 2 F03> <ZGY> no there were you know a load of us couldn't.<M01> Mm.<F03> Yeah I >
1268 3 oliday together, not just us two, a load of us, and we kept playing songs and >
1269 4 LHH> EXTREME PREJUDICE <LTH> What a load of utter crap. I am referring, of >
1270 5 to recall its drivers to Dover. His load of vacuum cleaners would remain at >
1271 6 e only escape they had was to get a load of Valium down them. <LTH> It wasn't >
1272 7 know we always have <ZF1> a <ZF0> a load of vegetables somewhere <F01> Yeah. >
1273 8 next day hidden in a truck under a load of vegetables, and we travelled all >
1274 9 apevine was bending heavily under a load of very ripe rumours <KD1> that That >
1275 0 shoot. I particularly remember one load of very old <FCH> thanks <FCH> that >
1276 1 0X> Well <ZGY> <F0X> She only has a load of vicars who always come and visit >
1277 s.<F0X> Who? Who has a load of 1254 load of vicars.<F0X> Who? Who has a load o >
1278 2 r.<F0X> What?<F0X> She always has a load of vicars.<F0X> Who? Who has a load o >
1279 3 icars.<F0X> Who? Who has a load > a load of vicars.<F0X> Who? Who has a load o >
1280 4 load of vicars.<F0X> Who? Who has a load of vicars?<F0X> No <ZF1> Aunt er >
1281 5 and padded its annual report with a load of waffle.<p> <hl> What business >
1282 6 he driver and snarled into it, 'You load of wankers! Don't hang about >
1283 7 he coloured kids in our year were a load of wankers. They didn't want to mix >
1284 9 e've been there this week we took a load of warm clothes we took a load of >
1285 [pause] and I know when < 1272 ok a load of warm clothes we took a load of wet >
1286 n the village square, > < 1182 ok a load of warm clothes we took a load of >
1287 8 lothes we took a load of > took a load of warm clothes we took a load of wet >
1288 clothes we took a load of > took a load of warm clothes we t 1183 stunning M >
1289 0 Please give me something # a load of washing to iron on Thursday or >
1290 1 say # I could be putting another load of washing in the machine # I don't >
1291 2 use the rest of that and another load of washing you see because it's per >
1292 3 ct I have a spare one # Please do a load of washing tonight for me to iron >
1293 4 etc & casserole for lunch # Done my load of washing # Thank you again. <LTH> >
1294 5 became too large and Wayne dumped a load of wasters who sat around doing >
1295 6 mitigate the effect of the overall load of wastes.In a place like Hubbard >
1296 7 ad of weapons. I can show you a van load of weapons that was confiscated at >
1297 9 weapons. I can show you a van > load of weapons. I can show you a van load >
1298 8 Well anyone can gather together a load of weapons. I can show you a van >
1299 0 and my mate Gary Licence netted a load of weed with the fish inside it # >
1300 1 recently that I've [pause] put a load of weight on [pause] and I know when >
1301 3 heap of splinters, probably under a load of wet new snow when no one is near >
1302 4 steamrooms; and washing load after load of wet towels.<t> Another high >
1303 took a load of warm clothes we took a load of wet w 1259 e've been there this w >
1304 2 ok a load of warm clothes we took a load of wet weather clothes and erm [>
1305 5 ith, with mules or camels with a, a load of whatever it is that's in demand >
1306 6 that had become used to an annual load of wheat for the Soviet Union have >
1307 7 simple start to this week's load of whey-faced grumblings and >
1308 8 laughs # <F02> Oh my God you're a load of wimps.<F01> I know I know. It's >
1309 9 ey're doing I mean they did it to a load of wine from Italy didn't they # >
1310 0 uldn't now let them down. At 3.30 a load of wogs started moving furniture >
1311 1 if it was mostly women there'd be a load of women saying Do something about >
1312 2 every yard had every house had a load of wood in the garden that they >
1313 3 hen the lorry, with a Pounds 15,000 load of wood, was parked near Tilbury, >
1314 4 TH> Actually, I think Nirvana are a load of wop; biggest heap of crap I've >
1315 6 up <F0X> <ZGY> <F0X> with a whole load of words.<M0X> <ZGY> whoever it >
1316 5 up <F0X> <ZGY> <F0X> with a whole load of words.<M0X> <ZGY> whoever it >
1317 7 those possible tasks lies a heavy load of work for the UN in what several >

1318 8 is having to increase her body's load of work, she will have to eat a >
 1319 9 operation I felt carefree, as if a load of worry had been lifted. I felt >
 1320 0 because of it then they're just a load of yobbos as well. I don't agree >
 1321 1 eir cheap cynicism no doubt a whole load of you feel morally obliged to hate >
 1322 3 reckons that this last claim is a load of you-know-what.<issue> Volume >
 1323 2 first I thought it was a bloody old load of you-know-what # I mean, a woman >
 1324 4 > sneezing out his false teeth in a car-load of young people, bequeathing his >
 1325 5 are failures, where you get a whole load of youngsters that we don't even try >
 1326 6 eks.<t> You can reduce the allergen load of your home environment by regular >
 1327 7 <M01> Well I th+<M05> Er just a load of youths out there to just do >
 1328 8 same doctor. And er they're just a load of <ZF1> bad [blows out air] <ZF0> >

Appendix 11: A recipe for success

Interpretive Notes

The expanded contexts below have been numbered for convenience of reference. The data divides itself into (1) Negative and weakly ironic forms with *not*, or *hardly*, or followed by *but*; or (2) disingenuous, insincere, suasive forms, involving weak humour. Many of these attempt to relexicalise the term *recipe* by providing collocates within the nine word window such as *cooking up*, *kitchen*, *feast*, and *serves up*. In context number 4 the further affective factor of racism may be present.

- [1] it might not. I can only say there's a long way to go yet before I find out." <p> ANTHONY CLAVANE <p> Group classes begin again in the autumn. Individual tuition is all year round (0181-907 2715) <p> Going out 24 <h> Graduate Plus: Beefeater cooks up a recipe for success # Innovative staff training is the key to the restaurant chain's ongoing success </h> By ROGER TRAPP <p> It hardly marked a culinary milestone, but 21 years ago this month, the first Beefeater restaurant opened in Enfield,
- [2] of chilli peppers. <p> Women are more likely to suffer migraines. <p> Women live longer. <p> In Britain, the average lifespan is about 72 for men and 78 for women. <p> Death rates for men are higher at all ages. <p> SMART G Double dose a recipe for success SUNSHINE Marlins ironwoman Amy Boogaerdt is hoping for double this weekend. <p> Boogaerdt will be one of the key performers for the Marlins in today's fourth round of the Nutri-Grain National Surf League at Sydney's Freshwater Beach and is
- [3] Beirne Centre is being leased by Fortuneland Property Marketing which said this week 44 shops had already been leased out of the 71 available while 10 more were under negotiation and 17 were still available. <p> HOWARD P FRI PROPERTY Secret a recipe for success GEORGE Kirmos will give a treasured recipe to whoever buys his Georges International Reception Centre at Annerley on Brisbane's southside. <p> Not that the sale is likely to need any incentives # it's just that so many guests at the
- [4] now in former Yugoslavia, for example. <p> Unfortunately, should a land claim be successful, what are the Aborigines doing with it? <p> Nothing, unless we also give them money, as has been proved so many times in the past. <p> This is not necessarily a recipe for success. <p> A friend suggested to me a long time ago, that we should Aborigines dollar; 1 million when they are born and stipulate they must look after themselves and don't ask for more. <p> I dismissed the idea as a bit extravagant, but if one
- [5] there should be conflict between house and garden when it comes to cutting flowers. A little extra care can prolong the life of cut flowers so that both gardener and interior decorator are happy with the results. <p> <h> KITCHEN OF THE MONTH </h> <h> A RECIPE FOR SUCCESS </h> <h> Moving from a large and gracious Victorian house to a rather angular 1930s property meant that the Rhys-Evans family needed to think carefully about what they wanted from each room. The kitchen was their top priority, as Linda
- [6] publisher, Frank, and his wife, Davina. With a busy job and hectic social life, Kate has little time for shopping and meals tend to be of the baked-beans variety. <p> Fortunately, home economist Berit had lots of advice, and her no-fuss feast proved a recipe for success. The well-planned menu lets you do most preparation in advance, so you can socialise instead of slaving in the kitchen

and just add the finishing touches. <p> Most important is to resist the temptation to impress with complicated dishes.

- [7] many franchisees may have failed. <p> Anyone considering to go into franchising should guard against companies who are in financial difficulty and only selling units to raise capital. Do not fall for big name companies they are not always a recipe for success. Vital research and contact with BFA before making a decision to buy a franchise sounds a very sensible approach. <p> <h> EDUCATION AND TRAINING </h> <h> A future for SOAS </h> LONDON University's School of Oriental and African Studies is
- [8] cure-all # but have a specific purpose. <p> Supplements are added to the horse's diet to balance it - by filling in deficiencies of certain nutrients such as minerals, vitamins and amino-acids. It is important to realise that a supplement is not a recipe for success - it can only work if it does correct an imbalance or deficiency. <p> Horses likely to require a supplement are stabled performance horses, growing youngsters, broodmares in late pregnancy and early lactation, old horses and those
- [9] the inlet hose from the skin fitting and drop it into the bilge and you have a de-facto bilge pump. <p> But having to undo worm-drive clips and prise heavy-duty plastic pipe from a barbed inlet stub with water rising round your knees isn't much of a recipe for success. The proper answer is to fit a Y valve in the inlet tract with the second branch leading down into the bilge. Once you have done that, changing over becomes simply a matter of reaching down and turning a handle. <p> <c> LIST </c> <h>
- [10] new discoveries. <p> <c> PHOTOS WITH CAPTIONS </c> <c> LIST </c> INVENTORY <p> WHERE TO FIND THE FABRICS AND FURNISHINGS ON PAGES 90-97 <p> <h> THE MODERN COUNTRY KITCHEN </h> AN IMAGINATIVE BLEND OF TRADITIONAL MATERIALS AND MODERN CONVENIENCE IS A RECIPE FOR SUCCESS IN THE KITCHEN. <p> THE CONRAN KITCHENS <p> Terence Conran's kitchen in Provence (above) has two oak tables built specially for the room: one, made from an old gate post, is an excellent chopping table; the other is used for dining. <p>
- [11] process a little more friendly. We would not have been the people to follow Gary Hart." <p> A Hello! clone featuring only unknown members of a population group held by most Americans in only slightly higher esteem than lawyers? It hardly sounds like a recipe for success in the notoriously inhospitable mag-market. But any predictions of George's fate from this side of the Atlantic are doomed to underestimate the appeal of America's most eligible batchelor. <p> If the Kennedy clan is the closest thing
- [12] genes into subsequent generations. If you're a parent, in some circumstances, a single brood, well nourished by your self-sacrifice, may pass on more copies of your genes than multiple malnourished broods. Putting mother on the menu may actually be a recipe for success. <p> Dr Martin Brookes is at the Galton Laboratory of University College, London The young spiders begin by sucking the blood of their mother from her leg-joints <h> OnLine: Sky high and ocean deep - Space / Satellites could </h> soon be
- [13] and some US commanders (such as General Richard E. Cavazos, Commander US III Corps) began talking of battle in terms of a clash of wills (Romjue 1984, pp. 53 and 69). Finally AirLand Battle reintroduced the use of "principles of war", not so much as a recipe for success but as a guide or checklist for battle. An initially lengthy list was cut to seven "combat imperatives" in 1982, which increased in 1986 to nine principles of war. These nine principles were: 1 Objective. A clearly defined and attainable
- [14] of a three-speed, providing better gas mileage on the highway. Our dealers will have a completely different perspective in six months," promises Hyundai's Mr. Warner. Others, though, aren't so sure that budget cars from the Third World provide a recipe for success in the U.S # especially after consumers' disappointments with the first wave of products. People's desires are shifting upward," says Yoshinori Taura, president of Mazda Motor of America, the Japanese auto maker's U.S. sales arm. Even
- [15] 33 for every dollar; 1 it invests in education. In-house promotion decreases the likelihood of a misunderstanding between shop floor and boardroom. At Nordstrom, even MBAs have to start off as sales assistants. <p> If being nice to people is such a recipe for success, why isn't everybody doing it? After all, most bosses would prefer, other things being equal, to win friends by pouring money into pay, perks and training for their workers. One problem is that many people have a vested interest in
- [16] and enthusing, mainly supported by information technology, which are visually and emotionally stimulating in the way that chalk and talk seldom is. <p> It may be that teachers could be better and do better but going back over the old ground is not a recipe for success. As a teacher, I considered inattention in the classroom as largely my fault. If a fraction of the effort we put into suitably motivating

the most keen were put into suitably motivating the less keen we might make a dent in the wastage we

- [17] ball, revolutionary short-game exponents. Ballesteros, Couples and Bernhard Langer have all had games genetically engineered for the Masters, while Nick Faldo and Jose-Maria Olazabal, theoretically at least, have not. <p> Billy Casper believed that a recipe for success was more important. In 1969, he combined several carefully considered ingredients don't attack the pins, do lay up at the long 13th and 15th holes and lost to George Archer, who faded the ball, went at the flags with youthful gusto and was
- [18] enjoyment as much as career guidelines. That way you are likely to get good results. You can always do a postgraduate vocational qualification. <p> Academic success does not mean hands-on experience is redundant. `Generally, a combination of both is a recipe for success," says Mr Dugdale. <p> The key is self-assessment based on interests, values, aptitudes, and personality quirks. Dr Bernard Kingston, director of the careers advisory service at the University of Sheffield, says: `You have to balance your
- [19] <p> Rank does intend to exploit growing cinema audiences. <p> It recently backed Widow's Peak, a British movie set in the Twenties, starring Joan Plowright, Natasha Richardson and Mia Farrow. <p> The shares leapt 15p to 1089p. <p> <h> Alpha serves up a recipe for success;City </h> George Campbell, City Editor <p> A STAMPEDE is under way for shares in Alpha, Rocco Forte's newly quoted airline caterer. <p> The Heathrow-based operation, which prepares up to 16,000 meals a day for air passengers,
- [20] s students, and the trio find themselves caught up in spiral of betrayal and deception. <p> Atmospheric, but a obvious if you think about it just a little # <p> PUTTING Dennis Quaid and Kathleen Turner together for an adventure comedy sounds like a recipe for success. But Undercover Blues (Warner Home Video) has a script that's about as interesting and funny as a manual for assembling a roof-rack # <p> <h> Showgirls cast aside their kimonos to do men's work;Theatre;Screen Today </h> Bill Hagerty
- [21] this fee now," he added. `I hope we can look back in two years and say it was money well spent. <p> I owe Wimbledon a lot after five years, now I'm with a club that will challenge for the title next season - the support, the manager and the set-up is a recipe for success." <p> The fee is also a Newcastle record but Keegan will break it again this week. <p> Newcastle have matched Aston Villa's & pound; 6m bid for Les Ferdinand. Keegan will talk to the QPR striker after having a & pound; 5.5m offer for Inter
- [22] good to miss. Take a pinch of spicy Jennifer Lopez from Anaconda, add a dash of Sean Penn, who since Dead Man Walking is undoubtedly one of the most talented actors in the business. Then stir in Oscar-scooping director Olive Stone and it sounds like a recipe for success. But sadly, something doesn't quite click. Penn is perfect as a low-life petty crook on the run from the Mob. His car breaks down in a hick town in the middle of baking Arizona. During his enforced stay he is seduced by the eye-popping
- [23] just 20 months. Later he said: `I had total belief in Arsene and he delivered. Yes, it's been an unbelievable roller-coaster ride. Then, again, it just shows what you can achieve on broccoli and Evian water." Not exactly the old Arsenal diet but, as a recipe for success, a certain Double winner and food for considerable thought. WEMBLEY DREAM TEAM RATINGS <subh> ARSENAL </subh> DAVID SEAMAN: It may seem harsh but, with France in mind, his indecision on crosses is worrying.Mark (out of 10 # 6 NIGEL

Appendix 12: Sybaritic

is the need for something rich and sybaritic, a pudding that will satiate in not a quite weekend at home, but a sybaritic adventure in New York City. <p> at The Phoenician is an equally sybaritic affair. There are ten restaurants and, in season, skiing. <p> Huka is sybaritic and social. Drinks in the Lodge a dream journal will understand the sybaritic and delight-enhancing function of smoked. Austere by nature, the sybaritic as well as the half-hearted between the spiritual and sybaritic aspects of hot-water bathing. You special pair of socks,some truly sybaritic bath essence, or a tie that to look at and provides sybaritic bathing. Michael J. Fox and on cable # Liz is sharing the sybaritic Brocklehurst lifestyle which breakfast time does look a little sybaritic. But the race to bring the first <o> Rolls-Royce' <o> Cars were `sybaritic", but `H.R.H. had a time limit". have been the epitome of sunny, sybaritic California. The mountain ranges I hankeed for something sybaritic. Characteristically, we didn't healthy rather than merely sybaritic decision-making. <p> Takeaway

cool touch of tiles, as well as a revealed as an effete, frivolous, is sure and clean with a healthily happily spend all day in Harrods' s way to restore the throne of a in Calcutta, and retires to a Caribbean. <p> After four days of as a perfect complement to the likely. Other retreats may be more Cold boiled potatoes, for the less once a month, always sped by in a stone huts are fitted with all the stone huts are fitted with all the title is largely devoted to the title is largely devoted to the was a delightful and unexpectedly club, lying in the sun; the whole invitations. <p> On the sun-kissed that of the X-rated Ice-T to the Valentino have always lived a very is giving him a taste of the eye, count his money and enjoy a far too easy for him to drown in a is depressing, exposing greed and a News we were dispatched to the contemplated a hotel, a weekend of where Anderson was ensconced in represents reality and the dream of Maulay Ali, that large, jovial, and Body Programme for Men is a easily have been mistaken for a and early October the most <h> Setting the scene for those in recognizing and exploiting this box but the auto seems to suit the the east, somewhere over sleeping, an amusing counterpoint to his Kinnock's lifestyle into such a after 15 minutes, discouraging the what they do best: sensuous, The overall effect is a totally threat of deceit, the excitement of and bone cannot interfere with page 37). The weekend promises many supplemented with the soothing and it. He went slow, like a long, including witchcraft, slavery and century descends, a monument to the century descends, a monument to the and, after an indulgent feast, the cover, it's time to indulge in his feet to deliver one of the most Tamora and the pliability of the structured program bearable to Paco Rabanne's new XS highlights outside the door and fall into a best resorts for beginners are the sight, this great quarter-mile-long to wonder just what it was that her themselves transported to a life of if it's just up the road from the like the spoof of the Tom Jones hideous discomfort. `She had a I don't remember anything more at Cavan's headquarters was no less The lifestyle became yet more on an affair, this treatment is cool as a glacier", `frankly and I was having a wonderfully for artist was sub-headed you are ruled by the passionate and not wishing to parade their more enticing ways of spending a as we arrived and is spending our herself cheerfully. Two glorious, of M. A. Skinner, fussy, selfish,

sybaritic drowsiness lent by the scent of drunk, living high on the hog off edge to it. <p> The wine list, sybaritic Egyptian-style hair and beauty sybaritic emir in a tiny country most sybaritic existence in London where he sits sybaritic existence at Cocoloba, we moved sybaritic experience of your visit. <p> <c> sybaritic. Fiona Arrigo, for instance, sybaritic, give much the same effect. <p> l sybaritic haze of abandonment. At night sybaritic heart can desire, including a sybaritic heart can desire, including a sybaritic heiress's sex life. Efforts made sybaritic heiress's sex life. Efforts made sybaritic host. When I confessed that the sybaritic island, all conspired to make me sybaritic island of Cyprus, stopover for sybaritic Kwanee´ to the sybaritic life, But they were never sybaritic life. <p> Starting next summer, sybaritic lifestyle commuting between his sybaritic lifestyle that, as a responsible sybaritic lifestyle a world away from how sybaritic luxury of an outside facilities sybaritic luxury, just me and the Sunday sybaritic luxury. The businessman's implied sybaritic luxury represented by the white sybaritic man, bon viveur, lover of cards, sybaritic medley or rest, relaxation and sybaritic member of the leisured classes, sybaritic moment of each day came at sybaritic moments of quiet contemplation, sybaritic myopia. Alongside real, troubled, sybaritic nature of the beast. True, the sybaritic Noosa, an arrow of light appears sybaritic on-screen persona, who survived sybaritic one, but I am starting to suspect sybaritic. Over the four months, about 41, sybaritic paraphrases of reality, with sybaritic, peel-me-a-pineapple indolence by sybaritic pleasure with the fear of lost sybaritic pleasures. <p> The look is up- sybaritic pleasures, including special sybaritic pleasures of being swathed in sybaritic poem, alternatively smothering sybaritic popes. <p> Thomas Malthus might sybaritic rather than the philistine, a sybaritic rather than the philistine, a sybaritic Roman would retire to his `bed of sybaritic rubs and scrubs </h> Skin has sybaritic rubs of all rime-it is sybaritic Saturninus, but are equally sybaritic, sedentary souls? It helps if you sybaritic self-indulgence and sensuality. sybaritic sleep, to be woken precisely to sybaritic slopes of America, where learning sybaritic snake, gliding through what sybaritic son-in-law had in mind. <p> sybaritic splendour. <p> But he does sybaritic splendours of Clapham Junction. sybaritic supper where the girl ends up sybaritic taste; being a sybarite, I like sybaritic than being very slightly ill and sybaritic than in his previous postings; sybaritic, the narcissism more pronounced sybaritic. The aromatherapy massage is sybaritic", `the New Argonaut", and so on. sybaritic time, partying every night and sybaritic, unreliable and debauched. Having sybaritic Venus, love always plays a big sybaritic ways too openly these days, have sybaritic week than by stopping off at each sybaritic week away" lying flat on the sybaritic weeks off. Fourteen mornings to sybaritic, who would never ordinarily have

Paper 5, 2003: DRESSING UP WAIVER: A STOCHASTIC COLLOCATIONAL READING OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC)

This paper provides forensic evidence of the fact that the terms truth and reconciliation are not collocates and do not have any prior association, to sustain a legal precedent.

ABSTRACT

Large language corpora such as the Bank of English (BOE) demonstrably render redundant the objectives of Markov's (1913) theory of stochastic processes and chains. However, there is growing evidence that this theory may now be recast successfully as the procedural basis for data-driven, forensic reading. The procedure involves the extraction from a large natural language corpus of collocation profiles for each successive chained two word sequence as these appear in an authentic piece of written text, or target text under investigation (see title above). The procedure works best where the text is presented as a chained event, whose steps are purportedly determined by logical implicature. These successive collocational profiles will, between them, create a form of 'narrative' in terms of which the 'chained events' in the target text will *either* be perceived to march in step (stochastic concomitance) with the same repeatable events recoverable in the Bank of English at each successive point of choice, *or* they will, instead, present a mismatch in relation to the outcomes 'expected' by the corpus, but often blind to human intuition (stochastic dissonance). Stochastic dissonance results when the author(s) of the target text knowingly insert a tendentious, spurious and illegitimate event-component, in place of a legitimate one. Where this occurs, the interloper event-component will be unsupported by the consensus of virtual authorial expectation within the corpus as a whole. Fraudulent events are only fully detectable by means of a stochastic collocational (SC) reading. Such mismatches reveal events which have been thwarted for some discernible *motive*, such as the creation of an ideology (manufactured consent). This is especially the case where the SC reading reveals suasive-evaluative phenomena such as concealed semantic prosodies and/or the deliberate and planned 'padding', of the corpus with fake collocates. Such padding is accomplished by stealth through excessive press publicity of a spurious phenomenon, with the intention of creating for it the status of a fixed expression, and in the knowledge, also, that advanced corpora are created by means of the daily automatic capture of entire newspapers as part of corpus development. The detection of such collocative fraud ought, in future, to form part of the on-line task of monitor corpora. The concerns expressed in this monograph are intended to improve the justice delivery system internationally by encouraging the development of 'endogenous' forensic linguistics, i.e. forensic linguistics directed against the legal profession and even the courts themselves. Such research ought also to foster the launching of class actions where these are appropriate in order to rectify the damage caused to large numbers of citizens through the actions of fake institutions 'invented' by the First World for the Third World to 'live' out.

If they could be cruel enough to cow the natives down with brutal force and install themselves as perpetual rulers in a foreign land, then anything else they do to the same black people becomes logical in terms of the initial cruelty. To expect justice from them at any stage is to be naive.” (Emphasis added) Steve Biko (1946-77)(I Write What I Like, 1978, Oxford: Heinemann)

1.INTRODUCTION

Almost fifty years ago, Colin Cherry, commenting upon the painstaking work of A.A. Markov (1913), who had established the theory of stochastic processes, wrote the following:

...The limitation is not the mere labour of letter counting; it is the fact that there are not enough books. The data gathered would not be statistical; they would be Shakespeare’s actual lines and verses, for each sequence would occur only once... (emphasis added) (Cherry, 1957:39)

These lines sound altogether less desperate as they are read with the benefit of hindsight in 2003. Cherry’s remarks are of greater interest to scholars since the advent of corpus linguistics and its advancement on a scale which could not have been predicted in 1957. Cherry’s words are also indicative of a number of problems in corpus linguistics (to be addressed in this paper), which remain largely unsolved even today, when the Bank of English (BOE), probably the largest natural language corpus in the world, has reached a total of almost half a billion words of running text. Today, Cherry’s complaint that ‘there are not enough books’ is easily silenced. The BOE would be the equivalent in ‘book’ terms of around 7,000 volumes and the ‘labour of letter counting’ is effortlessly assumed by modern computers. However, the fact that, in the fifties, Cherry and others were still looking to possess all of Shakespeare’s works in a machine-readable form, is worthy of comment as it bears upon computational linguistics today.

A problem has arisen out of the growing distinction between professional and lay understandings of the nature of a corpus. Those, and there are many, who wish to obfuscate the true value and power of corpora, would like everyone to believe that the ability to hold all of an author’s work in a machine- readable form, somehow constitutes

a ‘corpus’. This is untrue. If anything, such collections are little more than electronic filing cabinets. The same argument applies to corpora which individuals announce, all too frequently at conferences, to be corpora which they have ‘created’ or made. Again, such collections are no more than filing cabinets, which carry with them the comfort for their owners of knowing that no *surprises* are likely to be found in them. They are what might be called ‘minnows in - minnows out’ filing cabinets, masquerading as corpora in order to sound fashionable and state of the art, whilst simultaneously silencing demands for a genuine corpus. Both Cherry and Markov before him yearned for something better: a language corpus so large that the statistical findings concerning stochastic processes would surprise the investigator rather than merely constitute the collected texts of a single author.

In other words, a corpus, in the true sense of the term, would act both *unpredictably*, and as a *rival* to human intuition. It would be like possessing an extra *mind*: one which can not only see things that our own minds have missed, but also be capable of revealing linguistic phenomena which have long been latent in our intuitive *blind-spots* and in those of all human beings throughout recorded history. Such material may well have escaped the conscious ratiocinative processes of human beings for hundreds or even thousands of years. By contrast with ‘minnows-in, minnows-out corpora’, the use of a large corpus to *assist* us in augmenting the traditional act of reading a text, would be a powerful and unpredictable tool. It is this *heuristic* property of such corpora to which I shall be referring in the course of this paper.

1.1 Instrumentation

Up to the present day in linguistic inquiry, we have been taught to rely upon our intuition in order to discover meaning. As a result of research into corpora, we now find that our intuition has missed a great deal of insight into language over a long period of time, even though we have developed a large body of rudimentary analytical tools at all ‘levels of language’. The tools we have developed are often themselves products of our intuition: their status, before 1985 (see below), is effectively that of *analogue* instrumentation for the study and analysis of language. In fact, there is a sense in which all analysis produced in the history of linguistics up to the advent of large language corpora falls into this category. The continuing work, some of it talented and

well meaning, in support of intuitively derived language theories (such as Systemic Functional Linguistics) also falls into the category of analogue instrumentation. It does so for the reason that it is demonstrably hobbled and will finally be end-stopped because of inevitable failures of human intuition, upon which its theory rests. This is especially the case where its proponents purport to treat delexical (especially phraseological) forms in the same way as they would fully lexicalised forms. A brief example may suffice to demonstrate this.

It is common cause that during meetings and negotiations the parties involved are not only apt to, but expected to attempt to deceive one another, as part of what might be termed the ideology of the boardroom. A common method of such deception is the concealment of facts or even the fraudulent non-disclosure of them. Yet, when such deception is detected, it is very rare for the meeting in which such revelations occur to dissolve in uproar because of perceived dishonesty. A form of ideology is used to mask the disagreement. At the level of exponency it may take the following form: the party that has been caught withholding information, immediately declares him/herself to be **happy to** provide, table, or enter the missing material into evidence, as the following excerpts of a concordance from the Sizewell Corpus prove. Notice that the form is not simply *happy*, but is phraseological and delexical in ways which force the expansion of the meaning of that term.

happy to

22 some other way we shall, of course, be happy to comply. 166. Sir,
 23 l in which the Department of Energy are happy to confirm that the position is a
 24 nough to deal with that aspect? A. I am happy to confirm the broad facts, namel
 25 peak and off-peak consumption? A. I am happy to confirm for you that the suppl
 26 ents as a matter of urgency. I shall be happy to discuss the matter with you on
 27 d for what purpose. The TCPA would be happy to discuss with you a way in whi
 28 ist of the problem? A. Yes, I would be happy to discuss it on that basis. Th
 29 If Mrs. Armstrong wishes, I will be happy to discuss any particular case sh
 30 want you to go to Appendix 44. A. I am happy to do so. 61. MR. TA
 31 ssil fuel prices, and they were not happy to do that, so we did what we
 32 ble to assist you with, sir, I will be happy to do so. 167.
 49 blem in the US. Again, I would be very happy to make that available to the Boa
 50 gain, this is something I would be very happy to make available to you on Ameri
 51 ould be happy to move on, but if there are non-
 52 y document, sir, but would be quite happy to obtain a copy of this for Rev.
 54 izewell is the best site? A. I am quite happy to proceed on that basis in relat
 55 that is why I said initially we are happy to provide the factual informatio
 56 o not have them to hand. I shall be happy to provide them. 478. Q. Than
 57 Thank you, Mr. Baker. I would be quite happy to provide you with my calculatio
 58 Table 11. A. Certainly, we will be happy to provide it. 66. Q. The oth
 59 inding the Department would be very happy to provide it. The decision to e
 60 y. We have told Mr. Sweet that we are happy to provide that material to him
 61 eady in evidence, we would be happy to put it into evidence.
 62 is not already in evidence, we would be happy to put it into evidence. It
 63 the total was 24%. Sir, I shall be happy to put that in evidence. 4
 67 MR. BARRATT: Sir, I am happy to say I have copies of all t

However, instrumentation which is capable of showing up flaws in our intuition about language has become available only fairly recently and is, even now, frankly unwelcome within the domain of many traditional forms of inquiry, especially those (like linguistics, literary criticism or law) with long traditions and entrenched ideologies. This latter *digital* instrumentation was effectively brought about by John Sinclair in 1985, with the provision, on microfiche, of full concordances for the use of lexicographers at COBUILD. This led to the publication of the first computer-concordanced dictionary, using a corpus of around 21 million running words: The Cobuild English Language Dictionary, published by William Collins and Sons of Glasgow. Sinclair continued to produce many improvements of the technology and these were used in the production of the second edition of the dictionary, especially in the area of collocation. Further refinements continue to surface as his research advances. Sinclair (personal communication) is currently in the process of writing up, in greater detail than was possible at the time, his earliest research in lexical computing, dating from the sixties.

However, the developments which enabled the production of the Cobuild dictionary are never referred to by investigators and linguists in the manner in which I am proposing: as *digital* instrumentation for language. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, the advent of this final stage of instrumentation for language has been difficult to *recognise*, mainly because very few of us, Markov and de Saussure, aside, saw or appreciated that our activities as linguists were working towards the provision of instrumentation for language. Analogue instrumentation had always been a product of *description* at a particular level of language. However, the act of description, over many generations, had begun to worship itself and in doing so lost sight of its own objectives. The fact that this is a fairly common phenomenon in the history of instrumentation ought to hearten rather than discourage us. Secondly, the provision of digital instrumentation for language was so momentous that modesty has, I believe, prevented Sinclair from claiming the credit for this huge contribution and milestone in the history of language study. Most linguists did not see the advent of digital instrumentation in their discipline, because, quite simply, they were neither expecting it nor looking for it. They were not

looking for it, because they had never seen anything like it in their entire lifetime. They did not recognise it because they had been actively misled into the belief that linguistics was a ‘soft’ science which must derive its theoretical basis by means of the process of reductionism (see below). Sinclair has, I believe, realised the nature and extent of his contribution, but may find himself unable say so, without feeling or appearing vainglorious. However, *someone* has to state this contribution. The record must be set straight for our generation and for those which follow and continue to study traditional linguistics without realising that it has died and been replaced by a ‘hard’ science.

Sinclair must have hoped that linguists would spot the full significance of his achievement. They have not done so; not so much for reasons of spite or envy (although these, undeniably, are factors), but because linguistic science is arguably the very *last* science to gain full instrumentation. The advent of instrumentation for other sciences is now more than several generations in the past and the features which characterised its arrival would, today, be difficult to notice. Proof of this fact is that most academics *still* have not noticed what is going on. They are caught in a bizarre time warp, where corpus markup and annotation are considered fashionable and sophisticated (like a wrist watch which shows the time both digitally and analogically) rather than obfuscatory or, as they increasingly *are*, entirely surplus to requirements.

The worst and most telling example of this trend is the general, but entirely erroneous and misguided feeling that corpus linguists must somehow impose their analogue labels upon the digital corpus in the form of markup language! In a recent unpublished paper aimed at beginners and policy makers, Sinclair is modestly generous on this subject, but most of us know at once that the continued excessive use of markup language in corpora is foolish. Without markup language the high degree of instrumentation Sinclair has produced would not have been possible; but, now that we have digital instrumentation, excessive annotation would be like leaving the scaffolding in place, long after the building has been erected and its construction brought to finality. The present situation would be akin to the desire of some putative scientist to superimpose analogue thermometers on top of their digital versions and to persist (for reasons of fake theory) in doing so!

However, if we smother a corpus in markup language, we may never need to acknowledge its power or the *fact* that description may now, legitimately, quietly, *cease*. Sinclair (personal communication) often refers to a particular academic as a man who ‘speaks fluent SGML’ (Standard General Markup Language). However, the time is now upon us to pull ourselves together and ask ourselves: ‘Which linguist dares confess that his or her arcane, trip and conference-generating discipline has finally reached its goal, by having developed digital instrumentation for the discovery of *meaning*. Linguists fight shy of questions that are likely to show that their discipline has degenerated unnoticed into the much feared and censored act of *critical reading* (now data-assisted or even partially data-driven)! An ability to go *directly to meaning* is, to say the least, ideologically inconvenient, especially for ancient institutions, such as the law, which are often corrupt and powerful in ways which command an unquestioned and hence untrammelled ideological status. The example of ‘natural justice’ which follows in the next section will illustrate this.

2. *Collocational Meaning*

There is a growing body of evidence to prove that individual words do not carry meaning in sacks tied to their backs. Michel Breal (1897) was the first academic to suggest that meaning is imparted to words and expressions through their habitual *proximity* to one another. This idea was to lie fallow for almost fifty years. It was revived by J.R. Firth, who not only stated that ‘You shall know a word by the company it keeps’(1968:106), but sought to place the phenomenon of collocation completely above the mundane linguistic practice of segmentation. He achieved this by means of an apparent subterfuge. Firth created the term *colligation* in order to refer a syntagmatic relationship involving mutual expectancy among elements of grammatical structure; but, having done so, he proceeded to *ignore* this new classification altogether and concentrated his considerable intellectual powers instead upon the term’s counterpart, *collocation*.

Unlike colligations, collocations obtain between words as such, not between categories (1968:181). Firth was probably the first linguist to entertain the possibility of proceeding directly to meaning without ‘segmental analysis of the phonemic type’. Ironically, the much vaunted suggestion by commentators that colligation is a sleeping giant in linguistics, has now been overtaken and neutralised by corpus-based instrumentation. Today, colligation has little more than the status of a ‘subject offering’ in the history of linguistics. A greater irony is that linguistics itself, since the advent of instrumentation for language, has degenerated into a more or less historical discipline, without the knowledge or understanding of most of its current proponents. Firth’s view that ‘*notional*’ criteria would have no role to play in the goals of linguistic inquiry has proved absolutely accurate: he was prepared to allow its use to label larger aspects of context of situation only. If Cobuild were ever to proceed to a third edition of the dictionary, such a dictionary would, to some extent, and fairly inevitably, need to be a dictionary of *events*. Mentalism may have a small role to play in providing names for event-types, although many of these would become casualties of corpus evidence or the lack of it.

Collocation, by contrast, has become the new heuristic domain of language study and is likely to dominate linguistic science well into the new millennium. The best indication of the threat which it poses to established thinking is to be found in the **extent** to which it has been and is still, deliberately ignored by theoreticians whose intuitively derived theories collocation is likely to unravel. Even Michael Halliday dismisses collocation within a page or two in both editions of his major work on functional grammar. He is, apparently, not prepared to allow corpus evidence to dismantle the impressive edifice of triune theoretical constructs provided by his own able, but, nonetheless, human, and therefore flawed, intuition.

2.1 *Collocation and Stochastic Processes*

The decision, in the present study, to use stochastic processes as the basis for the selection of collocational profiles will need to be defended. If collocation allows the investigator to proceed directly to meaning, why is it necessary or desirable to create a

linear and textual process for the successive selection from the corpus of collocation profiles? Is there not a contradiction in arguing for the independent action of collocation and then proceeding to force the process of accessing collocates to follow what looks like a form of grammatically structured linearity? There are several reasons for proceeding in the manner proposed in this paper:-

1. The approach is **not** structural, but probabilistic in ways which go beyond what Firth refers to as the ‘mutual expectancy of words’(1968:106). There can be a mutual expectancy of words within a fixed expression; but, what if the fixed expression is itself a fraudulently motivated creation? Collocation alone cannot handle the unravelling of what is presented stochastically as a series of event components leading to an outcome, especially a *fake* outcome. However, a re-invented, computational Markov process can assist us. Firth’s taxonomy for context of situation points us towards an expectancy of outcomes which is socially attestable and this will form the basis for further analysis of the target text (see the title of this monograph) later in this paper.

2. Text is ephemeral to the point that the **minimal** segments which construct its linearity may, considering the demonstrably degraded nature of human intuition, be our only guide for determining the points at which *transitions* towards or away from expected outcomes (concomitance or dissonance) could occur. The process is purely procedural and the term ‘segments’ has the purely computational status of ‘adjacent strings separated by a space’. The grammatical considerations which give rise to successive collocational profiles are of no concern to the investigator, now that digital instrumentation has been fully refined. Although tagging, parsing and other forms of corpus annotation were crucial to the process of providing instrumentation, they are surplus to requirements if our goal today is to proceed directly to meaning. All modern grammarians are now, although they may not yet know it, well on their way to becoming data-assisted critical readers. Hence, the ‘narratives’ thrown up by these collocational profiles are the investigators’ main concern. They are assembled and articulated in terms of and by means of their *frequency* (in the corpus) alone. It is only fair that frequency be allowed to determine the true, rather than notional, nature and, hence, the normality of particular repeatable events. The collocational profiles being

sought in the process of the reading which is proposed have been termed ‘narratives’ for at least three reasons: because (i) linguistics, post-instrumentation, is more akin to a form of reading than a form of description; (ii) the approach bears out the Malinowskian view of language as a ‘mode of action’, in which *narrative* provided an effective means of translating events in the life of Trobriand islanders; and (iii) the approach reflects Firth’s adoption of this view and his own personification of collocation as companionship, or ‘keeping company’. It is this latter property which has prompted my use of the term ‘concomitance’ in chained events. Collocates that, like their human counterparts, behave abnormally, usually have a motive. They will have been suborned. The most frequent collocates, which appear as a particular chained event progresses, must be considered to provide the most frequent narratives for repeatable events. These will be ‘true to life’ (see Louw, 2000). Where there is legitimacy at the level of the event’s *outcome*, these narratives will be seen to subsume and inter-penetrate one another quite comfortably. For example, the narratives which appear from the collocates of the minimal stochastic pair, the+truth are, in descending frequency (see Step 1 below) *tell*, and *know*. Apart from the obvious logical implicature present, we feel comfortable that, although the ‘persons, personalities’ (see Appendix G) involved in these narratives may be different (for telling and knowing), their **pursuit is common**, both within the target text and in the repeatable corpus-based events being used to **read** it. The repeatable event which is prominent in the corpus must be recoverable in the text and, in Firthian-Malinowskian terms, also in *life* (see also references to Contextual Prosodic Theory, in Louw, 2000). This specification will not necessarily apply to all textual study. However, it may be favoured, where, as in the present case, forensic evidence of deception or ‘event fraud’ is being sought. The approach does not seek to ‘hamstring’ collocation in ways that other specifications do (see Kjellmer, 1982). Where forensic readings are not being conducted, Sinclair’s own ‘chunking’ procedure will usually suffice. However, there can be little doubt that the authors of the TRC contrived to have human intuition accept the term TRC in a single chunk, as a self-explanatory learned expression (Sinclair, 1991:124), in the same way that ‘hook, line and sinker’ is a chunk.

3. The approach identifies the manner in which, and the moment at which, suasive stealth, or ‘spin’, is used to mask the advent of stochastic dissonance. This may be accomplished by means of the timely introduction of suasively and evaluatively stated

(see Hunston and Thompson, 2000), but, nonetheless fraudulent, outcomes. A good example would be the use of a positive *semantic prosody* to act in lieu of an expected, but **denied** reward (see Step 3 below).

4. Although Markov's view of stochastic processes pre-dates the Firthian tradition, they are, up to a point, compatible with Firth's 'mutual expectancy of words' and peculiarly well placed to assist in the recovery, computationally, of such expectancy. The term *stokhastikos* in Greek translates approximately as 'capable of being hinted at'. Two-word stochastic processes present the disadvantage to the investigator of replicating much collocational detail, because they are (in our target text) only a quarter the size of the nine word window. However, this is amply compensated for by their lockstep, linear mode of operation and the fact that they 'slow down' the beguiling speed of corpus work. They are akin to the method of finding subliminal features in video-taped advertisements: frame by frame. Where authorial deception is planned, stochastic processes miss nothing. We ought not to eschew the work of Markov simply because it attracted the deep interest and fake disparagement of mentalist linguistics. By rejecting his work, the mentalists, whose goal was to use structure as a form of linguistic 'divide and rule' in the obfuscation of meaning, paid Markov their highest compliment. Collocation and stochastic processes are not hidebound by structure. They operate beyond it and free us from the desire to impose categories. The mentalists also thought that linguistic instrumentation would never have the status of a hard science. They were wrong.

5. Where a target text, such as our target text, 'asks' to be read in a particular order, (one which purports to 'march in step' **logically** and **linearly** with the expected aspects of an event *as these unfold*), the use of stochastic methods in conjunction with collocation is inevitable. In our target text, the inference is inescapable that, in some sense, *reconciliation* is to be viewed as a **consequence** of *truth*, and its disclosure. To reverse these two elements in the title of the Commission would be to destroy its meaning and intention **by making it look less like the repeatable event its authors want it appear to mirror: 'due process and the rule of law', as encapsulated in the collocational pair 'truth and justice'** (cf. D.R. Miller, 2004). Hence, the method used which combines stochastic processes and collocation is not unlike the difference between cinematic projection and viewing. Stochastic processes operate like the film as it is drawn by its sprocket holes, frame by frame through the gate and shutter of the

projector. The extraction of collocation profiles for two word sequences are the counterpart of the viewing on the screen of the consequences for events which are, in Malinowskian and Firthian terms, *in medias res*, as each frame advances. This paper attempts to slow down the beguiling and ephemeral nature of that process and to view it in slow motion.

6. Proof of the fact that stochastic processes and collocation complement one another is to be found in the ability of software programmes, such as the original Cobuild ‘lookup’, to depart from strictly stochastic procedures. For example, finding the true extent of the prevalence of form *justice* to the right of *truth* is accomplished easily by a request of the type: QUERY: truth+3justice. A similar request for truth+3reconciliation demonstrates conclusively the presence of ‘event fraud’, as will be shown later. It is worth noting that that an apparently successful attempt was made by a temporary programmer employed at Cobuild in the late nineties to produce a ‘new’ form of ‘lookup’ which did **not** have this ‘skip search’ ability. No attempt was made to persuade me to the contrary when I confronted the programmer and told him that the concept behind the new search facility was retrograde and might falsify the Cobuild legacy. Perhaps the findings of this paper may assist in settling the matter.

7. A further decisive issue is to be found in the fact that even the limited stochastic processes involved in chained events proved too terrifyingly authentic for mentalist researchers and may well have prompted their retreat away from authentic text and into considering grammar-bound, made up, citation form sentences as products of the human mind. The move towards discourse analysis (see Harris, 1952) had to be stopped. The death of Harris assisted this process. As Hans Hormann puts it:

*...grammatical structures consist of hierarchical relationships between units of **different** sets, e.g., nominal phrase, substantive, in the accusative, in the plural. In historical retrospect, it is easy to say that a total reduction of grammatical structures to probabilistic ones is doomed to failure. Nevertheless, this approach has come amazingly far. (One of the weaknesses of the grammatic-syntactic models, which dominate today, is that they totally ignore probabilistic determinants). (1979:99) (Emphasis added)*

2.2 Collocation as Semantic Contagion

Sinclair's (1991) discovery of semantic prosodies and the further work of Louw (1993;1997;2000) and others, have begun to vindicate Breal's (1897) insight that meaning operates as a form of 'contagion'(see also Ullmann, 1962:198). Sinclair's finding that collocational power is concentrated within a nine word window, four words to the left and four words to the right of the node, is arguably the single most exciting discovery to vindicate Breal's contention. The nine word window of collocative power is at the very hub of digital instrumentation for language. It is certainly sufficient, unaided, to destroy current notions of the 'cognitive' and could easily dispose of what is referred to as the 'cognitive turn' in stylistics (see Stockwell, 2002), which purports to treat delexical forms as the (dead) metaphorical basis for the power of poetry.

More recent research by Sinclair (1996) has concentrated on phraseological units larger than the word. The fact that such units exhibit totally descript collocational profiles has paved the way for much of the research involved in this paper. The example of natural justice¹, below, demonstrates this very well. Its collocational profile as a minimal stochastic unit, and its resulting 'narratives' leave us in no doubt that our treatment of the unit has to be expanded both to the **left** and to the **right** of it, as a matter of urgency. The term *natural justice* needs to be investigated as an 'event': a chained event in Markovian terms and as a repeatable event in Firthian terms (see also Crystal, 1985:189;Lepschy, 1982:127). Firth realised that collocational profiles ought not to be dominated by the word. With one eye on their situational meaning, he suggests that they be recovered as they bear upon 'complete sentences' or in conversation, and that they be 'extended to the utterances of preceding and following speakers' (1968:107). This may mean that Firth, in spite of the often ridiculed pre-computational nature of the examples he used, foresaw something of Sinclair's 'nine word window'. His reference to so traditional a boundary as the sentence sounds a little confining, if not dominated by the

¹ This material was first presented as part of a course at the Tuscan Word Centre (TWC) for postgraduate students from EU countries in June 2000. The content of the concordance was inexplicably censored and altered overnight, during preparations for the course at the TWC. This successfully disrupted the use of the example on that occasion and paper copies were issued to delegates at the time, but, unfortunately, with insufficient explanation. Its use here sets the record straight. The fabric of the occurrences of this form, as they appear in the corpus, has apparently been altered in the past three years. The original concordance appears in this paper. 'Homogenisation' of corpora is likely to take place in future (see especially Appendix I). The sanitisation of corpora is an unacceptable infraction of academic freedom.

descriptive tradition, but his entire approach is undeniably situationally contextual and appears to assist the general argument advanced by this paper.

Firth also probably felt the magnetic pull towards phraseology, even though, as a pre-computational scholar, he could not have appreciated the full extent and consequences of delexicalisation. However, the traditional forces of word and sentence are, between them, still powerful suborners of most linguistic investigative procedure. Even the Cobuild Dictionary of Collocations (1995), coming as it did before Sinclair's more recent research, suffers to some extent in its design, from the single word fallacy and that dictionary's policy on 'stop words' occasionally obfuscates their often huge potential in the area of phraseological and, hence, delexical meaning.

An example will make this clearer. The institution from which it is taken is the law. The term is *natural justice*. Within the legal profession, 'insiders', upon reading or hearing this expression, go through a process of interpretation which is radically different from that which 'outsiders' follow. If you are reading this as an uninitiated outsider, you will probably be reasoning things along these lines as you attempt to determine the expression's meaning²:

All human beings are immediately and intuitively aware of the nature of injustice and of miscarriages of justice. In this sense, we find that our reaction to injustice is universal and therefore 'natural', as is our desire to see injustice remedied through court rulings which set in place appropriate, just and fair 'remedies'; or, if need be, 'informal' justice might be a 'natural' outcome, as some person or group

² For my understanding of waiver and its role in ideology, I am indebted to Lesley Paterson, a Zimbabwean human rights lawyer who, for more than ten years, has been, and still is, unlawfully locked out of legal practice in Zimbabwe, apparently as a result of secret-society concessions in the judiciary of that country, agreed at the Lancaster House Conference on Zimbabwean Independence in 1980. Even the International Bar Association and Commonwealth Lawyers Association apparently continue to connive with this outrageous abuse of human rights. Paterson was instrumental in the removal of Zimbabwe's Chief Justice Anthony Gubbay from office in February 2001 for attempting to murder a Mrs Sukohlule Kachipare who was then on death row. For the first time in the history of the country, she was released as a consequence of Presidential intervention to prevent the judicial abuse of the death penalty. In his own judgment (Unreported Judgment No SC 139-98 and Reported, but edited, Judgment in 1998 Volume Two Zimbabwe Law Reports at page 271), Gubbay concedes that she ought to have been acquitted at the end of the State's case against her at her High Court trial, but proceeds in the same judgment to uphold the High Court's illegal conviction and death sentence against her thereby condoning its miscarriage of justice! As recently as January 2003, Gubbay's successor, Godfrey Chidyausiku CJ, who has made no move, at the time of writing, to hear Paterson's constitutional appeal to remain a registered legal practitioner, apparently connived with Sternford Moyo, President of the Law Society of Zimbabwe (of which Paterson is a member) to use physical violence to prevent her from attending the opening of the High Court in Harare for the year 2003. As recently as Monday, 8th December 2003, physical violence was again used by Moyo to remove Paterson from the Law Society's AGM, a meeting to which she had always been admitted in the past! Her struggle for justice continues and is worthy of international support.

becomes intolerant of the tardiness of due process or vexatious abuse of process and such aggrieved persons might take the law into their own hands...

However, if you are an insider to the legal profession, your reasoning process operates entirely differently. *Natural justice* can only be deemed to have been achieved if two provisions have been met: (1) that an aggrieved party has been given a hearing (this first provision, in Latin, being *Audi alteram partem* or ‘hear the other side’); and (2) that this hearing must have been *unbiased*, i.e. it must have been carried out by an impartial and independent authority. Nobody with a material interest in the dispute may be involved in its adjudication (this second provision, in Latin, being *Nemo iudex in sua causa* or ‘Nobody can be a judge in his/her own cause’). Where natural justice has been breached, such a breach constitutes a ‘fatal flaw’ to the proceedings and an unbiased judge will rule accordingly in order to protect the victim’s cause of action. In other words, the judge *ought* to rule in his/her favour.

Notice what has happened in the process of interpretation so far. The outsider has proceeded by way of ‘word meaning’ and produced an erroneous interpretation (‘justice is natural’). However, this interpretation is one with which the legal profession and even the judiciary have reason to feel comfortable: the client or litigant does **not** know the term’s meaning *at law*. Insiders interpret the form *natural justice* as a technical term and process the phrase as a whole. However, for ideological reasons, they would be reluctant to concede that the term only ever arises when there has been apparent judicial or quasi-judicial misconduct, leading to the breach of a litigant’s rights. How convenient: everyone trusts a judge.

Breal would say that the term *natural justice* derives its meaning not from its own component words, but through the ‘contagion’ brought about because of the proximity of its habitual collocates, such as breached or denied. Of course, during Breal’s and even Firth’s pre-computational lifetimes, these collocates would have had to be established intuitively. As part of that process one would need to establish how many of the limited number of victims that one happened to know personally were ever successful as litigants. Was the phrase *natural justice* uttered as part of their proceedings? If so, was it upheld or breached? And if so, by whom? We would find this process about as satisfying as Cherry found a ‘corpus’ of Shakespeare’s works. We would gain no probabilistic idea of what precedes the mention of *natural justice* (i.e. in the terminology of corpus studies, to the *left* of the expression) and we would gain

insufficient information about whether judges ever rectified breaches brought to their attention (if we studied the event as it expanded to the *right* of the expression). Were the litigants left without a remedy? The answer may well be affirmative. In fact, the narrative apparently ceases to the right of the expression. There is no continuation of a chained event with the word *and*. Or is that the meaning of the term? That is, does it mean that the judge has joined the conspiracy and that the litigant is effectively destroyed once the term has been uttered? Litigants deserve better than to have their cases settled by the incantatory use of insider phrases.

Even if corpora are finally sanitised and homogenised to prevent instrumentation from making a decision on the fate of victims to the right of the form, the recovery of the grammatical subject of all the passive forms to the left (*denied, breached*) ought to assist us in settling exactly how the event habitually proceeds.

However, there is a fact, which is completely material to the concerns of this paper, and which incriminates the judges further. If the corpus material to the right of natural+justice+and (see Appendix H) were to show us no evidence at all that the form is ever viewed as forming part of a chained event, one might have accepted the possibility that judges never see it as one and that they regard each case of a breach of natural justice differently. They might wish to claim that their response is dictated by the different circumstances of each case. However, there is one entry in the corpus which suggests otherwise: there is one in which the context makes it plain that the breach is only *hypothetical* and has not actually occurred. In this instance, we find that the judge parades before us logically and in a chained event, the full force of the law which the breach ought to attract.

...contractson a provisional interim basis, and for requiring adjudicators' decisions to be enforced pending the final determination of such disputes. His Lordship noted that it was very easy to challenge a decision based on an alleged breach of natural justice, and an unsuccessful party before the adjudicator would need only to make such a challenge in order to prevent the decision's enforcement. In his Lordship's judgment, if Parliament had intended to qualify the word 'decision' in some way then that...

This is very troubling indeed. Judges do know what is expected of them. What may we infer from the absence in authentic rather than hypothetical cases, of both logical implicature and semantic tidiness leading in the direction of a just outcome?

An alert reader ought, at this point, to be capable of detecting J. R. Firth somewhere in the wings. The answer to these questions takes us ineluctably into Firth's taxonomy for Context of Situation (1937:110; 1957:182; 1968:108 – see Appendix G, below), where the relevant persons, personalities, will be a litigant, possibly lawyers (unless we have a self-acting litigant) and certainly a judge or chairman of a quasi-judicial forum. There will be verbal and non-verbal actions, and the results of the verbal action may be a finding that natural justice has either been upheld or breached. In the latter case we ought either to see the judge create a remedy or, sadly, see the judge join the conspiracy: an event made easier (as mentioned above) by virtue of the fact that the uninitiated litigant does not understand the meaning, at law, of the term *natural justice*.

Of course, a fully computational Breal would have had access to the Bank of English and its programme entitled PICTURE, whose product for the term looks like this:-

rules	of	natural	NODE	and	the	fairness
denial	denied		NODE	<p>	that	proceeding
principles	to		NODE	in	been	mrs
breach	and		NODE	but	court	were
contrary	him		NODE	had	as	case
been	against		NODE	demanded	this	confounded
entitled	only		NODE	demands	they	apply
denied	her		NODE	which	i	freedom
sense	said		NODE	must	procedural	decision
is	general		NODE	is	hampered	offer
fairness	called		NODE	about	violation	june
laws	for		NODE	if	apply	court
interests	no		NODE	whoever	allow	be
lack	contravene		NODE	supreme	21	against
was	substantia		NODE	given	said	it
travesty	breaching		NODE	or	informatio	also
interpreta	intrinsic		NODE	for	2	now
requiremen	spades		NODE	should	an	about
grounds	afforded		NODE	not	we	been
principle	breached		NODE	this	he	alteram
concept	accountabi		NODE	do	may	unenforced
reasons	liberties		NODE	no	not	pertained
evidence	honesty		NODE	have	are	misreprese
issue	satisfying		NODE	so	have	upholds
question	harsh		NODE	by	legalistic	mccarthyis
form	respected		NODE	would	1833	rectitude
government	procedures		NODE	when	legislator	sternberg
right	demanded		NODE	scrope	unbiased	encroachin
trary	reflect		NODE	decrees	enforceabl	sympathise
contravent	handed		NODE	dictates	sigmund	retort
affront	require		NODE	procedural	crichton	erskine
rematch	hearing		NODE	dictated	dispensed	precedence
pretence	obvious		NODE	fairness	slamming	croke
proms	animals		NODE	vicky	forbid	symmetry
mockery	discovered		NODE	swindon	discrimina	fencing

norms	ensure	NODE	cries	audi	reckoning
attorneys	demand	NODE	mixing	permitting	browne
prompting	un	NODE	solicitors	characteri	statute
bentley	justice	NODE	rightly	prevailed	compatible
betrayal	subject	NODE	applicable	rabbi	unsuccessf
vigorously	election	NODE	bennett	misconduct	vicky
assertion	towards	NODE	reflected	implementi	dealings
defiance	reason	NODE	senator	contested	sack
denying	society	NODE	grounds	stating	maurice
instinct	union	NODE	pointed	fairness	barrel
denies	although	NODE	argument	dunn	ethics
accord	course	NODE	suggests	inherent	invisible
offence	family	NODE	nobod	catholics	prosecutor
examine	7	NODE	comment	consult	identifica
offensive	night	NODE	respect	guarantees	judicial

“rules”. Tot freq:47129. Freq as coll:20. t-sc:4.4664. MI:9.6143.

Now, with the greatest will in the world, compelling computational evidence of this sort, would be unlikely to leave all but the most naive litigant continuing to pursue the ‘naturalness’ argument. Justice is not natural in the same way that yoghurt is natural. The made up examples of grammarians would be risible in so chillingly authentic a context as this. We cannot say: ‘John received natural justice at the High Court’. If, as Firth (1968:106) avers, we ‘shall know a phrase by the company it keeps’, one could be forgiven for suggesting that this minimally stochastic fragment of running text has both fallen among thieves and, unjustly, continued to keep its apparent good name. The expression has seemingly been unaffected by semantic change, because it has been protected by an institution which itself does not change, a status which many institutions share with secret societies (hence the debate as to whether judges should be required to reveal their affiliations, if any, with secret societies, such as the Freemasons). Are we dealing with diminished responsibility or inherent wickedness?

Recourse to the concordance lines from the Bank of English, below, offers us a more complete picture of the term and its institutional role in the ‘manufacture of consent’ (see Fairclough, 1989), as part of legal and judicial ideology. Note that the course of future events to the right of the expression is altogether less clear than it is to the left. If there is no evidence of judicial intervention to rectify breaches of natural justice, does this mean that victims of the breach give up their cases (waiver, or the relinquishment of their claims) or do they ever sue the judge (joinder)? It is worth noting that if litigants began routinely to sue the judge where natural justice has been breached, there would be two likely consequences for the form *natural justice* in the corpus. Firstly, the collocates to the right of the form would begin to look less confused than they do at present, where eventual waiver is more than likely, perhaps after even further breaches have been suffered on appeal. Secondly, if all litigants persevered with their suits against judges,

the term *natural justice* would also become less frequently observed both in the corpus and in life, as the litigants' actions began to act as a deterrent, resulting in judicial misconduct of this particular type becoming less frequent. However, regardless of the way one looks at it, references to *natural justice* are effectively references to 'event fraud': a litigant has come to court for a hearing leading to a remedy; and instead of getting either, the judge may (for motives still to be determined) have joined the conspiracy to deny the litigant justice. We proceed, in the next section, to the graver matter of creating fake institutions expressly in order to extract waiver from human rights victims. Semantically the concordance below has the status of a Masonic handshake in print.

MicroConcord search SW: natural justice

80 characters per entry

Sort : 2L/SW shifted -3 characters.

1 judicial, in accord with natural justice? Should `people normally
2 to act in accordance with natural justice and that had not happened in the
3 rather empty in an age where natural justice and common sense have been
4 is reprehensible and against natural justice. <p> Sir Sigmund Sternberg. <p>
5 legality and of natural justice. For them, my defence can only be
6 is reprehensible and against natural justice. <p> Yours faithfully, <p> Sigmund
7 is no right of appeal, no natural justice and the Government just sits on
8 So long as even-handed natural justice is on offer, he doesn't think the
9 so that the balance of natural justice is restored. This would mean that
10 to argue a case based on natural justice as well as the major issues of
11 said he had been denied natural justice and would make every effort,
12 said Roy had been denied natural justice and the Tribunal judge erred when
13 claimed he had been denied natural justice in the handling of the charges:
14 claim it's been denied natural justice. <p> This follows the third HUREOC
15 said Roy had been denied natural justice and the Tribunal judge erred when
16 defence and had been denied natural justice. Today Judge Maurice Sheehan (ph)
17 Hitchens had been denied natural justice during the post-inquiry
18 prisoners were being denied natural justice at parole hearings. <p> He has
19 MOTORISTS were being denied natural justice and right of appeal against wheel-
20 that it was being afforded natural justice and a reasonable opportunity for
21 was right. You believed in natural justice. You were a pioneer. You used to
22 rules, or benchmarks of natural justice, Andy Hollas, the party chairman,
23 there had been a breach of natural justice. <p> There were any number of
24 there had been a breach of natural justice because Mrs Fanneran had not been
25 deposits is a breach of natural justice, that may be appealed to the Court
26 s been a clear breach of natural justice," he said. <p> Cr Hulett was
27 receive. <p> <h> Breach of natural justice finding sets Dempsey free;Dianne
28 there had been a breach of natural justice. <p> His Lordship did not accept
29 the inquiry was a breach of natural justice because witnesses were not cross-
30 of that dog was a breach of natural justice. <p> The Queen's Bench Divisional
31 be described as a breach of natural justice," he said. <p> The £ 4,500
32 contradiction, breach of natural justice, and violation of human rights.
33 years was a gross breach of natural justice. <p> David Pannick, QC, opening
34 impropriety or breach of natural justice. <p> In two recent cases also
35 s decision is in breach of natural justice. Swindon won promotion to the
36 was unfair and in breach of natural justice for the panel sitting in judgment

37 claiming a breach of natural justice. <p> They also claim the
 38 back constitute a breach of natural justice." The letter said Idemitsui
 39 was in breach of natural justice. <h> HOMELESS RICHARDS </h> The
 40 considers to be breaches in natural justice in the official response to the
 41 <p> But in a bizarre case of natural justice, when he returned some time later
 42 <p> But in a bizarre case of natural justice, when returned some time later to
 43 and, consistent with natural justice, no further announcement will be
 44 both unfair and contrary to natural justice. They asked for the entire group
 45 of acting contrary to natural justice. <p> The Labour leadership,
 46 ill-judged and contrary to natural justice. <p> No matter how it is dressed
 47 will be strongly contrary to natural justice for him to be given an opportunity
 48 acted in a way contrary to natural justice. If successful, the group of nine
 49 It seems to be contrary to natural justice if a child is killed by an adult -
 50 human right and contrary to natural justice. <p> An essential part of this
 51 human right and contrary to natural justice. <p> Those present believe that
 52 nation is that it could deny natural justice to any athletes not using drugs.
 53 posture as the defenders of natural justice" when he was denied the same right
 54 were acting in defiance of natural justice as "legislator, prosecutor, judge,
 55 can readily demonstrate a natural justice in selecting for the vagabond and
 56 raised about the denial of natural justice. <p> Judge Alan Demack said the
 57 interests and a denial of natural justice," he said. <p> Mr Justice Stewart
 58 re-opened for "denial of natural justice" reasons, and a new inquest was
 59 raised about the denial of natural justice. <p> Judge Alan Demack said that
 60 the draft was "a denial of natural justice". <p> He and the other Tories
 61 has been in clear denial of natural justice." Dr Oliver, 58, again refused to
 62 <p> This is a denial of natural justice and I am not prepared to proceed,"
 63 complaining of a denial of natural justice because he wasn't given the
 64 amounted to a denial of natural justice as well as a possible breach of
 65 amounted to a denial of natural justice as well as a possible breach of
 66 said. "I was denied basic natural justice. I had no legal representation or
 67 was defective and denied her natural justice. She lost her job at the
 68 Commission has denied him natural justice and has taken irrelevant material
 69 said. I was denied basic natural justice. I had no legal representation or
 70 said. I was denied basic natural justice. I had no legal representation or
 71 said. "I was denied basic natural justice. I had no legal representation or
 72 appeal procedure denies him natural justice-by permitting persons involved in
 73 committee of denying him natural justice. <p> Mr McAlary angrily withdrew
 74 which was "devoid of natural justice". <p> re all scared # we'll have
 75 veer it in the direction of natural justice, but it's rash to make any such
 76 that they denied Dr Chambers natural justice. Justice Spender, who played a
 77 about through the effect of "natural justice" rather than politics. <p> While
 78 that and to ensure that natural justice is provided for him," Mr Kaiser
 79 rules of evidence and natural justice do not apply, the accused doctors
 80 The rules of evidence and natural justice do not apply. <p> The accused
 81 cannot be at the expense of natural justice. <p> In deciding on terms of a
 82 on the grounds of failure of natural justice, <f> audi alteram partem </f> or
 83 <p> However, fairness and natural justice required that this decision should
 84 <p> The rules of fairness or natural justice were not rigid but depended on
 85 persuaded "that fairness and natural justice require that this decision should
 86 sought to first offer natural justice to J.L. Holdings before blocking
 87 had flagrantly breached natural justice when he unlawfully kept secret the
 88 on the grounds of natural justice. Mr Matthews found that there had
 89 must guarantee prisoners natural justice, respect, access to information,
 90 letter to the Guardian that natural justice has been denied. <p> Lift
 91 of State had "breached natural justice" by slamming him over the force's
 92 again. He had discovered natural justice. Mixing with private school pupils
 93 and later said he had denied natural justice and would make every effort,
 94 by a court to have denied natural justice to a businessman who had been
 95 of the code we have in all natural justice erm to put the case to the er

96 t the remotest inkling of natural justice. <p> P Becke, Edinburgh <p> <h>
 97 fun, his strong instinct for natural justice, his nose for absurd bombast and
 98 once and in the interests of natural justice, to consult a linesman. <p> The
 99 interpretation than natural justice. If the latter had been in force,
 100 and the interpretation of natural justice" in the decision to remove Mr
 101 spokesman said: `This is not natural justice because Mr Shaida was ill.'" <h>
 102 realise that there is no natural justice in this world. With Small g: a
 103 shot to pieces, it is only natural justice that an individual whose actions
 104 </h> <p> MR ADAMS is right. Natural justice demands that where a wrong has
 105 stress that erm that is only natural justice that they must have a chance to
 106 <p> This is because natural justice could be served on the spot. It is
 107 at $ 19.99 a kg. <p> Natural justice is denied to alleged growers when
 108 who have experienced lack of natural justice in contested cases in the court.
 109 Byrne. <p> The lack of natural justice in Family Court proceedings is
 110 wants to air the lack of natural justice." <p> <h> Soldier in Bosnia is
 111 is contrary to the laws of natural justice. It doesn't say much for Britain."
 112 must be against the laws of natural justice for the football authorities to
 113 in criticising the level of natural justice and procedural fairness involved
 114 in criticising the level of natural justice and procedural fairness involved
 115 he criticised the level of natural justice and procedural fairness involved
 116 as a matter of natural justice. Here in Queensland former
 117 records made a mockery of natural justice. <p> This is a discrimination that
 118 nothing of the more general natural justice issue of being allowed to present
 119 and he did not consider natural justice did so require. <p> Moreover, to
 120 said he had not received natural justice. <p> Purnell reopened the inquiry
 121 officer who now runs Natural Justice, a charity based in Ulverston,
 122 is in danger of breaching natural justice, and therefore an independent
 123 silent or ambivalent or that natural justice so required. <p> In his Lordship's
 124 and profits. <p> In natural justice the lottery shouldn't be taxed
 125 de Justice, a basic point of natural justice was at stake yesterday. `Get in
 126 their power, breached natural justice and failed to follow the
 127 their power, breached natural justice and failed to follow the
 128 every principle of natural justice. The Lords' amendment is limited
 129 things. The principle of natural justice not enforceable by any Court, is
 130 every principle of natural justice." <p> Mr Howard has tried to
 131 and of the principles of natural justice. <p> Mrs Galli said: `We are suing
 132 with the principles of natural justice so that all relevant material,
 133 to the principles of natural justice for the secretary of state to
 134 fundamental principles of natural justice, about the proper conduct of the
 135 party. Basic principles of natural justice have been confounded. I have been
 136 of elementary principles of natural justice. I don't know what the bleeding
 137 duties under principles of natural justice, Mr Hayden said. <p> The Governor-
 138 conform to the principles of natural justice. Without casting any doubts on the
 139 <p> Sir: Basic principles of natural justice have been confounded by the
 140 of the first principles of natural justice. (Scrope # 1833 # 1969, p. 32) And
 141 sense and the principles of natural justice, the time is overdue for the
 142 of the principles of natural justice depended on whether they were in
 143 based on the principles or natural justice -- those subject to them are given
 144 entitled The Proms and Natural Justice, Robert Simpson argued strenuously
 145 on the proposition that natural justice demanded that a person under
 146 and the requirements of natural justice, something that McCarthyism always
 147 not retribution as natural justice would seem to demand. This is not
 148 not retribution as natural justice would seem to demand. This is not
 149 been denied their right to natural justice by Mr Tickner and was afraid other
 150 the balance right, between natural justice towards someone who has faced
 151 know about the rules of natural justice. One of these is that everyone is
 152 should know the rules of `natural justice", argues Moore. He should have let
 153 contravene the rules of natural justice and infringe his right not be
 154 in breach of the rules of natural justice in failing to allow the applicants

155 in breach of the rules of natural justice. `On the uncontradicted facts of
 156 14 <h> Law Report: Rules of natural justice depend on context # Regina v Avon
 157 test the country's rules of natural justice. The case should be heard next
 158 and the rules of natural justice, whoever may be guilty of
 159 and the rules of natural justice, whoever may be guilty of
 160 s emphasis that the rules of natural justice should allow MPs accused of
 161 violating both the rules of natural justice and my client's civil rights". He
 162 the party rules require natural justice," Senator Crichton-Browne said
 163 that when the rules of natural justice had not been observed one could
 164 to expel me, the rules of natural justice were denied, the party rules
 165 decision, ruling that natural justice had not been observed. <p> In
 166 welcomed the ruling, saying natural justice was being undermined by the
 167 Dr Lawrence said that `natural justice" dictated that the commission
 168 these agents, the scope of natural justice as we know it would be drastically
 169 and forgiveness and seek a natural justice. <p> Masters is surely right in
 170 new for yourself. A sense of natural justice cries out against this course of
 171 however, offended a sense of natural justice as far as many spectators were
 172 the defects. She demanded `natural justice, and no less". The Housing
 173 said: `It doesn't smell of natural justice." <p> A BT spokesman said: `The
 174 But there's something called natural justice which comes into play when civic
 175 sport, the Olympic spirit or natural justice. <p> <h> Shy lad gets shovelling;
 176 non-existent. `In terms of natural justice, children in care should be
 177 Mr Gummer denied the company natural justice in reaching his decision. After
 178 is reminiscent of the harsh natural justice given Cresseid by the planetary
 179 office poll on the subject, natural justice demanded he be invited to explain
 180 denies these animals natural justice. <p> As these animals are also
 181 demanded what they called natural justice for the club. In a message to the
 182 ministers attempted to deny natural justice to three innocent businessmen
 183 and I have a right to demand natural justice," he said. <p> Cr Hulett has also
 184 unimportant compared to the natural justice involved. In March again, in 1938,
 185 were not ready to pre-empt natural justice by pulling them out before Modahl'
 186 This is totally against natural justice." <p> The CPS said they prosecuted
 187 weep over this travesty of natural justice. <hl> Our decision; Sun Says;
 188 ways of denying un # natural justice to the Brisbane team. <p> I've
 189 health officials' version of natural justice would not have been unfamiliar to
 190 campaigned vigorously for natural justice. The poor were not getting a fair
 191 do as little violence to natural justice, as is compatible with the peace
 192 Mr Dewar and Mr Vaz `was a natural justice exercise" to enable both sides to
 193 and claims he was denied natural justice in council consideration of the
 194 ruled they were denied natural justice when their applications were
 195 co-ordinator, who said natural justice had been done. <p> Mr Salmond has
 196 as in accord with reason, natural justice, and moral rectitude. <p> The
 197 his lawyer withdrew claiming natural justice had been denied. <p>
 198 anger swelled within him. Natural justice demanded a reckoning. If he wanted
 199 But Japan would satisfy natural justice and earn respect if it met these

3. Stochastic Processes and the Corpus

To return briefly to the issue of instrumentation considered earlier, mention must be made of a further cause for suspicion within the community of linguists. Although we regularly find the superimposition of analogue instrumentation (by means of corpus

annotation) upon the relatively freshly unveiled digital instrumentation of corpora, there is something else missing in 2003, which is indicative of less naiveté than one might have expected. Nobody is giving corpora the ‘*-emic* - *-etic*’ segmentation treatment! No great fuss is being made about the nature of the minimal unit of running text. We are not seeing the arrival of the new science (good for at least half a dozen learned papers, if not a book) of ‘stochastetics’ and ‘stochastemics’! If one asks *why* these terms have failed to burst upon the scene, the only reasonable response must surely be that they are *perceived* by linguists as *unnecessary*. One may argue that tagging, parsing and other conventions of annotation assisted lexicographers in creating the Cobuild dictionary and, with it, digital instrumentation; but now, one is witnessing a proliferation of the scaffolding rather than its dismantling. Is the motive for this anything but an attempt to obfuscate instrumentation’s real goal?

However, once scaffolding has been taken down, the observer cannot but evaluate the building itself. It is possible perhaps to draw some or all of the following inferences: (1) that linguists have seen directly to meaning through corpora; (2) that they have felt no need to proceed to a science of segmentation, because the software for the sorting and manipulation of data takes them directly and effectively to meaning; (3) that the retention of excessive amounts of markup language perhaps fulfils some unspoken security need in the investigator, in the international community or within the ‘new world order’. Could it be that direct access to meaning needs to be *rationed* and that if linguistics were to degenerate into a form of critical literacy, this would be a security disaster of some hitherto unstated kind (will all ‘dodgy’ dossiers be instantly detectable in the information age?); and (4) that the secret service and the spin doctors propose to *steal* the new instrumentation, whilst simultaneously denying that it ever arrived! The value of linguistics as a *distraction* from meaning in authentic text would not only be better preserved if instrumentation were stolen, but science could then be prevented from treating the interpenetration of textual and situational *truth* as its new Holy Grail (one more easily obtainable in the twenty first century, and in less time than it would take to launch, let alone sail a vessel like the *Argo*).

In the context of The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, this would certainly be a danger, as the remainder of this paper will now proceed to demonstrate. Forensic evidence to the effect that the TRC constitutes *prima facie* ‘event fraud’ might easily constitute a point *in limine* in a class action to an international forum, with a view to

having the purported outcomes of the TRC declared null and void and of no further force and effect. Victims would then be able to seek common **justice** and compensation, not from the class action brought on their behalf by lawyer Edward Fagan, as Archbishop Tutu has recently (1 August, 2002) suggested on world radio, but directly as a remedy from South Africa's Constitutional Court, appropriately recused and reconvened. The reason for recusal of the judges of this court would be conspicuous **bias**, because, as reported in the law reports of the Constitutional Court (Case No CCT 17/96), the litigants' names (Biko, Mxenge, and Ribeiro) are inexplicably omitted! Their names appear only in the law report of the court *a quo*, (Cape Provincial Division, Case No 4895/96). It is common cause that litigants must be treated as persons before the law. The omission of their names in reporting their appeal is inexcusable. The relatives of the following deceased activists: Steve Biko, Griffiths Mxenge and Chris Ribeiro were seeking a court order,

...directing that the respondents (TRC) be interdicted and restrained from granting any amnesty to any person in terms of the Act, pending the conclusion of the proceedings of the Constitutional Court.

These provincial hearings took place on 6th and 9th May, 1996. In what looks very much like indecent haste, by 25th July of the same year the matter was done and dusted in the Constitutional Court. The order of the Constitutional Court read as follows:

- G[51] In the result, the attack on the constitutionality of s20(7) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 must fail. That was the only attack which was pursued on behalf of the applicants in this Court. It accordingly follows that the application be, and is, refused.
- H Chaskalson P, Ackermann, Kriegler, Langa, Madala, Mokgoro, O Regan, and Sachs JJ concurred in the judgment of Mahomed DP.

