

**CORPUS TOOLS AND THE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF IDEOLOGY:  
SEARCHING FOR FASCISM IN *ATLAS SHRUGGED***

**by**

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## ABSTRACT

Advances in computers have revolutionized corpus linguistics. Texts which could until recently only be examined in part, due to size, can now be quickly and thoroughly scanned for specific linguistic elements. Recent studies have begun integrating corpus linguistics with CDA in the interest of assessing large volumes of text for ideological content. It has been claimed that *Atlas Shrugged* reflects a fascist ideology. The presence of fascist ideology was assessed using corpus tools and analysis of significant features in context. A corpus of Nazi texts was compiled to compare ideological elements. The Bank of English was also used as a comparison. Corpus tools were not sufficient in themselves to provide a complete picture of ideology. However they did facilitate comparative keyword and collocational analysis and also the screening of *Atlas Shrugged* for the use of passive voice, ergative verbs and negation. Results were then investigated in context to ascertain their ideological impact. Key elements of fascism were not substantiated. Use of concealed agency did not reflect mitigation of ideological content. Negation, while present, could not be assessed in a purely linguistic study. The ideology was found to be explicit, not concealed, and not indicative of fascism.

This dissertation is dedicated to

my wife Eiko.

Without her patience, love, and understanding I could not have written it.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* (1957) (*henceforth AS*) has been the subject of a great deal of controversy since its publication in 1957. Since initial allegations of masking a fascist ideology (Chambers 1957), and despite a series of philosophical and political rebuttals (Uyl & Rasmussen 1984; Tracinski 2005, Berliner 2007) the charges of fascism remain noticeably active as evidenced by a variety of recent reviews of the work in the general media and on the Internet (Cline 2006, Teachout 2007, Larner 2007, Gibson 2009). In the context of this controversy, it seemed appropriate to analyze *AS* and search for any linguistic elements that could give rise to such an impression. What follows is a corpus based analysis of the linguistic features of the book with a specific focus on examining claims of the presence of fascist ideology in the text of Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* (1957). It is hoped that this analysis may help to inform a model of examining literary texts for ideology.

Chapter 2 provides a brief history of the study of ideology in the field of linguistics. The academic foundations of the use of corpus analysis to assist in the ideological analysis of texts are traced from Saussure's initial definitions of the interplay between society and individual actors in the creation of language to recent studies which attempt to incorporate Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with corpus technology to aid in the detection of specific ideological trends. It is suggested that there is substantial theoretical support to justify the use of corpus tools to search for key structural elements that may, upon closer inspection, reveal ideology inherent in a given text.

Chapter 3 will explain the method of the analysis. *AS* was compared to a generally representative corpus of the English language. In order to form a baseline of comparison, a corpus of Nazi texts was also compiled and compared against the same general corpus. Words which appeared at a significantly higher frequency in either *AS* or the Nazi corpus (hereafter



NC), were then noted as possibly significant of represented ideology. A scholarly definition of the essential ideological elements of fascist ideology was then used to select for potentially ideologically significant terms which could then be checked for possibly informative collocations or be examined more thoroughly in context. The use of concealed agency was also investigated by using the corpus to assist in searching for use of the passive voice and ergative verbs. Finally, the use of negation in the novel was examined by searching for terms indicating negation and then examining those instances in context.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the analysis. A keyword analysis of elements of fascism (nationalism, racism, xenophobia, and statist, anti-democratic discourse) revealed no significant indications of the presence of fascist ideology in AS. In contrast, all lexical items suggestive of fascist ideology were significantly present in the NC. Concealed agency was shown to be a recurring device in the novel, but one used consciously and to stylistic effect, underscoring the author's explicit opinions concerning its use. The ideology indicated by such use did not seem indicative of fascist ideology. Negation in the sense of creating a dichotomy between morally polar opposites was highly present in the novel. However, it did not seem to be used in such a way as to suggest that the constructed sense of positive-self and negative-other representation was distinguished on characteristics indicative of fascist ideology.

Two central issues raised by the analysis are discussed at length in Chapter 5. Possible concerns about the relevance of the NC as a basis of comparison to detect fascist ideology are addressed. It is argued that as a source of ideological indicators, NC is sufficient to prove or disprove a correspondence of ideological content despite differences in genre. Finally, the controversy over AS is discussed. This paper is contextualized within the debate over the charges of fascism. The possible relevance of this paper for informing this debate is

then assessed.

It would seem that corpus analysis is not sufficient in itself to provide a thorough picture of the ideology of a text. However, it can provide clues as to patterns of preoccupation in choice of lexis, which can lead to the investigation of lexis in context to determine the sense in which it is used. Corpus analysis can also inform about collocational patterns which may be invisible to a traditional literary analysis. Finally it can assist in the statistical analysis of structural features dependent on specific lexical items. The results of corpus analysis do not, however, directly inform as to the veracity of an ideology, something which can only be assessed in a primarily philosophical and not linguistic argument. Nevertheless, corpus tools can provide leads to follow which, having been examined in context, can then enable us to readily determine what ideological features are presented and confirm or deny the existence of a given ideology in a given text. This, of course, assumes that both an accepted definition of the ideology is available and that a corpus of texts representative of that ideology is available for cross-comparison. Having analyzed AS in this manner, and using the NC as a representative comparison, it is argued that fascist ideology while confirmed in the NC is seemingly not present in AS. It is hoped that studies of this kind may provide relatively objective tools to assess the ideology of controversial texts.

## CHAPTER 2: THE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF IDEOLOGY

The history of modern linguistics is intricately connected with the study of ideology. This chapter will attempt to justify the theoretical foundations of the current study in terms of the history of the involvement of linguistics research in ideological studies. Of specific importance is the justification of using corpus analysis to expose the ideology of a text and the conditions under which it is acceptable to do so. Consequently, the theoretical lineage of ideas which support such studies is also necessary. It is argued that the current study is compatible both with current research into the coordination of corpus analysis with CDA and the broader scope of linguistic studies of ideological content. A review of these studies would seem to indicate the framework for a model of analysis which may provide insight into the ideological content of a text. This may be an especially useful tool in cases where the ideology expressed by a given text is the subject of controversy, as in AS.