The wording of the above Order invites discourse analysis, but a better course might be for the entire basis of the TRC to be vitiated by forensic evidence of the type proposed by this paper. This would, at least, involve no possibility of a revived TRC hearing matters *de novo*. Truth and justice would need to begin as legitimate due process. This new process would replace waiver, which has been extracted fraudulently. The nationwide recusal of those judges who connived with the TRC would need to be both a priority and a pre-condition.

Taking the TRC concept on the road to other countries would, if the action proposed above succeeded, become a non-starter. Sierra Leone, for example, now has a TRC and in August 2003, even Kenya was clamouring for one to be established. The first hearings of the Sierra Leonean body were held in mid- April 2003. However, this TRC operates differently from the way in which its South African counterpart did. In Sierra Leone, perpetrators of human rights violations will not, as in South Africa, be granted amnesty. If Steve Biko were alive today, he would probably offer a reason for this. He would probably have said that the perpetrators of injustice in Sierra Leone do not need to be ‘saved’ by a TRC designed by whites in the US and Europe. They are not white. The fraudulent nature of TRCs as a *modus operandi* would also need to be reversed in countries where the formula has already been used, such as in Guatemala (Appendix C, 93; Appendix D, 101). A huge operation would be involved in dismantling them, as TRCs and the ‘mass justice’ they purport to offer are currently planned for a growing number of countries.

3.1 Steps in the Process of SC Reading

In one sense, it would have been convenient if the question of the minimal unit of running text had already been settled. Sinclair (1991) offers the agreeably uncomplicated view of seeing the corpus, almost from the software’s point of view, as strings and spaces.

It is best to use the word ‘word’ informally to mean what it normally means...a string of letters including hyphen and sometimes apostrophe - bounded on each side by a word space or another punctuation mark. (1991:176)

However, in relation to Sinclair’s later research, which favours a more phraseological view, the position quoted above ought perhaps to be regarded as an early position, although he does not mention the subject in his most recent papers (2002). To extend Firth’s metaphorical vision of collocates ‘keeping company’, within Sinclair’s ‘running’ text, it is my opinion that we will either find them with one mind, running together, or disaffected in some way, trying to create a new, previously unobserved, unnatural convention (see below references to monitor corpora) and, hence, running apart. Respectively, these conditions will be referred to as ***stochastic concomitance*** (from Latin *comes -itis*, a companion, advancing Firth’s view of collocates, as keeping

company **naturally**, as in the taking of bread together, as the etymology suggests), or as **stochastic dissonance** (a lack of agreement or harmony in outcomes, or the ‘results of the verbal action’, causing them to ‘sound’ illogical or wrong). (See Appendix G). This dichotomy invites a link with critical thinking and critical reading, especially where outcomes are felt intuitively to be flawed or unjust. C.S. Peirce (in McPeck, 1981), who defined knowledge as a process of settling doubt and fixing belief, prompts us in the computational era to ask where the consensus of the corpus takes us. It is as though the language of the ‘honest’ in the corpus can now be mobilised in a virtual form to disclose and read the language outcomes of the dishonest. As honest language will always predominate, it may be relied upon because, in New Testament terms, ‘... the darkness quenched it not’.

This semantic rather than strictly segmental approach must be seen as an extension of the techniques of corpus linguistics rather than an attempt to alter its basic groundwork. Yet it is entirely defensible, because now that the basic groundwork in corpus linguistics has provided us with digital instrumentation, our only destination, using ‘running text’ (obsessive- compulsive annotators aside) can be *meaning*. The delight of working with collocation is that it deals with nothing else but meaning. In any event, the decision to use stochastic units usurps nothing: each unit is, as noted above, less than 25% of any nine word window of collocative power and acts as a method of fine-tuning and ‘slowing down’ the increasingly rapid nature of computational findings. Fine-tuning of the narratives thrown up by successive transitions in the target text may also be possible in other ways, as this author discovered by chance. The first version of Microconcord, the software used for collecting collocates and concordances in this paper, invites the user of the collocator to select four words to the left and four words to the right of the node, but it then proceeds on every occasion and irrespective of adjustments made, to default to three words on either side. As it turns out, this suits the very short length of our target text even better.

In this paper, we consider a two word sequence as the minimal unit for which a collocative profile can be sought from the corpus for the purposes of conducting a stochastic collocational (SC) reading. The term ‘running’, to refer to running words and running text, would seem to support this. It also breaks the Chomskyan tyranny of remaining within the sentence. Hence, the serial profiles from which such a forensic reading for ‘The Truth and Reconciliation Commission’ will entail at least *four* steps.

Note that the + sign has no theoretical or descriptive significance. As we are dealing exclusively with meaning, issues of description have become reified elsewhere and now properly belong to the history of linguistics. The + sign is merely part of an instruction to the Cobuild ‘Lookup’ programme, which also requires that requests be presented in lower case:

Four Step Request to The Bank of English

- 1 the+truth
- 2 truth+and
- 3 and+reconciliation
- 4 reconciliation+commission

Further requests of a corroborative nature may be required later in the reading, to which we now proceed. These will be incorporated in the body of this paper and not in the appendices. Note that concordance lines requested are in the form of 200 line probes of the BOE, transmitted to the author in Zimbabwe, via the Cobuild Direct Mail Service (cdms@cobuild.collins.co.uk). Where the total number of lines extracted from the corpus falls short of approximately 200, this will be deemed to be the total number of lines to be found in the corpus for the stochastic pair concerned. The concordance lines themselves are set out in full in the Appendices, starting with the form **the=truth** in Appendix A. Collocational profiles for these concordance lines will be worked with directly step by step in the body of the paper.

Step One

It is perhaps worth contextualising the TRC historically. In June 1995, *The Times* carried a report by Christina Lamb entitled: ‘Delays damage hope of justice in South Africa’. In this report she offers her own explanation for the invention of the TRC:

The truth commission was thought up as a safety valve for pent-up hatred after the decades of white rule. It would explore outrages by all sides and award compensation to victims and amnesty to killers and torturers. But there has been so much delay that relatives of the dead are demanding trials instead.

Ntsiki Biko, the widow of black consciousness leader Steve Biko, who died in police custody in 1977, and Churchill Mxenge, brother of an anti-apartheid lawyer assassinated in 1981, have formed an

Association of Victims of Unsolved Apartheid Atrocities to campaign for the prosecution of security force members.

‘When we voted the new government into office we nursed hopes that the law was going to take its course,’ said Mxenge. ‘Instead, we find ourselves exactly where we were 10 years ago. The only exception created by the truth commission is that if the criminals tell the truth, they will be forgiven’.(emphasis added) (The Times, 18 June, 1995)

In a world in which war crimes’ tribunals are set up for atrocities in some countries and truth commissions are ‘thought up’ in others, reasons for this expedient disparity need to be sought. The remainder of this paper traces what is involved within the dynamic of a large corpus of natural language when the expected course of events *in the world* is altered unnaturally. How can a corpus assist the victims when a nation hoped ‘...that the law was going to take its course’ and it *inexplicably* does not do so. Expediency rather than logic governs the process and corpora care nothing for expediency. Bosnia has no great mineral wealth and this may be what entitles it to war crimes’ tribunals: to justice rather than waiver. South Africa has massive deposits of gold, diamonds and platinum and so instead of being provided with justice, international financial interests think up ways of enforcing waiver and the granting of amnesty to killers. Racism and revenge are also motives. In the quotation with which this paper begins, Biko predicted that the racists would set out to defeat and pervert the ends of justice rather than award it. Rwanda has a War Crimes’ Tribunal because in Rwanda the genocide was felt to be ‘black-on-black’ rather than post colonial. In reality, much of the enmity between Hutu and Tutsi factions was fomented by colonialism.

The most pernicious aspect of waiver is that the beginning of the process which leads up to it often resembles the process of justice itself. This is also true of national independence, especially when it can later be shown *not* to have brought economic independence. As TRCs have begun to proliferate, notwithstanding the flawed logic upon which they are perched, semantic prosodies (Louw, 1993) and other computational linguistic methods, such as SC reading, are beginning to detect the insincerity behind their invention. TRCs are currently being referred to as forms of *mass justice*. Using semantic prosodies, it can be verified that the ‘*justice*’ purportedly on offer in this phrase is *insincere*. We know this to be the case because the term is qualified by *mass*. It must therefore be ‘read’ by the most frequent collocates to the right of *mass*. These collocates are mentioned below in the closing paragraphs of this paper.

Concordance lines for a request to the BOE for the+truth appear in Appendix A. A list of collocates for this stochastic pair appear below. Note how the collocates have their own ‘narrative’ which marches in step with Mxenge’s ‘...if the criminals tell the truth...’.

Step One: Collocational Profile for the+truth

Collocates: 3 to left & 3 to right of the truth

AND	213	THE	63	TO	55	IS	28
TELL	25	YOU	23	I	19	RECONCILIA*	19
THAT	19	COMMISSIO*	18	HE	18	KNOW	16
IT	16	TRUTH	16	OF	16	TELLING	15

The profile above represents only the most frequent collocates. They reflect perfectly the wishes of all parties: the architects of the TRC hope that *telling* the truth and *knowing* the truth will somehow defuse the hopes of the victims’ families for retributive justice; and, the families of the victims need to *know* the circumstances surrounding the death of their relatives (withheld for many years by the Apartheid regime) so that they can complete the process of mourning. Note the huge accumulated frequency of *tell*, especially once all of its forms or lemmas have been added together.

It is worth noting that the repeatable event associated with the+truth ineluctably involves **telling** the truth. Furthermore, the segmentation along the lines of analogue instrumentation, e.g. the ‘stochasteme’ would not withstand scrutiny. ‘Knowing the truth’ would not be an ‘allostochast’ of ‘telling the truth’. Knowing the truth ought to favour the process of justice without being used to defeat it, thus further denegrating the victims. We shall see how this turns out as we progress through the remaining steps. If it existed as a discipline, ‘stochastetics’ would obfuscate what is simply a familiar and frequent form of narrative. Narrative is a legitimate forensic tool in a world which has access to full instrumentation for language. Further corpus annotation would only play into the hands of the TRC’s architects.

The process of waiver is often accompanied by the subornation of those who are determined to obtain justice. Such attempts are often reported in the press. The following vignette of one of Nelson Mandela’s reconciliatory visits to undismantled (even as I write) bastions of white power shows something of the dilemma.

...Then Mr Mandela hosted an extraordinary tea party where the widows of former Afrikaner politicians mingled with the wives and widows of leading black politicians. This was a resounding media success although there were some sharp intakes of breath at the thought of Steve Biko's widow sipping tea with Mrs Vorster, the widow of B.J. Vorster, who was Prime Minister when the anti-apartheid leader was tortured to death in police custody. The Afrikaner ladies were full of praise for the President's legendary charm but Mrs Biko made it clear that her family still want to take her husband's murderers to court and have not forgiven them.

(Source: The Times (22 August 1995) 'Mandela's reconciliation tea party leaves blacks with a sour taste', by R.W. Johnson)

Step Two:

The concordance lines for truth+and are located in Appendix B.

It is at this point that we may begin to reconsider Christina Lamb's view that the TRC was 'thought up'. The collocates invite us to see her terminology as an understatement. The dominance of the collocation profile by the term reconciliation must surely begin to strike the reader as suspicious. How does something which was thought up begin to dominate the very corpus which we had come to regard as a reliable reflection of the structure of language, culture and events? Has the effect of the advent of the TRC effectively been to 'buy space' in the corpus? Is a corpus a form of textual real estate which, in all likelihood, harbours squatters? (see Appendix J, in which there are as few as three references in one hundred to the crucifixion in a KWIC concordance for good+friday. This situation was caused by the decision, possibly by Peter Mandelson MP, to name a peace accord after Christendom's most holy day). However, to return to our reading, we need to ask whether the collocate justice has been downplayed by the new arrival? Or are we seeing the deliberate thwarting of justice, both in the world and in the corpus? Can corpus linguistics offer us a diagnosis? The collocational profile appears below.

Note that even if truth+and were not intended to be read as part of a chained event, the term and would probably be felt, by a senior devil such as C.S. Lewis's Uncle Screwtape, to be suggestive of desirable forms of semantic dilution:

My Dear Wormwood,

The real trouble about the set your patient is living in is that it is merely Christian...What we want, if men become Christians at all, is to keep them in the state of mind I call 'Christianity And'. You know,

Christianity and the Crisis, Christianity and the New Psychology, Christianity and the New Order, Christianity and Faith Healing, Christianity and Psychical Research, Christianity and Vegetarianism, Christianity and Spelling Reform. If they must be Christians let them at least be Christians with a difference. Substitute for the faith itself some Fashion with a Christian colouring.

(C.S. Lewis, The Screwtape Letters.)

Step Two: Collocational profile for truth+and. Collocates: 3 to left & 3 to right of truth and

THE	106	TO	32	OF	30	RECONCILIA*	20
COMMISSION*	17	FOR	16	AND	14	IN	14
A	13	THAT	11	P	11	TELL	11
HE	9	IT	8	BUT	7	IS	7
AN	7	WE	6	I	6	ARE	6
WITH	6	TELLING	5	JUSTICE	5	NOT	5
BETWEEN	5	BY	5	YOU	5	TRUTH	5
THERE	4	SHE	4	BEAUTY	4	UP	4
FROM	4	TOLD	4	LIES	4	WHO	4

The lower end of the frequency profile above presents a much more gentle and humanitarian start than the upper end: the BOE is so large, well sampled and accurate, that it is even sensitive to the Keatsian relationship between truth and beauty. However, the seriousness of the infiltration deepens very quickly as we ascend. *Tell* and its lemmas are, of course, still within the collocative window, but notice what has happened: between them, the lemmas of tell can now only equal, rather than surpass, the frequency of a new apparent interloper: *reconciliation*.

It would be tempting to dismiss the term as part of a fixed expression, but would this do justice to what is going on? We are being presented with what, in Markovian terms, is a chained event. The shadowy authors of our target text composed it deliberately in a very particular way, so that it could *only* be read in that way. We need to remind ourselves of Churchill Mxenge's narrative above and compare it with the narrative which is being supplied by the collocates from the BOE as our analysis progresses:

'...The only exception created by the truth commission is that if the criminals tell the truth, they will be forgiven'. (The Times, 18 June, 1995)

The key question is: ‘What might the victims have expected from the justice system if this were not the case?’ Is waiver being enforced? If so, by whom? Is it the bench or the state or some foreign power or the New World Order, or a combination of these? Are secret societies involved, and if so, at what level? Perhaps we need an active rather than a passive form for Christina Lamb’s sentence:

*The truth commission **was thought up** as a safety valve for pent-up hatred after the decades of white rule... (Emphasis added)*

It is also instructive to examine at least one other collocate which appears in Step 2 as we work our way towards the top of the frequency range, because it marks another repeatable event within the TRC’s brief: *apparent process*. The inventors of the TRC may be bent on extracting waiver, but if the conspiracy is to succeed, this must be done **plausibly**. There must be apparent process, during which the veracity of what is brought before the TRC is seen to be tested, albeit insincerely and hence, fairly half- heartedly. When the method of SC Reading is used, *there will always be a narrative to tell us how the majority of the collocates are ‘minded’*, to carry Firth’s analogy of ‘keeping company’ further. True collocates should always outnumber ‘rogue’ collocates. Where rogue collocates appear to dominate, they will do so in ways which are suggestive of learned or fixed expressions. As a result, the notion of naturalness may need expansion to embrace the idea of naturalness across large swathes of the corpus. It would be a form of ‘virtual’ naturalness. This underpins the basis of the type of forensic reading which this paper proposes.

The collocate which enshrines the notion of ‘due process’ is *between*. It occurs five times. The history of the TRC and its work is of no great relevance to the concerns of this paper. Only the victims will be able to relate whether their testimony was brushed aside on technicalities (such as an inability to prove a political motive; or where some of the crimes occurred geographically outside South Africa, as occurred in the case against Dr Wouter Basson. Basson was fully acquitted of wrongdoing at the end of his trial in South Africa. The question of noting an appeal continues to surface from time to time. In his case a large number of Namibians he was alleged to have killed, were ruled by the judge to be irrelevant to his trial in South Africa (*sic*). Perhaps the murderers’ testimony was accepted in a very truncated or perfunctory form by the TRC. If this occurred, we would need to know how often it did so. If the outcome was driven by an

obvious desire for waiver, some of these symptoms would have been extremely likely to appear. The victims, between them, could doubtless, even now, assemble a list of abuses of process towards the mounting of a class action and/or the prosecution of an appeal.

Once details of this kind became known, forensic linguists could analyse each case, in turn, as examples of 'thwarted events'. However, knowing or telling the difference *between* truth and lies would have been expected as part of due process in a pre-New World Order and a pre-TRC world and the concordance which follows is added in order to demonstrate that expectation, even though it forms no explicit part in the wording of the target text under investigation.

MicroConcord search SW: between truth

80 characters per entry Sort : 2R/SW shifted -2 characters.

```
1      semantics and pragmatics, between truth conditions and conditions of thinks
2  thinks that the equation made between truth and assertion amounts to no more d
3  problem of the relationship between truth and beauty. Unravelling the truth -
4  she crosses the narrow border between truth and crime. If the point of the film
5      is a shadowy limbo, between truth and dare. <p> One thing is certain,
6  to mean. `The relationship between truth and error that prevails in    ill
7      if the very distinction between truth and falsehood is abandoned as a c
8  man can come to discriminate between Truth and falsehood, to discern between
9      unable to distinguish between truth and falsehood, but his senses, now
10 grew up unable to distinguish between truth and falsehood, falsehood and truth,
11 don't readily distinguish between truth and falsehood; they have little pap
12 that there is an asymmetry between truth and falsehood; no statements can be
13 child, blurring the line between truth and fancy and spinning all difficu
14 from that indeterminate area between truth and fantasy which Goya made his she
15 illustrates the distance between truth and fantasy better than that of
16 or understand the difference between truth and fantasy. <p> Between 4 and 7,
17 he constantly blurs the lines between truth and fantasy. Most of the time, it's
18 treading a borderline between truth and fiction . <p> You find yourself
19 can no longer differentiate between truth and fiction, good and evil,    War,
20 and fakers with no clear line between truth and fiction. So the histrionics of
21 difficulty in distinguishing between truth and fiction. A few years after and
22 that you know the difference between truth and hype. A magazine that won't
23 concealment. The relationship between truth and illusion is one of fiction's
24 exists. <p> The distinction between truth and illusion is a major one. The m
25 who are able to distinguish between truth and its appearance, to the original
26 we leave distinctions between truth and its representation behind.    u
27 who are able to distinguish between truth and its appearance, to the original
28 of cases, to distinguish between truth and lies, humbug and principle,
29 lives in a grey area between truth and lies, and that legislative
30 up." In New Labour's world between truth and lies, those on List 05 are the
31 paper provided a battleground between truth and money. <p> But Rowland knew how
32 there is no separation between truth and myth. To the Navajo, all
33 As the media's battle between truth and propaganda comes to a close
34 War, believes the struggle between truth and ratings has only just begun: We
35 when you are suspended between truth and reality in the strange mystique
36 considering the difference between truth and reality. The truth of the conce
```

37 difficult to distinguish between truth and rumour in these cases." Indian
 38 very difficult to distinguish between truth and self perception, because we are
 39 distinction <p> in extension between truth and superassertibility (78-9). t
 40 the order of determination between truth and superassertibility. <p> There
 41 a Sunday # and nothing stands between truth and tyranny but ... Ben Affleck.

It would be far too convenient for us, or for deeply perturbed counsel, or for the South African Government and its allies, to argue that we shall never know what the state of the language and the corpus was in a pre-TRC world. They would doubtless like us to accept the collocability of *truth* and *reconciliation* as a *fait accompli*. Remember, instrumentation for language arrived in 1985, when the apartheid regime was still fully entrenched and involved in its ‘final onslaught’ against its opponents. It is impossible to know whether Sinclair’s research was being monitored secretly in the 80s and, if so, when this process began. His first corpus project conducted between 1965 and 1969 is only now being fully reported (Sinclair: personal communication). However, rather than attempt to trace the contents of the corpus during its development in the early 90s, as this led to the formation of the BOE (for example, 33 million words were available as part of any single request in 1992), it may be better to test our hypothesis, as far back as the advent of digital instrumentation in 1985, that *truth* and *reconciliation* are **utterly unrelated** collocationally. This is possible through access to the Main and Reserve Corpora upon which the first edition of the Cobuild English Language Dictionary was based. The proof, if any were needed, is contained in the following concordances from that ground-breaking corpus, which totally disproves the prediction John Lyons had made only a few years earlier:

Nevertheless, there are many practitioners and theorists of the social sciences who seem to feel, quite wrongly, that there is something unscientific about the postulation of entities and processes that cannot be described in physical terms. Thanks largely to Chomsky, this feeling is now less common than it once was among linguists; and linguistics is, in consequence, a richer and more interesting discipline. (Lyons, 1981:244)

With hindsight, these words seem reminiscent of the speech made by Neville Chamberlain in 1939, after he had received reassurances on a scrap of paper from Adolf Hitler to the effect that war could be averted. Linguistics was, as Lyons wrote the paragraph above, already a harder science than he proposed or even believed possible. In 1981, Cobuild was being developed largely under wraps. Without Lyons’s knowledge, linguistics was already unlikely to settle willingly for the reductionism to

intuitive pap of its scientific method. The crucial evidence from the first large Cobuild corpora has, below, been carefully re-keyed from the microfiche on which it appears. *Truth* and *reconciliation* are simply **not** collocates in 1985.

MicroConcord search SW: reconciliation
80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 out there isn't all bad. It is a reconciliation, a reinstatement of closeness. I
2 involved in divorce, separation, reconciliation and affairs, isn't it time the T
3 ooke of New York held a mass of "reconciliation and peace" after Sands's death,
4 our essential message of racial reconciliation and it blurred what I wanted to
5 erms that there would never be a reconciliation and would she please let me cont
6 rther blow to Vatican hopes of a reconciliation and a clear signal to Pope John
7 uts, emerged as the champions of reconciliation between Afrikaans- and English-
8 connecting link, and a possible reconciliation between the two objectives, I su
9 here were also periods of uneasy reconciliation, finally shattered when the dign
10 m into the patterns of unity and reconciliation for which it craved. The self-en
11 contrast to the dawning hopes of reconciliation in Western Europe through the Ec
12 deal places for sleep, argument, reconciliation, insatiable illicit love. At fir
13 was not angling for some sort of reconciliation; it was far more as if I must be
14 n which human reason can find no reconciliation lies in the fact that this total
15 , no one now living has any real reconciliation of these truths or modes. There
16 welfare services; the second the reconciliation of full employment with relative
17 s, between which there can be no reconciliation: on the one hand, a world which
18 ed that no detail of the budget reconciliation package be allowed to jeopardis
19 ca said that the last scene, the reconciliation, should have come first, and the
20 d of The Tempest is, you get the reconciliation, the lost child is restored, and
21 to make up for "last night", and reconciliation was easy. She told me more about
22 y even when, through his agency, reconciliation was offered. Vassiliou, oddly en
23 ven managed, dimly, to begin the reconciliation with my rural background. School
24 id Lloyd George. It began with a reconciliation with Northcliffe though he was s
25 ent was on its own, to make what reconciliation would be found possible with its

(Source: Cobuild Main Corpus, 1985: Re-keyed from Lexicographers' Microfiche Sheet R 005)

MicroConcord search SW: reconc*
80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW shifted -4 characters.

1 aby as a gesture of apology and reconciliation, <1please?>1, Ira, Tennessee is n
2 the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, a Christian organisation. It als
3 with <p 517> Miss Crabbe. This reconciliation and the wonderful holiday to look
4 ther blow to Varican hopes of a reconciliation and a clear signal to Pope John P
5 sehood. Through his advocacy of reconciliation and his renunciation of class GW
6 beginning of the fmal scene of reconciliation and justice. To the rage of the p
7 y, was the prophet of universal reconciliation and concord. Lenin's struggle aga
8 p before this meeting of family reconciliation - and that in effect, once the me
9 oo has hastily stage- managed a reconciliation, and so successfully that she was
10 n a beautifully sung quartet of reconciliation as each one finds his or her true
11 ely evolving harmony, a growing reconciliation, as part of the movement towards
12 had no fear that she expected a reconciliation because he had wanted to sleep wi
13 1963 when Macmillan achieved a reconciliation between them. There was nothing e
14 social systems. There can be no reconciliation between Com -munism and capilatis
15 he local community ('to talk of reconciliation between the middle and working cl
16 he <p323> environment; ethnic reconciliation between those who speak German Fr

17 ge about the imminent practical reconciliation between theory and practice, and
 18 moment, grace conquers sin, and reconciliation bridges the gulf of estrangement.
 19 he time they were negotiating a reconciliation brought Il Valentino's terms to t
 20 followed the party line over a reconciliation. But I bet you they got it throug
 21 g by the seashore in search for reconciliation. But mother wont botch the job. M
 22 tion and the preachers of class reconciliation indeed were, they were being driv
 23 man to resist a quickening. His reconciliation involved a distinction between th
 24 felt a great peace and sense of reconciliation. It seemed the breasts I suckled
 25 choric scene of forgiveness and reconciliation --just as Humboldt, with <10edipu
 26 ter worth their while to seek a reconciliation. "Machiavelli gave the boy an ang
 27 worse than ever. She was making reconciliation noises right up until the last mo
 28 nquiry, public concern over the reconciliation of the needs of road traffic and
 29 constantle requires the living reconciliation of opposites which, in strict log
 30 r there could be scope for some reconciliation of possible airport and strategic
 31 y of tone, to lead to a general reconciliation of opposites. In order to observe
 32 'm trying to approach a kind of reconciliation of rational and irrational factor
 33 liberty, are hardly started. The reconciliation of these interests is a dynamic p
 34 by. "201 Bakunin's recipe for a reconciliation of mass spontaneity with moral gu
 35 very intention of effect- ing a reconciliation on renegotiated terms. She had ac
 36 anon's confer- ence of national reconciliation opens. The Lebanese government is
 37 ence on the other, of universal reconciliation or the victory of the best. Sorel
 38 d that no detail of the budget reconciliation package be allowed to jeopardize
 39 a, the denouement of history in reconciliation, retribution, and harmony. "The t
 40 ine. "Isn't there a chance of a reconciliation?" she asked. "I was hoping this t
 41 ir great love for it that rough reconciliation that many of us had to look at. A
 42 ong them. Along another axis of reconciliation, the Reverend Jack Van Dyke was b
 43 ustained by a faith in eventual reconciliation, the redress of wrongs, harmony,
 44 s, although also a fairly adept reconciliation. The conquest by the Americans by
 45 ally-minded called it a time of reconciliation. The weather was nicer, of course
 46 th a mood of national and class reconciliation. There was the danger of stunting
 47 y's imperialists, implied class reconciliation under the banner of national resu
 48 wering his own question, such a reconciliation was possible. The legislators of
 49 to support peaceful change and reconciliation? Well, the Council's pamphlet set
 50 dicary system. I was aiming at reconciliation. When Dayton's proposal came to a
 51 nce more a recognition of and a reconciliation with reality GW 0177 249 not take
 52 ust with the world and blissful reconciliation with it. Belinsky seems to have b
 53 ainst the actual", in place of "reconciliation with reality", opens up a new dia
 54 ong to become horrified by his "reconciliation with base reality, with all the f
 55 ant The Bomb. There could be no reconciliation with a man who took off his shoes
 56 most superstitious motive in my reconciliation with Patricia. Things had started
 57 (b) THE UNIVERSAL IDEA AND THE RECONCILIATION with it The personal misery of un
 58 in separate correspondence for reconciliation with the original docu- ment by t
 59 meeting was essentially one of reconciliation?' "Yes." "And that the mood was a

(Source: Cobuild Reserve Corpus, 1985: Re-keyed from Lexicographers' Microfiche Sheet R 005)

3.1.1 The Role of Monitor Corpora

Corpus development is always concerned with the question of balance. Sinclair (1991) was the first scholar to use a monitor corpus, whose function he describes initially as follows:

...it became clear that the whole idea of a corpus of finite size was flawed. Any corpus is such a tiny sample of language in use that there can be little finality in the statistics...The idea of a monitor corpus was born. Sources of language text in electronic form would be fed on a daily basis across filters which retrieve evidence as necessary. (1991:9)

The concept becomes more powerful and exciting as corpora become larger and Sinclair looks forward to a time, which has now arrived, where it is possible ‘to create a new kind of corpus, one which has no final extent because, like the language itself, it keeps on developing’(1991:25). This vision may well be in the process of being end-stopped by HarperCollins publishers. Cobuild staff have been reduced to one part-time individual and plans for a third edition of the dictionary appear either to be stalled or have been abandoned. However, whatever commercial decisions are made, the central academic and disciplinary commitment set out above by Sinclair remains unaltered.

The design features of the monitor corpus are determined by the researcher and this suits the concerns set out in this paper. Although one of the filters used at Cobuild during corpus development (called AVIATOR) provided a daily list of ‘new’ words which it had found, it may not have been up to the task of detecting new institutions, such as the TRC, or indeed the presence of invented or ‘rogue’ collocates, such as *reconciliation* entering *truth*’s collocational window, and *vice versa*. However, if these refinements were missing, they could today be set in place quite easily. To suggest that the political will to do so might need to be found would be unacceptable and an open violation of academic freedom of the type referred to in an earlier footnote.

There is evidence also in the superb Cobuild Dictionary of English Collocations on CD ROM (1995) that monitor corpora missed the arrival of *truth* within four words of reconciliation. This evidence is easily detected in the obvious difficulty experienced by at least one of the CD ROM’s human compilers. In setting out and dividing up the screen for the examples of *reconciliation* in the environment of *truth*, the lexicographer is seemingly forced to **repeat** lines through sheer frustration at not finding occurrences of these purported collocates which are both **sufficient** and **varied** to warrant inclusion in a dictionary. **Apart** from the fixed expression ‘TRC’, and references to the way it purports to function, the collocates *truth* and *reconciliation* simply do not come up within the corpus and in everyday contexts at the time of the CD’s

compilation. Hence, that portion of screen space reserved for creating a sense of **balance**, had somehow or other *to be filled*, and the lexicographer was forced to resort to **repetition** (see below). That the line ‘...seeking their reconciliation...’ should have to appear **twice** (6&7) and the line ‘...no reconciliation, until...’ appear **three times** (15-17) on a screen of only 20 or so examples, is conclusively indicative of the fact that any significant free-standing use of the collocate in 1995 is non-existent. This finding corroborates the situation reported above in the Reserve and Main Corpora of 1985. Even the repeated lines appear to be confined to explanations of the obtuse workings of an invented institution, busily driving forward its main agenda of securing waiver from the victims of *apartheid* in South Africa. Compare what follows with the contents of Appendix F, which comprises the product of a search of the Bank of English for the expression truth+3justice. The facility for finding *justice* within a specifiable distance from *truth* is both a triumph for those who programmed the old version of ‘Lookup’ and a vindication of the superiority of collocation over stochastic processes, important though the latter are, in determining chained events and fraudulent departures from them.

MicroConcord search SW: reconciliation
80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

```

1 the country where the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has held more than 3,
2 stion the work of the truth and reconciliation commission. The rebuff against G
3 ly cooperate with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. She says it's import
4 of the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, expected later this year, will
5 used.A commission for truth and reconciliation has been set up to investigate c
6 ttle of opinions, seeking their reconciliation in the higher truth to which the
7 ttle of opinions, seeking their reconciliation in the higher truth to which the
8 ecial 'commission for truth and reconciliation". It describes the cases and giv
9 tional Commission for Truth and Reconciliation. Its members were given nine mon
10 d by a commission for truth and reconciliation" made up of seven lawyers from a
11 gain and again to the themes of reconciliation, of telling the truth, of tolera
12 tional Commission for Truth and Reconciliation - Their mandate was to come up w
13 y, the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation - They will be bringing out thei
14 tional Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, to prepare a report on violatio
15 esty, there can be no truth, no reconciliation, until those criminals are broug
16 esty, there can be no truth, no reconciliation, until those criminals are broug
17 esty, there can be no truth, no reconciliation, until those criminals are broug
18 been commissioned for truth and reconciliation which is now investigating the c
19 ment's commission for truth and reconciliation, which are investigating more th
20 he names--reflect the truth and reconciliation within, I would say, the limits

```

(Source: The Cobuild Dictionary of English Collocations on CD ROM, 1995)

This evidence is of greater importance than one might imagine. In order to appreciate its full implications, one has to return to Markov and his research. One of the key issues in more recent attempts to revive Markov's approach has been the creation of Markovian automata in order to mimic natural language through the prediction of the probabilities of transitions. The automaton can never produce natural, authentic English text. A major experimental consideration has always been to determine which *fails* first: the machine or the human being? Our target text involves about four transitions. An automaton which fails after two transitions produces text like the first passage below, reported by Levelt (1974, Vol.II: 165). The second passage quoted is a fourth order text, closest in Markovian terms to our target text; the fifth order text which follows it, dutifully fails after five transitions, and so on (1974, Vol.II: 168).

SECOND ORDER: *the head and in frontal attack on an English writer that the character of this point is therefore another method for the letter that the tired of who even told the problem for an unexpected...*

FOURTH ORDER: *went to movies with a man I used to go toward Harvard Square in Cambridge is mad fun for...*

FIFTH ORDER: *road in the country was insane especially in dreary rooms where they have some books to buy for studying Greek*

In the case of our target text, the Markov process would **not** fail on an input file such as all of the BOE, precisely because its authors have furnished, in the form of electronic newspapers, adopted into the BOE, the very probabilities which are required in order for the deception to hold. This is precisely the problem Cherry (1957:39) mentions at the beginning of this paper. However, this time the transitions would always be the TRC's transitions, not Shakespeare's! However, if the input file were the Cobuild Main and Reserve Corpora as they stood in 1985, the fourth and fifth order Markov automata would fail, because there was at that time no transitional probability between truth and reconciliation. It had still to be created as a form of '*event fraud*' in terms of Contextual Prosodic Theory (Louw, 2000). Yet, *justice*, as a collocate, would **not** suffer the same fate, whichever corpus was used. It is the older legitimate event, whose ends had to be perverted and defeated by and through the creation of the TRC.

To answer the question of which fails first, the Markovian automaton or the human reader, the answer is that the human reader fails. This is because human readers from all

walks of life, lexicographers, the general public and the apartheid victims themselves have been converted into *sane* rather than Markovian automata, who will **accept** rather than **question** a fraudulent chunk of language because it has been cunningly presented to them and has the entirely dubious *locus standi* of repeatedly appearing in **print**. Theirs was a failure of critical literacy in the information age³. It is significant, too, that the fifth order passage quoted above was reported by Chomsky and Miller (1963). The former dismisses Markov grammars in 1957, but is still, inexplicably, researching them on the eve of his scathing attack on corpora in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* in 1964. Why? Perhaps the man who, more than any other, was to keep the community of linguists operating inside the mind for almost 50 years, foresaw, even within flawed and (then) computationally simplistic Markov processes, the possibilities that both instrumentation and a rival to intuition might begin to emerge. As a result, the retreat into mentalism quickly acquired or was given its much-vaunted status as ‘The Chomsky Revolution’. In any event, the motives for this protracted dabbling in Markovian processes by one whose ‘...distaste for “statistics of usage”...is now legendary,’ (de Beaugrande, 1991:186), must surely warrant further scrutiny. That a man whose equally legendary liberal politics should seek, in his linguistic theory, to eschew authenticity and functionalism and champion instead *intuition*, and even then *only* within the political comfort zone of the made-up sentence, also points to the need for further investigation. The politics of linguistic theory must itself now have become an open subject for corpus-driven investigation.

Even if stochastic probability and semantic prosodies, between them, had been inadequate for the purpose of persuading the victims of apartheid to waive, traditional

³ The extent to which deception is still possible in the information age must, as a result of this paper and other developments in corpus linguistics, be considered to be in doubt. The concordance for carlyle+group (Appendix I), completely undermines American and British attempts to justify their own role in the war against Iraq. The family of George W. Bush not only employs a former British Prime Minister and other British MPs, but owns companies which manufacture weapons, tanks and rockets. In addition, the Carlyle Group has the bin Laden family on its list of investors. The concordance states that Carlyle and bin Laden agreed to part company by ‘mutual consent’ shortly after the 11th September 2001. A failure to mention these facts as part of the campaign for war in Iraq, not only brushes aside glaring conflicts of interest, but, considering that the Bush family is likely to profit from every shot fired, must be considered apparent fraudulent non-disclosure. Details such as these must, of course, be read along with the plagiarism of an eight year old doctoral thesis by staffers at 12 Downing Street, in order to justify war as a clear and present danger. Material in the concordance will also exacerbate matters which led to the death of Dr David Kelly.

The date and time of the concordance request have been included in Appendix I, because Jeremy Clear of Cobuild reported a few days after this date, that the Bank of English had been entered by hackers.

psycholinguistic research would probably, at the time the plans were laid, have done the job just as easily. The same G.A. Miller, who had collaborated with Chomsky in the Markovian research referred to above, is reported by Levelt to have demonstrated in 1962:

...that verbal memory is particularly sensitive to the grouping of words into units of a certain size, and ... in the perception of speech ... size roughly corresponds to the phrase, i.e. nominal, verbal and other linguistically defined phrases containing two to six words. (Levelt, 1974, Vol.III: 75).

At five words, our target text, which continues to deceive millions of human rights victims who have a cause of action, would seem to fall comfortably within Miller's optimal window of verbal memory. Thus we see a form of language which purports to mirror legal process, fitting in with all the implications for recency effects and suasion that Miller's psychological research saw as a major part of its objectives.

Step Three

The concordance lines for and+reconciliation are located in Appendix C.

In the chained event with which we are working, the replacement of *justice* as an expected outcome, with enforced waiver in the form of *reconciliation*, is handled with great skill by the lawyers and spin doctors who must have thought up the TRC. Both collocates are made to seem like '**rewards**' of equal value. However, as Churchill Mxenge notes earlier, the only thing which singles out the TRC as exceptional is the fact that it is the *criminals* who are rewarded with forgiveness. The **choice** of going to trial is not afforded the victims, even on constitutional appeal. The Constitutional Court of South Africa dismisses the Biko appeal for ordinary justice. Its apparent bias is reflected in the fact that the appellants before the Constitutional Court are unnamed (in the law report of the Constitutional appeal) and, hence, apparently not regarded as persons before the law in the new South Africa any more than Steve Biko was under the apartheid regime. This situation bears out Biko's chilling prophecy quoted at the beginning of this paper. Even the new leaders of an independent South Africa seem to have gone out of their way to profane his memory. This is the kind of omission that reverses the gains of the revolution and causes the new government and its activities into the future to be regarded with suspicion. Australian journalist, John

Pilger in a BBC Hard Talk interview noted with concern that South Africa has not been allowed economic independence.

And yet, as we read our target text, there is a sense that the victims are getting some form of reward. How is that false sense of reward created? It is created fraudulently within the victims' prior knowledge of language, but *without their **conscious awareness***! It is in Step 3 that the spin doctors are at their most cunning: they use an extremely rare form of semantic prosody, i.e. a *positive* semantic prosody (Louw, 1993), to sell the idea of waiver. The semantic prosody operates on the term *reconciliation*, and this runs from *right* to *left* in this case, in apparent conflict with the stochastic process. In the language, negative semantic prododies far outnumber positive ones. Hunston and Thompson (2001:18) refer to the phenomenon and Joanna Channell refers to it in detail, in the same volume, in a chapter entitled 'Corpus-Based Analysis of Evaluative Lexis' (2001:38-55).

The positive semantic prosody carries with it a full range of desirable characteristics and states. All of these accompany reconciliation 'as equals', because the stochastic pair is and+reconciliation. Note the huge frequency of *forgiveness* in the table below. The collocates within their prior knowledge as readers, are borne in upon the troubled minds of the victims as an *illusory* haven of peace and deliverance. However, it is not only all in the mind, as Steve Biko foresaw in the quotation with which this paper begins, but it is still an illusion on the ground today, within months of the TRC's already postponed purported final report. Archbishop Tutu, the Chairman of the TRC, as recently as August 2002, is quoted on the subject of the class action being brought in Switzerland by lawyer Edward Fagan against banks and companies who benefited from apartheid. Tutu's view is that the private sector ought to compensate apartheid's victims in the same way that holocaust victims have finally and reluctantly compensated as a result of Fagan's earlier class action to assist them. Can there be a better admission from the TRC's own chairman, that the proposed compensation, which has already been drastically trimmed to 40,000 Rands per victim (from R130,000) is a paltry sum which degrades the victims further. The victims' cause is further villified as the government in its public advertisements refers to the matter as 'healing the past'. Most people probably thought that compensation was to have been collected from the TRC itself. The sad fact though, is that waiver is waiver, especially when it is dressed up and the right to

compensation, *de jure*, evaporates with it. However, we now need to study the language in greater detail in which the fake reward is enshrined.

Step Three Collocates: 3 to left & 3 to right of and reconciliation

THE	91	TRUTH	69	COMMISSION*	58	PEACE	50
FOR	46	OF	45	IN	26	AND	25
TO	23	THAT	21	SOUTH	16	FORGIVENES*	15
AFRICA 14	IS	10	P	9	THAT	9	
HE	9	ON	9	COMMITTEE	7	NEW	7
WAS	7	JUSTICE	7	BE	7	BUT	7
WHICH	6	REPORT 6	WE	6	BEFORE 5		
THIS	5	IT	5	AS	5	HAS	5
HEALING	5	BY	5	HAVE	5	MR	5
FORUM	4	UP	4	NOT	4	PROCESS	4
WILL	4	THROUGH	4	SERVICE	4	DIALOGUE	4
WORK	4	ARE	4	SET	3	SPIRIT 3	
TIME	3	AT	3	LOVE	3	CO-OPERATI*	3
UNITY	3	ONE	3	CALLED 3	PERSONAL 3		
BEING	3	WITH	3	FROM	3	SEEKING	3
SAID	3	H	3	ALL	3		

Any attempt to disengage from the implications of this positive semantic prosody would seem ungracious, unChristian, unpatriotic and vengeful. Another reason why the prosody is so powerfully positive is because it is positive to the right as well as the left! Its aura drives us in both directions to imbue the chained event with a sense of peace and *stasis* which, **in reality**, it does not possess. Just in case the bewildered victim wished to ask as part of his or her own personal narrative, ‘...**and** then what?’, we find that the prosody on reconciliation+and is arguably even more compelling. Its concordance lines appear in Appendix E. It is in these lines that we find the unkindest cut of all for the victims: the re-emergence of the collocate which the spin doctors expressly set out to hide: *justice* (Appendix E, 61-64). The victim who has waived and can expect **nothing** at all, must now be persuaded by the collocate *justice* that he/she has received justice as part of waiver. Treason has done its work. The ideological strategy is to ply the victims with the collocates, e.g. *healing* in the form of propaganda (Appendix C, 36-40; Appendix E, 46, 47, and 143). Louw (2000) notes the following example in which a victim is incapable of believing and therefore of stating **sincerely** that the TRC has brought about healing. Instead the victim uses the term **cause**, which here is not only indicative of insincerity, but symptomatic of trauma.

The same form of insincerity applies to the language used by the TRC’s proponents, when they refer to the TRC’s activities as mass justice or even to spreading justice! The term mass writes its authors’ insincerity through the term’s most frequent collocates: murder,

*destruction, grave, unemployment, etc. How can waiver possibly be justice? The answer is: 'Only in the mind of someone who could allow the corpus to **read them** for having called their own treason mass justice!' It is reminiscent of Tacitus's famous line: Solitudinem faciunt, pacem apellant: 'They make a desert and call it peace.*

Where the spirit of a TRC fails, it is useful to have statements by a distinguished judge in charge of the UN War Crimes' Tribunal for Rwanda, Mrs Navanethem Pillay, who also appears inexplicably, to have forgotten the distinction between retributive justice and waiver. This apparent amnesia has apparently earned rather than prevented her recent elevation to the bench of the International Criminal Court [ICC].

*Truth and Reconciliation Commissions are expedient political solutions devised by governments to deal with the past, to deal with atrocities of past regimes...In many countries, such as Cambodia, you have many members of the past regime and current government still sitting in power. There I imagine they would have difficulty in prosecutions or truth commissions dealing with atrocities committed by the very people who are still holding power. **I see The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and prosecution as complementary processes. They go together...They are not in competition. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission certainly did not rule out criminal prosecution. People have been prosecuted, where it was found that the crimes that they committed were serious, or they had not come out with the truth. To families, such as the family of Steven Biko, who had been murdered in detention, these were dissatisfied because their rights to prosecution and compensation were denied by the Truth and Reconciliation process.** (emphasis added) (African Legal Aid: April-June 2001)*

In this interview, we find a deliberate attempt to make TRC and prosecution sound as though they are virtually identical. The learned judge confesses that the TRC 'did not rule out' criminal prosecution, but she then goes on to criticise Biko's family for being dissatisfied and then admits that the TRC denied them the right to launch a prosecution against his murderers. She makes no reference to the fact that the Constitutional Court of South Africa is **not** an extension of the TRC, but, in the event, chose to behave like one. Mixed messages of this kind bring institutions into disrepute. They show disrespect for national heroes and degrade the victims further. The findings of this paper bear out the judge's view that TRCs are 'expedient political solutions'. But, does the process of their manufacture show in what they are **called** and do they truly have the status of due process? The same event in

The Bank of English, a corpus of language from and for a people of Europe would suggest not. As Biko predicts, the courts have joined the conspiracy and ‘...anything else they do to the same black people becomes *logical*’. Such logic cannot but tarnish the justice system and prompt change within it.

Step Four

The concordance lines for reconciliation+commission appears as Appendix D.

The search for reconciliation+commission can almost be dispensed with. The TRC is resident in the corpus with so little variation that we may safely omit the list of collocates. The TRC is homogeneous, just as its architects planned. The damage has been done. The product now has to be given the seal of authority. Waiver is somehow fundamentally noble and has to be enshrined as a Commission! Of course, *waiver* has, by now, been cleverly equated with *healing* and *forgiveness* as part of the plan to manipulate the operation of everyone’s prior knowledge. Waiver is part of nobody’s tradition and culture. Only the weak, tortured, depressed and diffident waive. It is a sign of cowardice. But, forgiveness is a different matter: it is proof of the spirit of humanism inherent in African culture. It even has a name: **Ubuntu**. Perhaps *ubuntu* now has the status of legislation and overriding precedent. The Constitutional Court of South Africa certainly seems to think so. *Ubuntu* is no longer optional. It is mandatory. It is hoped that the TRC will keep 40,000 aggrieved victims of apartheid out of the courts. This may free the people’s courts for their more important role as instruments for the indirect rule of independent South Africa.

4. Conclusion

The need to write this paper might have been averted if the architects of the TRC had called their Commission by some other name. Spin doctors invent names every day. There would have been no fraud in calling it the New Dawn Commission or the Sunrise Commission. This paper had to be written because TRC, as a title, purports to offer the **illusion** of process and of precedent. Tragically, many South Africans who deserved better from their country’s institutions, have been deceived by a form of language into abandoning their claims, or have been forced by the highest court in the land to go without a local remedy. However, a well known legal maxim is that process perched

upon fraud will collapse and become null and void and of no further force and effect. International remedies beckon.

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APPENDIX A

MicroConcord search SW: the truth

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1L/SW unshifted.

1 Davis: Yeah. That's absolutely the truth. And there was never any question
2 band. We might as well accept the truth and carry on." <p> IT'S this self-
3 if Lord Widgery would acknowledge the truth, and concluded that he had not. The
4 The SNCF is refusing to admit the truth and is playing disinformation with
5 to those who seek after the truth, and if it makes life even a little
6 on the offensive yesterday after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission us f
7 are thinking you know all the truth and thinking that there is no truth
8 ; and you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free." Christianity,
9 `Then you will know the truth, and the truth will set you free." (Danlo reminde
10 e Dharma Blossom is the truth, and the truth will finally the male order would
11 ople of this country the truth and the truth was Kuwait was having ground of e
12 manufactured untruths, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission they'
13 and the life. I am the way and the truth and the life." Even one of His w
14 you: `You shall know the truth and the truth will make you free." tender now and
15 one will be able to appreciate the truth and beauty of others. Therefore,
16 or should he skate around the truth and tough it out? Morris put his
17 came to an end yesterday. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission subp
18 wasn't any problem, that must be the truth, and nothing but. The occasion Th
19 subpoena to give evidence before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which
20 hospitals. He appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission last
21 issues, as played out before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and
22 and assassination revealed before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but
23 of what they believe is both the truth and the answer to life. Or death.
24 wrote in the book is nothing but the truth, and that he will stand by his word
25 the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and testified that he never had to
26 the whole truth, nothing but the truth. And I think therein, the American
27 for amnesty is to be discussed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which
28 atrocities brought to light by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but
29 tell the people of this country the truth and the truth was Kuwait was having
30 and irrational way to `detect" the truth and to know `what had really and
31 stresses the need to discover the truth - and to find ways of easing
32 of victims' relatives to discover the truth, and in recent years human rights
33 fell out when Tommy discovered the truth and he went to jail for assaulting
34 with all press. They distort the truth and doubt my story." <p> Flanked by
35 lot. If nothing else, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has
36 The Politics seeks to establish the truth and not just opinion on matters of
37 why we need you to help us expose the truth and resist what the Christian hear
38 such as Dr. Zeman, who expound the truth, and pray, so that while God is
39 speech has the ability to express the Truth and of transforming man, thus `
40 In Chile, they chose just to find the truth and try and develop a common cursed
41 them with the freedom to find the truth and the insight themselves. <p> The
42 its entirety for sex itself, for the truth and the sovereignty of sex. Sex is

43 Brenner starts digging for the truth and discovers a trail of lies, of
 44 had shown a 'disrespect for the truth' and 'deluded himself that he was
 45 that they'd continue to fight for the truth and were now planning a general wr
 46 only for affection but also for the truth; and she doesn't realize that she
 47 When is a community ready for the truth - and whose truth? Each side offers
 48 the male order would put forward the truth and the phallus as their special re
 49 will turn their ears away from the truth, and turn aside unto myths"). The
 50 Nothing could be further from the truth, and I received many, many mor J
 51 been comfortable straying from the truth. And she knew that sense of unease
 52 the Spirit, from the Word, from the Truth, and we fall into ourselves, into
 53 nothing could be further from the truth, and it only proves that I am was
 54 way forward is always to grasp the truth and stick to it. You are usually
 55 so the American people can have the truth. And to the degree that any to
 56 re mad, because you know you have The Truth. And the harder people tried to get
 57 as the man said, if you have the truth and the legend, print the legend. c
 58 of deliberately <p> hiding the truth, and he pledged never to lie again.
 59 The more ethical of them told him the truth and offered him an approach to his
 60 you free." (Danlo reminded him, 'the truth is the truth.' And if you go tellin
 61 churches and media ignored the truth and became propagandists for the p
 62 the truth. And if we do believe in the truth, to mcNabb's improved profile and t
 63 Everything Rose said there is the truth. And what he said there is what I'
 64 grip on what they think is the truth and seek a better understanding of
 65 parody of Christianity? That is the truth, and that is what you will tell Mr
 66 More lies? Oddly enough, this is the truth, and this is what really him a
 67 in real business, but it is the truth and it will happen. Profits are not
 68 Danlo reminded him, 'the truth is the truth.' And if you go telling it procl
 69 where the money goes. This is the truth and this is what's happening. The
 70 to the authorities. Which is the truth. And then he also told me that I a
 71 positive. The Dharma Blossom is the truth, and the truth will finally the ma
 72 the time? Laughter) Andre: It's the truth, and you know it. Marvin: You know,
 73 now remarried. But she told Jamie the truth and he passed the secret on to his
 74 t believe me. She wanted to know the truth and every detail." <p> Johnson was
 75 sensed it was better not to know the truth, and I did not attempt to find out.
 76 thing that matters is that I know the truth and your parents believe me." <p>
 77 my disciples; and you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free."
 78 because I will at least know the truth, and so will anyone else who cares
 79 me go cold, as though they know the truth and are trying to stir things. If
 80 Jesus said, 'Then you will know the truth, and the truth will set you free."
 81 and grow. The chance to know the truth and to grieve" may well lift
 82 that his daughter should know the truth and that it was his job, since he
 83 fantasies. Hitler did not know the truth, and refused to accept it. This man
 84 meaning for you: 'You shall know the truth and the truth will make you free."
 85 About Father Darrow knowing the truth?" and suddenly, in a miraculous un
 86 a bad boy. But the manager knows the truth and it doesn't bother him as long
 87 they owed her husband at least the truth, and she had answered that he might
 88 ahead is if my public don't like The Truth and only want to hear the old
 89 she was Arthur hadn't told me the truth, and that she'd no idea he'd use
 90 the truth you've got to tell me the truth. And her says now <ZGY> she says er
 91 with titles like Simple Minds: the Truth and Springsteen: An American this w
 92 have been guilty. Nevertheless, the truth and the shame remain: Sacco and
 93 one believe that they have now the truth, and that all that has gone before
 94 Alan Smith, Carina. You obeyed the truth and your souls were made pure. But
 95 around his bedroom. In October, the Truth and Reconciliation Committee i
 96 this week named the 17 members of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, s ca
 97 There are various shades of the truth and I would say his is distinctly
 98 a reasonable semblance of the truth and always make fascinating month
 99 you have a sense of some of the truth and you know exactly where to go
 100 truth. Acting on the knowledge of the truth and of understanding it is the main
 101 of the intermediate strategy of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, tr
 102 emphasizes a certain aspect of the Truth and even typifies that aspect spec
 103 only interested in the pursuit of the truth and we look forward to seeing the
 104 which does, however, grind out the truth, and haute cuisine and high fashion
 105 a long haul before I found out the truth, and by the time I did, it was a
 106 who had obviously sniffed out the truth, and she may have panicked at her
 107 there are layers and layers over the truth and huge mechanisms around it. It
 108 months before making it public. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, set
 109 000 savings vanished he realised the truth and confiscated her cheque book and
 110 Tanya is stunned. Imogen realises the truth and throws her out, saying there
 111 Why do you refuse to recognize the truth and believe in the Son of God? it c
 112 about making it. I never regret the truth and I would do the same again. <p>
 113 photocopied the Reettiger report (the truth and reconciliation report drawn up
 114 and go to him and speak up. Say the truth and hope he'll understand. <p>
 115 Talkin' Junk Trackton folks see the truth and the facts in stories in ways
 116 who ultimately come to see the truth. And they pair off one with another
 117 in the introduction. 'I can see the truth and simplicity in the portraits of
 118 ton tells the truth, and sometimes the truth is 18 <p> Jesus said: I am the wa
 119 trust their government to speak the truth (and not only the Government, but

I think Draskovic is speaking the truth and most people agree with what he' with Sergio. I simply spoke the truth and if Marco has a problem with me it would have taken me to spot the truth. And this of course suggests a and b: Immediately tell the spouse the truth and begin a torrid affair with him/ a divine commission to spread the truth and as a result we have a lot of fo s catchphrases ('I'm only stating the truth') and the achingly dull dinner- for 156 years. Our motto is still the truth. And we will carry on telling it. has launched a court bid to stop the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on t did know, he has failed to tell the truth, and if he did not know, then if Lo us for two years, but if we tell the truth and do not try to gild the lily -- here's how it is. I always tell the truth and I promise you this: I ain't m country man. And he said, Tell the truth," and I've tried to do that in many, many chances to tell the truth and to avoid destroying himself. h officer can swear to tell the truth and then lie for political colleagues are frightened to tell the truth and say how appallingly they've been write about it, you should tell the truth-and the whole truth. Bishop Wright cursed with this capacity to tell the truth. And, as we all know about people blamed, where it's safe to tell the truth and not have to lie, and it's a h had a duty to the public to tell the truth and act in the interests of the me. And I'd rather have you tell the truth and stay." <p> It was my particular use their wealth/power to tell the truth and challenge the origins of this politicians. We need to tell the truth and to be seen to be telling the th that forced villains to tell the truth. And aren't comic strips where the ground of er well you must tell the truth. And I think with Chris w+ that's how important it is to tell the truth and then ask you to tell the a they're willing to do it, is tell the truth, and make it interesting and sugge need do. Your robot would tell the truth and bear you out. If, however, you short-term interests and tell the truth; and on whether the voters, for They think that if they tell the truth and they come out that they're th to spar over who was telling the truth - and who smeared whom. For many Harry Truman. 'I'm just telling the truth and he thinks it's hell." The w could not believe she was telling the truth and sent her to Third Army which are convinced he is telling the truth, and I don't know how to convince the power that comes from telling the truth and facing reality. Pouring they that Mr Abdullah is telling the truth and that Indonesian army units are not concealing, just telling the truth, and trusting her, again, to its e who was also murdered for telling the truth and siding with the little people. you don't know when he's telling the truth and then probably after I have happened. He or she is telling the truth, and the idea of truth-telling is I believe the girl was telling the truth and that there was no logical is suggests they may not be telling the truth and make more in-depth checks." <p> politicians, who are not telling the truth, and the Aborigines, who seem to be Added another: "Clayton tells the truth, and sometimes the truth is 18 <p given situation if a person tells the truth. And I think half-truths are worse speaks up at meetings and tells the truth, and the politicians know him. <p> the World Service, to tell them the truth. And it offers only news, whereas h and they come out that they're the truth you've got to tell me the truth. An His other work. In ancient times The Truth and The Light was still doing stuff tender now and sweet, resigned to the truth and its consequences. It took me British government to face up to the truth, and public opinion swung behind </h> <h> He cottoned on to the truth and it made him a millionaire! </h> In 1997 Mr De Klerk insisted to the truth and reconciliation commission that the confessional candour shown to the truth and reconciliation commission, the is usually the quickest way to the truth. And that is Dallaglio told the in Scotland if only we face up to the truth and stop pretending that Scotland lawyers who struggle to get to the truth and clear the innocent. According had an open face, and she told the truth, and she was keen. He thought she GM Foods </hl> <subh> How I told the truth and was sacked </subh> <bl> Byi hear these speakers: yours truly (The Truth and Meaning of Human Sexuality), On the other hand, lust twists the truth and delights in whitewashing evil Christianity, which depends upon the truth and authenticity of Jesus' why we n last election is please tell us the truth. And that's exactly what I intend I the light of what he thought was the truth, and this is what he represented in him a liar but he said it was the truth and that all he wanted to do was fo in people's lives; where was the truth? And he finds a truth, a kind of he said softly. It was the truth and the gift was offered like a T 18 <p> Jesus said: I am the way the truth and the life. - John 14: 6 <p> Some and Nancy Telfer's I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. CBC commissioned for Christ says: 'I am the way, the truth, and the life"; he does not say, 'I knew she had seen the way, the truth and the light back in 1974 in a Jesus" words # I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life" and 'No one comes to of Jesus' words: 'I am the way, the truth and the life; no man cometh unto of his 'Third Way # I am the way, the truth and the light # Two thousand people understood that this is the way, the truth and the life ... And the prospect proclaimed himself as the Way, the Truth and the Life (John 14), it seemed Jesus said he was the way, the truth and the light, which was fairly th was uproar in South Africa when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission found

197 later she'll come to terms with the truth. And when she does, I'll be need
 198 act strictly in accordance with the truth and the law," said Carlos Rojas, No
 199 religious preoccupation with the truth and the more cynical instincts of
 200 when to be economical with the truth - and when to be brutally frank -
 201 daughter, they are all left with the truth, and that's all anyone wants." now
 202 Jeff Davis's gold. Out with the truth and you shall have this.` He drew t
 203 unchristian as well. But with the truth. And if we do believe in the truth,
 204 Well, you're `economical with the truth" and only lie about small things. w
 205 he should be confronted with the truth and it is the responsibility of the
 206 it can coexist with living within the truth, and therefore everyone who steps t
 207 is, they're generally telling you the truth. And then when you ask them the key
 208 say to him when he's telling you the truth and you don't like it." Her eyes

APPENDIX B

MicroConcord search SW: truth and

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW shifted 4 characters.

1 I must. Give me a clear vision for truth and a faithful heart for love.be
 2 believed in magic and he fought for truth and, above all, he believed with
 3 But two punters finally realised the truth and alerted hotel staff. <hl> Jas o
 4 But they're the ones closest to the truth and among them is the person. <p>
 5 and women with a profound concern for truth and an absolute conviction of their
 6 may then expostulate with absolute truth and appropriate chilliness, based
 7 to do it. Twelve years ago I told the truth and Archer just smirked. I walked
 8 nothing could be further from the truth and asks: Why won't people believe
 9 scything down its proud boasts about truth and beauty. The aesthetic of c
 10 his quest from mythical homelands of truth and beauty. We experience his blunt
 11 of The French Mathematician says, `Truth and beauty: in the end they are all
 12 b: Immediately tell the spouse the truth and begin a torrid affair with him/
 13 decrees can no more measure God's truth and bind consciences than mere
 14 would not be enough to establish the truth and called for an independent on.
 15 foolishness, but they also speak of truth and can represent it. They know how
 16 limited to `diffusion of the truth and certainly not of error". which
 17 is shackled who has some regard for truth and civility. When we talked about
 18 loved. She eventually faced up to the truth and confided in her mother. to do i
 19 out, aims to peel back the layers of half-truth and confusion that surround HR
 20 it. <hl> Leading Article </hl> <subh> Truth and consequences </subh> <date> th
 21 want you to continue to tell the truth and continue to sound the toxin
 22 certain broadcasters with respect to truth and decency. <p> Tell, William mo
 23 s voices are highly indicative of truth and deception. <p> It will enable
 24 her defense. Even if he's telling the truth and did not stab her himself, he is
 25 TO FOLLOW, the collisions with truth and disaster, I want to dive, to
 26 combat against all that negated the Truth and disrupted harmony. Externally
 27 say, there's a fine line be tween truth and downright lies. The Last Time I
 28 us in one typical passage, `since truth and error exist simultaneously, Th
 29 attempts by the patient to avoid the truth and evade change. In feminist deta
 30 phone that filters out the truth and even the tennis court has
 31 they may be edited. This is the truth and everyone should accept it. We i
 32 to all who seek standards of truth and excellence for their children.
 33 to teach their children lies. <p> Truth and Expertise <p> Objections to the
 34 a ritual. We juggle blends of truth and falsehood as potentially domest
 35 child, blurring the line between truth and fancy and spinning all wh
 36 domesticity and violence, are part of Truth and Fantasy, an exhibition at the
 37 or understand the difference between truth and fantasy. <p> Between 4 and 7,
 38 States. <p> The problem with merging truth and fiction is a constant for a
 39 no sooner has she faced up to the truth and forgiven and forgotten, than
 40 Malcolm never did, that Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass never did.
 41 they did not want suppression of truth and freedom. <h> BIRCHALL FCO CALLS
 42 still has his passionate regard for truth and good manners, now in a ruder im
 43 what I mean by God. For me God means Truth and Goodness and Beauty. This is
 44 is free from all evil, and loves all truth and goodness. He values purity and
 45 a thought struck him. If he told the truth and Graham was suspended after the
 46 pledged his allegiance to the `inner truth and greatness" of the Nazi regime,
 47 for that matter, as a valid source of truth and guidance. Our practice of who i
 48 told the BBC that Iraq had told the truth and had given a full list of its
 49 <p> Spence, D. P. (1982). Narrative truth and historical truth: Meaning and
 50 doesn't know how to lie. She found truth and honesty in this guru. She hasn'
 51 year-old son. I totally agree that truth and honesty are a small price to B
 52 important to preserve, above dignity, truth and honour, and who is to say she
 53 here's how it is. I always tell the truth and I promise you this: I ain't
 54 I followed the money. <p> It is the truth and I'm not ashamed of it because s
 55 re's telling the truth and telling the truth and if I do say, there's a fine

56 make them one in their search for the truth and in their expression of justice.
 57 tender now and sweet, resigned to the truth and its consequences. It took me i
 58 a John Bunyan figure, a champion for truth and justice and a woman who puts
 59 approach is possible. I believe that truth and justice will prevail and with
 60 said Mrs Nelson was a beacon for truth and justice and added: "There is a
 61 and non-historical values such as Truth and Justice." Those who wanted the
 62 based on your fundamental belief in truth and justice." All the letters,
 63 the scene, destroys the illusion of truth and leaves you nowhere to go. <p>
 64 English trans. in R. Aron, History, Truth and Liberty, ed. F. Draws, Chicago,
 65 re so thick they'll never notice. Truth and lies are melded into one in a
 66 to say. If I continue to speak the truth and live it by example, my patients
 67 a fellow traveller. But "Language, Truth and Logic" is established as a
 68 Wait for it # Island Records) <p> TRUTH AND LOVE by Hue And Cry their But
 69 For both Freud and Foucault the truth and meaning of Western civilization
 70 the Holocaust: the growing assault on truth and memory that he is a "Hitler
 71 the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory. The book grew from her
 72 Peregrine, 1987). 8 See, for example, Truth and Method [2nd edn 1965 # London:
 73 particular should be vigilant for the truth and not distort it for a sexy tr
 74 even harder on us in telling us the truth and not making decisions which are,
 75 who is prepared to tell you the whole truth and nothing but. We cannot expect
 76 anything but the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Lawyers
 77 Critical Notice <p> CRISPIN WRIGHT, Truth and Objectivity. Cambridge, MA and
 78 to engage, he conjures up moments of truth and of trust. He must scare them to
 79 is only one primacy, that of revealed truth and of faith, to which bothcomba
 80 place we had to reestablish factual truth and our family's historical to s
 81 Notes </hl> <subh> Language, truth and positivism </subh> <bl> By BEN
 82 the goal of trials is to find the truth and punish the guilty. New York's t
 83 upstarts like Fishbone, Naked Truth and Rage Against The Machine. Their
 84 method of appraisal. <p> III Truth and reality <p> In contrast to c
 85 which "cannot withstand the light of truth and reason" (Preface, 492). The u
 86 before 1994. He was accused by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of
 87 children proliferated. After the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in
 88 a duty to fully cooperate with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. She
 89 his own reluctant admission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission set
 90 her having been denounced by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, led
 91 on." <p> He has also written to the truth and reconciliation commission in
 92 song. But when she summons up the truth and reconciliation hearings, you i
 93 later, Ms Mpahlwa wept before the truth and reconciliation commission (TRC)
 94 Remember this guy?: In October the Truth and Reconciliation committee bef
 95 Number of Chileans who the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission - it.
 96 impressed by the way he headed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in
 97 balanced by a reconstruction from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Gala
 98 the fall-out of last week's divisive Truth and Reconciliation Commission abu
 99 of amnesties by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Ch
 100 <subh> Does Northern Ireland need a Truth and Reconciliation commission? But
 101 of case studies from South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission balan
 102 Town said it would be good to see the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's be
 103 may be just as significant as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. 433
 104 abuses. He said Chile already has a truth and reconciliation commission make
 105 bringing together the two notions of truth and reconciliation. But John has w
 106 as possessing a sustained form of truth and reliability. The problem of
 107 to the real - questions about truth and representation and the use of
 108 and rules inhibit the quest for the truth and result in the innocent being
 109 by a friend. Do you tell the truth and risk causing terrible offence?
 110 lying? What if a girlfriend told the truth and said she was exhausted and wasn
 111 seekers, why don't they just tell the truth and say they are building more
 112 very difficult to distinguish between truth and self perception, because we are
 113 Sex/Life, Playboy's Really Naked Truth and sex programmes on commercial FM
 114 that Lucy was ignorant of the truth and she boldly proclaimed it. I was
 115 we were all determined to tell the truth and so felt we had nothing to worry
 116 of belief that you only have one truth and somebody got to <p> represent w
 117 They were to go out and re-find this truth and someday return and remember who
 118 a young adult Luther was dedicated to truth and spoke out against injustice and
 119 the stage with Caesar and the Dreaded Truth and Statuemen. Tickets are \$12 in
 120 Of course, there's telling the truth and telling the truth and if I do
 121 in the Old Testament is the literal truth and that there's no getting around
 122 has told the complete and absolute truth and that Professor Hill, as a
 123 of what they believe is both the truth and the answer to life. Or death.
 124 our actions are focused upon the truth and the things that ultimately o
 125 one always lies, one always tells the truth and the other alternates. What is
 126 unity of mankind, of the search for truth and the rejection of prejudice, had
 127 X-Files and Tea Leoni of The Naked Truth and the film Deep Impact have hi
 128 the fridge door: "I am the way, the truth and the life." Even when he lay Dan
 129 concerned only with "objective" <p> truth and the real world. Such thinking
 130 Revolutions I by R. Barr: Know ye the truth and the truth shall make you nuts.
 131 our country with the simple sword of truth and the trusty shield of wide acces
 132 me. If you start eroding away at the truth and the facts where do you stop. ve

133 And he wants to tell the truth and the town elders ostracize him.
 134 have been guilty. Nevertheless, the truth and the shame remain: Sacco and
 135 truth". Spot on, Emma: but there's truth and there's truth. The truth to
 136 counselled to search for objective truth and to envisage an ecological A
 137 is to the pursuit of an open truth and to an underlying sea of head. I
 138 was gay and in fact chose to tell the truth and to honor my identity and to
 139 Occasionally, I longed to tell the truth and to be accepted and liked for
 140 gland. This ray brings a longing for truth and to unravel the unknown. <p>
 141 story. <p> CANCER 21 JUNE - 22 JULY Truth and trust are high on your list of
 142 Our programmes were full of a lot of truth and undermining lies. It was a Bri
 143 to live up to her exalted standard of truth and uprightness." Though some Pereg
 144 frames should meet the criteria of truth and utility, but disagree about h
 145 But we don't con anybody, we tell the truth and we don't accept brown Number
 146 not see the difference between the truth and what he said but that he chose
 147 who have chosen not to tell the truth and who know that they are not
 148 the most scrupulous attention to the truth and without pressure from anyone
 149 you have to have an actual factual truth and <ZGY> in a production even if

APPENDIX C

MicroConcord search SW: and reconciliation

80 characters per entry Sort : 1L/SW shifted -1 characters.

1 social activism and reconciliation. Smallwood has tapped her wide-
 2 Multicultural Affairs and Reconciliation Philip Ruddock. FOR local sin,
 3 achieved through agreement and reconciliation and founded on the principle of
 4 Australians for Anti-Racism and Reconciliation and have arranged Queensland's
 5 couple. As the break-up and reconciliation following the Sharon and Phil
 6 leaders have called for calm and reconciliation. Security forces patrolled past
 7 child, facilitating closure and reconciliation before death. <p> If this is
 8 atmosphere of co-operation and reconciliation, according to the conference
 9 atmosphere of co-operation and reconciliation. The BBC West Africa Co
 10 and Arabs for co-existence and reconciliation--has to be responded to in Wes
 11 hoping to find coexistence and reconciliation in the new political climate.
 12 Colm, For serv the commty and Reconciliation. Chaloner, Mrs Janet, Valuation
 13 for a building of confidence and reconciliation in the field and after that, as
 14 a new mood of consensus and reconciliation. Racial politics, we imagin
 15 issued calls for consensus and reconciliation. Whoever wins will have an
 16 when I could find continuity and reconciliation between my past and future? For
 17 he'd be discussing Cyprus and reconciliation between Greece and Turkey which
 18 a framework of democracy and reconciliation. <h> NEW YORK RICHARD QUEST a
 19 for a peaceful dialogue and reconciliation, in the spirit of the noble Al
 20 this process of dialogue and reconciliation," Mr Lord said. He told an
 21 achieved through dialogue and reconciliation." A ±100,000 reward was offered
 22 sin, conversion, forgiveness and reconciliation ... demands personal confession
 23 s service of forgiveness and reconciliation is the brainchild of former
 24 the case for forgiveness and reconciliation <h> Special Report on at
 25 turns into forgiveness and reconciliation -- in Greenaway's view, because
 26 lives, seeking forgiveness and reconciliation, seeking, in a sense, the t
 27 reporting: <p> Forgiveness and reconciliation--that's the theme President sp
 28 the TRC is that forgiveness and reconciliation must be linked with matters
 29 matters. For forgiveness and reconciliation, there must be some admission
 30 sin, conversion, forgiveness and reconciliation demands the personal confession
 31 shame and blame. Forgiveness and reconciliation form the heartbeat of the peopl
 32 Secondly, forgiveness and reconciliation, being central to the Gospel, s
 33 God and our own forgiveness and reconciliation are vital, but just a start.
 34 justice, shalom, forgiveness and reconciliation. <p> Smith, a member of Ottawa'
 35 the country. If forgiveness and reconciliation seemed to come naturally to
 36 the process of healing and reconciliation in Northern Ireland, including
 37 EP; 6.30 Service of healing and reconciliation. PORTSMOUTH CATHEDRAL: 8 HC; 10
 38 a new dawn" of healing and reconciliation to Israel's divided society. A
 39 tell their story of healing and reconciliation. Corrymeela and the many other
 40 there the love, healing, and reconciliation he had preached for years but
 41 development, heritage and reconciliation. And the gift shop contains
 42 But in a week when homage and reconciliation have been the prevailing note,
 43 Mr Hinton said humanitarian and reconciliation work should now be given Manue
 44 affair to talk about hurt and reconciliation in a personal context. `I took
 45 Letter: Courage, imagination and reconciliation for VJ Day </h> By TOM EGAN
 46 to encourage the integration and reconciliation of both forces in American
 47 for peace and justice and reconciliation." It wasn't to be. Firstly,
 48 most circumstances, justice and reconciliation are in the end the most pros
 49 prayers for `peace, justice and reconciliation" in London and Canterbury pra
 50 prayers for peace, justice and reconciliation, while Muslim leaders issued a
 51 Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation (1870-74), Instruction in the
 52 girls being boys, true love and reconciliation). One minute Mark Rylance is an

last month was one of love and reconciliation. `This death penalty thing is a
 alternative. The mediation and reconciliation process through the The plan c
 <p> The Federal Mediation and Reconciliation Service will step in to mediate
 argues that negotiation and reconciliation is the only way to protect
 accord of non-aggression and reconciliation. But the sensitive and <p> T
 agreement on non-aggression and reconciliation. That accord was drawn up a
 of the tide of openness and reconciliation which had torn away the Iron
 of pounds from an EU `peace and reconciliation fund" and from a training and
 spoke of the need for peace and reconciliation and asked the two men to as a
 instrument for peace and reconciliation," and `Coca-Cola and mcdonald's
 as a vivid symbol of peace and reconciliation across ethnic and cultural- was
 coming together in peace and reconciliation, all over El Salvador. <p> li
 guided by a spirit of peace and reconciliation. Without forgetting the past, I
 only then will we have peace and reconciliation." <p> Mr O'Driscoll, admitted i
 is through the path of peace and reconciliation. We hope he will also realise
 Glencree Centre for Peace and Reconciliation, the Co-operation North non- vo
 People's Centre for Peace and Reconciliation is to be opened. Meanwhile I
 the movement towards peace and reconciliation." And he claimed there had been
 from noon, seeking peace and reconciliation. Many are already rebuilding
 In the present era of peace and reconciliation, we should make a gesture and
 West, who tend to mix peace and reconciliation and brotherhood and warmth and
 at a day of prayer for peace and reconciliation, a ceremonial show of unity ap
 only one route to peace and reconciliation in South Africa and that was at
 outcome to the Dare II peace and reconciliation talks being held in Jakarta
 said he would work for peace and reconciliation. He also called for an end to
 and prayed for peace and reconciliation. More recently, she visited
 to send a message of peace and reconciliation to the world because of Germany
 Manuel Camacho Solis, Peace and Reconciliation Commissioner appointed by
 I'm not into peace and reconciliation. It's not about people kissing
 yesterday to plead for peace and reconciliation. <p> Rodney King (Alleged rep
 Alatas to establish a peace and reconciliation commission for East Timor but
 for some programmes on Peace and Reconciliation for Thames Television. I had wh
 <h> Ethiopian peace and reconciliation conference called for this for
 people, as a column of peace and reconciliation in your land, and a consolation
 in Kosovo personified peace and reconciliation through dialogue, it was Fehmi
 be the celebration of Peace and Reconciliation, marked in London by a service
 It is time for peace and reconciliation." These were the words to the
 and of the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation, the assembly set up by Albert
 of establishing a peace and reconciliation commission, like the South
 at the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation in Dublin, Mr Major said: `If
 to support the peace and reconciliation process in Guatemala." The
 the Verona Forum for peace and reconciliation in former Yugoslavia. Nobody
 conference on peace and reconciliation held in Belfast last week. Not
 told the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation in Dublin: `I believe firmly Le
 in the sport". With peace and reconciliation now on the agenda, mcguigan
 in the promotion of peace and reconciliation with Japan. This provoked to
 of forgiveness, peace and reconciliation. He praised a secret network of
 Jesus Christ is peace and reconciliation; He is the link that makes both
 a dedicated worker for peace and reconciliation. At this point in the story the
 August 2001 </dt> <p> PEACE and reconciliation groups in Northern Ireland say
 nuclear problem and peace and reconciliation on the Korean Peninsula;
 the momentum for peace and reconciliation and to help overcome the a
 be a lively debate on race and reconciliation issues. The Murri Venue will
 is proof against all reason and reconciliation. <p> Where Mr Hague failed, why
 necessitating rebirth and reconciliation to God (John 3:3; 8:42; 14:6).
 toward reconstruction and reconciliation activities in Bosnia. <p> As a
 about an era of redemption and reconciliation. Under God's domination, it was
 it's time for reflection and reconciliation among people, we ... ought to
 road to his rehabilitation, and reconciliation with the club's management, <
 a service of remembrance and reconciliation in the new cathedral this
 was a weekend of remembrance and reconciliation. But the Daily Mail, seizing an
 and Mabo and the republic and reconciliation ... all the Keating favourites.
 Conflict resolution and reconciliation took on a central importance.
 was entitled Reason, Respect and Reconciliation in New York City, and today <p>
 is a time for restraint and reconciliation, though I would be more prayer
 Commission for Human Rights and Reconciliation (Comision Cubana de Derechos
 endurance, self-discovery and reconciliation. That does not come cheap,
 vote Yes to peace, stability and reconciliation and a decisive No to violence
 Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation, South Brisbane. THANKS to Tony
 Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation and become an ANTAR volunteer;
 achievement of tolerance and reconciliation. This belief in the possibility
 of partnership, trust and reconciliation. No one was defeated These are
 the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation. They will be bringing out an
 told South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Committee of the `immeasurable
 she summons up the truth and reconciliation hearings, you have to girls be
 not amongst them." Truth and Reconciliation Commission chief investigator
 even of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. There is scant of

130 from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Gala coordinator
 131 South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission has made findings ac
 132 accused South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission of 'besmirching' the
 133 South African-style truth and reconciliation commission. <p> The act will be
 134 the historical truth and reconciliation. Elliott may reflect the true
 135 final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Cape Town High
 136 work of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. <p> It follows four
 137 Biko in 1977. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's amnesty committee
 138 of South Africa's truth and reconciliation commission is being called for
 139 educating for justice, truth and reconciliation. It has vowed to seek its su
 140 its success. If the Truth and Reconciliation Commission were to make a real
 141 government created a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to expose apartheid'
 142 evidence before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which is of rese
 143 Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, the new SA's attempt to come
 144 of no such clarity. A Truth and Reconciliation Commission seemed a masterly e
 145 the 17 members of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, whose job over the
 146 through the new Truth and Reconciliation Commission. But this argument
 147 by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission and could face
 148 with proposals for a 'truth and reconciliation' commission. The threat is
 149 guy?: In October the Truth and Reconciliation committee accused FW de Klerk
 150 be over and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work done, but in
 151 held by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, when he opposed an
 152 process begun by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, former security
 153 Desmond Tutu's Truth and Reconciliation Commission yesterday, amid
 154 to the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee, prepared after guy
 155 came from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which concluded that
 156 of research at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The man at
 157 Her concept of 'truth and reconciliation' and naming the guilty' does
 158 who the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission - which did not mak
 159 making it public. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, set up as part of
 160 of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission suggest that the gu
 161 before the proposed 'truth and reconciliation commission' has drawn sharp wi
 162 however, was that truth and reconciliation are as hard to find in the new
 163 end yesterday. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission turned its attention
 164 </date> ALTHOUGH THE Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work and its
 165 DESMOND TUTU, TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSIONER. 'Let us all hold
 166 to appear before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, for instance).
 167 in his foreword to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report. Deputy Bu
 168 Commission for Truth and Reconciliation. Their mandate was to come up
 169 model South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Mr Hun Sen's He app
 170 He appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission last July to testify
 171 prospect of finding truth and reconciliation still seems impossibly distant.
 172 strategy of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which he chaired m
 173 The plan called for a truth and reconciliation commission, free access to the
 174 attends South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Occasionally self-
 175 A commission for truth and reconciliation has been set up to investigate
 176 Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, which is investigating human
 177 to light by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but the small outco
 178 been refused by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, on the ground that
 179 to a report by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The report claims
 180 Diplomats said a 'truth and reconciliation commission' provided for in the
 181 Reettiger report (the truth and reconciliation report drawn up at the end of
 182 committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that he agreed to
 183 the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee report last year, Kl
 184 Klerk insisted to the truth and reconciliation commission that the state
 185 wept before the truth and reconciliation commission TRC) as she recalled
 186 think in the spirit of truth and reconciliation. The suggestion that the apart
 187 apartheid regime; the Truth and Reconciliation Committee was a waste of time
 188 by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in return for attend
 189 telling ends: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission finishes most of its
 190 the role of a new 'truth and reconciliation commission'. As the tellin
 191 to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Story I'm About
 192 by a commission for truth and reconciliation' made up of seven lawyers from
 193 the setting up of a 'truth and reconciliation committee' to ensure the bank
 194 has to be understanding and reconciliation, but also justice -- criminals
 195 tide of real understanding and reconciliation. In a word, we must not simply
 196 and the Trade Union and Reconciliation choirs. Rotunda, midday to 2. o
 197 appealed for national unity and reconciliation to overcome the country's Comm
 198 was peace, unity and reconciliation. President Chissano of a se
 199 people and to bring unity and reconciliation. We will have looked a beast in
 200 Iraq was still very wide, and reconciliation was not at hand. President

APPENDIX D

MicroConcord search SW: reconciliation

80 characters per entry Sort : 2R/SW unshifted.

1 the findings of his Truth & Reconciliation Commission's 2,000-page report,
2 as significant as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. 433 <p> Tony offici
3 for the crime said the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. A new rebel of genoc
4 Biko in 1977. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's amnesty committee
5 There has been no Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and hardly any
6 played out before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and in the media. He
7 by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission and could face w
8 final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, apparently stung by
9 the role of a new `truth and reconciliation commission". As the telling
10 of the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission because of its to be
11 from the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission because he did not
12 to testify before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. BEIJING: China
13 revealed before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but certainly those
14 through the new Truth and Reconciliation Commission. But this argument
15 to light by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but the small of
16 to light by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but the small D
17 by the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, chaired by the
18 Mandela established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, chaired by its su
19 not amongst them." Truth and Reconciliation Commission chief investigator
20 partly thanks to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission created by the o
21 the government-backed National reconciliation Commission (CRN), created as
22 of the media to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's examination of the
23 like South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, examining the rev
24 telling ends: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission finishes most of its
25 by Bonn being in a Czech-German reconciliation commission, following the 1997
26 to appear before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, for instance). of
27 Alatas to establish a peace and reconciliation commission for East Timor but
28 man who applied to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for amnesty for the
29 process begun by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, former security bee
30 South Africa when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission found that apartheid
31 The plan called for a truth and reconciliation commission, free access to the
32 from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Gala coordinator tha
33 of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, handed his five- in
34 untruths, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hardly bothered to
35 the country where the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has held more than 3,
36 before the proposed `truth and reconciliation commission" has drawn sharp wit
37 Desmond Tutu's Truth and Reconciliation Commission has appeared is
38 If nothing else, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has made it by S
39 words into effect, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, has finished its att
40 era leaders until the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has been established
41 South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission has made findings by
42 Mandela at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. He told the TRC
43 by the members of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission he appointed nine
44 where she saw the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in action, has a the
45 After the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa,
46 to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission in December, that he
47 by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in return for words i
48 also written to the truth and reconciliation commission in South Africa to ev
49 the way he headed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. The
50 of his country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In Night Waves (
51 final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission investigating making
52 In South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is a compromise with
53 of South Africa's truth and reconciliation commission is being called for
54 official tasks of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is to hear the main c
55 </date> SOUTH AFRICA'S Truth and Reconciliation Commission is finally reaching
56 to light by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission; it took a court on
57 the church's Justice, Peace and Reconciliation Commission (JPC) says that
58 of the report of the truth and reconciliation commission last December, which
59 He appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission last July to testify
60 been denounced by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, led by Bishop
61 of establishing a peace and reconciliation commission, like the South
62 of establishing a peace and reconciliation commission, like the South
63 aware of killings. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission listed more than 20
64 Chile already has a truth and reconciliation commission looking at these Sou
65 to accept him), I convened a reconciliation commission. Many candidates
66 The South African truth and reconciliation commission may reopen hearings
67 model South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Mr Hun Sen's what
68 attends South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Occasionally self- f
69 book on South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, of a woman who gave
70 accused South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission of `besmirching" the
71 He was accused by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of `gross violations

72 been refused by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, on the ground that H
 73 almost need a sort of Truth and Reconciliation Commission, or a BSE inquiry
 74 work of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. <p> It follows four
 75 South African-style truth and reconciliation commission. <p> The act will be
 76 South African-style truth and reconciliation commission. <p> The act will be
 77 achieved with its Truth and Reconciliation Commission. <p> The tragedy of
 78 his allegations to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. <pg> 016 </pg> <hl>
 79 Diplomats said a 'truth and reconciliation commission' provided for in the
 80 court bid to stop the Truth and Reconciliation Commission publishing a damning
 81 publication of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report from South
 82 be good to see the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report (on the to
 83 yesterday after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report on the over th
 84 last week's divisive Truth and Reconciliation Commission report, on the
 85 in his foreword to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report. Deputy last
 86 appearances at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission revealed he also l
 87 of no such clarity. A Truth and Reconciliation Commission seemed a masterly en
 88 main concern about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission seemed to be with awa
 89 making it public. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, set up as part of
 90 admission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission set up to expose and
 91 cooperate with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. She says it's ma
 92 of genocide to face a 'truth and reconciliation commission' similar to South m
 93 Ireland need a Truth and Reconciliation commission? </subh> <bl> By
 94 for failing to obey a truth and reconciliation commission subpoena to testify
 95 of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission suggest that the
 96 economy. On the whole, the reconciliation commission supported execution
 97 committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that he agreed to
 98 Klerk insisted to the truth and reconciliation commission that the state his
 99 to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Story I'm About
 100 that is South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The film charts the
 101 make up Guatemala's national reconciliation commission. The talks are due t
 102 that is South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The film charts the
 103 final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Cape Town High
 104 candour shown to the truth and reconciliation commission, the higher the t
 105 the work of the truth and reconciliation commission. The rebuff against
 106 criticised, with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The process of self-
 107 to a report by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The report claims a
 108 the government-backed National Reconciliation Commission. The talks have been
 109 with proposals for a 'truth and reconciliation' commission. The threat is the
 110 even of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. There is scant
 111 government created a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to expose apartheid'
 112 by the Congress) and formed a reconciliation commission to bring parliament
 113 the recently completed Truth and Reconciliation Commission to come to terms go
 114 over the report of his Truth and Reconciliation Commission to President Nelson
 115 his testimony to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the state
 116 by her followers. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission TRC) reportedly cour
 117 Mbeki. Last year, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) heard that Dr
 118 to prevent the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) implicating
 119 of research at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The man at I
 120 wept before the truth and reconciliation commission TRC) as she recalled
 121 end yesterday. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission turned its attention
 122 from South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission unfolds with more wor
 123 coming from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission until we get the
 124 what South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission was all about. It He
 125 execution by firing squad. The reconciliation commission was already an by
 126 South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission was the (criticise
 127 its success. If the Truth and Reconciliation Commission were to make a real
 128 held by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, when he opposed an m
 129 He was chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which re-lived the
 130 to be discussed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which parliament is
 131 who the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission - which did not fi
 132 threatened to withdraw from the reconciliation commission which had its first
 133 came from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which concluded that
 134 evidence before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which is Irel
 135 final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was due for
 136 free from jail. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which is </date> SOU
 137 strategy of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which he chaired
 138 the 17 members of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, whose job over the
 139 </date> ALTHOUGH THE Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work and its ap
 140 be over and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work done, but in b
 141 writing about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, www. truth. org. za
 142 Desmond Tutu's Truth and Reconciliation Commission yesterday, amid

APPENDIX E

MicroConcord search SW: reconciliation and

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW shifted 3 characters.

1 term. In his push for national reconciliation and a power base of his own, Mr
2 vote Yes to peace, stability and reconciliation and a decisive No to violence
3 party committed to racial reconciliation and a mixed economy. Chief o
4 with a homily on the need for reconciliation and a warning that `the masses
5 understanding of the need for reconciliation and a new focus for national
6 promote the umma, advocating the reconciliation and acceptance of various
7 to fostering co-operation, reconciliation and agreement in Ireland at all
8 Council, Australians" for Reconciliation and all other parties involved
9 of mateship and Aboriginal reconciliation and also allowed him to respond
10 to achieve? Is there a way of reconciliation and an end to all this? resol
11 spoke of the need for peace and reconciliation and asked the two men to
12 Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation and become an ANTAR volunteer;
13 both sides supporting national reconciliation and both agreeing on the need
14 leaders for the purpose of reconciliation and broadening the space for pu
15 West, who tend to mix peace and reconciliation and brotherhood and warmth and
16 s prime minister, `the tide of reconciliation and co-operation flowing just
17 week in relation to an apology, reconciliation and compensation -- as appropri
18 Yon Hyong-Muk, called for reconciliation and compromise and said he Nor
19 that those who want to prevent reconciliation and compromise have plenty of
20 situations. We have learned that reconciliation and conflict- resolution are key
21 century held such promise of reconciliation and cooperation. But whilst i
22 the present-day context of reconciliation and detente. Since 1947, India
23 might at least prompt national reconciliation and deter future abuses. Yet in
24 John M. Perkins Foundation for Reconciliation and Development; Dr. Luther a
25 to assist the region's political reconciliation and economic reconstruction.
26 began drafting an agreement on reconciliation and exchanges. UN inspectors
27 Mr Smith said: `He wanted a reconciliation and expressed loving Some month
28 the twin responsibilities for reconciliation and for justice. The the proc
29 we have: to work together for reconciliation and for peace. <xr> 8043 </xr>
30 the church as a centre for reconciliation and for research into the role
31 he presents an eloquent case for reconciliation and for what he calls ` makin
32 the process of reconstruction. Reconciliation and forgiveness cannot be more
33 would be the ultimate symbol of reconciliation and forgiveness," said Peter pe
34 follow the biblical teachings of reconciliation and forgiveness. Pinky o
35 than he would lapse into talk of reconciliation and forgiveness. It was that po
36 ditches her obvious hopes of a reconciliation and gets the courts to the gl
37 I came to spread the message of reconciliation and goodwill." <p> LEBANESE
38 at war, had signed a treaty of reconciliation and had agreed to clear the s f
39 Balkan summit that democracy, reconciliation and hard work were the way s
40 anticipates a future of reconciliation and harmony with such clarity
41 appealed Sri Lankans to work for reconciliation and harmony. I encourage the
42 and Mr Mandelson had another reconciliation and have met several times this
43 Australians for Anti-Racism and Reconciliation and have arranged Queensland's
44 is really a prerequisite of reconciliation and he questions whether the
45 down to the beach to try for a reconciliation and he rejected you, so you ex
46 I hope this will be a time of reconciliation and healing." September 24: `I
47 the ultimate goals of justice, reconciliation and healing. <p> In the light
48 be a brief symbolic gesture of reconciliation and held out my arms to her. to
49 of the policy of national reconciliation and, hence, the settlement of
50 was due to his sense of peaceful reconciliation and his arduous struggle against
51 Mr Howard's ability to achieve reconciliation and his comments are certain to
52 God is the one source of lasting reconciliation and hope for the troubled denu
53 fulfil some deep-seated need for reconciliation and hope. At The Pit (071-638
54 political. I think it can help reconciliation and hopes and aspirations," he
55 s head, try these: Aboriginal reconciliation and human rights. His weapon of
56 hope we can bring about some reconciliation and I hope they won't go their

57 of disarmament and political reconciliation and I think the legacy of follo
 58 it was conditional on political reconciliation and improved security. Somali
 59 that point is a moment of loving reconciliation and incredible tenderness". <p>
 60 added: `Good Friday is all about reconciliation and it would seem that is the
 61 nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual pro
 62 activities in the spirit of reconciliation and justice, and to create the
 63 day of prayer for peace, reconciliation and justice. At Chester, co
 64 order to move to the process of reconciliation and justice. Then let's put
 65 s still a very long way to go in reconciliation and land rights. `But the elder
 66 elder David Smallwood warned the reconciliation and land rights movements had
 67 as this can be a month of loving reconciliation and laying plans for your was d
 68 and South that could lead to reconciliation and lead to precisely the type
 69 challenge now is to find reconciliation and meaning in these polarized
 70 says Mr Tambo placed emphasis on reconciliation and moderation. THE TIMES, de
 71 a political settlement, national reconciliation and multi-party elections.
 72 is progrees towards national reconciliation and multi-party elections, he s
 73 develop the site to encourage `reconciliation and mutual understanding on the
 74 of cooperation based on reconciliation and mutual trust to pave the
 75 together in the beginnings of reconciliation and mutual understanding. Adam
 76 the hungry followed by national reconciliation and national reconstruction. It
 77 say `Yes to peace, stability and reconciliation and No to violence, vote Yes to
 78 the two nations just signed a reconciliation and non-aggression pact. I spo
 79 North and South Korea signed a reconciliation and non-aggression agreement is
 80 people, will hopefully encourage reconciliation and not recrimination." <p>
 81 chapter in the process of reconciliation and of constitutional reform.
 82 The St Ethelburga Centre for Reconciliation and Peace is the subject of The
 83 to come to you in a spirit of reconciliation and peace and saying We want to
 84 making the proposed centre for reconciliation and peace the subject of your
 85 North or a joint declaration of reconciliation and peace as the South has to h
 86 with Project Children, promoting reconciliation and peace between Catholic and
 87 prayer -- a symbol of hope for reconciliation and peace in the new Catholic
 88 it expresses a feeling of reconciliation and peace that is a small
 89 which is to become a centre for reconciliation and peace. St Ethelburga's was
 90 for the St Ethelburga Centre for Reconciliation and Peace. The total raised for
 91 Awards was a major step toward reconciliation and perhaps a new album. soci
 92 is an overwhelming sense of reconciliation and plan relief. After all, it
 93 Albanians. Now they are making reconciliation and political accommodation a
 94 to succeed in bringing national reconciliation and prosperity to Nicaragua --
 95 in a dialogue that could lead to reconciliation and putting in place the type
 96 Nazism the mood has been one of reconciliation and reassurance about the work
 97 nightmare. He spoke of justice, reconciliation and rebirth: `Having won the t
 98 worked in concert with current reconciliation and reconstruction efforts in
 99 extension of the saving work of reconciliation and redemption to the souls in
 100 provide a real opportunity for reconciliation and relationship closure obst
 101 to assist in this process of reconciliation and remains in touch with all
 102 be, and this must be, a time of reconciliation and renewal for America," Mr po
 103 his twin aims of Aboriginal reconciliation and republican status, it would
 104 impossibility of an equitable reconciliation and resolution of the cultural
 105 conflict must be resolved by reconciliation and respect for human dignity,
 106 just peace, but also democracy, reconciliation and respect for human rights.
 107 Group now patrols, unarmed. Reconciliation and restoration are taking
 108 to help Lebanon achieve national reconciliation and restore stability. require
 109 obstacle to Shi # ah and Sunni reconciliation and reunification. In addition,
 110 formed Council for National Reconciliation and Salvation -- delivered the
 111 appropriate immigration policy, reconciliation and sensible conservation, but
 112 blow to his policy of national reconciliation and show the extent of hatred
 113 be a time for mature reflection, reconciliation and sober judgments. However
 114 for her work toward racial reconciliation and social justice. Menchu fled

115 taking a position on both reconciliation and sport, but in 1998, if you'
 116 public health system, Aboriginal reconciliation and sustained economic growth
 117 required in Romanian society is reconciliation and that without such will co-o
 118 insists there's no chance of a reconciliation and that Mark really is the add
 119 can provide a basis for reconciliation and the restoration of trust in
 120 Yeltsin's desire for political reconciliation and the delicate political
 121 young people for republicanism, reconciliation and the environment, and Bal
 122 need for an Australian identity, reconciliation and the importance of having
 123 towards peace and national reconciliation and the start to a direct the
 124 out the policy of national reconciliation and the international community
 125 climax with the lovers' reconciliation and the discovery of the son he
 126 of Goma's earlier call for reconciliation and the regime's closeness to
 127 as negotiation, mediation, reconciliation and thelike are to be found in
 128 here. Roger's talking about reconciliation and then sticking up two be, a
 129 and organise a dialogue for reconciliation and then you can conduct the s
 130 in the spirit of national reconciliation and therefore we want to leave
 131 case you will both need time for reconciliation and this may be impossible to
 132 Rafsanjani's muted overtures for reconciliation and tightens the screw on and
 133 of being an obstacle to national reconciliation and to good relations with Chad
 134 move is necessary for national reconciliation and to help the nation's Iraqi
 135 English as an opportunity for a reconciliation and to rejoice in the fact that
 136 the momentum for peace and reconciliation and to help overcome the rub
 137 century was clear. A policy of reconciliation and trust in imperial Germany
 138 representing 'a journey of reconciliation and trust," will visit the be a
 139 any aspect of the U.S. GAAP reconciliation and U.S. GAAP differences that
 140 Iraqi stance and by the need for reconciliation and understanding if the Arab
 141 resolution to bring about the 'reconciliation and understanding" between Eng
 142 resolution to bring about the 'reconciliation and understanding" between re
 143 in the healing process, in the reconciliation and unification of the country,
 144 Schutz began praying for reconciliation and unity with a small group of
 145 and without the national reconciliation and unity we cannot survive as
 146 He was conciliatory, called for reconciliation and unity, and promised to be
 147 the second world war, to foster reconciliation and unity. <h> Monarch gets his
 148 people, we ... ought to practise reconciliation and we ought to bring our Alb
 149 in our country ought to practise reconciliation and we ought to bring our
 150 for the idea of a day of reconciliation and when asked about it in than
 151 the central dramatic idea of reconciliation and wholeness. The musical with
 152 conversations about politics, reconciliation and Wik with my family and Aust
 153 is meant to bring about national reconciliation and, with the United Nations,
 154 will co-operate urgently to seek reconciliation and work together for of being

APPENDIX F

MicroConcord search SW: justice

80 characters per entry Sort : Lookup: truth+3justice

1 would rebel and fight for truth and justice till the end. 'I'll motives, ambi
 2 hen be at an end and that truth and justice would finally prevail. happen whic
 3 he is determined to seek truth and justice concerning human rights human rights
 4 est until 'the truth comes out" and justice is done. My still mourn our loved o
 5 iling to pursue objective truth and justice in the Dail and by and dought
 6 n equation that could pit truth and justice against social peace: side insists
 7 her and I acknowledge the truth and justice of all your words. I am than
 8 possible. I believe that truth and justice will prevail and with not the great
 9 at ponytailed defender of truth and justice but a lookalike. 'The a John Bunyan
 10 an figure, a champion for truth and justice and a woman who puts and violent d

11 t death feels closer than truth and justice in this New York police personality
 12 boy crusader for truth, freedom and justice he talks of in of the city to anot
 13 ideals, the steady tug of truth and justice give them but time, malign, fix
 14 oclaiming Right, Truth, Liberty and Justice <p> confident the reign of Chris
 15 and goodwill everywhere, truth and justice will triumph over lies the Muses, a
 16 s Nelson was a beacon for truth and justice and added: `There is a This is J
 17 issues of truth telling, equity and justice in a softy with a secret crus
 18 g he believed that indeed truth and justice had to be the basis for greater fo
 19 rce. I still believe that truth and justice will prevail, and when Stern's poems
 20 nt for myself, and I want truth and justice and peace and freedom method by whi
 21 hich the court arrived at truth and justice was adversarial: a their own pe
 22 olitical revolution--that truth and justice will prevail. In no way do not follo
 23 fectively for the sake of truth and justice and to inoculate breed insecurity,
 24 t that the `principles of truth and justice proclaimed by the and non-histor
 25 em that really represents truth and justice # R. Brown, Grange.
 26 s investigation will come truth and justice and that no family will not only `
 27 -class sleuth who pursued truth and justice across the airwaves out of this in
 28 en he meets the Loughgall Truth and Justice Campaign." <pg> 012 that it help
 29 ter-of-fact violations of truth and justice that demonstrate the this upper-cl
 30 n the plane, said: `Until truth and justice come out I don't want attempting to
 31 at last was a cause whose truth and justice could not be denied. My sin was th
 32 y appears to confirm that truth and justice are entirely separate suffered and
 33 r all to see. But truth, honour and justice are concepts to take the `hard op
 34 he `hard option" so that `truth and justice can be secured". While he traced hi
 35 of healing until there is truth and justice about Chile. The eight brother t
 36 Graham Bell) or upholding truth and justice (Young Mr Lincoln). <p> she had a
 37 the families were seeking truth and justice and not vengeance. ` Wray, said the
 38 moves will be to set up a Truth and Justice Commission to the past, caped crusa
 39 the families were seeking truth and justice and not vengeance. ` any kind of
 40 ambition, `enthusiasm for truth and justice", personal hatred or that are n
 41 groups were calling for `truth and justice" to be done, and called to build
 42 in accordance with Islam, truth and justice"; it was a stark process, our aim
 43 nately - about truth and beauty and justice". One the empire of heaven, that is
 44 ity, that angelic love of truth and justice, and assurance that the time he
 45 politics, rather than of truth and justice, two arguments against </date
 46 e> FOR all the talk about truth and justice, it was cold commercial too m
 47 y to another in search of truth and justice, the city's winding, you, it's a n
 48 n of Christ, the reign of truth and justice, the reign of love and the <p> m
 49 itary rulers. <p> Without truth and justice," she said, `there I say, fact.
 50 nt is that money corrupts truth and justice, why hasn't it Harper Le
 51 e serves the interests of truth and justice, freedom of speech and when
 52 of heaven, that is to say truth and justice, so that the state based on your f
 53 onger fight for fairness, truth and justice. I just say, That's of equanimity,
 54 public, in opposition to truth and justice. This is a penalty that in confl
 55 according to criteria of truth and justice. The free individual time. In the
 56 vigilant in the cause of truth and justice. She cuts through defer to the publi
 57 because they believed in truth and justice. Earlier President a bullet, whose
 58 our loved ones and await truth and justice. <hl> We simply wanted we renew our
 59 mitment to the search for truth and justice." Libyan secret agents family wou
 60 ice, radiating truth and honour and justice. I'm sure was rumoured, we know no
 61 fixtures as permanent as truth and justice. That is not news to <p> under bann
 62 ialogue fosters truth, freedom, and justice. I am insinuation she <p> confes
 63 ight be incompatible with truth and justice. Or the anger directed Commission w
 64 and the female figures of Truth and Justice. But even though this said Mrs
 65 r a simple case of facts, truth and justice." Earlier this year, in a system
 66 political expediency than truth and justice. Four years after trials might b
 67 s ruling party stands for truth and justice. <p> Unidentified are long dead an
 68 historical values such as Truth and Justice." Those who wanted the those non-his

69 r conditions of truth, freedom, and justice. <p> Habermas conduct a dialogue ch
70 aracterized by `truth, freedom, and justice." That they Blue religious fee
71 ons by the twin lights of truth and justice. It is precisely in a the power
72 in the battle for Truth, Honour and Justice. Sometimes, he know what that is, w
73 we will fight for Truth, Honour and Justice. If those are office but who has mad
74 d me finance my fight for truth and justice." <p> Lord Harris of to the matter
75 meaning of a struggle for truth and justice... they seek ways to We seek
76 d who have campaigned for truth and justice." William Hague, the the planet
77 to the battle for Truth, Honour and Justice. Arthur and I to deploy his Order in
78 a passionate concern for truth and justice. David William Fulker, Here a
79 rassing -concepts such as truth and justice. <p> So popular media Alexander Gr
80 to carry on the banner of truth and justice. <p> We cannot let the Sun has be
81 een a standard bearer for truth and justice. <p> For that I thank name and The S
82 our fundamental belief in truth and justice." All the letters, of cricket at M
83 Sun has indeed shone for truth and justice. <p> I'm not a we seek answers, e
84 vereignty here is that of truth and justice: if three falsehoods stren
85 rength and power; love of truth and justice; the power of the mind; she is
86 the legal profession over truth and justice? - Ron Major, Shailer about po
87 hat do the pagans know of truth and justice? Blessed is a Liberal the argument
88 s were to seek the truth and assist justice," he said. <p> exploits of the ma
89 alvern, battling for truth, beauty, justice and 2p off baked event. It rais
90 right up there with truth, beauty, justice, and intelligence his actions by
91 not with what truth, that the Chief Justice was faith in the ultimate trium
92 raight and narrow, truth to deceit, justice to law. <p> The some self-appoi
93 e to establish the truth and ensure justice is done." Mr is not an internal p
94 us to bring out the truth and find justice." She says she from high buildin
95 uncover the truth. A spokesman for Justice Minister coverage which I don't thi
96 eace needs truth as its foundation, justice as its has said he is determined
97 I don't think did the truth a great justice." The Chapmans, of peace and goo
98 dings in pursuit of truth, liberty, justice, etc. He is the and in the meaning
99 mother and the truth emerged. Lord Justice Swinton ranks again to prevent the
100 eal with big subjects: truth, loss, justice and even holiness. how Moi's rul
101 rical Absolute Values (Truth, Love, Justice) which the Marxists [that proc
102 light of truth shining through." Mr Justice Owen at claims the powerful m
103 tes, but neither truth, reason, nor justice consists in It ranks right
104 r hand to, and that is the truth of justice and of liberty and of all, did not
105 dead and that any hope for truth or justice is gone, now that the what I want
106 ot extend to violations of truth or justice (1829). Jefferson that traditi
107 traditional ideals such as truth or justice - to say nothing of our resources ef
108 who has made no effort for truth or justice over Lockerbie since." stewardess on
109 ning the categories of truth, self, justice and knowledge, otherness. <p> Ration
110 party squabble. Truth is at stake. Justice is at stake. that in failing to pu
111 has elapsed. But truth, rather than justice, is still a side of an equation t
112 confessed the truth, whereupon the Justice commended see them - stern of voice
113 lest ye swerve truth. (4:135) Thus, justice in Islam If I had said they w
114 posed to her valuation of the truth justice of her own feelings. There' on, sa
115 ue religious feeling devotion truth justice doubt discourageme nt meaningful pol
116 , caped crusaders fought for truth, justice and the American way. Now emb
117 ts of the man who fought for truth, justice and the American way had This outco
118 a Rastafarian spokesman for truth, justice and the African way. a point, hid a
119 Harper Lee (Mandarin ±4.99) Truth, justice and the American way one reborn as a
120 self-appointed guardians of truth, justice and the <p> American way <p> <h>
121 p> mild-mannered guardian of truth, justice and the American way might to
122 hen it comes to fighting for truth, justice and intergalactic pride, for what do
123 is JAG, where one fights for truth, justice and The American Way. One and no lon
124 h> MATILDA </h> <p> WHO says truth, justice and the Amer ican way go money and
125 d all a Quaker's concern for truth, justice and humane dealing. She me and helpe
126 k answers, explanations, the truth, justice - nothing more than we and these men

127 ng the Pakistani inquiry, of truth, justice and the Australian way. mode wh
128 S THIS is a story about truth, justice and the Australian way. As at helpi
129 g to deal with the issues of truth, justice and reconciliation to HOPPS
130 anipulation; they overshadow truth, justice (and every other public decisions
131 nflict with the standards of truth, justice and liberty. The and manipulatio
132 thought he was fighting for truth, justice and the excellent way of s would
133 and women are custodians of truth, justice and honour. What do they on-going co
134 doughtiest of champions of truth, justice and the American way, has of re
135 ists it will prevail, having truth, justice and the American way (of quite the
136 f its followers, it promotes truth, justice and freedom within a publisher a
137 S </h> <p> CHARLIE: Freedom, Truth, Justice and lots of blonde approach is poss
138 's a never-ending battle for truth, justice and the American way," is <h> LIKES
139 was that I wanted to protect truth, justice and the interests of the in custo
140 lanet Krypton who fights for truth, justice and the American Way, cast offered
141 a more impassioned plea for truth, justice and the American way: When reality
142 When he's not 'searching for truth, justice and equality," he 'parses s former m
143 enegade 'still searching for truth, justice and equality." Faklis' he said. When
144 which is not consistent with Truth, Justice and Love. One thing, of Paris, appre
145 appreciating its 'serenity, truth, justice and balance".2 So its theme is pea
146 claims the powerful make to truth, justice and privilege. Jonathan warrior, de
147 softy with a secret crush on truth, justice and the American Way. He's r
148 , whose mission is to uphold truth, justice and the American way. The as oppo
149 h in the ultimate triumph of truth, justice, and human community. questi
150 I had said they wanted only truth, justice, he would have hit me intentions.
151 han about little things like truth, justice, and breaking the law. <o> I n
152 n the end, people's love for truth, justice, freedom and <p> democracy he
153 ty with himself as symbol of truth, justice, and the American way." conduct of i
154 nsecurity, never arriving at truth, justice, or equilibrium, but was confident t
155 ower to recognize and act by truth, justice, and compassion. <p> This come down
156 r own peculiar standards for truth, justice, and spiritual perfection. by th
157 n and continue the fight for truth, justice, and the anti-Fascist way. extend th
158 ild a new community based on truth, justice, respect for human dignity but rat
159 seek answers, explanations, truth, justice." <pg> 10 </pg> <hl> Libel that
160 . <p> Rational minds produce truth. Justice provides for the meeting permanent
161 raises the question of truth versus justice. Ideally, you would Wray, said the
162 t only want truth, people also want justice. <p> saying he believed that
163 subject to change # Truth, wisdom, justice, beauty, goodness, held by Sovereign

APPENDIX G

A key concept in the technique of the London group is the concept of *context of situation*... The context of situation for Malinowski is an ordered series of events considered *in rebus*.

My view was, and still is, that 'context of situation' is best used as a suitable schematic construct to apply to language events, and that it is a group of related categories at a different level from grammatical categories, but rather of the same abstract nature. A context of situation for linguistic work brings into relation the following categories:

- A. The relevant features of participants: persons, personalities.
 - (i) The verbal action of the participants.
 - (ii) The non-verbal action of the participants.
- B. The relevant objects.
- C. The effect of the verbal action.

(Firth, 1950, reprinted 1957)

APPENDIX H

of Part I of the Schedule to the Regulations provided that the decision of an adjudicator would be binding on the parties until the dispute was finally determined. The defendant alleged that the adjudicator's decision had breached the rules of natural justice, and was therefore not a valid decision. The defendant's primary submission was that the meaning of 'decision' within section 108(3) of the 1996 Act and paragraph 23 of Part I of the Schedule to the Regulations was 'a lawful and valid decision'.

contracts on a provisional interim basis, and for requiring adjudicators' decisions to be enforced pending the final determination of such disputes. His Lordship noted that it was very easy to challenge a decision based on an alleged breach of natural justice, and an unsuccessful party before the adjudicator would need only to make such a challenge in order to prevent the decision's enforcement. In his Lordship's judgment, if Parliament had intended to qualify the word 'decision' in some way then that

colleagues. The Ethics and Integrity Committee has set itself up as if a miniature court of law rather than a mere sub-committee of a political party: it has to be chaired in private by a Queen's Counsel, to operate according to the norms of natural justice, and to offer its rulings subject to appeal to a person who must have held senior judicial office. If Sir Timothy Kitson, the former MP who first attempted to place Lord Archer before this body, had succeeded in his bid he would have been required to

and should have made inquiries as to the existence of the report. In those circumstances, although there was no suggestion that the inaccuracy of the officer's evidence had been either deliberate or fraudulent, there had been a breach of natural justice and the proceedings had been unfair. Although there obvious difficulties in re-opening the matter, the only new evidence was documentary and it would be possible for the Board to consider whether the doctor's evidence changed the picture in the

Liberal Democrat group. David Rendel MP, Liberal Democrat local government spokesman, called for an inquiry by the district auditor into the allegations made by Mr Crofton and into the hearing against him. 'The council is in danger of breaching natural justice, and therefore an independent inquiry should be set up, as Hackney is clearly unable to regulate itself correctly in this matter,' he said. Hackney said last night that the committee was still quorate. 'Clearly everyone's best interests will be

of heart. Bereaved families of those who die in custody will already gain the consolation of the truth about their death, promptly and with care. It will not bring their lost one back to life, but knowing the truth itself is a step towards natural justice, and coming to terms with their loss. Roger Graef is a filmmaker and criminologist.

Find more on the Freedom of Information bill on the Guardian network at www.newsunlimited.co.uk <pg> 18 </pg> <hl> Analysis </hl> <subh> Monster mania:

the inquest the coroner launched an astonishing attack on the way police were quizzed. Dr Burton said they had been 'subjected to three weeks of sustained attack without the protection afforded by the criminal court and with no pretence of natural justice and there's nothing I could do about it. The need to change the law to prevent this is -- to me - overwhelming.' <hl> Tribute fit for hero pals </hl> <bl> Gary O'Shea </bl> <dt> 19 February 2000 </dt> Here in South Lebanon, many miles from home, we

Henry's squad of 30 for the tournament -- is ineligible for Wales having played representative rugby for Australia's so-called second team, the Aussie Barbarians. Wales team manager David Pickering said: 'We are acting in the interests of natural justice and we want fairness to be served. Jason wants to play for Wales.' <hl> Shaun Connor; Rugby Union </hl> <dt> 10 July 1999 </dt> WALES A outside-half Shaun Connor has quit Newport and signed for arch-rivals Ebbw Vale. <hl> Sharks get Harris bite;

by the Prime Minister. Tony Blair supported the Brazilian midfielder's successful appeal against an earlier decision to refuse him a work permit. Obviously, mr blair's involvement was motivated purely out of humanitarian concern and a desire for natural justice and was in no way connected with the fact that Middlesbrough's training ground is in his own Sedgefield constituency. Even so, I'm surprised Juninho had to go through all this unnecessary bureaucratic palaver. It would have been much simpler, and a

Zia's Ordinance of 1984 are a black spot on the Constitution of Pakistan, which guarantees equal rights and religious freedom to all citizens on one hand and takes away Ahmadis rights on the other. This is an outrageous contradiction, breach of natural justice, and violation of human rights. The sooner these black laws are repealed the better. There cannot be peace and harmony in Pakistan so long as these inhuman laws exist and operate and the Ahmadis continue to be persecuted. <p> The Supreme Court Judges

<p> THE British parliament claims to be the mother of democracy, but Britain is not even on the road to democracy, because she does not appreciate reforms. <p> Britain does not have a written constitution. People don't have an access to the natural justice and information about their own lives. Authorities jealously guard such information until a rich or strong individual's rights are abused. They then force the government to change the law as happened when a group of lifers appealed to the courts to

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officers all having assumed that someone else had cautioned the prisoner. In his summing up, Gilbert described the police case as a `disgraceful example of a police force under enormous pressure to produce a culprit, violating both the rules of natural justice and my client's civil rights". He added: `There is not, and there never was, enough evidence to arrest my client, let alone charge him and send him for trial. An obviously innocent man, who is also a vulnerable person, has been arrested, assaulted,

and now found the wall units were cracking and they were unsaleable. In the country as a whole, there were 4500 such homes, some owner-occupied, some tenanted and the government could not abnegate responsibility for the defects. She demanded `natural justice, and no less". The Housing Minister responsible, Sir George Young, an agreeable Tory `wet", was wisely sympathetic and promised help. It came five months later, only a week after she was reconfirmed as a member of the Chairmen's Panel (still one of

elected politicians and their officials. <p> Often for the initiating power to reject the rights of workers or the opposing group - is to reject a whole range of ethical values <p> freedoms of speech and rights to information civil liberties, natural justice and equal opportunity public vilification of the selfish and exploitative exploitation of the environment to the detriment of the world <p> The earth-friend protestor dug into a badger set to delay civil engineers clearing trees for the Newbury by-

the power of any mortal to erase or obscure. Well before the Declaration of Independence, Americans recognized inalienable rights, although not being philosophers they did not distinguish among them, regarding them all as in accord with reason, natural justice, and moral rectitude. <p> The framers of the state and federal constitutions conceded the desirability of prefatory statements delineating those rights. They agreed with Thomas mckean of Pennsylvania that such proclamations, though unnecessary, could

Herscu is again trying to have his parole period reduced in a bid to travel overseas to help his son in a civil litigation case. <p> The former millionaire, jailed for official corruption, claims the Corrective Services Commission has denied him natural justice and has taken irrelevant material into account when refusing his application for a parole reduction for the second time. <p> Supreme Court Justice Des Derrington yesterday ordered 's application for a judicial review of the Corrective Services

of the Department of Administrative Services, had already decided the plan for the old naval stores was to be rejected. <p> Yet it said that in a letter dated July 17, 1991, the Government gave JL Holdings `the facade that it was being afforded natural justice and a reasonable opportunity for due consideration to be given to any

submission". The claim said the evidence for Mr Goss's position in May 1991 was a memo from Mr Rudd to then Acting Premier Tom Burns. <p> It said Mr Rudd's memo also indicated Mr

Australia's, entanglement in Vietnam was the worst idea they'd heard in their short lives, lives they were not prepared to put on the line in its defence. Most of them believed that the Bjelke-Petersen government was oppressive, blind to natural justice, and mad around the edges. They also believed some of his cops, and his cops they were, were bent. And, at least within the ABC, they came to believe that change for the better might, just might, be achieved if the governments of the day were

today. Two board members, Anne English and Grahame Denovan, took legal action to stall the recommendation before it was formally endorsed. Barrister Marshall Cooke, QC, representing the pair, argued their removal from the board was "contrary to natural justice" and they were given no reason for their dismissal. But Justice J.W.B. Helman yesterday ruled against the application, saying that the Minister's decision could not be "challenged, appealed, quashed, set aside or called into question" under existing

today. Two board members, Anne English and Grahame Denovan, took legal action to stall the recommendation before it was formally endorsed. Barrister Marshall Cooke, QC, representing the pair, argued their removal from the board was "contrary to natural justice" and they were given no reason for their dismissal. "The Primary Industries Minister has given no reason (for dismissal) to the members of the board nor has he given them any opportunity to be heard," he said. Mr Cooke said no one had complained to

being inquired into. As Dunne told the committee: "To have the same officer then review the findings and recommendations of such an inquiry, when the findings might have been critical of his own prior role, defies both common sense and natural justice." And so it does. Witness after witness to the parliamentary committee made the same point in theoretical terms; Dunne offered a tragically practical example. Under the existing Defence Inquiry Regulations, the Minister of Defence has the power to

to Mr Barratt's termination. The judge also ordered that Mr Barratt be provided with a statement of the issues relating to the termination by Monday morning. "It would be helpful to know whether they are asserting we are not entitled to natural justice, and also whether there are other matters or other grounds that are available to the Commonwealth that we are not aware of," Mr Ellicott said. When Mr Ellicott raised the question of the issues and the Government's attitude, Mr Hughes quipped: "Stop

to be the answer for which Hughes was looking. It might also turn out to be the question on which the case turns. It is also possible that Barratt might win the action on the "natural justice" argument, only for the Government to give him "natural justice" and then sack him. But that would send a chilling message to other department secretaries. Barratt's slow, thoughtful replies to questions also give a hint of why his relationship with Moore was troubled. Moore, a successful businessman and

Appendix I

This is a 1000 character concordance. The node is **Carlyle+Group**. It has been reproduced in bold characters in order to assist legibility.

Folder: Private mail

Date: Sun 3 Nov 2002 5:00A (Arrived: Sun 3 Nov 2002 7:31A)

From: CobuildDirect Administration, direct@cobuild.collins.co.uk

To: louw, 5:7211/1.1573

Subject: CobuildDirect Mail Service

From: CobuildDirect Administration <direct@cobuild.collins.co.uk>
To: louw@mango.zw

sale has been put back until after the award of a ±1 billion-plus tanks order from Greece, which is expected within the next few months and could go to either Vickers or Krauss Maffei of Germany. Bidders for the tanks business are rumoured to include **Carlyle Group**, the US private equity firm set up by James Baker, former US Secretary of State, and Alvis, the UK armoured vehicles group. Rheinmetall, the German group, is also thought of as a suitor. The division is expected to fetch up to ±100 million.

of financial trading systems. He was director of IBM's financial markets business in the Americas and helped to set up its risk management business in London. Tim Jackson, founder of QXL.com, an online auction service, and now managing director of **Carlyle Group**, a venture capital company, has joined the board of nameplanet.com, an e-mail and website hosting service. eLoyalty, a developer of systems to support sales and logistics, has recruited Chris Lamberton as vice-president of its CRM business. He

position," a spokeswoman said. <p> Nigel Hawkins, analyst at Williams de Broe, said a decision by C&W to spend its entire cash pile on acquisitions would be greeted poorly by shareholders. C&W shares fell 6p to 437 1/2p. <hl> Major takes Carlyle post;Carlyle Group </hl> <bl> Chris Ayres in New York </bl> <dt> 15 May 2001 </dt> <p> JOHN MAJOR, the former Prime Minister, was yesterday appointed European chairman of Carlyle Group, the US investment firm. Mr Major, who resigned as Conservative Party leader

poorly by shareholders. C&W shares fell 6p to 437 1/2p. <hl> Major takes Carlyle post;Carlyle Group </hl> <bl> Chris Ayres in New York </bl> <dt> 15 May 2001 </dt> <p> JOHN MAJOR, the former Prime Minister, was yesterday appointed European chairman of **Carlyle Group**, the US investment firm. Mr Major, who resigned as Conservative Party leader after its catastrophic defeat at the 1997 general election, is the group's first European chairman. <p> The Carlyle board includes James Baker, the former US Secretary

<bl> Chris Ayres </bl> <dt> 26 May 2001 </dt> <p> IT ALL seemed very low key. The press release that juddered through The Times's fax machine on May 14 said that John Major, the former Prime Minister, had been appointed European chairman of the **Carlyle Group**, an anonymous sounding US investment house. <p> There was no mention of Carlyle's other prominent employees, its relationship with Saudi Arabia's royal family, or its involvement in a \$12 billion (Pounds 8.3 billion) arms contract with the US

Ayres in New York </bl> <dt> 29 May 2001 </dt> <p> JOHN MAJOR, the former Prime Minister, has become a senior adviser to Credit Suisse First Boston. <p> The part-time role, to be confirmed today, comes less than a fortnight after Mr Major joined The **Carlyle Group**, the well-connected US investment company, as its European chairman. <p> CSFB hopes Mr Major, an executive with Standard Chartered before his long political career, will help the investment bank to attract new clients and advise existing

her ownership of Nirvana's back catalogue 'makes me the president of Geffen'. She adds: 'I love fighting. I wake up every day rich. I'm this weird ex-stripper-junkie, and I don't give a s# If I don't do this, who can?' A good lawyer, perhaps? <hl> Carlyle Group;Wall Street Diary;Analysis </hl> <bl> Chris Ayres </bl> <dt> 31 May 2001 </dt> <p> More news on Carlyle Group, the scarily powerful Washington investment house whose employees include George Bush Sr and John Major. <p> Carlyle is already under

I wake up every day rich. I'm this weird ex-stripper-junkie, and I don't give a s # If I don't do this, who can?' A good lawyer, perhaps? <hl> Carlyle Group;Wall Street Diary;Analysis </hl> <bl> Chris Ayres </bl> <dt> 31 May 2001 </dt> <p> More news on **Carlyle Group**, the scarily powerful Washington investment house whose employees include George Bush Sr and John Major. <p> Carlyle is already under fire for employing the President's father while investing in politically sensitive industries such as defence

a presidential historian. 'If Bush is open in relying on his father, it tends to reinforce the doubts that people have about his own fitness for the job.' <p> Complicating the issue is the elder Bush's current role as a globe-trotting adviser to the **Carlyle Group**, a \$12 billion investment consortium that employs several prominent politicians -among them the former prime minister John Major. <p> Earlier this year Bush Sr travelled to Turkey for talks with businesses; any suggestion that the former

providing warehouse-like centres for hosting other companies' Internet equipment - against operators such as the quoted Tele-City and Redbus Interhouse. <p> In May digiplex raised 55 million (Pounds 34 million) from existing investors, including **Carlyle Group** and Providence Equity Partners. It has six other data centres, and 382 million in debt and equity financing to build centres across Europe. <hl> BAA sees recovery in traffic through airports </hl> <bl> Angela Jameson </bl> <dt> 13 July 2001

The late Salim bin Laden used a broker who invested money in Arbusto Energy, an oil company started by George W Bush. <p> The family could even be an unexpected beneficiary of the American military build-up against Afghanistan: it has invested in a fund established by the **Carlyle Group**, a Washington merchant bank that specialises in buyouts of companies involved in defence and aerospace. <p> Tariq, who owns a chain of pharmacies, once told Carter, the chronicler of the family's business success: 'Mr John, if you get me a good

a 4 per cent decline in revenue. <p> Commentary, page 29 <hl> Bin Laden family to end ties to Carlyle </hl> <bl> Chris Ayres in New York </bl> <dt> 23 October 2001 </dt> <p> The family of Osama bin Laden is close to ending its relationship with the **Carlyle**

Group, the US investment group backed by George Bush Sr, the former President, and John Major, the former Prime Minister. <p> It is understood that Carlyle Group and the Saudi Binladin Group, the Middle Eastern conglomerate owned by the family of bin

2001 </dt> <p> The family of Osama bin Laden is close to ending its relationship with the Carlyle Group, the US investment group backed by George Bush Sr, the former President, and John Major, the former Prime Minister. <p> It is understood that **Carlyle Group** and the Saudi Binladin Group, the Middle Eastern conglomerate owned by the family of bin Laden, have decided to part company by "mutual consent". <p> The end of the relationship comes in spite of the fact that Osama bin Laden, the terrorist

Diary </hl> <bl> Martin Waller </bl> <dt> 05 November 1999 </dt> SIGNS of Anglo-French detente at the highest level: John Major is one of the more unlikely saviours of Le Figaro, the debt-plagued French daily newspaper. A deal has just gone through for **Carlyle Group**, an American investment fund run by Frank Carlucci, Ronald Reagan's Defence Secretary, to take a 20 per cent stake. Major is on Carlyle's European advisory board, as it happens, charged with helping with such European deals. Le Figaro is the

</xr> <hl> Taking aim </hl> <dt> 07 November 1999 </dt> Photograph) --TAKING AIM ... Sir Colin Chandler, whose Vickers group has just been taken over by Rolls-Royce, may head a buyout of its tanks arm, maker of the Challenger 2, backed by America's **Carlyle Group**. Britain's Alvis is making a rival bid...Story, page 3 <xr> 9141 </xr> <hl> Break-up bid for National Power; Takeover </hl> <bl> Andrew Lorenz </bl> <dt> 07 November 1999 </dt> A CONSORTIUM designed to launch a ±6.5billion break-up bid for

favourite to buy Vickers Defence Systems, thereby consolidating the previously fragmented British armoured vehicle industry into a single hand. Alvis will be supported by GKN, the diversified industrial giant that holds 29.9% of its equity. But the **Carlyle Group**, the American private equity firm, has emerged as a likely rival bidder. Carlyle was founded by James Baker, American secretary of state during the Bush presidency, and numbers John Major and Lord Howe, the former foreign secretary, among its

main rival. The deal with Giat is the outcome of a year-long search by Sir Colin Chandler, chief executive of Vickers, for a partner in the armoured vehicles industry. Vickers also considered a link-up with Rheinmetall, a German rival, and the US-based **Carlyle group**. European governments have been pressing for consolidation in the armoured vehicles industry because of declining orders and a serious problem of over capacity. While around 20 manufacturers make the vehicles, only a handful of governments are

demonstrated by John Major's entry which has quadrupled in the past year. He is now chairman of the European advisory board of the Emerson Electric Company, based in St Louis in the United States, and is a member of the European advisory board of the **Carlyle Group**, based in Washington DC. His business commitments meant that Mr Major paid nine visits to the US last year. He paid three visits to France and also visited South Africa and Singapore. Jack Cunningham, the Cabinet "enforcer", reinforces his directorships also include being deputy chairman of British American Tobacco for Pounds 100,000 a year. <p> Then there's his old Cabinet colleague, former Premier John Major. Last week Mr Major was appointed European chairman of US investment firm **Carlyle Group**. <p> The Pounds 9 billion firm-which invests in start-up companies worldwide refused to disclose how much he was getting. But the top Tory is already a non-executive director of The Mayflower Group-the UK's leading manufacturer of buses. He

under your supervision. <p> 4. It is the passenger's responsibility to satisfy HM Customs that all purchases are for personal use. <hl> Hot chick lecher is e-mailed;Sun City; </hl> <bl> Edited by Ian King </bl> <dt> 31 May 2001 </dt> <p> A LECHER at **CARLYLE GROUP**, where ex-PM John Major is European chairman, has quit after a mucky email he sent to pals went public. <p> New employee Peter Chung was sent to Korea by the the US-based investment company. <p> And in the email to New York chums he boasted he

clearing house for these transactions. They may also eventually sell the shares to third parties, but the outside investors who own the remaining 60% of Coldwell Banker have the right to first refusal. Those outside investors in Coldwell Banker include **Carlyle Group**, a closely held Washington, D.C., merchant banking firm whose co-chairman is Frank Carlucci, former secretary of defense; Frederic V. Malek, senior adviser to Carlyle Group; Mellon Family Trust of Pittsburgh; Westinghouse Credit Corp., the

the right to first refusal. Those outside investors in Coldwell Banker include Carlyle Group, a closely held Washington, D.C., merchant banking firm whose co-chairman is Frank Carlucci, former secretary of defense; Frederic V. Malek, senior adviser to **Carlyle Group**; Mellon Family Trust of Pittsburgh; Westinghouse Credit Corp., the financial services unit of Westinghouse Electric Corp.; Bankers Trust Co., a unit of Bankers Trust New York Corp.; and a group of Japanese investors represented by the

this telecommunications company's board, filling the vacancy created by the death of William Sobey last May. Mr. Carlucci, 59 years old, served as defense secretary in the Reagan administration. In January, he accepted the position of vice chairman of **Carlyle Group**, a merchant banking concern. <p> <hl> Who's News: Shearson Lehman Hutton Inc. </hl> <p> SHEARSON LEHMAN HUTTON Inc. Thomas E. Meador, 42 years old, was named president and chief operating officer of Balcro Co., a Skokie, Ill., subsidiary of this

of US farmers. Australia does not subsidize its wheat farmers and has protested US plans to sell wheat to 28 nations under its export enhancement program. <p> Carl Kasell, newscaster: General Dynamics has agreed to sell its electronics division to the **Carlyle Group** Investment Bankers. The price tag comes to less than \$100 million. Carlyle says the deal should be closed by the end of November. The division produces electronics used on weapons that has annual revenues of \$300 million. The division employs 2,

Appendix J

MicroConcord search SW: good friday

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW shifted -1 characters.

1 it was my show. He is nice. <p> Good Friday, 15 April} Since I've lived at Park
2 Emeric Pressburger) 21 The Long Good Friday (1980, J. Mackenzie) 22 The to g
3 claims she saw the stigmata on Good Friday 1981, when a relative of Ampara let
4 Nearly four years earlier, on Good Friday 1989, the Exxon Valdez ripped open
5 </pg> <hl> Letter </hl> <subh> Good Friday: a suggestion </subh> <bl> By ROBIN
6 taking in the Axe Edge climb on Good Friday. A field of just over 100 had to s
7 rule and a review of the entire Good Friday accord all but inevitable. Tony th
8 Sunday and, when it does, the Good Friday accord will enter a new and the ins
9 centred on the landmark "Good Friday" accord reached last April. But it
10 was "in breach" of the 1998 Good Friday accord which has been endangered by
11 ended his 11-week review of the Good Friday accord and left Northern Ireland
12 IRA-linked Sinn Fein party. The Good Friday accord anticipated that Northern Lt
13 to prevent the collapse of the Good Friday accord, but if hopes of that r
14 was sent off at Old Trafford on Good Friday after a double booking. And Anfield
15 Gloria, which is the day after Good Friday after the--the Friday that Christ
16 because by implementing the Good Friday Agreement violence like this will
17 the first anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement rapidly approaching and
18 of negotiations on last year's Good Friday Agreement complaining that the awa
19 either side defaults, the whole Good Friday Agreement could collapse. There is
20 paramilitaries since the Good Friday Agreement was signed, but nobody so
21 minimal interpretation of the Good Friday Agreement favoured by Frank Murphy
22 awards. THE PROCESS April 1998 Good Friday Agreement signed. Two Catholic men
23 the peace process, and the Good Friday Agreement was signed weeks later.
24 That is clear, and the Good Friday agreement proves it. At the same
25 Fein at today's review of the Good Friday Agreement in a critical bid to ob
26 list to mark the historic Good Friday Agreement ran into trouble when it
27 Mitchell yesterday said the Good Friday agreement was NOT beyond hope. The
28 Ireland. On one reading of the Good Friday Agreement Sinn Fein are to be f
29 to be freed early under the Good Friday Agreement when he was released from
30 to support the opponents of the Good Friday Agreement and to raise money for
31 of peace in Northern Ireland, Good Friday agreement or no Good Friday Ireland
32 <date> 19990413 </date> THE Good Friday Agreement opened a new period of
33 THE resounding Yes vote in the Good Friday Agreement referendum illustrates
34 of arms was a condition of the Good Friday agreement brokered by Mr Blair more
35 to budget. That would bring the Good Friday Agreement closer to collapse than
36 Adams above all who needs the Good Friday Agreement to survive. As the for
37 Unionists of reneging on the Good Friday Agreement following the suspension
38 terrorist freed under the Good Friday Agreement was sent back to jail yea
39 page 17 <pg> 7 </pg> <hl> The Good Friday agreement </hl> <subh> Can Blair
40 and gun battles are over. The Good Friday Agreement has been signed. Children
41 judgment in continuing to back Good Friday Agreement while punishment ` said:
42 who know the success of the Good Friday Agreement depends on Mr Trimble's
43 Government was conned under the Good Friday agreement into the biggest mass of
44 bent on destroying the Good Friday Agreement carried out the attack.
45 early from jail under the Good Friday Agreement has revealed how the UDA
46 and tenacity as broker of the Good Friday agreement and dedication to the
47 movement together; selling the Good Friday Agreement was easy by comparison.
48 sensitivities involved, but the Good Friday Agreement indicates ex-prisoners
49 year ago under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement he said he had dedicated
50 appear to be in breach of the Good Friday agreement and could persuade Mowlam
51 peace: Will Northern Ireland's Good Friday agreement unravel? BELFAST </subh>
52 unionists who anathematise the Good Friday agreement and long to unseat him.
53 <p> The description of the Good Friday agreement as "Sunningdale for slow

54 review of the working of the Good Friday agreement in the absence of any
 55 list as a result of the Good Friday agreement and recently added the
 56 to exclude Sinn Fein. The Good Friday Agreement also created a gigantic
 57 are at best lukewarm on the Good Friday agreement and Trimble's leadership.
 58 the honours for last year's Good Friday agreement concerning the future of
 59 there has been under the Good Friday agreement and it is remarkable how
 60 says it never signed up to the Good Friday agreement and is not bound by it. G
 61 just before the signing of the Good Friday agreement in April 1998 they are
 62 expect this as a right. The Good Friday agreement makes no specific mention
 63 the decommissioning part of the Good Friday agreement must be upheld." <p> He
 64 and comfortably endorsed the Good Friday agreement in 1998. An Irish News
 65 of Mr Trimble and Mr Adams. The Good Friday agreement was made possible by Mo M
 66 Mo Mowlam could explain why the Good Friday agreement did not link the film dir
 67 September 1999 </dt> Since the Good Friday agreement was signed a year and a E
 68 was the crucial broker for the Good Friday agreement in April 1998. Mitchell
 69 the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement to proceed." <hl> Pension
 70 Mr Blair still regarded the Good Friday agreement as the best way forward.
 71 to give those opposed to the Good Friday agreement in the Northern Ireland e
 72 DUP, who, like him, oppose the Good Friday agreement, to stand aside but
 73 political prizes from the Good Friday Agreement, the IRA could return to
 74 Foster, who is opposed to the Good Friday agreement, and David Burnside, the
 75 firmly within the terms of the Good Friday agreement, which we felt could is
 76 s proposals to rescue the Good Friday agreement, is expected to recommend
 77 something besides crucify the Good Friday Agreement, he will push David talk
 78 that they are in favour of the Good Friday agreement, will at long last time
 79 talks which led to last year's Good Friday Agreement, in an attempt to resolve
 80 <p> But under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement, the main parties now af
 81 said: 'Since the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, I have been critical of
 82 he continued to support the Good Friday agreement, but he accused the was
 83 said in reference to the Good Friday agreement, but I am offering the
 84 from jail early under the Good Friday agreement. Over 1,000 of the ±10 t
 85 after being released under the Good Friday Agreement. <p> From Maghaberry 1998
 86 1998 referendum that passed the Good Friday Agreement. <p> But the defiant of
 87 to proposals for saving the Good Friday Agreement. <p> After a meeting of
 88 in danger of reinventing the Good Friday Agreement. <p> Mr Adams also to
 89 there to be ANY hope for the Good Friday Agreement. <p> Ulster Unionist i
 90 the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement." Senator Mitchell will
 91 and outside the terms of the Good Friday Agreement. He said it would make
 92 who stood squarely behind the Good Friday Agreement. We must now go forward
 93 over implementation of the Good Friday agreement. No breakthrough was wh
 94 to be released early under the Good Friday Agreement. But the use of steroids,
 95 of stalling on implementing the Good Friday agreement. Dissidents on both sides
 96 a review of the workings of the Good Friday Agreement. Mr Blair and his Irish
 97 would succeed in saving the Good Friday agreement. But the raw emotion of
 98 since the signing of the Good Friday agreement. It appears all the was
 99 on deficiencies in the Good Friday agreement. Irish Premier Bertie
 100 the past year to broker the Good Friday Agreement. There were cheers too
 101 release under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement. The SRC's joint chairmen
 102 obstacles to implementing the Good Friday Agreement." The Senator, who has
 103 was "not compatible" with the Good Friday Agreement. He also infuriated Sinn
 104 determine the future of the Good Friday agreement. "The kid gloves are DUP
 105 Unionists to rally behind the Good Friday Agreement." Mr Sejersted repeated
 106 in accordance with the Good Friday agreement. The British Government
 107 way through to implementing the Good Friday agreement. All sides said they
 108 republicans opposed to the Good Friday agreement. In her interview last
 109 time since the signing of the Good Friday agreement. Potentially there is a
 110 changes envisaged by the Good Friday Agreement. Those accords stand as
 111 proposals to rescue the Good Friday agreement. Both Governments and all
 112 institutions set up under the Good Friday agreement. They demanded a
 113 uncovered within a year of the Good Friday agreement. The American prosecutor
 114 the institutions created by the Good Friday agreement. This is a step which
 115 divide or revitalise the Good Friday agreement. The time for clever b
 116 up their weapons and save the Good Friday Agreement. <p> The talks in ther
 117 for release by July under the Good Friday Agreement. But Mr Justice Andreas O
 118 ballot box in a bid to end the Good Friday Agreement. <p> He launched his need
 119 needs the future offered by the Good Friday Agreement. <p> The people there
 120 was always required under the Good Friday Agreement. We need to see some bal
 121 to break the impasse over the Good Friday agreement. Trimble was initially
 122 early from jail under the Good Friday Agreement. Mr Trimble, who page 1
 123 lose Friday's referendum on the Good Friday Agreement? First they throw open
 124 Sundays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Good Friday and Bank Holiday Mondays, 1.30pm to
 125 has grown and grown, while Good Friday and Easter have declined. That is w
 126 come in by its anniversary -- Good Friday. And he also paid tribute to be
 127 such as Mona Lisa, The Long Good Friday and Shanghai Surprise. Those who
 128 at Chase de Vere, says the Good Friday and the Monday bank holiday will o
 129 bloodthirstiness of The Long Good Friday and a Tarantino-like flair for
 130 uncertainties of power. As the Good Friday anniversary approaches, Tony Blair

131 thu.apr. 8 <p> <c> LIST </c> Good Friday apr. 9 <p> <c> LIST </c> sat.apr.
 132 devotees crucify themselves on Good Friday. But this Easter the mood is <M02>
 133 festival. But tomorrow Good Friday comes around again, and once more
 134 on the Christian holy day of Good Friday, continuing Arab-Jewish violence
 135 onwards. SPECIAL EVENTS GOOD FRIDAY CUB Brisbane to Gladstone Yacht
 136 was dominated by tension as the Good Friday deadline neared for Northern to bu
 137 should hand in its arms. The Good Friday deal says the IRA must disarm all
 138 society. However precarious the Good Friday deal, that it is alive at all owes
 139 next October if voters back the Good Friday deal. But he will insist Provos Mr
 140 Mr Blair for helping clinch the Good Friday deal. <hl> Give up guns or stay in
 141 up to 75 per cent backing the Good Friday deal. A huge turnout guaranteed the
 142 oriented rock channel which on Good Friday devotes itself to The Greatest Hits
 143 as surprising as United's Good Friday draw against Liverpool. But United
 144 final trip to Laborie was on Good Friday. Following instructions, she went f
 145 including St Helens at Wigan on Good Friday, have been allowed to use it, but
 146 in the last 12 years. On Good Friday he directs the St. Paul's Choir and
 147 reserve with Karen Hurriion's good Friday. He had already headed the smalls
 148 why it is vital we get a win on Good Friday." <hl> Ref off; Football </hl> <bl>
 149 trial. LEFT: Karen Hurriion and Good Friday, hunter champion and champion of
 150 and, Good Friday agreement or no Good Friday Ireland Agreement was signed on Goo
 151 Let them shop and play footy on Good Friday. It's no sin. We are not the on w
 152 Bob Edwards, host: <p> Today, Good Friday, Jerusalem's Via Dolorosa is packed
 153 s The Trial of Jesus, staged on Good Friday last year. <p> A Midsummer Night's
 154 of the institutions agreed on Good Friday last year, the IRA leadership will
 155 debut at home to West Ham on Good Friday. Leeds's midfielder Alfie Haaland
 156 first day of the week following Good Friday, Luke decided that the second,
 157 film directed by John (The Long Good Friday) Mackenzie to be released next ove
 158 on what happened on Calvary." Good Friday Meditation, St John's Cathedral d
 159 s on <p> Highlights of the week Good Friday Meet, Herne Hill track, London.
 160 witnesses who mentioned the Good Friday meeting agreed on these details.
 161 Year's Day, Presidents' Day, Good Friday, Memorial Day, Independence Day,
 162 s Birthday, Presidents' Day, Good Friday, Memorial Day, Independence Day,
 163 over the deck at 30 knots on Good Friday night. `It became a case for firml
 164 during Easter will vary, with Good Friday operating on a Sunday timetable,
 165 a head injury. <hl> The wrong good friday; Opinion </hl> <bl> Jane Moore pr
 166 them emphatically rejecting the Good Friday package. How is that for diplomacy?
 167 by paramilitaries since the Good Friday Pact. And he joined Unionist calls
 168 Mr Blair met with smaller pro-Good Friday parties. <hl> Tory quits over
 169 us all to give the nod to the Good Friday peace agreement. And that's fair
 170 is reaping the rewards of the Good Friday peace agreement without handing
 171 release under the terms of the Good Friday peace deal. But the Minister lose F
 172 of prisoners was part of the Good Friday peace agreement, he said, and it u
 173 that is threatening the Good Friday peace accord. Officials were way th
 174 interest. Under the Good Friday peace agreement, many paramilitary
 175 to try and save the threatened Good Friday peace agreement. Among the victims
 176 also makes references to the Good Friday peace agreement. The communique tr
 177 conceded at the time of the Good Friday peace agreement. <xr> 8088 </xr> t
 178 huge arsenal as part of the Good Friday peace deal. The final decision on
 179 does not start to unravel the Good Friday peace agreement. Tony Blair met ac
 180 implementation of the stalled Good Friday peace agreement. No progress was
 181 prisoner convicted before the Good Friday peace deal will be on the streets.
 182 still think we're approach ing Good Friday. Perhaps they're being ironic but a
 183 Down, who had the edge over Good Friday (Peter Richmond) a horse who began
 184 here. And the Yes vote in the Good Friday poll could hinder any attempts to
 185 according to her family, every Good Friday she appears to go through the to su
 186 <M02> <ZF1> at er <ZF0> at the Good Friday sports. <M01> Mm. <M02> But <ZF1>
 187 over, a large Scotch. The Long Good Friday, starring Bob Hoskins and Helen
 188 from the Sandgate Pier on Good Friday. Sydney skipper Bob Steele steered
 189 3149 Waverley St., Palo Alto. Good Friday Tre Ore Service The Seven Last o
 190 local authorities and industry. Good Friday was an appropriate day to launch in
 191 son was asked if he knew what Good Friday was. He said: `That's the day Dad n
 192 you think Our Lord was late on Good Friday when he spilled his blood for us?
 193 with the Church choir on Good Friday which is tomorrow. We ordered H x
 194 A Christmas Carol," and "For Good Friday") which associate the dead tree
 195 deals with the events of Good Friday, while the Symphony concerns itself
 196 Ireland Agreement was signed on Good Friday. Will it survive this weekend? I
 197 This was the point of Good Friday. With the growth of politics, h
 198 myself wondering how my own Good Friday would look to me when I could it w

Paper 6, 2006: Data-Assisted Negotiating: Will It Produce a New Class of Negotiator or Destroy the Ideology of Negotiating?

This paper was published by the University of South Africa, in a collection of articles dealing with corpus studies in southern Africa. The paper examines the extent to which repeatable forms of negotiators' language differ markedly in their meaning from other varieties of language.

Abstract

The fact that corpora have hitherto been concerned in the main with the sampling of the general rather than the specific is only now beginning to be perceived as a weakness both of intention and of design. Except where the assistance of collocation is enlisted (Louw 2003), corpora of natural language often tell us more about language than they do about the functioning of institutions. Institutional corpora do not exist formally. Informal institutional collections of interaction are gradually being pressed into service as our first institutional corpora. Two such collections are brought into contact in this paper. Huthwaite, a firm specialising in business communication and formerly based in Sheffield, UK collected recordings of authentic negotiations in the early 1980s with a view to discovering exactly which types of language and behaviour distinguished skilled negotiators from unskilled ones. At about the same time, the first institutional 'corpus' was unwittingly being created. It was a record of a public inquiry at the Sizewell B nuclear power station in the UK. In a machine-readable form this corpus totals almost 17 million words of running text. By searching the Sizewell Corpus for the same features identified by Huthwaite as indicators of the behaviour and language of skilled negotiators, the possibility of data-assisted training in negotiating is opened up for the first time. However, such techniques may finally prove too powerful for use in settings where an ideology of institutionalised insincerity remains unchallenged by human intuition. Access to authentic data and bottom-up training may well unravel the ideology of the boardroom and threaten the institutions themselves. A new class of negotiators and a more manifestly honest world may be temporary products of this unknown revolution.

1. Introduction

Even though electronic corpora are a fairly recent development, we have begun to know them by their collocates. Collocates such as *well-sampled*, *spoken*, *written*, *science*, *newspaper* and even *sub-* have begun to give way to the collocates *keywords*, *natural language* and *reference*. These sets of collocates are powerful indicators: the earlier set is indicative of what corpora brought to the discipline of linguistics, the more recent set indicates a change of direction which is calculated to defeat the gains put in place by the earlier set. As a consequence, we need to be clear about what we are prepared to shed and what we regard as central to the truth and integrity of corpus studies.

The discipline of corpus studies is currently plagued by a pervasive and growing irony. Its adherents are being duped by fast and flashy software into accepting levels of inexactitude and dilution that are reminiscent of the *analogue* period of language study from which corpora purportedly delivered us rather than the *digital* period of language study which was intended, like truth, to set us free. Corpus linguistics is in the process of resiling from *science*. We are witnessing its *reification* as just another subject instead of its coming of age as *instrumentation* for language. The intellectual revolution which provided the impetus for the development of corpora is gradually being suborned into treating the corpus as an uncontextualised electronic filing cabinet rather than as a living and adapting model or 'monitor corpus' (Sinclair 1991, 25) of what Wittgenstein termed (at P 241) in *Philosophical Investigations*, 'forms of life' (Wittgenstein, 2005, 75) and Firth (1957, 182) (after Malinowski, 1935) termed 'context of situation'.

This paper sets out to make *two* arguments. (1) 'Bottom-up' (Fechner 1876) or corpus-assisted negotiating will produce a different class of negotiator. In other words, this technique produces negotiators that are more deeply aware of how language operates in order to secure *outcomes* than are negotiators who have been trained using 'top-down' or intuitive methods, such as those of the Harvard Business School (Fisher and Ury 1981). (2) The *operation* of such data-assisted negotiating is likely to be of short duration. The reason for this is that it lays bare the hidden *ideology* of the professions from which the data is drawn for use as training material. In other words, the pillars of 'manufactured consent' without which these professions could not continue to operate will gradually become fully disclosed during the training process. The deceptions which operate at the

heart of institutions and professions and which account for their success, require for their continued operation and prosperity that human intuition alone be the basis of the essential negotiation processes which take place within them. Intuition is mandatory because it is blind to these institutionalised techniques of deception. Data is eschewed because it is truthful and truth is so converting that trainees are likely to query the fundamental dishonesty within institutions that has remained hidden for the entire duration of the analogue period of language study, i.e. from the time of Plato and Aristotle until 1987 (Louw 2003).

This may be reason why the Harvard Business School method prefers to operate upon formulaic maxims rather than upon the computationally recoverable behaviour of skilled and unskilled negotiators as they participate on a daily basis in authentic negotiating contexts.

2. The paucity of bottom up approaches to negotiating

At first sight the characteristics of top-down and bottom-up negotiating do not look as radically different as they turn out to be in practice. For example, the method of Fisher and Ury (1981) is based in its entirety upon *four* intuitive or top-down maxims:

1. 'Separate the PEOPLE from the Problem'
2. 'Focus on INTERESTS, Not Positions'
3. 'Invent OPTIONS for Mutual Gain'
4. 'Insist on Objective CRITERIA'

(1981, 17-100)

By way of contrast, Huthwaite Ltd, a British business organisation (apparently now defunct), sets out a nine point list of findings from its bottom-up study of skilled and unskilled negotiators. These findings are the result of a close examination of extensive recordings collected during *authentic*, real-life negotiations. The recordings do not amount to a *corpus* in the modern sense of that term, but what Huthwaite's researchers did

was not substantially different from what the ethnographer Bronislaw Malinowski (1935) compiled in the Trobriand Islands and correctly referred to in Latin as his *Corpus Inscriptionum Kiriwiniensium*.

Huthwaite (reported in The Open University Course P670 (1983), *The Effective Manager*) arrived at a list of frequent behaviour patterns of skilled negotiators, dividing them into *four* 'AVOIDS' (what skilled negotiators *avoid*) and *five* 'DO's' (what skilled negotiators *do*). They are set out below, starting with the 'Avoids':

1. Irritators
2. Defend/attack spirals
3. Behaviour chains (based upon lists of arguments to be used)
4. Counter proposals

And the *five Do's*:

5. Flagging (except for *disagreement*)
6. Testing understanding and summarising
7. Asking lots of questions (even when they already know the answers to them)
8. Give a motives commentary
9. Assess their own performance

The strength of the Huthwaite material is immediately apparent and comes barely two years after the publication Fisher and Ury's (1981) best selling volume: *Getting to Yes*. This book, even today, forms the basis of most training in negotiating throughout the world. Huthwaite's methods have, by comparison, apparently vanished without trace.

Huthwaite's methods offered an insight into skilled negotiators' actual behaviour in authentic contexts of negotiation. The method contains none of the exhortations of Fisher and Ury. If the negotiators who were observed by Huthwaite had in fact been

trained under then barely nascent Harvard system, we see nothing in their behaviour that is indicative of slavish adherence to the Harvard method. It may well be that those whom Huthwaite observed were fortunate enough to have been trained before the advent of the Harvard method. Our best indication of Huthwaite's success is to be found in the fact that very few institutions allow extensive recordings of negotiations to be made. The reason is easy to see. Many negotiators are forced to tell bare-faced lies during the process of negotiating. The institutions they represent depend upon these lies. For example, nobody selling insurance would want the following hugely frequent lie captured in a corpus.

Client: So I can always cash this annuity policy in if I am short of money?

Salesman: Yes.

The assurance is only partly truthful and hence prejudicial. At least one third of all converted annuity policies has to be re-invested within the insurance industry.

The situation is altogether more dangerous within legal institutions. The term *natural justice* does not have the same meaning for lawyers as it does for their clients. Clients believe that it is natural to want justice and that if one has been denied justice the sensible course is to ask for it *again*. However, asking a *second* judge to find against the *first* judge is always risky. 'Justice pleaseth few in their own house', runs an Elizabethan proverb. When judges and lawyers hear the expression *natural justice*, they are immediately aware, that the client must be dismissed without justice. They understand the term in two ways simultaneously. They know that the client's right to natural justice was breached last time, either by receiving no hearing (*audi alteram partem*), or because the client received a *biased* hearing (*nemo iudex in sua causa*). Secondly, they are aware that the judges are likely to be protecting an influential person, possibly a fellow member of the secret society to which they and the lawyers belong. This *modus operandi* is, of course, ideologically condoned treason (Louw 2003). In Wittgenstein's terms, the lawyers/judges and the clients are 'playing different language games' (Grayling 1988, 83—90). The moral significance of this fact is that the lawyers and judges are *aware* of this fact. The litigants are *not*.

Much controversy still surrounds what Wittgenstein meant by *private language*. Many philosophers maintain flatly that there is no relationship between secret language and private ones. Corpora are now in a position to show that the relationship between the two is much closer than previously supposed. American scholars (Hacking 1975, 8) either claim to be baffled by the complexity privacy issue or offer little or no space for Wittgenstein's own opinion (Martinich 1985). The example of *natural justice* offers a perfect case study where Hacking says none exists.