Recently, Baker, et al. (2008) have advocated a synergy between critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus linguistics. Building off of a series of recent ideological studies of discourse incorporating corpus tools (Baker 2004; Baker & McEnery 2005; Orpin 2005; McEnery 2006), they utilized a combination of corpus linguistics and CDA to analyze a large corpus of newspaper articles for ideological perspectives of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants (RASIM). They verified that the corpus analysis complemented the results of the CDA analysis and in fact expanded upon it by revealing the presence of positive minority views of RASIM, whereas the CDA analysis did not (Baker, et al. 2008). They also made specific recommendations for the role of corpus linguistics in CDA. They suggest that corpus linguistics can be used to “provide a general ‘pattern map’” of a large volume of data. First, it can provide information on which lexical items appear at a disproportionate frequency as compared to a general corpus. These keywords can then be checked for collocations which

may yield additional insight into the preoccupations of the authors. Finally, concordances of interest can be examined closely to verify the context of statements and the linguistic elements involved.

The current study was constructed along similar themes. Using a general corpus as a standard of normal usage, AS and the NC were both compared against a general corpus to provide evidence of preoccupation with certain themes. The specific themes to be investigated were drawn from a survey of academic definitions of fascism. The keywords and collocations produced from this comparison were then examined in context to assess the ideological intent of the occurrences. Corpus analysis was useful in identifying comparatively high frequency words in both AS and the NC which, once checked against the academic definition of fascism, could then be investigated using a concordancer to check for collocations. Also the corpus tools enabled the relatively timely evaluation of structural elements such as the passive voice or ergative verbs and the presence of negation. However, to better understand the validity of this research method, it is first necessary to review the chain of linguistic research that has led to the current study.

In the early 1900s, Ferdinand de Saussure originated what he called “semiology, ‘the life of signs in society’” (Kress & Hodge 1979: 10). He held that a *langue* is held together by social forces and does not readily change, but that small gradual changes in *parole*, or the use of language by individuals, can eventually force a change in *langue*. Saussure maintained the absence of political design in this system and asserted that all individuals have equal access (Joseph 2006: 64). The potential impact of a concerted and politically motivated secondary influence on *langue* by consciously influencing *parole*, while dismissed by Saussure, is still suggested by his work. It is also a suggestion of the subtle and perhaps not readily apparent interplay of ideology with the changing interpretations of language in use.

In 1929, Valentin Voloshinov criticized Saussure for ignoring the ideological nature of signs. He emphasized the Marxist school of thought which interpreted language in terms of class struggle.

“Signs are ideological by their very nature, and social existence is not merely reflected in them but ‘refracted’ by them...No speech act is individual; they are always social, even if the addressee exists only in the speaker’s imagination” (Joseph 2006: 65).

This idea was highly influential in the development of the study of ideology in language, but his writings were not largely available outside the Soviet Union until the 1960s by which time other researchers had reached similar conclusions independently (Joseph 2006: 65). The social semantics of J.R. Firth, for example, dealt with the analysis of meaning in words.

“the complete meaning of a word is always contextual, and no study of meaning apart from a complete context can be taken seriously” (Firth 1935 in Stubbs 1996: 53).

Stubbs notes that a major criticism of corpus linguistics has been the claim that a corpus cannot give insight into meaning. He claims that “Firth’s notion of meaning as a function in context, and more specifically the concept of collocation” has been a “connecting thread” between traditional semantic analysis and the modern use of corpora (Stubbs 1996: 35). Voloshinov and Firth provide the links between the meaning of the words used and the context in which they are used. Their work suggests that the full meaning of any given word can only be understood in the context of its appearance, that understanding the social situation in which an utterance comes to be has a direct effect on the meaning encoded by that utterance. The groundwork was thus set to examine the pattern of co-occurrence of words, or collocations.

Whereas this previous research suggested that the pattern of word use and semantic structure had a mutually influential interaction with social structure to some degree, it was not until the formulation of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in the 1950s that serious attention was

paid to the extent to which language and thought influence each other. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis can essentially be reduced to the question, “Does language shape thought?” While there are still many controversies surrounding this proposition, research does indicate that habitual patterns of language use have a limited effect on how people think of certain concepts (Casasanto 2008). The converse of this hypothesis, ‘Does thought shape language?’ would seem to be a given. However, of special concern to this study is the extent to which thought shapes unconscious language choice. To what extent are the patterns of word choice in a text reflective of the thought process of the author? If an author holds a certain ideology, even secretly, to what extent will the presence of that ideology, as an internalized system of thought, influence the author’s word choices? Will this affect collocation patterns? Will it be represented in the author’s strategic choices to represent processes and participants?

Erving Goffman’s research into “face” led him to claim “a functional relationship between the structure of self and the structure of spoken interaction” (Goffman 1955 in Joseph 2006: 67). While this also seems reminiscent of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and Goffman’s research focused mainly on spoken discourse, the relevance to the current study lies in his observations on how ideological information could be transferred by relatively innocuous elements of communication.

“The human tendency to use signs and symbols means that evidence of social worth and of mutual evaluations will be conveyed by very minor things, and these things will be witnessed, as will the fact that they have been witnessed. An unguarded glance, a momentary change in tone of voice, an ecological position taken or not taken, can drench a talk with judgmental significance” (Goffman 1955 in Joseph 2006: 67).

With the advent of Critical Discourse Analysis, Foucault, Fairclough, Lemke, among others, further developed the analysis of ideology by maintaining that grammatical and lexical patterns in discourse are indicative of “which meanings are repeatedly expressed in a discourse community” (Stubbs 1996: 158). They held the view that the regular use of patterns which “embody particular social values” could inform the researcher of social values encoded

in the use of language.

Further developing the concept of collocations, Sinclair and Louw identified “semantic prosody” or how collocations influence the positive or negative impact of a word (Stubbs 1996: 173).

“Many uses of words and phrases show a tendency to occur in a certain semantic environment. For example, the verb *happen* is associated with unpleasant things—accidents and the like.” (Sinclair 1991: 112).