3 The role of collocation in settling meaning

The possibility that human introspective ability and intuition might suffer from an inability to determine meaning was hardly ever entertained until semantic prosodies (Louw 1993) began to be dealt with as a digital rather than an analogue collocational phenomenon. Intuition's blindspots appear most severe in dealing with delexical phraseology. The major response to the unraveling of intuition has been the apparent censorship of publications that refer to it. The apparent censorship takes various forms and operates at different levels of sophistication or of crassness. For example, the exercise provided on the phrase *without+feeling* (Louw 1993, 175) is not to be found in the re-printed version of the same article (Sampson and McCarthy 2004, 229--241). The original article in Baker et al (1993) is now out of print. Louw (2000) appeared on CD-ROM and went out of print almost immediately. Louw (2003) is available only in a .pdf version from the website of the University of Bologna. All of these publications and others that are currently inexplicably delayed in press, (especially Hoover, et al, 2006 purportedly forthcoming) draw attention to intuition's poor ability to determine meaning. Sinclair (2004), in apparent frustration at the absence of printed references, sets the record straight in respect of the role of collocation.

‘W. E. Louw (personal communication) argues that ‘literal’ and ‘figurative’ are points close to the extremities of a continuum of delexicalization. Words can gradually lose their full lexical meaning, and become available for use in contexts where some of that full meaning would be inappropriate; this is the so-called figurative extension. Louw points out that a writer, especially a literary writer, must exercise vigilance so that the meaning of each word is interpreted at the intended point on the continuum. Such features as collocation are part of the control mechanism available to the writer.’
(emphasis added) (Sinclair 2004, 198)

If we cut ourselves off from the control mechanism of collocation delexical phrases become minefields of misunderstanding. A number of the author's students on the MBA course are employed by an internet service provider. They recently engaged an advertising company to assist in marketing their products on the basis that they are quick and easy to install and use. The advertising agency produced a campaign slogan: '*Just like that!*'. Within a week of the first flighting of the campaign, the students noticed that clients at their complaints desk were using the same slogan to indicate that the system had crashed: 'The screen went blank *just like that!*', 'The program died on me *just like that!*' etc. The corpus solved the problem within minutes and the student received an unprecedented apology from the agency and a refund. Almost 99% of the occurrences of the phrase are concerned with interrupted process and only 1% are involved in expressing successful speedy execution. A severely abridged concordance from the Bank of English follows below. Collocates to the left of the node have been printed in bold. The phrase is very frequent and readers are urged to search for it in all corpora to which they have access.

MicroConcord search SW: just like that

80 characters per entry Sort : 1L/SW shifted 6 characters.

```

5      My father died a few years ago, just like that. From being a very vital,
12     Now he is ready to brush me aside just like that, which hurts. Frank has
13     People feel that to brush him aside, just like that, is unnecessary." The king
15     70 years of brand promotion away just like that. They will try to use the
16     shouted. "You mean he sent you back just like that? Aren't you a shameless
26     and I can't spring it on the Board just like that. They wouldn't listen. I'
29     break. Of course it broke. It broke, just like that. It's still broke, if you
31     to stop <F02> It just ceased just like that. Yes. <M01> Yes. Mm. Well
36     started shooting into the crowds, just like that, women with their
38     The former empire will not disappear just like that. It has even more    and
39     waterproof tape and they'll disappear just like that." <p> The prosecution    ou
40     to make your problems disappear, just like that. SHE line 0898 200172 <p>
41     able to convey; and of disappearing, just like that. At times he loathed being
42     and told us we were done-- done. Just like that. She was turning over the
43     kind as he opened his own front door. Just like that. No apparent reason. Then
44     yards. So he just stops selling dope, just like that." Horner drank his beer
45     sex with the Prince of her dreams `just like that". Women's bodies do seem t
48     Boxer points out. `And it didn't end just like that, things were coming in a c
50     was hoping he would give up, expire, just like that. But he was beginning to
51     st like that. <p> He closed his eyes Just like that, huh?" <p> It isn't `just
52     Sudden heart attack <F04> Mhm. <F01> just like that. <F04> Mm. <F01> Erm aged
54     to do?" Because you're finished. Just like that. You're out. All the bills
56     been taken to close it down first. Just like that. There's clearly no point
57     if we say we're sorry we're forgiven, just like that. Help us to forgive <p>
58     about Justice would be forgotten. Just like that. <p> On the other hand,
61     I wasn't going to let that go just like that." <p> With the 155p-a-
62     person. And that all seemed to go, just like that -and, like, why? All that
63     over it. Leo, for God's sake! Gone. Just like that. I always pictured the
64     Enron said. `Here and gone. Just like that." Very slippery people."

```

(Source: The Bank of English)

4 Enter the Institutional Corpus

Corpora are difficult to come by at the best of times. How then shall we find a corpus of negotiating? Even if we were to find such a corpus, would the methods and tactics recoverable within it be generalisable to all negotiating situations? A corpus of negotiating is likely to be a record of one or several separate negotiations and each of these would be grounded within specific *institutions*. Will bottom-up findings within one institution be generalisable to other institutions? What implications will flow from the use for training of an institutional corpus which emanates from an institution that is *different* from those from which the trainees have been recruited?

Our run of luck in the early 1980's continues. We find what is likely to be, purely fortuitously, the *first* electronic institutional corpus of any great length in the world: *The Sizewell Corpus*. The proceedings of an inquiry into a leak of radioactive material from the Sizewell B Nuclear Power Station in the United Kingdom took place before Sir Frank Layfield QC at The Maltings, Snape, Suffolk UK in late July 1982. It was initially recorded by short-hand writers. They produced it in the form of a typescript. This was captured later in a magnetic form on computer tape. A number of university libraries were offered copies. The University of Birmingham opted for the magnetic format. The result is an untagged corpus of almost 17 million running words. It is arguably the longest record of a negotiation and qualifies for inclusion in the *Guinness Book of Records*. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Professor John Sinclair of the Tuscan Word Centre, Pescia, Italy (formerly Professor of Modern English Language at the University of Birmingham) for making the corpus available to him in a limited form shortly after its procurement by the University of Birmingham and more extensively since the expiry of its period of embargo.

The value of such a corpus is immediately apparent in two major ways. (1) It provides a means of testing objectively the findings of the Huthwaite research within a single institutional setting. (2) It holds the potential for converting Huthwaite's findings into probabilistically sound *data-assisted* and *data-driven pedagogy* (Johns 1991; Tognini-Bonelli 2001, 44), once the Huthwaite findings can be seen to have linguistic exponents in Firthian contexts of situation as well as Wittgensteinian forms of life.

4.1 Exponents of Huthwaite findings in Corpora and in the Sizewell Corpus

In one respect the Huthwaite method had a slight advantage when compared with the Sizewell Corpus. Huthwaite set out to create a sample of both skilled and unskilled negotiators. Sizewell recruited only the best negotiators because an aspect of national security and the possibility of face-loss in a sensitive industry were at stake. Even the outcomes of the investigation may very well have been 'expected'. Hence, because the list of 'avoids' was based upon the behaviour of skilled negotiators only, we find very little exemplification of the avoids within the corpus. However, that does not mean that they do not exist and cannot be found in a limited form within the Sizewell Corpus and more extensively in general corpora such as the British National Corpus (BNC) or the Bank of English (BOE).

Huthwaite suggest that the worst irritators (item 1 of the 'Avoids' in the table provided earlier) in a negotiation will be those that destroy *objectivity* and the *trust* that objectivity engenders. A good example would be judging one's own offer: 'Workers would be well advised to accept management's fair and generous offer of a 6% salary increase.' This sentence would be like a red rag to a bull in strike-ridden South Africa at this time. The best technique for isolating this form of bias is *co-selection*, as we see below, where SW refers to the search word and CW to the context word.

MicroConcord search SW: **fair** CW: **our**

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

```
1 y were not needed; our employers were fair-minded and trustworthy, but the great
2 emon, unscrupulous messenger of hell, fair angel of our fate, handsome, mysterio
3 n Oddjob Auric Goldfinger: a firm but fair boss Our ad to recruit henchman Uh oh
4 the cross? We Anglicans have made our fair contribution of hurts to the unreconc
5 ! What country shall we conquer, what fair land Unman our conquest and locate ou
6 r democratic Parliament, the sense of fair play of our permanent civil service,
7 ediately. We will replace it with our Fair Rates system, related to people's abi
8 that anyone might find in any shop, a fair sample of our literature which just h
9 e poem, when we consume more than our fair share of the earth's resources, we no
10 fished round the loch and caught our fair share, but nothing from the fabled Pe
11 and an Armani suit but it's probably fair to say our golden boy from St Asaph d
12 man said: We believe our coverage was fair to all parties concerned both during
```

(Source: The British National Corpus)

Item 2 in the table of 'avoids' refers to 'Defend/Attack Spirals'. Such 'spirals' are considered a barrier to communication for the reason that they involve flat contradiction. Flat contradiction brings all *movement* to a stop (albeit briefly). Negotiating is based upon movement. Skilled negotiators are usually unwilling to engage in such face-threatening

forms of discourse. However, the concordance below from the spoken language sub-corpus of the BNC provides a colourful example of defend/attack spiraling and forms a useful discussion exercise in lectures on negotiating skills. Context no. 2 recognises the prevalence of these spirals as we are all aware in the script of pantomimes.

MicroConcord search SW: yes you did

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

```

1 I haven't done that </p> <PS087:> Yes you did all of that, you did all about the
2 tomime script full of cries of oh yes you did and oh no we didn't. Unfortunately
3 07P:> Oh no, oh dad </p> <PS07L:> Yes you did do take no notice </p> <PS07P:> do
4 aid no, so I said don't lie to me yes you did, I said you just said you didn't k
5 opaz gave a short laugh. </p> <p> Yes you did. I saw you take money from Nixi Pi
6 f crisps. Jane: No I didn't. Tom: Yes you did. Jane: No I didn't is certainly co
7 Y:> I can tell you. </p> <PS000:> Yes you did Joy. </p> <PS000:> Oh yeah. </p> <
8 said it. I heard you. I did not. Yes you did. No I didn't. There's no point in
9 bring you a stamp. </p> <PS125:> Yes you did. </p> <PS0H7:> Did I? Must be mad!
10 today. Cos I don't. </p> <PS0F9:> Yes you did. </p> <PS0F8:> No I did not. You s
11 > I didn't drop it! </p> <PS0MY:> Yes you did! </p> <PS0MX:> </p> <PS0MY:> You s
12 them had run away! </p> <PS0T4:> Yes you did! </p> <PS0SW:> You did! </p> <PS0T
13 about it like that. </p> <PS58N:> Yes you did. </p> <PS000:> Bleeding not! </p>
14 on't think I did so </p> <PS6P0:> Yes you did. </p> <PS6P1:> No I never. </p> <P
15 :> I don't want one </p> <PS13M:> yes you did </p> <PS0KN:> the thinking man's c
16 PS6P1:> No I never. </p> <PS6P0:> Yes you did. </p> <PS6P1:> No I never. </p> <P
17 Oh. I didn't look. </p> <p> GUIL: Yes you did. </p> <p> ROS: Oh, did I? (He take
18 S02H:> No I didn't. </p> <PS02G:> Yes you did. </p> <PS02H:> Shut up! </p> <PS02
19 PS0EF:> No I never! </p> <PS0EB:> Yes you did! </p> <PS0EF:> No I never! </p> <P
20 </p> <PS09U:> No </p> <PS09T:> Oh yes you did. </p> <PS09U:> No, no I didn't. </
21 on't think I did so </p> <PS03X:> Yes you did. </p> <PS03Y:> No I never. </p> <P
22 PS03Y:> No I never.</p> <PS03X:> Yes you did. </p> <PS03Y:> No I never. </p> <P
23 me? I've never told you. </p> <p> Yes you did, replied Endill. When we met the l
24 talking about. Well </p> <PS007:> Yes you did right. </p> <PS004:> But each one
25 PS556:> No I never! </p> <PS555:> Yes you did Shelley! </p> <PS556:> I never ! <
26 g we didn't do. Ha. </p> <PS4C2:> Yes you did, you all had a chat with each othe
27 U:> Oh no I didn't. </p> <PS55T:> Yes you did, you got it for </p> <PS55U:> When

```

Source: The British National Corpus

Denials of this kind do occur in the Sizewell Corpus, but they never spiral in the almost formulaic way that we see in the concordance.

MicroConcord search SW: i did not say

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

```

1 R. E. BLACKITH _____ I did not say "a death" 13 times what would be
2 some of the existing AGRs, and I did not say all the previous stations, but t
3 living near the installation." I did not say and did not mean the same defined
4 e the document is being got out. I did not say everything which is on page 79.
5 id principally for that purpose, I did not say exclusively for that purpose. A
6 greater than other workers? A. I did not say I expected their level to be the
7 ot generally the case. 107. Q. I did not say it was. It may on occasions... A
8 that we used that judgment. If I did not say it, I meant to say it, that thes
9 ur shift, I should have said, if I did not say it, that it is an average of 8 h
10 Mr. Priddle? A. Entirely. What I did not say on Day 247 and perhaps I should,
11 utility quality as important? A. I did not say "quality". I said "experience". 1
12 ____ spectrum of degraded core. I did not say that specifically, of course, bu

```

Source: The Sizewell Corpus

One final example from the list of 'avoids' is worth examining. Huthwaite suggest that counter proposals cause confusion. If we are dealing with the best skilled national negotiators in the Sizewell Corpus we could hypothesise that there will be few counter proposals with in the corpus. The hypothesis is borne out, but from the additional information that corpora so often provide we notice something of the political dimension of nuclear energy: the proposed alternatives to nuclear fuel appear as tabled documents. There are indeed very few verbal counter proposals.

MicroConcord search SW: **propos*** CW: **alternat***

80 characters per entry Sort : 1L/SW shifted 5 characters.

1 and the second is to slightly change a proposed alternative route. For some r
2 not only question the CEGB case but also propose alternatives. We therefore sugg
3 lectual scrutiny and a lot of alternate proposals put forward which can then b
4 rs. There is not in fact an alternative proposal for Government capital invest
5 approximately 1 GW, with an alternative proposal for a coal station of equival
6 e employment effects of the alternative proposal that we are making for domest
7). 2 (D) THE EFFECTS OF THE ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL ON
8 of the Inquiry. 49. 2. AN ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL FOR ELECTRICITY GENERATION 5
9 rming my assessment of that alternative proposal? A. No, sir. 58. Q. And do
10 NIREX would have to submit alternative proposals for investigation, is that r
11 gestation whilst a number of alternative proposals were considered. Sir, the res
12 therefore been confirmed at alternative proposals. 252. - 34 - E. E. BARRITT —
13 ertheless be disturbed. The alternative proposed by the Suffolk Preservation S
14 ut the sentence again: "The alternative proposed by the Suffolk Preservation S
15 being said there is: "The alternative proposed by the Suffolk Preservation S
16 s proposed access road, the alternative proposed by the Suffolk Preservation S
17 equate justification for the alternative proposed. The Inspectorate will need ev
18 n about his figures, but no alternative proposition has been put to him, no me
19 eened rather than one of the alternative propositions which would be over relati
20 ference which require it to consider any proposed alternation, addition or modif
21 if a major serious alternative is being proposed to me which is intended to su
22 which show the alternative routes being proposed, except of course that route
23 ers to come back to the Board and either propose an alternative solution or dis
24 st a price of [50 a barrel, and you have proposed an alternative of [45 a barrel
25 with a net discount of [10 per tonne, I propose alternative North West European
26 not been able to review the CEGB's new proposals. Alternative Construction Ti
27 the proposed route and, indeed, by our proposed alternative, so that Dr. Ranw
28 ough Leiston. As between the Board's own proposal and the alternative offered by
29 may not be appropriate for a particular proposed design. Alternative approaches
30 s associated with an alternative reactor proposal would be likely to take at lea
31 LES _____ C. Alternative Schemes Proposed by the CEGB _____
32 nd the GLC. 57. C. Alternative schemes proposed by the CEGB. 58. D. The Rele
33 umber. At the meeting I invited specific proposals for alternative venues for an
34 o come forward with an alternative such proposal, which would allow the implem
35 nquiry to present an alternative to the proposal for a PWR at Sizewell - and a
36 es and OPEC countries. I would therefore propose an alternative "central" or Mid
37 have left me with a plan showing these proposed alternative routes all of whi
38 stment, than a smaller alternative. This proposition was not challenged. 48.
39 f parties have workable alternatives to propose. Such a procedure would be divi
40 our basis safety concept, what would you propose as an alternative to secondary
41 wing the forecasts by the Board and your proposed alternative for the price of o

Source: The Sizewell Corpus

Exponents of Huthwaite's 'Do's' in the Sizewell Corpus

We shall begin our examination with items 2 and 4 on the list of Do's. The reason for this is that the situationally and institutionally bound material to be dealt with in section 5 below first surfaced during the search for flags. More of that later. Once we begin to examine the Do's that we start to appreciate the huge power of data-assisted negotiating. If we begin with *Testing Understanding and Summarising*, we again become aware that even humble negotiators can benefit from seeing the power of playing different language games. If a negotiator says '*Correct me if I am wrong.*' There will always be an interlocutor with a flat literal mind who assumes that the speaker believes that he may be wrong and avers selflessly that he/she in need of correction. Nothing could be further from the truth. The illocutionary force (Austin 1962) is '*I have done my research very well and am now in a position to attack you!*'. This is especially the case when the form '*Correct me if I am wrong*' is followed by the word *but*. Where this is the case, the hapless, distracted, fault-seeking interlocutor with the flat literal mind is to be attacked immediately rather than later, let alone in the fullness of time.

MicroConcord search SW: wrong, but

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW shifted -1 characters.

1 u will I know, correct me if I am wrong, but amongst the useful comments he made
2 02. Q. Please correct me if I am wrong, but as we understand the Board's posit
3 or Moggridge, correct me if I am wrong, but as I see it, the long raised secti
4 ismic events. Correct me if I am wrong, but as I understand it an earthquake i
5 have got one of those references wrong, but CEGB/S/79 features somewhere. More
6 6, I may have got that reference wrong, but certainly during the time the NII
7 hether these figures are right or wrong, but from other data I have, over a much
8 Yes. 124. Q. Correct me if I am wrong, but I do not think, that at any rate a
9 ill of course correct me if I am wrong, but I think I have now taken care of t
10 t in case I have got the message wrong, but I believe our approach will attempt
11 correct me if you think this is wrong, but I did not notice anything that you
12 A. Yes, to some extent I may be wrong, but I think I know the kind of tests S
13 he option, and correct me if I am wrong, but I do not see any direct address of
14 sure he will correct me if I am wrong, but I did not understand him to wish yo
15 . Yes. 283. Q. Correct me if I am wrong, but I do not think there is mention mad
16 sure I will be corrected if I am wrong, but I understand that the philosophy in
17 not quite sure, and perhaps I am wrong, but I thought Dr. Wright had got as far
18 8 is my arithmetic, which got it wrong, but I do not think my point is affected
19 d I stand to be corrected if I am wrong, but I do not think I am wrong. Of cours
20 w and I will be corrected if I am wrong, but I think I know, Dr. Edmondson would
21 8. Q. You will correct me if I am wrong, but in reading your proof of evidence N
22 Silsoe will no doubt me if I am wrong, but in convenient form in paragraph 58
23 egypt as perceived by me. I may be wrong, but it would appear that Drax was the
24 want? Please correct me if I am wrong, but it does not seem to me that at any
25 the question. I may have got it wrong, but let us see first. What I thought M
26 m getting slightly lost. I may be wrong, but my recollection of the peer proced
27 168, page 71. Correct me if I am wrong, but no questions were put to Mr. Wilson
28 is in the UK. Correct me if I am wrong, but taking your 1982 figures and starti
29 answers I am giving, I could be wrong, but that would be my judgment. 361.
30 Mr. Harrison, do tell me if I am wrong, but that is the only paragraph in the
31 Well, I may be right or I may be wrong, but the view I take at the moment, Mr.
32 Mr. Harrison, correct me if I am wrong, but the point of the fault schedule is
33 ation. 17. Q. So the answer was wrong, but the correct answer was that faults

34 as to whether that was right or wrong, but the fact is that that is what happens
 35 something like that. I may be quite wrong, but there are none that we have been a
 36 far as I understand it and I may be wrong, but there is no explicit assumption that
 37 Mr. Corkerton will stop me if I am wrong, but they are not applying this work for
 38 Mr. Harrison, correct me if I am wrong, but this single page is the only page
 39 right arm will be jogged if I am wrong, but we would also be interested in con
 40 sure you will correct me if I am wrong, but what I understood Mr. Flint to be s
 41 correct me if my understanding is wrong, but what Professor Moggridge told us i
 42 think to expect that is obviously wrong, but what we have done is given, as I h
 43 ximum forces." I may have got it wrong, but what I understood Dr. Resnikoff to
 44 He will tell me if he thinks I am wrong, but, what degree of accuracy of diagnos
 45 rect. 72. Q. Correct me if I am wrong, but while the colours which have been

Source: The Sizewell Corpus

As this type of unexpected attack progresses throughout a negotiation the unwary negotiator begins to suspect almost everything that is said by the other side. The other side proceeds to allay such fears by offering another frequent *Do : the Motives Commentary* (Item 4 on the list). Just as suspicion and fear grip the heart of those on the other side, the data-assisted negotiator offers fake reassurance by offering plausible and public-spirited reasons for what they say and do.

Negotiator 1: Are you still having problems with deliveries?

Negotiator 2: Well, yes, I suppose we are.

Negotiator 1: The reason I ask is that this is a slack period for us and we could perhaps free a few vehicles for your use, say, twice a week.

The motives commentary may, of course, be genuine. But we are in the world on negotiating and anything can happen. Let us examine the same form in the Sizewell Corpus.

MicroConcord search SW: the reason I ask*
 80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

19 of course you can do that. 300. Q. The reason I ask you this question is that the
 20 s B1 in February, 1980. 255. Q. The reason I ask you this is whenever I have b
 21 of detail. 108. Q. Mr. Taylor, the reason I ask you these questions is that
 22 showing I am not sure. 399. Q. The reason I ask is from several of them I am
 23 e design basis means in Germany? The reason I ask is that I have been less for
 24 face and Work Place Conditions"? The reason I ask that is that it does not appe
 25 absence of any underclad cracks". The reason I ask you whether you were aware of
 26 he very beginning, sir. 572. Q. The reason I ask is that I have in mind that t
 27 e same kind of appliances. Q. No. The reason I ask is that if one looks at the m
 29 ave looked at it, yes. 104. Q. The reason I ask this is that in his response
 30 he Chase studies. A. Yes. 238. Q. The reason I ask you this is it is becoming cl
 31 better? 257. Q. I understand, but the reason I asked you this question is that i
 32 ommoner form of cancer. 393. Q. The reason I asked you that question is that w
 33 e looking at? A. Yes. 260. Q. But the reason I asked is sometimes, as you will b
 34 - J. W. BAKER _____ 572. Q. The reason I asked that question I think will
 35 in Knutsford, the PMT. 664. Q. The reason I asked you that was that Mr. Georg
 36 y close one to the other. 650. The reason I asked you earlier, Dr. Avery, abo
 37 ery strict requirements. 82. Q. The reason I asked that question, Lord Weir, w
 38 ste that arises off-site. 396. The reason I asked you for the amount of radia
 39 e we were talking about. 81. Q. The reason I asked you, Mr. Girling, is as I s
 40 ere present. 255. Q. Dr. Kelly, the reason I asked that rather inept question
 41 ot adequate. 175. Q. Mr. Smith, the reason I asked this question is, of course

The motives behind the motives commentary in the concordance are ostensibly to get to the truth. However, as we shall see, the primary motive within legal and quasi-legal hearings is to create a record of proceedings in a form that suits the profession.

This brings us to some crucial findings within what Huthwaite refer to as *Flagging* (Item 1 on their list of *Do's*). Flagging refers to the way in which negotiators 'flag' or draw attention their feelings throughout a negotiation. There are commonly two types of flag: positive and negative. In the world of diplomacy there is customarily only one form of negative flag: disappointment. Line 9 below would never be uttered by a diplomat.

MicroConcord search SW: disappointed
80 characters per entry Sort : 1L/SW unshifted.

1 been completed. The ACRS is also disappointed with the absence of even a limit
2 efore, we are very distressed and disappointed with the lack of assessment being
3 e, have themselves said, "We are disappointed we have reached this stage withou
4 is morning. Can I say that we are disappointed to hear the way he has put it. 24
5 themselves to. 176. I would be disappointed and saddened if a lady seeking i
6 filled was not the only one to be disappointed at the time of all three Prelimin
7 themselves to. 176. I would be disappointed and saddened if a lady seeking i
8 nk the CEGB, themselves, would be disappointed if they failed to reach a rather
9 ere alarmed, annoyed, frustrated, disappointed, embittered by the fact that the
10 energy, but I feel I must say how disappointed I am to see that expenditure on r
11 t is said by Mr. Petrie: "I was disappointed that after nearly five months si
12 e Energy Committee that they were disappointed when the CEGB withdrew in that ca

Source: The Sizewell Corpus

More than any other form of repeatable language event in negotiations, flags are our best indicators of the *ideology* of the boardroom. Ideology involves consent and negotiators consent routinely to abuses which would not be tolerated outside the boardroom. If someone hid something of yours, that might be termed a practical joke. You may justifiably be very angry about it. Not so in the boardroom, where material evidence is routinely concealed, as we see in the concordance for *happy+to*. Note how the terms *left* and *right* of the *node* are useful in analysing the typical event involved. To the left there is deliberate concealment. The node represents the moment that this is discovered and the discomfort of the concealer, who pronounces him/herself delexically 'happy' rather than truly 'sad' (for having been found out). Compliance to the right is patently disingenuous, but *nobody* storms out in a huff at having been manifestly cheated. Consent for cheating has been manufactured. It is not only an ideology, but a robust and indispensable one.

MicroConcord search SW: happy to
 80 characters per entry
 Sort : 1R/SW shifted 4 characters.

21 t struck the right balance, we will be happy to comply with what you regard as
 22 some other way we shall, of course, be happy to comply. 166. Sir,
 37 gories? A. Not without notice, but I am happy to have the information supplied
 49 blem in the US. Again, I would be very happy to make that available to the Boa
 50 gain, this is something I would be very happy to make available to you on Ameri
 52 y document, sir, but would be quite happy to obtain a copy of this for Rev.
 53 e by giving those references - I am happy to omit them - the reason I do is
 55 that is why I said initially we are happy to provide the factual informatio
 56 o not have them to hand. I shall be happy to provide them. 478. Q. Than
 57 Thank you, Mr. Baker. I would be quite happy to provide you with my calculatio
 58 Table 11. A. Certainly, we will be happy to provide it. 66. Q. The oth
 59 inding the Department would be very happy to provide it. The decision to e
 60 y. We have told Mr. Sweet that we are happy to provide that material to him
 61 eady in evidence, we would be happy to put it into evidence.
 62 is not already in evidence, we would be happy to put it into evidence. It
 63 the total was 24%. Sir, I shall be happy to put that in evidence. 493.
 69 hing for Mr. Priddle, we have, I am happy to say up to a point, exceede
 70 e safety case. So, while I am very happy to schedule these changes so that
 71 - A. But I think the Board would be happy to see a completed station before
 72 Department of Energy would be quite happy to see stations ordered in advanc

Source: The Sizewell Corpus

Happy+to forms part of the common core of the ideology of all negotiating. Matters become worse when we see how pernicious the the ideology of particular institutions can be. For example, within the Sizewell data we see how imperative it is to capture the record in a form that suits the inquiry. In the final concordance below, we see that *happy* and *sorry* change places with their semantic equivalents as defined in the dictionary.

17 AM _____ 410. MR. POPHAM: I am sorry to interject, sir. I do not think the
 18 aps I could go on... 320. Q. I am sorry to interrupt you. I am asking you for
 19 s, indeed. 247. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to interrupt you, Mr. Taylor, but the
 20 97. THE INSPECTOR: Mr. Howell, I am sorry to interrupt you, but the shorthand wr
 21 _____ 660. Q. Professor, I am sorry to interrupt you. Could you go with m
 22 02. THE INSPECTOR: Mr. Howell, I am sorry to interrupt you, but you have identif
 23 . 944. A MEMBER OF THE PUBLIC: I am sorry to interrupt this, but you have just b
 24 7. MR. FITZGERALD: Mr. Jenkin, I am sorry to interrupt you. I wonder if I could
 25 upply... 137. Q. Mr. Parker, I am sorry to interrupt you, but can we trace th
 26 which is just above... 46. Q. I am sorry to interrupt you, Le Baylais 3, when y
 27 st 1 mtce 768. Q. Professor, sorry to interrupt you. A. Where is the oil
 28 _____ 660. Q. Professor, I am sorry to interrupt you. Could you go with m
 29 upply... 137. Q. Mr. Parker, I am sorry to interrupt you, but can we trace th
 30 THE INSPECTOR: Mr. Fitzgerald, I am sorry to interrupt you, but we promised we w
 31 262. Q. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to interrupt you, but you keep on usi
 32 ou not? A. That is correct. 605. Q. Sorry to interrupt you. A. To some extent, t
 33 THE INSPECTOR: Mr. Fitzgerald, I am sorry to interrupt, but it has happened on a
 34 CPRE/S/155. 39. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to interrupt, Mr. Taylor. What is this
 35 PROF. FOSTER: Thank you very much. Sorry to interrupt. 730. Q. MR. BARTLETT: Mr
 36 like, of the supply curve. 331. Q. Sorry to interrupt. Can you continue please?
 37 0. MR. TAYLOR: Mr. Fitzgerald, I am sorry to intervene, but you will recall in r
 38 ly accept it, yes. 269. MR. TAYLOR: Sorry to intervene, Lord Silsoe, but you do
 42 are... 237. Q. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to keep interrupting you, but characte
 43 oil prices into UK terms. 181. I am sorry to keep on coming back to it, but as f

It is common cause that one cannot be genuinely sorry if one keeps performing the act for which an apology is offered (Grice, 1975). The citations above settle the semantic

reversal which is at work within institutions. The inspector says he is sorry to interrupt, but he is happy to interrupt in much the same way as those who were happy to provide copies of concealed documents are sorry to provide them. Genuine happiness or sorrow are never institutional. They are primitive (Louw, 2006).

4 Conclusion

The answers to the questions posed in the title of this paper are both affirmative. The consequences of this fact will have profound consequences for the future of negotiating and for institutions. Negotiating will improve exponentially at first as data-assisted techniques are enlisted in training. However, as the institutionalised dishonesty upon which institutions are perched and upon which they depend for their profit is unraveled as part of the process and product of negotiating, honest citizenry, fully prepared and *data-driven* may finally be more than a match for our dishonestly structured world. What price the liberty of the witness who says to the judge: ‘My Lord, with the greatest respect, is this a hearing or a carefully structured series of interruptions?’

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Paper 7, 2007a: Truth, literary worlds and devices as collocation

This keynote paper, delivered in Granada at TALC 2006, marks the first occasion when a link was created between corpora and analytical philosophy.

Abstract

Before the advent of corpus linguistics and the information age, the fact that language would become its own instrumentation could not have been foreseen. This, coupled with the simultaneous realisation (largely as a result of lexicographical studies by John Sinclair in 1987 and into the nineties) that human intuition in the area of language study was unreliable, brought collocation to prominence as the major means by which ‘hidden meanings’ (Sinclair et al. 1990; Sinclair 2004; Louw 1993, 2000) might be dealt with, especially by means of semantic prosodies. The belief is gradually becoming firmer that the question of meaning can no longer be settled at first sight during the act of reading, especially where first sight refers to a reading which is ‘unassisted’ by data. This situation was partially predicted by philosophers like Ayer (1971: 186), who maintained that material things could exist throughout a period where none of their elements were actually experienced, pending the fulfilment of certain conditions. Corpora have made conditions more favourable for dealing with truth studies. In addition to irony and insincerity, the eight or so strands of any dictionary definition of truth can now be illustrated fairly readily through access to corpora. Conversely, space will need to be created in future dictionaries to accommodate definitions of truth which may only fully be arrived at by means of instrumentation. Collocation is now in a position to provide this. Both delexicalisation and the notion of ‘local grammars’ (Sinclair and Barnbrook 2001) are likely to reveal and define the ideological truths which inhabit specialised varieties of language, and the worlds in many of which they remain undetected and therefore, unquestioned. Because collocation is derived from the Malinowskian/Firthian tradition, larger units such as ‘context of situation’ may eventually become automated through collocation (Louw 2000). Its application to large corpora will not only offer us glimpses of our own putative world, but also of its ideological variants. These worlds may then be compared with their mimetic or defamiliarised counterparts both literary and fictional. Whether the human characters that inhabit literary worlds are cold and impersonal or dependent and suffocating, their actions will march in step with the collocates that surround them, as ‘persons and personalities’ (Firth 1935). The degree of fracture within context of situation will create collocational profiles that reflect it. The creation of fake worlds will often depend upon the creation and acceptance of a fake collocate or collocates which the reader/hearer, because of poor intuition, attests readily, but which the corpus rejects. The language of the honest may be mobilised within a magnetic medium to ‘write’ the language of the deceiver, whether mere ironist or traitor. A point is fast approaching where all literary devices will benefit from being seen as collocation. Part of the approach proposed in this paper will be to provide simple proofs the reader can use both to demonstrate collocative power, and to reveal the inadequacy of mentalist alternatives such as schema theory and the cognitive ‘turn’ in literary studies and stylistics. The temptation to invent terminology in order to explain data will be replaced by direct access to meaning through data in ways that are even likely to discourage description which is unrelated to the central goal of instrumentation for language.

1. Introduction

More than 14 years ago, at a conference held at Stirling in Scotland, John Sinclair in his keynote paper said:

The study of language is moving into a new era in which the exploitation of modern computers will be at the centre of progress. The machines can be harnessed in order to test our hypotheses, they can show us things that we may not already know and even things which shake our faith quite a bit in established models, and which may cause us to revise our ideas very substantially. In all of this my plea is to trust the text. (Sinclair 2004: 23, emphasis added)

As one examines the course of corpus linguistics over the past 14 years, one might perhaps be forgiven for making several observations about the extent to which this plea has, outside of the work of Sinclair himself, gone almost entirely unheeded. Although one sees some evidence to confirm that the text has been accorded more trust over the course of those years, nothing much has appeared in print to suggest that corpus access has shaken the faith of researchers in established models. No established models appear to have gone to the wall or been discredited to the point, publicly, of being pronounced dead.

There appear to be several reasons for this entirely unexplained lack of action in the advancement of scholarship within corpus studies. The first of these is endemic in the nature of what might be called the ‘analogue’ period of scientific investigation. All academics delight in the apparent freedom and eclecticism that characterises most avenues of scholarship: they are apparently free to choose the scholarly orientation which best seems to account for the facts that together make up our particular discipline.¹ As a result, we often align ourselves with a ‘school of thought’ or seek to alienate ourselves from other schools which appear to us, either demonstrably or only *prima facie*, to be mere excrescences of sloppy thinking. As birds of a feather we associate almost exclusively with those who think as we do. We attend conferences of the converted. From the tone of John Sinclair’s paper in the paragraph quoted above,² even the Stirling conference may well have been a conference of the converted. We can sense his dissatisfaction: corpora ought to be prompting a questioning of positions.

And yet, Sinclair's statement above has profound or 'daunting' implications for the future of those forms of scholarship which are currently regarded as 'schools of thought'.³ In advocating that we 'trust the text', there is an inescapable inference that we ought now to *rely substantially less upon* that which we have trusted *hitherto*. The quality or beliefs to be rejected may take many forms. They may be intuitions, introspections and ideologies, or combinations of all three; but all of them are likely to fall short in some material way of being regarded any longer as evidence. Sinclair stops short of saying the words 'instrumentation for language'. However, as he is undoubtedly the inventor of instrumentation for language, he may avoid referring to it for reasons of modesty (Louw 2003); Sinclair may well omit reference to instrumentation in the generous belief that corpus linguists and those of other persuasions might be willing to act upon the consequences of having encountered evidence which shakes their faith in established models.

Such forms of surrender are often alienating and painful. For example, it came as a shock to the delegates of the Systemic Functional (SF) Workshop on Metaphor held in Ghent (14-17 July, 1999) that collocation and semantic prosodies may offer a better account of what SF linguists call 'grammatical metaphor' than that supported by our or even Michael Halliday's (1985, 1994) intuition. In the world of scientific discovery and advancement, digital instrumentation is never really regarded as being available for further description. Once the 'truth' of its output has been universally attested, instrumentation is simply accepted; not within frameworks provided by schools of thought as 'cognitive instrumentation' or 'SF instrumentation', but as a form of truth which is considered demonstrably and universally reliable. Argumentation is still possible in science's 'analogue' phase, but there is very little scope for it once a 'change of some sort' has been accepted as 'digital'. Those attempting to question the compression of gases or the accuracy of digital thermometers or validity of atomic theory are likely to be relegated, in the world of scholarship today, to a mere footnote or a query rather than given the space of an article in the journal *Nature*.⁴ However, the arrival of instrumentation often engenders a range of schizoid reactions, from outright denial (when confronted by danger the ostrich is reputed to bury its head in the sand)⁵ to a desire to rely upon both the analogue and the digital simultaneously. The advent of digital watches produced new designs that sported both types of display simultaneously.

Of course, the possibility that language would become its own instrumentation could not have been foreseen and many scholars who decided to settle for less before its arrival continue to experience embarrassment. John Lyons is a case in point. John Sinclair's first major work in the area of collocation took place in Edinburgh University within Lyons's own department and with his knowledge and apparent approval. Attempts to publish the full report on this work have suffered many setbacks (notably the serial and unexplained withdrawal of publishers who had agreed to print it). *English collocation studies: the OSTI report* by John Sinclair, Susan Jones and Robert Daley, edited by Ramesh Krishnamurthy, and including a new interview with John Sinclair conducted by Wolfgang Teubert, has finally been published by Continuum Press.

Inexplicably, Lyons disregarded the power of this major work to the point of arguing for linguistics to be seen as a softer science than Sinclair had clearly already produced. Even Andrew Ortony, in his youth and during a period which pre-dates the apparent start of his *curriculum vitae* published in his own website, *worked part time on the OSTI collocation project!* Ortony, either surprisingly or entirely explicably, takes his studies of metaphor so far into cognitive theory that all access to data is utterly proscribed. The two quotations from the works of these scholars (set out below) settle their decisions in print for all posterity to see.

The quotation by Lyons is set out first as he attempts to argue that linguistics, as a science, has to be made more robust. He argues that soft sciences like linguistics (*sic*) may derive respectable levels of experimental rigour by means of the argument of 'reductionism'.⁶ His remarks are made only a matter of years before the appearance of the first edition of the *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* in 1987, created by John Sinclair, long after he had moved from Edinburgh to Birmingham University. Sinclair took the second phase of the OSTI project on collocation with him to Birmingham.

Nevertheless, there are many practitioners and theorists of the social sciences who seem to feel, quite wrongly, that there is something unscientific about the postulation of entities and processes that cannot be described in physical terms. Thanks largely to Chomsky, this feeling is now less common than it once was among linguists; and linguistics is, in consequence, a richer and more interesting discipline.
(Lyons 1981: 244)

Of course, it is likely that Ortony and Lyons knew one another. Ortony (1979) mentions the tradition of philosophy and its role in ascertaining truth, only to reject it in the opening lines of his Introduction, along with all access to data and verification. Note how his language becomes obfuscatory and opaque as he sets out the latter objective. The reader becomes aware that Ortony (a member of the OSTI team) has joined Chomsky and Lyons as they turn their backs on corpora. There are other mysteries too: Robert Daley has apparently vanished without trace and The British Library has inexplicably ‘lost’ the only copy of the OSTI report with which it had been entrusted. One might almost be forgiven for sensing the presence of a hidden hand in addition to these extraordinary forms of near amnesia.

A basic notion of positivism was that reality could be precisely described through the medium of language in a manner that was clear, unambiguous, and, in principle, testable – reality could, and should, be literally describable ... However, a different approach is possible – an approach in which any truly veridical epistemological access to reality is denied. The central idea of this approach is that cognition is the result of mental construction. (Ortony 1979: 1)

At the end of this Introduction, it is worth posing the question whether a retreat into the mind is as serious as it has been made to sound. Is access to data optional? Are the flaws of human intuition with regard to language serious or trivial? Sadly, these questions are all too frequently ignored to the detriment of scholarship and even of human rights. Let us set the record straight in this paper: human intuition is *utterly* blind to certain aspects of language use, and those areas of the use of language are themselves massively frequent (Louw 2000). Further reference will be made below to Stockwell’s (2002: 77) outline of a schema for the term *pub*.

Human beings have great difficulty in distinguishing the full meaning of ‘delexical phrases’ or of being able (except with 20:20 hindsight) to state their ‘collocates’ through an act of introspection alone with any degree of coder reliability or consensus.⁷ This applies to many formulaic sequences such as ‘*being + what + it + is*’ referred to in Louw (2003). As almost all subjects are incapable of predicting the most frequent collocate to the left of ‘*being + what + it + is*’, the author does not propose to provide it here, in the hope that curiosity will drive readers to discover it in that still unpublished monograph.⁸ Because of these huge and easily demonstrable intuitive blindspots, the author is at a loss to find any benefit that might accrue from Ortony’s

‘mental construction’. Where the human mental apparatus itself in the form of intuition is demonstrably flawed for all human beings endowed with it, one has little alternative but to declare the fact. If “epistemological access to reality is denied”, might this not ‘conveniently’ obfuscate and prevent verification of the fact that intuition constitutes very poor building material even for cognitive construction?

This is not a trivial point. The habitual glossing over this fact is leading to the proliferation of a flawed if not fake tradition within other branches of scholarship. A good example is the blurb which follows for a single text which we are assured with much confidence forms the basis for the new discipline of ‘Cognitive Legal Studies’. Gould (2003: 249) warns: “*cave ab homine unius libri* – beware the man of only one book”.

A clearing in the forest is a brilliant and revolutionary re-thinking of legal theory. Steven Winter has applied the radically new view of mind coming from Cognitive Science to the most central issues in law. The result is a great book and an indispensable one – page after page of insights, both dazzling and deep. This book is destined to become the central text of the burgeoning movement in Cognitive Legal Studies. If you have a serious interest in the nature of law, you must read this book. (Lakoff 2001: 5)

The result is a work of stunning thoroughness and sophistication. (Johnson 2001: 5)

The names of these reviewers are well known to us within the field of linguistics. These are the same men who claim that there are “metaphors we live by” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) without ever informing us that the metaphors they cite are *all* delexical, and *all* citation forms, and *all* drawn from intuition rather than from natural text. Delexical phrases demonstrably make up the very heartland of human intuitive insufficiency. We now find that these same scholars are purporting to review, if not lay the groundwork for, cognitive approaches in law and philosophy. Have our new disciplines become this pitifully insubstantial? Surely Gould’s caveat above applies here.

In view of the above, it will be worth concluding this Introduction with an example taken from an advertisement and brought to the author’s attention by MBA students at his university. Some of the students, who are all business executives, found that they had paid large sums of money to an advertising agency for the slogan *Just like that!* The slogan was meant to emphasise how quickly and easily the agency’s client (an

Internet service provider) could get any customer connected to the Internet. Within days a problem surfaced: when the system failed, disgruntled customers (often unwittingly) used the same phrase in order to complain about the failure. Only corpus access and, much more powerfully, collocation, had sufficient instrumental power to settle the matter. The desired sense of expeditious connectivity was found to occupy about one percent of corpus entries, whereas the undesired collocates which suggested interrupted process were much more frequent: *died*, *disappear**, *stop**, *fail**, *vanish**, etc.⁹ Phrases of this type are extremely frequent (Butler 2004; Wray 1999, 2000, 2002; Wray and Perkins 2000) and may occupy up to a third of all English in use. Because of their opacity to intuition much of the world's deception will be based within such phrases and found to inhabit the same space. This makes the growing link between corpus linguistics and critical reading even stronger, and has led this author to claim that close reading can no longer be carried out satisfactorily unassisted by data. Hence, the computer is an indispensable tool in the act of reading. We shall return to this in later sections. The exhortations of the pop singer Jewel, which are to “follow your heart, your intuition ... This will lead you in the right direction” (Kilcher 2003) may now perhaps be shown to function more reliably in respect of affairs of the heart than they do within delexical phraseology.¹⁰ To his credit, Butler (2004) tests his SF material against corpora of natural language.

2. Truth, philosophy and science

We now move to a consideration of the very interface between philosophy and science which Ortony enjoins us to disregard in favour of a retreat into the mind. This recommendation involves trading a hard science (to which Ortony was once exposed, between 1963 and 1965) for a soft one whose only chance of quasi- scientific rigour is to be found in its dated methodology, its made-up examples in single sentence citation forms and Lyons's argument in favour of reductionism, but **not** and **never** through access to natural language data. Philosophers have always expressed greater respect for the future of empiricism than do the cognitivists. Throughout the 1950s, psychology and empiricism were regarded as amounting to the same thing, as this entry for the term *concept* in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* for the year 1952 demonstrates.

The convenience of the word 'concept' is that it supplies a brief mode of referring to the interest of philosophers in logical or linguistic

problems, as distinct from the interest of other inquirers in empirical (nonlinguistic) matters of fact. (Vol. vi: 197)

Today, corpora are the major source of empiricism in linguistics. In any event, the major pitfall in using the term results from the fact that the ‘brief’ mode of its use often becomes extended as if it were a *scientific* finding. For example, semantic prosodies are a scientifically proven phenomenon in language. Those who might wish them away in order to preserve schools of thought from falsification may well wish to refer to them as a concept in order to suggest that their scientific status as instrumentation is merely putative. The matter is dealt with conclusively by Frank Palmer (1976: 27) as will become apparent later in this paper.

Also in 1952, *LIFE Magazine* photographer Alfred Eisenstaedt was commissioned to photograph Bertrand Russell. The photographer commented to Lord Russell upon the fact that he sat entirely motionless as the lights and camera-stand were being set up. Russell replied: “The crocodile moves very slowly”. Crocodiles, of course wait very patiently for their prey to come to *them*. They do not hunt in the normal sense of the word: philosophy is patient, not predatory. Philosophy waits for science to catch up, take over and solve the questions which philosophy debates and may have debated, even for centuries or millennia. Russell describes this process in an interview with Woodrow Wyatt in 1960:

Russell: ... philosophy consists of speculations about matters where exact knowledge is not yet possible ... science is what we know and philosophy is what we don't know ... and for that reason questions are perpetually passing over from philosophy into science as knowledge advances.

Wyatt: Then when something is established and discovered it ceases to be philosophy and becomes science?

Russell: Yes, and all sorts of questions that used to be labelled philosophy are no longer so labelled ... I think that philosophy has two uses really. One of them is to keep alive speculation about things that are not yet amenable to scientific knowledge ... There are a great many things of immense interest about which science, at present at any rate, knows very little and I don't want people's imaginations to be limited and enclosed within what can be now known. I think that to enlarge your imaginative view of the world in the hypothetical realm is one of the uses of philosophy ... But there's another use ... which is to show that there are things which we thought we knew and don't know. On the one hand, philosophy is to keep us thinking about things that we may come to know, and on the other hand to keep us modestly aware of how much that seems like

*knowledge **isn't** knowledge ... Democritus invented the atomic hypothesis that matter consists of little atoms, and after two thousand years ... it turned out that this was the right scientific view, but in his day it was merely a suggestion.*

Wyatt: *How is this done – by some sort of **intuition**?*

Russell: *Oh, no. The people who first think of these hypotheses can't say, "this is the truth" – they can only say, "this may be the truth". And if you have a good scientific imagination you can think of all sorts of things that might be true, and that's the essence of science. You first think of something that might be true – then you look to see if it is, and generally it isn't ...*

Wyatt: *Now in this way philosophy, in a sense, becomes a kind of servant of science.*

Russell: *... it isn't only a servant of science – because there are a number of things that science can't deal with. All questions of values, for example. Science won't tell you what is good and what is bad – what is good or bad as an end, not just as a means ...*

Wyatt: *What kind of philosopher would you say you are?*

Russell: *Well, the only label I've ever given myself is logical atomist ... It means that the way to get at the nature of any subject ... is analysis – and that you can analyze until you get to things that can't be analyzed any further and those would be logical atoms.*

(Russell 1960: 12-15, emphasis added)

What then are some of the consequences of what Russell has said above for corpus study and for TaLC? In the first place we have to ask whether we are ready to receive the mantle which philosophy hands down to science. Are we sufficiently scientific in our thinking, in our practices and in our approach to theory to receive it? Or are we *divided* to the point that some of us are holding on to the past as a comfort zone and, in so doing, sowing confusion, either unwittingly or deliberately? If we are doing it deliberately, are we doing it on behalf of 'empire', see Louw (2004),¹¹ by expecting the corpus to comply with the metalanguage of some now easily falsified, intuitively derived and plainly outmoded theory? John Sinclair once wrote a paper entitled 'First throw away your evidence' (Sinclair 1986a). Are any of us ever guilty of this? Are we allowing the corpus to treat our beliefs as vulnerable? Are we trusting the text enough to throw false beliefs away, even if they cost us friendships, membership of organisations or even trips to conferences in whose objectives we *know* that we no longer believe?

A second series of questions deals with whether we are able to appreciate the distinguished nature of the succession which is involved in the progress of scholarship

from philosophy to science. Can we follow and act upon the succession involved in the area of science set out below which affects us most

Table 1

AREA	ANALOGUE	DIGITAL / Scientific status
Atomic theory	Democritus, Rutherford, Einstein, etc.	Dalton
Solar theory	Aristarchus	Copernicus
Collocation vs. 'word meaning' as language instrumentation	Cicero, Breal, Darmsteter, Firth, Ullmann, Halliday & Hasan	Sinclair

Do we wish to cap technologies in order, to allow, in Russell's words, "people's imaginations to be limited within what can now be known ...?"

Censorship certainly occurs. Before we jump to the conclusion that it only happens to literacy projects with a corpus component in African countries targeted by the US for globalisation,¹² we need to consider some of the following. Consider: the way in which publication of the OSTI report was delayed by four decades swimming in treacle from publisher to publisher on its way to press; Ron Carter's inexplicably unpublished Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) materials which included a large video component, and L. John Chapman's Open University Textual Cohesion Project (remember that Hallidayan 'texture' had a strong commitment to collocation's analogue phase, which Halliday later abandons), etc. In his blueprint for setting up what has today become the secret service, Cecil John Rhodes (in his 'confessions' *sic*), singles out universities and publishers for infiltration by spies and spoilers. He was 23 years old when he wrote it:

The idea gleaming and dancing before one's eyes like a will-of-the-wisp at last frames itself into a plan. Why should we not form a secret society with but one object, the furtherance of the British Empire and the bringing of the whole uncivilised world under British rule, for the recovery of the United States, for the making of the Anglo-Saxon race but one Empire? [...] [It] would be a society not openly acknowledged but which would have its members in every part of the British Empire ... placed at our universities and in our schools ... in every Colonial legislature. The Society should attempt to have its members prepared at all times to vote or speak and advocate the closer union of England and the colonies, to crush all disloyalty and every movement for the severance of our Empire. The Society should inspire or even own portions of the press for the press rules the minds of men. [...] What a dream, but yet it is probable. It is possible.

(Thomas 1996: 112)

Is this happening or still happening? Is the retreat from evidence and into the mind a ‘dark operation’, a creation of empire calculated to reduce critical or data-assisted scrutiny of its policies? How much of schema theory would pass Russell’s test of what is and is not knowledge (and he was speaking 44 years ago!)? And when did schema theory ever purport to provide us with schemata to show that we *know* when we are being deceived?

A further issue arising from Russell’s interview is the question of whether corpora have anything to contribute on the subject of what is good and what is bad. Has the ethical debate moved on since 1960? The ability of semantic prosodies to detect insincerity (Louw 1993) is a scientifically well-founded (upon the work of Sinclair), but neglected area of research. Could it be that unspecified penalties lie in wait for researchers who choose to shun the ideology and work in this area?

Russell wanted to use philosophy to make ordinary language fit to work with. If corpora had existed at Cambridge in the 1920s and 1930s, they may have averted one of the greatest and most damaging battles that the discipline of philosophy ever witnessed. Russell’s star pupil, Ludwig Wittgenstein, departed both from the orientation of his earlier work and from the view of his mentor by concluding that ordinary language was fit for use by philosophy and that Russell’s contribution was less valuable than it seemed to be because argument founded upon tautology must always suffer from serious limitations.¹³

After writing the *Tractatus logico-philosophicus* (1921), Wittgenstein had abandoned philosophy for a period of ten years. He then returned to Cambridge and began to dismantle the position he had taken in the *Tractatus*. In *Philosophical Investigations* (1953), he argues that philosophical problems arise as a result of having paid insufficient attention to the variety of natural language use. This is a position with which TaLC sympathises, but we must remember that Wittgenstein reached it *without* a corpus: the picture of Russell by Eistenstaedt would have been taken less than a year after Wittgenstein’s death, but, at the time that the shutter opened and closed, Russell would have known that Wittgenstein’s *Philosophical Investigations* (1953) was already in press. Wittgenstein no longer wanted philosophy to wait for language to stray logically within range of the crocodile’s jaws; he wanted to abandon the river-bed, and settle imperceptibly into the full variety of contexts and institutions of natural

language use, perhaps as a chameleon. In this fact we find that Wittgenstein's thinking is today still at the cutting edge of what we are attempting to accomplish in TaLC. This is confirmed by the fact that the cutting edge of corpus study is to be found in Sinclair's current work (with Geoff Barnbrook) on 'local grammars'.

It is now imperative that we meet two more philosophical animals.¹⁴ Archilochus tells us that foxes "know lots of things" and that "hedgehogs know one *big* thing". For this reason, there is always grudging admiration for hedgehogs deep within the hearts of foxes. Far and away the best fox within the philosophy of language was A. J. Ayer.¹⁵ He would have found immensely gratifying the fact that John Sinclair in his book entitled *Reading Concordances* (2003) devotes an entire chapter to a consideration of semantic prosodies and calls that chapter 'Hidden meanings' (Sinclair 2003: 117-125). Ayer was deeply concerned not only with the nature of empirical evidence, but also with the possibility that evidence and meaning which today are inaccessible to human intuition may re-surface in the future in a fully attestable form. Provision would need to be made for attesting the truth of such forms of meaning. Logical positivism took the view that only those elementary propositions are meaningful which are either tautological or empirically verifiable. Metaphysics, theology and ethics might, therefore, be rejected as meaningless.

On a simple level, one may surmise, for example, that all swans are white. If evidence were provided that in a million sightings of swans, they all turned out to be white, Ayer would have seen the evidence as compelling, but would nonetheless prefer to entertain the possibility that black swans *might* exist.

Corpus evidence today shows that black swans exist which both fail and pass the test of reference; English pubs exist which are called the Black Swan, as does a publisher named Black Swan Press; however, black swans which do pass the test of reference are shown by corpora to exist in Australia. Oswald Hanfling (1997: 9) alludes to the following extract from a broadcast in 1949 in which Ayer attempts to assert his 'principle of verification':

Suppose I say, "There's a drogulus over there" and you say ... "What's a drogulus?" Well, I say, "I can't describe what a drogulus is, because it is not the sort of thing you can see or touch, it has no physical effects of any kind, but it's a disembodied being". And you say, "Well how am I to tell if it's there or not?" and I say, "There's no

way of telling. Everything's just the same if it's there or it's not there. But the fact is it's there. There's a drogulus there standing just behind you". Does that make sense?

Quite apart from the similarity between *droguli* and *phlogiston*, to which we shall return later in the context of schema theory, Ayer is making a very important point which ought to assist in determining the moment for 'the handover of sovereignty' (*sic*) from philosophy to science: science will need to demonstrate that it is in a position to cope with *droguli* evidentially. Linguists who suffer from the *phlogiston* fallacy, will, as we shall see later, fall short of Ayer's test which he states in the following way:

This explains how it is possible for a material thing to exist throughout a period when none of its elements are actually experienced: it is sufficient that they should be capable of being experienced – that is, that there should be a hypothetical fact to the effect that, if certain conditions were fulfilled, certain sense-contents ... would be experienced. (Ayer 1971: 186, emphasis added)

The precise extent of Ayer's vulpine perspicacity is only now capable of being appreciated within corpus work. As the 'implications' in this regard for sub-corpora and local grammars are 'daunting', it is worth providing an example at this point. If we study the concordance below for 'sorry + to' from the Sizewell Corpus, we find that *prima facie* it deals with an 'apology' which might satisfy the full tradition of the philosophy of language, and in particular Austin and Grice. However, Ayer's unspecified 'certain conditions' apply here. This is an example where the factual world behaves like *fiction*, only to escape unchallenged because we are dealing with manufactured consent or *ideology*. The lawyers involved in the interviews which relate to leaks of radiation from a nuclear power station wish to capture material for the record in ways which suit themselves rather than the interviewees or even public interest. In this example the condition which would satisfy Ayer is the *space* occupied by the concordance which is totally dominated by 'interruption' and 'intervention'. If one is truly 'sorry + to' interrupt, then surely one does so less frequently rather than repeatedly. Austin's felicity conditions would find themselves less than happy and drift into a deep sulk. In the event, we see that the Inspector is 'happy + to' interrupt witnesses whilst *saying* that he is sorry to interrupt them. Thus, in the Sizewell Corpus the terms 'happy + to' and 'sorry + to' change places.¹⁶ Of course, Ayer could not have

foreseen that the dominance by a form like *interrupt* by ‘sorry + to’ would clear the way for making empirically valid ethical statements. Ayer (1971: 148) says this:

We find that ethical philosophy consists simply in saying that ethical concepts are pseudo-concepts. The further task of describing the different feelings that the different ethical terms are used to express, and the different reactions that they customarily provoke, is a task for the psychologist.

How convenient for the purveyors of the ‘cognitive turn’ that philosophy should offer them the last word on ethics, especially as indicated earlier, no great claims are made by them for the existence or provision of *schemata* to recognise when we are being cheated. At the end of the day, the fox goes only very slightly beyond Russell’s view that for the sake of *clarity*, ethical judgements ought not to be seen as *facts*.

If someone still wishes to say that ethical statements are statements of fact, only it is a queer sort of fact, he is welcome to do so. So long as he accepts our grounds for saying that they are not statements of fact, it is simply a question of how widely or loosely we want to use the word ‘fact’. My own view is that it is preferable so to use it as to exclude ethical judgements, but it must not be inferred from this that I am treating them with disrespect. The only relevant consideration is that of clarity. (Ayer 1954: 232-233, emphasis added)

The lack of empirical evidence to prove that dishonesty is being practised even before our very eyes and to our prejudice finally places the chameleon ahead of the fox. However, in order to consolidate our revolution we shall need to look to the hedgehog, Sir Karl Popper (1902-1995).

1 184. LORD SILSOE: Again, sir, I am sorry to add yet another to the list, but
2 ting performance.” Now again I am sorry to ask you to look at Mr. Scargill
3 u first see that document? A. I am sorry to say we have been very remiss. Ne
4 , Dr. Arnott. 495. DR. ARNOTT: I am sorry to be a Jeremiah but I am still wo
5 o you have that? A. Once again I am sorry to be a nuisance. If there are gen
6 go to your Proof of Evidence again. Sorry to dart about at the moment, we fi
7 e engineered and so on. 218. I am sorry to go into the background detail,
8 ders onto the European market. I am sorry to go on at length but it is a per
9 46. Q. Thank you Mr. Komanoff. I am sorry to have taken so much of your time
10 560. THE INSPECTOR: Yes, thank you. Sorry to have taken up your time there,
11 l get in the funds, but I am deeply sorry to have to say to you that at the
12 t. 740. Q. If that is the case I am sorry to have taken your time. 741. THE
13 to questions. 418. Mr. Wilson, I am sorry to have to drag you and the rest o
14 re not completely happy.” Sir, I am sorry to have introduced it at such leng
15 hat point. 136. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to hear that. 137. MR. HANCOCK: We
16 ealt with. 329. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to hear about that, but I am sure
17 AM 410. MR. POPHAM: I am sorry to interject, sir. I do not think
18 aps I could go on ... 320. Q. I am sorry to interrupt you. I am asking you
19 s, indeed. 247. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to interrupt you, Mr. Taylor, but
20 97. THE INSPECTOR: Mr. Howell, I am sorry to interrupt you, but the shorthan
21 660. Q. Professor, I am sorry to interrupt you. Could you go wit
22 02. THE INSPECTOR: Mr. Howell, I am sorry to interrupt you, but you have ide
23 . 944. A MEMBER OF THE PUBLIC: I am sorry to interrupt this, but you have ju
24 7. MR. FITZGERALD: Mr. Jenkin, I am sorry to interrupt you. I wonder if I co
25 upply ... 137. Q. Mr. Parker, I am sorry to interrupt you, but can we trace
26 which is just above ... 46. Q. I am sorry to interrupt you, Le Baylais 3, wh
27 st 1 mtce 768. Q. Professor, sorry to interrupt you. A. Where is the

28 660. Q. Professor, I am sorry to interrupt you. Could you go wit
 29 upply ... 137. Q. Mr. Parker, I am sorry to interrupt you, but can we trace
 30 THE INSPECTOR: Mr. Fitzgerald, I am sorry to interrupt you, but we promised
 31 262. Q. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to interrupt you, but you keep on
 32 ou not? A. That is correct. 605. Q. Sorry to interrupt you. A. To some exten
 33 THE INSPECTOR: Mr. Fitzgerald, I am sorry to interrupt, but it has happened
 34 CPRE/S/155. 39. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to interrupt, Mr. Taylor. What is
 35 PROF. FOSTER: Thank you very much. Sorry to interrupt. 730. Q. MR. BARTLETT
 36 like, of the supply curve. 331. Q. Sorry to interrupt. Can you continue ple
 37 0. MR. TAYLOR: Mr. Fitzgerald, I am sorry to intervene, but you will recall
 38 ly accept it, yes. 269. MR. TAYLOR: Sorry to intervene, Lord Silsoe, but you
 39 rogramme. 32. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to introduce that cross- current,
 40 rogramme. 32. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to introduce that cross- current,
 41 a document. 283. MR. BARTLETT: I am sorry to intrude to introduce as a matte
 42 are ... 237. Q. THE INSPECTOR: I am sorry to keep interrupting you, but char
 43 oil prices into UK terms. 181. I am sorry to keep on coming back to it, but
 44 nce as a Cabinet Minister ..." I am sorry to pull my rank, but I really must
 45 o point in making this assumption - sorry to repeat this so often - there is
 46 o point in making this assumption - sorry to repeat this so often - there is
 47 anywhere in your document (ADD 4), sorry to return to that again, any input
 48 ble to produce we will do so. I am sorry to say that my own knowledge of th
 49 ill not be more expensive? A. I am sorry to say that I will have to ask you
 50 te within our own circles, and I am sorry to say that I can add little to th
 51 of importance to the Board - I am sorry to say we call the CEBG the Board
 52 ble to produce we will do so. I am sorry to say that my own knowledge of th
 53 ring the luncheon adjournment. I am sorry to say that (a) I have not read it
 54 ndication of the magnitude? A. I am sorry to say that I cannot add to what M
 55 ee while you are saying it? A. I am sorry to say the answer is no, since thi
 56 ent by NIREX in the Autumn? A. I am sorry to say that, as I think the Inquir
 57 nto some other set of Tables." I am sorry to say the result is, at any rate
 58 est, via the local newspapers. I am sorry to say that what I hear about thos
 59 te within our own circles, and I am sorry to say that I can add little to th
 60 ill not be more expensive? A. I am sorry to say that I will have to ask you
 61 ch would be useful to us? - A. I am sorry to say I had not quite finished.
 62 re part and stock altering? A. I am sorry to say that I am not well enough i
 63 of importance to the Board - I am sorry to say we call the CEBG the Board
 64 re part and stock altering? A. I am sorry to say that I am not well enough i
 65 a very substantial figure. A. I am sorry to say that I do not follow the qu
 66 y evidence, that is the case. I am sorry to say that I cannot give you a be
 67 he States that this is where, I am sorry to say, you have to use judgment.
 68 of power station and, indeed, I am sorry to say, that I did not even have t
 69 e done for one situation only. I am sorry to sound so Irish but I have a rea
 70 ODGKINSON Now, I am sorry to take a little time to draw that
 71 A. Which I will now give, and I am sorry to take so long to come round to i
 72 , to look at them. 62. Q. Yes. I am sorry to take a bit of time over this, b
 73 port, there is a stretch out - I am sorry to use the term stretch out; it is

Figure 1. Key Word in Context Concordance for 'sorry + to'
 (source: The Sizewell Corpus, Birmingham University)

When the library of Sir Karl Popper was sold by auction after his death in 1995, two important (for our purposes) details were revealed by the auctioneers in advance of the sale: (1) that A.J. Ayer had given the hedgehog a copy of one of his books inscribed: "For Karl Popper, who would have written a better book" (disarmingly frank admiration, from a fox); and (2) that Popper's copies of Wittgenstein's books were all acquired second hand. All of Popper's library was heavily annotated by himself and these hand-written annotations ran to hundreds of thousands of words. The auctioneers saw this as a major selling point (McCue 1995: 17).

Knowing 'one big thing' can be dealt with fairly quickly. In *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (1934), Popper proposed the view that although "knowledge cannot be absolutely confirmed ... science progresses by the experimental refutation of the current theory and its consequent replacement by a new theory, equally provisional, but covering more of the known data" (*Collins English Dictionary [CED] on CD Rom*). This was 'the one big thing' which our particular hedgehog knew.

The serial falsification of theories, then, arguably comes closest to offering TaLC a way forward into the future. The handover is unlikely to be far into the future, because our hedgehog does not entertain the possibility that theories will one day run out. When they do we shall have reached ‘instrumentation for language’ that will *not* be falsifiable. This author believes that this stage has now been reached in the form of collocation and that all that remains is for corpus linguists to use the corpus to falsify those areas of their own discipline that remain as obstacles to the handover. We do not wish to witness a fake ‘handover of sovereignty’ of the political kind that took place in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein. For example, philosophy cannot hand over at all or even in conscience to those mentalists and others, who for the sake of fashion, convenience or subterfuge now announce, all too often at conferences, that they “have a corpus”.

Creating a corpus of one’s own suffers from the fallacy which Firth called “fishing in our own tank” (Palmer 1976: 28) and which Louw (2003) refers to as a ‘minnows-in-minnows-out’ corpus, building upon Firth’s metaphor. No more can philosophy hand over to those who retain the ‘metalanguage and terminology’ of intuitively derived theories that are themselves falsifiable by means of corpus access. To suggest, as one group of SF researchers does (Coffin and O’Halloran 2004) that intuitively derived terminology can be retained, but be serially updated is also unacceptable. It fails the philosophers’ test of reference. There is no sense in creating the confusion of what a particular term meant over a period of time from Margaret Berry to Halliday, Martin, White and beyond, when readers may not have all of the references and may not much care to vest credence or authority in terms that are likely to vanish once some *eminence grise* within a school of thought finally says the word or vanishes from the discipline. This author has been accused more than once of being an ‘aggressive academic’.¹⁷ He takes this as a compliment. Sadly, the objectives of TaLC cannot advance as long as we remain in the self-imposed limbo between analogue and digital thinking. Only schizoid scientists would demand an analogue thermometer in order to check the four decimal place readout from their digital one! We either ‘trust the text’ or we do not. If we do, it is our honest duty to shut down theories which large amounts of natural text from a corpus (in a magnetic medium) can now easily refute. Remaining in denial in the face of objective truth and staring down truth is lawyers’ work and not the work of academics (unless they are on some Rhodes-style secret payroll), and is not for the

faint-hearted. The type of knowledge we obtain as we use corpora leaves us with no choice but to act upon it. It is what Terry Eagleton (1997: 4) calls ‘emancipatory knowledge’:

It is the kind of understanding of one's situation that a group or individual needs in order to change that situation; and it is among other things a new self-understanding. But to know yourself in a new way is to alter yourself in that very act; so we have here a peculiar form of cognition in which the act of knowing alters what it contemplates ... And since such knowledge also moves people to change their condition in a particular way, it becomes itself a kind of social or political force, part of the material situation it examines rather than a mere 'reflection of' or upon it ... in which knowing that is no longer separable from knowing how. Moreover, to seek to emancipate yourself involves questions of value, while knowing about your situation is a matter of factual comprehension ...

It was Karl Marx who wrote in his eleventh thesis on Feuerbach: “... the philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it” (Feuer 1969: 257).

3. Literary worlds and devices

The first thing we need to come to terms with is the fact that, as corpora have taken us to levels of data-assisted critical literacy undreamed of in the past, we may now find that the real world and fiction have largely changed places for those who are already in possession of this new literacy. Emancipatory knowledge involves the realisation that the world is largely structured by ideologies which were once invisible, but which corpora have begun to reveal as unchallenged forms of ‘fiction’, something expressly crafted for all of us to live out and in the absence of any redress.¹⁸ By contrast with this horror of knowing that we are all manipulated rather than free, the fictionality of literature is perceived as both harmless and liberating. Hence, literary forms of fiction will increasingly be not only emulated in real life but ‘forgiven’ and extolled because they become the key to our self-esteem and provide us with the stabilising knowledge of what life might have been like in a world where all agency is not flawed as a result of institutionalised, clandestine, imperial control. In this way, as literacy sheds the skin of its analogue phase, the cyberliterate of the future may conspire to prefer literature to the fictions of life for as long as power remains uncowed by truth. Popper points out that an epigram by Karl Marx finally destroys the tyranny

peculiar to psychology which states that human nature accounts for social life. Marx wrote: “It is not the consciousness of man that determines his existence – rather, it is his social existence that determines his consciousness” (Popper 1945, II: 89). Press reports often draw attention to the implausibility of institutional excess as the following headlines testify:

No Blair funeral ... after 4 reports.

Judge Mungwiro calls police action a work of fiction.

We know that we are getting closer to the truth about fiction and the fictionality of truth when we find that the critical apparatus of literary theorists offers us better ways for describing within the real world that which is institutionally untruthful. Consider for a moment the use within the institution of the law of the term *natural justice*. Two things become immediately apparent as we explore its meaning: (1) the term *natural* invites a reading which is unsupported until we, the uninitiated, see the concordance. *Natural justice* is not like natural yoghurt, because the term *natural justice* only occurs in authentic contexts when it has been *breached* or *denied*¹⁹ – if any natural law applies to the use of the term it is that it is only referred to once it has *been* breached or denied; and (2) this means that *all* references to *natural justice* are, as it were, for the *second* time of asking. This fact reflects badly upon judges, because the term only appears at all if a judge or his quasi-judicial counterpart has given a litigant either no hearing at all or a biased one! The matter is made worse by the fact that *only a judge* (preferably *another* judge who knows his job and the law better than the first one who erred) can rectify the situation. Louw (2003) demonstrates that correction of the first breach by a second judge is virtually unobserved in the corpus! In other words, the judges and the lawyers are on what they might say of criminals “a frolic of their own”. The author is indebted to Isabel Andrés Cuevas, doctoral candidate at the University of Granada, for triggering in his mind the best way of describing this outrageous but all too frequent occurrence. We are dealing with what Bakhtin calls ‘carnivalism’: the judges and the lawyers are engaging in a deliberate inversion of the law, as ‘lords of misrule’, in order to destroy the litigant’s case. The practice may be enshrined in secret societies and is redolent of their puckish sense of humour. Selden (1985: 18) describes Bakhtin’s classification as:

hierarchies are turned on their heads (fools become wise, kings become beggars); opposites are mingled (fact and fantasy, heaven and hell); the sacred profaned. The 'jolly relativity' of all things is proclaimed. Everything authoritative, rigid or serious is subverted, loosened and mocked.

In the conclusion of his article on 'fictional worlds', John Sinclair (1986b: 59) points to the pervasiveness of the requirement that the classification of 'an artefact (in speech or writing)' as fact or fiction be agreed upon at an early stage. However, he stresses that:

The original assignment may be challenged at any time ... the organisation of language is much less dependent on things that are or happen in the world, and much more dependent on what people are willing to agree on, as a practical expedient, for the purposes of communication. This change of emphasis is valuable for the study of fiction in general, and particularly valuable for the comparison of fictional and nonfictional pieces. (ibid: 60)

He does not comment upon the likely reaction of institutions in the real world which can now be shown to be fakes by means of forensic corpus-based analysis. In the case of many of them, all of their activities may be seen as 'carnivalising' fictions.

If we are to make the claim that collocation is instrumentation for language, we shall need to test its applications. Can collocation be used to establish literary worlds and then compare them with a real world which is at best only putatively real? There is no need to re-invent the wheel here. Firth drew much of his inspiration for his taxonomy of 'context of situation' from the work of the Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1935).

A key concept in the technique of the London group is the concept of context of situation ... The context of situation for Malinowski is an ordered series of events considered in rebus. [...] My view was, and still is, that "context of situation" is best used as a suitable schematic construct to apply to language events, and that it is a group of related categories at a different level from grammatical categories, but rather of the same abstract nature. A context of situation for linguistic work brings into relation the following categories:

- (a) The relevant features of participants: persons, personalities;
 - (i) the verbal action of the participants;
 - (ii) the non-verbal action of the participants;
- (b) the relevant objects;
- (c) the effect of the verbal action.

(Firth 1957: 182)

Much of the work, undertaken so far, in relating this taxonomy to collocation and semantic prosodies is to be found in Louw (2000), where semantic prosodies are brought to life and are incorporated into a nascent, Firthian, Contextual Prosodic Theory (CPT). However, Firth's taxonomy is sufficiently powerful on its own for use by students of literature.²⁰ If they confine their analysis to collocation, their findings will not only be *replicable* (a key requirement of science), but comparisons across worlds, including the shadowy worlds of local grammars, could easily be automated in order to make the result of any comparison effectively instantaneous.

What sorts of amplification would be involved? Well, if one were to take the taxonomy section by section, the special demands of literature become apparent almost immediately. For example, if we begin with the characters in novels and plays, Firth divides these into 'persons and personalities'. The collocates of Hamlet would draw us simultaneously towards characterising him both as a person, a personality and as a personality that assumes (for strategic purposes) an 'antic disposition'. These judgments would not be subjective (as connotations are, whatever they may be), but objectively recoverable and replicable as collocations indubitably *are*. It is one thing to be the person Catherine Earnshaw in *Wuthering Heights* and to have Heathcliff as a major collocate. But it is far and away a personality issue, if not a personality disorder, to declare as she does to Nelly that she *is* Heathcliff (concordance line 29 in the concordance fragment below). The sudden fact that their collocates have become inseparable and indistinguishable shocks Nelly Dean into refusing to keep Catherine's secret. After Catherine's declaration, all of her secrets are in a disturbing sense also Heathcliff's secrets.

23 d at death, I shall not rejoice that I am going to her; I shall be sorry th
24 o. Kissing her cheek, he murmured: "I am going to her; and you, darling ch
25 many years do you mean to live after I am gone?" Heathcliff had knelt on o
26 ou have no marks of the manners which I am habituated to consider as peculi
27 ure it would be to see its owner. Oh! I am happy- and papa, dear, dear papa
28 h made her unhappy. "How can you say I am harsh, you naughty fondling?" cri
29 isible delight, but necessary. Nelly, I am Heathcliff! He's always, always
30 ou forget me? Will you be happy when I am in the earth? Will you say twenty
31 so, my good Nelly? You are aware that I am in no way blameable in this matt
32 I know why Hareton never speaks, when I am in the kitchen," she exclaimed,
33 ou must finish it in the same style. I am interested in every character you

Figure 2. Concordance from *Wuthering Heights*

The expanded context reads as follows:

*My love for Linton is like the foliage in the woods: time will change it.
I'm well aware, as winter changes the trees. My love for Heathcliff
resembles the eternal rocks beneath: a source of little visible delight,*

but necessary. Nelly, I am Heathcliff! He's always, always in my mind: not as a pleasure, any more than I am always a pleasure to myself, but as my own being. So don't talk of our separation again: it is impracticable ...

The particular pre-occupations of poets as they create devices are easily profiled using a technique pioneered by John Sinclair in his work on the 'left of *of*'. To the left of *of*, we find the following profiles where *death* appears to the right in the poetry of Emily Dickinson and Philip Larkin:

1 hunter tell; 'Tis but the ecstasy of death, And then the brake is still.
2 t is like the distance On the look of death. IV. TIME AND ETERNITY I. -
3 e. XXXI. - WAIT till the majesty of Death Invests so mean a brow! Almos
4 er shone! - The quiet nonchalance of death No daybreak can bestir; The s
5 t By the Imagination! XXVIII. - OF Death the sharpest function, That, j
6 st consequence, - Is the (r)eclat of death. Oh, thou unknown renown That
7 ce, A solitude of sea, A solitude of death, but these Society shall be,

Figure 3. Concordance for '*of + death*' in Emily Dickinson

1 And for this reason has great fear of death. Because tides wound it; The sc
2 breath; walk with the dead For fear of death. 'If grief could burn out' If g
3 t cannot invoke. Breaks. The harrow of death Deepens. And there are thrown u
4 ght so gifted? Mind never met Image of death like this, and yet (All winds c
5 loth Of wings moving lightwards out of death: Lineage of joy into mortality
6 ness, All that ignores the silences of death, Thinking no further than the h

Figure 4. Concordance for '*of + death*' in Philip Larkin

Comparisons of this detail between poets can be instructive. Robert Frost totally eschews this method of metaphorisation. This may account for the intuitive perception felt by many readers that the fabric he is writing is prosaic in the non- pejorative sense of that term. Equally, Sylvia Plath avoids the term *death* altogether. One can only assume that this textual 'absence' held an ineffably powerful and brooding significance for her.