The development of these strains of linguistic thought can be seen to converge in corpus linguistics. If social values are encoded in patterns of language use, and if words collocate in a way that creates “semantic prosody”, then we should be able to analyze the co-occurrence of words in a text and be able to draw conclusions as to the ideological values encoded therein. The advent of the use of computers in corpus research has greatly reduced the practical limitations on conducting such research and the use of corpora in ideological investigations is steadily increasing.

Additionally, corpus tools may be useful in scanning a text for structural features represented by grammatical forms as opposed to specifically thematic lexis. There are a variety of structural features which have been shown to be frequent indicators of ideology. Ng and Bradac argued that nominalization, passivization and sequencing “are used for ideological control as ‘masking devices’” (Jaworski & Coupland 2006: 474). What this means is that even though certain grammatical devices can be used to obscure actors and agency within a text, we first must identify which nominalizations are significant, which means we must ultimately start with a concept of which words to look for. For example, we may be able to say that the sentence ‘Anti-war demonstrators were injured today’ isolates the responsible party, the actor, from conscious appraisal. This is a fine place to start if the body of text one is researching is relatively small. However it also presupposes that we know what to look for, i.e.

that we know someone was injured and that we wanted then to look for passivizations of words like hurt or injured. If we are not aware of which actions are referred to in the text (for example if we are studying a large corpus of data), then it may be less readily apparent what it is we should be searching for.

In the current study, nominalization was not investigated due to the lack of specifically representative lexis for which to search. However, passivization was readily searchable due to the fixed form of be-verb + past participle. All instances of the be-verb in various tenses were identified using a concordancer. The results were narrowed down to those accompanying a past participle and finally checked to verify that only instances of the passive voice remained. The remaining concordance lines were then examined in context to determine if the function of the passive voice was to conceal agency in such a way as to mask ideology. In this way, while the analysis was not wholly dependent on corpus tools, corpus analysis did provide information which enabled a more thorough and efficient assessment of the author's semantic strategies.

Another linguistic feature that has been recognized as indicating ideology, at least in regards to racism, is negation. Van Dijk (1992) observed that "even the most blatantly racist discourse in our data routinely features denials or at least mitigations of racism." Pagano further supports this by addressing the use of implicit denials.

"The fact that they make no reference to an explicit proposition, however, does not mean that they appear out of the blue, without any connection at all to the topic being developed. They occur because there must be some reason why the writer feels the need to use a negative" (Pagano 1994).

This, too, unfortunately suffers from some of the same problems as the idea of searching for passivizations and nominalizations. A corpus search for key forms of negation like 'no' and 'not' could be performed, but the frequency of these terms may threaten to inundate the researcher in data. In the current study, a corpus search of AS did produce a



massive amount of data. These negative terms produced no significant collocations which suggested fascism. But as that may have simply been a failure of method, the resulting concordances were also manually checked to ascertain the ideological content of the use of negation. There appeared to be no concealed ideology represented by these features beyond that explicitly present in the novel. Once again, while corpus data enabled a certain narrowing of the field, conscious appraisal on the part of the researcher was also required to make final judgments about the ideological import of these features.

As Fowler (1996: 9) reminds us, “Significance (ideology) cannot simply be read off the linguistic forms that description has identified in the text, because the same form (nominalization, for example) has different significances in different contexts.” That is to say that even if we do know which nominalizations to look for, we would then have to investigate their concordances to determine if we are looking at a proper representation of the frequency and usage of words being used in the appropriate sense. In the case of relatively frequent words, it may be prohibitively time-consuming to sort the false positives from the truly significant data. At the very least, examining these elements would require a more traditional approach to analysis. In the current study, a mixed methodology combining aspects of both corpus analysis and CDA was used. Corpus analysis was used to isolate significant elements followed by conscious appraisal of significant concordances in context. This combined approach enabled the relatively time-efficient appraisal of AS, a massive text at over a thousand pages. Clearly, corpus analysis by itself is not sufficient to analysing a text for ideology. It must also be accompanied by attention to the context of utterances.

Drawing off the work of Sperber and Wilson, Fengyuan (2004) enumerates four ways in which contexts facilitate the interpretation of meaning. First, context helps to disambiguate words, like ‘he’s *hot!*’ as opposed to ‘It’s *hot* today’. Secondly, it helps determine

“illocutionary force” or the intent of the word, for example the difference between making a simple statement and being sarcastic. Third, it helps to identify the “implicatures” of the word. For example, the statement, “I have to work” may just be a statement, but if it is preceded by the question, “Are you going to her party?” then it may be taken as an implication that the answering participant cannot go because they have work, even though the words as such do not say this. Fourth, context determines how the words are to be taken: literally, metaphorically, or ironically (Fengyuan 2004: 35). Consequently, simply the presence of similar terms in AS and the NC would not be sufficient in itself to establish a similar ideological intent. These instances must be reviewed in the context of their utterance so as to eliminate the ambiguity engendered by decontextualization.

This leads back to Baker, et al. (2008) and to the present study, where it is hoped to build upon this theoretical framework in the analysis of AS. If the aforementioned theoretical claims are valid, then essentially the ideological content of a text should be identifiable by comparing it to a general corpus, isolating keywords and significant structures, then further investigating the use of those features in context. Conversely, if such an analysis reveals no significant indications of a given ideology, then the claim should be able to be made that that ideology is not significantly present in the text. This method should provide a relatively objective diagnostic tool to assist in assessing claims of the presence of certain ideologies. Of course, such a study in isolation cannot offer conclusive evidence of the presence or absence of a specific ideology.

In this study, a text was compared against a corpus which has been established as being clearly representative of the ideology in question, namely the NC. If my assertions held true, then the text should produce similar patterns of focus if that ideology is present, i.e. a preoccupation with similar ideological viewpoints. However, if AS did not present indicators

of fascist ideology where the fascist corpus did, then AS should be free of such ideology. In the final analysis, AS did not present any such indicators of a fascist ideology. The method whereby this was determined will be described in further detail in Chapter 3 and the analysis itself in Chapter 4.