Moving to the question of Firth's 'relevant objects', the author was struck recently by the evocative presence in the prize-winning novel *Spies* by Michael Frayn of a superb *leitmotif* involving the evocative smell of a shrub. The extension of 'relevant objects' into the domain of the olfactory would offer just one further challenge to the corpus stylistician. A concordance for *air* would contain the amazing contrast of air which is simultaneously animated by the fragrance of the shrub and the destructive force of *air raids* (Louw, in press).

Distinguishing the literal from the symbolic within Firth's 'relevant objects' can be undertaken by means of a corpus-based approach without ruining the plot by reading ahead. For example, in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, the reference to the *green light* to be seen in the distance near Daisy's dock can be checked by the

concordancer. Is it a maritime fact or an emblem of love accepted? Checking a fact of this kind does not spoil the story for anyone. If anything, used skilfully, it heightens the suspense.

1 and scrolls and plaids in coral and apple-green and lavender and faint oran
2 e for Dutch sailors' eyes - a fresh, green breast of the new world. Its vani
3 . Just mention my name. Or present a green card. I'm giving out green - ' 'L
4 fresh and cool, as if a divot from a green golf-links had come sailing in at
5 e tank. In the sunlight his face was green. 'I didn't mean to interrupt your
6 g the beach that afternoon in a torn green jersey and a pair of canvas Ihc G
7 nd many layers of glass in a sort of green leather conservatory, we started
8 ' suggested Gatsby. He felt the hot, green leather of the seat. 'I ought to
9 ay,' said Gatsby. 'You always have a green light that burns all night at the
10 wonder when he first picked out the green light at the end of Daisy's dock.
11 star to the moon. Now it was again a green light on a dock. His count of enc
12 er the night. Gatsby believed in the green light, the orgastic future that y
13 - tinguished nothing except a single green light, minute and far away, that
14 present a green card. I'm giving out green - ' 'Look around,' suggested Gats
15 with them out to the veranda. On the green Sound, stagnant in the heat, one
16 he first policeman that it was light green. The other car, the one going tow
17 rseys'? the Schultzes?' and the long green tickets clasped tight in our glov

Figure 5. Concordance for *green* in Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*

Much is made in commentaries on Firth's work of the power of the 'control of outcomes' or the 'results of the verbal action' (Firth 1957: 182). Halliday (1978: 28), in particular, relies upon it for his notion of 'situational meaning potential'.

If we return to Ayer's *drogulus*, we find that the injection of a *drogulus* into a context of situation, as say, a character, may have *no impact at all* upon the behaviour of the other characters or upon the outcomes. But if we can produce *droguli* of greater substance than Ayer's putative *drogulus*, then the situation immediately and dramatically becomes, as they say in the USA, *leveraged*. If we take the idyllic description by Stockwell (2002: 77) of his own *pub* schema, we might suppose that the landlord is an independent likeable person tirelessly and altruistically providing a service within his own community. He might be a character like Gaffer in Reg Smythe's cartoon drawings of the world of *Andy Capp*. However, access to a concordance for the term *pub* from a corpus reveals that this is unlikely to be the case where even the Gaffers we all know and trust are concerned. The frequency list of collocates for *pub* takes us to an intuitive blind spot right at the top of the frequencies. The most frequent collocates of *pub* are *group*, *chain* and *operation*. Hence when Andy Capp returns to his 'local' after closing time with the verbal request "I thought I'd have a drink on the slate after all", his request is potentially empowered by the corpus when he finds Gaffer groping the barmaid! Smythe's fictional world for Andy is enlarged as nameless and faceless characters represented by these conglomerates are added to Firth's grid. The cartoonist could add the data-assisted words to Andy's

request: "... or I could tell Green Man or Wetherspoons about your activities after closing time, Gaffer ...!".

If we are to read the delexical phrases of ideology at all, we shall need to read with the assistance of a computer with a sub-divided screen containing a window that offers us collocation profiles for the delexical forms which accompany the chunks (Sinclair 1991: 124-134) of text as we read them. This will impact upon data-assisted writing: the delexical material will, to quote Ayer, "produce a better book" (Ayer's handwritten dedication inside a copy of his book presented to Popper) about pubs than the pap of Stockwell's middle ground, which may at best produce a soapie like *EastEnders*. The real novel is to be found in the ineluctable fact that our drinking habits are 'handled'. Even that fact that the term *local* is meant to replace the term *pub* (purportedly lost through ellipsis) is hugely prominent as we see in the concordance below as well as in the collocation table in Appendix B.

1 A few weeks ago, Neill was in a local pub when he was confronted by a woman
2 mer holidays and got a job in a local pub. Things seemed to rub along at ho
3 n it from a room he rented in a local pub. In 1974 he bought his present ho
4 n Anti-Nazi League concert in a local pub. Her sister was treated for shock
5 ampstead Home Guard, based at a local pub. With the Nazi invasion of Lith
6 e rumours say. At his favourite local pub in a nearby village, the landlord
7 nd enjoys a pint of beer in her local pub, is to join the elite group of th
8 Heath "enjoying a pint" in his local pub at Bexleyheath, one of the most u
9 ear-old was sitting outside his local pub when the girls appeared. "Excuse
10 n he might have a double in his local pub, depending on the franc/sterling
11 remembers taking Fisher to his local pub, where he "froze at the door" and
12 ips, my favourite barmaid at my local pub knows instantly what I have in mi
13 ease in the price of beer in my local pub. As a result of this my consumpti
14 bore. Other riders I met at the local pub indulged me and were pleased at m
15 ent to a social, perhaps at the local pub for a sing-song, you had a marvel
16 he and his crew repaired to the local pub only to emerge very much later, u
17 supped two pints of beer in the local pub and prepared himself at the altar
18 bery in 1978 for £200, 000 (the local pub is still called the Rosebery Arms
19 rs. The club had been using the local pub as its headquarters. "We are abso
20 n form when she walked into the local pub ... who knows what might happen?
21 m seeing in the new year at the local pub, to find Dad, who has not left th
22 d taking on evening jobs in the local pub. During the morning his contemp
23 their wedding reception at the local pub. Cutting Edge is like BBC's disco
24 y. They took it straight to the local pub." Recalling his early days at H

Figure 6. Concordance for 'local + pub'

This finding and the fact that *chains*, *groups* and *operations* are also high collocates have serious consequences for schema theory. Can we trust a theory that only offers us what we know already? Has the theory any greater impact on literary worlds than *droguli* or *phlogiston*? The latter term is defined as follows:

Chem. a hypothetical substance formerly thought to be present in all combustible materials and to be released during burning.

[C18 via New Latin from Greek, from phlogizein to set alight, related to phlegain to burn] (Collins English Dictionary on CD ROM)

and is referred to by Frank Palmer (1976: 27) in the following disparaging terms:

Wherever we have a word there will be a concept – and the concept will be the ‘meaning of that word’. This is, obviously, a completely circular definition of meaning. It involves what is sometimes called a ‘ghost-in-the-machine’ argument. We wish to account for the working of a machine and present a total explanation in mechanical terms, but for some hypothetical person this is not enough – he cannot understand how this machine could work unless there is some kind of disembodied ghost or spirit inside it. Such an argument accounts for the phenomena by setting up an entity whose existence is justified solely as something that ‘explains’ the phenomena. Once scholars explained fire by positing the existence of the substance ‘phlogiston’. Of course we can never disprove the existence of such entities. We can only point out that they explain nothing at all, and that, nothing is gained by arguing for them. (emphasis added)

4. Conclusion

No animal fable or Hollywood movie would be complete without a Chaucerian barnyard race or a chase. If we were to evaluate the performance of our Archilochean team in preparing the philosophy of language for a handover to science, the result of such a delexical race might look broadly like this. In fourth place we might find a rank outsider at odds of 66 to 1, like Fritz Mauthner (so unexpected a placing that he was never assigned an animal name).²¹ In third place we find the fox, A.J. Ayer, who foresaw the possibility that language must be capable of naming deceptions which, at the time of their naming, may yet remain hidden from view, impervious to intuition. In second place, by only half a length, is our much travelled hedgehog or porcupine, Karl Popper, whose knowledge of ‘one big thing’ has made the succession issue a ‘live’ one for corpus linguistics and for TaLC. This is no less the case even if he foresaw only partially that the arrival of instrumentation must be the *last* frontier of falsification. The winner is the chameleon, Ludwig Wittgenstein, the slow, imperceptible infiltrator of contexts and institutions, who was so empowered by them that he wrote:

Language contains the same traps for everyone; the immense network of well-kept false paths. And thus we see one person after another walking the same paths and we know already where he will make a turn, where he will keep on going straight ahead without noticing the turn, etc., etc. Therefore wherever false paths branch off I should put up signs which help one get by the dangerous places. (quoted in Hacker 1997: 13)

Where, then, does this leave our crocodile? Was he inept, off-form or totally boxed in during the closing stages of the race? We may never know, but what we do know is

that his mind yearned for the perfection of empiricism which John Sinclair has not only today made a possibility, but a reality. Russell was approached to write an introduction to Ernest Gellner's much-vaunted book entitled *Words and Things*, which appeared in a Pelican paperback from Penguin Books in 1959. Russell's negative feelings and disapproval of the damage which philosophy in paperback might cause are palpable in this Introduction. In his closing paragraph, we sense his desire for a philosophy which both measures and is measured. The lesson for us is that if we leave the soft science of mentalist linguistic theory unfalsified by corpora, it will continue to perform like a fast moving clock without a pendulum: plausible, showy, insubstantial and attractive, but incapable of effecting measurement, the very *raison d'être*, after all, of all clocks.

When I was a boy, I had a clock with a pendulum which could be lifted off. I found that the clock went very much faster without the pendulum. If the main purpose of a clock is to go, the clock was the better for losing its pendulum. True, it could no longer tell the time, but that did not matter if one could teach oneself to be indifferent to the passage of time. The linguistic philosophy, which cares only about language, and not about the world, is like the boy who preferred the clock without the pendulum because, although it no longer told the time, it went more easily than before and at a more exhilarating pace.

(Gellner 1959: 15)

Notes

- 1 The covert surveillance by 'empire' (Louw 2004) of what is taught in universities is on the increase throughout the world. The practice is formalised in the USA itself under the general title of 'campus watch'. The author's own course offerings have been altered without consultation as his research has become more critical of US foreign policy, globalisation and inexplicably weak scholarship.
- 2 Sinclair (personal communication) has confided to the author from time to time over several years that he has begun to feel his association with the strongly held positions of schools of thought weaken. He felt that conferences had begun to assign to him the role of 'Court Jester' as his own beliefs have been altered by and through his research on corpora.
- 3 The term 'profound + implications' carries a semantic prosody which is associated with resistance to change: e.g. "This would have profound implications for the way in which we do business ..." is a form of language regularly used by institutional 'gatekeepers' who wish to prevent change within organisations. The same expression was used recently by both Tony Blair and Jack Straw when the electorate in France rejected proposals on the future of the European Union in a national referendum. The wording was identical in the case of Blair and Straw: "This will have profound implications for the future of Europe"
- 4 A plethora of papers has been spawned with a view to creating doubt as to the existence of semantic prosodies. The motives for producing these papers in the face of incontrovertible evidence may vary, but the consensus expressed by senior academics working with corpora is that most of their young doctoral students today want to work with semantic prosodies because the area deals directly with meaning. The flood of

papers may well reflect a rearguard attempt to prevent the inevitable: from the point of view of the spoilers and those who wish to preserve falsifiable schools of thought, linguistics is likely to degenerate into data-driven critical literacy. A world which has up to now been very easily duped by politicians is likely to embrace such an eventuality and will be deeply grateful for it, especially if it will prevent nations from going to war in future on the basis of flawed, invented or non-existent evidence, or to support the covert commercial interests of the politicians themselves (see also the work of Michael Moore, especially his book *Dude, where's my country?* and the documentary film *Fahrenheit 9/11*).

- 5 Young children briefly hold the view that if they close their eyes nobody can see them.
- 6 See also the conclusion of Stephen Jay Gould (2003: 189-260).
- 7 This is a neglected area to which the author drew attention as early as Louw (1993) with the example '*without + feeling*'. It has all too frequently been brushed aside. Sadly, the reprinting of that paper by Sampson and McCarthy (2004) was undertaken in reluctant compliance with their express request that the concordance for '*without + feeling*' be omitted. The result is that this early reference to the poor quality of intuition is not referred to in what is now and in paperback (2005) a major collection of essential readings in corpus linguistics.
- 8 Those who wish to read "Dressing up waiver: a stochastic collocational reading of 'The Truth and Reconciliation Commission'" may download it from the CeSLiC website of the University of Bologna, Italy, where it is held as an occasional paper (http://www.amsacta.cib.unibo.it/archive/00001142/01/LOUW_paper.pdf). The paper will be included in a collection of Louw's papers edited and with an introduction by John Sinclair planned for publication by John Benjamins in 2006.
- 9 Several delegates at the TaLC6 conference remarked that they associated the phrase with the British comedian Tommy Cooper, whose magic tricks always failed when he referred to them directly, but often succeeded, apparently without Cooper's knowledge, when he did not!
- 10 Arguably the first semantic prosody discovered by John Sinclair operates around the term *happen*. The author usually cautions his students that the expression "You are the best thing that ever happened to me" may be insincere in terms of what is proposed in Louw (1993).
- 11 The author dealt with the question of corpora and 'empire' at a conference hosted by Aston University in December 2003 and in a short article in the Language Learning Supplement to the *Guardian Weekly* for the week commencing 20 May, 2004. The proceedings of the conference ran into difficulty over the publisher's insistence that the title *(Re-)Locating TESOL in an Age of Empire* was unacceptable. The author's article was rejected in its original form. Rather than make alterations which were tantamount to censorship the paper will appear separately in a collection of his papers. Copies may be obtained from the author. The unfortunate re-location of the Editor, Julian Edge from Macquarie University back to the UK complicated matters further.
- 12 The author's Zimbabwe LITRAID project is a case in point and has been censored both in Zimbabwe and in Kwa-Zulu Natal. Both Zimbabwe and South Africa are targeted for globalisation, which is a dressed up form of forced labour by stealth and deception (see Pilger 2002). South Africa's so-called 'soft stance' on Zimbabwe is likely to be a product of the fact that both nations find themselves in the same globalisation boat: Zimbabwe clandestinely withdrew from the ILO Forced Labour Convention in 1986 apparently to prepare for globalisation and South Africa failed, even at Independence, to ratify the Abolition of Slavery

- Convention of 1926 (Fourth Protocol: 'Practices Related to Slavery') for the same apparent reason. Pilger notes in a television documentary that South Africa has received only political independence, but not economic independence (see also Louw 2004).
- 13 Russell accused Wittgenstein in these words: "The later Wittgenstein ... seems to have grown tired of serious thinking and to have invented a doctrine which would make such an activity unnecessary. I do not for one moment believe that the doctrine which has these lazy consequences is true ... The desire to understand the world is, they think, an outdated folly" (Gellner 1959: 5).
 - 14 Archilochus was a renowned poet of ancient Greece (wrote circa 650 BC) (Gould 2003: 2, McCue, 1995: 17). This presentation is loosely based upon the Archilochan characterisation of the attitudes towards ideas of foxes and hedgehogs. Crocodiles, chameleons and an African porcupine (named 'Karl') as a surrogate hedgehog (who now resides in the office of Encarnación Hidalgo Tenorio at the University of Granada) are free adaptations and inventions within a tradition begun in Africa by Aesop (620-564 BC). Aesop was thought to have brought his celebrated fables from Ethiopia to Greece. His name is reflected in the Greek word for Ethiopia (aethi-ops, 'a scorched face'). Ancient Greece probably had very few visitors from Africa.
 - 15 Ayer was the only member of the Archilochan menagerie that the author was fortunate enough to meet. Ayer journeyed to Zimbabwe as external examiner in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Zimbabwe in 1984. He startled his audience by announcing in a public lecture that his grandson had destroyed two chapters of his work. The audience assumed that the child had torn up the manuscript. Ayer remarked calmly: "He did this by asking me a question: 'Grandad, why do toy trumpets make real sounds?'".
 - 16 For more about '*happy + to*', see Louw (2003).
 - 17 The author demonstrated that 'The Truth and Reconciliation Commission' (TRC) is purportedly both a frame and a script, depending on how literate the victims of this institutional deception happen to be (Louw 2003). Victims with little literacy regard it as a sort of court without a remedy (frame); more troublesome 'questioners' who have a higher level of literacy are invited to see the TRC as a form of process or script. However, neither category of victim receives *justice*, the true collocate of *truth*: as we read this, 22,000 victims of Apartheid have been deceived into waiving their claims and this waiver has been consolidated by the disbursement of pathetically small amounts of compensation. A million more victims world-wide are dutifully waiting for Truth and Reconciliation Commissions either to be established (the latest is Mexico) or to process their cases (Guatemala, Kenya, etc.). In January 2006 South Africa's TRC finally announced that it was to prosecute a suspiciously small number of people who failed to apply for or be granted amnesty by the TRC. Many South Africans are eager to see whether former President P.W. Botha, who went in contempt of the initial TRC hearings, is to be prosecuted. The black magistrate who arraigned him for failing to appear has since died. The decision to prosecute may have been prompted by the progress of an appeal to the International Court of Justice by the families of Steve Biko, Griffiths Mxenge and Chris Ribeiro, whose appeal for ordinary justice to South Africa's Constitutional Court was rejected. See Louw (2003) for a more detailed account of the linguistic issues. As the fake distinction between frame and script are demonstrably poorly differentiated and are used to create deception, they must be destroyed. See tables in Appendix C from Louw (2003).

- 18 This process has been assisted by the way in which world leaders have become more blatant about their ultimate objectives and the duress they are prepared to engage in in order to accomplish them.
- 19 This is complicated within the British National Corpus (BNC) by the fact that the compilers of that corpus have included in the corpus a chapter from a law volume on the subject of natural justice. This obfuscates our ability to see the term in use by reifying and idealising it rather than allowing it to operate as a mode of action. For this reason, the concordance from The Bank of English is to be preferred. The possibility that the BNC was homogenised during its development expressly in order to neutralise this example cannot be discounted. The author first used the example during a course at the Tuscan Word Centre in June 2000. The example was inexplicably deleted overnight and the author was forced to provide paper copies to the delegates. Access to the BNC by people in Africa was later embargoed by the compilers of the BNC for two years. The author obtained a copy of the BNC in July 2004.
- 20 Sinclair (personal communication) claims that J.R. Firth, in his inaugural lecture, at the University of London, used this taxonomy to analyse a play by William Shakespeare. The lecture was apparently never published and the manuscript has been lost. However, Sinclair recalls that the lecture was a great success.
- 21 See Weiler's (1970) account of *Mauthner's critique of language*.

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Appendix A

1 judicial, in accord with natural justice? Should 'people normally
2 to act in accordance with natural justice and that had not happened in the
3 rather empty in an age where natural justice and common sense have been
4 is reprehensible and against natural justice. <p> Sir Sigmund Sternberg. <p>
5 legality and of natural justice. For them, my defence can only be
6 is reprehensible and against natural justice. <p> Yours faithfully, <p> Sigmund
7 is no right of appeal, no natural justice and the Government just sits on
8 So long as even-handed natural justice is on offer, he doesn't think the
9 so that the balance of natural justice is restored. This would mean that
10 to argue a case based on natural justice as well as the major issues of
11 said he had been denied natural justice and would make every effort,
12 said Roy had been denied natural justice and the Tribunal judge erred when
13 claimed he had been denied natural justice in the handling of the charges:
14 claim it's been denied natural justice. <p> This follows the third HUREOC
15 said Roy had been denied natural justice and the Tribunal judge erred when
16 defence and had been denied natural justice. Today Judge Maurice Sheehan (ph)
17 Hitchens had been denied natural justice during the post-inquiry
18 prisoners were being denied natural justice at parole hearings. <p> He has
19 MOTORISTS were being denied natural justice and right of appeal against wheel-
20 that it was being afforded natural justice and a reasonable opportunity for
21 was right. You believed in natural justice. You were a pioneer. You used to
22 rules, or benchmarks of natural justice, Andy Hollas, the party chairman,
23 there had been a breach of natural justice. <p> There were any number of
24 there had been a breach of natural justice because Mrs Fanneran had not been
25 deposits is a breach of natural justice, that may be appealed to the Court
26 s been a clear breach of natural justice," he said. <p> Cr Hulett was
27 receive. <p> <h> Breach of natural justice finding sets Dempsey free; Dianne
28 there had been a breach of natural justice. <p> His Lordship did not accept
29 the inquiry was a breach of natural justice because witnesses were not cross-
30 of that dog was a breach of natural justice. <p> The Queen's Bench Divisional
31 be described as a breach of natural justice," he said. <p> The & pound; 4,500
32 contradiction, breach of natural justice, and violation of human rights.
33 years was a gross breach of natural justice. <p> David Pannick, QC, opening
34 impropriety or breach of natural justice. <p> In two recent cases also
35 s decision is in breach of natural justice. Swindon won promotion to the
36 was unfair and in breach of natural justice for the panel sitting in judgment
37 claiming a breach of natural justice. <p> They also claim the
38 back constitute a breach of natural justice." The letter said Idemitsui
39 was in breach of natural justice. <h> HOMELESS RICHARDS </h> The
40 considers to be breaches in natural justice in the official response to the
41 <p> But in a bizarre case of natural justice, when he returned some time later
42 <p> But in a bizarre case of natural justice, when returned some time later to
43 and, consistent with natural justice, no further announcement will be
44 both unfair and contrary to natural justice. They asked for the entire group
45 of acting contrary to natural justice. <p> The Labour leadership,
46 ill-judged and contrary to natural justice. <p> No matter how it is dressed
47 will be strongly contrary to natural justice for him to be given an opportunity
48 acted in a way contrary to natural justice. If successful, the group of nine
49 It seems to be contrary to natural justice if a child is killed by an adult -
50 human right and contrary to natural justice. <p> An essential part of this
51 human right and contrary to natural justice. <p> Those present believe that
52 nation is that it could deny natural justice to any athletes not using drugs.
53 posture as the defenders of natural justice" when he was denied the same right
54 were acting in defiance of natural justice as 'legislator, prosecutor, judge,
55 can readily demonstrate a natural justice in selecting for the vagabond and
56 raised about the denial of natural justice. <p> Judge Alan Demack said the
57 interests and a denial of natural justice," he said. <p> Mr Justice Stewart
58 re-opened for 'denial of natural justice' reasons, and a new inquest was
59 raised about the denial of natural justice. <p> Judge Alan Demack said that
60 the draft was 'a denial of natural justice'. <p> He and the other Tories
61 has been in clear denial of natural justice." Dr Oliver, 58, again refused to
62 <p> This is a denial of natural justice and I am not prepared to proceed,"
63 complaining of a denial of natural justice because he wasn't given the
64 amounted to a denial of natural justice as well as a possible breach of
65 amounted to a denial of natural justice as well as a possible breach of
66 said. 'I was denied basic natural justice. I had no legal representation or
67 was defective and denied her natural justice. She lost her job at the
68 Commission has denied him natural justice and has taken irrelevant material
69 said. I was denied basic natural justice. I had no legal representation or
70 said. I was denied basic natural justice. I had no legal representation or
71 said. 'I was denied basic natural justice. I had no legal representation or
72 appeal procedure denies him natural justice-by permitting persons involved in
73 committee of denying him natural justice. <p> Mr McAlary angrily withdrew
74 which was 'devoid of natural justice'. <p> re all scared # we'll have
75 veer it in the direction of natural justice, but it's rash to make any such
76 that they denied Dr Chambers natural justice. Justice Spender, who played a
77 about through the effect of 'natural justice' rather than politics. <p> While
78 that and to ensure that natural justice is provided for him," Mr Kaiser
79 rules of evidence and natural justice do not apply, the accused doctors
80 The rules of evidence and natural justice do not apply. <p> The accused
81 cannot be at the expense of natural justice. <p> In deciding on terms of a
82 on the grounds of failure of natural justice, <f> audi alteram partem <f> or
83 <p> However, fairness and natural justice required that this decision should
84 <p> The rules of fairness or natural justice were not rigid but depended on
85 persuaded 'that fairness and natural justice require that this decision should
86 sought to first offer natural justice to J.L. Holdings before blocking
87 had flagrantly breached natural justice when he unlawfully kept secret the

88 on the grounds of natural justice. Mr Matthews found that there had
 89 must guarantee prisoners natural justice, respect, access to information,
 90 letter to the Guardian that natural justice has been denied. <p> Lift
 91 of State had 'breached natural justice" by slamming him over the force's
 92 again. He had discovered natural justice. Mixing with private school pupils
 93 and later said he had denied natural justice and would make every effort,
 94 by a court to have denied natural justice to a businessman who had been
 95 of the code we have in all natural justice erm to put the case to the er
 96 t the remotest inkling of natural justice. <p> P Becke, Edinburgh <p> <h>
 97 fun, his strong instinct for natural justice, his nose for absurd bombast and
 98 once and in the interests of natural justice, to consult a linesman. <p> The
 99 interpretation than natural justice. If the latter had been in force,
 100 and the interpretation of natural justice" in the decision to remove Mr
 101 spokesman said: 'This is not natural justice because Mr Shaida was ill." <h>
 102 realise that there is no natural justice in this world. With Small g:
 103 shot to pieces, it is only natural justice that an individual whose actions
 104 </h> <p> MR ADAMS is right. Natural justice demands that where a wrong has
 105 stress that erm that is only natural justice that they must have a chance to
 106 <p> This is because natural justice could be served on the spot. It is
 107 at $ 19.99 a kg. <p> Natural justice is denied to alleged growers when
 108 who have experienced lack of natural justice in contested cases in the court.
 109 Byrne. <p> The lack of natural justice in Family Court proceedings is
 110 wants to air the lack of natural justice." <p> <h> Soldier in Bosnia is
 111 is contrary to the laws of natural justice. It doesn't say much for Britain."
 112 must be against the laws of natural justice for the football authorities to
 113 in criticising the level of natural justice and procedural fairness involved
 114 in criticising the level of natural justice and procedural fairness involved
 115 he criticised the level of natural justice and procedural fairness involved
 116 as a matter of natural justice. Here in Queensland former
 117 records made a mockery of natural justice. <p> This is a discrimination that
 118 nothing of the more general natural justice issue of being allowed to present
 119 and he did not consider natural justice did so require. <p> Moreover, to
 120 said he had not received natural justice. <p> Purnell reopened the inquiry
 121 officer who now runs Natural Justice, a charity based in Ulverston,
 122 is in danger of breaching natural justice, and therefore an independent
 123 silent or ambivalent or that natural justice so required. <p> In his Lordship's
 124 and profits. <p> In natural justice the lottery shouldn't be taxed
 125 de Justice, a basic point of natural justice was at stake yesterday. 'Get in
 126 their power, breached natural justice and failed to follow the
 127 their power, breached natural justice and failed to follow the
 128 every principle of natural justice. The Lords' amendment is limited
 129 things. The principle of natural justice not enforceable by any Court, is
 130 every principle of natural justice." <p> Mr Howard has tried to
 131 and of the principles of natural justice. <p> Mrs Galli said: 'We are suing
 132 with the principles of natural justice so that all relevant material,
 133 to the principles of natural justice for the secretary of state to
 134 fundamental principles of natural justice, about the proper conduct of the
 135 party. Basic principles of natural justice have been confounded. I have been
 136 of elementary principles of natural justice. I don't know what the bleeding
 137 duties under principles of natural justice, Mr Hayden said. <p> The Governor-
 138 conform to the principles of natural justice. Without casting any doubts on the
 139 <p> Sir: Basic principles of natural justice have been confounded by the
 140 of the first principles of natural justice. (Scrope # 1833 # 1969, p. 32) And
 141 sense and the principles of natural justice, the time is overdue for the
 142 of the principles of natural justice depended on whether they were in
 143 based on the principles or natural justice -- those subject to them are given
 144 entitled The Proms and Natural Justice, Robert Simpson argued strenuously
 145 on the proposition that natural justice demanded that a person under
 146 and the requirements of natural justice, something that McCarthyism always
 147 not retribution as natural justice would seem to demand. This is not
 148 not retribution as natural justice would seem to demand. This is not
 149 been denied their right to natural justice by Mr Tickner and was afraid other
 150 the balance right, between natural justice towards someone who has faced
 151 know about the rules of natural justice. One of these is that everyone is
 152 should know the rules of 'natural justice", argues Moore. He should have let
 153 contravene the rules of natural justice and infringe his right not be
 154 in breach of the rules of natural justice in failing to allow the applicants
 155 in breach of the rules of natural justice. 'On the uncontradicted facts of
 156 14 <h> Law Report: Rules of natural justice depend on context # Regina v Avon
 157 test the country's rules of natural justice. The case should be heard next
 158 and the rules of natural justice, whoever may be guilty of
 159 and the rules of natural justice, whoever may be guilty of
 160 s emphasis that the rules of natural justice should allow MPs accused of
 161 violating both the rules of natural justice and my client's civil rights". He
 162 the party rules require natural justice," Senator Crichton-Browne said
 163 that when the rules of natural justice had not been observed one could
 164 to expel me, the rules of natural justice were denied, the party rules
 165 decision, ruling that natural justice had not been observed. <p> In
 166 welcomed the ruling, saying natural justice was being undermined by the
 167 Dr Lawrence said that 'natural justice" dictated that the commission
 168 these agents, the scope of natural justice as we know it would be drastically
 169 and forgiveness and seek a natural justice. <p> Masters is surely right in
 170 new for yourself. A sense of natural justice cries out against this course of
 171 however, offended a sense of natural justice as far as many spectators were
 172 the defects. She demanded 'natural justice, and no less". The Housing
 173 said: 'It doesn't smell of natural justice." <p> A BT spokesman said: 'The
 174 But there's something called natural justice which comes into play when civic
 175 sport, the Olympic spirit or natural justice. <p> <h> Shy lad gets shovelling;
 176 non-existent. 'In terms of natural justice, children in care should be
 177 Mr Gummer denied the company natural justice in reaching his decision. After
 178 is reminiscent of the harsh natural justice given Cresseid by the planetary
 179 office poll on the subject, natural justice demanded he be invited to explain
 180 denies these animals natural justice. <p> As these animals are also
 181 demanded what they called natural justice for the club. In a message to the
 182 ministers attempted to deny natural justice to three innocent businessmen
 183 and I have a right to demand natural justice," he said. <p> Cr Hulett has also
 184 unimportant compared to the natural justice involved. In March again, in 1938,
 185 were not ready to pre-empt natural justice by pulling them out before Modahl'
 186 This is totally against natural justice." <p> The CPS said they prosecuted
 187 weep over this travesty of natural justice. <h> Our decision; Sun Says;
 188 ways of denying un # natural justice to the Brisbane team. <p> I've
 189 health officials' version of natural justice would not have been unfamiliar to

190 campaigned vigorously for natural justice. The poor were not getting a fair
 191 do as little violence to natural justice, as is compatible with the peace
 192 Mr Dewar and Mr Vaz `was a natural justice exercise" to enable both sides to
 193 and claims he was denied natural justice in council consideration of the
 194 ruled they were denied natural justice when their applications were
 195 co-ordinator, who said natural justice had been done. <p> Mr Salmond has
 196 as in accord with reason, natural justice, and moral rectitude. <p> The
 197 his lawyer withdrew claiming natural justice had been denied. <p>
 198 anger swelled within him. Natural justice demanded a reckoning. If he wanted
 199 But Japan would satisfy natural justice and earn respect if it met these

Appendix B

Collocation list

Collocates: 3 to left & 3 to right of pub

THE	886	A	560	IN	449	AND	243	TO	231
OF	168	AT	99	IS	86	WITH	82	ON	73
WAS	62	FOR	60	AS	56	OR	55	HIS	53
THAT	52	HE	51	FROM	50	LOCAL*	49	AN	45
WHICH*	39	WHERE*	38	IT	38	INTO	37	OPERA*	36
CHAIN*	33	ONE	33	GROUP*	31	BUT	30	I	30
AFTER*	29	BY	28	DOWN	28	HAS	28	THERE*	27
OUTSI*	27	ARE	26	RESTA*	26	ESTAT*	25	THEY	25
BYLIN*	24	HAVE	24	THIS	23	LONDO*	22	LANDL*	22
HER	22	GO	21	BREWE*	21	VILLA*	20	HAD	20
OUT	20	COMPA*	19	ENGLI*	19	WHO	18	INDEP*	18
SAID	18	NOT	18	NIGHT*	18	WILL	17	ITS	17
THEIR*	17	SECTI*	17	WERE	16	YOU	16	NO	16
CALLE*	16	IRISH*	15	EVERY*	15	MY	15	WE	15
BE	15	PUB	14	HOTEL*	14	WENT	14	OWNER*	14
ONLY	14	NEAR	14	COUNT*	13	HIM	13	STORY*	13
WOULD*	13	OLD	13	GOING*	13	GOOD	13	SO	12
LUNCH*	12	DRINK*	12	OFF	12	TWO	12	INN	12
NEARB*	12	ME	12	CONVE*	12	INNS	12	VISIT*	11
OTHER*	11	FOOD	11	BRITI*	11	CRAWL*	11	SUCH	11
THEN	11	UP	11	LIKE	11	LEFT	10	WHAT	10
WHEN	10	JUST	10	BRITA*	10	ABOUT*	10	FAVOU*	10
MORE	10	MAN	10	ROAD	10	YOUR	10	WHILE*	9
SHE	9	WELL	9	THEME*	9	CLUB	9	STILL*	9
THAN	9	EVEN	9	HEADL*	9	IF	9	RETAI*	9
DATE	9	BAR	9	SOME	9	HOME	9	NORTH*	8
TEAM	8	NEXT	8	BEFOR*	8	OPEN	8	ARMS	8
ABOVE*	8	EARLY*	7	HOURS*	7	EAST	7	INCLU*	7
CHEF	7	ANY	7	OWN	7	THEM	7	FUN	7
DUBLI*	7	CENTR*	7	PEOPL*	7	SOUTH*	7	ATTAC*	7
INNTR*	7	BEEN	7	GUIDE*	7	ALSO	7	PINT	7
ALL	7	BEST	7	GREEN*	7	CITY	7	CAN	7
MARKE*	6	SHOP	6	RUN	6	BETWE*	6	SCOTT*	6
MET	6	NEARE*	6	BEER	6	SAYS	6	SCENE*	6
FOLLO*	6	PART	6	EVENI*	6	STREE*	6	NOW	6
ONCE	6	LAND	6	MR	6	LOUNG*	6	OUR	6
SALES*	6	HALF	6	RUNS	6	PARK	6	BEING*	6
DAY	6	AROUN*	6	THREE*	6	TRADE*	6	PUBS	6
DISCO*	6	SMALL*	6	THEAT*	6	DRIVE*	6	START*	6
OFFIC*	6	DON °	6	BODDI*	6	BLOKE*	6	LATER*	6
ANOTH*	6	MAY	6	SHOUL*	6	WATER*	5	FIRKI*	5
TOGET*	5	TOLD	5	JOINT*	5	PORTF*	5	YEARS*	5
SCHOO*	5	WHOLE*	5	FATHE*	5	QUIZ	5	CIRC*	5
HERE	5	RECEN*	5	SIGNS*	5	PLACE*	5	CHURC*	5
SATUR*	5	NEWS	5	PLAYE*	5	WHITE*	5	BECAU*	5
FIRST*	5	RATHE*	5	OPENI*	5	WALK	5	SHORT*	5
GREAT*	5	PARTI*	5	YEAR	5	DO	5	COMPL*	5
ARTIC*	5	LIFE	5	FIGHT*	5	WINE	5	FIND	5
PRICE*	5	MOST	5	CAR	5	WEEK	5	END	5
HOUSE*	5	EDINB*	5	LITTL*	5	COME	5	FAMOU*	5
HOW	5	OFFER*	5	FEW	5	RETUR*	5	UNDER*	5
FOX	5	TOO	5	ALONG*	4	TOP	4	REAL	4

Appendix C

Step Request to The Bank of English

- 1 *'the + truth'*
- 2 *'truth + and'*
- 3 *'and + reconciliation'*
- 4 *'reconciliation + commission'*

Step 1: Collocational Profile for *'the + truth'* Collocates: 3 to left & 3 to right of *'the truth'*

AND	213	THE	63	TO	55
IS	28	TELL	25	YOU	23
I	19	RECONCILIA*	19	THAT	19
COMMISSIO*	18	HE	18	KNOW	16
IT	16	TRUTH	16	OF	16
TELLING	15				

Step 2: Collocational profile for '*truth + and*'

Collocates: 3 to left & 3 to right of '*truth and*'

THE	106	TO	32	OF	30
RECONCILIA*	20	COMMISSION*	17	FOR	16
AND	14	IN	14	A	13
THAT	11	P	11	TELL	11
HE	9	IT	8	BUT	7
IS	7	AN	7	WE	6
I	6	ARE	6	WITH	6
TELLING	5	JUSTICE	5	NOT	5
BETWEEN	5	BY	5	YOU	5
TRUTH	5	THERE	4	SHE	4
BEAUTY	4	UP	4	FROM	4
TOLD	4	LIES	4	WHO	4

Step 3: Collocational profile for '*and + reconciliation*'

Collocates: 3 to left & 3 to right of '*and reconciliation*'

THE	91	TRUTH	69	COMMISSION*	58
PEACE	50	FOR	46	OF	45
IN	6	AND	25	TO	23
THAT	1	SOUTH	16	FORGIVENES*	15
AFRICA	4	IS	10	P	9
THAT	9	HE	9	ON	9
COMMITTEE	7	NEW	7	WAS	7
JUSTICE	7	BE	7	BUT	7
WHICH	6	REPORT	6	WE	6
BEFORE	5	THIS	5	IT	5
AS	5	HAS	5	HEALING	5
BY	5	HAVE	5	MR	5
FORUM	4	UP	4	NOT	4
PROCESS	4	WILL	4	THROUGH	4
SERVICE	4	DIALOGUE	4	WORK	4
ARE	4	SET	3	SPIRIT	3
TIME	3	AT	3	LOVE	3
CO-OPERATI*	3	UNITY	3	ONE	3
CALLED	3	PERSONAL	3	BEING	3
WITH	3	FROM	3	SEEKING	3
SAID	3	H	3	ALL	3

(Louw 2003)

Paper 8, 2007b

This keynote celebrates the work of Ruqaiya Hasan through collocation.
This is a scan of the author's copy.

6 Collocation as the determinant of verbal art

Bill Louw

University of Zimbabwe

Editors' Introduction

Bill Louw is Senior Lecturer in Modern English Language at the University of Zimbabwe, where he also teaches courses in Communication and Negotiating Skills on the MBA, using data-assisted methods. He has published widely in stylistics, classroom concordancing, data-assisted literary criticism, semantic prosodies and contextual prosodic theory (CPT).

Following closely in the footsteps of John Sinclair's work on corpus linguistics and also stylistics, Louw's challenging and provoking paper gives us another exploration of the possibilities of collocations as a way of analysing verbal art. It too is valuable for scholars and students interested in combining stylistics with the latest developments in corpus linguistics. For Louw, however, it is actually the task of corpus stylistics to make the act of reading poetry, prose and drama *data-assisted*, if not *data-driven*, within the verbal art of individuals and the literary movements with which their work has become associated. He holds that for critics of literature, digital instrumentation for language offers, on the one hand, verification of their insights, and, on the other, the stimulus of rendering vulnerable *all* critical statements which are merely the intuitively derived products of 'normal' reading. Hence his suggestion that ordinary reading may now be inadequate for the determination of verbal art. The suggestion is essentially much like Hasan's own, but the confident belief in the interpretative powers of the nine-word collocational window is distinctively his own.

The initial section of Louw's paper illustrates the theoretical premises of his analysis and focuses on the figures of Jakobson and Firth. Louw writes that Jakobson's article entitled 'Poetry of grammar and grammar of poetry' (1968) shows that his investigative technique was very close to that of Firthian stylistics. At the same time, however, he also argues that Jakobson's work managed only a glimpse into the possibilities offered by the notion of 'context of situation' as theorised by Malinowski and Firth, and that, as a consequence, his theory of poetry is marred by this serious limitation. For Louw, Jakobson's work left his readers with the problem of finding a level of language other than syntax as the basis for proving the existence and power of his 'poetic function'. He proposes collocation as the solution to this problem, noting that Firth suggested that collocation should be considered at a superordinate level, one much closer to context of situation than to syntax or grammar. In other words, poetical potential is not to be found in lexical and grammatical relations, so much as in the 'trope', that is to say, in that '[...] phenomenon which [...] twists words away from their usual meanings [...]' (Wales, 2001: 398). The modern and contemporary literature texts that Louw addresses include Ezra Pound, George Orwell, and contemporary Singaporean poet, Edwin Thumboo. His collocation analysis, however, makes use of concordance data from a vast array of machine-readable corpora which has been gathered from texts spanning a long period of time.

Scholars could argue that Louw's theoretical position is at times too uncompromising and overly absolute in stating what *is* valuable in the analysis of verbal art (i.e. Malinowskian and Firthian context of situation plus collocation), and what is *not* (pretty much all the rest). Notwithstanding the feasibility and perhaps even fairness of such criticism, there is no doubt that his analysis is not only original, but also effective, in showing that collocation in literature texts can be usefully compared to collocation in large corpora, in order to draw the readers' attention to instances of delexicalisation and relexicalisation that would otherwise pass unnoticed. The powers of our intuitions are, of course, limited. In this article, the linguistic phenomena of delexicalisation and relexicalisation are also shown to play a covert role in the manipulation of language to serve dubious ideological purposes. Particularly intriguing is his treatment of the way in which literature texts exemplify Malinowskian institutional meanings seen as 'modes of action', rather than as 'countersigns of thought'.

1 Introduction

It is now almost *de rigueur* within the discipline of stylistics for anyone making an opening statement to refer to the now famous 'closing statement' delivered by Roman Jakobson at the conclusion of a conference on style at Indiana University in 1959 (Sebeok, 1960: 350–377, and in Weber, 1996: 12–35). Jakobson's paper was published in the same year that John Rupert Firth, who first propounded the power of collocation and who taught John Sinclair, died. The subject of Jakobson's address was not very far from the concerns of a recent conference on the subject of verbal art in Bologna 44 years later.¹ In his address, Jakobson attempted to demonstrate the basis of what he called the 'poetic function' of language: a project which he had been refining for much of his career within at least two 'schools' of literary theory and in at least three different countries. He offered, with some elucidation but with insufficient literary exemplification, the following terse, if slightly obscure statement of the principle behind it:

The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination. (Jakobson, 1960: 358)

Intuitively, the poetic function and the manner proposed for its operation commend themselves to stylisticians and even to some literary critics. The literary writer, instead of confining him/herself to *single acts of choice* at the level of paradigm, contrives to find some aesthetically pleasing way of propelling into the syntagmatic fabric of the work of art *one of several* of the forms which might have presented themselves as candidates for selection at a *single* point of choice. Whether this is meant to operate cumulatively within the work of art is left unelaborated. The theory is fairly readily attested *intuitively* by both literary critic and stylistician, as it purports to explain the richness of literary diction.

In fairness to Jakobson, it must be stated that he clearly appreciated the power of collocation without having had the benefit of studying or researching it. Ironically, Firth attended the same conference at which Jakobson's closing statement was delivered, but John Sinclair (personal communication) believes that there is little evidence to support any suggestion that they had met at length previously or that they ever discussed collocation. Jakobson refers to meetings with Firth '[...] in a New York tavern toward the end of the 1940s and our last heart-to-heart talk of June 1960 in his enchanting Lindfield home [...]' (in Bazell, 1966: 242). Sinclair is probably correct in his judgement. In spite of the suggestion at the beginning of Jakobson's article, published in the volume entitled *In Memory of J. R. Firth*, that he and Firth were colleagues who collaborated closely, Jakobson's short article is basically dedicated to an

account of the phonemic studies of Henry Sweet. All further reference to Firth is abandoned after the introductory paragraph.

However, Jakobson's references to 'tropes' throughout his work prove that he could be said to have been 'thinking' collocationally. Tropes are described by Katie Wales as a phenomenon which '[...] twists words away from their usual meanings or *collocations* [...]' (2001: 398, emphasis added).

Freeman (1970: 12) offers an extended example from Thomas Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge* in support of Jakobson's idea of the projection of equivalence and does so as if it were also likely to suffice as an example of the poetic function. Jakobson, however, does not produce an example of the poetic function at this stage in the closing statement. Here he offers only an example of the principle of equivalence. The fact of the matter is that the poetic function is concerned with grammatical parallelism (see Miller in this volume) and, although Jakobson offers some brief examples of this powerful principle in the closing statement, it is altogether better elaborated in his paper entitled 'Poetry of grammar and grammar of poetry' (1968). It is in that paper that we find proof that Jakobson's investigative technique in stylistics was very close indeed to the manner in which Neo-Firthian stylisticians began to proceed, and that 'context of situation' may well have offered him a better line of fit for interpreting the patterns uncovered by the exhaustive procedures required for the investigation of the poetic function.

We begin with Jakobson's superb manifesto which is as current today in the thinking of stylisticians as it was novel when he wrote it eight years after Firth's death.

Any unbiased, attentive, exhaustive, total description of the selection, distribution and interrelation of diverse morphological classes and syntactic constructions in a given poem surprises the examiner himself by unexpected, striking symmetries and anti-symmetries, balanced structures, efficient accumulation of equivalent forms and salient contrasts [...] (1968: 603)

If we turn to Culler's (1975: 59) commentary upon Jakobson's analysis of Baudelaire's 'Spleen' poems, we realise what a superb integration might have been possible between Jakobson's structural analysis and Firth's contextual analysis as the latter has now been further elaborated in semantic prosody (Louw, 1993, 2000).² Space permits us to refer to one stanza only of Spleen LXXVIII. The italicised third line becomes the subject of Culler's commentary below.

Des cloches tout à coup sautent avec furie
Et lancent vers le ciel un affreux hurlement,
Ainsi que des esprits errants et sans patrie
Qui se mettent à geindre opiniâtrement.

Baudelaire's use of personification does nothing to alter the pervasive negative semantic prosody within the stanza, or to assuage the pessimism of the entire passage. Culler, however, suggests that the poem might even have to be altered in translation in order to bring it in line with Jakobson's analysis of its patterning. He proposes that the line *Ainsi que des esprits errants et sans patrie* be altered thus: *Like wandering and homeless spirits*. The alteration,

[...] changing the non-transitory adjective *errants* to a participle with an appropriate complement (e.g. *errant sans compagnie* for *errants et sans patrie*) introduces two new transitory forms and makes the poem adhere more closely to the pattern of organisation that Jakobson would see in it. (Culler, 1975: 61)

Firth would have been quick to point out that the sudden introduction of the form *compagnie* would alter the context of situation by introducing into a literary world bereft of human comfort the notion of men and the breaking of bread. Its introduction would counteract the poet's semantic prosody by adding human beings to the context of situation only to negate them through the application of *sans*. Those who would argue that *sans* would maintain the negative prosody are referred to Sinclair's marvellous line! (1970: 141)

Her smile was not in the least like the grin of a decomposing vampire.

Indeed, if we move to the projection of equivalence, we find that it is dominated by purely mechanistic considerations. However, we also begin to appreciate that Jakobson's beautifully concise principle may need more space to work itself out than that often available within a poem (especially a short poem such as a *haiku*). It is likely that Jakobson would not have followed the principle slavishly, but the very crispness with which it is stated as a compositional formula renders it vulnerable in considering very short poems.

His definition of the principle of equivalence is falsifiable for several reasons, all of which are related to the power of collocation, especially during what might now be termed its *digital* rather than its *analogue* phase.³ Collocation's analogue phase was characterised not so much by the failure of human intuition to retrieve collocates accurately as by the total failure of anyone to *notice* at the time that this was the case!

The main reason for the failure of Jakobson's definition of the poetic function is entirely logical, and is perhaps best illustrated by means of a brief elaboration of the way in which he saw the principle of equivalence being 'projected'. Jakobson suggests that several *potential* choices are possible at any single point of choice from the vertical axis. The poet selects only one of these for inclusion at any particular point in the work of art. However, Jakobson's theory is attractive because it suggests that those choices which *might* have been

made somehow remain 'in play' and may be expected to be propelled *later* into the syntagmatic fabric of the same work of art. This process further purports to render a piece of writing more recognisably poetic. However, we need to ask whether it would be true to assert that if this phenomenon were found *not* to occur within a poem, the artistic work in question would then demonstrably fall short of acceptable poetic norms, or be perceived by consensus as prosaic or aesthetically inadequate.

Jakobson would presumably have answered this question in the affirmative. However, an affirmative answer is likely to mean that very short poems *must then* be regarded as inferior pieces of work, because there is simply too little syntactic *space* within them for his theory to work itself out. As it is risible to suggest that Jakobson would have rejected short poems in order to save his theory (and many an academic is less than scrupulous in this regard), we are left with the alternative of finding a *level* of language other than syntax as the basis for proving the existence and power of the poetic function. This paper proposes collocation as the solution to this problem. It also takes Firth's position that if *collocation* is to be considered a level of language it will at the very least have to be a superordinate level and one much closer to *context of situation* than to grammar and syntax (in Palmer, 1957 [1968]: 161).

It is important to point the reader in the direction of a short poem which bears out the argument so far. If we examine the first line of Ezra Pound's poem 'In a Station of the Metro' (1913), we find that it is, by design,⁴ only 14 words long (and only its first line, containing eight words, needs to be quoted below). The reader may wish to refer to a detailed critical analysis of this poem provided by Rodger (1983). Rodger was a colleague of Sinclair's at the University of Edinburgh and was one of the first academics to make stylistics accessible in second language study. His analysis demonstrates something of the power of the *haiku* in affording compression of expression.

The first line of Pound's verbless 14 word poem follows below. If the projection of equivalence is to work itself out, it has, at the end of this line, only six words left in which to do so!

The apparition of these faces in the crowd [...]

If Jakobson's definition were followed slavishly as part of the process of composition, we might well have expected the poet to assemble equivalences in readiness for their projection from the paradigmatic axis into the syntagmatic axis. In the pre-computational era, one might have sought to mirror this process by referring to Roget's *Thesaurus*.

apparition 1. appearance, manifestation, materialization, presence, vision, visitation. 2. chimera, ghost, phantom, revenant, shade (Literary), spectre, spirit, spook (Inf.), visitant, wraith. (*Roget's Thesaurus* in the Collins English Dictionary on CD-Rom)

In Pound's poem, this particular fairly prosaic way of developing alternative choices for projection mercifully does not occur. If it had, it would have reduced the poem to mere doggerel. The *faces* are, within six words of verbless syntax, implicitly compared to *petals*, with the implication that they have been sundered from their flowers by a storm (they are on a wet, black bough rather than attached to a *flower*). *Apparition*, *faces* and *petals* offer not only a poor grammatical and categorial fit to the left and right of *of*, but are on their own fairly powerless to explain either the poem's deeper significances or its verbal art beyond fairly simplistic levels. Jakobson would certainly have seen the course of the poem as a trope and would have alluded also to the undeniable beauty of its rhythm. His analysis would undoubtedly have been sophisticated. This leaves us with a question that is difficult to answer: *why* does he offer us in his 'closing statement' a prosaic example of the projection of equivalence (referring to options among *child*, *kid* and *tot*)? Even if Jakobson had had some exposure to collocation during its analogue period, he would (at the time at which he was writing) have experienced the limitations of human intuition in recognising collocation profiles. The digital phase of collocation is only now sufficiently well equipped and ready to bring the poetic function to fruition, albeit with some alterations to Jakobson's theory as it was first envisioned.

Poetic potential is *not* to be found in synonyms and syntax so much as it is in the trope and, as we have seen, *that* involves collocation, a phenomenon unknown to Jakobson. A practical criticism class would doubtless have invoked entirely putative notions such as 'connotation' in order to offer an explanation. It is easily demonstrated that *connotations*, if they exist at all, may well be the product of *collocations*. However, if our discipline is expected to advance *scientifically* to the point where it, and especially collocation, are recognised as providing *instrumentation* for language, the putative ought never to be preferred to the empirically recoverable. For the sake of convenience and experimental rigour, it is perhaps better to deny the existence of connotation altogether, except within the conventions of polite conversation. We shall return to the *haiku* by Ezra Pound in due course.

If recourse to *Roget* on the matter of the term *apparition* is likely to give rise to poor poetry, how are we to access collocation instead of synonyms? The answer lies in corpora rather than in dictionaries. Although dictionaries of collocation exist, they are less valuable than corpora for the reason that dictionaries often concern themselves with providing collocates for words rather than for

phrases. A material aspect of the poem we are considering is the fact that we are *not* dealing with *an* apparition so much as *the* apparition. *An* apparition is a scary apparition. *The* apparition is an apparition well known, if you like, a delexical one, ‘washed out’ through the frequency of its appearance (to use Sinclair’s analogy which suggests that delexicalisation is akin to the washing of blue jeans! The more blue jeans are washed the more they fade. The more frequently an expression in the language is used, the more its meanings will, progressively, be ‘washed out’).

Once our investigation is unfettered by the ‘dictionary mentality’, collocates of the forms which appear in literary works of art become fully recoverable. Such collocates may be recovered from large corpora of natural language, and *replicably* so, as each investigator effectively finds the same collocates independently, both within the literary work itself and across a range of corpora. Replicability means that meaning may be objectively verified both within the literary work under consideration, as this is held in a machine-readable form, and across a range of corpora against which the features of that particular literary work are being ‘read’. The test of replicability also acts as a safeguard against the alteration or homogenisation of corpora. Tampering with the construction of a corpus might, for example, be prompted by attempts to keep ‘spin’, or other institutional meanings, opaque in the perception of the ordinary reader (Louw, 2003).

A good example of a concordance follows in the next section of this paper. The request behind it was for the computer to co-select *dark* in the environment of *night*. The results of the search will be similar from one corpus to another. The reason for this is that once the reader begins to select more than one word the result will be powerfully *contextualising*, both textually and situationally.

What we then have is the evidence that constitutes a data-assisted reading. This type of reading has not always been possible by means of the ordinary or conventional reading process, and for at least two reasons. Firstly, because there will always be vast relative discrepancies within the reading background of different individuals and hence within their prior knowledge as individual readers. The second reason is more compelling. Human intuition is largely blind to collocation patterns in delexical phrases. Larger corpora are to be preferred to smaller ones, but cross-correlation will always occur between corpora that have been properly sampled as part of corpus development. Corpus development refers to the content of corpora and the way in which that content is selected in order to offer us an objective sample of authentic language in the real world. The technique of reading by data-assisted means will advance as corpora improve and assume the status of living documents. Sinclair puts this latter point more succinctly and elegantly: ‘It is now possible to create a new kind of corpus, one which has no final extent because, like the language itself, it keeps on developing’ (Sinclair, 1991: 25).

2 Collocation and delexicalisation

At this stage, it is worth repeating Firth's view of what is involved when we are dealing with collocation:

Meaning by collocation is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level and is not directly concerned with the conceptual or idea approach to the meaning of words. One of the meanings of *night* is its collocability with *dark* [...] (in Palmer, 1957 [1968]: 197)

If we test Firth's own example of *night's* collocability with *dark*, we find that our intuition was capable of predicting fairly well only *some* of the syntactic correlation which surrounds these two collocates. As said above, this is because there is a point beyond which intuitive prediction does not work. The forms of language which we could *not* predict and which are uncovered by the corpus-based search are especially revealing. They involve the recovery of *delexical phrases*. The collocates involved in such phrases are often entirely opaque to human intuition, the frequent and vociferous claims of '20:20 hindsight' notwithstanding (Louw, 2003, 2004).

MicroConcord search SW: night CW: dark

80 Characters per entry

Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 ition along Glen Road. It was a dark night and there was no lighting. The sol
2 to the naked eye on a dark, moonless night at only about 1,000. Objects as faint
3 ool nearby. "You could not go out at night, because after dark they just killed
4 with musketry, opened upon us. The night being extremely dark, it was only the
5 dier being confronted in the dark of night by a moving vehicle. That is a differ
6 Brighton was. Dark pier (OK, it was night), dark arcades, dark flats there must
7 hut, an eerie murmur filled the dark night. "Don't worry about that, it's just t
8 om behind and spoke to you on a dark night. His would be the voice that was comi
9 we would not care to meet on a dark night; I still cannot understand the Golden
10 r'. They are there for you on a dark night in January, not just in the sunshine
11 y back to 1978, just before the dark night of Thatcherism fell upon Tory occupie
12 itian people have awoken from a dark night of fear to a new dawn of hope," he sa
13 e broody and moody. In the real dark night of his **soul**, it can always be three o
14 augham as "a sudden hope in the dark night of the soul", the pagoda is the most
15 a starry sky for Mr WW's final dark night of the soul before our redeemed hero
16 tter (duly trotted out are "the dark night of the **soul**", "let there be light", "
17 d to keep hope alive during the dark night of dictatorship. For this he is honou
18 aitian people have moved from a dark night of fear to a new dawn of hope." Des
19 had personally experienced the dark night of the **soul**. </Group> </Story>
20 nd started laughing loudly. The dark night outside the glass walls and room was

21 ct the Earth wants to meet on a dark night. Several hundred thousand more are mo
 22 drivers to "see" in the dark, using night sights like those used on RAF fighter
 23 llop On a dark, miserable winter's night stuck on a lonely road miles from any
 24 ertising the extremely dark 'Arabian Night'. The density of the blackness of thi
 25 on its two hour, half dark midsummer night, the inhabitants don't go to bed at a
 26 ts frame. There is the dark world of night thoughts, the ardent landscape of the
 27 a flash of lightning on a pitch dark night; the scene it illuminated was lurid b
 28 nsible. Wharton Tigar chose a dark night to make a personal reconnaissance and
 29 e, of course, referring to that dark night two years ago when the Portuguese sco
 30 ed through the government lobby that night wearing dark glasses and holding thei
 31 . Anderson's orchestral piece Dark Night, which won the Royal Philharmonic Soc

(Source: *The Times* Newspaper for the year 1995)

Where *dark* and *night* are followed by *of*, we find that, between them, they are capable of attracting the largely unexpected collocate: *soul*. Some readers, especially those of the Roman Catholic faith, may find that they are better able to predict this form than other readers.

However, there may be an argument for reading the quotation from Firth differently and with the benefit of access to data, which Firth did not have in 1957. The question we would need to ask of the quotation is this: if a single word is 'abstracted' (Latin *ab+trahere*, 'drawn away from') at the syntagmatic level, what evidence remains that it was ever part of that level? Surely abstraction at the syntagmatic level would, in 1957, have involved at the very least *two* adjacent words or *two* intuitively recognisable collocates. The latter, in the terminology of modern corpus linguistics, would be referred to as two 'skip-searched' words, or 'co-selected' words. However, unless strenuous efforts are made to recover the co-text from which forms are said to be 'abstracted', the whole exercise can degenerate into an intuitive investigation of a word offered from the mind of the investigator on its own as a *citation* form. It is likely that Firth saw this process of abstraction as one which would inevitably lead to the creation of a new and separate *level* of language for collocation. This becomes clear in Firth's writing *after* his association with the anthropologist, Bronislaw Malinowski, which led to the fully-acknowledged adoption on Firth's part of 'context of situation'. In a paper in which he sets out the contribution of Malinowski, Firth reserves for collocation a level of the highest abstractness:

Linguistic analysis I reserve for statements about language data in terms of phonetics, phonology, grammar, stylistics, lexicography and textual analysis in a background of *statements of collocation and of contexts of situation* as I understand these terms. (1957 [1968]: 161, emphasis added)

The attempt to work with *The apparition* rather than simply *apparition* marks a departure from normal intuitively-based critical practice. The concordancer allows us to search for two words by means of co-selection, but it is more natural for collocates to be found *near* one another than in an inflexible relationship of rigid contiguity. With terms that *must* follow one another, we are dealing with a special form of collocation, although for Kjellmer (1984), collocation is regarded as syntactically bound.

Sinclair, in the OSTI Report, alludes to how easy it is to overlook the fact that collocation '[...] restricts the meaning of the words involved, it does not enhance it' and that collocation has a 'focusing' function rather than a 'selective' function. Sinclair says '[...] it took a long time to give up the traditional concept of the word as the unit of meaning' (Sinclair et al., 2004: xxi). In doing so, he postulates collocation *as* the very basis of the unit of meaning. This means that stylistics needs to make room for it. This adjustment needs to be made, notwithstanding the huge contribution to date of all stylisticians, and especially Jakobson's work, on the grammatical basis of the poetic function. Sinclair acknowledges the possibility for a different vision.

In his recent book, entitled *Trust the Text* (2004), Sinclair refers to this focusing function by way of explaining its use in what might perhaps be termed 'verbal art'.

W. E. Louw (personal communication) argues that 'literal' and 'figurative' are points close to the extremities of a continuum of *delexicalization*. Words can gradually lose their full lexical meaning, and become available for use in contexts where some of that full meaning would be inappropriate; this is the so-called figurative extension. Louw points out that a writer, especially a literary writer, must exercise vigilance so that the meaning of each word is interpreted at the intended point on the continuum. Such features as collocation are part of the *control mechanism* available to the writer. (Sinclair, 2004: 198, emphasis added)

One consequence of this stance on the role of collocation in literary texts is that much of its impact will be experienced as *relexicalisation*. Sinclair (1991: 175) has always made it plain that collocative power is concentrated within a nine word window, four words to the right and four words to the left of the node. The phenomenon offers a potential device for the production of verbal art, even from the delexical scraps and detritus of the language, such as idiomatic phrases. Either way, the control mechanism of collocation is powerless once we move beyond the nine word window. For this reason, any notion of literary worlds needs to focus on the *microstructures* involved in the process of reading, rather than the purported *macrostructures* of its

product. We can see something of this in the opening line of the novel *Tropic of Capricorn* by Henry Miller.

Once you have given up the ghost, everything follows with dead certainty, even in the midst of chaos. (1966: 9)

By placing *dead* within four words of *ghost*, the author produces a ‘zombie effect’ which causes the dead bodies of these totally delexical expressions (i.e. ‘give up the ghost’ and ‘dead certainty’) to twitch within the perception of the reader as they are suddenly, and only briefly, relexicalised. Proof of the power of this phenomenon in Miller is easily furnished from the BNC, if *ghost* and *dead* are co-selected.

MicroConcord search SW: ghost CW: dead

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 through a footbridge. Every new-dead ghost Comes to that worn-out blood for its
 2 ected from an old singer in 1906 the ghost of the dead lover returns after a yea
 3 hrough the woods who was chasing the ghost of his dead father, Bradley neverthel
 4 sts! By using magic he can order the ghost of any dead person to be his servant
 5 ed himself to be in contact with the ghost of the dead king, were complications
 6 re had introduced - contact with the ghost of the dead king - was not only the o
 7 apparition? An earth-bound soul? The ghost of the dead Lady Eleanor? </p> <p> Fa
 8 p> Yes, but you're talking about the ghost of a dead person, aren't you? This ma
 9 <p> The Romans called the spirit or GHOST of a dead person his manes or mares,
 10 like one returning from the dead, a ghost (the allusion is to the drowning of P
 11 and distaste. Surely the dead man's ghost would object to this? Was his soul st

A second consequence of viewing verbal art as collocation may be more compelling. Particular forms are dominated *within the corpus* by collocates which the reader cannot retrieve, either in the text that is being read, or intuitively from past experience. It may induce a sense of shock when the corpus reveals that these collocates are not only massively frequent but are simultaneously of immense ideological importance. This fact alone is capable of demonstrating the inadequacy of Schema Theory in cognitive approaches to literature (Louw, 2004), which propose that readers are capable of creating a literary world from a single prompt. This gives us denotations (attributes of pubs such as *food*, *drinks*, *bar* etc., Stockwell, 2002: 77), and connotations (smoke and stink), but cannot assess the *frequency* of collocates which surround the term *pub* in corpora: the terms *groups*, *chains* and *operations* Louw (2004). Hence, it may be argued that schemata, which Wales (2001: 351) defines as ‘[...] skeletal organisations of conceptual knowledge’, flatter our mental ability for dealing with the obvious and the personal, whilst simultaneously leaving *ideologies*

untrammelled. Landlords and the drinking habits of pubs' patrons are subject to unwitting and lucrative forms of control. The landlord-owners of pubs are an endangered species.

'Reference corpora' will become a natural and indispensable part of all corpus stylistic work.⁵ This confirms Sinclair's argument that collocation '[...] restricts the meaning of the words involved, it does not enhance it'. We need perhaps to add the words, 'especially where delexical phrases which are opaque to human intuition may be recovered computationally by means of co-selection'. *Dark night of the soul* and *pub + groups, chains, operations* demonstrates the existence of *latent* institutional meaning. The computer exposes *both* it *and* the hidden ideologies that lurk behind it. Delexical phraseology is the hitherto largely unnoticed 'sleeping giant' of semantic prosodies (Louw, 1993: 173).

To demonstrate just how much detail escapes Systemic Functional (SF) distinctions, such as grammatical metaphor (see Louw, 2000b), we might cite Coffin et al. (eds) (2004: 1), where they offer the following sentences:

- (a) Traditionally, fishermen used to catch 100,000 tons of fish per year in the North Sea.
- (b) The North Sea used to provide 100,000 tons of fish per year.

The authors correctly point out that the second sentence obfuscates and glosses over the problems faced by fishermen. It is commendable that SF approaches provide some insight into this. However, collocation (which SF practitioners downplay in favour of grammatical approaches) produces a much more powerful Firthian/Malinowskian analysis. If we extend the view that one of the meanings of *night* is its collocability with *dark*, we find, in the British National Corpus (BNC), that one of the meanings of *fishermen* is its collocability with *their*. If we search for *their* in the co-selected environment of *fishermen*, we produce the following concordance.

MicroConcord search SW: their CW: fishermen

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 facing fishermen, slowly destroying their ability to make a living and support
 2 n coastline of Japan on both legs of their annual migration. Fishermen of the Ki
 3 hought as the other fishermen nodded their approval of sound advice. </p> <p> An
 4 alk of revolt by Shetland fishermen. Their association has described the early c
 5 e following day the 11 fishermen and their boat returned to Xiamen, Fujian provi
 6 on human prey. Fishermen sleeping in their boats anchored several hundred yards
 7 to the cove where the fishermen kept their boats, while curlew, disturbed by my
 8 an sheep-ranch, fishermen hauling in their catch off the Faroe Islands, a ceremo
 9 is used by local fishermen to unload their catches and berth their boats. </p> <

10 survive. </p> <p> The fishermen and their children have a habit of holding fish
11 cy, and the two young fishermen told their crews that they had found nothing but
12 t sort after by the fishermen and by their customers. Now if this contaminated f
13 rt of lime. The local fishermen keep their equipment in the arched openings nowa
14 social position of the fishermen and their families means that they are scared t
15 stamped on their pass fishermen and their families won't be able to emigrate or
16 study concentrating on fishermen and their families. </p> <PS000:> </p> <PS2S7:>
17 simply need to provide fish bait for their fishermen. Other countries could boyc
18 been possible to assess the state of their health, but fishermen have advised ma
19 ll, actually a net, the knitting, so their husbands were fishermen and that's a
20 floor as the fishermen laboured for their livelihood. </p> <p> Joe Harries woul
21 fishermen, they'd been fishermen all their lives, their fathers had been fisherm
22 e's surface and its fishermen propel their long narrow boats with a unique leg-r
23 rest in the way that this relates to their membership of fishermen's organisatio
24 he next tide. Nearby, fishermen sort their nets before hanging them up to dry in
25 ary, when commercial fishermen bring their nets closer to shore, following the b
26 a, an area where the fishermen dried their nets and the inhabitants dumped their
27 ndrew watched over fishermen mending their nets, holding the mesh taut between t
28 ire coast. Local fishermen pulled in their nets, seagulls hovered elegantly over
29 the turtles do not become trapped in their nets. The fishermen will have to use
30 cluded episodes of fishermen mending their nets. Having to use existing music, J
31 while watching the fishermen mending their nets. </p> <p> The fact that Limone i
32 dissimilar to the way fishermen make their nets. It produces a slight herringbon
33 ing houses and the fishermen started their night's work. In the morning the visi
34 anges susu are hunted and killed for their oil. Indian fishermen use dolphin oil
35 here we painted fishermen working on their outrigger boats, extraordinary craft
36 Fishing: Keen fishermen should bring their own tackle as the Wolfgangsee is reno
37 Fishing: Keen fishermen should bring their own tackle, the fishing in the lake i
38 interest groups. Fishermen, who had their own local unions, defied national org
39 whiting, which they can't get from their own fishermen. </p> <p> The potential
40 criminal records will be stamped on their pass fishermen and their families won
41 ly to intensify as fishermen step up their protests against the imports they bla
42 ,they had always been fishermen and their quarry had always been herring and ee
43 oggers and fishermen fiercely defend their rights to pollute or exploit resource
44 outlaw many part-time fishermen and their small boats from traditional grounds
45 eeding grounds by fishermen reduced their stocks during the eighteenth and nine
46 ural policy; her fishermen have lost their stocks to the Common Fisheries Policy
47 uest on three fishermen drowned when their vessel foundered in the Irish Sea in
48 café at Tersane Local fishermen show their wares Under cruising chute in the Kek

This concordance restores something which SFL has gradually taken away in the 44 years since Firth's death: the primacy of *context of situation*. Concordance lines 24–32 might very easily have been drawn from the New Testament or from Malinowski's *corpus inscriptionum kiriwiniensium*, written in 1922 and produced as part of his ethnographic studies in the Trobriand Islands. The primary institutional meaning of modern fishermen of the North Sea is *not* that they use or mend nets, but that their livelihood is threatened.

Neither ought we to look to *nature* and *grammar* for meaning, as Goatly (2004: 198–201) does, but to context of situation. Goatly is primarily concerned with the Newtonian principle '[...] that nature is passive and controllable and that human observers and actors are separate from what they observe and act on'. He deplores the fact that the fish are an inert or passive goal and agonises over the problems of labelling of his own making (such as *animation* or *personification*), as he feels these are involved in the grammar of reporting that *a boulder tops the hill* or *the bed is crawling with ants*.

Such reasoning confirms that the Firthian tradition is now completely lost. Firth is concerned with *outcomes which flow from contexts of situation*. If there has been over-fishing, the plight of fishermen is better disclosed by the outcomes pointed to by the collocate *their* than by the invention of a plethora of labels which are applied to the surface of grammar in ways that are akin to false tagging.

Collocation takes us to the meaning of the *outcome*. It is a form of reading or writing and *not* a form of *labelling*, which leads in cumbersome ways to a fractured and only partial interpretation, which is skewed both by the author's grammatical choices and the 'dead' metaphorical *appearance* of idiomatic English. A more compelling grasp of hidden meanings is to be obtained by looking to collocation instead and to Firth's 1957 taxonomy for context of situation, as he established it together with Malinowski (Firth, 1957 [1968]: 155), and as it has now been partially automated by Louw (2003). It is only in this way that we are likely to discover what exactly gets 'disappeared' by the assertion that the North Sea 'used to provide 100,000 tons of fish'. Speculation about the interface between grammar and nature is finally less important than an outcome in the real world. Outcomes are traceable through collocation and the problems they identify are finally cured by human intervention. Nothing is to be gained by demonstrating that linguistic forms are metaphors we die by. No material help flows from showing that we are victims of grammatical happenstance.

With the above preparation in mind, it is now time to return to the single line of poetry in Pound's *haiku*: 'The apparition of these faces in the crowd [...]'. If we apply the principles of delexicalisation and collocation to the

first two words of our poem, we find exactly the same phenomenon that we experienced earlier. As said, the grammar offers only a small prompt: we are dealing with *the apparition* and not *an apparition*. The shock induced by the apparition is one to which we are becoming accustomed. The appearances of Our Blessed Lady both in the world and in a collocation search are welcome. The daily apparition of the faces of workers on the *Metro* bound for factories is unwelcome, but it holds no great surprise for us, especially in our modern world stricken as it is by globalisation. Our response to this particular apparition will be measured, rather than be likely to precipitate a heart attack.

The heart attack is likely to be brought on gradually, as we begin to feel *guilty* about having connived with an *ideology*. This ideology manufactures our consent to the idea that breaking up communities and forcing their members into factories as a form of cheap labour and for profit is acceptable and inevitable. It is difficult to prove that the ideology stated in the poem reflects Pound's own political position rather than part of his polemic to prove the power of the *haiku*. The latter seems more likely, even though Pound's opposition to American policy is well documented. The delexical collocates of *the apparition* (from The Bank of English) are identified by their frequency. They embody something of the poet's delexical intention. Readers who are determined to find *connotations* may wish to refer to the long tail two occurrences, or of *hapaces*, or single occurrences in the list below:

of	48	5.588986
the	57	4.915268
virgin	9	2.996542
an	9	2.609823
mary	5	2.224156
blessed	3	1.730057
saw	3	1.690318
shrine	2	1.413003
startled	2	1.412777
holy	2	1.407435
sudden	2	1.406625
friend	2	1.379340
mother	2	1.356143
seen	2	1.345831

children	2	1.297025
exorcize	1	0.999982
scrooge	1	0.999759
scowling	1	0.999758
exclamation	1	0.999624
spectral	1	0.999600
fatima	1	0.999555
wondrous	1	0.999384
forlorn	1	0.999296

(Source: *The Bank of English*)

The subject of the *haiku* is the *recurrent* apparition-like appearance on the underground railway in Paris of those who leave their communities in order to travel to work every day. The event is as frequent as the working day itself and hence inevitably *delexical*, but this does not operate to the detriment of the poem, as it so easily might have done. As Sinclair correctly states it (2004: 198), the ‘control mechanism is collocation’. The *delexical apparition* reaches forward to equate itself with the equally *delexical faces in the crowd*. It becomes plain that the *petals* are no longer on the flower, but moribund, shattered by what may be inferred as a ‘storm’, perhaps of the Industrial Revolution. This ‘storm’ has broken up the ‘flowers’ of families and carts off their members (‘petals’) daily on underground railways to their places of work, possibly in factories.

At last we begin to appreciate the *now verifiable* power of meronymy. Wales defines it as ‘[...] a term to describe a ‘part-whole’ relation of meaning [...] dictionaries for foreign learners of English often rely on *meronymy* as a substitute for definition: providing *pictures* of cars or the human body and labelling their distinctive parts’ (2001: 247, emphasis added). As we see from the collocation frequency list for *petals* below, collocation in the digital age is capable of providing a linguistic rival to those pictures.

This is a most exciting development within the connotative rather than the denotative medium of language. Its impact on verbal art is at last demonstrable. Note that if the frequency scores for *flower* and *flowers* are added together, they place this *content* or *lexical word* form well within the envelope of structural or ‘grammar words’. This offers us some measure of the power of Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) research on lexical cohesion. It is a great pity that it was not carried forward into collocation’s digital period.

Collocation list

Collocates: 3 to left and 3 to right of 'petals'

the	207	of	114	and	89	a	58
with	58	p	49	in	44	rose	38
to	33	flower	29	on	27	white	24
like	23	are	22	as	22	or	21
their	18	from	16	which	16	flowers	15
leaves	15	its	14	they	14	heart-shap*	13
four	13	that	13	i	13	five	13
at	12	for	11	so	11	all	11
it	10	into	10	her	10	were	10
pink	9	have	8	can	8	by	8
faded	8	dried	8	one	7	you	7

(List of collocates and frequencies obtained from all occurrences of the form *petals* in The British National Corpus)

3 Collocation as the control mechanism for verbal art

We now examine in greater detail how collocation as the control mechanism of delexicalisation allows poetry to work, in spite of the fact that most of a particular poem's linguistic fabric is statistically and recoverably *swamped* by the delexical forms of everyday language. Edwin Thumboo is a friend and colleague of Sinclair's. He is a renowned Singaporean poet and academic. David Birch (1996: 208) quotes one of Thumboo's most famous poems, 'Steel', whose theme is political resistance to colonial domination. In the poem, Thumboo's persona wishes to create a sense that colonial settlers might eventually encounter armed resistance. However, he wishes to make this suggestion without appearing to be fomenting a revolution. He creates an image in which the poem's very syntax is simultaneously both a line of poetry and a line of battle.

Steel

They gave me subterraneous thoughts
 How to work effects with words; for sauce
 I gamed with alphabet,
 Marshalling sense into the line
 Till cunning showed beneath the verbs, cunningly.

Till mind, my mind, grew slanting
 With habitations of the past.
 Bowels of the soul congested, cough
 In a current of fixed sounds.

How can others know my tongue-fire
 Agony deprived of action?

O Abel, Rima's chords are lost:
 The serpent bites,
 Green Mansions, a scarecrow of steel
 To hang our automatic greetings.

Edwin Thumboo (1956)

Only collocation can account for achieving this delicate balance between warning and incitement because the term *marshalling* (line 4) is totally surrounded by delexical forms *in the corpus and hence in the readers' prior knowledge* which are likely to defeat the poet's intentions.