### CHAPTER 3: USING CORPUS TOOLS AND CDA TO DETECT IDEOLOGY

“I am advocating that we should trust the text. We should be open to what it may tell us. We should not impose our ideas on it, except perhaps just to get started. We should only apply loose and flexible frameworks until we see what the preliminary results are in order to accommodate the new information that will come from the text. We should expect that we will encounter unusual phenomena; we should accept that a large part of our linguistic behaviour is subliminal, and therefore we may find a lot of surprises. We should search for models that are specifically appropriate to the study of texts and discourse.” (Sinclair 1992)

In the spirit of this quote from Sinclair, preconceptions of both fascism and Rand’s work were to be avoided as much as possible. The first problem was to discover a description of fascism which could provide clues as to concepts to test for in Rand’s work. In order to assess claims of fascism, it was first necessary to assess what, exactly, fascism is. Mudde (1995) conducted a survey of definitions of right-wing extremist movements in the academic literature and identified general agreement on five key elements of fascism: nationalism, racism, xenophobia, dedication to a strong state, and anti-democracy. The strong state element was further distinguished as consisting of militarism, a focus on maintaining law and order, and anti-pluralism. For the purposes of this analysis, anti-democracy and the strong state elements have been conflated due to the overlap between anti-pluralism and anti-democracy. Mudde cautions against overgeneralization, but he paid special attention to conceptualizing the terms of his definition thereby greatly reducing potential ambiguity. Also, since his work is based on a broad synthesis of academic definitions, the elements he proposed seemed to present a potentially objective definition of such ideology. As such it would be ideally suited for use as an inventory of items to search for in AS. The problem was to form a suitable model that would allow Rand’s work to be tested for these ideological components.

Starting with Mudde’s (1995) elements of fascism, there seemed to be no alternative but to brainstorm words which could reasonably be thought to express the elements of nationalism, racism, xenophobia, and the strong state. However, it would not be sufficient simply to search AS for these terms without first trying to validate their usage in fascist

literature. In response to this need, a corpus of English translations of Nazi propaganda speeches (Bytwerk 2008) and the full text of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (1924) were retrieved from the internet. Propaganda was chosen because if Ayn Rand's novel was to be actually advocating fascism, then it would have to be a work of fascist propaganda and similar in its ideological content. Also, speeches were included because *AS* is a literary novel with large tracts of dialogue and it was thought this would help compensate for the difference between *Mein Kampf*, which is mostly first person narrative, and the stylistic characteristics of a work of literary fiction. Nazi sources were exclusively utilized since it is in reference to the Nazis that Rand is most commonly attributed with fascism. If there is, indeed, a similarity then there can be no better work to compare than that of the Nazi movement's most prominent speakers and writers. Appendix 1 contains a list of all the texts included and their sources.

WordSmith Tools 5 was then used to compile frequency lists and concordances of the data. *AS* was scanned into the computer and ABBYY Finereader 9.0 optical character recognition (OCR) software was used to create a searchable text file that could be imported into the concordancer. After generating a frequency list for *AS*, the list of key terms was refined to accommodate the discovery of related terms and lemmas. The frequencies of all of the resulting phrases were then calculated for both texts and compared against frequencies drawn from the Bank of English. All of the general corpus data comes from the Bank of English corpus jointly owned by HarperCollins Publishers and the University of Birmingham. In 2007, the corpus stood at 450 million words.

In order to be conservative in claims of significance, only terms which exceeded the Bank of English frequency by greater than 0.01% were investigated further. Also, only terms which registered at least 0.01% frequency were taken to be significant. While this method could perhaps overlook subtler differences, it was considered necessary to sufficiently limit

the data under analysis. By first checking the terms against the Nazi corpus (henceforth NC) and then the Bank of English, it was possible to determine if the terms were actually prominent in an unquestionably fascist text. Then, by examining concordances for those same terms in AS, it was possible to assess the book for any such ideological content.

In searching for concealed agency, it was decided to focus on ergative verbs and the passive voice because searching for nominalizations produced too large a category of lexical items. Also transitivity, as such, is not something that can be readily investigated with corpus tools as there is not a specific set of searchable intransitive lexis. A list of 293 commonly used ergative words was obtained from Wiktionary.com. The words were checked to verify their proper classification as ergative and then the concordancer was used to search for instances in AS of these verbs in the various tenses. The resulting concordances were then checked individually to verify whether the usage was concealing agency and to establish the context of use. Similarly, the passive voice was examined by searching for instances of forms of “to be”. The resulting concordances were then screened to isolate only instances of the passive voice. As a matter of possible interest, AS presented 2777 instances of passive voice as detected by the concordancer out of an estimated 44,359 sentences (a ratio of .06). The NC presented 5,100 instances of passive voice out of an estimated 21,652 sentences (a ratio of .24). However, caution must be taken in interpreting these statistics as the number of passive occurrences for each is not an absolute value. Concordances which were not readily ascertainable as being passive may have been overlooked; for example, those with an adverbial phrase interjected between the be-verb and the participle. Also, the possibility remains that the total number of sentences calculated by the concordancer may have been skewed by the format of the original text files and its parameters for calculating sentence boundaries. This method of searching for instances of the passive voice cannot be said to be

comprehensive, but it does provide a decent sample of occurrences from which to form judgements. After instances of passive voice were isolated, this sample was then further screened to isolate instances where agency was apparently concealed. Finally, the remaining concordances were examined in context to establish any ideological ramifications.

Similarly, in examining the use of negation in the novel, a list was compiled of words indicating negation. These were then searched for using the concordancer and the resulting concordances examined for ideological significance. The sheer volume of data produced by the concordancer prohibited the detailed analysis of all instances of negation in AS. However, careful reading of the novel provided insight into the nature of its use to form concepts of good and evil. That there is a clear distinction between two groups, one defined as good and one defined as evil, is something explicitly present in the novel and not an issue of debate. The relevance to the current study is whether such classifications are indicative of a fascist ideology, i.e. are the moral distinctions between good and evil based on distinctions of characteristics peculiar to fascist thought such as race, nationality, and so on. The novel, as a whole, was examined with these elements in mind and found no significant instances of any elements supporting a fascist ideology. The results of the analysis will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 4: LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS FOR ELEMENTS OF FASCIST IDEOLOGY**

The preceding sections provide the theoretical justifications of this analysis and the applied methodology. The following sections will discuss the results of the keyword analysis specifically in relation to Mudde's (1995) elements of fascism (nationalism, racism, xenophobia, and statist, anti-democratic discourse) (4.1-4.4), also the concealment of causation through the use of agentless processes as realized by ergative verbs and the passive voice (4.5), and the use of negation (4.6). AS and the NC were compared against the Bank of English, and abnormally high frequency keywords relevant to the above features were examined in depth. AS presented no indications of a preoccupation with nationalism, racism, or xenophobia. In contrast, the NC predictably presented a high frequency of statements indicating all three. In AS there are some indications of disparaging unregulated democratic process for reaching moral conclusions but neither does it advocate a central authority. The NC is quite explicit in its condemnation of any democratic process and advocates central totalitarian authority to be involved in all decisions. Rand explicitly acknowledges the existence of the practice of concealing agency to mask ideological intent and thus unsurprisingly analysis of AS revealed that she actively uses this device to underscore the immorality of concealing agency to negate responsibility and subjugate classes of society. Instances of negation were found to be too numerous to be interpreted without an in-depth literary analysis, an analysis which it is argued must rest on a philosophical argument addressing the validity of the characterizations of good and evil and beyond the scope of a primarily corpus-based analysis. Ultimately, the analysis revealed no indications of fascist ideology in AS based on the methodology as outlined here.



## 4.1 Nationalism

In order to check for the presence of nationalistic sentiments, a list was generated of words that pertained to or could be associated with nations, states, countries, etc. The assumption was that if one is prominently concerned with preaching love of or duty to a political entity, then terms representing that entity should appear more frequently than would normally be expected. In order to compensate for the fact that the NC would be predisposed to Germany and that AS was set in the United States, nation specific terms were not checked for across texts. For example, instead of comparing the status of ‘American’ in both lists, ‘American’ would be checked for in AS and compared with the corresponding word ‘German’ in the NC. All other terms would be treated equally. The full list of frequency data for terms checked is presented in Appendix 2. Table 1 provides a frequency list of only those terms which differed significantly from the general corpus in either AS or the NC.

**TABLE 1: Frequency List of Significant Terms Relating to Nationalism**

Atlas Shrugged			Nazi Corpus			Bank of English		
	572396			478266			450	
	words			words			million	
							words	
word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.
country	325	0.06%	German	2063	0.43%	national	201582	0.04%
state	225	0.04%	state	1050	0.22%	country	200157	0.04%
national	100	0.02%	national	1033	0.22%	state	192616	0.04%
nation	44	0.01%	Germany	996	0.21%	American	182986	0.04%
states	42	0.01%	nation	795	0.17%	states	125299	0.03%
America	12	0.00%	nations	307	0.06%	America	102493	0.02%
American	10	0.00%	Germans	301	0.06%	United States	78272	0.02%
United States	9	0.00%	states	273	0.06%	German	65904	0.01%
nationalization	7	0.00%	country	178	0.04%	Germany	65845	0.01%
Americans	3	0.00%	fatherland	114	0.02%	nations	50356	0.01%
countrymen	1	0.00%	countrymen	27	0.01%	nation	47559	0.01%
			germanic	26	0.01%	Americans	41738	0.01%
			germanism	25	0.01%	Germans	14084	0.00%
						countrymen	1488	0.00%
						germanic	499	0.00%
						fatherland	496	0.00%
						nationalization	350	0.00%
						germanism	9	0.00%

The first feature of note is that the only word in the AS list to vary significantly from the general corpus is “country”. “Country” only appears with a frequency of 4% in the corpus, but has frequency of 6% in AS. The NC, however, presents many more significant terms, such as “German” which differs from the general corpus by 42%, “Germany” which varies by 20%, “state” and “national” which vary by 18%, “nation” by 16%, “nations” by 5% and so on. Where words are not listed in a column, it is because they did not present any occurrences in that particular text (as in the case of “nationalization” which appeared in AS but not in the NC, or “fatherland” which appeared in the NC but not in AS).

As was discussed in 3.1, frequency alone is not sufficient to judge the content of ideology. In order to gain a sense of Rand’s usage, the “pattern” function of WordSmith Tools was used to calculate a visual depiction of high-occurring collocates of “country”. This “pattern” is a chart depicting the rank of words based on frequency of collocation to the node or “center” and by position relative to the node (L/R 1-5 for how many spaces left or right of the node). The pattern for “country” is provided in Table 2.

**TABLE 2: Collocation Pattern for “country” in AS**

Rank	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Center	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	THE	THE	TO	OF	THE	COUNTRY	AND	THE	TO	THE	THE
2	OF	EVERY	ALL	IN	THIS		TO	A	OF	OF	THAT
3	IN	TO	RAILROAD	THE	A		IN	TO	THE	IT	TO
4	FROM	BEST	OF	TO	WHOLE		HE	YOU	AND	THAT	A
5	A	AND	LEFT	OVER	ONLY		I	DON'T	NOT	TO	YOU
6	TO	OF	PART	THROUGH			THE	WAS	FOR	ITS	OF
7	FOR	A		ACROSS			IS	HAD	YOU	WHAT	ARE
8	ARE			FROM			BUT	NO	KNOW	I	
9	BE			SAVE			FOR	SHE	ONE	A	
10	EVERY			THAT			THAT		THAT		
11							AS				
12							WILL				
13							OF				
14							ON				
15							WHO				
16							IT				
17							WAS				

The only collocate of “country” that appears to have any evaluative meaning would be “best”. In order to further investigate the context of the collocation, a concordance was run looking for all co-occurrences of the two words. The resulting 8 concordance lines are in Table 3. As can be seen, there is not even one use where “best” is being used to describe “country”. All uses are for describing the best something which is in its physical domain and not a quality of the nation itself. This is unsurprising given that on the literary level, the moral status of a country as defined in AS is in terms of its adherence to a doctrine of human rights and not as an a priori quality of the country per se. If there was a preoccupation with nationalism, one would expect that terms co-occurring with terms referring to the country in question would tend to emphasize the superiority of that nation to others. This was not the case. However, as can be seen in the parallel analysis of the NC in Tables 4, 5, and 6, this is exactly what was discovered.