In the first place, as can be seen in the collocation list below, there are semantically unrelated forms, such as *marshalling yards*, *railways* and *harbors*. These could cause distractions of provenance.

Secondly, some of the delexicalisation present has become associated with *ameliorative semantic change* (Ullmann, 1962: 231) during the history of the language: a frequent collocate of *marshalling* is the conciliatory word *support* rather than an aggressive word. This meaning would be quite the opposite of the poet's intention! The problem is easily rectified by the inclusion of an appropriate collocate within the window of acknowledged collocational power.

The poet needed to move a collocate to within *four* words of *marshalling* which would have the effect of *relexicalising* it *into* a form of verbal art by reinstating its primary meaning of resistance. This collocate is *line*, both 'line' of protest poetry and 'line' of battle, or of soldiers on parade. The nine word window of collocational power (Sinclair, 1991: 175) is the determinant of verbal art here. It allows the delexical threat to become entirely *invisible* at the level of the reader's intuition. This is precisely where cognitive stylisticians go astray. They see metaphors everywhere and aver that we live by them (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). The fact is that the metaphors they see are the washed out *dead* metaphors of which *all* language is comprised. I would propose that '*real*' poetic power consists in collocation's ability to conceal the unwanted common core of the language whilst simultaneously bringing to prominence,

through *relexicalisation*, those, and only those, meanings which the poet's purpose requires at the time.

Collocation list (data from a sample of 200 citations from The Bank of English)

Collocates: 3 to left and 3 to right of 'marshalling'

the	83	and	43	of	40	in	28
his	26	for	26	a	22	yards	22
to	18	is	16	was	14	by	13
with	12	support	12	p	12	at	11
yard	10	as	10	from	9	on	9
defence	9	but	7	its	7	he	7
troops	7	be	6	area	6	forces	6
this	6	more	6	into	6	railway	62
it	6	are	6	that	5	marshalling*	5
all	5	them	5	himself	4	him	4
resources	4	evidence	4	will	4	when	4
also	4	their	4	about	4	has	4
game	3	well	3	facts	3	which	3
we	3	an	3	city	3	internatio*	3
after	3	large	3	i	3	rail	3
been	3	have	3	her	3		

There is a deeper reason why this example ought deservedly to bring increased levels of anxiety into the lives and work of cognitive stylisticians. It is a falsehood, which is nonetheless central to cognitive linguistics, to use intuition to relexicalise the delexical and then to *reify* it as a respectable subject for investigation. More recently, members of this school of linguists have purported to use corpora to 'verify' their science. Let us be clear. Metaphors cannot be created by the process of intuitive labelling of the type we find in so much cognitive work on metaphor, such as

[...] COMMERCIAL-ACTIVITY-AS-PATH;
 COMMERCIAL-ACTIVITY-AS-CONTAINER;
 COMMERCIAL-ACTIVITY-AS-WAR [...]

(Martin, 2006)

Metaphor involves transference of meaning. In the case of ‘dead’ metaphors no transference occurs. It only *appears* to occur if instances are presented as single made up examples and as citation forms in single sentences (cf. Bruner et al., 1956: 54). Collocation is capable of providing *relexicalising transference of meaning* uniquely within the nine-word window, but the examples must be authentic and labels such as those of Martin above, offered from intuition alone, would destroy the process by attempting to control it. Furthermore the labels provided in so doing would mislead investigators who attempted to replicate the research years later. Readers’ intuition runs riot when prompted by examples of relexicalisation within the nine word window of collocative power, like the single line from the Bank of English below. The writing is reminiscent of the powerful innuendo achieved by Philip Roth (2000) in his book entitled *The Human Stain*. Only collocation has the power to re-allocate and re-categorise a mere grammatical object such as *resolve*:

The hidden hand stiffened the President’s resolve.

4 Collocation and context of situation as literary worlds

When it comes to considering language and context, very few linguists have taken the trouble to settle the question of *primacy*. In an address at Sophia University in Japan in 1980, Michael Halliday states the issue at the beginning of his talk:

Let me begin, then, by trying to explain both these notions: what do we mean by text and what do we mean by context? I am going to do this in the opposite order: that is to say, I am going to talk about context first, for the reason that, in *real life*, *contexts precede texts*. The situation is *prior* to the discourse that relates to it. Also – and perhaps for this reason – there was a theory of context before there was a theory of text. I have in mind here the work of Malinowski, and in particular his theory of context of situation [...] (in Halliday and Hasan, 1980: 6, emphasis added)

For his audience in Japan, Halliday explains exactly how Firth, in an article written in 1935, adopted and adapted Malinowski’s taxonomy.

[...] The context of situation for Malinowski is an ordered series of events considered *in rebus*.

My view was, and still is, that ‘context of situation’ is best used as a suitable schematic construct to apply to language events, and that it is a group of related categories at a different level from grammatical categories, but rather of the

same abstract nature. A context of situation for linguistic work brings into relation the following categories:

A. The relevant features of participants: persons, personalities.

(i) The verbal action of the participants.

(ii) The non-verbal action of the participants.

B. The relevant objects.

C. The effect of the verbal action.

(Firth, 1957: 182)

The taxonomy set out above operates in fairly predictable ways in real life; the classic applied example is probably still T. F. Mitchell's 'The language of buying and selling in Cyrenaica' (1975). However, once we enter the world of fiction, the Malinowski-Firth classification assumes an entirely different complexion. The question of the primacy of context of situation becomes more difficult to assert within a fictional environment. Halliday and Hasan would argue that literary works of fiction establish their own contexts (see Halliday, 1978: 146, and Hasan, 1996: 50–54). Firth seems to offer no scope for this. Sinclair (personal communication) attended Firth's inaugural lecture delivered at the University of London. There Firth used the taxonomy agreed with Malinowski as the basis for providing detailed stylistic analyses of Shakespeare's plays. The lecture elicited rousing applause and a standing ovation. Sadly, all copies of this lecture are lost and it was apparently never published.

One of the first semantic prosodies uncovered by Sinclair operates around the term *happen* and its related collocates such as *something*. In the hands of a skilled writer like Scott Fitzgerald they operate, often in concert, across vast tracts of text in order to establish an increasingly febrile sense of suspense (Louw, 2000a). A good example is line 13 below, in which the guests who know that Tom is having an affair try to eavesdrop on his conversation. The terms almost disappear once the atmosphere has been created. The novelist contrives to make them collocate climactically with the *name* of the protagonist himself in line 31. After this line, there are no further occurrences of *happen* in the novel. The reader is thereafter left with very few indications as to the manner and the time of Gatsby's demise: 'Even Gatsby could happen without any apparent wonder' (line 31).

MicroConcord search SW: happen*

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 ppened to us together, and what had happened afterward to me, and she lay perfec
 2 ~c Grcat Gatsby next to nothing. It happened, and that's all I know.' 'Well, if
 3 t to go back a little and tell what happened at the garage after we left there t
 4 surprising thing was that it hadn't happened before. They were a party of three
 5 ichaelis tried to find out what had happened, but Wilson wouldn't say a word - i
 6 he said decisively. 'But how did it happen? Did you run into the wall?' 'Don't a
 7 exploded. 'I can't speak about what happened five years ago, because I didn't kn
 8 that afternoon; so everything that happened has a dim, hazy cast over it, altho
 9 tron of Gatsby's library. 'How'd it happen?' He shrugged his shoulders. 'I know
 10 y with dejection or sleep. 'Nothing happened,' he said wanly. 'I waited, and abo
 11 o hear what happens.' 'Is something happening?' I inquired innocently. 'You mean
 12 a car corning the other way. It all happened in a minute, but it seemed to me th
 13 n. **'Don't talk. I want to hear what happens.' 'Is something happening?' I inquir**
 14 lling her back inside? V\~hat would happen now in the dim, incalculable hours? P
 15 s in haughty rivalry. 'Anything can happen now that we've slid over this bridge,
 16 ecoverable football game. And so it happened that on a warm windy evening I drov
 17 lder. 'What you want, fella?' 'What happened? - that's what I want to know.' 'Au
 18 ttle in the wind, and whenever this happened the red, white, and blue banners in
 19 ~ic Grcat Gatsby thing that merely happened, the end of some inevitable chain.
 20 ow?' demanded Tom of me. 'How'd you happen to come up this far to eat?' 'I've be
 21 lf- shiem - that much I happen to know. I've made a little investiga
 22 ured her. 'It's a bona-fide deal. I happen to know about it.' Tom flung open the
 23 burglar blowing a safe. 'How did he happen to do that?' I asked after a minute.
 24 and talked over and around what had happened to us together, and what had happen
 25 orget some- thing very sad that had happened to me long ago.' With an effort I m
 26 trying to forget the sad thing that happened to me.' He hesitated. 'You'll hear
 27 'At lunch?' 'No, this afternoon. I happened to find out that you're taking Miss
 28 ght pick up a nice bit of money. It happens to be a rather confidential sort of
 29 man telling over and over what had happened, until it became less and less real
 30 a series of invisible but alarming happenings were taking place outside. Finall
 31 **thing at all ...' Even Gatsby could happen, without any particular wonder. Roari**

But note the effect that this suspense has on the taxonomy of situational context. Once Gatsby and 'happen' are caused to collocate, Scott Fitzgerald creates the potential for things to happen to Gatsby, as well as for Gatsby to *cause* things to happen. Collocation as contextual prosodic theory is capable of re-assigning the subject within mere grammar (Louw, 2000a). Firth offers us the potential for cruel mismatches between appearance and reality: the *persons* (already a

'mask' within its etymology), or author-created characters, are afforded the possibility of a Janus-faced relationship with their own personalities. Dr Jekyll can be, and is, Mr Hyde. Hamlet is heir apparent, son, ditherer and, through the assumption of an 'antic disposition', a madman. Gatsby is 'Oxford man', reveller and Daisy's lover, but in his case the list is left incomplete. His other personalities have demonstrably created *enemies* for him. To re-phrase Firth, 'You shall know a fractured context of situation or literary world by the collocates it keeps'.

Louw (2000a) makes the point that negative semantic prosodies are the product of fractured contexts of situation. It is for this reason that they are associated with suspense. Louw offers the example (repeated in Louw, 2000b) of the word *footsteps* in literary contexts. Where the 'owner' of the footsteps is known, there is no suspense. Where this is *not* the case, the context is immediately perceived to have been invaded by an interloper and all of the stylistic markers of a negative semantic prosody begin to appear. At the far end of the delexical cline we have fixed expressions such as *follow in his mother's footsteps* which are totally free of any sense of suspense or situational fracture.

Of course, we cannot expect the novel, play or poem to fit the taxonomies in the form in which Malinowski and Firth provide them. However, the classification is sufficiently generalisable for adjustments to be easily made. For example, in Michael Frayn's recent novel (2003), *Spies*, the Firthian section on 'relevant objects' is realised by the dominant presence in the novel of an odoriferous plant with pheromonal properties which are borne upon the air. The air is also simultaneously the medium which facilitates attacks during the war and against which air raid shelters need to be sought. In the early part of the book the *air* is filled with the smells of spring (citations 1, 3, 13) and is redolent with sexuality. Unanswered questions are also delexically left in the air (citations 2, 4, 12). Note how we get the same form of words *h*ng*+3air* (or would, if we were skip searching) to refer to unanswered questions (citation 4), and to the mysterious smell which keeps on haunting the narrator (citation 21). However, once war breaks out, the same air becomes the vector of the enemy's planes and bombs. These are all too visible. Citations 14 and 15 appear to prepare for the physical manifestation of the bombing raids and the need for shelters and wardens. The concordance allows us to appreciate the way in which the writer has created this powerful sense of ambivalence.

MicroConcord search SW: air

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 that I know what it was, scenting the air all around us. Then the laughter's gon
 2 solved, that some secret thing in the air around me is still waiting to be disco
 3 time. I catch it on the warm evening air as I walk past the well-ordered garden
 4 unanswered ques-tions hanging in the air at the Haywards' house than there are
 5 I know represents not grey at all but air-force blue, and that belongs to a brid
 6 ent of fast-growing evergreens in the air. But of that wild, indecent smell that
 7 ond stretches away through the golden air, empty all the way to the letter box a
 8 's just while Mr Tracey's away in the Air Force. Deirdre says lots of ladies hav
 9 mmer sun and making our famously good air fresh and exhilarating. There's nothin
 10 getation standing head-high, and the air's heavy with the buzzing of flies and
 11 ands and the cone chill ml thc ois;1U air. I can see the candles flickering, mid
 12 le, disturbing presence in the summer air? If only I knew what the magic blossom
 13 the feel of a weekday morning in the air; it's unmistakable, even if the season
 14 re somehow rematerialising out of the air itself. It takes me a moment to locate
 15 ut my hand inside. The texture of the air seems to change and thicken around my
 16 into the high mountain passes of the air-raid shelter, where spectacular bridge
 17 e'll get some more candles out of the air-raid shelter.' I shiver. Already I can
 18 I think the thought, a cool breath of air stirs, and the moon sails behind a clo
 19 a snap of him in Mummy's bag. He's an air-raid warden.' 'Barbara! I'm not going
 20 ti-aircraft defences, probably - the air-raid wardens' post on the corner of th
 21 . A characteris-tic scent hung in the air. What was it? Sawdust, certainly, and

5 Conclusion

Not all of the verbal art expressed through collocation is 'primal' in this way, but the fractured situations which writers delineate by means of verbal art will themselves become marked forms within the very fabric of the writing itself. Fractured situations will always be at the heart of literary works. A single line such as 'Nellie, I *am* Heathcliff' is enough to cause chaos both within Firth's section on 'persons, personalities' and on a larger scale within the section entitled 'effect of the verbal action'. Those shocking words become the sub-text of a whole work: the characters act them out in *Wuthering Heights* by Emily Bronte. They even induce so strong a sense of shock in the narrator, Nellie Dean, that she declares that she may not remain silent on the subject.

Collocation is in the process of becoming instrumentation for language in general and literary language in particular. Language may well be the last science to receive instrumentation. The process of bringing it about

will have its enemies and opponents because literary fiction is not terribly far away from the domain of all other untruths (Sinclair, 1987). This does not mean that all stylistics conducted hitherto has been wasted. All it means is that there have been imbalances that require correction. Even Jakobson, without knowing it, was very slightly looking in the wrong place because the right place is only now becoming recognisable. Others, like Halliday, worked in the right place for a number of years and then drifted away from it, inexplicably.

As the future of collocation will always be computational, this means that reading itself will become at the very least a partially computational act in the future. The computer is no longer an optional accessory. As reading becomes more of a science, criticism is likely to lead that process rather than drag its feet as it has in the past. Our young scholars have justifiably become impatient. They no longer wish to defend structuralist or mentalist schools of thought that are now so easily falsified by collocation studies.

I close with a concordance for *brother* from George Orwell's novel *1984*. Note that the last line of this concordance (Appendix A) contains the only reference to a natural sibling for the term in the entire book and even then this single context for it is a violent one. Only in the world of fiction are we likely to find such powerful examples of Malinowskian institutional meaning as 'modes of action', rather than as the 'countersign of thought' (Firth, 1957 [1968]: 148). The *brothers* of the secret societies have swamped and neutralised natural *brothers* who have sisters.

Winston raised his hands above his head, but with an uneasy feeling, so vicious was the boy's demeanour, that it was not altogether a game.

'You're a traitor!' yelled the boy. 'You're a thought-criminal! You're a Eurasian spy! I'll shoot you, I'll vaporize you, I'll send you to the salt mines!'

Suddenly they were both leaping round him, shouting 'Traitor!' and 'Thought-criminal!', the little girl imitating her brother in every movement. It was somehow frightening, like the gambolling of tiger cubs which will soon grow up into man eaters. (Orwell, 1949: 24)

The collocates missing from this single account of a sibling *brother* in the book is, of course, the word *big*! The reader supplies it almost as a slip of the tongue.

Appendix A

MicroConcord search SW: brother

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1L/SW unshifted.

1 uption or incompetence. Perhaps Big Brother was merely getting rid of a too-popu
 2 nces. There were occasions when Big Brother devoted his Order for the Day to com
 3 away on rival versions of what Big Brother had actually said. And presently som
 4 plate without feelings of envy. Big Brother added a few remarks on the purity an
 5 the pyramid comes Big Brother. Big Brother is infallible and all-powerful. Ever
 6 le system of thought, as though Big Brother and the Party and the Thought Police
 7 the Party histories, of course, Big Brother figured as the leader and guardian o
 8 o importance. He exists.' 'Will Big Brother ever die?' 'Of course not. How could
 9 rtainty as to when he was born. Big Brother is the guise in which the Party choo
 10 n toward an organization. Below Big Brother comes the Inner Party, its numbers l
 11 s ultimately on the belief that Big Brother is omnipotent and that the Party is
 12 nfallible. But since in reality Big Brother is not omnipotent and the Party is n
 13 ltaneously. In that sense, does Big Brother exist?' 'It is of no importance. He
 14 'Next question,' he said. 'Does Big Brother exist?' 'Of course he exists. The Pa
 15 se he exists. The Party exists. Big Brother is the embodiment of the Party.' 'Do
 16 n possible, for example, to say Big Brother is ungood. But this statement, which
 17 hy should you get excited about Big Brother and the Three-Year Plans and the Two
 18 to spit out again. The face of Big Brother swam into his mind, displacing that
 19 e Party, almost on a level with Big Brother himself, and then had engaged in cou
 20 sian army, he might be praising Big Brother or the heroes on the Malabar frontit
 21 ners voicing their gratitude to Big Brother for the new, happy life which his wi
 22 k and looked at the portrait of Big Brother which formed its frontispiece. The h
 23 0 none of them was left, except Big Brother himself. All the rest had by that ti
 24 igues against the leadership of Big Brother which had started long before the Re
 25 en been demonstrations to thank Big Brother for raising the chocolate ration to
 26 DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER over and over
 27 DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER over and over again, filling half a
 28 DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER DOWN WITH BIG
 29 the neck i dont care down with big brother He sat back in his chair, slightly a
 30 ry open on the table. DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER was written all over it, in letters
 31 the neck i dont care down with big brother they always shoot you in the back o
 32 moments his secret loathing of Big Brother changed into adoration, and Big Brot
 33 her changed into adoration, and Big Brother seemed to tower up, an invincible, f
 34 p the screen. Nobody heard what Big Brother was saying. It was merely a few word
 35 DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER DOWN WITH BIG
 36 **CE IS STRENGTH. But the face of Big Brother seemed to persist for several second**
 37 large neat capitals-- DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER DOWN WITH BIG

38 being spoken. Then the face of Big Brother faded away again, and instead the th
 39 mply to reverse the tendency of Big Brother's speech. It was better to make it d
 40 ward him and began dictating in Big Brother's familiar style: a style at once mi
 41 through the offending article. Big Brother's ()rder for the Day, it seemed, had
 42 ssary to rewrite a paragraph of Big Brother's speech in such a way as to make hi
 43 t be rendered: The reporting of Big Brother's Order for the Day in the Times of
 44 ic about a papiermache model of Big Brother's head, two meters wide, which was b
 45 ted column, at the top of which Big Brother's statue gazed southward toward the
 46 despatches and all-an end, said Big Brother, which it was impossible to contempl
 47 o f solitude, from the age o f Big Brother, from the age o f doublethinkgreetin
 48 mistaken prophecies uttered by Big Brother, have been rewritten a dozen times s
 49 f the seventeenth of March that Big Brother, in his speech of the previous day,
 50 o him in the name of Ingsoc and Big Brother, and ask him sorrowfully whether eve
 51 taken in by it. He was abusing Big Brother, he was denouncing the dictatorship
 52 taken in by it. He was abusing Big Brother, he was denouncing the dictatorship
 53 nciples of Ingsoc, he venerated Big Brother, he rejoiced over victories, he hate
 54 ess. Whether he wrote DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER, or whether he refrained from writin
 55 , but, on the contrary, against Big Brother, the Party, and the Thought Police;
 56 figure melted into the face of Big Brother, black-haired, black mustachio'd, fu
 57 mn to the wisdom and majesty of Big Brother, but still more it was an act of sel
 58 ling of slogans, the worship of Big Brother-it was all a sort of glorious game t
 59 t the apex of the pyramid comes Big Brother. Big Brother is infallible and all-p
 60 r he had first heard mention of Big Brother. He thought it must have been at som
 61 er face of the coin the head of Big Brother. Even from the coin the eyes pursued
 62 be no love, except the love of Big Brother. There will be no laughter, except t
 63 ing thing of all? He thought of Big Brother. The enormous face (because of const
 64 on looked up at the portrait of Big Brother. White always mates, he thought with
 65 ked up again at the portrait of Big Brother. The colossus that bestrode the worl
 66 victory over himself. He loved Big Brother. THE END EWSPEAK was the official la
 67 ke the last step. You must love Big Brother. It is not enough to obey him; you m
 68 spiration. Nobody has ever seen Big Brother. He is a face on the hoardings, a vo
 69 what they had done, and love of Big Brother. It was touching to see how they lov
 70 n outnumbering the portraits of Big Brother. The proles, normally apathetic about
 71 inston's face at the mention of Big Brother. Nevertheless Syme immediately detec
 72 rlier than he had known that of Big Brother. But also they were outlaws, enemies
 73 ies, and a full-sized poster of Big Brother. There was the usual boiled-cabbage
 74 t were his true feelings toward Big Brother? There was a heavy tramp of boots in
 75 Thought Police? To the death of Big Brother? To humanity? To the future?' 'To th
 76 t are your true feelings toward Big Brother?' 'I hate him:' 'You hate him. Good.
 77 al!', the little girl imitating her brother in every movement. It was somehow sl

Notes

- 1 The September 2004 conference, organised by the Centre for Linguistic-Cultural Studies (CeSLiC, see <http://www.lingue.unibo.it/ceslic/bologna2004.htm>) of the University of Bologna in Italy, was entitled: 'Towards a linguistic approach to verbal art: theory and practice'.
- 2 The label *semantic prosody* was jointly agreed upon between Sinclair, who discovered the phenomenon (1991: 112), and the author of this paper, in Harare, Zimbabwe during a visit by Sinclair to the University of Zimbabwe as external examiner. Louw (1993) demonstrated the involvement of the phenomenon in the creation (literary or otherwise) of *irony* or *insincerity*, as a result of the reversal of a semantic prosody. The factor which determines *which* form occurs, irony or insincerity, is *advertancy* or *inadvertancy* of use by the speaker/writer. The strength of the theory is to be found within this *binarity* of choice. The theory was further elaborated in Louw (2000a), in which the distinction of *primal* prosodies is elaborated as *fractured contexts of situation*. Even the absence from a poem of the form *a* is stylistically significant as *a* always introduces something *new* into a literary world. This approach is pursued into prosodies of insincerity which dominate delexical fixed expressions (Louw, 2003), and beyond that into Louw's current research which seeks to 'automate' Malinowski's view of *context of situation* as a *mode of action* rather than the *countersign of thought* (Malinowski, 1923). As a result of detailed research on phraseology in corpora begun in 1996, Sinclair in his recent volume *Trust the Text* (2004) has created a gradation within lexis which identifies a specific and verifiable place for semantic prosody.
- 3 It is appropriate to record that the work of Ruqaiya Hasan on texture and lexical cohesion (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, 1980) involved what is arguably the most sophisticated pre-computational treatment of collocation to be found anywhere. In particular, the power of her (and Michael Halliday's) category of meronymy is fully borne out through corpus-based computational verification as will become apparent later in this paper. This acknowledgement is made notwithstanding her public disavowal (to a group of colleagues which included Sinclair) at the Bologna Conference on Verbal Art of either the existence, or power, of collocation. Her words were: 'I do not believe in collocation. Colligation, yes, but not collocation'.
- 4 Pound wrote in *Gaudier-Brzeska: A Memoir* that the haiku provided a model of compression in verse, a 'one-image poem' which recreates '[...] the precise instant when a thing outward and objective transforms itself, or darts into a thing inward and subjective' (cf. Gottesman et al., 1979: 1028). Pound clearly believed that such compression enhanced and refined rather than restricted the power of poetic composition. The power and popularity of the poem referred to bears this out.
- 5 The author has used this technique to demonstrate, from its title alone, that the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is a fake institution invented fraudulently in order to extract from the victims of apartheid waiver of their claims against those who conspired against and murdered members of their families. The monograph appears as an Occasional Paper in the online *Quaderni*

del CeSLiC at http://www.lingue.unibo.it/ceslic/e_occ_papers.htm. Copies may also be obtained from the author Bill Louw, Box A746, Avondale, Zimbabwe (louw@mango.zw). It is currently being considered by John Benjamins Publishers, Amsterdam for publication and possible inclusion in the series *Studies in Corpus Linguistics*.

- 6 The author is indebted to Ms Bettina Starcke (personal communication) of the University of Trier. She believes that the inclusion of a reference corpus in the experimental design for corpus stylistic research may now be shown to be mandatory rather than optional for any investigation involving the study of collocation. The exhaustive pursuit of stylistic work without corpus access is no longer possible.

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Published by
Equinox Publishing Ltd.
UK: Unit 6, The Village, 101 Amies Street, London, SW11 2JW
USA: DBBC, 28 Main Street, Oakville, CT 06779
www.equinoxpub.com

First published 2007
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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 9781845530945 (Hardback)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Language and verbal art revisited : linguistic approaches to the study of literature / edited by Donna R. Miller and Monica Turci.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-84553-094-2 (hb)

1. Philology, Modern. I. Miller, D. R. (Donna R.) II. Turci, Monica.

PB41.L362006

410--dc22

2006000055

Typeset by Catchline, Milton Keynes (www.catchline.com)
Printed and bound in Great Britain and the USA.

Paper 9, 2008: Consolidating empirical method in data-assisted stylistics

Towards a corpus-attested glossary of literary terms

The case is made for corpus attestation of all literary terms.

Method (Gk. Meta + hodos) means an 'after-path'. Radical revisions of methodology follow momentous paradigm-shifts within scientific theories. Hence linguistic-stylistics developed analogue collocation into its digital counterpart, especially through the discovery of semantic prosodies (Sinclair 2004b; Louw 1993). This led to the recognition (Louw 1991; 2000; 2007d) that all literary devices have a corpus-accessible feature in common: relexicalisation. Delexicalisation arose out of developments in lexicography. Sinclair refers to the two terms as forming a continuum (Sinclair 2004a: 198fn18). This continuum is marked (Enkvist 1973), unlike Hoey's (2005) purported, but psychologist priming. He omits Firth's (1957) pre-condition that collocation is abstracted from syntax and that collocative (relexicalising) power falls off within four words on either side of a node. This paper explores the consequences for science and glossaries of literary terms of collocation as instrumentation for meaning.

Keywords: Data-assisted stylistics, corpus-attested glossary, semantic prosody, relexicalization, collocation, lexicography

1. Introduction

This paper seeks to consolidate the scientific use of empirical methods in the examination of literary texts by: (1) demonstrating the manner in which those methods arise out of research in corpus stylistics and (2) preventing their hybridization in practice through the creation of intuitively-derived concepts or procedures. This objective will be difficult to set in place unless and until a

corpus-attested glossary of literary terms has been derived from the research. All entries in such a glossary will need to be fully testable by means of scientific criteria such as *replicability*. Such tests are consistent with the objectives and practices supported by this commemorative volume.

One of the proofs that digital collocation is nascent *instrumentation* for language is to be found in the fact that *all* literary devices may be shown to share a common collocational trait: *relexicalization* (Louw 2007b; Louw, forthcoming). Relexicalization can only be defined in relation to its continuum-based counterpart delexicalization. When Sinclair et al. (1987; 1993) was faced with the difficulty of describing, in a dictionary, the large number of meanings (in excess of 80!) occupied by highly *frequent* words such as *take*, he referred to them as delexical or ‘washed out’. For example, the phrase *take a look* may be replaced by *have a look* or simply *look*. Furthermore, the delexical forms were found to occupy positions that were more frequent than their fully lexicalised counterparts: the most frequent meaning of the term *see*, occupies the meaning ‘understand’ rather than any meaning that relates to ‘vision’. Hence, Sinclair uses the delexical form as the term’s first meaning in his dictionaries. Relexicalization is a collocational phenomenon that takes place when collocates occur within 4 words of a node: *I see with my own eyes*.

Relexicalized forms are *marked* in Enkvist’s (1973) sense of the term. Relexicalization is brought about in *two* ways only: (1) by the appearance of two or more collocates within the 9 word window of collocative power (Sinclair 1991: 175; 2004a: 195 fn18) and (2) the uncontextualized use of single words as citation forms (Philip 2003: 235). The phenomenon which was to be called relexicalization caused Frege (1884) to caution logicians and philosophers never to countenance the use of single word examples or *citation forms*, for the reason that his distinction between *Sinn* (sense) and *Bedeutung* (reference) could only be established by the presence of what we now know to be a crucial collocate, acting as *Argument* to a *Function*. This is exemplified in his celebrated example concerning reference to the planet Venus as the *morning* star or the *evening* star. Burge (2005) sums up what Frege saw as the impact of single words on truth-value “... insofar as they have truth-value, the single words mask an *implicit* structure, involving some sort of *implicit* predication attribution.” (Burge 2005: 133) (emphasis added)

Ironically, Burge’s summary encapsulates the main concerns of digital collocation: to find collocation’s implicit *non-syntactic* structures of *meaning* that rise above and are *abstracted from syntax* (Firth, in Palmer, [1957] 1968: 197) and are hence, free from predication attribution. Collocation is capable of re-assigning mere grammatical categories as part of the process of symbolism.

By way of contrast, Hoey's (2005) averment that 'words' are 'primed', in some unexplained and psychological way, forces his work to remain unproven and probably unprovable (Louw 2007c).

The early work of Roman Jakobson on the subject of the *poetic function* (in Sebeok 1960; and in Weber 1996) pointed, albeit weakly, in the direction of relexicalization. He had initially described as the 'set toward the message', a characteristic that determines how poetic language focuses upon itself. Cook (2000: 192) considers this process to have been only weakly described. However, even the early version of the functions were better marked than Hoey's priming, because Jakobson's system of functional differentiation within his six functions can be tested for markedness using the commutation test proposed by Louw (1991: 156). Thus, even during the analogue period of language study, the poetic function established conclusively that there can be nothing inadvertent about the intention behind poetic language.

The Russian Formalists had always asserted that poetic language would be distinct from what might be best referred to as *everyday* language. Formalists often demonstrated how the banal act of language involved in, say, purchasing apples would always be different from what they referred to as *self-valuable* reference. This involved the *selective* vision of the poet, regarding with the eye of Shakespeare's Theseus, an *apple*, starting perhaps with its stalk, shape, color, smoothness or texture and always with some hint '... of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit of that forbidden tree' in order to accord to *symbolism* (Gk. 'that which is thrown together': *syn* + *ballein*), '... a local habitation and a name'.

Today, however, digital collocation renders falsifiable Jakobson's *poetic function* (Louw 2007b: 150), which, even in its most elaborated form is now 50 years old (Weber 1996: 33n). The poetic function was falsifiable because it remained hobbled by the fact that it operates *syntactically*, whereas collocation operates at a level described by Firth, as we have seen, as 'abstracted from syntax'. Firth locates collocation just below his own language levels for *context of culture* and *context of situation* (Louw 2007b: 154). In 1957, Firth provided John Sinclair with the impetus for conducting his research into digital collocation that led to the production of the OSTI Report (Krishnamurthy 2004). Firth's now famous observation ran as follows: "Meaning by collocation is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level and is not directly concerned with the conceptual or ideal approach to the meaning of words. One of the meanings of *night* is its collocability with *dark* [...]" (in Palmer, [1957]1968: 197). Digital collocation had been established by Sinclair as early as the late 1960s, but sadly, even the British Library 'lost' its only copy of the original OSTI Report and attempts to publish it more than 40 years later were not free from apparent interference (Sinclair, personal communication).

2. Literary devices and the delexical-relexical continuum

There has always been the possibility that the *delexical*, or what John Sinclair frequently referred to verbally, but never in writing, as the ‘blue jeans’ or ‘washed out’ meanings of everyday events *might* be incorporated into poetry. Sinclair used to describe it to his students in this way (personal communication): “The more one washes blue jeans, the more they *fade*. The more one uses an English word or expression, the more its meanings are washed out *progressively* into different meanings.” The mechanism for *marking* this phenomenon in Enkvist’s terms was to remain unrecognized until the advent of the information age: it is a collocational phenomenon and corpus linguists refer to it as *relexicalization*. There is a sense in which the everyday references which we find in poetry become more deeply associated with their origins through the agency of the very *genre* of modern poetry. Within this genre they remain frozen for all time in a more fully lexicalized form than any routine, everyday event might ever dictate. Such relexicalization endures as a powerful ingredient of symbolism. Much ink has been spilled on the entirely putative subject of connotation. Collocation is, by comparison, recoverable by computational means and its status is evidential.

A good example of what might be called monumental or genre-evoked relexicalization is to be found in the bravado of Fleur Adcock’s persona in her poem ‘Against Coupling’. The poem’s persona rebels against all the fake posturing involved in human sexuality and insists that all that is needed is five minutes alone and that they are sufficient to fill

... that gap between the Sunday papers and lunch.

(in Morrison & Motion 1982)

Sexual needs are brushed aside and the gap to be filled is re-cast as intellectual or culinary, notwithstanding the fact that the poet’s own surname may be suggestive of an *absence* (Barthes 1967; Macherey 1966). However, the corpus is capable of offering a deeper insight into *life’s* spiritual and human vacuum when the terms *gap* and *life* are co-selected. Five minutes’ solitude is no match for these.

MicroConcord search SW: gap CW: life

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 aps its the span which represents the gap between life and death? Athelstan rema
2 do well, but there was an increasing gap between my home life and my aspiration
3 that term, but he wanted to close the gap between the gospel and life. In Pacem
4 nce of payments deficit; the widening gap between conditions of life and work in
5 as come to the awful realisation of a gap in her waning life which will never be
6 my sister-in-law Kate has filled the gap in my life by producing a baby brother
7 uncritical acceptance of you fills a gap in your own life. Never underestimate
8 ean-Claude's life. Her death opened a gap in his existence which threatened cont
9 uccessful actor. He will leave a huge gap in the theatrical life of Broadway; fo
10 id that his mother's death had left a gap in his life which nothing could fill.
11 go of Lord Zuckerman will leave a sad gap in public life in Britain and elsewher

12 er a bitter struggle. They had left a gap in the life of the city. She contraste
 13 hould ask yourself why there's such a gap in your life. If you're seeking a way
 14 d it- Since she's gone there's been a gap- it made my life better, because - she
 15 'm not the woman you need to fill the gap Lotta left in your life! < /p > < p > Why
 16 ing for his life out of the narrowing gap. < /p > < p > He made it. Fucking bastard!

(Source: The British National Corpus)

Malinowski's (1935) routine associations of *gardening* or *fishing* could not fail to become more profound symbolically if they were ever to be set within the boundaries of a poem. The very simplicity of their *primitivism*, in Fortunati's (forthcoming) sense, relexicalizes them and breathes life into their symbolism. At the beginning of St. Mark's Gospel we witness the irony, akin that of the *Sartor Resartus*, of *fishers* being *fished* by the Son of Man – snared within the toils of a faith whose moment, John the Baptist declared, had arrived. It is in these expressions that the collocates of *fishing* as a Wittgensteinian (1922) *Sachverhalt* or 'state of affairs' are suddenly altered and propelled into a new symbolism by means of a hitherto unknown collocate as a 'fish-surrogate': *man* himself is fished and the disciples are to become '*fishers of men*'. Is this device more profound than the apparent paronomasia of Philip Larkin (1988) in his description of *home* in the poem of the same name?

A glorious shot at how things ought to be
 Long fallen wide ...

What looks like a washed out Lakoffian-Johnsonian (1980; 2003) 'metaphor we live by' at the beginning of the sentence is imbued, by the time we reach its end, with the dark blue of *new* blue jeans, as though they had never known the routine washdays of married life and of home. It is *relexicalized*: the conflicts of marriage are terrifyingly more real than the mere delexical attempt involved in 'having a *shot* at' something. Having a shot at marriage involves real priming and dry powder.

3. Collocation and critical methodology

The term *method* is derived from the Greek *meta* (after) + *hodos* (path). Its etymology is suggestive of change: *method* is the 'after-path' that follows momentous change of a type that frequently involves a *paradigm-shift*. The remainder of this paper will examine the way in which methodology in stylistics is likely to alter as a result of the *digital turn* away from its *analogue* past.

The terms *digital turn* and *empirical* need to be examined both separately and in relation to one another. The terms *digital* and *analogue* are derived by extension from the way in which they are used in science to refer to technological advances in computers. A computer that operates on data in the form of *digits*, rather than

the physical quantities used in *analogue* computers (employing cogs, gears and levers), is essential for dealing with the *task* of stylistics as a form of data-assisted reading. The reason for this is that a corpus acts as a *sample* of the *whole* of the language of the target text. Any particular instance of language from a literary text under examination and for discussion needs to be supported by the *empirical* power of a digital computer to produce *more* contexts for that linguistic feature from the *whole* language than mere *intuition* or *introspection* might afford. Digital computers are capable of dealing automatically with a very wide range of problems at very high speeds. This takes us to the way in which the term *empirical* has altered within critical theory in order to warrant the use of the expression *digital turn*. For example, Belsey (1980: 7) states that common sense in literary criticism proposes a form of *humanism* based on an *empiricist-idealist* interpretation of the world. Her use of the term *empiricist* implies no more than reliance upon *experience*. Philosophers have always used the term in this way. However, for the *scientist*, the term *always* refers to the results of experiment and observation only. It is towards this meaning and with the objectives of this timely commemorative volume in mind that the digital *turn* is being made.

This paradigm-shift is already underway. Once completed, it is likely to bring an entirely new order into the methodology of literary stylistics and criticism. This new order is likely to alter the procedural steps of traditional literary criticism and stylistics. Note how the approach of Firth and Malinowski differs from those of Abrams and Jakobson in Table 1. Instead of beginning with speech or writing as phonic or graphic data, they begin with the text embedded in its context of culture and situation (Malinowski stated that translation becomes impossible unless this is done). The approach of Abrams owes more to psychologism, but the approach of Firth and Malinowski is to be preferred because of their commitment to banishing concepts and the ‘ideas’ meaning of words. Collocation ‘pictures’ these contexts of culture and situation in Wittgenstein’s (1922) sense and as part of his Picture Theory of Meaning which the *Tractatus* sets out in detail.

Table 1. Typical approximate approaches to stylistics and criticism

Direction of process is <i>downward</i> in each column		
Jakobson (1960)	Firth & Malinowski (1935)	Abrams (1957; 1970)
phonetic	context of culture	thought-form
phonological	context of situation	rise and fall of emotions
morphological	stylistics	figures of speech
grammatical	collocation	imagery
syntactic	lexicography	diction
semantic	grammar and syntax	sound
discoursal	phonaesthetics	

The breakthrough in the area of digital collocation that was to facilitate the alteration of the methodology set out above has come about fairly gradually. Attempts were made to utilize digital collocation in literary stylistics as early as a paper by Louw (1989) delivered in 1987: the year in which the first edition of the *Cobuild English Language Dictionary* was produced by John Sinclair. However, the approach could not be consolidated until technological advances had taken place. For example, in 1987 the corpus amounted to a mere 21 million words of running text and computers were incapable of carrying out procedures such as co-selection and the creation of N-grams. The Bank of English is currently operating at a total of half a billion words of running text. Both of the procedures mentioned are crucial to the computational construction of literary worlds.

This is especially advantageous for second language learners. The 'states of affairs' inherent in literary devices will be fictional and hence modified versions of everyday events. Second language learners practicing corpus stylistics will need only *two* collocates in order to retrieve a particular state of affairs from the corpus using *co-selection*. As the state of affairs emerges from the corpus, it will carry with it *all* of its other collocates. The practitioner will then be in a position to determine exactly which collocates are present and which collocates have been omitted by the literary author. These insights are crucial to both language learning and to literary appreciation. The much-vaunted *integration* of language and literature has finally come of age.

Advances of this theoretical approach in the digital domain continue to be made in spite of censorship, particularly of (1) any reference to the role of Michael Halliday (in Bazell 1966: 156) in reining back Firthian collocation into syntax; (2) the role of semantic prosody in the falsification of linguistic theories (Louw 2007a), and (3) the connection between collocation as instrumentation for language, philosophy and science (Louw 2003). The most serious censorship was carried out by Michael Hoey upon two of this author's chapters that were to have appeared in the much delayed *Approaches to Corpus Stylistics*, a volume that was to have been published by Routledge. His apparent motive was to replace scientifically respectable *semantic prosody* with his own almost entirely intuitive notion of *priming*. Whitsitt (2005) appears to have had a similar motive. His entirely non-computational paper inexplicably appeared in flagrant contravention of the published criteria for the acceptance of corpus-based research by the International Journal of Corpus Linguistics.

However, it was John Sinclair himself who brought about the realization that the *context of culture* and the *context of situation* are now accessible within corpora of natural language by empirical means and in fulfillment of Firth's vision for linguistic and stylistic fieldwork. Sinclair's pamphlet entitled *Phrasebite* is set out in full below.

“When she was – *Phrasebite*© John Sinclair, 2006.

1. The first grammatical collocate of *when* is *she*
2. The first grammatical collocate of *when she* is *was*
3. The vocabulary collocates of *when she was* are hair-raising. On the first page: *diagnosed, pregnant, divorced, raped, assaulted, attacked*
The diagnoses are not good, the pregnancies are all problematic.
4. Select one that looks neutral: *approached*
5. Look at the concordance, first page.
6. Nos 1, 4, 5, 8, 10 are **of unpleasant physical attacks**
7. Nos 2, 3, 6, 7, 9 are **of excellent opportunities**
8. How can you tell the difference?
9. the **nasties** are all of people out and about, while the **nice** ones are of people working somewhere.
10. Get wider context and look at verb tenses in front of citation.
11. In all the nasties the verb is past progressive, setting a foreground for the approach.
12. In the nice ones, the verb is non-progressive, either simple past or past-in-past.

Data for para 4 above.

- (1) walking in Burnfield Road, Mansewood, **when she was approached** by a man who grabbed her bag
- (2) teamed up with her mother in business **when she was approached** by Neiman Marcus, the department store
- (3) resolved itself after a few months, **when she was approached** by Breege Keenan, a nun who
- (4) Bridge Road close to the Causeway Hospital **when she was approached** by three men who attacked her
- (5) Drive, off Saughton Mains Street, **when she was approached** by a man. He began talking the original
- (6) film of *The Stepford Wives* **when she was approached** by producer Scott Rudin to star as
- (7) bony. Kidd was just 15 **when she was approached** to be a model. Posing on
- (8) near her home with an 11-year-old friend **when she was approached** by the fiend. The man
- (9) finished a storming set of jazz standards **when she was approached** by SIR SEAN CONNERY. And she
- (10) on Douglas Street in Cork city centre **when she was approached** by the pervert. The man persuaded

(from: *Phrasebite*, John Sinclair 2006)

The power of this publication, coming as it did so close to Sinclair's death, is to be found in the detail of his *method*. By beginning with a single word, *she*, from the whole of the Bank of English, Sinclair simply requests the most

frequent collocate from the Bank of English (approximately 500 million words of running text). The computer provides it: *when*. The results are then merged: *when + she*. A new search is initiated for the most frequent collocate of this two-word phrase. The computer provides it: *was*. The concordances are scrutinized and cultural insights are gathered.

This may appear to be a fairly unremarkable exercise, but its methodology is highly significant. Notice that no structural criteria are invoked by the investigator. Sinclair is not asking for *sentences*. Collocation has no interest in sentence boundaries. It is *abstracted* from syntax and operates above *structure* as we have known it for the past 3500 years. The significance of this finding is that Sinclair has opened for empirical study the *context of culture* and the *context of situation*. As a result, it becomes easy to determine the precise degree of *under-provision* or *over-provision* (Louw 2000) of those contexts that particular authors have chosen to offer the reader.

4. The path of methodology after the 'digital turn' in stylistics

The impact of Sinclair's *Phrasebite* is likely to alter radically the way in which stylistic methodology is ordered and perceived for use after the *digital turn*. This is likely to result in two main types of alteration to existing methodology: (1) the *order* in which the stylistic investigator proceeds and his/her commitment to scientific methods, and, (2) the *re-writing* of all glossaries of literary terms in order to make their definitions *scientific* rather than simply *intuitive*. We shall examine each of these in turn.

4.1 Re-ordering stylistic investigation

There was a period during which stylistics slavishly followed the same order and procedures as linguistic fieldwork. A good example was the work of Jakobson. He was adamant that stylistic inquiry should deal primarily with stylistic concerns so as not to run the risk of replicating all of one's primary data (Culler 1975: 73). However, because the work of stylistics was forced to run parallel to linguistic inquiry, stylistics of this kind began to suffer from all of the myopia of linguistics itself and, in consequence, took very few steps to check the *nature* of what was being sought in the name of stylistic evidence.

The preoccupation at the time with the notion of *style as deviation* did little to uncouple the study of style from that of the norm against which style was purportedly to be recognized. When Jakobson was writing about the poetic function, the *delexical-relexical* continuum was unknown for the reason that the Cobuild technologies of John Sinclair had not yet begun to disclose it. In a

lengthy footnote in *Trust the Text*, Sinclair (2004a) comments upon the delexicalization-relexicalization continuum and its potential use for stylistic investigation (see also Louw 1991).

W. E. Louw (personal communication) argues that 'literal' and 'figurative' are points close to the extremities of a continuum of *delexicalization*. Words can gradually lose their full lexical meaning, and become available for use in contexts where some of that full meaning would be inappropriate; this is the so-called figurative extension. Louw points out that a writer, especially a literary writer, must exercise vigilance so that the meaning of each word is interpreted at the intended point on the continuum. Such features as collocation are part of the *control mechanism* available to the writer. (emphasis added)

(Sinclair 2004a, 198)

By opening up the contexts of situation and culture for direct empirical examination at the level of collocation, Sinclair discarded once and for all time stylisticians' reliance upon structure into the future. It is now possible to begin stylistic investigation at the far end of what used to appear to be the *telos* of stylistic investigation: literary worlds. The *direction* of investigation set out under the heading *Firth and Malinowski* in Table 1 above has now been made fully possible because it has been *automated* by Sinclair through digital collocation, as demonstrated by his method in *Phrasebite*. Stylistics has freed itself from any sense of duty or compulsion to follow the levels and direction of linguistic field work.

4.2 The notions micro and macro as criteria for the ordering of investigation

Method has always been a major interest of stylisticians, although the apparently jumbled nature of their work often suggests otherwise. The analogue tradition in stylistics has its own famous methodological milestones, such as the objective-subjective criteria insisted upon by Riffaterre (1971), and the Fowler-Bateson debate. But the arrival of the corpus began to look remarkably like the answer to the *verification principle* of the logical positivists. The use of a corpus for the purpose of literary stylistics seemed likely to invite eclectic verification of any detail provided by the investigator (*micro* criteria) rather than supplant analogue methodology overnight with full *automation* (*macro* criteria). There was a further advantage: the corpus looked set to democratize criticism by banishing esoteric practices and attitudes replacing them with objectivity.

4.2.1 *Micro tasking and collocation*

One major attraction of using digital collocation as the instrument for carrying out a data-assisted reading is that micro tasks can be accomplished very quickly and easily using a corpus of natural language in conjunction with the target

literary texts in a machine-readable form. For example, the status of a keyword such as ‘common’ in the novel *Great Expectations* can be very easily checked by issuing a search command that caters for this micro-task alone and comprehensively, through the use of wild-card methods: **common** (Louw, 2007e: 93). A larger task may involve searching the ‘rise and fall of emotions’ in a single poem by Hopkins (Louw 2007e: 103).

However, since the publication of *Phrasebite* by John Sinclair, investigators need no longer balk at undertaking *macro* tasks that may operate across a whole work of art and across all of contemporary society. It is the search for these features that begins to allocate new priorities for the entire undertaking of data-assisted readings using digital collocation and natural language corpora. Sinclair’s method in *Phrasebite* impels the investigator to respect *frequency* as a criterion for the prioritization of methodology. Close reading need no longer be dominated by any sense of duty to proceed from a *detail* in the target text, such as the *claw*, as part of a journey towards considering the *lion*, according to Spitzer’s (1948) famous maxim: *ex ungue leonem* (from the *claw* ... the *lion*). The way is open for moving *above* syntax and dealing directly and empirically with worlds, both real and fictional (Louw, 2007a).

4.2.2 Macro tasking and the ordering of investigation

At the very beginning of the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* and as early as its second line (1.1), Wittgenstein (1922: 7) offers us a theory of worlds that simultaneously invites *expansion* into literary worlds and their *automation* by means of digital collocation.

1.1 The world is the totality of *facts* not of *things*.

The naïve *analogue* view of collocation once fancied that collocation would be concerned primarily with the *ontology of things*. We see evidence for this even in Firth’s taxonomy for the incorporation into language study of Malinowski’s *context of situation*.

A: The relevant persons, personalities;

B: The relevant objects...

(Firth 1957: 182)

However, it becomes immediately apparent once digital collocation is applied to Wittgensteinian *facts* or *Sachverhalten*, i.e., *states of affairs*, that these are capable of accomplishing the *macro-task* not only of sketching the literary world of a work of art, but also, and for the first time, of determining its *symbolism* (how it is ‘thrown + together’, Greek: *syn* + *ballein*). This is accomplished by examining not only the collocates that *occur* in the text, but also by examining those collocates which are *empirically recoverable* in natural language, but which are *not actualized* in the text by the author. Such collocates are paradoxically empirically *present*, but

do *not* occur. Developments of this kind must begin to impinge upon the vision of literary theorists such as Barthes (1967) and Macherey (1966).

This type of activity is indicative of the *paradigm-shift* involved in the transition from analogue to digital stylistics. The term digital stylistics is preferred to corpus stylistics for the reason that the term *corpora* often applies to published work that is based upon the use of unsuitable collections of text, such as (a) small home-made, annotated collections; (b) sub-corpora associated with particular genres or language varieties, or (c) corpora that are dated and manifestly too small to act as reliable samples of the whole language. The Brown Corpus and the LOB corpus fall into the latter category. It is likely to exert a great deal of influence on the question of the ordering of stylistic investigation's '*after path*' now that the digital turn has been brought about (Louw 2008, forthcoming). It will determine the *method* of stylistics well into the future because it heralds the status of collocation as *instrumentation* or the *control mechanism* (Sinclair 2004a: 181) for meaning. In the same way that Sinclair's *Phrasebite* operates in the context of culture and situation in the real world, so symbolism sketches the operation of the literary world. The collocates common to both *actual* and *virtual* worlds are material to the creation of the poem's symbolism. The following example sets this out in detail. It formed part of a presentation by the author (Louw 2007d) at the ACORN Corpus Symposium in honor of the late John Sinclair delivered at Aston University in May 2007.

Kismet

Opal fires in the Western sky

(For that which is written must ever be),
And a *bullet* comes droning, whining by,
To the heart of a sentry close to me.

For some go early, and some go late
(a dying scream on the evening air)
And who is there that believes in Fate
As a soul goes out in the *sunset flare*?

R.B. Marriott-Watson

Killed in action, 1918

(Source: *Up the Line to Death: The War Poets 1914–1918*. An anthology arranged by Brian Gardner (1982). London: Methuen.)

The forms that appear in italics in the poem are, upon data-assisted scrutiny, capable of segmenting, or to adapt Sinclair's (1991: 132) term, '*chunking*' the poem's literary world by means of a *shared* delexical collocate such as *fire*. The term *fire* is common to several Wittgensteinian *states of affairs*. However, as these are brought into proximity with one another, they proceed to relexicalize one another within the nine word window of collocative power. This occurs across the entire fabric of the poem (Louw 1991). Once relexicalization begins in the poem, the

nine-word window *expands* the ambit of its power to accommodate all of the instances that the process symbolism requires. This phenomenon is also dealt with elsewhere by this author as the ‘zombie effect’. This refers to the process by which dead metaphors twitch when they are relexicalized through the power of collocation (2007b: 160).

Relexicalization, by means of shared collocates, sketches the poem’s literary world. This activity explains, for the first time in digital stylistics, the way in which *symbolism* operates in its ancient sense. Observe how the collocate *fire*, occurs separately in the *four* states of affairs (*Sachverhalten*): *opals*, *Western skies*, *bullets*, and *flares*. From these it expands semantically by means of the collocation’s power to relexicalization the shared collocate *fire* into a *symbol*. Note carefully, also, how collocates may appear in the collocation lists, but *not* in the poem. This startling phenomenon remained almost entirely unnoticed by literary critics during the analogue period of stylistics. Macherey (1966) referred unwittingly to the phenomenon as *absence*, just as we saw that the term *life* is the *absent* collocate of *gap* in the poem by Fleur Adcock earlier. However, the appearance of an absence as *empirical* evidence is an entirely corpus-based phenomenon and constitutes proof that there has been a *paradigm shift* in stylistics after the digital turn¹. For this reason, the collocation lists from the BNC for the literary *world* of the poem *Kismet* are set out below.

In the collocation lists that follow, the number of citations obtained appears adjacent to the form at the top of the list. Notice how in some of the columns the most frequent fully lexicalized word is sometimes more frequent than the collocate that is *shared* by several states of affairs. Such instances have a bearing upon the tone of the literary criticism which these frequent forms begin to generate. For example, *gybe* emphasizes the fact that *flare* is associated with *anger*. Senseless loss of life during wars provokes anger. The injuries (*wounds* and *head*) caused by *bullets* outweigh the mere fact that they are *fired*. The bullet in the poem simply *comes* to do its work. The concordances from the BNC for *Western sky* deliver four lines of *fiery* descriptions. A larger corpus such as The Bank of English would improve upon this by providing greater detail.

1. The author conducted a nine-hour workshop at the University of Granada, Spain entitled ‘*Establishing the Digital Turn*’ on the 50th anniversary of Roman Jakobson’s poetic function and dedicated to the memory of the late John Sinclair. The workshop was held between 14 and 18 January, 2008. A number of students at the University of Granada have agreed to take further, as part of their own research, a project to create and update a glossary of corpus-attested literary terms.

COLLOCATION LISTS for the poem *KISMET*

opal* (130)		western sky (16)		bullet (792)		flare (358)	
the	43	the	16	the	160	the	169
P	33	sky	16	in	124	a	121
a	29	in	5	P	118	of	96
of	28	<u>was</u>	4 ←	and	69	P	85
and	27			his	61	and	68
in	13			a	52	up	48
with	12			through	39	to	41
an	10			to	37	in	36
you	10			from	31	from	18
<u>fire</u>	9 ←			him	26	that	18
				it	22	her	18
				into	22	into	17
				wound	22 ←	it	17
				head	22	with	17
				<u>fired</u>	21 ←	was	16
						at	15
						by	14
						this	14
						for	14
						after	14
						had	13
						which	12
						as	12
						off	11
						could	11
						when	11
						gybe	11 ←
						another	10
						is	10
						sudden	10 ←
						you	10
						one	9
						she	9
						<u>fired</u>	8 ←
kismet (10)		believes in (233)					
P	5	the	91				
of	3	he	57				
new	3	and	50				
H	3	that	38				
<u>Fate</u>	2 ←	P	35				
		a	31				
		who	30				
		of	29				

it	20	
in	20	
she	15	
but	14	
if	13	
one	12	
<u>God</u>	11	←

Note how all of those ‘states of affairs’ that share the collocate *fire* not only relexicalize the term throughout the work of art, but utilize the *logical space* (Wittgenstein, 1922: 17) occupied by these states of affairs in order to sketch the literary world and draft the textual literary criticism which pertains to it. As opals are rotated disclosing their *fire*, so their symbolism resembles a human life governed by fate or God. Logical space demands that the person who *fires* the bullet cannot be the same Person that *fired* the flare of human life. That Person is God: the *unspoken* logical link between the two parts of the literary world: *fire* and *fate*.

2.19 ‘*Logical pictures can depict the world.*’ (Wittgenstein 1922: 17)

5. Method is derived from the priorities revealed by research

Corpus stylistics only began in earnest once natural language corpora had become large enough to represent a reliable *sample* of natural language in action. For example, it was once traditional for corpora to amount to exactly one million words of running text. The LOB and Brown corpora followed this model. Even the first Cobuild corpus and its reserve corpora came in at 21 million words of running text. This greatly enhanced the potential of the corpus for ‘sampling’ the whole language in relation to providing a data-assisted reading of any single line of a literary text provided by the stylistician. Fortunately, this has never been seriously disputed, because the research and development of such corpora was lexicographic and therefore always had this type of sampling as its main criterion. The development of a corpus large enough to enable the automated creation of two editions of Cobuild English dictionaries was the brainchild of John Sinclair. The first computer-concordanced dictionary in the world emerged in 1978. The first paper in corpus stylistics (Louw 1989) was delivered at the British Council workshop on language and literature at St Hilda’s College Oxford in April 1987.

From 1987 to the present day, the methodology for corpus stylistics has advanced only in relation to the major findings of the research, as the table below seeks to elucidate. The third column of the table is the ultimate objective of this paper, because whenever a *paradigm shift* takes place or is accomplished in a discipline, its terminology needs to be systematically and scientifically *re-defined*.

The digital turn marks such a paradigm-shift because it marks the moment at which stylistics, by means of collocation, freed itself from being treated as a *structural* and *syntactic* phenomenon. The boundaries of *science* in this regard were not only of interest to Firth, Wittgenstein, Malinowski, Jakobson and Sinclair, but are an area in which contemporary researchers ought to be dedicated and active.

Table 2. Table showing the derivation of method and definitions in corpus stylistics

Research →	Taxonomy & Methodology →	Glossary
(Louw unless stated & chronological)	<i>Methodology preferred</i>	<i>entries</i>
→		→
Close reading	* Worlds and Symbolism	*worlds
1987;	*‘When + she + was’ (Sinclair, Phrasebite©)	*co-select
delexicalisation	*Co-selection	*delexical
1991;	*All devices relexicalise	*relexical
Semantic Pros.	*Delexicalisation is not	*metaphor
1993;	metaphor	*symbol
First TaLC:	*First move to science	*state of affairs
Terminology	*Semantic pros. Binarity	*irony
1997;	and science in exceptions,	*insincerity
1st falsification of	*Semantic prosodies expanded(CPT)	*semantic prosody
Halliday;	*Collocation automates or	*device
1999 (censored);	falsifies: paper for AACL 2008	
Contextual	(rejected: ‘conference full’)	
Prosodic	* Approaches book revived by	
Theory (CPT): science	Routledge, after its delay by Hoey.	
2000;	*Truth Studies (Truth and Reconciliation	
2nd falsification	Commission)	
TRC		
2003;		
1st mention		
philosophers		
TaLC6		
2004 (published in 2007a);		
Worlds: Watson & Zyngier (Eds)		
Concordance instrumentation		
Sabotaged by large fonts		
2006;		
Sinclair publishes		
Phrasebite©		
2006;		
ACORN		
Keynote: Worlds and		
Wittgenstein		

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued

Research →	Taxonomy & Methodology →	Glossary
2007d; Relexicalisation Jakobson poetic function falsified Miller & Turci (Eds) 2007b Approaches to Corpus Stylistics (Routledge) delayed by Hoey.		

This table is intended to show how the products of research do *not* automatically feed into methodology. The column on the left establishes the *chronological* order in which research is undertaken. The middle column ranks the findings from the first column in order of their *importance* to digital stylistics. The final column indicates how methodology needs to be anchored in a *scientific* form within a glossary of terms. Once this third stage has been reached, the glossary will need constant updating in order to *incorporate* new scientific findings as well as to *exclude* examples of poor science such as *hybridization* as well as methodological backsliding. If this procedure had been carried out after the death of J.R. Firth in December, 1960, the misleading reining back of collocation into syntax by Halliday (1966) might have been detected immediately and the damage it has caused to scholarship could have been avoided. One reason why semantic prosody is under constant attack (Hoey 2005, Whitsitt 2005, Hunston 2007) may be ascribed to the fact that its status as a scientific fact has not been settled in an appropriate corpus-attested glossary. Hunston (2007: 262) poignantly appears to miss the subtle relexicalization of *point* in the examples she puts forward as an apparent exception to the semantic prosody operating within *to the point of*. She offers *to the point of gentleness*, but without noticing the relexicalizing collocate *fierce* within the 9 word window, which stands ready to *sharpen the point* a little. The form is an *exception* because it is a *device*.

6. A scientific, corpus-attested glossary of literary terms

If the products of research are not immediately converted into scientific practice, we can expect backsliding and hybridization to rein back our best *digital* research into *analogue* paths and methods. For this reason it is important that we offer guidance to stylisticians until the *digital turn* is fully established. Constant reinforcement of the manner in which literary devices operate *as science* is required as part of this process. The work of the hybridizers must be detected as quickly

as possible and stamped out. Strenuous gate-keeping will be needed as part of this process of detection with a view to keeping falsifiable definitions and entries out of any proposed *Glossary of Corpus-Attested Literary Terms*. As the status of collocation as *instrumentation* becomes established, entries based upon *intuition* will gradually be banished, until all definitions contained in such a glossary are verifiable through the *replication*, using other or newer corpora, of the phenomena involved. This process will also safeguard all procedure against the *homogenization* of the corpus as an instrument (see Louw, forthcoming, for a comparison of the ‘sampling’ of the term *natural justice* in the British National Corpus and the Bank of English).

This paper concludes by offering several draft entries for a potential glossary of corpus-attested literary terms. Successive editions of the glossary will tighten up the definitions in relation to the advancement of science *alone*, rather than the hopeful outpourings of theorists whose work is vitiated *ab initio* by being based upon the unverifiable tenets of psychologism. Hoey (2005) falls into this category.

6.1 Sample entries for a scientific glossary of literary terms

The following sample entries are derived from some of the terms to be found in the third column of Table 2 above. They are not in alphabetical order for several reasons. Research findings cannot be classified by means of alphabetical order and the account of these advances are still in early draft. However, the final volume in which they appear will, of course, be organized in alphabetical order for ease of reference. Items in upper case in the entries cross-refer to other entries in the glossary.

Specimen Entries

Wolds

Literary worlds may be derived from Wittgenstein’s (1922: 7) assertion that: ‘The world is the totality of facts, not of things’. *Facts* are defined by Wittgenstein as ‘states of affairs’. Collocation and the technique of *co-selection*, between them *automate* Wittgenstein’s Picture Theory of Meaning and verify Sinclair & Maurenen’s (2006) Local Unit Grammar. This marks the point where textual and contextual ‘chunking’ meet. Where several states of affairs share a collocates, such as *fire*, the relexicalization of that collocates acts as a SYMBOL whose involvement in several states of affairs, together *sketch* the LITERARY WORLD of the work in question. The world and literary criticism of it are further assembled on the

basis of Wittgenstein's (1922: 17) principle that states of affairs operate within LOGICAL SPACE.

Irony

Where a reversed SEMANTIC PROSODY is *deliberate* rather than *inadvertent*, we may assume that we are dealing with irony (Louw 1993). In a monolithically positive or negative semantic prosody, the exceptions characteristically occupy 3% of the total number of citations. Of these, two citations are usually ironic and the third (out of 100 citations) INSINCERE. The latter are distinguished by the fact that they are uttered or written *inadvertently*.

Insincerity

Where a reversed SEMANTIC PROSODY is *inadvertent* rather than *deliberate*, we may assume that we are dealing with insincerity. The BINARY principle obtaining between irony and insincerity was shown by Louw (2000) using the distinction between *a + recipe + for* and *the + recipe + for*. The author found that the insincere forms *must* occupy the form *a + recipe + for + success* as the REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM of a scientific proof. This was found to be the case *without exception* and within a sufficiently large sample of text to establish the *scientific* nature of SEMANTIC PROSODY (Louw 1993; 2000). In the case of insincere instances the text *writes* the attitude of its author (Louw 1993).

Metaphor

Literary metaphor is usually the product of *upward* collocation (See the interview of John Sinclair by Wolfgang Teubert in the OSTI Report, Krishnamurthy, 2004: xxiii). The term metaphor is subject to confusion as a result of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980; 2003) misleading description of what analogue stylistics might have termed 'dead metaphor'. In reality, the metaphors described by these scholars are DELEXICAL forms rather than metaphors at all. They are the dead metaphors that form the bulk of ordinary language. Unless they are relexicalized, they do not qualify as DEVICES and ought not to be referred to as metaphors and are useless to the pursuit of stylistics. The fact that Lakoff & Johnson refer to them as metaphors may well be a product of the fake relexicalization which takes place when examples are offered in the form of citation forms and out of context (See Frege 1884 & Philip 2003).

Semantic prosody

Two senses of semantic prosody are distinguished by Louw (1993; 2000). The first of these involves meaning through *contagion* by a collocate or set of collocates, through FREQUENCY, to impart a *negative*, *positive* or *specialized* meaning to a particular form. Specialized semantic prosodies are identified by Louw (1993) in the example *fine*, which is positive when applied to inanimate objects and ironic and negative in the case of animate persons such as *friend*. The substance of semantic prosodies is DELEXICAL, but in the case of IRONY and INSINCERITY (created by means of breaching the semantic prosody) they are RELEXICALISED, as are *all* DEVICES. Sinclair (2004a) derives semantic prosodies *structurally*, by proceeding through linguistic levels in the normal direction associated with linguistic field-work. Louw (2000) by way of contrast derives them directly from Firthian and Malinowskian CONTEXTS OF CULTURE and CONTEXTS OF SITUATION, *reversing* the customary direction of linguistic field-work.

Louw (2000) argues in his second and amplified definition of semantic prosody that they are a product of *fractured contexts of situation*: characterized by *subtraction* in the case of negative semantic prosody and by *over-provision* in the case of positive semantic prosody. The process involves seeing Firth's taxonomy for CONTEXT OF SITUATION and CONTEXT OF CULTURE as being AUTOMATED by COLLOCATION. Another name for this process is CONTEXTUAL PROSODIC THEORY.

Semantic prosody has many detractors and hybridizers whose criticism is entirely INTUITIVE and unsupported by corpus methods. Hoey (2005) and Whitsitt (2005) fall into this category.

7. Conclusion

J.R. Firth once declared that scientific facts do not exist until they are stated. This is the common objective of all contributors to this volume. We ought not to allow instrumentation and the digital turn in stylistics to be defeated simply because we can *see* that it is at hand. If we are at last dealing with settled knowledge in stylistics, it needs, as Bertrand Russell advised, to be handed over to science. Philosophers and scientists seem to be more equal to this task than linguists and stylisticians. The allegiance of the latter to 'schools of thought' are likely for some time to come to be more of a hindrance than a help.

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Paper 10: The Analysis and Creation of Humour

This was the Keynote at the Second International Conference on Humour Studies, Lucca and Collodi, Italy, April 6th to 8th 2009, and has been published in Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Humor O. Coloru and J. Minunno (eds). Parma, Atelier 65, 2014. The proposed keywords were humour, corpus, instrumentation, collocation, philosophy of language, science, and of course, subtext

ABSTRACT

Comprehensive *instrumentation* for both the *analysis* and *creation* of humour is to be found within and among the software resources for corpus linguistics that were set in place by the late John Sinclair during the production of two editions of the *COBUILD English Language Dictionary* (1987|1993; 1995). The approach is *contextual* and involves the *automation* by collocation of the work of philosophers and linguists from the pre-computational period. The philosophers include Ludwig Wittgenstein, Rudolph Carnap, and Bertrand Russell. Other scholars include the ethnographer Bronislaw Malinowski and John Rupert Firth and John McHardy Sinclair. Visual and textual humour may now be analysed using Wittgenstein's picture theory of meaning (1922|1960: 7) as this is easily *automated* by collocation and the corpus. Although the approach is light-hearted and simple to use, the empiricism and science that underpin it offer incontrovertible proof that digital collocation is comprehensive instrumentation for meaning both in the real world and within any Fregean subset of fictional worlds (Louw, 2008). Collocation is capable of predicting and grading the likely success of all humorous contexts of situation as well as composition. Furthermore, because the COBUILD dictionaries are themselves *scientific* products, based upon respectable levels of *empiricism* set out in *every* entry of the dictionary itself (1995), readers will, after reading this paper, be able to pursue the topic by using the COBUILD dictionary alone, without necessarily making a commitment to the direct use of corpora. The contribution of John Sinclair in creating these resources and the theories that support them (such as *semantic prosody*) will be demonstrated and celebrated in this paper, both for their consistency, down to and including his last publications, and for their contribution to the benefit of science and mankind.

1. Introduction

Professor Mona Baker recalls that working conditions in the office of the late Professor John Sinclair were always jovial. English is her second language and she came from a sheltered background in Egypt. One morning, John brought her a notice from the Linguist List that indicated that a young scholar in the UK had developed a new corpus in an unusual area of language study. John pointed to the email address and said: ‘Write to him at once and tell him that you are excited about his corpus and that you cannot wait to get your hands on it!’ She wrote off along these lines and soon realised that the reply was unusually friendly, if not a little forward. John had not yet reached the point at which he might have produced corpus evidence for the type of *subtext* that she found herself dealing with. Even philosophers were hazy on the matter of subtext at the time. Willard van Orman Quine remarks in his commentary on his life’s work:

Our intake of information about the world consists only of the triggering of our nerve endings by light rays and molecules from our environment, plus perhaps some kinaesthetic clues to the ups and downs in our path. This neural intake on each occasion is related to that on other occasions by perceptual similarity in varying degrees. Psychologists can test this subjective relation...

(Mautner, 2000: 466; emphasis added)

‘Ups and downs’ of a sort were certainly what John and the corpus creator had in mind, and even Quine at 92 years of age, writing in corpus-free America, might be forgiven for believing that psychologists rather than organized sense-data could not only perk up human memory, but other forms of metaphysics beside. Even the singer Celine Dion memorably declares: ‘It’s all coming back to me now...’ after referring to almost speculative accounts such as: ‘When you hold me like this - touch me like that...!’ But do we need to be content with *one* psychological subject, on *one* test occasion, when all that is needed for a complete picture is to isolate what Wittgenstein (1929) calls the variables of quasi-propositions in natural language? Note how the term ‘proposition’ relexicalises spontaneously in the context of this particular story!

However, the real triumph for humour studies is to be found in the *quality* of corpus empiricism and in its sophisticated methods for uncovering *subtext*. Wildcard searches are the key to isolating subtext. What does a search line like * to get * *s on, mean?

We need to study this search line of the concordance below and compare the product of the corpus search with the details that any psychologist, restricted to one subject in a laboratory, might have produced. There has been much unwarranted excitement to the effect that brain-scans sometimes turn orange on a screen. The humour, if any, of such situations generally escapes corpus linguists. Corpus evidence for subtext is, by comparison, remarkable for its detail and its clarity.

MicroConcord search SW: ** to get * *s on*

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

```

1 areas where Labour has managed to get its hands on the levers of power. If, ove
2 e weeping down the phone trying to get their names on to the waiting list for th
3 t of us are just very impatient to get our hands on it," explained Anthony Godfr
4 said, "sorry, but we just want to get our hands on Lilt's dosh", that would hav
5 tracts they disappear. I'd love to get my hands on Quartey or Trinidad because I
6 ious mothers who flirt with him to get their daughters on his party lists. Almos
7 ce subsidiary because he wanted to get his hands on the jewel in Rover's crown,
8 hington, which has been wanting to get its hands on Vesco for years. Vesco is
9 ntial of Notes, had been trying to get its hands on the software for at least tw
10 n upgrade you may still be able to get your hands on a goody bag. Some business
11 ss, intimidate and threaten her to get their hands on the money. She claims that
12 net's wardrobes, and would love to get her hands on Cherie Blair's jackets. "But
13 market very quickly. Users have to get their hands on the data." The sources o
14 at last, we have an opportunity to get our eyes on the right ball and keep them
15 ow agreed. "Their motivation is to get their hands on the levers of power," one
16 and Charles were together Hard to get firm dates on exactly how long their rela
17 and his team would clearly like to get their hands on those domain names, and Je
18 ther to take him to the library to get out books on Greek mythology. "That's o
19 mpany. BT and AT&T would love to get their hands on C&W so they could tuck Hon
20 isingly, Goldsmiths is now keen to get its hands on some of Signet's tarnished t
21 cause several people would like to get their hands on the signals that came in d
22 g a passenger rail franchise is to get your hands on the cash flow. Much of that
--> 23 drove girl". "I definitely have to get my hands on her She really has the sma

```

Source: Times 1995 Corpus

Of course, the word *corpus* in Sinclair's suggested response relexicalises matters in the direction of the human *body*. That suggestion may have had a fair amount of currency at Cobuild and the Tuscan Word Centre, where at one workshop a tee shirt was handed out by the delegates:

FRONT of tee shirt : 'Anyone for *collocation*?'

BACK of tee shirt : 'You should see my *Corpus*!'

1.2 Humour in nature vs humour contrived

Occasionally, we find in real life, evidence of mixed events: a sprightly lad who wants to get his hands on the girl and the company she owns. She accuses him of attempting to get his hands on the Company. Greed knows no bounds, as we see if we open the context for citation 3 below from the British National Corpus [BNC].

MicroConcord search SW: * **to get my *s on**
80 characters per entry
Sort : 1R/SW shifted 7 characters.

Source: BNC

1 locks? A wind-up? If it was, I'd like to get my hands on the bastard that made i
2 SEC I'm a 19-year-old female wanting to get my hands on a good-looking male (19
3 **company's the very last thing I want to get my hands on right now, and you know**
4 r that total fairy-tale of me wanting to get my hands on Swift Investments! I ke
5 d Tom Cruise's bum I've always wanted to get my hands on it! </p> <p> Ms W from

Context for citation 3:

<p> Let me go! </p>
<p> No, he said thickly. Tell me what changed your mind! You were ready to let me take you a minute ago; now what the hell happened? </p>
<p> Shame flooded her, and she said fiercely, I know what you're trying to do! You want to seduce me **so you can get your hands on the company!** </p>
<p> Oh, for God's sake! Not the bloody company again! Stop throwing that at me! **The company's the very last thing I want to get my hands on right now,** and you know it! </p>
<p> Don't lie! She said bitterly, deeply hurt by his endless obsession with power because it attacked the very roots of her growing feelings for him. I know all about your **plans to marry me and get the company.** </p>
<p> There was a brief, tense silence. He studied her with glittering eyes, his face darkly flushed. </p>

[From The British National Corpus]

Of course, the *hands* referred to are altogether more fully lexicalised in respect of sexual references, given also, that in citation 5 of the same concordance, any proposed activity in relation to Tom Cruise's bum, would probably involve some slight metonymic inexactness of location. Notice how one does not *dare* refer to 'the *whole* for the *part*! The real delexicalisation in the main concordance revolves around institutional control and its benefits. Money and power dominate that concordance.

2. The logical construction of the world and its propensities for humour

In *A World of Propensities*, Sir Karl Popper (1990) outlines his relationship with Rudolf Carnap on the questions of probability and causality. In 1935 they had struck an agreement that probability in physics was not the same as the probability that a particular hypothesis would be borne out. However, by 1950, Carnap had changed his mind in a new book entitled *The Logical Foundations of Probability*. Popper was

mortified and declared: "I felt as a father must feel whose son has joined the Moonies; though, of course, they did not exist in those days." (Popper, 1990: 5).

The very idea that the likely success of humour is measurable with regard to *propensities* within the *logical construction of the world* (Carnap, 1928) may still be regarded by many as unattainable. And yet, it is possible today to determine the probability that certain situations, words and worlds are likely to subsist in the whole language that are *closer* to the potential for humourous exploitation than others. Logic and relexicalisation play a role in this. *Stools* (as seats) have no *backs* to them and provide a potential event for slapstick humour through the increased likelihood of falling off of stools rather than chairs. When collocation *co-selects* STOOL and BACK, this likelihood is played out in the form of the concordance below. The fact that all devices relexicalise may result also in forms of avoidance in the choice of language: *stiffer* sentences are demanded in all courts of law for all crimes except *rape*. If we return to the example of *stool*, we note that falls are likelier when *stool* collocates with *back*. The potential for slapstick humour is concentrated almost as much in the *anticipation* and *prospection* (Toolan, 2009: 113) of a fall than in the actual falls we see in the concordance. Backsides have almost a binary choice in this particular sub-world: *stool* or *floor*. Puck (Robin Goodfellow), in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is capable of looking just like a stool. We shall return to Puck's particular brand of humour later.

MicroConcord search SW: *stool** CW: *back**

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1R/SW shifted -9 characters.

```

1 jayi sat back in her little stool and stretched. She put her arms out from her s
2 one high-backed chair, some stools and a cupboard with a heavy oak frontal pushe
3 ltered Isabel. She sat on a stool beside the Queen's high-backed chair, her hand
4 FitzAlan was sitting on the stool by the bed, back propped against the wall, arm
5 Kiku was seated on an ebony stool, her back to the door. She was combing her hai
6 er drop. He sat back on his stool, his brown, beringed hands gently folded in hi
7 ery straight-backed, on the stool. </p> <p> Handsome is as handsome does, Hepzib
8 g up straight-backed on her stool, she could flatter two men at once and still b
9 breath and sat back on the stool. She'd heard. She thought Quiss had too but he
10 ghed, and rocked back on my stool. That's it! That's really us! I laughed again
11 ollapsing backwards off his stool. The Perm got excited. After all, he did have
12 :> Right get up back on the stool then. </p> <PS0M4:> Yeah. </p> <PS0M5:> If we
13 im until he was back on his stool. Too drunk for surprise, he muttered an obscen
14 , she stood in front of the stool with her backside just balanced on it; her lov

```

Data from the British National Corpus

Laughing at people or events carries with it the penalty of punishment or praise. If mankind can laugh at its foibles, this is often regarded as a good thing. Human nature is

so flawed that its shortcomings potentially attract adverse comments at worst, or laughter at best. When man becomes the devil, one remedy is to laugh at him/herself and, by proxy, at the grand adversary also.