**TABLE 3: Concordance lines of “best” and “country” in AS**

1 But you're still **the best railroad in the country**. When the John Galt Line is completed, you'll  
2 we worked for **the best factory in the country**, where old man Starnes hired nothing but the  
3 "We have mobilized **the best brains of the country** to work for your welfare. This great invention  
4 Now you have **the best railroad in the country**, the newspapers call you the greatest business executive  
5 is to be **the best railroad in the country**. Judging by every known standard, it is the  
6 not?" "We're still **the best railroad in the country**. The others are doing much worse." "Then do  
7 silent. "He was **the best contractor in the country**." They looked at each other. What she wanted  
8 among the chairs. **The best leadership of the country**, that stood about in nervous clusters, had the

A similar process was used to evaluate the use of “country” in the NC. Table 4 shows the collocation pattern for “country” in the NC. Of particular interest is the prominence of “love” and “mother”. Concordance lines revealed five instances of “love (of/for) (their/his) country”. They also revealed seven instances of the phrase “mother country” which would

seem to carry a semantic prosody which encouraging feelings of maternal love and duty. These concordances are shown in Tables 5 and 6. The explicit connections with “greatness”, “passionate”, “patriotism”, “common” and “holy” provide further support for the prosody of these associations. Based on these observations, it does not seem likely that nationalism has a significant representation in AS.

**TABLE 4: Collocation Pattern for “country” in NC**

Rank	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	THE	THE	IN	IN	THE	COUNTRY	THE	THE	THE	THE	THE
2	OF	AND	OF	OF	THAT		IN	A	TO	OF	TO
3	IS	OF	LOVE	THE	OUR		AND		WORLD	THAT	OF
4		A		THEIR	A		TO		A	TO	AND
5				FOR	HIS		IT		BE		IN
6				WITH	THEIR		WE				
7					MOTHER		IS				
8					OWN		WHICH				
9					THIS		OF				

**TABLE 5: Concordance lines of “love” and “country” in NC**

- 1 women, filled with **an ardent love for their country** and a passionate spirit of national patriotism. Therefore
- 2 sacrifice their lives, but **the love of their country**, the faith which they had in its greatness,
- 3 all filled with **an ardent love for their country**, urged on by their own courageous spirit or
- 4 honest idealist, who, **out of love for his country**, had removed from circulation some miserable informer that
- 5 were imbued with **an ardent love for their country** and a readiness to take the initiative in

**TABLE 6: Concordance lines of “mother” and “country” in NC**

- 1 which will enhance the area of **the mother country**, and hence not only keep the new settlers
- 2 in connection with a formation whose **political mother country** is limited to the absurd area of five
- 3 German-Austrian people for union with **the German mother country**, that arose in the days when the Habsburg
- 4 German-Austria must return to **the great German mother country**, and not because of any economic considerations. No,

5 never ceased to feel for **the common mother country**, and only a remnant was left for the  
6 to all those who, detached from **their mother country**, have to fight even for the holy treasure  
7 way could the Anschluss with **the old mother country** be restored. Consequently, this activity of the Social

## 4.2 Racism

The same approach as in 4.1 was used for the analysis of racism. The full frequency listing of words checked for the racism element is in Appendix 3. Table 7 provides a frequency list of only those terms which differed significantly from the general corpus in either AS or the NC. The predominance of colors in the list of chosen words is due to the consideration of subtle racism. For example, if many of the heroes were predominantly described as having blue eyes but not directly identified as white, it may create an implicitly racist message. Major religions, ethnic distinctions and nationalities were also checked so as to ascertain the potential for biases against various groups. The words that registered as significant in AS were light, dark, blue, gold, green, gray, and Mexico. The significant words in the NC were jewish, jew, jews, Europe, race, racial, jewry, Aryan, and races.

**TABLE 7: Frequency List of Significant Terms Relating to Racism**

Atlas Shrugged 572396 words			Nazi Corpus 478266 words			Bank of English 450 million words		
word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.
light	272	0.05%	jewish	316	0.07%	europa	104711	0.02%
dark	145	0.03%	jew	308	0.06%	light	86488	0.02%
blue	122	0.02%	jews	300	0.06%	race	68839	0.02%
gold	103	0.02%	europa	289	0.06%	green	62421	0.01%
green	102	0.02%	race	202	0.04%	blue	54775	0.01%
gray	98	0.02%	racial	141	0.03%	gold	53685	0.01%
mexico	35	0.01%	jewry	95	0.02%	dark	40309	0.01%
race	30	0.01%	light	70	0.01%	jewish	19259	0.00%
europa	14	0.00%	aryan	61	0.01%	grey	18357	0.00%
races	2	0.00%	races	40	0.01%	mexico	16862	0.00%
			dark	24	0.01%	racial	13689	0.00%
			gray	9	0.00%	races	13527	0.00%
			blue	7	0.00%	jews	13319	0.00%
			green	1	0.00%	gray	9960	0.00%
			mexico	1	0.00%	jew	2499	0.00%
						aryan	501	0.00%
						jewry	461	0.00%

While the NC shows a marked preoccupation with race and particularly Jews, AS does not reveal such conclusive data. The frequent mention of Mexico can be attested to the fact that the nationalization of a railroad and a mine there is a significant plot event. Even though Mexico is the site of this negative event, all nations in the world of AS are represented with similar political aims, so there are no signs that Mexico has been singled out. The pattern for “light” did not reveal any words correlating to racism and a review of the concordance lines revealed that all uses of light were either in regards to lighting or in description of emotion. The marked frequency is most likely due to the necessity of describing the many scenes in the novel, perhaps not as necessary an element in a personal narrative like *Mein Kampf* or in a speech.