If we study the concordance in Appendix A, we see that the phrase *being+what+it+is* collocates on a grand scale with *human+nature*. As a discourse marker, it refers euphemistically to forms of human behaviour which are objectively illogical or even outrageous. But it also acts as a quasi-propositional variable (Wittgenstein, 1929) for those same sorts of events where they are spelt out in detail. Some of the more outrageous examples are to be found in citations 14, 35, 80 and 98. But the potential for humour has to be judged within contexts of situation and the potential for relexicalisation, given that *all devices relexicalise* (Louw, 2010). Where there is no relexicalisation there can be no device. Notice how the most frequent variable is *human nature* and acts as a catch-all even for the *hapaces* or single instances of this corpus event.

2.1 Logical space and shared comic potential

J. R. Firth provides a taxonomy for contexts of situation. He arrived at it in collaboration with the renowned ethnographer Bronislaw Malinowski. Even in its rough form it is a form of instrumentation in the sense that it concerns itself with *outcomes*. Its digital version, based upon collocation collocation and co-selection is altogether more powerful. Humour is only one of its many applications (see Louw, 2003; Louw, 2006).

Context of Situation

- A. The relevant features of participants: persons, personalities.
 - (i) The verbal action of the participants.
 - (ii) The non-verbal action of the participants.
- B. The relevant objects.
- C. The effect of the verbal action.

(Firth 1950, reprinted 1957)

The extent to which the combination of these categories is potentially comic will depend upon their *verisimilitude* with the real events that they deliberately fail to represent, either through under-provision or over-provision (Louw, 2000). Citations 33

and 34 (Sod's Law) in the concordance for *being+what+it+is* have a direct bearing on the presence or absence of people in an event. But each of its parameters needs to be weighed up for its humorous potential *as logic* in the form of events. Internet-email jokes often fall into this category and often work on the *relexicalisation-delexicalisation* continuum (Sinclair, 2004: 198), as read with infractions of situational logic, as we see in this example.

One of the best examples of *delexicalisation* during the analogue period of collocation studies is to be found in an article written by Firth in 1951. In his article 'Modes of meaning' Firth writes the following.

In my opinion, the concept of primary and derived meanings must be abandoned, and even in Malinowski's work it served no useful purpose. I well remember discussing with him the primary meaning of the word 'ass' in familiar, colloquial English. To bring in the animal, we had to place the word in another 'language'. Such difficulties are met by applying the concept of meaning by collocation...The word 'ass' in colloquial English is usually collocated with expressions of personal reference and address and the plural is not very common. (in Palmer, 1968: 149) (emphasis added)

Even if you said 'An ass has been frightfully mauled at the Zoo', a possible retort would be, 'What on earth was he doing?'(1957: 195)

2.2 Ironies of the World's Logical Construction.

Where there are both logical connections and the natural occurrence of pre-disposing factors that favour the creation of humour, we find, as it were, a joke waiting to happen. The fact that *on+the+streets* involves the presence in a Firthian context of situation (see table above) of both the *police* and the *policed*, all that we need for a joke to occur is the realization that a poorly paid policeman is in institutional danger of crossing the thin line that divides these two categories of participant. The trigger in the world came in the period of financial austerity that resulted from Britain's involvement in the invasion of Iraq. The award-winning cartoonist for *The Telegraph*, known as Matt, depicts a policeman seated on a street corner, with his cap on the ground as a begging-bowl. A man and his wife are walking past. The caption reads: 'It is good to see more police on the streets.' The logic of the state of affairs is inverted (Wittgenstein, 1922: 29). The same subtext applies to a photograph of a policeman in a vehicle in the Czech Republic interrogating a prostitute. They are both on the streets. The logic is intact, but the

potential for an inversion of logic (if the policeman became her client or took a bribe ‘in kind’) is palpable.

It is of some interest also that the citations for *on+the+streets* reflect almost fifty-fifty, police and policed in the corpus. The logic and the empiricism fall together in creating the sort of mix upon which successful humour relies. Co-selection of *on+the+streets* with *polic** offers us an insight, as does an inclusive term like *beg**, without reference to *drugs, soliciting, prostitution*, etc.

MicroConcord search SW: ***on the streets*** CW: ***polic****

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

```
1 or companies. Cavaliers appeared on the streets as police cars and perfect trans
2 ns for a regular police presence on the streets. Critics say that a policeman
3 ves to policemen willing to stay on the streets? </Group> </Story> </Arti
4 The presence of a police officer on the streets is more than a deterrent to crim
5 tting an extra 100,000 policemen on the streets of America's cities. Republica
6 w many policemen can be deployed on the streets of Britain. They have nationalis
7 allowing British police to work on the streets of Dublin. A spokesman for the
8 Mr Ungi said. Tension is high on the streets of Merseyside and police are con
9 pped by the police when they are on the streets or in their cars. However, Llo
10 niformed Palestinian police were on the streets, Palestinian flags hung from lam
11 to pay for more police officers on the streets. Participants would use state-
12 orking to put more officers back on the streets, this area of policing would now
13 to pay for more police officers on the streets. Using state-of-the-art comput
14 et, spending virtually every day on the streets with his military policemen, exc
15 nounced a crusade against crime on the streets, with 5,000 additional police, 1
```

Data from the The Times.

MicroConcord search SW: ***on the streets*** CW: ***beg****

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1L/SW unshifted.

```
1 , one of many unemployed who beg on the streets of Addis Ababa. "We want to know
2 beyond belief. There are beggars on the streets, graffiti is everywhere. While t
3 usines and the scores of beggars on the streets. It is best to immerse yourself
4 there are tough, choosy beggars on the streets, and cardsharps cheat and rob a
5 exacerbated poverty. "Begging on the streets and sleeping rough in shop doorw
6 ded Mr Straw, who said: "Begging on the streets causes embarrassment when it sho
7 of children sleeping and begging on the streets. Thomas Hammarberg of the comm
8 ers; the limbless lepers begging on the streets; the frequent power cuts; the bl
9 l region beg with their children on the streets. And they are going to build a c
```

Data from the The Times

2.3 Relexicalisation made Literal

The great discovery of the Cobuild project at the time of the publication of the first dictionary was the extent and prevalence of delexicalisation. Cobuild was the first fully computerized dictionary in the sense that it was the first dictionary (1987) to write *itself* from a computational sample of the world called a corpus, in 1987. The surprise came

in respect of the most frequent words that had been neglected since the time of Dr Johnson. For example, The Chambers Twentieth Century English Dictionary offered fewer than twelve meanings for *take*. The computer drafting the first edition of the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary found almost 90!

The sense-distance between fully lexicalised and delexical forms is often surprising and carries with it the potential for creating humour. A term like *beauty* can be made to look quite tawdry in its delexical forms. For example, an insurance salesman might say: ‘The *beauty* of this insurance policy is that claims are settled within 24 hours.’ Delexicalisation degrades truth (Louw, 2007).

The reversal that triggers the humour is always the product of relexicalisation. An example from Ronnie Corbett and Ronnie Barker reads:

*The Queen, in a majestic evening gown, swept down the central staircase,
dusted the ornaments and vacuum-cleaned the carpet!*

The more a comic writer is able to involve grammar-word collocates in differentiating meaning, the more successful is the impact of the reversal. Benny Hill was a master of this art, working from one delexical sense to another. The next joke bridges gap between the senses of *death* and *bowel-movement*.

*‘My doctor is very worried about me. He said to me: ‘You could go today!’ [pause]
I hope I do go today, because I didn’t go yesterday or the day before that!’*

3. Humour must be Resolved or it remains Deception

Humour relies upon the same mechanism as successful deception, but only *briefly*, until the joke is resolved. A crucial condition of deception is that it leaves the joke unresolved. It remains a joke of sorts: one in which the ‘joke is on you’, if you are the deceived party; and, but for the advent of corpora, *you* may *never* have discovered the nature of the deception fully. It has particular characteristics: (1) the source of the

deception often remains entirely hidden; (2) it may be repeated unrelentingly, to the delight of its perpetrators; (3) no apology is forthcoming, ever. Often, it becomes an institutionalized *modus operandi*, and as a result, no remedy in court is forthcoming.

Irony is a micro-event within humour as macro-event. Both rely upon brief deception followed by *release*. The phenomenon is not unlike Sinclair's (1966) explanation of *arrest* and *release* in the discourse of poetry. A key question remains for us to examine: the extent to which humour and deception are related as *genres*. They both use the mechanism of arrest and both use relexicalisation. However, only in the case of humour is the result of the relexicalisation made known. In the case of deception, the *size* of the audience capable of unpacking the deception shrinks dramatically, to the point where the deception becomes a *code* or even a *private language* (Wittgenstein, 1953) among certain members *only*, within Firth's taxonomy for *persons*, *personalities* within his 'context of situation'.

This is especially the case with institutional deceptions of long standing. These will be dealt with towards the conclusion of this paper. However, a further question needs now to be asked: are deceptions of long standing related to humour or not? We need now to return, as promised earlier, to Puck or Robin Goodfellow, in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Puck gives his name to a certain type of behaviour, as one does, if one dupes old ladies into believing to their detriment that they are about to sit upon a stool or drink ale without encountering Puck in the form of a crab! His behaviour is that of an evil spirit, but it also attracts evil laughter. The devil laughs at the deceived, but cannot tolerate having his own lies ridiculed. Here is a brief dictionary entry for Puck.

Puck (p[^]k) n. (often cap.) a mischievous or evil spirit. Also called :Robin Goodfellow. [Old English *peca*, of obscure origin] (Collins English Dictionary)

A concordance from the BNC helps us to appreciate the characteristics of the term *puckish*.

MicroConcord search SW: **puckish**
80 characters per entry
Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 irm figure; and curiously **impudent**, puckish eyes. She had already **been removed** t
2 his eyes stroll down a **pinched** but puckish face, **breasts which looked firm** thou

3 nd **mental vitality**. Small, compact, puckish, he had the **aura** of an **insatiably** in
 4 st. It was a **joke**, really, says the puckish Hoggart. Neil held out these things
 5 mping on a **cigar**; Cartier-Bresson's puckish Jean Genet drawing on a **cheroot**; Erw
 6 an. This was Don Agger, a cheerful, puckish man with a **narrow beard**, a former as
 7 18 (only in the 1943 version) and a puckish **mercurial** touch throughout that bani
 8 design. The shock of red hair, the puckish, mobile face and **preternaturally** bri
 9 **to blame** the **injury sustained** on a puckish **nature-spirit or demon**. Again the vi
 10 law from Katya Kabanova. But I have puckish **news** for you. I read in the paper th
 11 owesque I mean) **magical dog** who had Puckish powers to **cause confusion** in his nec
 12 cated finale, for instance (given a puckish rather than a trenchant **slant** by Kun
 13 eeply spiritual man, enlivened by a puckish **sense of humour**. Impatient with comm
 14 36. </p> <p> Basil Rocke had a very puckish **sense of humour** and wryness which ve
 15 t his pipe, drawing on it slowly, a Puckish **smile** lifting the corners of his mou
 16 ew. So many stories, he says with a puckish **smile**. So many stories here. Waiting
 17 eived an unexpected visitor and his puckish **strangeness** held her gaze like a har

Data from the British National Corpus.

3.1 Reversing the directionality of laughter: Dark humour laughs *at*, not *with*

Where humour is normal, we laugh *together*, *with* one another. Where humour is *dark*, we laugh *at* the victims of deception and at their often helpless inability to determine what has happened to them. Let us examine Puck's own declaration in Shakespeare's play. How good a fellow is Robin Goodfellow?

Puck has no job description in the modern sense of the term. He sees himself as Court Jester to Oberon, King of the Fairies. This designation does not appear in the list of *Dramatis Personae*. Like Dr Doolittle, he talks to the animals and can arouse a fart-prone horse into believing that a filly is available. But in his description below, carousing women emerge as a favourite target. They provide recreation for the 'merry wanderer of the night', and although one does not normally apologise for inducing tumescence in horses, there is never any hint of an apology in the offing for the two women concerned. One spills ale over herself as she almost drinks a roasted crab. The other falls to the ground as she tries to sit on an imaginary stool. Pretending to be a stool is bad enough, but making that stool a three-legged one, involves the exculpatory flair of a professional deceiver.

It is also worth noting that Puck role is dangerous: *institutional* but *informal* at the same time. Oberon's sense of humour demands nothing less.

PUCK: Thou speakest aright
 I am that merry wanderer of the night
 I jest to Oberon, and make him smile
 When I a fat and bean-fed horse beguile,
 Neighing in likeness of a filly foal;
And sometime I lurk in a gossip's bowl
 In very likeness of a roasted crab;

And when she drinks, against her lips I bob,
 And on her withered dewlap pour the ale.
 The wisest aunt telling the saddest tale
 Sometime for a threefoot stool mistaketh me;
 Then slip I from her bum. Down topples she,
 And 'Tailor' cries and falls into a cough;
 And then the whole choir hold their hips and laugh,
 And waxen in their mirth, and neeze and swear
 A merrier hour was never wasted there.
 But room, Fairy: here comes Oberon.
 (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II, Scene I, 43 – 59)

3.2 Collocation reveals institutional deceptions of long standing

The former Director of Transparency International, Jeremy Pope once declared: 'A country will be as corrupt as its institutions will allow.' If the institutions are to be doing the allowing, the age-old question arises: '*Quis custodiet custodiet ipsos?* Who will guard the guardians themselves? Furthermore, if they have been in the business of *allowing* miscarriages of justice, where shall we find these? Will they be in writing?

3.2.1 The case of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The great advantage of corpora is that they are often made up of apparently innocuous material that can be collected, scanned and dumped into a corpus, whether termed a 'bank' or described as 'national' etc. A further avenue for capturing institutional decisions is the press. The 'results of the verbal action' (Firth, 1957: 182) in court is often reported in the newspaper. Newspapers are associated with transparency, but in the case of 'spin', they are abused on a grand scale to set in place fake institutions, such as Truth and Reconciliation Commissions [TRCs]. Wittgenstein states in section two of the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* that the minimal condition for a 'state of affairs' is that it must be logically 'factual'. (1922: 7). David Pears (1971: 70) states this more explicitly: where $p \neq \text{non-}p$, illogical propositions will be identified by logic and must then be shown the door. In Louw (2003; 2007), The truth of this assertion is the method of its verification: collocation. A search of the entire Bank of English for TRUTH

within four words of RECONCILIATION (co-selected) reveals ‘no matches’ except in the fixed expression TRC.

TRC masquerades as a legal institution. Legal institutions usually have the benefit of a long institutional history. However, we find that the TRC is freshly set up to neutralize the claims for JUSTICE (long institutional history with TRUTH) of 23,000 victims of the *Apartheid* regime. Appellants to the Constitutional Court of South Africa were quickly whipped into line, (including the widow of Steve Biko) and told that they must approach the TRC like everyone else. Their appeal for access to ordinary justice rather than freshly institutionalized waiver is still pending in The Hague. The spin school that originated the TRC at 12 Downing Street used semantic prosody (Louw, 1993) in order to provide the angle of *forgiveness, peace, healing*, etc. to the left of the node. But as a legal institution on all fours, the TRC is falsified in Popper’s terms by collocation.

Institutions are loath to give up in the face of public humiliation. They resort to cover-up. After making public the flawed status of the TRC (Louw, 2003) on the University of Bologna website, myriad methods of cover-up were attempted. Louw’s link with the Bank of English was closed within 15 days, including the Christmas holiday. Other tactics included re-naming of TRC s as Justice Commissions (*sic*), Commissions for Mass Justice, National Healing Commissions, etc. Direct intervention is not to be ruled out. The author was involved in the doctoral supervision of a young woman from Kenya in 2010. The subject of her doctorate was the TRC in Kenya and its role in dealing with post-election violence. The moment she quoted Louw (2003), the International Criminal Court sent a representative to Kenya to abolish its TRC. One can only suppose that if Louw (2003) had never been mentioned, the work of the Kenyan TRC would have continued untrammelled by potential falsification.

3.2.2 The case of fake remedies as institutional conspiracy

The TRC is a freshly accepted fake *modus operandi* made legal by South Africa’s Constitutional Court. The 16th December is a national holiday to commemorate it as National [Forced] Reconciliation Day. Collocation falsified it by showing that it has no status in precedent but only in ideologically motivated ontology. Its power sprang fully

armed from the forehead of the Chief Justice Arthur Chaskalson and his bench. Its origins were in ‘spin’.

However, once the activities of a *modus* become enshrined in fraudulent practice, they remain at variance with legal textbooks. Which should have primacy: textbooks or practice? Firth, Malinowski, and Sinclair all maintain that lived realities are the real science of language. And it is these lived realities that both demonstrate the power of collocation as instrumentation and attract sufficient conspiratorial ire to cover up. It was almost exactly ten years ago that collocation was shown to be capable of nullifying the ontological status of a fake *modus*. This was provided as an example for delegates at the Tuscan Word Centre. Examples were placed in the computers in readiness for the workshop. The example for *natural justice* was tampered with overnight. John Sinclair was too ill to be informed. Paper copies of authentic data had to be handed out. The incident resulted in the homogenization of the entry for *natural justice* in the nascent new version of the BNC, then in preparation. Cover-up prevented the sale of the BNC in Africa! Chris Butler was victimized for giving the author a copy of the homogenized BNC in Granada in July 2004. Censorship continued in Louw, (2006).

However, the point of disclosing this is that the *modus* surrounding *natural justice* has always been puckish in its application. Judges and lawyers realise the moment the phrase is uttered that the litigant whose ‘prayer’ it is, is to be the victim of further injustice, in perpetuity if need be. It now has the status of a *code*. It is not that judges *cannot* award natural justice, so much as that they *dare* not! But notice how the truth and logic of language is affected by the acting out of the fake: the collocates are all *similes for one another* and between them they write the node out of existence: *denied*, *breached*, and *contrary to the principles of*. Only true instrumentation is capable of doing that. The temptation to interpret the phrase intuitively and as a concept (*sic*) fails every time and has done for centuries. Pilots do not steer their aircraft by intuition. They are required to rely upon their instruments, especially in poor visibility!

4. Conclusion

This has profound implications for the future of all deception because the cognitive method for unpacking the conspiracy fails dismally. Litigants have for generations

pondered why, if justice is natural, they have not received it! The fact is that we need, in closing, to return to Quine. His Third Dogma of Empiricism needs to be exchanged for *collocation* as instrumentation for language. This will mean the demise of *concepts* and the reliance upon intuition will at last be at an end. The *directionality* of laughter will be reversed:

JUDGE: What is your client's prayer, Mr Jones?

JONES QC: Natural justice, My Lord.

[Peals of laughter from the public gallery...]

JUDGE: That has been noted. I must warn members of the public gallery...

To re-write Firth (1957: 196), '...the *only* meaning of *natural justice* is its collocability with terms of identical meaning that show the node to be *non-sense* and remove its ontological status.' Only Puck retreats into the shadows to obtain a D-Notice on the use of the term in the press; but the leakage has begun. Laughing *at* has become laughing *back*.

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APPENDIX A

MicroConcord search SW: **being what it is**

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1L/SW unshifted.

```

1 the image of female aggression being what it is. Those howls of feminist      T
2 r a new partner, what with AIDS being what it is and the chief buyer at W      F
3 of irony. The Oxford Apollo being what it is a theatre the sense of It fail
4 so sure but with arachnophobia being what it is, somehow I doubt we'll alum bo
5 Mm. <M02> and the school budget being what it is erm does not at the          <F
6 but <tc text=pause> bureaucracy being what it is # <M01> Yeah. <M02> I <M01> Mm.
7 because, the pop-music business being what it is, and me being as old as primus
8 stralian schoolyard camaraderie being what it is, those taking part were is a
9 s stove - although the catering being what it is, it's not a bad idea to
10 always so. Female conditioning being what it is, I grew up assuming that yo
11 c of such dreamy confrontations being what it is, or rather isn't - that'
12 a mother. <p> And birth control being what it is, that means many of the <p> Aus
13 e the official rate. Corruption being what it is, the foreigner has no
14 ning. <p> Limited-overs cricket being what it is, one cannot yet be sure by
15 ils to wash but celebrity crime being what it is, he will probably take exactl
16 The Bank's closely-knit culture being what it is, that claim will be the end o
17 WITH the cost of pellet cutters being what it is, a great saving may be than
18 up is easy and, army discipline being what it is, they are unlikely to confident
19 g stakes. Sexual egalitarianism being what it is, this state of affairs all enj
20 y and in the USA. But, Euro-law being what it is, such live recording are is no
21 end of the conflict, expediency being what it is, they were putting them
22 hing started to take hold, film being what it is. It happened around group. Wit
23 t for some time." His following being what it is, there were probably desir
24 e you from attacking a play for being what it is, in fact, supposed to t buy
25 will never forgive the P0 for being what it is - a world class public our par
26 down the lane. <p> Fox-pressure being what it is, we were dismayed when like a
27 ut vacuous) popsies. Friendship being what it is, Sir David had casually to
28 sloth and two because, Glasgow being what it is, the place is pulsing </h> WIT
29 he Test surface. But Headingley being what it is, despite relaid pitches sa

```

30 bottled water. <p> **Hollywood** being what it is, a few celebrity off down the
 31 u wait on my son # <p> **Humanity** being what it is, the little tyke will country a
 32 ewer than Cantonese). **Hong Kong** being what it is, dozens of schools have rob
 33 and let's face it, **Sod's Law** being what it is, there will be nobody an ins
 34 olid on the road. <p> **Sod's Law** being what it is, it rained, or bucketed
 35 ential"; but the art of leaking being what it is in Washington, it might has fe
 36 o you to do. **Live in life. Life** being what it is, you'll encounter standards or
 37 <F01> Right # <M01> and **life** being what it is nobody's going to fork on thei
 38 nts to hear again </h> <p> **Life** being what it is, we aren't perfect, said tha
 39 inspired move and, Tapie's **luck** being what it is, Alen Boksic came good of s
 40 aid: With the automative **market** being what it is at the moment we are wi
 41 or not. And with the mass **media** being what it is today, no one can say, ` Amba
 42 esirable or not. And the **media**, being what it is, will try to draw a <p> Cadbury
 43 h us. I felt that, human nature being what it is, they would be an to liv
 44 eeple. `Regrettably, owl nature being what it is, some do conform to the be
 45 ecause otherwise, `human nature being what it is", we would have total with attr
 46 towards it. Human nature being what it is, this more profound and fash
 47 to live. However, human nature being what it is, we do not always live but
 48 but 50 and above. Human nature being what it is, if we don't get this week. A
 49 e spokesman said: `Human nature being what it is, they want to keep what little
 50 ou, my perverse Scottish nature being what it is, the chances of my can he deli
 51 he said. <p> And human nature being what it is, maybe he will be caught Mind y
 52 tion, respect and, human nature being what it is, probably a touch of beca
 53 tion, respect and, human nature being what it is, probably a touch of group. Wi
 54 ards or otherwise, human nature being what it is, the whole structure t - the
 55 majority of MPs - human nature being what it is - say they find the them up is
 56 uy such arguments. Human nature being what it is, people don't always A maj
 57 it is, counselor, human nature being what it is, Dom started expanding mys
 58 V, but, of course, human nature being what it is, the diaries tend to get tha
 59 side? <p> However, human nature being what it is, you are obliged to open be
 60 e too easy on her. Human nature being what it is, I fell for her feminine
 61 2> And er you know human nature being what it is if <tc text=pause> you bu
 62 ight. <ZGY> <M02> Human nature being what it is. <M01> Yes. Yeah. Erm <M02>
 63 true but I suppose human nature being what it is I hope that er <ZF1> I s rig
 64 an keeping it. <p> Human nature being what it is, there must also be s true
 65 st few years that, human nature being what it is, a backlash was and le
 66 eir own # However, human nature being what it is, and male and female judgment h
 67 eir criticism. <p> Human nature being what it is, we should expect that a classi
 68 human # and political # nature being what it is, this is an unlikely to be a mo
 69 o genuine loggers, human nature being what it is, there is always someone But
 70 act is small. <p> Human nature being what it is, drivers will continue to
 71 dbury, Greenbury # human nature being what it is, most of us prefer to eye. The
 72 ailing to do that, human nature being what it is, staffing rural day short-lived
 73 76 on forward. And human nature being what it is, people will tend to to 49, but
 74 artners in Europe. Human nature being what it is, I'm glad I'm not a 1976 on
 75 cancer and burns. Human nature being what it is, will these warnings remaining
 76 week. And with the week's news being what it is, it seems especially that
 77 tly that. But human originality being what it is (ie, non-existent for 98 t
 78 ical boldness, the **Labour Party** being what it is; but ditching a view got confu
 79 erating to women but **patriarchy** being what it is, cultural practices grew skin
 80 **photographs of erect penises** being what it is, Pauline has to vet each fo
 81 l development of the guinea pig being what it is, one of the males was m not so
 82 op with the state. <p> **Politics** being what it is, the Queensland ALP and rock so
 83 nt here. <p> Education **politics** being what it is, no one can be wholly an autobi
 84 te and expect a reply, the **post** being what it is nowadays, so I sent a double t
 85 y appointing him as such. **Pride** being what it is, they inevitably will on the
 86 animals." <p> **The Turner Prize** being what it is, Hirst's winning exhibit
 87 that **human nature** is a problem. Being what it is, you're always going to o
 88 er inland, **beach-front property** being what it is. The dialect of Southern sav
 89 obiography although, **publishing** being what it is, it's only a matter of is liber
 90 be (pronounced, the Brazilian r being what it is, `hobby # Any short political
 91 ing what they are. *British Rail* being what it is, nobody has deemed it killing s
 92 e deliver? <p> His **track record** being what it is, and IRA divisions being Palac
 93 t Hellman did. **Public relations** being what it is, though, she is still how it
 94 . With the special relationship being what it is, this very-high-level admiratio
 95 . With the **special relationship** being what it is, this very-high-level admiratio
 96 boats <p> **Human resourcefulness** being what it is, the survivors rebuilt way of
 97 yself of. But with the **schedule** being what it is, the endurance, the further in
 98 ssification # **computer security** being what it is # could easily and in newsp
 99 or is that **self-delusion?**) being what it is, teams from these shores in the
 100 ssador, but the **Foreign Service** being what it is, I may never be to write and ex
 101 learned. **The Sunday bus service** being what it is, I decided I'd walk at with
 102 go about it now, the **situation** being what it is and her mind certainly
 103 s out the door. **Thespian spirit** being what it is, I held out a glimmer of peace
 104 njoy `parity of esteem". **Status** being what it is, it took no time for logic of
 105 lived - the **power of suggestion** being what it is, I fell each time within wasn't
 106 onfused. **China's justice system** being what it is, such a mistake can take the

107 a worry. THE CITY'S **water table** being what it is, the dead are buried in their
108 f spectacle. The **rock gig** thing being what it is, everyone resolutely the last f
109 newspaper files, the **road toll** being what it is, the deaths are so develop wit
110 hionable at pre-sent and, **trade** being what it is, I can't afford to put le
111 if you ask me, **civil unrest** being what it is. Is that all?" <p> Steeple.
112 ful means - the world around us being what it is - then we will do it wants
113 surprise, the publishing **world** being what it is, that he had a name for sexual

Source: The Bank of English

Paper 11, 2009: Establishing a historiography for corpus-events from their frequency: a celebration of Bertrand Russell's (1948) five postulates

This paper celebrates the ability of Russell's Third Postulate to analyse events in the external world using corpus data.

1. Introduction

Any event in a corpus must have its counterpart, that it *re*-presents, in the *world*, either the Fregean (1892) world of all worlds, that is *all that is the case* (Wittgenstein, 1922: 7), or the *local* or even *fictional* worlds that are subsets of that world. In the same way that the *word* attracts scientifically simple definitions such as ‘a string of characters separated by spaces on either side’, there can be no valid objection to describing a corpus event in terms of frequency, minimally as a *hapax* or maximally as *the* (occupying 4% of all text). For the sake both of science and because of the limitations of intuition and introspection, events are retrieved rather than introspected. Their introspection is the mark of *phlogiston* and the destruction of science (Hoey, 2005; Stewart, 2010). Retrieval may be achieved crudely, as word-lists (what Wittgenstein would have called *things*) or in more sophisticated, scientifically respectable ways, as *facts* or *states of affairs*. The retrieval of things, on the other hand, is of no consequence in logic and in science. They are expressly ruled out as unacceptable by Frege. Even frequency does not make words, as citation forms, either keywords or facts.

1. Always separate sharply the psychological from the logical, the subjective from the objective.
2. **Never ask for the meaning of a word in isolation, but only in the context of a sentence.**
3. Never lose sight of the distinction between concept and object.

(Source: The Foundations of Arithmetic, 1884; Scott, et al, 1993:375)

However, the retrieval of *facts* begins to confirm the logical structure of the world (Carnap, 1928; Goodman, 1951). In corpus-based terms, the software that discerns spaces also discerns strings and in some software products, *proximity* that transcends strings. Collocation is ‘abstracted at the level of syntax’ (Firth, 1957: 196). All *nodes* are events of sorts, but only nodes that are arrived at by *co-selection* run the risk of being *facts* rather than mere *things* whose ontological status must be regarded as being in doubt because of *delexicalisation* and therefore, as a result of their failure to be part

of the world's logical construction (*Aufbau*). Louw (2000) begins with the example of Ted Hughes's poem 'Hawk Roosting'. The poem's world demands logically that the word *a* be absent from the poem, because if anything *new* were to be introduced, the hawk's world, that is the product of the process of evolution, would be threatened. The poem is long enough for readers to sense that all *novelty* is missing and that *familiarity* (expressed by *the*) is both overbearing and oppressive. The occurrence of *a* is not only *probable*, but its *absence* is indicative of the meaning of the world from which it is missing (Ayer, 1972). Literary critics such as Barthes (1967) and Macherey (1966) referred to the phenomenon as *absences*. Their judgements were entirely intuitive and, hence, led not very far beyond their noses.

And so it is with all of the facts in the language and in the world that in the case of very frequent events, we may wonder when they will next appear. We all prefer *the recipe for* to *a recipe for* because their semantic prosody is well known to us. The *potential* for negative semantic prosody begins at frequency position 5. But *a*, like the rain, falls on the just and the unjust alike. *A knock at the door* is not necessarily as welcome as *a new lover*.

Equally, in the case of *rare* events, our suspicion may be justifiably aroused if they purport to occur more frequently than the world (as sampled by the corpus) tells us they do, habitually. Intuitively we may feel tempted to shrug off such occurrences or dismiss them with a humorous remark. The death of several of acquaintances within a short space of time might attract an observation like: 'There are people dying these days who have never died before'!

However, suppose we, in an age where corpus studies are urging the reintroduction of intuition, (*sic*) (Stewart, 2010), wish to use the corpus as a *scientific instrument to falsify fake events* from their frequency or absence alone (Louw, 2003). The world of analogue language studies leaves this question un-attempted, save for the analytic philosophers whose search for truth comes with the partially hidden but comforting notion that truth will banish falsehood. It will find falsehood and show it the door (Pears, 1972).

2. Are liars scientific?

It is likely that liars will only be scientific in direct proportion to the forms of linguistic computing available for outing them. Hence, since the falsification of the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission from its title alone (Louw, 2003), the liars who use spin have had to tread more carefully. There was at least one high key resignation in the aftermath of the paper that falsified the TRC, and *that* resignation was prompted by the fact that the title, TRC, was only settled *after* the spin doctors had read Louw (1993) and set in place the positive semantic prosody that drives the rhetoric of waiver (see Appendix A). Note how citations for truth+and have only one collocate: Commission. The fact that it has no institutional history or precedent makes it in Wittgenstein's terms a *thing*. With the exception of the family of Steve Biko and Others, 23,000 victims of apartheid took it, to their detriment, to be a *fact*. One's position is only rendered untenable if the very instrumentation used in order to craft a particular piece of deception, is then used by the author of that instrumentation to dismantle the same freshly spawned piece of spin. It was both unfortunate for the future of spin but providential for the future of corpora and truth studies.

However, the spin section seems not to have been developed further, using corpus events in order to test out lies in practice. Much of the spin that is detectable using corpora is *reactive* in character, as we can see in the following repair strategies used by political speech-writers as forms of commentary that seek to draw a line under disasters that may have had the status of 'experiments' but have been detected or come into the open. The spin doctor who resigned publicly used the following wording (see concordance). Note that in the examples that follow, the problem that caused the node to appear in the first place has its situational determinism to the left of the node (Berofsky, 1971).

MicroConcord search SW: more time CW: family

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW shifted 2 characters.

```

1 ucation Secretary, has been devoting more time to his family since he returned t
2 s in southern India and should spend more time with his family in Spain. "He i
3 's seat used to be in order to spend more time with one's family. And its trigge
4 ublic man's announced wish "to spend more time with his family" not be treated a
5 e reaffirmed that he wanted to spend more time with family and friends away from
6 l very well saying you want to spend more time with your family, but do your fam
7 ly, but do your family want to spend more time with you?" There are two daughter
8 said, adding that he hoped to spend more time with his family. Mr Carlsson to
9 rey suits' to tell me I should spend more time with my family." A month later he
10 f executive's sudden desire to spend more time with his family, the Pru laid the
11 ff might say, I am happily spending more time with the family." </Group>
12 that's wonderful." She now spends more time with her family, whom she admits
13 n she took a part-time post to spend more time with her family. She is accustome
14 is time for him to consider spending more time with his family. Industry needs
15 health or age reasons, nor to spend more time with his family the explanation o
16 to pursue other interests and spend more time with her family. The announcement
17 he added that he would like to spend more time with his young family, hinting th

```


MicroConcord search SW: learn*

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

```
1  that he had "made mistakes, and had learnt again the importanc   13  things di
2  as made mistakes. It was a lesson he learnt bitterly   86  experts being made to
3  lling mistakes. Today, pop stars can learn from hi   172  deficit.   Orrell had m
4  they hav   167  powers were eager to learn from the mistakes they had made in 19
5  why we made the mistakes we did and learn from them".   Mr M   176  nearly steri
6  31  redecessors made. We all learn from mistakes, but only do so by regr
7  ore both goa   149  ence on Europe by learning from the mistakes that it made dur
8  s as the p   112  ow that someone has learnt from the mistakes made in earlier ta
9  de, albeit more than a yea   153  ave learned over the years from the mistakes th
10 's campaign and the   102  r words to learn the lessons of the mistakes made by L
```

MicroConcord search SW: profound implications for

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

```
1  nomic issue which also had profound implications for Britain's future global ori
2  banking, for instance, has profound implications for companies in these sectors.
3  ly local markets. This has profound implications for companies in the West. Japa
4  rges of hypocrisy and have profound implications for his new high-profile role i
5  ween individuals. This has profound implications for its treatment, not least be
6  barrassment of the day has profound implications for our system of parliamentary
7  have pulled off a coup of profound implications for Peking. As it was, he timed
8  ctivists in November have "profound implications for policies aimed at encouragi
9  trends of the 1990s, with profound implications for the nation's productivity.
10 tle. The outcome will have profound implications for the small but growing numbe
11 hange proposed, but it has profound implications for the whole tax system.   Apa
12 forces at work which have profound implications for the rest of us.   The messa
13 ompany, in a move that has profound implications for the wider UK accounting pro
```

(The above examples are from The Times newspaper for 1995)

3. Is the distance significant in terms of time and frequency between one corpus event and the next appearance of the ‘same’ event?

The answer to this question is affirmative, if and only if the event under consideration is locatable in real time using corpus-based means. For example, there is nothing about the term *mercenaries* in a concordance that indicates how often such persons’ services are utilised in order to achieve *outcomes* that might not have taken place without their intervention. In other words, as we have just seen above, the node *mercenaries* has to be converted from the status of *things* to *facts* (*Sachverhalten*) in order for a taxonomy to become possible. The crucial scientific question that is settled in this way determines the *discreteness* of events. For once it has been determined how *often* events involving mercenaries occur in the world as sampled by the corpus, it becomes possible to judge the *likely* discreteness of such events in real life. It is with this principle in mind that we may resort, in *analogue* terms, to history (Mockler, 1969) or proceed by means of digital investigation, using the corpus to *automate* not only historicity but prompt the handover of any instrumentation so established from philosophy to science.

It is at this point that we need to demonstrate the interaction between these two principles in our endeavour to settle the issue of discreteness scientifically and logically. For this, we need both the corpus and the scientific postulates of Bertrand Russell (1948). Let us dispose of conventional history first.

By convention, history deals largely with *names*. Low level theories often use corpora as electronic filing cabinets and little else. The use of collocation and co-selection in order to isolate factual events as states of affairs is a task typical of high level theories (Louw, 2009).

Searching for names is a largely hit and miss affair, as will become apparent from the following extended contexts from the newspaper corpus for 1995.

Colonel Jean "Black Jack" Schramme, the legendary Belgian mercenary who led an abortive rebellion against President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire in the summer of 1967, died in Brazil seven years ago.

Colonel Denard's carer includes a botched Seychelles coup, where he teamed up with a group of South African mercenaries led by "Mad Mike" Hoare.

One way of determining different events using co-selection might be to search for *mercenaries* as node word and **19*** as context word. The product would need to be sorted by hand. Of course, a much larger corpus would be needed for such a task. The Bank of English (480 million words of running text) would be an appropriate choice. 995 occurrences are obtainable from the Bank of English, accessed via The Corpus Hub at Birmingham [CHAB], the brainchild of Dr Pernilla Danielsson.

Here are a few examples of event frequency for *mercenaries* established by means of CHAB data:

MicroConcord search SW: 19*

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW shifted -1 characters.

1 y a group of mercenaries in November 1988. All India radio said wide coverage to
2 III employed mercenaries in January 1199 and in 1199â€"1200, as (Gregory IX, 1
3 d mercenaries in January 1199 and in 1199â€"1200, as (Gregory IX, 1227â€"41, em
4 ndline mercenaries from PNG in March 1997 -- as commander of the mine. Her ar
5 t of Moorish mercenaries to Spain in 1936. Barroso and other g the mines. Her ar
6 ze governments in Southern course of 1990. Earlier departure of mercenaries The
7 out the Serbian peop ertising on TV. 1976 Fourteen British mercenaries died by f
8 and Zionist intelligence television. 1976: Fourteen British mercenaries executed
9 of The Mercenaries which he made in 1966 in Jamaica with ers and guerrillas mix
10 le, the mercenaries move in LUANDA 19980808 IN A last- that could offer the
11 ndline mercenaries from PNG in March 1997, is charged wi nt after his action to
12 ercenaries and military equipment in 1997. PHOEN ndian Ocean archipelago where f
13 ries died by firing squad in Angola. 1990 s Solution lies with the TA, not with

14 by South African-backed mercenaries in 1981 [see pp. 31513-15]. AFRICA CO he deno
 15 naries), came the horrors of January 1999. T Swiss, the most feared and successf
 16 ed mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. The claim as were basically a band of
 17 with International R evolt in March 1997 to expel Sandline mercenaries hired by
 18 o invade and destroy us''. This was 19-Apr-2001 UN criticises record on merce
 19 would be taken prisone scape came in 1981 when a group of UK mercenaries kidnapp
 20 uggest that the eastern provinces, a 1998 (with minimal help from Sandline merce

The significance of this material is immediately apparent: mercenary activity is not so frequent as to warrant analysis by means of Russell's (1948: 506) first postulate. There is no sense in arguing that just as church services are going on all over the country on Sunday mornings, so mercenary activity is also continuously in progress. A good deal of time elapses between mercenary events. This knowledge would no doubt be of benefit to spin doctors and other state sponsored liars. In other words, if you were thinking of passing off the *failure* of *one* mercenary event as if it were *another*, then you may be in serious danger of being detected by means of a simple corpus of natural language. The suggestion that two mercenary events can occur within a week of one another would be downright risky both as probability and evidence (Ayer, 1972).

Yet, this is exactly what occurs and is analysed in the next section of this paper.

4. Time to meet the other Bertrand.

On the 29th February, 2004, American-hired mercenaries from South Africa removed, as an act of *regime change*, a democratically elected leader from the Republic of Haiti: Jean Bertrand Aristide. He was forcibly removed from his palace in Port au Prince and taken initially, to the Central African Republic and then re-located almost immediately by plane to a military air force base in South Africa. The date (Leap Year) is of Puckish significance: the day on which power roles are reversed. Women may propose to men on leap year. Aristide is still in South Africa today, and the story is now fully played, out because Thabo Mbeki has also been 'regime changed'. The forces and reasons behind his recall are difficult to fathom until we find the link between these two cases of Bush Administration adventurism. Both Mbeki and Aristide were warned **not** to celebrate the 200th anniversary in Port au Prince with the release of white doves (reported in the Mail & Guardian newspaper in South Africa). They defied the Americans and so share the same fate. Slavery and its abolition were the main reason for the American Civil War. Freed slaves run contrary to the conviction of Cecil John Rhodes, the self-styled, illicit 'founder' of Zimbabwe's colonial past. Rhodes gave

America its foreign policy in the form of the Council on Foreign Relations [CFR]. It is worth noting the preposition: Council **on** Foreign Relations, not **for** foreign relations - an institutional negative semantic prosody.

The decision to use mercenaries is understandable, as is their provenance: South African. Rhodes was governor of South Africa before 1891. He was dropped by the electorate because it was discovered that he had ordered the cutting of telegraph lines during the Jameson Raid. The Raid was used as a pretext to invade the Transvaal Republic after the world's largest reserves of gold had been discovered there. One meaning of the word *mercenaries* is its collocability with *South African* (Firth, 1957: 196).

MicroConcord search SW: south african
80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 ed reports that mercenaries from South African company Executive ners also alle
2 breeds mercenaries and with the South African Jannie de their policy of entici
3 o all cl ding to my information, South African mercenaries are scheduled to laun
4 ution operati e abortive coup by South African-back mercenaries in 1981 [see pp.
5 side wa recently contracted 300 South African mercenaries to fight on the rebel
6 aparthei feguard. Law or no law, South African mercenaries are still active, som
7 oup of Western mercenaries, with South African support, to overt five regiments
(Source: CHAB)

4.1 Russell's Postulate on the separability of events

Russell had a scientific position in *Human Knowledge: Its Scope and Limits* (1948) on this subject. His first advice is that we should regard *two events* that appear *close together* in time, but normally occur *years apart*, as the *same event*. This has dire consequences for the US Administration and for the pastime of telling institutional lies. Within days of Aristide's unlawful removal from office, by South African mercenaries recruited in Iraq, the same mercenaries were purportedly on a second mission to carry out a *coup d'état* in Equatorial Guinea under the leadership of Simon Mann. The safest prisons, from America's point of view, are always located in pariah states: Guantanamo Bay in Cuba and Chikurubi Prison in Harare, Zimbabwe. This makes American intervention on behalf of the relatives of mercenaries conveniently impossible. Mann and the mercenaries were imprisoned in Zimbabwe and never reached Equatorial Guinea. Was it the case that they had begun to talk openly about their most recent mission in Haiti and needed to be silenced in an inaccessible place?

Russell's second piece of advice is that we should look for clues. He uses the example of a single billiard ball in a game of snooker. Track the same ball throughout the game as we would the same plane throughout both entirely 'unrelated incidents'. The plane in Port au Prince is the same plane that was seen in Ouagadougou, Ysterplaat and at Harare airport.

Do we rest our case? Certainly not! After the delivery of this paper in Liverpool in mid 2009, Mann (who had meanwhile been extradited to Equatorial Guinea and was purportedly on one meal a day and facing emaciation and starvation, suddenly began to receive hotel food. He was finally released some months later. No mention whatsoever has been made to the effect that the removal of Aristide (and by then also Mbeki) was part of the same the same event as the adventurism in Equatorial Guinea.

Then there is the other billiard ball: Sir Mark Thatcher. This ball does not exist in the first part of the event, but is smuggled onto the table in the middle of the game in the second half! What is its role? It is a distractor. MBA students at the University of Zimbabwe were alerted to the relatedness of the events as part of a case study in their business ethics class.

If the matter is ever taken up vigorously, we will no doubt be able to add yet another 70 year "D" Notice of the type that obtains in the case of the death of Dr David Kelly and the alleged bugging of ZanuPF hotel rooms on the orders of Lord Carrington during the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference on the future of Zimbabwe in London in early 1980.

5. Conclusion

It must be concluded that there is merit in the advancement of an area of study begun in 1989 as corpus stylistics (Louw, 1989; 1993): language is capable of grading the truthfulness of language. Collocation is, as a scientific fact that has been claimed, *instrumentation for language* (Louw, 2010). By means of large corpora of natural language, introduced into lexicography by John Sinclair in 1987, collocation (Firth, 1957: 196) *automates* the theories of the analytic philosophers and *integrates* those theories with the vision of the ethnographer Bronislaw Malinowski (1935), who saw language as a 'mode of action *in rebus*' and J.R. Firth (1957) who created, with Malinowski, a detailed taxonomy for context of situation. Their collaboration was

partially automated by Louw (2000) (now also available at www.revue-texto). This work needs now to be taken further using the methods of the analytic philosopher. We should show no tolerance for non-science that masquerades as ‘science by themes’ (Stewart, 2010) or the purported science of corpora, improbably ‘priming’ the brains of individuals (Hoey, 2005). Children in primary schools (taking further John Sinclair’s *Cain/Phrasebox* © method of *co-selection*) must be trained to recognize, within minutes, fake institutions and to treat them as instances where $p=non-p$. Acting as young scientists, they must use massive, unhomogenised corpora of natural language to show *non-p* the door (Pears, 1972).

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APPENDIX A

MicroConcord search SW: and reconciliation

80 characters per entry Sort : 1L/SW shifted -1 characters.

1 social activism and reconciliation. Smallwood has tapped her wide-
2 Multicultural Affairs and Reconciliation Philip Ruddock. FOR local sin,
3 achieved through agreement and reconciliation and founded on the principle of
4 Australians for Anti-Racism and Reconciliation and have arranged Queensland's
5 couple. As the break-up and reconciliation following the Sharon and Phil
6 leaders have called for calm and reconciliation. Security forces patrolled past
7 child, facilitating closure and reconciliation before death. <p> If this is
8 atmosphere of co-operation and reconciliation, according to the conference
9 atmosphere of co-operation and reconciliation. The BBC West Africa Co
10 and Arabs for co-existence and reconciliation--has to be responded to in Wes
11 hoping to find coexistence and reconciliation in the new political climate.
12 Colm, For serv the comnty and Reconciliation. Chaloner, Mrs Janet, Valuation
13 for a building of confidence and reconciliation in the field and after that, as
14 a new mood of consensus and reconciliation. Racial politics, we imagine,
15 issued calls for consensus and reconciliation. Whoever wins will have an
16 when I could find continuity and reconciliation between my past and future? For
17 he'd be discussing Cyprus and reconciliation between Greece and Turkey which
18 a framework of democracy and reconciliation. <h> NEW YORK RICHARD QUEST a
19 for a peaceful dialogue and reconciliation, in the spirit of the noble Al
20 this process of dialogue and reconciliation," Mr Lord said. He told an
21 achieved through dialogue and reconciliation." A £100,000 reward was offered
22 sin, conversion, forgiveness and reconciliation ... demands personal confession
23 s service of forgiveness and reconciliation is the brainchild of former
24 the case for forgiveness and reconciliation <h> Special Report on at
25 turns into forgiveness and reconciliation -- in Greenaway's view, because
26 lives, seeking forgiveness and reconciliation, seeking, in a sense, the t
27 reporting: <p> Forgiveness and reconciliation--that's the theme President sp
28 the TRC is that forgiveness and reconciliation must be linked with matters
29 matters. For forgiveness and reconciliation, there must be some admission
30 sin, conversion, forgiveness and reconciliation demands the personal confession
31 shame and blame. Forgiveness and reconciliation form the heartbeat of the peopl
32 Secondly, forgiveness and reconciliation, being central to the Gospel, s
33 God and our own forgiveness and reconciliation are vital, but just a start.
34 justice, shalom, forgiveness and reconciliation. <p> Smith, a member of Ottawa'
35 the country. If forgiveness and reconciliation seemed to come naturally to
36 the process of healing and reconciliation in Northern Ireland, including
37 EP; 6.30 Service of healing and reconciliation. PORTSMOUTH CATHEDRAL: 8 HC; 10
38 a new dawn" of healing and reconciliation to Israel's divided society. A
39 tell their story of healing and reconciliation. Corrymeela and the many other
40 there the love, healing, and reconciliation he had preached for years but
41 development, heritage and reconciliation. And the gift shop contains
42 But in a week when homage and reconciliation have been the prevailing note,
43 Mr Hinton said humanitarian and reconciliation work should now be given Manue
44 affair to talk about hurt and reconciliation in a personal context. `I took
45 Letter: Courage, imagination and reconciliation for VJ Day </h> By TOM EGAN
46 to encourage the integration and reconciliation of both forces in American
47 for peace and justice and reconciliation." It wasn't to be. Firstly,
48 most circumstances, justice and reconciliation are in the end the most pros
49 prayers for 'peace, justice and reconciliation" in London and Canterbury pra
50 prayers for peace, justice and reconciliation, while Muslim leaders issued a
51 Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation (1870-74), Instruction in the
52 girls being boys, true love and reconciliation). One minute Mark Rylance is an
53 last month was one of love and reconciliation. `This death penalty thing is a

54 alternative. The mediation and reconciliation process through the The plan c
 55 <p> The Federal Mediation and Reconciliation Service will step in to mediate
 56 argues that negotiation and reconciliation is the only way to protect
 57 accord of non-aggression and reconciliation. But the sensitive and <p> T
 58 agreement on non-aggression and reconciliation. That accord was drawn up a
 59 of the tide of openness and reconciliation which had torn away the Iron
 60 of pounds from an EU `peace and reconciliation fund" and from a training and
 61 spoke of the need for peace and reconciliation and asked the two men to as a
 62 instrument for peace and reconciliation," and `Coca-Cola and mcdonald's
 63 as a vivid symbol of peace and reconciliation across ethnic and cultural- was
 64 coming together in peace and reconciliation, all over El Salvador. <p> li
 65 guided by a spirit of peace and reconciliation. Without forgetting the past, I
 66 only then will we have peace and reconciliation." <p> Mr O'Driscoll, admitted i
 67 is through the path of peace and reconciliation. We hope he will also realise
 68 Glencree Centre for Peace and Reconciliation, the Co-operation North non- vo
 69 People's Centre for Peace and Reconciliation is to be opened. Meanwhile I
 70 the movement towards peace and reconciliation." And he claimed there had been
 71 from noon, seeking peace and reconciliation. Many are already rebuilding
 72 In the present era of peace and reconciliation, we should make a gesture and
 73 West, who tend to mix peace and reconciliation and brotherhood and warmth and
 74 at a day of prayer for peace and reconciliation, a ceremonial show of unity ap
 75 only one route to peace and reconciliation in South Africa and that was at
 76 outcome to the Dare II peace and reconciliation talks being held in Jakarta
 77 said he would work for peace and reconciliation. He also called for an end to
 78 and prayed for peace and reconciliation. More recently, she visited
 79 to send a message of peace and reconciliation to the world because of Germany
 80 Manuel Camacho Solis, Peace and Reconciliation Commissioner appointed by
 81 I'm not into peace and reconciliation. It's not about people kissing
 82 yesterday to plead for peace and reconciliation. <p> Rodney King (Alleged rep
 83 Alatas to establish a peace and reconciliation commission for East Timor but
 84 for some programmes on Peace and Reconciliation for Thames Television. I had wh
 85 <h> Ethiopian peace and reconciliation conference called for this for
 86 people, as a column of peace and reconciliation in your land, and a consolation
 87 in Kosovo personified peace and reconciliation through dialogue, it was Fehmi
 88 be the celebration of Peace and Reconciliation, marked in London by a service
 89 It is time for peace and reconciliation." These were the words to the
 90 and of the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation, the assembly set up by Albert
 91 of establishing a peace and reconciliation commission, like the South
 92 at the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation in Dublin, Mr Major said: `If
 93 to support the peace and reconciliation process in Guatemala." The
 94 the Verona Forum for peace and reconciliation in former Yugoslavia. Nobody
 95 conference on peace and reconciliation held in Belfast last week. Not
 96 told the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation in Dublin: `I believe firmly Le
 97 in the sport". With peace and reconciliation now on the agenda, mcguigan
 98 in the promotion of peace and reconciliation with Japan. This provoked to
 99 of forgiveness, peace and reconciliation. He praised a secret network of
 100 Jesus Christ is peace and reconciliation; He is the link that makes both
 101 a dedicated worker for peace and reconciliation. At this point in the story the
 102 August 2001 </dt> <p> PEACE and reconciliation groups in Northern Ireland say
 103 nuclear problem and peace and reconciliation on the Korean Peninsula;
 104 the momentum for peace and reconciliation and to help overcome the a
 105 be a lively debate on race and reconciliation issues. The Murri Venue will
 106 is proof against all reason and reconciliation. <p> Where Mr Hague failed, why
 107 necessitating rebirth and reconciliation to God (John 3:3; 8:42; 14:6).
 108 toward reconstruction and reconciliation activities in Bosnia. <p> As a
 109 about an era of redemption and reconciliation. Under God's domination, it was
 110 it's time for reflection and reconciliation among people, we ... ought to
 111 road to his rehabilitation, and reconciliation with the club's management, <
 112 a service of remembrance and reconciliation in the new cathedral this
 113 was a weekend of remembrance and reconciliation. But the Daily Mail, seizing an
 114 and Mabo and the republic and reconciliation ... all the Keating favourites.
 115 Conflict resolution and reconciliation took on a central importance.
 116 was entitled Reason, Respect and Reconciliation in New York City, and today <p>
 117 is a time for restraint and reconciliation, though I would be more prayer
 118 Commission for Human Rights and Reconciliation (Comision Cubana de Derechos
 119 endurance, self-discovery and reconciliation. That does not come cheap,
 120 vote Yes to peace, stability and reconciliation and a decisive No to violence
 121 Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation, South Brisbane. THANKS to Tony
 122 Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation and become an ANTAR volunteer;
 123 achievement of tolerance and reconciliation. This belief in the possibility
 124 of partnership, trust and reconciliation. No one was defeated These are
 125 the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation. They will be bringing out an
 126 told South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Committee of the `immeasurable
 127 she summons up the truth and reconciliation hearings, you have to girls be
 128 not amongst them." Truth and Reconciliation Commission chief investigator
 129 even of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. There is scant of
 130 from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Gala coordinator

131 South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission has made findings ac
 132 accused South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission of "besmirching" the
 133 South African-style truth and reconciliation commission. <p> The act will be
 134 the historical truth and reconciliation. Elliott may reflect the true
 135 final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Cape Town High
 136 work of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. <p> It follows four
 137 Biko in 1977. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's amnesty committee
 138 of South Africa's truth and reconciliation commission is being called for
 139 educating for justice, truth and reconciliation. It has vowed to seek its su
 140 its success. If the Truth and Reconciliation Commission were to make a real
 141 government created a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to expose apartheid'
 142 evidence before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which is of rese
 143 Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, the new SA's attempt to come
 144 of no such clarity. A Truth and Reconciliation Commission seemed a masterly e
 145 the 17 members of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, whose job over the
 146 through the new Truth and Reconciliation Commission. But this argument
 147 by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission and could face
 148 with proposals for a "truth and reconciliation" commission. The threat is
 149 guy?: In October the Truth and Reconciliation committee accused FW de Klerk
 150 be over and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work done, but in
 151 held by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, when he opposed an
 152 process begun by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, former security
 153 Desmond Tutu's Truth and Reconciliation Commission yesterday, amid
 154 to the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee, prepared after guy
 155 came from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which concluded that
 156 of research at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The man at
 157 Her concept of "truth and reconciliation" and naming the guilty" does
 158 who the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission - which did not mak
 159 making it public. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, set up as part of
 160 of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission suggest that the gu
 161 before the proposed "truth and reconciliation" has drawn sharp wi
 162 however, was that truth and reconciliation are as hard to find in the new
 163 end yesterday. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission turned its attention
 164 </date> ALTHOUGH THE Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work and its
 165 DESMOND TUTU, TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSIONER. "Let us all hold
 166 to appear before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, for instance).
 167 in his foreword to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report. Deputy Bu
 168 Commission for Truth and Reconciliation. Their mandate was to come up
 169 model South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Mr Hun Sen's He app
 170 He appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission last July to testify
 171 prospect of finding truth and reconciliation still seems impossibly distant.
 172 strategy of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which he chaired m
 173 The plan called for a truth and reconciliation commission, free access to the
 174 attends South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Occasionally self-
 175 A commission for truth and reconciliation has been set up to investigate
 176 Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, which is investigating human
 177 to light by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but the small outco
 178 been refused by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, on the ground that
 179 to a report by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The report claims
 180 Diplomats said a "truth and reconciliation commission" provided for in the
 181 Reettiger report (the truth and reconciliation report drawn up at the end of
 182 committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that he agreed to
 183 the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee report last year, Kl
 184 Klerk insisted to the truth and reconciliation commission that the state
 185 wept before the truth and reconciliation commission TRC) as she recalled
 186 think in the spirit of truth and reconciliation. The suggestion that the apart
 187 apartheid regime; the Truth and Reconciliation Committee was a waste of time
 188 by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in return for attend
 189 telling ends: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission finishes most of its
 190 the role of a new "truth and reconciliation commission". As the tellin
 191 to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Story I'm About
 192 by a commission for truth and reconciliation" made up of seven lawyers from
 193 the setting up of a "truth and reconciliation committee" to ensure the bank
 194 has to be understanding and reconciliation, but also justice -- criminals
 195 tide of real understanding and reconciliation. In a word, we must not simply
 196 and the Trade Union and Reconciliation choirs. Rotunda, midday to 2. o
 197 appealed for national unity and reconciliation to overcome the country's Comm
 198 was peace, unity and reconciliation. President Chissano of a se
 199 people and to bring unity and reconciliation. We will have looked a beast in
 200 Iraq was still very wide, and reconciliation was not at hand. President

Paper 12, 2010a: COLLOCATION AS INSTRUMENTATION FOR MEANING: A SCIENTIFIC FACT

This paper notes Firth's requirement that scientific facts do not exist until they are claimed. The paper makes this claim.

Keywords:

Collocation, corpus, stylistics, instrumentation, delexicalisation, relexicalisation, science, empiricism, philosophy of language, chunking, context of situation, context of culture, worlds, intuition, subtext, symbolism, co-selection.

1) Introduction

J.R. Firth wrote that scientific facts do not exist until they are claimed (in F.R. Palmer ed., 1968: 43) according to scientific criteria. This paper sets out to claim scientific status for collocation as multi-purpose instrumentation for language. In doing so, it will demonstrate the power of collocation as a single, reliable form of instrumentation for language as: (1) the main linguistic source of empirical access to the context of situation and culture (Firth, 1957; Malinowski, 1935; Sinclair, 2006); (2) the primary empirical means for data-assisted reading in general, such as the detection of spin. This almost invariably involves the reading of suasive texts for what is missing from them physically but remains instantiated empirically and recoverably in their collocates (Louw, 2004; Mahlberg, (Chapter 7, in Hoey et al, 2007: 196). Corpus stylistics uses the same techniques (Louw, 2007a); (3) the determinant of verbal art (Louw, 2007b) and the sketcher of literary worlds (Louw, 2007b; 2008a); (4) the source of markedness (Enkvist, 1973) of all literary devices, including humour through relexicalisation (Louw, 2008a; 2008b), all other mentalist theories, such as that of lexical priming (Hoey, 2005) being only purportedly (Louw, 2007c) rather than recoverably marked; (5) semantic prosody (Louw, 1993; 2000); and (6) the means for automating or falsifying literary, linguistic and stylistic theories (Louw, 2008c; 2010, forthcoming).

The major concern of this paper will be to explain collocation as a scientifically respectable instrument and to demonstrate and integrate its use in the digital automation

of deeper forms of reading, criticism, methodology and the automation or falsification of linguistic and stylistic theories.

2) Science, collocation and the question of method

Paradigm shifts in science invariably require for their successful occurrence either new discoveries or the irrational replacement of one paradigm with another as science begins to 'prefer' a new paradigm to an existing one (Bullock and Trombley, 2000: 755). But for the signal absence of the computer, the worlds of philosophy, linguistics and science might have been ready for momentous changes leading to linguistic instrumentation as early as 1921. However, the synergy created by the scholarship of Frege (1884), Wittgenstein (1922), Carnap, (1928), Russell (1946), Firth, (1957) Malinowski (1935) and Markoff (1913) has remained temporarily both analogue and end-stopped because of the absence of the computer at that time. The possibility of all factors necessary for a scientific revolution coming together has always fired the imagination of theorists. For example, Caspi (1998) speculates on the forms of deliberation that might have taken place between distinguished scholars in the rooms in Cambridge of C.P. Snow on the eve of the creation of the first computer. Snow's fictional list of invitees included Alan Turing (1912-1954), who is generally acknowledged as the inventor of modern computing. British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown recently apologized to Turing's family for the manner in which Alan had been treated on account of his gender orientation. Brown did not mention the extent to which Turing's 'thinking machine' had been seen as a threat to security.

However, this paper proposes a more scientific alternative based upon the manifest ability of collocation to falsify or automate not only the theories of philosophers, linguists and stylisticians, but also its ability to falsify fake institutions. These are the intellectual (*sic*) products of spin doctors in collaboration, often secretly and with the direct assistance of qualified professionals within the law and the unspoken support of governments. British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown declared that spin was dead, but as recently as April, 2009, it was discovered that the spin section based at 12 Downing Street was still in place. Among the issues apparently dealt with by this organization were the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (Louw, 2003) and the Weapons of Mass Destruction Report [WMDR] that went missing shortly before the

invasion of Iraq. The invitation back into government of Lord Mandelson may well turn out to be a related event.

The advent of collocation as instrumentation for language (Louw, 2007a; 2007b; 2008a), will involve the removal of huge obstacles within the discipline of linguistics. These include inter alia the demotion of syntax, the disappearance of word-meaning, the dismissal of concepts and the demise through their direct falsification of intuitively-derived theories (Louw, 2007d). The fact that this move is already under way may sound unsettling, but there is nothing about it that J.R. Firth had not foreseen in 1957 as he wrote the lines below that formed the impetus of John Sinclair's research on collocation and culminated in the OSTI Report (Krishnamurthy, 2004).

Meaning by collocation is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level and is not directly concerned with the conceptual or idea approach to the meaning of words. One of the meanings of night is its collocability with dark. (Firth, 1957:181) (emphasis added)

The scientific facts to which this paper lays claim have already been set out (Louw, 2000; now also kindly reprinted by Professor Francois Rastier: <http://www.revue-texto.net/index.php?id=124>) but, at the time, that paper was written only in the expectation that the community of linguists would accept it as science. This did not occur. These same scientific claims will now be pursued more vigorously in this paper.

As a direct result of the automation, by digital collocation of Firth's remarks above, we are likely to find in future that an absence of empiricism within a theory will come to be synonymous with the presence of intuitively-derived and hence falsifiable elements (Popper, 1959; see also Preston, 2008; Chateau: 2010).

It may be the case that the scientific revolution involving collocation as instrumentation for language will need to be dealt with, at least initially, *not* by linguists, but by representatives of those sections of scholarship that possess better-established conventions for dealing with both the nature and advent of paradigm shifts. In other words, it may be better to involve *philosophers* (who deal with uncertain knowledge) and *scientists* (to whom philosophers hand over knowledge once they can prove that its status has become 'settled') (Russell, 1960: 11). Sadly, linguists and stylisticians continue to cling to 'schools of thought' with such a high degree of sentimentality that it

is likely to place them in danger of clouding their own scientific judgment (Louw, 2003).

But, when John Sinclair used the term ‘trust the text’ for the first time at a conference on Systemic Functional Linguistics in July 1990 and later as the title of a book, was he motivated by a sense of ecumenism alone? His motive was to see the corpus as a form of truth within theory that was so compelling as to be converting, and this to the point that his readers might abandon their existing theories for new ones: ‘It is impossible to study patterned data without some theory, however primitive’ (Sinclair, 2004a: 10). There *is* theory here. No filing cabinet is implied. The corpus was to be accorded the respect or primacy due to it. No linguists responded. Russell (1948) had the same intention. He was appalled when his readership failed to notice the scientific power that he had brought to logical positivism by refining it in the direction of logical atomism. Apparently responsible academics sailed blithely on into the future of scholarship in the absence of the scientific rigour that Russell had provided. As a result, knowledge that was fairly settled remained with philosophy. It was not handed over to science, as convention within philosophy demands. The machinery has become ‘stuck’ and the belated handover needs now to be prompted.

2.1 The decision to involve philosophy and science.

Some appreciation of the evidence involved is to be found routinely in the appearance and content of a simple KWIC (Key Word in Context) concordance (See also, Sinclair, 2004b). A concordance may be a better vehicle for explaining the paradigm shift than any exposition merely written in prose. Just as Sinclair uses the term ‘chunking’ (1991: 124; Sinclair and Maurenen, 2006: *passim*) to refer to the way in which readers break texts up into meaningful units, so digital collocation, ‘abstracted from syntax’ (Firth, 1957: 196) ‘chunks’ experience into the facts, states of affairs or *Sachverhalten* that comprise the world. Wittgenstein (1922: 7) effectively described the world with great economy about 73 years before the second edition of the *Cobuild Dictionary* marked the advent of corpora large enough for the present tasks of automation and falsification (Sinclair, 1995).

1. *The world is all that is the case*
 - 1.2 *The world is the totality of facts not of things*
- (Wittgenstein, 1922: 7)

Seen today from a Wittgensteinian perspective, the frequency lists that accompanied the creation of the first corpus-based dictionaries dealt mostly with things (produced as ‘thin’ word lists), whereas the collocates of those ‘things’ chunk the context of situation and culture into facts or *Sachverhalten* (Sinclair, 2006) (produced as ‘fat’ concordances) and force us to recognise the moment at which collocation automates Wittgenstein’s (1922) Picture Theory of Meaning. This means that if collocates that are *co-selected*, are capable between them of chunking a repeatable state of affairs or *fact* (*Sachverhalt*), that fact will correspond to the first of two theses that Wittgenstein proposed in the *Tractatus*: (1) the propositions of factual language are pictures; and, (2) the propositions of logic are tautologies (Mautner, 2000: 602). Wittgenstein was convinced that the latter might be dropped in favour of what he termed ‘the logic of our own language’. Tautologies picture nothing (Urmson, 1956). The computer is capable of demonstrating that apparent tautologies, such as *business is business* when taken from corpora of natural language are, *facts* or *Sachverhalten* (states of affairs). We can only speculate about how Russell might have reacted to the fact that the phrase is uttered by persons to anyone whose requests threaten profitability.

Wittgenstein’s (1922) definition of facts or what Russell (1946: 298) later terms events (see also, Louw, 2008c) have much in common. This is doubtless the product of their acrimonious but deep collaboration at Cambridge. Wittgenstein not only defines facts as states of affairs, but he locates them within logical space, an issue that is at the centre of his vision for ‘natural language philosophy’ in both his early and later work.

An example of instrumentation in action is in order at this point.

(Source: *The Times*, 1995)

MicroConcord search SW: untenable CW: position

80 characters per entry Sort : 2L/SW unshifted.

1 alternative to what has become an untenable position over Bosnia. Russia has
2 s position has become increasingly untenable. As chief executive of securities t
3 8, said his position had been made untenable. He added: "I am taking legal advic
4 n, M Juppe's position could become untenable. Last night M Juppe dismissed the r
5 res could make Mr Davis's position untenable; he submitted a report to the Natio
6 hat Mr Lewis's position had become untenable when the Parkhurst trio escaped: Ju
7 y regulator's position had become "untenable". After that meeting with his cha
8 o sterling, she found her position untenable. She recalls her embarrassment when

9 Mr Crawford had found his position untenable after the Princess gave the interview.
10 n. Mr Banks, 58, found his position untenable after his constituency party voted
11 ions that could make his position untenable. The Editor of the News of the World
12 a cover-up will make his position untenable. MPs believe he should have found
13 revelations would make his position untenable. Jack Cunningham, Labour's Shadow N
14 saying that he finds his position untenable. "It is no longer possible for me to
15 M Juppe's position awkward, if not untenable. The Government's embarrassment was
16 failed, leaving the company in an "untenable position". Fay was sent back to Bri
17 bsidiaries found "themselves in an untenable position". The failure of the com
18 ways instruct her. But she's in an untenable position now. They'll have to make
19 Shell Group find themselves in an untenable position and feel it is not possibl
20 r. Such a position is increasingly untenable and will culminate in a humiliating
21 r post as her position is becoming untenable. She has sold her Washington house
22 governments had made its position untenable. It would now seek permission to di
23 tions, to make Mr Major's position untenable. This theory does not stand up. The
24 Date> <Headline>Easby moves into untenable position</headline> <byline>By Da
25 cribed Claes's position in Nato as untenable. "The highest court does not lightl
26 ip described London's position as "untenable and unobtainable". The statement ca
27 rce: Pennant-Rea's position became untenable not so much because it was immoral
28 on-event". But his position became untenable when Judge Jean-Marie d'Huy, in cha
29 old Mr Lewis that his position was untenable and discussed a statement that coul
30 r Foster, but that position became untenable when the nominee shone at his confi
31 at the SIB's present position was "untenable". The directors gave their "full su
32 hat the SIB's present position is "untenable". He and his fellow frontline reg
33 chael thought Lewis's position was untenable," said an aide. "There was no way h
34 ite rare. If someone's position is untenable, they usually resign." Anyone fac
35 lead to Mr Li's position becoming untenable, despite the protection he has from
36 to make his position increasingly untenable." Alan Williams, Labour member of
37 y "pro-choice" position completely untenable. Many Republicans would probably
38 the Home Secretary's position was untenable. Downing Street reiterated, however
39 , realised that their position was untenable. Therefore, they invoked force maje
40 n. In the end, the position became untenable. "Margin calls have been made and
41 uld make their position absolutely untenable. However, Malcolm Rifkind, the Defe
42 to make his position increasingly untenable." Much of the questioning by Mr P
43 said that Mr Aitken's position was untenable. "The unavoidable fact is that he w
44 ead him to believe his position is untenable. Nobody with the good of the Engl
45 ake the Prince of Wales's position untenable," said Lord St John of Fawsley. "He
46 ritain's position was increasingly untenable. "While that case runs, the other c
47 d Lord Mackay's position would be "untenable" if his divorce reforms, which have

In the example above, the output of the concordancer indicates that the node *untenable*, **co-selected** with the context word *position*, no more than 4 words apart, occur 47 times as collocates in the continuous newspaper corpus of 44 million words (one calendar year's worth of newspaper, kindly supplied to the author by the late Tim Johns) from which they were drawn. This means that they occur almost once every million words, or once every 948,881 words to be precise. The co-selected expression marks with great precision a particular state of affairs or *Sachverhalt* in Wittgenstein's (1922: 7) terms that could not be isolated by any other form of digital instrumentation available to us, apart from a collocator with a co-selection facility.

Other forms of technology provide only a partial picture. For example, a frequency list for the language that informs us of the frequency ranking of the term *position* would be of no use to us at all. Such a list, as mentioned earlier, concentrates on what Wittgenstein would have classified as *things* rather than *Sachverhalten* or facts. It is only because the two co-selected terms together constitute a fact in Wittgenstein's terms, i.e. a combination of function and argument (*Fa*) in Frege's (1884) method or a

Russellian event (Russell, 1948: 97), that the empiricism of the concordance is helpful to the point of providing us with an accessible, respectable, scientific extract from the vast empiricism of experience captured within a corpus.

Notice that this concordance represents a fairly common event that appears in no dictionary, but is, nonetheless instantly recognisable. Collocation automates Frege's (1885) distinction between *Sense and Reference* well as the theories of Firth (1957) and Malinowski (1935). Furthermore, proof that the philosophers were thinking along the lines of differentiating items such as events and occasions is to be found in the following quote from the philosopher A.J. Ayer. Note how accurately it describes the content of a concordance such as the one above, long before such concordances became available. As we read it, we appreciate the disservice that linguistics has done philosophy by failing to point out, on an interdisciplinary level, the fact that settled knowledge has arrived.

“What we are seeking is a difference in type, a difference in the way the respective ranges are constituted, and I think that I can see what this difference is, though I have not been able to find a very satisfactory way of describing it. In the case of a predicate, the ground which we have for saying that the different occasions to which it applies exemplify the same situation, namely the situation which the predicate signifies, is the situation of qualitative resemblance.

(Ayer, 1954: 13)

2.2) No ‘event’ dictionary exists: instrumentation makes it unnecessary

The event set out above is instantly recognisable to all adult readers, some of whom may have experienced the phrase both at first hand and poignantly, immediately prior to the request for their resignation on account of some misdemeanour, purported or real. These ‘*misdemeanours*’ mostly occur linguistically to the *left* of the component words of the co-selected expression. To the *right* we may expect the outcome or result of finding one's position untenable (e.g. lines 20 and 34). Note how the concordance acts as an instrument of event-analysis: the node (which effectively divides the page in half down the middle) declares the cessation of tolerance for the misdemeanour to the left of it and points to the resolution of the problem or attitudes of defiance to the right.

If the phrase *position+untenable* does not fall within the direct experience as sense-data (Russell, 1912) of reader/hearers, such reader/hearers are still likely to be aware of this type of event because it may have affected their colleagues or acquaintances in the past.

Within Bertrand Russell's (1948) work, the term *sense-datum* is gradually replaced during its development by the better-elaborated term *event*. Each concordance line is likely to represent a separate instance of a similar event. We saw this desire earlier also in the passage quoted from the pre-computational work of Ayer. This apparently unremarkable fact accounts for the huge effort of standardisation that we witness in other disciplines: the creation of laboratory conditions required for an experiment.

So, where, we may ask, is the philosophical and scientific power in what we are witnessing as we stare at this concordance? The answer to this question would have induced a sense of shock in the pre-computational mind. However, the post-computational mind may already, today, find the explanation banal, even where an explanation has never before been attempted. Much of the power is to be found in the fact that co-selection concentrates upon a particular type of event and upon no other. The 'logic of our own language' as Wittgenstein ([1953] 2005: 93, section 345) termed it, is easily spotted if and only if a particular state of affairs is isolated by and as the product of collocational co-selection. All the other events of human life except the one being observed are of no concern unless they share the same collocates as those that have been co-selected.

Within the space of the calendar year of a newspaper corpus, all the other intervening states of affairs of daily life are, as it were, lost between the individual citations or concordance lines. The concordancer, by co-selection, selects facts from life and simultaneously keeps the empiricism pure by trimming away all other factual experience. The procedure and method are their own Petri dish (Louw, 2008b; 2008d).⁴

The time gap between two contiguous concordance lines may be of significance to any future science that chooses to deal with the nature of events. For example, *untenable positions* may occur only a matter of weeks apart, while events such as military activity carried out by mercenaries may occur only once every seven years (Louw, 2008c)⁵. Events such as the appearance of Halley's Comet may rate a mention more frequently than the comet appears physically, but the time between different appearances of the

⁴ Naturally, there are exceptions to this co-occurrence, but very often they form part of the relexicalisation common to all devices. For example, data-assisted copy-writing in an advertising agency may have been involved in a competition promotion showing a young woman opening a container of yoghurt and cutting to a shot of the same girl, much more scantily clad on a sunny beach. The text stated: 'Peel the top off of an X brand yoghurt and you could be peeling your top off on a tropical island!'

⁵ This paper formed part of a presentation at *Corpus 2009* in Liverpool in July 2009.

comet may be isolated by co-selecting dates such as 18* or 19*. However we proceed, only the co-selected facts will appear. All other events in a 44 million-word corpus or even a 550 million-word corpus are held in abeyance until they become material to the picture embodied in a separate search. Once a co-selection has been made, all other events are shut out by the instrumentation and are shown the door (Pears, 1971: 70), because Wittgenstein's method not only identifies the properties of states of affairs, but it shows us, simultaneously, what states of affairs are *not*. This accords with John Sinclair's dual vision (1991: 25) of *life* being sampled by a corpus of natural language that is itself a *living* document 'of no final extent'. Everything else is relegated to the background while the concordancer focuses upon one event alone that has been singled out for consideration. One powerful aspect of the instrumentation is that all other potential distractions from the stream of experience are shut out while a single event is dealt with (Louw, 2008b).

The process allows us particularly powerful findings as we open each context for closer reading: men whose position is untenable often refuse to resign and do not do so. Women in the same position may refuse to resign but are ultimately generally removed from office *by men*. Thus, when we next encounter the expression *position+untenable*, our question as reader/hearer will no longer be: 'What was the offence?' but 'Is the accused male or female?' Intuition has literally become data-driven by the empiricism of the example (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 44).

3. Collocation and Semantic Prosody

Further scientific proof for collocation as instrumentation is to be found in the fact that events are shaped probabilistically and logically (Carnap, 1956). Each event carries with it a predictable coterie of accompanying collocates. Many of these determine its precise nature and structure as a fact. For example, an event that involves the formation of an untenable position may not solidify overnight. The situation may develop and deteriorate progressively over a period of time. Collocates will mark this within the event and verifiably across other corpora of natural language. The forms *increasingly*, *become* and *became* testify to this in the concordance above.

A similar profiling of collocates characterizes other events, for example where the term events is itself metalingually involved in a reversal. In the case of the node *turn+of+events*, the collocates combine to offer a semantic prosody (Louw, 1993; 2000)

of unexpectedness and shock. Note how the ontological meaning of the semantic prosody is found to subsist more vividly in the disruption of expectation caused by a *turn of events* rather than anything inherent in the contextual situation to the left or to the right of the node within particular instances. These collocates of surprise and shock are set out in bold type in the concordance below. Items that appear in bold, italics and underlined are candidates for being considered ironic or insincere as turns of events. Exceptions to a semantic prosody are at the heart of their scientific respectability because the exceptions have their own descript structure (Bacon, 1605). Some turns of events manifestly operate to the advantage of others, especially where they have been engineered (Louw, 1993). Those who find a turn of events delightful, positive or amusing are themselves ‘read’ morally by the event itself. Such instances indicate the availability of empiricism for carrying out ethical evaluations of situations using natural language, an issue hitherto deemed virtually impossible by modern philosophers, but always included by ancient Western philosophy as a component of its four-part syllabus: metaphysics, epistemology, ethics and aesthetics. An example from the Bank of English records that Adolf Hitler, upon hearing that Japan had joined the war on the side of Germany ‘...was delighted by this turn of events.’

We find in the concordance below that the sense of shock is often most keenly felt where the narrative takes the form of averral as testimony in the first person; for example, by someone who has just realized that he/she is being *framed*.

MicroConcord search SW: turn of events

Source: Times 1995 Corpus

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1L/SW unshifted.

1 things **suddenly** got **worse** with a turn of events so **improbable** that I still can't
2 shareholders, be party to such a turn of events"? The answer is simple. There is
3 **osing** his wicket to Salisbury, a turn of events not at all to the young man's ta
4 ecause, last week, in an **amazing** turn of events, I found myself nodding in agree
5 ment of **defeat**. This **astonishing** turn of events was the **result** of several factor
6 when Asprey unveiled the latest turn of events in its colourful history. The
7 yers were **dismayed** by the latest turn of events, which **interrupted** a critical ph
8 xpress my **distress** at the recent turn of events (report, February 13). I can u
9 s much **frustration** at the second turn of events as he did pleasure over the firs
10 o bowl his off-spin. A **strange** turn of events, which had everything to do with
11 re Italy invaded. The subsequent turn of events there meant that his pictures we
12 e UN forces is very **upset** at the turn of events, there being no intention to cau
13 wever, reasonably **happy** with the turn of events this season. They may not be dom
14 n Britain, are **astonished** at the turn of events. Cantona began this year in such
15 , to save the government. "The turn of events had left me in a **distraught stat**
16 We are frankly **astonished** at the turn of events. We were used to living rough an
17 opponent and were **aghast** at the turn of events. In America, from where the in
18 ters, are hugely **relieved** by the turn of events, keeping the player Ferguson des
19 Sanderson was **devastated** by the turn of events and later left Bovis, as the pro
20 Oxford's **disappointment** at this turn of events was allayed to some extent by Ca
21 Brian were full of hope and this turn of events was totally **unexpected** for them
22 in a gay disco. Crucially, this turn of events **threatens** the lifelong friendshi
23 them again after September. This turn of events will, I am sure, **inspire** Donald
24 st have been a further **unnerving** turn of events for Spring. Spring had led the L

It is worth noting that these levels of determinism satisfy Berofsky (1971) rather less than they might Malinowski (1935), Russell (1946) or Sinclair, (2006). However, there is no doubt that we are witnessing converting levels of scientific attainment within attempts to make contextual and co-textual studies reliable empirically, just as Firth had envisaged and often well beyond the realm of syntax alone.

Meaning by collocation is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level and is not directly concerned with the conceptual or idea approach to the meaning of words. One meaning of night is its collocability with dark [...] (in Palmer, 1957 [1968]: 197)

Futhermore, Russell (1946) makes a key concession that enables philosophy to effect the handover of settled knowledge to science. What follows below is of key importance to the claiming of a scientific fact and upon it our case rests. Almost all of Russell (1948) is devoted to deduction. The fact that it received very little attention from his readership may our best indication of why the handover to science has become a grey area.

induction is an independent logical principle, incapable of being inferred either from experience or from other logical principles, and that without this principle science is impossible. (Russell, 1946: 647)

A key criterion of science is versatility of application. This paper continues by offering examples associated with the domains set out in the introduction. The illustrations that follow are all in the nature of applied studies in digital collocation.

3.1 Literary worlds as collocation

Wittgenstein (1922:7) may have envisaged the possible existence of Frege's (1884) *subsets* of *that* world that is the set of all sets. Some of these might well be termed fictional worlds (Sinclair, 1987), although they might be deemed by philosophers to subsist with another branch of philosophy: aesthetics. Either way, this would constitute further proof that collocation is instrumentation for literary or fictional worlds and is fairly easily supplied, both within corpora of a writer's work and by comparing it with the world as sampled by large corpora of natural language (Louw, 2008a). Differences of quality would be recoverable in the lexical fabric of the corpus. One might

hypothesise that a corpus of fiction is likely to be more strongly lexicalised. The world of a literary artist such as a poet will be characterized not by its things, but by its facts or states of affairs. If we study the descending word frequency list for the collected poetry of Philip Larkin, we find that by the time that we reach the first fully lexicalised words in his poetry, we are immediately thrown back upon collocation to deal with our discovery through empiricism of such a major insight into his literary world. The pair of words to be examined usually comes as a surprise to readers and is not attested by their intuition as we shall see below. In the case of Larkin, these terms are *day* and *night*. Note how the former is tinged with the latter within the poet's world-viewn the sample concordance that follows.

MicroConcord search SW: day

80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

(Source: *The Collected Poetry of Philip Larkin*, edited by Anthony Thwaite, 1988, Faber and Faber, London and Boston.)⁶

1 ng I got up and it did not. The first day after a death, the new absence Is alwa
2 oss for half the night, but find next day All's kodak-distant. Easily, then (tho
3 s thunderstorms, Holds up each summer day and shakes It out suspiciously, lest s
4 With shovel and spade; That each dull day and each despairing act Builds up the
5 d for her own attending, And there by day and night with her blithe bone mending
6 6 May 1977 [207] Aubade I work all day, and get half-drunk at night. Waking a
7 ss of night Swamps the bright nervous day, and puts it out. In other times, when
8 e time, Half-past eleven on a working day, And these picked out of it; see, as t
9 her getting away Now she's there all day, And the money he gets for wasting his
10 es. Wedding-Wind The wind blew all my wedding-day, And my wedding-night was the
11 ing and the dark is sleep And twice a day before their gate We kneel between the
12 s in our summer wear Brother, and the day Breathes coldly from fields far away A
13 ing provides for. What can it do each day But hunt that imminent door Through wh
14 osite) won't achieve. That's clear as day. But come back late at night, You'll h
15 rotics No one gives you a thought, as day by day You drag your feet, clay-thick
16 to join us? In a pig's arse, friend. Day comes to an end. The gas fire breathes
17 ess faces: Gold surf of the sun, each day Exhausted through the world, gathers a
18 ld mingle, and the night would not Be day's exhaustion; there would drift about
19 ghs up failure, Carries the night and day, fetches Profit from sleep, from skies
20 winds crying for that unbroken field, Day having lifted) Black flowers burst out
21 tempt of good and bad; But one Spring day his land was violated; A bunch of hors
22 -lifting arms. She was slapped up one day in March. A couple of weeks, and her f
23 al memory. So it was stale time then, day in, day out, Blue fug in the room, not
24 lways there: Unresting death, a whole day nearer now, Making all thought impossi
25 y. So it was stale time then, day in, day out, Blue fug in the room, nothing to
26 Above the sea, the yet more shoreless day, Riddled by wind, trails lit-up galler
27 ents, naturally. Thereafter night and day She came both for the sight Of his slo
28 xx 'Sinking like sediment through the day' Sinking like sediment through the day
29 lither - Creatures, I cherish you! By day, sky builds Grape-dark over the salt U
30 r's impressive lie - Upon whose every day So many ruined are May could not make
31 omething is always approaching; every day Till then we say, Watching from a bluf
32 ay' Sinking like sediment through the day To leave it clearer, onto the floor of
33 like long hills, a range We ride each day towards, and never reach. 17 November
34 nripe day you bore your head, And the day was plucked and tasted bitter, As if s
35 g to catch my Comet One dark November day, Which soon would snatch me from it To

⁶ This research was first reported by the author at the annual conference of The Poetics and Linguistics Association in Birmingham in 2002.

This selection of concordance lines above allows us to see that the term *day*, in spite of its empirical prominence, is almost entirely swamped by and at the mercy of night and those related forces that between them constitute the most empirically prominent semantic prosody within the private symbolism of Larkin's world. The collocates *dull*, *nervous*, *day in day out*, *all*, *sinking*, *bitter*, *night*, *grape-dark* begin to taint the term *day*, causing it to contain more of the blatant menace we associate with *night*.

The insights gained from this type of analysis have the further advantage of allowing us to develop and bring to fruition in the digital era, Enkvist's (1973) notion of markedness in stylistics. Enkvist was unable to state the source of that markedness as clearly as has now become possible using collocation. The collocates of day in Larkin's poetry enable us to hypothesise that all literary devices are marked by means of the relexicalising agency of collocation (Louw, 1991; 2007b; 2008a). This operates within the 9-word window of collocative power identified by Sinclair (1991, 2004a: 181). It is optimally identified using a **co-selection** facility and a 4+4 span to the left and right of the node. Hence, all semantic prosodies are potential backdrops for ironic or insincere reversal. All literary and non-literary (such as humour) devices share the phenomenon of relexicalisation. 'All As are B' is a universal scientific proposition. In the context of this paper, 'All devices *relexicalise* through the power of collocation.' (Louw, 2010, forthcoming)

3.3 The implications of collocation for stylistics

This paper concludes with an example so compelling that the renowned poet Herbert Williams kindly offered the author permission for the use, in this paper, of the entire poem. The author first used this example in a class of second-year undergraduates. The philosopher under discussion in class was Rudolph Carnap (1891-1970). The proof that follows was offered as part of a detailed refutation of Hoey's (2005) and Whitsitt's (2005) rejection of semantic prosody and was circulated in a one-day workshop (June 2008) on semantic prosody at the University of Bologna Forlì, to which the author had not been invited by the organiser, Guy Aston. Second year students at the University of Zimbabwe were interested in verifying Carnap's (1928) theory of the logical

construction of the world. Mautner (2000) believes that Carnap's theory was 'too daring'.

He writes as follows:

Carnap proposed one framework constructed on a very slender basis consisting of one relation, 'remembrance of similarity', and basic data. The basic data are occurrences of total immediate experiences, and so-called sense-data are logical constructions based on those. A sensory quality is in turn defined on that basis. It did, however, become clear to critics, and to Carnap himself, that this construction project was too daring. (Mautner, 2000: 86)

The example below takes this further. The poet informs us that the protagonist in the poem set out below is dishonest and insincere. The string in bold print: ***a heart made bleak by sacrifice*** ought to be sufficient to trigger Carnap's 'remembrance of similarity' if it exists: it would take the form of 'a+blank+made+blank+by. A simple wildcard search *a * made * by* was used to trace in the British National Corpus precisely what the similarity that might have been remembered might be. Carnap's pre-computational prediction was that it would occur in the form of a sense-datum. The highest scoring collocate ('possible') is our guide to experience and hence is the string's inductive counterpart within corpus-based empiricism (see also Chapman, 2008: 168). Our intuition is incapable of recovering it. Only the computer can do this for us and modern software is often rather less able than Tim Johns's prototype concordancer, *MicroConcord* in carrying out simple wild-card searches. The reason why the co-selection on modern search engines is often syntax-bound is difficult to fathom. *WordSmith* allows co-selection, but Lookup (Bank of English) and CHAB (The Corpus Hub at Birmingham) do not. The power of collocation ought eventually to get rid of skip-search based models that require more ponderous forms of search instruction and are bound by the linearity of text in the way in which they function.

The result allows us to rest our case: The subtext (note how we have verified that old critical notion literally, see Cudden, 1980: 665) of the poem is that the protagonist through 'a knack of lies' has lived a comfortable life made possible by deception.

DAUGHTER OF THE HOUSE⁷

It is not love that keeps her here, tending
The stubborn enterprise of age. Her hands
Are clinical expressions of **a heart**
Made bleak by sacrifice, her eyes
Neutralise her therapeutic smile.

Love is an easy master, but her guile
Springs from more terrible demands.
It is the blood's dictatorship, bending
Her uninvited kinship to the part,
Masking indifference with a knack of lies. (Herbert Williams)

MicroConcord search SW: a * made * by
80 characters per entry Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 requiring the giving of reasons, a point made explicitly by Megarry V.C. in McIn
2 d set up in Threadneedle Street, a move **made possible** by his marriage on 9 Janua
3 law, since the damage must be of a kind made likely by the characteristics known
4 ural rights even more important, a point made cogently by Lord Wilberforce in Ma
5 t was a profession in name only (a point made indirectly by my lecturer who stud
6 ee what it would cost me to have a tank made up by the local chap that most enth
7 d guilty. The youths were black, a fact made clear by the relatively unusual use
8 urseries and botanical gardens – a trip **made possible** by the award of the first
9 ting seated events last year, in a move **made possible** by new developments in dem
10 ical equipment in the workplace, a task made compulsory by the UK's 1990 Electri
11 t he would have to do in 1962 is a leap made only by Gaullists predisposed to el
12 curing the reasons for doing so: a task made easier by his tortuous prose style.
13 Iranian revolution) on March 16, a loan **made possible** by the US decision to rema
14 ited impatiently, ill at ease in a room made noisome by vats and bubbling beaker
15 und up between low, stark trees. A path made dangerous by loose stones and snow.
16 ed to Shelley, and began to sing a song made famous by Miguelito, giving her a p
17 always been played at both ends, a fact made significant by Robson's assertion t
18 only really produce themselves, a fact made clear by Billy Nicholls' dire Would
19 n policies. More research is not a call made usually by conservationists – quite
20 icle of romance, gliding through a night made mysterious by more than fog. </p>
21 iving far above the Sussex norm, a situation made clear by the accounts of the l
22 ite the Leyton House team having a weekend made difficult by and act of sabotage
23 y sea from one State to another, a point made explicit by the Visby amendments.
24 of Israel's amen corner – to use a phrase made famous by a conservative columnis
25 group of acacias, standing above a village made golden by the late sun, blazed w
26 the mask of the temporal that is a facade made hideous by the graffiti of desire
27 man, M. Ghiglioni-Green rest upon a primitivism made permissible by the pre-World
28 rovision was included based upon a recommendation made earlier by Mr. Leathart.
29 reat house in a very short time, a transaction made easier by Browne's use of th
30 The country is in the depths of a recession, made worse by the worst drought in
31 ssion of necessary propositions, a discussion made necessary by Copleston's desi
32 relevant contextual assumptions (a point made nicely by Gumperz (1977) who calls
33 is which some journalists, using a phrase made popular by A.M. Klein, have refer
34 mble to the constitution itself, a blindness **made possible** by the ideological di
35 is concentrated in the cabinet, a situation **made possible** by a weak legislature
36 reach 100 megabits per second – a capacity **made possible** by France's planned sw
37 that now carry only one channel, a marvel **made possible** by digital compression.
38 humour: Surrealist objects like a tea-cup made useless by fur; and a pair of wh
(Source: The British National Corpus)

Apart from the negative semantic prosody on the string '**made bleak by sacrifice**' that can only be disclosed through access to the corpus, readers of the poem are offered no earlier hint than this line of the poem's concerns: the *duplicity* and abuse of power of

⁷ The author is grateful to the poet Herbert Williams (copyright holder of this poem) for his generous permission to use 'Daughter of the House' in its entirety and for his encouragement in the area of research being developed. Details of the book by Herbert Williams in which this poem appears are as follows: *Wrestling in the Mud: New and Selected Poems*, published by Cinnamon Press in 2007.

the daughter of the house. This is reminiscent of the line in Philip Larkin cited in Louw (1993: 162): ‘Days are where we live...’ that led to the first use in corpus stylistics of the predictive power of semantic prosody. This approach is taken further into the question of literary worlds in Louw (2010, forthcoming).

During his career, Carnap (1928) set about concentrating upon the language of science for the reason that he felt it was likely to bring scholarship closer to truth. It is worth concluding with the following expanded context from which the same string was extracted in a small scientific corpus.

*Such **a** system, **made realistic** by the rapid advances in VLSI technology, is said to be linearly connected if each processing element can only communicate directly with its two nearest neighbours*

(Source: Association for Computational Linguistics Data Collection Initiative.)

The term *realistic* arguably offers a more scientific perspective, perhaps, than the term *possible*. Science seems to favour truth over the manipulation of events to make them possible. The power of collocation in literary studies arises from the fact that collocates, whether they occur in the target text or in the reference corpus, *all* qualify for inclusion in the act of data-assisted reading.

In a recent volume by Watson and Zyngier (2007; Louw, 2007e) second language learners are offered insights into the value and power of corpus-based approaches to corpus stylistics. However, the concordance lines were ruined because they were not in 8 point Courier font and they spilled over the line ends and caused a new line to enter between each citation. The result has the valuable heuristic effect of demonstrating how easily the instrumentation works, but **only** in 8 point Courier. The instrumentation is completely **neutralized** by larger fonts. Sabotage in such cases cannot be ruled out. In a recent volume by Ron Carter and Peter Stockwell purporting to offer essential readings in stylistics, no papers on corpus stylistics were included. Carter has been aware of the approach since 1987, as Louw’s (1989) first ever paper on corpus stylistics, using large Cobuild corpora, was presented in his presence at St Hilda’s College in April 1987 (shortly *before* the publication of the first edition of the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary). In Watson and Zyngier (2007), Carter refers in its introduction to the ‘awesome power’ of the corpus, but seems not to have checked that the final version of Louw (2007e) contained the concordances in 8 point Courier. Watson and Zyngier (2007) was missing from the Palgrave table at PALA in Sheffield in July 2008. Copies

that were promised by the representative did not arrive. In the case of Louw (1989), Carter, who edited the collection, apparently and inexplicably omitted Louw's concordance lines from the COBUILD Reserve Corpora.

5. Conclusion

Instrumentation for language is at hand. Most countries in the world are signatories to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (as at 1 August, 1993, 122 countries had ratified it). This convention entitles all the peoples of the world to the benefits of scientific advancement. Whatever our discipline, it is time to ask what the corpus and collocation can bring to it, rather than enjoy the precarious nature of a dated and unaltered discipline 'made possible by censorship and denial'.

The Human Rights aspect is readily satisfied by the sheer versatility of digital collocation as instrumentation for language. The claim that collocation is instrumentation for meaning needs to be made using an appropriate speech act verb rather than a mere constative. This article needs to be seen as its *hereby* test.

The arguments are clear. Collocation is diagnostic. It corrects intuitive mismatches and imposes the condition upon intuitively derived theory and data that it should be checked. It dismisses the mind-set of schools of thought. It is non-political, scientific and truthful. It falsifies mentalist theories and fake institutions. It dismisses untruth and shows it the door (Pears, 1971). It uses set theory to create the subset of literary worlds within stylistics. Its markedness withstands all tests. All devices use the 9 word window of collocative power (Sinclair, 1991) to relexicalise. No other theory is as descriptly marked as collocation and semantic prosody. It reinforces the injunction of John Sinclair (whose collocation dictionary and project LUCID, both based upon collocation, were apparently censored). Sinclair (2004a) insists that we *trust the text* by entrusting all textual applications, both literary and civic, to collocation as *instrumentation* for meaning.

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Paper 13, 2010b Automating the Extraction of Literary Worlds and their Subtexts from the Poetry of William Butler Yeats

This paper provides the first detailed application of the method of subtextual analysis.

1. Introduction

It is the intention of this paper to offer readers a practical approach to stylistics. However, the approach must simultaneously attempt to outline and demonstrate the power of the theories in contextual linguistics and analytic philosophy that have accounted for recent success in the practices and procedures of stylistics. They form the basis of a new and powerful method that is likely to dominate corpus stylistics into the future. My main intention will be to provide verifiable and scientific results that no amount of cognition, concepts, ideas and intuition could reasonably be said to have foreseen. It is a signal honour to be able to do this in a volume that celebrates the research of Professor Luis Quereda, whom I first met at the founding conference on Teaching and Language Corpora [TaLC1] in Lancaster in the 90s. His detailed and unsullied work on J.R.Firth is greatly appreciated at a time when British linguistics is manifestly under pressure to become ‘Alliance’ (*sic*) linguistics.

2. The colour of blue jeans: the delexical and relexicalisation as a characteristic of all devices

It may be worth beginning with certain Sinclairian principles that are crucial to the subsistence in text of literariness. The first of these was adopted into stylistics a mere four years after publication of the first edition of the Cobuild English Language Dictionary (Sinclair, 1987; 1991; 1993; 1995; (see Louw, 1991). They are the principles of *delexicalisation* and *relexicalisation* and are acknowledged with enthusiasm by Sinclair (2004a: 198).

As a continuum that is *not* a concept, but a direct, visual reference to corpus data, hostility towards them seems to have grown rather than abated. Let us begin by treating them as Sinclair did at large gatherings [especially at AILA (1987) in Sydney, at the conference dedicated to Michael Halliday on his retirement]. Sinclair explained that delexicalisation operates like ‘blue jeans’:

“... the more you wash them the more they fade. The more you use an English word, the more its meaning will be washed out progressively into other senses.”(personal communication)

Because corpora contain more than their fair share of ‘blue jeans’ expressions or delexicalisation, it is worth beginning with a simple example along these lines. So, if we read the following brief poem¹, we may want to find instances of its emotive final line in a corpus of natural language. This poem and all other examples in this article are drawn from the collected poetry of William Butler Yeats.

THE SPUR

You think it horrible that lust and rage
Should dance attention on my old age:
They were not such a plague when I was young
What else have I to spur me into song?

MicroConcord search SW: what else have i
80 characters per entry
Sort : 1R/SW shifted -1 characters.

```
1 </p> <PS001:> </p> <PS087:> So what else have I forgotten to put on then? This l
2 he time innit, thinking Christ what else have I got to get, is there anything I'
3 /p> <PS1CY:> </p> <PS1KS:> Er, what else have I got there? If you're into footba
4 ? Very good! </p> <PS0WR:> And what else have I got to say? </p> <PS0WN:> You pr
5 ye, she must be. </p> <PS2AB:> What else have I got here? Oh, do you have any ni
6 ed but then thought, yes I do, what else have I got going for me? Working there
7 I quite enjoyed it really, now what else have I got to tell you? </p> <PS1MU:> 0
8 Er yes. </p> <PS32B:> Er what what else have I have I had five? </p> <PS329:> T
```

(Source: The British National Corpus)

Lines 1 to 7 of this concordance fall into the ‘blue jeans’ category. Only line 8 is fully lexicalised. It refers to something has been consumed. The persona’s lament in the poem is that there is something that he desires to **possess**. If he were referring to more trivial comforts, he could have used a form of language such as: “What else **is** there?” However, trivial comforts, like beer, are ‘not such a plague’ in old age as are lust and rage. The presence near the first *have* in line 8 of *had* brings back the jeans’ blue colour and this paves the way for stating our scientific proposition for stylistics in the form ‘All As are B’: **All devices relexicalise**. The *reductio ad absurdum* is also true. Even where a device is *not* intended, the delexical scraps of expressions may relexicalise spontaneously through accidental proximity alone. This will have the effect of bringing a ‘device’ into being, because when collocates find themselves within 4 words of one another, they will relexicalise, willy nilly. This may well have been the case with the opening line of the novel *Tropic of Capricorn* by Henry Miller:

*“Once you have given up the **ghost**, everything follows with **dead** certainty, even in the midst of chaos.” (emphasis added)*

The relexicalisation is ‘prospected’ (Sinclair and Maurenen, 2006; Toolan, 2009: 113) by the term *attention* in line 2. Yeats departs from the fixed expression, *dance attendance* in order to capture the amorous, erectile, angry and goading link between *attention*, *spur* and *have*. Notice how, since the advent of corpora, critics need never again, offer unsupported statements. Only one instance of *dance attendance* appears in the BNC. The context is erotic (line 31).

MicroConcord search SW: danc* CW: atten*
80 characters per entry
Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

10 aques, inspect soldiers, watch Maori dancing, attend memorial services and open
11 not bestowed talent on me for me to dance attendance on a woman, and thereby wa
12 princes felt it worth their while to dance attendance on him, Henry invited them
13 d the skipper went out of his way to dance attendance on her. She was invited in
14 not Dana. </p> <p> Then why did you dance attendance on her? Claudia demanded,
15 like a devil. You can't expect us to dance attendance up the stairs as well. If
16 curred when the Queen was obliged to dance attendance on a sick Harold Macmillan
17 visham, he refuses to flatter her or dance attendance on her in the hopes of a l
18 ept well out of our way, now came to dance attendance on us. We made no mention
19 wouldn't have been expecting him to dance attendance on her if she hadn't soon
20 atching the little black slaves that danced attendance on errands of defilement
21 meant to sit back and wait while you danced attendance on your number one girlfr
22 possibility, and for saving him from dancing attendance on Residents who notorio
23 am not defining housewife as a woman dancing attendance on a healthy but indolen
24 en if she did have that army officer dancing attendance on her. Might there be a
25 she was there solely to support him. Dancing attendance was not one of Nora's ex
26 ar. </p> <p> WHAT with Paddy Ashdown dancing attendance on Friday night and thei
27 d realised that I cannot possibly be dancing attendance on you every five minute
28 reatened to do just that if I didn't dance attendance; Garry is easily swayed an
29 , the festivities ended with a grand dance, attended by local people of all rank
30 few exceedingly brief encounters at dances attended by soldiers stationed aroun
31 rfectly happy in Solihull with Roman dancing attention on her every night. Why h

(Source: The British National Corpus)

The critic cannot ignore either the erotic contexts that surround *attention*, as this paragraph from the BNC establishes. If even the bottles of make-up on the dressing table respond in sympathy, who is a mere stylistician to raise a contrary argument?

<p> Before she knew it Daisy was upstairs in the tidiest bedroom she had ever seen. Even the few pots of make-up on the blue-flowered dressing table seemed to be **standing to attention**. The double bed was huge too. **Lucky thing to be made love to by Drew on it**, Daisy was appalled to find herself thinking. </p> (Emphasis added). (Source: The British National Corpus)

The collocates referred to in the poem offer us a picture (Wittgenstein, 1922: 15) of tumescence. It is not constrained by syntax, but obtained, as Firth (1957: 196) tells us, as being ‘abstracted at the level of syntax’. Without the relexicalising power of collocation to create it, the picture and its elements could be hijacked into the myriad lists of the *things* of daily life, almost all of them, thankfully, unrelated to senile eroticism. Even within poems,

1. The world is all that is the case.

1.1 The world is the totality of *facts* not of *things*. (Wittgenstein, 1922: 7)

The only constraint is *logical* and is represented by the way in which the collocates, between them as they *relexicalise* one another into facts, chunk the poem’s literary world as a picture (Louw, 2007c). The old sage pictured in ‘The Spur’ is aware that he ought to know better, but he is plagued, dominated and impelled by sexual desire. Yeats would have been aware of his Chaucerian counterpart, Januarie, of whom he might have written, and as the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* prospects: ‘So pricketh *‘him’* nature in *‘his’* corage.’ As Wittgenstein points out in establishing the picture theory of meaning:

1.2 The world divides into facts.

2.141 A picture is a fact

2.12 A picture is a model of reality .

2. What is the case – a fact – is the existence of states of affairs.

(Section numbers refer to those in the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*)

3. **Semantic prosody is proved by its logic and its ‘family resemblances’**

Semantic prosody has proved more durable than Hoey (2005: 24) suggests. The main difficulty confronting any investigator who wishes to use Hoey’s lexical priming in corpus research is that it cannot be generalized. It is purportedly recoverable piecemeal from the language exposure of individuals rather than inherent in all language, as Toolan observes:

“In Hoey’s priming model it is stressed that the priming is in the language user, not strictly in the language, and therefore varies from user to user, reflecting their prior exposure to kinds of language behaviour.” (Toolan, 2009: 194) (emphasis added)

Whitsitt (2005) apparently loses credibility because the arguments he advanced in a corpus studies journal were left unsupported by *empirical* evidence. Sinclair (2006) settles, in a single page, the fact that there is determinism in the language and not in the ‘primed’ minds of individuals. He chunks the world of gender bias by assembling the N-gram *when+she+was* uniquely, step by step, using frequency in the language as his only criterion. Sinclair’s *Phrasebite* is set out in full in Louw (2008: 250). Semantic prosody will speak for itself. Instrumentation cannot be gainsaid indefinitely. The defeating of science has always been an area, to use van Fraassen’s expression, ‘red in tooth and claw’.

“...power can impose belief but cannot produce or guarantee the truth of that belief.” (Rouse, 1987: 15).

Our decision to believe in priming is the product of free will rather than of proof. However, in the case of semantic prosody, a colleague in France recently remarked that he always finds the raw concordance data set out below any claim, as an immediate proof. This may not continue. Sinclair (2004b) began the practice of referring the reader to a website, leaving the concordances vulnerable to a simple on/off switch. Some university departments even forbid the saving of concordance lines. Time will tell.

Michael Toolan (2009, 194) sees some hope for the future in three approaches:

“In future studies it will be important to continue to attend to the still-developing models of discourse and language of corpus linguists like Hoey, Louw and the late John Sinclair... Just how applicable priming theory will be to the patternings we find in literary texts remains to be seen. Some commentators have been doubtful (e.g. Dillon 2006).”

It is empiricism **in the language** and **not** in the user that forms the basis of semantic prosody and guarantees the future of its applications (Louw, 2010b, forthcoming). Priming presupposes that the authorial voice and that of its characters are verifiably and separately primed. This may be as difficult to prove as the notion of priming itself.

The next example will be more than sufficient to satisfy the sceptics. But we do need first of all to take the precaution of involving the philosophers in areas where linguists, because of conflicts of interest and/or sentimentality for schools of thought and their leaders, cannot be trusted as the custodians of science.

3.1 Logical semantic prosody and the method of its verification

There was much acrimonious, debate among analytic philosophers between the two World Wars (Urmson, 1967) as to whether philosophy could ever be understood until the logic of ordinary language had been understood. This was the view propounded by Wittgenstein. His reason for doing so was that one of Russell's most misleading preoccupations was with *tautologies*. Once Wittgenstein had set the picture theory of meaning in place, it could be shown with confidence that a 'tautology *pictures* nothing' and is incapable of verification: $p=p$ is not only non-sense, but redundant non-sense at that. It is to be shown the door. It is without ontological status. All apparent tautologies turn out to be states of affairs when verified using corpora of natural language, as we see in the example below.

MicroConcord search SW: business is business
80 characters per entry
Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

```
1 y, signorina, he said coldly. Business is business, after all. Surely this – gen
2 take next. </p> <p> However, business is business and pleasure is pleasure. I w
3 this means, Fun I may be, but business is business and I will rip your arms and
4 al Broadway Features released Business is Business, in which an egotistical Fren
5 s they did with Mandarin. But business is business- </p> <p> So to my league tab
6 ch a dreadful shock! </p> <p> Business is business, said Dora. His fees are stee
7 ee page 42 below). Investment business is business that is regulated by the FSA
8 admir's Russia. </p> <p> But business is business wherever you are. And Perestr
      (Source: The British National Corpus)
```

Russell accepted that the language of logic was *unnatural* in everyday life, but he felt that unless its quasi-mathematical nature was preserved for use within logic, the entire enterprise of philosophy, if anyone slackened their grip on method, would be swept away by the uncontrollable tide of metaphysics that would result. As fate would have it, the world of philosophy remained untrammelled for a little longer: Wittgenstein took the picture theory into the mind at the beginning of section 4 of the *Tractatus* and during the rest of his career, wrote three and a half volumes on the philosophy of psychology. Russell (1956) claimed not to have understood a word of Wittgenstein's later work. With that threat behind him, Russell quite disarmingly admits that the layperson will find the 'language' of logic not much of a language at all. Note how what follows appears to satisfy the criteria set out by Kempson (1977). For the sake of convenience of comparison, I have set out the relevant paragraph from Kempson below, followed immediately by a crucial paragraph from Russell.

“... I do not think we need conclude that semantics is a non-empirical discipline, not open to falsifiable argument. What is needed...is sufficient sophistication in both the subject of linguistics and the subjects of logic and philosophy of language to be able critically to assess hypotheses put forward in each of these disciplines.”
(Kempson, 1977: 192)

“A language of that sort will be completely analytic and will show at a glance the logical structure of the facts asserted or denied... It is a language that has only syntax and no vocabulary whatsoever. Barring the omission of vocabulary I maintain that it is quite a nice language. It aims at being the sort of language that, if you add a vocabulary, would be a logically perfect language. Actual languages are not logically perfect in this sense and they cannot possibly be, if they are to serve the purposes of everyday life.” (in Pears, 1956: 197)

Let us apply the principles behind Russell’s message to an example from Yeats.

SAILING TO BYZANTIUM

I **THAT is no country for old men.** The young
In one another’s arms, birds in the trees
--Those dying generations – at their song,
The salmon-falls, the mackerel-crowded seas,
Fish, flesh or fowl, commend all summer long
Whatever is begotten, born, and dies.
Caught in that sensual music all neglect
Monuments of unageing intellect.

II An aged man is but a paltry thing,
A tattered coat upon a stick, unless
Soul clap its hands and sing, and louder sing
For every tatter in its mortal dress,
Nor is there singing school but studying
Monuments of its own magnificence;
**And therefore I have sailed the seas and come
To the holy city of Byzantium.**

III O sages standing in God’s holy fire
As in the gold mosaic of a wall,
Come from the holy fire, perne in a gyre,
And be the singing-masters of my soul.
Consume my heart away; sick with desire
And fastened to a dying animal
It knows what it is; and gather me
Into the artifice of eternity.

IV Once out of nature I shall never take
My bodily form from any natural thing,
But such a form as Grecian goldsmiths make
Of hammered gold and gold enamelling
To keep a drowsy Emperor awake;
Or set upon a golden bough to sing
To lords and ladies of Byzantium
Of what is past, or passing, or to come.

(1927)

Now, if we are to attempt to harness some of the power of logic, Russell warns us that we are likely to be unsuccessful because we do not converse or write in the language of logic and nor do our greatest poets. But suppose we identify a flaw of logic in a particular poem such as the poem above? Can the precise manner in which we use the corpus begin to *mimic* logic in order to assist in the interrogation of a dead poet, without necessarily forming a ‘society’ for doing so?

In the first line of the poem, the persona (Yeats wrote the poem when he was 62 years old) declares his own disqualification for traveling to Byzantium and yet by the end of the second stanza we discover that he *has* ‘sailed the seas’ and arrived in Byzantium. The persona’s behaviour has been manifestly, *logically contradictory*. In the first published work on semantic prosody (Louw, 1993), the line of Philip Larkin: *Days are where we live* offered us early warning of impending transitoriness and death within the poem’s world. How quickly, then, can we discover, using the *subtext* of logical semantic prosody, the *logical* flaw in ‘Sailing to Byzantium’? Let us attempt a corpus search that in terms of Russell’s criteria for the language of logic would, of course, be only *quasi-propositional: that+is+no*. However, let us agree in advance of seeing the answer, exactly *what we expect to do with that answer*. Encouraged by Russell, we expect to use it to *interrogate* the logic of the persona’s conduct, using the most strongly instantiated forms, *empirically*, that flow in response to our request from our reference corpus. We agree. Let us proceed. Below we see a concordance from the BNC and a collocation table for the same expression from the Bank of English provided by the Corpus Hub at Birmingham [CHAB]. Note that the empiricism of the subtext’s collocates are not affected by a change of tense. This fact bolsters further the quality of science provided by Firth.

(a) MicroConcord search SW: that is no * for *
80 characters per entry Sort: 1R/SW unshifted.

```

1 n at least live in safety, but that is no basis for a completely new beginning a
2 ally for fuel purposes on land that is no good for agricultural crops. </p> <p>
3 security. But, in my opinion, that is no basis for an inference of agency. </p>
4 ael and Iraq, and with an army that is no match for either – should become a kil
5 yment and deprivation here but that is no excuse for the extent of crime we are
6 We are good neighbours. Still, that is no reason for me to advertise my acquaint
7 n minority within Croatia, but that is no excuse for what has happened and conti
8 p> But, as Mr Kaye points out, that is no excuse for making innocent people feel
9 m churlish to focus on a theme that is no cause for euphoria by a source of conc
10 nds of justice and equity, but that is no argument for maintaining that there sh
11 est form, almost universal but that is no reason for complacency. Too few librar
12 in non-democratic states, yet that is no reason for inaction. In association wi
13 ent traditions or sources. But that is no reason for trying to make them contrad
14 with many American cities, but that is no cause for satisfaction. There are stil
```

(b)

MicroConcord search SW: that was no * for * *

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 to the spiders of Earth **but** that was no compensation for ripping her out of her
 2 ig what she looked like, **but** that was no **reason** for him to tighten the purse-str
 3 taste, she acknowledged, **but** that was no **reason** for him to lay into her with yet
 4 r's wife was playing around, that was no **excuse** for murder, premeditated or spon
 5 been his own fault. She said that was no **excuse** for not informing the next of ki
 6 d finished with 7 lb 4oz **but** that was no match for Paul who took 9 lb 12 oz to t
 7 e welfare state, I said, **but** that was no **reason** for trying to do away with it. <

(Source: The British National Corpus)

	total in search	t-score	MI score	log likelihood	chi square
1.	. 641	. 24.1441	Designing 18.6099	longer 1,310.07	longer 19,544
2.	, 439	, 19.5255	one-size-fits-all 18.6099	reason 548.136	excuse 12,586.7
3.	the 429	the 19.227	Teenager 18.6099	excuse 410.907	reason 5,257.09
4.	to 298	to 16.3313	+6 18.6099	but 244.783	feat 5,174.93
5.	a 263	a 15.3971	Babay 18.6099	case 146.543	exaggeration 3,149.85
6.	of 192	longer 13.2213	Boomshanka 18.6099	But 136.978	Consolation 1,497.21
7.	longer 175	of 12.7203	Brazilian-based 18.6099	feat 129.948	Guarantee 1,247.88
8.	and 172	but 12.1705	Gov 18.6099	bad 128.181	surprise 835.299
9.	but 152	and 12.0391	Half-hour 18.6099	answer 122.602	Justification 732.164
10.	for 149	for 11.7621	Septem 18.6099	thing 109.3	answer 714.367
11.	is 125	is 10.6786	Spin-offs 18.6099	guarantee 108.64	achievement 678.578
12.	in 116	in 9.76485	Swiftly 18.6099	surprise 108.281	bad 632.137
13.	that 92	reason 9.31784	Truganini 18.6099	doubt 91.1788	case 528.905
14.	reason 87	that 8.95936	`Hindley 18.6099	mean 72.063	but 483.887
15.	But 80	But 8.83644	`[S]he 18.6099	true 70.3822	doubt 437.817
16.	I 65	I 7.63605	`maniac 18.6099	consolation 67.9938	thing 385.036
17.	be 63	be 7.54965	browser-like 18.6099	exaggeration 63.2902	accident 370.823
18.	it 62	it 7.41557	cherub 18.6099	achievement 60.5236	task 344.029
19.	not 54	than 7.08173	freezing-cold 18.6099	. 59.3088	true 292.116
20.	than 52	not 7.04847	golf-obsessed 18.6099	than 57.2777	But 279.332
21.	on 51	more 6.74394	leatherjackets 18.6099	accident 53.8188	comfort 243.805
22.	at 48	." 6.66341	longer-the 18.6099	problem 48.9812	mean 213.373
23.	have 48	excuse 6.63179	ratified 18.6099	task 48.9437	basis 170.331
24.	more 48	on 6.55251	stay-away 18.6099	justification 45.9561	problem 164.236
25.	." 47	have 6.51677	Eleanora 18.025	disrespect 45.4115	bigger 156.937

(Source: The Corpus Hub at Birmingham)

Apart from proving that the BNC is far too small (but cross-verification with the Bank of English has confirmed perfect *replicability*), the concordance provides us with an *interactive* logical semantic prosody. It gives us the lines we must use to interrogate the persona who has acted in defiance of his own evaluation: '*That [Byzantium] is no country for old men...*'. These interrogation lines would be dominated by the logical collocate *but* that occurs in half of the citations in the first concordance (a) above and in 5 of the 7 citations in the second concordance (b) and may look something like:

- (1) *But that is no **reason** for not going to Byzantium.* This opens up our critical discourse for stylisticians or classroom teachers: “So why are you going to Byzantium, your age notwithstanding?” To this the reply might come: “I am a poet and want my achievements set in gold. Only pagans will appreciate my work. I run the risk of being remembered for geriatric sexual desire as my body and faculties begin to fail...” And for the latter-day persona: “I begin to think and behave like a pensioner on Viagra!”;
- (2) *But that is no **excuse** for **not** going* (see line 5 of the concordance above), or *But that is no excuse for being a famous poet and sage and dying unremembered.* This would feed into a different line of critical inquiry: “But will a golden monument gloss over your own self-confessed infirmities and free you from the lustful dying animal you call your body? Why should you demand forms of recognition that other poets have not demanded? What is so special about you? What will the pagans of Byzantium make of you? They may even take you to bed! How would you feel about the golden monument then, *old man*?”

These forms of interaction guarantee the success of the method because they bear out the mantra of the Vienna Circle: ‘the *meaning* of a *proposition* is the *method* of its *verification*’. Our verification takes place inside the poem’s world, but it does so respectably and with forms of precision that would easily have been sufficient to reignite Wittgenstein’s (1953) plea for natural language philosophy: ‘To imagine a language means to imagine a form of life.’ (Philosophical Investigations [PI]: sections 7 and 19). Note also that it operates at a deeper level than Jakobson’s (1960) poetic function. It suffuses the meaning of the *entire* poem and puts an end to the atomistic feel that is characteristic of a great deal of stylistics from the analogue period.

The clue to where this result takes us is to be found in the word *but*. It does not appear in the poem, but is implied within the *subtext* of the poem and is, therefore, recoverable from the corpus, as we saw in the concordance. It provides the logical unity involved in the persona’s own objection to his stated course. *Reason* and *excuse* are part of the same logical semantic prosody. They offer us what Wittgenstein calls ‘family resemblances’ (also referred to in Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, section 20; and more widely within Wittgenstein as part of ‘language games’: PI 66-67). Family resemblances are based upon logic. They look like real vocabulary in Russell’s terms, but Sinclair might have called them sub-technical terms. The items in the search line might be regarded as ‘truth constant logical operators’ in logic, but they make up a logical semantic prosody within the poem’s world that dominates, as a *subtext* (because its meaning is never continued, but always interrupted by lexicalised vocabulary) the poem’s argument.

So much then for the idea that visible, verifiable semantic prosody must give way to a putative, mentalist, and empirically inaccessible lexical priming. Semantic prosody is far too strong a rival to be dismissed by concepts. It can, as we have just seen, fight its corner with truth: truth that is sought from corpora of natural language is both *interactive*, *converting* and capable of many *scientific* applications, especially literary stylistic analysis and is increasingly being used to detect ‘spin’ and negotiating tactics (see also Louw, 2003; Louw, 2004; Louw, 2006). Both spin and negotiating are known to make use of untruthful tactics. This line of investigation was established as ‘insincerity’ in Louw (1993).

But there are further implications for priming. What we find in this example allows us to find what particular events share and what they do not share, not merely by averring that they are *nested* (Hoey, 2005: 58) within one another. We can now demonstrate the boundaries of shared events without using grammar, tags or syntax in order to do so. In fact, with the benefit of hindsight, one might even say that Firth may have used *colligation* to conceal the power of collocation in order to get it past his detractors.

A notable feature of the first line of the poem we have just examined is its ***intertextual*** use. Anyone wanting to quote it feels the need to free the line from its anaphoric tie to the word *Byzantium* and to *apply* the quotation to their own situation: *This is no country for old men*. This involves a different kind of event, only part of which nests within the poet’s line.² For, the moment we use the new line, starting ‘*This is no...*’, subtextual collocates for this new event appear: *time* and *place*. They are the variables of logical propositions that Wittgenstein refers to in 1929 as he writes ‘some remarks on logical form’. They are also best extracted using *wildcard* searches. Note that *reason* and *excuse* display their nested roles and, as was the case where I first demonstrated the phenomenon (Louw, 2007b), we find that lines appear that are peculiarly apposite in respect of the logic of the situation in which the line is re-appropriated. For example, the *urgency* injected into the prosody by the words *time* and *place* has a special appeal for Zimbabwean students. They believe that 900 years for the *Chimurenga* (Shona for *liberation struggle*) in Ireland has been too long. If we turn to the concordance below, line 11 refers to that very situation and line 26 is precisely the sort of encouragement that the persona would be looking for. Line 45 would strip away the persona’s *per-sona* (Latin) or *mask*.

MicroConcord search SW: this is no * for *
 80 characters per entry
 Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 sec that I shock you a little. This is no way for a grandfather to talk, hey? Es
 2 for corn circles. </p> <p> But this is no hunt for an extra-terrestrial creation
 3 our more troubled communities, this is no time for any of us to strike tradition
 4 roudue socialist consciousness this is no basis for automatically equating them:
 5 and men who remain in prison. This is no time for complacency. We ask for help
 6 convinced neither him nor us, this is no cause for concern. We might try to exp
 7 lashed the horse on. </p> <p> This is no hour for conversation. I do not wish t
 8 my mother put on a brave face. This is no time for crying, she told me firmly. V
 9 y to steer him away from them. This is no time for delicacy and posing, it is ti
 10 h, Hubert, McGann said softly. This is no time for divisive talk. We've got a fi
 11 hould help and defend the RUC. This is no time for equivocation. </p> Historic d
 12 at back on his heels. </p> <p> This is no time for false modesty, Paige. If we d
 13 lves quietly and with dignity. This is no occasion for jubilation, certainly not
 14 question in a broader context. This is no comfort for a patient who has to wait
 15 he work by economic output but this is no argument for lack of careful managemen
 16 in some specialities. However, this is no excuse for inaction, for a number of s
 17 an seem quite bewildering. Yet this is no reason for ignoring what, taken as a w
 18 emporary, says scientists, but this is no reason for complacency about ozone-dep
 19 rough its indicators. However, this is no reason for despair since it is by exam
 20 enerally increased every year. This is no victory for women, even though it is o
 21 ployment, but he warns: All of this is no substitute for a coherent industrial p
 22 take you to the top. </p> <p> This is no place for a short Sunday afternoon str
 23 inspection at the school, but this is no substitute for attendance at meetings
 24 f ocean to turn around in, but this is no argument for abandoning our commitment
 25 s do appear in Hollywood film, this is no consolation for feminists. For the wom
 26 es to hours, or even days; but this is no reason for abandoning sexual activity.
 27 nice Master's little trickses. This is no excuse for Sam, but it shows maybe whe
 28 p in worse conditions outside, this is no argument for making them sleep on conc
 29 bing everything in a brief but this is no substitute for a profound knowledge an
 30 he adventurers have backed off this is no problem for them, if they haven't (e.g
 31 ous glance towards the salon. This is no place for a de Courmont, nor for any F
 32 , Miss Abbott. Now in you get. This is no night for hanging about in the air. </
 33 from a pretty woman. </p> <p> This is no time for jokes! </p> <p> It seems to m
 34 yclops and returned to Ithaca. This is no time for modesty. You have achieved mo
 35 of 460 feet. </p> <p> Clearly this is no place for novices but it is possible f
 36 ussion of her needs and yours. This is no time for pretending that all will auto
 37 ave sold at rising prices, but this is no basis for saying prices for that artis
 38 gton, Hampshire S041 9WL. </p> THIS IS NO TIME FOR SEDIMENT! </h2> <p> Legionnai
 39 m to produce absolute justice. This is no quest for some Utopia. But people do e
 40 . God rest us merry Gentlemen, This is no time for sorrow Because ten thousand r
 41 o up to my room, Your Majesty. This is no place for state secrets. </p> <p> The
 42 always more lurking below, and this is no good for the production of root vegeta
 43 be put off by the thought that this is no job for the novice – not everything in
 44 . Even were the worst to come, this is no path for us. To put things in men's he
 45 comfortable with. </p> <p> But this is no time for Yesterday's Men. </p> <p> It
 46 at my teeth rattled – it said, This is no place for you, whoever you may be. </p>

(Source: The British National Corpus)

But notice how the simple asterisk of the *wildcard* search sweeps through the stratosphere of all eligible forms, automating and falsifying Jakobson (1960) as it goes, and bringing all possible candidates for wildcard substitution and the empiricism of their numerical prevalence crashing down onto the investigator's desk in readiness for sorting and for use, as probability and evidence (Ayer, 1954; 1972). Speculation is brought low at last. Jakobson came very close to his goal by *syntactic* means, but collocation provides the better line of fit (Louw, 2007b). We would expect Jakobson's model to fail when used on short poems that, because of their brevity, offer very little scope for the *projection* of the *principle of similarity*. Short poems **are** successful because collocation and *not* syntax is the power behind their success.

Furthermore, we see that the ‘set toward the message’ can also comprise part of the context of situation’s logic (Louw, 2000) in addition to involving the saturated projection of the principle of equivalence. Even that projection is accomplished by being ‘abstracted at the level of syntax’ (Louw, 2007b) as the moving nine word crucible of *things* thrown together as symbols (Gk. *syn+ballein*) relexicalises on its journey through the text the elements that will, after reading has ended and the book is closed, make up its fictional world. This process is recoverable, not putative. *It is the grammar words that carry the logic of each state of affairs.* On a first reading of ‘Sailing to Byzantium’ the first three words are crucial to the fact that the reader’s intuition recognizes the subtext only *subliminally*. This is the phenomenon to which Carnap (1928) referred as the *remembrance of similarity*, only to be vilified and forced to retract the notion for lack of evidence:

“It did, however, become clear to critics and to Carnap himself, that this construction project was too daring.” (Mautner, 2000: 86)

For a detailed treatment of the remembrance of similarity and its roles in subtext, see Louw (2010a).

Only certain lines crystallise the logic of the relationships those terms form. The totality of *facts* not of *things* will concern us in the next section.

4. Staggering the admission of metaphysics on the basis of frequency.

At this point readers may have become aware of a certain lucky chance. The word *time* and its role in the previous example offers us the best method for the controlled admission into our stylistic searches of terms that are *not* grammar words. This may look like the thin end of the metaphysical wedge. However, where we are dealing with the phenomenon of frequency, the moment at which we encounter the first *lexical* form in a descending frequency is always of importance. Intuition immediately attempts an analysis of such words, but it better for the investigator to realize that a huge number of events is always involved in a single term as we provide its contexts by means of sorted concordances. A word like *time* must be regarded as being more in the nature of pale blue *shading-in*, to extend the blue jeans metaphor, than an encounter with a descript navy blue line.

The reason for this is that although the word *time* occupies that space, it is only recoverable contextually in its most washed out or delexical state. The word is immensely frequent and occupies position 70 in the descending frequency list in the Birmingham University Corpus (Carter and McCarthy, 1988: 149). Only its *collocates* can provide the states of affairs in which it subsists and they ought largely to be seen as the inevitable accretions of history rather than lived reality. Only the unwary such as Lakoff and Johnson (2003) (2nd edition), oblivious to the warnings of Frege (1884), would jump to the conclusion that we still ‘live by’ the navy blue colour of the word seen *on its own* in a word list. Frege makes the point that lists of single words are misleading because they leave out all contextual detail. Where all contextual detail is left out, the mind will always attempt to add it. The *morning star* and the *evening star* have the same referent, Venus, but their sense is derived from the contexts in which they are uttered. The metaphors we think we live by are the washed out *dead* metaphors, the detritus that comprises about one third of the fabric of the English language. They are the metaphors we are stuck with because they are dead. Only devices can revive their colour, because all devices relexicalise. This is, of course, not intended to invite into the haven of corpus stylistics, generations of frustrated Lakoffians in search of the grail of pristine, unwashed jeans. Oblivion is a far safer home for lost theories.

Quite by chance also is the fact that *days* (Louw, 1993: 162) operates almost entirely as a ***measure*** of *time*. That which gave semantic prosody its first impetus 16 years ago, is *related* to the most empirically instantiated collocate of *this is no * for **. More gratifying than this is the fact that the analytic philosophers had foreseen that *a priori* knowledge (and *time* and *days* are prime examples) (Ayer, 1987), would be more nearly like *analytic* propositions and that the *synthetic*, would, like all of metaphysics, be impossible to verify. The *a priori* is *old* and the *old* items are the more *frequent*. Only the advent of computers could challenge this latter *impasse* in both linguistics and philosophy. The challenges to the syntactic and the cognitive in stylistics will continue to grow whether linguists like the idea or not. Science has even been brought to metaphysics itself, as a sign that instrumentation is at hand at last (Louw, 2010b: 96).

And so we can expect that the first lexical items at the top of the word frequency list will contain only a ‘hint of blue’ and the lexical items lower down the list will be ‘re-blued’ as they encounter their ‘special friends’, a delightful expression for collocates used by the late Tim Johns in his unpublished computer programme named *Contexts*.

The term sums up the expression used by Firth that we shall ‘...know a word by the company it keeps’.

5. Relexicalisation into literary worlds rather than word lists.

‘Re-bluing’ within the applied science of stylistics is not merely a statistical phenomenon of the type we witness in lexicography. The great scientific shock of the Cobuild project in lexical computing was not so much that intuition would need to be corrected but that it would need to be corrected *to the point that word meaning would be rejected*. The most shattering examples that Sinclair brought into the perfectly settled world of lexicography were those that altered the *order* of the entries in dictionaries: the word *see* no longer meant *vision*. Empirically its most frequent or most powerfully instantiated meaning was *understand*. Furthermore, the word did not have these meanings in a sack tied to its back, but rather, they were imparted through proximity (Louw, 1993: 159). ‘Re-bluing’ satisfies human intuition even at its most faulty. The teaching of *see* in primary schools on flashcards, sundered from all contextual support, allows the term to settle in human consciousness as if it meant vision, primarily. Only Sinclair’s Scottish Schools Project, *Cain*, and its *Phrasebox* © software begin to reverse this trend. The unpacking of this process of semantic re-definition, without the use of concepts, is what corpus stylistics has to offer.

So, it would be naïve to think that ‘re-bluing’ *always* involves a jangling of this intuitive dependency on the same sort of cline that lexicographers use. In many *devices*, this is so. For example, if we take the line cited by Rosamund Moon (1998) we find that it is only by relexicalising the *positive* ‘odd man out’ in the *negative* prosody that the *irony* can be appreciated.

‘President Clinton fanned the flames of optimism in Northern Ireland’
(Bank of English)

In dealing with this line as reader/hearers, we look to the *logic* of why it cannot be said to fit in. Is unbridled *optimism* as dangerous as *apathy*, *malaise*, *discontentment*, *racial hatred*, *prejudice* etc.? Does it spread like wild fire? Is optimism of this kind latently and ironically more dangerous than the war it seeks to end?

However, in the case of a particular literary world, the ‘re-bluing’ assists the poetic function (Jakobson, 1960; Louw, 2007b: 152). Its ‘set’ is not only ‘toward the message’, but it yearns for the principle of equivalence, even though collocation falsifies the *projection of the principle of equivalence* by syntactic means. Meaning by proximity needs no grammatical rules.

Let us proceed to another poem by Yeats in which the poem’s world subsists through relexicalisation as *contextual logic* that may be confirmed by means of a corpus or even a dictionary. We shall see in stylistics that relexicalisation proceeds to sketch the poem’s world rather than, as is the case in lexicography, displace the top entry in a dictionary: in a world in which birds are mating, specialized rather than frequent meanings may predominate.

THE WILD SWANS AT COOLE

The trees are in their autumn beauty,
The woodland paths are dry,
Under the October twilight the water
Mirrors a still sky;
Upon the brimming water among the stones
Are nine-and-fifty swans.

The nineteenth autumn has come upon me
Since I first made my count;
I saw, before I had well finished,
All suddenly mount
And scatter wheeling in great broken rings
Upon their clamorous wings.

I have looked upon those brilliant creatures,
And now my heart is sore.
All’s changed since I, hearing at twilight,
The first time on this shore,
The bell-beat of their wings above my head,
Trod with a lighter tread.

Unwearied still, lover by lover,
They paddle in the cold
Companionable streams or climb the air;
Their hearts have not grown old;
Passion or conquest, wander where they will,
Attend upon them still.

But now they drift on the still water,
Mysterious, beautiful;
Among what rushes will they build,
By what lake’s edge or pool
Delight men’s eyes when I awake some day
To find they have flown away?

The world of the poem carries forward with it certain logical inconsistencies from the first stanza, until the inference is established that the persona sees himself not only as an *admirer* of the swans but as an integral (in the numerical sense of the term also) and *symbolic* part of the swan-world. He is the man-swan who desires to even up the odd number of 59 by becoming the 60th swan, no longer in search of a mate, and, by inference, mating with the 59th swan. The persona makes the risky assumption that *this* swan will be female. Relexicalisation is accomplished in the last line of stanza 3 as the poet places the cognate forms, *trod* and *tread* within 4 words of one another (Sinclair, 1991:113) and in the context of swans who are lovers in pairs, paddling together in the cold, companionable streams. In Chaucer's terms, we are told that lovers 'bathen in gladnesse'. The relexicalisation we are watching out for can only occur in the context of ***birds***, as this fragment of the entry for ***tread*** (meaning number 5 below) from the Collins English Dictionary proves. But Yeats adds meaning 6 below in order to retain his detachment as a voyeur.

tread (tr,d) vb. treads, treading, trod, trodden or trod.1. to walk or trample in, on, over, or across (something).2. (when intr., foll. by on) to crush or squash by or as if by treading; to tread grapes; to tread on a spider.3. (intr.; sometimes foll. by on) to subdue or repress, as by doing injury (to): to tread on one's inferiors.4. (tr.) to do by walking or dancing; to tread a measure.5. **(tr.) (of a male bird) to copulate with (a female bird)**.6. **tread lightly. to proceed with delicacy or tact**.7. tread on (someone's) toes. to offend or insult (someone), esp. by infringing on his sphere of action, etc.8. tread water. to stay afloat in an upright position by moving the legs in a walking motion. (Collins English Dictionary).

The relexicalisation of *tread* and *trod* is *not* a manner of walking (sense 1) but of copulation that, for swans at least, implies no institutional censure or public stigma: 'passion or conquest, wander where they will.' Popular culture claims that swans mate for life, but this particular persona appears to want to keep his options open. The swans are as free as the air they *mount* (also relexicalised as sexuality³). Their sexual freedom refreshes them, leaving them, unlike the persona, 'unwearied still' after an absence of 19 years. The persona wants the convenience and luxury of the likes of Chauntecleer:

*Real he was, he was namoore aferd.
He fethered Pertelote twenty tyme,
And trad hir eke as ofte, er it was pryme.*

(*The Canterbury Tales, The Nun's Priest's Tale*, lines 3176–3178)

6. Routine evaluative aspects relating to ‘The Wild Swans at Coole’

Detailed methods for dealing with atmospheric aspects of a poem’s world are set out elsewhere in the body of this author’s work. However, it may be worth including some examples for the benefit of readers who are embarking upon corpus stylistics for the first time.

It is quite plain that Yeats wrote the poem in a state of heightened sensitivity and emotional upheaval as he contemplated his own encumbered existence and compared it with the vitality of the wild swans. But was he *tearful*? The old type of reading would say emphatically that there is no evidence for making that assumption. A data-assisted reading would say that the collocates of *brimming* are an inextricable part of the poem’s meaning, *even if*, the readers’ intuition is not capable of recognizing them.

A Collocation list for 160 instances of *brimming* from the BNC looks like this:

WITH	102
AND	34
A	32
THE	28
OVER	20
EYES	20
OF	19
<P>	17
TEARS	16

If one meaning of the word *brimming* is its collocability with *tears*, what do the spans look like after using the *co-selection* facility? Emotions are metaphorically referred to using the same term, but the link with *tears* inescapable either way.

MicroConcord search SW: brimming CW: tears

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

```
1 hen, smiling fiercely at him, tears brimming at the corners of his eyes, he reac
2 <p> Suddenly the tears were there, brimming from her eyes with joy and happines
3 him on to his lap. Heavy tears were brimming from his eyes, washing clear channe
4 p> <p> She looked at him with tears brimming in her eyes. The whole thing had su
5 n and again the tears that had been brimming in Lan's eyes spurted down her chee
6 Jimmy's proffered hand. Tears were brimming in her eyes again. There were dark
7 . </p> <p> She cried out, her tears brimming over again, red in the face. The br
8 one her best, storms off with tears brimming to talk to the manager. The whole t
9 saying goodbye to him brought tears brimming to her eyes. </p> <p> When she ente
10 idn't mean it! Ruth cried, her eyes brimming with tears. She swallowed fiercely.
11 her lips quivering and her eyes now brimming with tears as the good Lewis laid a
12 ion in her throat and her eyes were brimming with tears. Though if they were for
13 said. But – she turned to him, eyes brimming with tears, – you don't know what i
14 at Susan's white face, at her eyes brimming with tears which she was too proud
15 ispered, and saw that her eyes were brimming with tears. </p> <p> They cut a hol
16 at his daughter's bedside, his eyes brimming with tears. </p> <p> It was all a t
17 iar noticed the coroner's eyes were brimming with tears. He looked away, pretend
```

(Source: The British National Corpus)

There is plainly a negative semantic prosody in the line: *The nineteenth autumn **has come upon me.***

MicroConcord search SW: has come upon
80 characters per entry
Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

```
1 ly the truth that the Spirit who has come upon Christians is the Spirit of Jesus
2 Peter says that the Holy Spirit has come upon the Gentiles. From Luke's descrip
3 s. The fact that the Holy Spirit has come upon the Gentiles is a sign from God t
4 ank for this great blessing that has come upon us? Who is the saviour of the Min
5 eive power after the holy spirit has come upon you and you shall be witnesses un
6 demons, then the Kingdom of God has come upon you. In the Gospels the Kingdom o
```

How mystical is the poet's intention? The BNC offers only 6 contexts, all of them religious. It is tempting to infer that the persona is being drawn closer to issues of religion in old age, but with so small a sample, the corpus stylistician may need to resort to further searches in order to assess them. Replicability within the Bank of English would also need to be checked.

7. The Collected Poetry of Yeats as a Literary World.

Within philosophy, the idea of worlds within worlds is largely derived from Gottlob Frege, who saw it as a form of 'set' theory. The difficulties that Frege had with this area need not concern us here. They related to the set or class of all classes. Fortunately, the notion is very accommodating in the way in which it applies to stylistics. Wittgenstein offers us the upper boundary: 'The world is all that is the case.' From our point of view, the literary world may involve the entire output of a poet or simply one poem from that poet's collected works. It will, of course, form part of *the* world, as a subclass.

As the most comprehensive, extant approach to meaning is likely, at this time, to be found in lexicography and in Sinclair's two editions of the Cobuild dictionary, we could do a lot worse than adopt his methodology into stylistics and combine it with a re-statement of Wittgenstein that will, of course, be subsumed within the class of all classes or the real world. The 'world of the poem' may be all that is the interest of the critic, or the 'world of the poet may be all that is the case' from a particular critic's point of view. Literary worlds are not necessarily logical, save for their subtexts (Louw, 2010a).

7.1 The transition from ‘facts’ to ‘things’ in Yeats’s literary world.

The steps for revealing the world of Yeats’s poetry into *things* and *facts* are

1. Create a corpus of Yeats’s poetry. Subdivisions of that corpus may take the form of particular ‘books’ of poetry.
2. Produce a dictionary file for that corpus.
3. Produce a descending word frequency list for the corpus.
4. Co-select between the higher frequency lexical words.
5. Print the concordance and summarise the states of affairs involved in it.

The technique involves choosing candidates for examination on the basis of their frequency. The following are examples from the descending frequency of the collected poetry of W.B. Yeats. Items in **bold** are fully lexicalised and between them their themes come as no surprise. This paper concludes with two concordances. The first involves co-selecting two of the items in bold within the corpus of Yeats’s poetry. The second concordance offers readers an insight into the role of collocation in the creation by poets of their private symbolism.

THE	3713
AND	2565
I	1643
A	1551
OF	1432
MAN	317
HER	315
OLD	301
LOVE	172
WHERE	172
HEART	168
AN	167
SO	161

(i)

MicroConcord search SW: heart CW: her

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1L/SW unshifted.

```
1 tood Until I thought her body bore A heart of flesh and blood. But since I laid
2 l the wild Summer was in her gaze.' Heart! O heart! if she'd but turn her head,
3 secret discipline Wherein the gazing heart doubles her might. Soldier, scholar,
4 That Ireland's mind be greater, Her heart mount up on high; And yet who knows w
5 nreckonable race; And how should her heart fail her Or sickness break her will W
6 cage the woman at my side. O but her heart would break to learn my thoughts are
7 pushed the latches down. He bade his heart go to her, When the owls called out n
8 ue from speech.' And yet, because my heart leaped at her words, I was abashed, a
9 ling of the blood. Then' suddenly my heart is wrung By her distracted air And I
10 Can know it as I know, Who broke my heart for her When the wild thought, That s
11 e heart out of his side. And lay the heart upon her hand And bear that beating h
12 ned her door and her window, And the heart and the soul came through, To her rig
13 wanders laughing and eating her wild heart Among pigeons and bees, while that Gr
```


(ii)

MicroConcord search SW: gyr*

80 characters per entry

Sort : 1L/SW unshifted.

1 , Come from the holy fire, **perne** in a gyre, And be the singing-masters of my sou
2 e go, The flaming **circle** of our days, Gyring, **spiring** to and fro In those great
3 of bread thrown up into the air; Now gyring **down** and **perning** there He splashed
4 stead there, That heavens had **opened**. Gyres **run on**; When that greater dream had
5 ight; Though **I** had long **perned** in the gyre, Between my **hatred** and **desire**. I saw
6 serpent-tails are bit, There all the gyres **converge** in one, There all the plane
7 at the **wandering** foot's content.} THE GYRES THE GYRES! the gyres! Old Rocky Face
8 's content.} THE GYRES THE GYRES! the gyres! Old Rocky Face, look forth; Things
9 dering foot's content.} THE GYRES THE GYRES! the gyres! Old Rocky Face, look for
10 **all things run** On that **unfashionable** gyre again. THE HAWK 'CALL down the hawk f
11 G **TURNING** and **turning** in the **widening** gyre The **falcon** cannot hear the **falconer**;
12 **is my symbol**; I declare This **winding**, gyring, **spiring treadmill** of a **stair** is my

8. Conclusion.

This paper has set out in some detail the processes by which literary worlds may be accounted for by means of collocation. Collocation is a significant form of instrumentation that was first noticed by J.R. Firth. Its computational automation was brought about by John Sinclair within ten years of Firth's death. I have attempted to harness its power in stylistics by demonstrating that it produces a better account of the poetic function than Jakobson's syntax-bound notion of projection of the principle of similarity (Louw, 2007b). In fact, as we have witnessed, similarity is not the only issue that is projected by syntax. Subtext projects the argument of literary works syntactically by using grammar words as truth-constant logical operators, while collocation as *device* (Louw, 2007a) chunks through relexicalisation the literary world into events or states of affairs (Louw, 2010a). Both of these processes are *dialogic* and, for this reason, statistical data are best confined to forms of *text* for interrogation rather than to *numbers*. Numbers run the risk of looking like *concepts*. Collocation has nothing to do with the *ideas* meaning of language.

Rather than engage in battles to establish collocation at the level of theory, as Kuhn (1996) recommends in the case of scientific revolutions, it may be best to follow the advice of Max Planck, the physicist on whose work Albert Einstein perched much of his own award-winning theory:

“A new scientific truth does not triumph by convincing its opponents and making them see the light, but rather because its opponents eventually die, and a new generation grows up that is familiar with it.”

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Notes

1 Last year, 2009, marked the 70th anniversary of the death of the poet William Butler Yeats. This also means that his poetry may now be quoted *in extenso*, without attracting the payment of royalties. It is hoped that this paper will contribute insights into Yeats's genius and enhance public interest in his poetry.

2The author wishes to acknowledge the research of Dr Elizabeth Zurru in this regard. Her research on the film *No Country for Old Men* (2007) demonstrates that those who gave the film its title wanted to capitalise on the embeddedness of these events, one governed by *that* and the other by *this*.

3 In fact, on a first reading, the subtext of the line: 'All suddenly mount' very briefly, in terms of Carnap's (1928) *remembrance of similarity*, begins to sound like an orgy of the whole flock of swans. However, the word *scatter* in the next line quickly undermines this possibly planned subtextual reading and restores the sobriety of the scene as quickly as it displaces the poet's wild fantasy.

Paper 14, 2014: Teaching Literary Engagement from the Index of First Lines

This is the final paper in the Appendix and the most recently published. It deals with two forms of subtextual insight: i) prospection by subtextual means of the concerns of the entire poem from its first line; ii) detection of the a priori.

Teaching Literary Engagement From the Index of First Lines: a Corpus-Based Subtextual Approach

William E. Louw
University of Zimbabwe

Abstract

Innovation within a discipline has direct implications for its *theory*. The term *method* reflects the change. By this method we begin the literary analysis of a poem by (1) wildcarding all of the *vocabulary* items within the poem's first line; and then (2) using that line as a search line, we obtain the most frequent variables of its wildcarded slots from a reference corpus. There are a number of consequences for theory in stylistics and criticism. Among the most important ones are: (1) saturation of logical form replaces deviation from the norm, (2) literary criticism is driven in direction of truth and quasi-logic, and (3) because the vocabulary variables of grammatical strings are opaque to intuition, the cognitive is falsified (intuition is unable to cognize the variables of grammar strings). Hence, the results of analysis offer the investigator a fresh heuristic potential with every search. In particular, this paper focuses on demonstrating that the first line of a poem prospects its content through the subtext of the grammatical string employed in it, using the example of a poem by G. M. Hopkins.

Key words: corpus, subtext, stylistics, literary criticism, Contextual Prosodic Theory, semantic prosody, classroom concordance, synthetic a priori

This paper has several objectives that will be carried out simultaneously. All of them bear upon theory and its relationship with method. A new theory is always recognised by means of its method. In Greek the term method implies a paradigm shift: meta (after) + hodos (path). A paradigm shift is always indicated by the fact that a new method replaces the old one. The overthrow of the old method establishes a new path after it has gone.

The main objective of this paper is to show that the first line of a poem makes a promising entry point for criticism, especially if we proceed from the subtext of that line using a computational method which has been derived from the pre-computational era of the philosophy of language. It was Bertrand Russell who declared that a perfectly logical natural language will have a grammar but no vocabulary at all [Russel, 1956, 197]. There were no computers at the time this statement was made. As a result, the intuition of the philosopher stood no chance when it came to discovering the variables in natural language for the positions vacated by vocabulary words, let alone their frequencies.

However, today, they are easily provided from a reference corpus. In Louw [2010b: 642] the most frequent variables for a line from Yeats' poem 'Sailing to Byzantium' are replicably confirmed from all reference corpora. The search line 'that is no * for *' prompted by 'That is no country for old men' always replaces country with reason or excuse as the most frequent quasi-propositional variable. How does this produce literary criticism from the first line and potentially from any and all first lines, possibly only visible in an index of first lines?

We pause at this moment to consider what it is that makes this approach different. We may even attempt this in point from:

1. Because we intend to argue from the subtext of the first line as generalised into the rest of the poem we are attempting a paradigm shift. Most critical appreciation is accustomed to proceed from inferences that relate to deviation from a norm within the sphere of vocabulary.
2. By starting with a grammar string in which all vocabulary has been wildcarded, our new paradigm shift has chosen to rely upon logic as its starting point. This will focus our criticism of the poem upon argument rather than speculation.
3. Hence, instead of deviance, we have made the decision to impose the logical form of the first line [Wittgenstein, 1929] upon any interpretation of what occurs later in the poem.
4. This results in the saturation of the poem and its world with the logic of the first line as its first objective rather than any attempt to structure deviance at the level of vocabulary. Logic is preferred to metaphysics in that process. Piecemeal deviance is replaced by systematic logical saturation.
5. Having chosen this path, logic then proceeds *mero motu* to deal with interlopers of non-p and shows them the door. Any refusal by them to leave then writes the poet/persona's motive [Louw, 2010b:645]. In

‘Sailing to Byzantium’ the persona fails to follow his own advice and in lines 15 and 16 declares:

‘And therefore I have sailed the seas and come
To the holy city of Byzantium.’

6. The suitability of the country for old men is unmasked as a ruse or a pretext because its subtextual variables show that they, on the surface of the text, are little more than a rationalisation.
7. The disqualification of the term country makes the search for motive all the more urgent and intensive. In fact, country as a motive turns out to be less tawdry than the real motive: recognition of one’s status as poet by pagans!
8. Concentration upon logic and argument does two things:
 - 8.1. The vocabulary of the metaphysics of context may now be treated less seriously as mere intensification of reference, and;
 - 8.2. The most frequent vocabulary variables of the grammar string are seen to operate at such a high level of abstractness through their frequency, that they come to represent the moment at which they cease to be vocabulary items and are subsumed into argument. Such collocates are so deeply associated with logic that they finally become part of it, and in doing so, they become immune to the semantic change that affects the rest of the lexis.
9. In fact, when one examines enough of them, one realises that they constitute a category whose presence has been averred for hundreds of years but never proven: the synthetic *a priori*.
And so, we find that the spin-off for our teaching is objectivity. The approach is based upon the computational analysis of material that is hugely frequent and simultaneously opaque to intuition.
10. Hence, the inability to cognise even the most frequent variables using intuition, leads, through the use of this method, to the demise of the cognitive with the inevitable recognition that logic is empirical [Dummet 1976].
11. It was Emmanuel Kant who declared that acceptance of the synthetic *a priori* would be tantamount to a scientific revolution ‘... something he claims will take a Copernican revolution in the way we think about metaphysics and the nature of the mind.’ [Garvey and Stangroom, 2012: 258]. Up to now, it has been only vocabulary that our intuition is confident with, but if we look at the demands that are being made by Kant, our insistence that the search for subtext must begin at the point of greatest intuitive opacity involves a leap of faith that can railroad the interpretation of a line by Yeats away from fake evaluation towards the *a priori* of reasoning itself.

But far and away the most convincing aspects are the implications of not waiting for the sun to go around our theory; but rather to set off instead to capture as much *a priori* knowledge as we can glean by creating a new norm

that follows the dictum of the Vienna Circle: ‘The truth of a proposition is the method of its verification.’ The cognitivist who cannot face cognising in such circumscribed ways, must, like an airline pilot, trust the empiricism of logic: his or her instrumentation. Doing so not only uncovers the most frequent vocabulary collocates, but declares that they have something in common: that their meaning must all have been ascertained when we were only barely sentient.

Grammar String	Collocate with Synthetic A Priori Characteristics
‘that is no * for’	‘reason’, ‘excuse’ (see Louw 2010b)
‘when * *s shall’	‘future generations’ (see Milojkovic, this volume)

The power of the empiricism of natural language’s logic to prospect not only specific categories of metaphysics, but also to bring back the a priori is still in its infancy — but recoverable, as the following first stanza from a poem by Gerard Manly Hopkins will show.

God’s Grandeur

The world is charged with the grandeur of God.
 It will flame out, like shining from shook foil;
 It gathers to a greatness, like the ooze of oil
 Crushed. Why do men then now not reck his rod?
 Generations have trod, have trod, have trod;
 And all is seared with trade; bleared, smeared with toil;
 And wears man’s smudge and shares man’s smell: the soil
 Is bare now, nor can foot feel, being shod.

The first line demands a wildcarded search that proceeds from the search line that is devoid of vocabulary as set out in Russell’s description: ‘the * is *ed with the * of’. The following five lines were yielded by Tim John’s corpus of the Times newspaper, the 1995 issue, consisting of 44.5 million words:

1 ky. Forget peace and quiet, **the air is filled with** the drone of jet skis, alth
 2 and pink and shining. But the face is scored with the lines of severe intelligen
 3 ected to withdraw in 1996, the sport is faced with the prospect of only
 22 cars
 4 rtion) at Bubbua’s Pit BBQ. **The air is filled with** the smell of falafel,
 organic
 5 ly to be closer to 3%. Now **the air is filled with** the sound of forecasts
 crashing

This brings to light the a priori collocate — air. It is filled with smells and sounds which pollute it, and relates to the prospected concerns of the

first stanza, as well as of the second ('nature is never spent...'). It may also throw some light upon the power of this method to find the very line that may have prompted the poet's alteration of it to create the first line.

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About the author: William E. Louw, Senior Lecturer, English Department University of Zimbabwe, Harare, Zimbabwe, e-mail: louwfirth@yahoo.com