Table 7 also shows that the relative distribution of colors is fairly balanced. In order to assess how the colors are used in describing genetic traits of the characters, concordances were run for the terms “eyes”, “hair”, and “skin”. Out of 657 instances of “eyes” in AS only 29 were accompanied by a description of color and these describing only eleven distinct characters. Only four of the eleven characters are villainous, the rest are heroic in character. Three heroic characters and two villains have blue eyes. One minor heroic character has hazel and green eyes. One villain has brown eyes and one hero has eyes described only as dark, which could mean brown if it is referring to color but is ambiguous. One hero and one villain each are described with gray eyes. This hero is also referred to once as having blue-gray eyes. Finally, the main heroic character, John Galt, has green eyes. The breakdown of eye colors and the nature of the character described are summarized in Table 8. No other characters are described in terms of eye color.

**TABLE 8: Eye colors and Character Nature**

Color	# of instances describing “eyes”	% total of “eyes” + any color	Hero or Villain	# of instances describing this character type	% total of character descriptions
blue	10	35%	Hero	8	26%
			Villain	2	8%
blue-gray	1	4%	Hero	1	4%
			Villain	0	0%
brown	3	11%	Hero	0	0%
			Villain	3	11%
dark	1	4%	Hero	1	4%
			Villain	0	0%
gray	3	10%	Hero	2	7%
			Villain	1	4%
green	9	32%	Hero	9	32%
			Villain	0	0%
hazel + green	1	4%	Hero	1	4%
			Villain	0	0%
TOTAL	29	100%	Total Hero	22	76%
			Total Villain	7	24%
			TOTAL	29	100%

There are 125 instances of “hair” in AS of which 29 describe the color of hair. Ten occurrences describe “dust”, “gray”, or “graying” hair which was not indicative of any specific color, as all colors of hair can turn gray with age. John Galt is described as having “chestnut”, “sun-colored”, and “gold-copper” hair. Another hero is described twice with “gold” and three times with “blond”. Two main heroic characters and a minor hero as well as a minor villain are also described with blond hair. One hero has brown hair. Finally one hero and one villain each have black hair. Once again, villains are described far less than heroes,

but they seem eligible for the same hair descriptions as any other character.

Finally, “skin” appears 49 times in AS of which only 8 instances mention coloring. One villain’s skin is described as “purplish”. Another villain’s color is compared to “the tinge of butter”. Four heroic characters are described as being tanned, with John Galt being further described as “chestnut brown” or like “poured metal”. The main female character, Dagny Taggart, is described once as having “creamy” skin.

Despite the significant presence of colors in AS, the use of the colors seems relatively balanced between character descriptions. While many of the heroes can be deduced to be Caucasian and one is clearly Hispanic, physical identification based on superficial genetic characteristics does not seem to be prominent. Furthermore, despite the relative absence of representatives of various ethnic types, which could perhaps be seen by some as suspicious precisely because of that omission, and the fact that the most important characters can be identified as white or Caucasian, heroes and villains are not disproportionately assigned to these racial categories. There seems to be a fair mix of character types under any genetic distinction. Based on these observations it does not seem likely that racism has a significant presence in AS.

### **4.3 Xenophobia**

The same approach as in 4.1 and 4.2 was used for the analysis of xenophobia. The main criterion for initial word selection was anything which could pertain to the establishment of in and out groups or an excessive preoccupation with such. The full frequency listing of words checked for the xenophobia element is in Appendix 4. Table 9 provides a frequency list of only those terms which differed significantly from the general corpus in either AS or the NC. Words that ranked significantly in AS were “they”, “them”, “like”, “others”, “friends”,



“friend”, “strange”, “enemy”, “enemies”, “theirs”, “ours”, and “stranger”. The rest of the listed words are those that ranked significant from the NC.

**TABLE 9: Frequency List of Significant Terms Relating to Xenophobia**

Atlas Shrugged			Nazi Corpus			Bank of English		
572396 words			478266 words			450 million words		
word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.
in	7425	1.30%	in	10254	2.14%	in	8143020	1.81%
they	2919	0.51%	we	3615	0.76%	they	1830327	0.41%
them	1770	0.31%	they	3076	0.64%	we	1486402	0.33%
we	1541	0.27%	our	2888	0.60%	them	652612	0.15%
like	1403	0.25%	them	1137	0.24%	like	645429	0.14%
us	658	0.11%	us	1079	0.23%	other	592811	0.13%
our	587	0.10%	other	772	0.16%	our	460178	0.10%
other	440	0.08%	same	584	0.12%	us	414159	0.09%
same	293	0.05%	like	313	0.07%	same	228802	0.05%
others	259	0.05%	enemy	286	0.06%	different	150836	0.03%
friends	150	0.03%	foreign	251	0.05%	others	112456	0.02%
friend	89	0.02%	others	204	0.04%	foreign	107966	0.02%
strange	68	0.01%	different	171	0.04%	friends	82174	0.02%
enemy	58	0.01%	enemies	147	0.03%	friend	61443	0.01%
enemies	57	0.01%	similar	72	0.02%	similar	60910	0.01%
theirs	56	0.01%	friends	48	0.01%	strange	22408	0.00%
different	47	0.01%	friend	40	0.01%	friendly	22368	0.00%
ours	33	0.01%	ours	37	0.01%	differences	21981	0.00%
stranger	33	0.01%	differently	33	0.01%	enemy	15331	0.00%
friendly	18	0.00%	friendly	32	0.01%	enemies	7655	0.00%
differences	5	0.00%	differences	30	0.01%	differently	7260	0.00%
similar	5	0.00%	alien	29	0.01%	ours	5913	0.00%
alien	4	0.00%	strange	19	0.00%	stranger	5618	0.00%
foreign	3	0.00%	stranger	7	0.00%	alien	5346	0.00%
differently	1	0.00%	theirs	5	0.00%	theirs	4461	0.00%

The use of pronominal markers, while they bear the potential for expressing information about xenophobic tendencies, was deemed to be too ambiguous for the purposes of this study. The sheer volume would be prohibitive of a timely investigation of the senses in which they actually appear. As there were no qualitative terms that collocated significantly

with them, it was decided to focus, instead, on the highest ranked content words from the list. For subjects of enquiry this left “others”, “friends”, “friend”, “strange”, “enemy”, “enemies”, and “stranger”.

The only qualitative word to collocate with others was “good”. This was in the largely fixed phrase “the good of others” which seemed to be exclusively used to contrast with what it considered to be good for oneself. There were no other prominent qualitative collocates for this term. “Friend” seems to refer equally both to friends of the heroic and villainous characters and to both sincere and false protestations of friendship. “Friends” is used similarly, although the prominent collocation, “friends in Washington” appears twelve times. The immediate context does not establish any inherent negativity, but there is a sense of negative semantic prosody acquired through the course of the novel. The uses of “strange” tend to focus on expressions of emotion or in one case to describe John Galt’s face. Otherwise there is no xenophobic use of the word. “Stranger” appears to also be used mainly in its literal meanings pertaining to persons unknown for good or ill.

Finally, “enemy” and “enemies” were marked as significant but did not collocate with any specific group of people. It perhaps should also be mentioned that one of the recurrent themes in the novel is the shifting from enmity to friendship as stemming from moral decisions. Enemies are those which are morally opposed and both the heroes and the villains refer to the opposite group as enemies. Once again, to illuminate the difference between AS and the NC, in the NC “enemy” was found to collocate highly with “Jew”. Furthermore, both “enemy” and “enemies” collocated highly with “mortal” as in ‘mortal enemy/enemies’. This seems to imply almost the opposite perspective to enmity, that it is something immutable that must lead to a life and death battle for victory in the NC as opposed to something which can change as a result of moral decisions as in AS. There would seem to

be no prominent signs in AS of any ideology which would demean or exclude a group irrevocably or arbitrarily. Although there can be no conflict between good and evil in any work without an in group of heroes and an out group of adversaries, the nature of the adversarial relationship in AS seems to be based more on the sides that people choose as opposed to labels that have been assigned. The NC approach to enmity would appear to be more of an arbitrary assignation of enmity based on arbitrary label, immutable and irreconcilable. Therefore, the NC seems the more xenophobic.

#### 4.4 Strong State / Anti-democracy

The same approach as in previous sections was used for the analysis of the strong state / anti-democracy element. The main criteria for initial word selection was anything which could pertain to a preoccupation with legality or the maintenance of social stability, militarism or war, and opposition to democratic principles. The full frequency listing of words checked for this element is in Appendix 5. Table 10 provides a frequency list of only those terms which differed significantly from the general corpus in either AS or the NC.

The investigation of this element will be divided into three parts to correspond with Mudde’s (1995) framework. 4.4.1 will address the law and order element. 4.4.2 will be concerned with militarism. 4.4.3 will cover anti-democratic ideology.

**TABLE 10: Frequency List of Significant Terms Relating to Strong State / Anti-democracy Element**

Atlas Shrugged			Nazi Corpus			Bank of English		
	572396			478266			450	
	words			words			million	
							words	
word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.
right	689	0.12%	war	1128	0.24%	right	361303	0.08%
life	555	0.10%	life	731	0.15%	life	300796	0.07%
order	303	0.05%	right	365	0.08%	war	179881	0.04%

moral	247	0.04%	peace	295	0.06%	order	109601	0.02%
evil	222	0.04%	socialist	295	0.06%	military	83966	0.02%
fight	114	0.02%	fight	294	0.06%	army	67760	0.02%
morality	113	0.02%	order	291	0.06%	peace	66368	0.01%
truth	105	0.02%	army	273	0.06%	fight	46287	0.01%
fighting	89	0.02%	military	255	0.05%	fighting	38692	0.01%
destruction	83	0.01%	fighting	192	0.04%	truth	34645	0.01%
destroy	78	0.01%	freedom	167	0.03%	democratic	33769	0.01%
destroyed	42	0.01%	socialism	153	0.03%	freedom	29081	0.01%
freedom	41	0.01%	truth	148	0.03%	laws	28390	0.01%
lie	40	0.01%	lies	143	0.03%	democracy	24275	0.01%
destroyer	33	0.01%	democracy	136	0.03%	moral	21903	0.00%
destroying	29	0.01%	destruction	112	0.02%	lies	20519	0.00%
peace	22	0.00%	moral	104	0.02%	lie	18487	0.00%
command	20	0.00%	lie	88	0.02%	command	16024	0.00%
military	20	0.00%	democratic	86	0.02%	destroyed	15151	0.00%
slave	18	0.00%	destroy	81	0.02%	evil	13622	0.00%
army	16	0.00%	laws	77	0.02%	socialist	12385	0.00%
lies	16	0.00%	socialists	75	0.02%	destruction	10418	0.00%
criminals	14	0.00%	destroyed	63	0.01%	destroy	10107	0.00%
destroys	7	0.00%	evil	55	0.01%	criminals	6884	0.00%
war	7	0.00%	fighters	47	0.01%	fighters	5884	0.00%
democratic	5	0.00%	command	45	0.01%	socialism	4926	0.00%
dictatorship	2	0.00%	dictatorship	31	0.01%	destroying	4405	0.00%
fighters	2	0.00%	destroying	30	0.01%	morality	4066	0.00%
			morality	30	0.01%	socialists	3622	0.00%
			criminals	26	0.01%	dictatorship	2787	0.00%
			democracies	24	0.01%	democracies	2228	0.00%
			destroyer	3	0.00%	destroyer	873	0.00%

#### 4.4.1 Law & Order

Of the significant terms in Table 10, the following words concern law and order and appear significant in AS relative to the general corpus: “order”, “moral”, “evil”, “morality”, “truth”. Interestingly, the word “laws” only appears in the NC. “Law” does appear in both AS and the NC but the usage did not vary markedly from the general corpus in either. The themes of fighting, morality and destruction would seem to make sense when it is considered that the setting of the book is an America in collapse due to moral disintegration and the struggle between the moral heroes and the immoral villains. What is of interest for our study is what role law and order play in this context. If it is a fascist context then what we could expect to

find would be an emphasis on authoritarian punishments and an advocacy for law enforcement, perhaps in the strong association of morality with the legal system.

“Order” figures prominently in both AS and the NC and so will be a suitable starting point for enquiry. Out of 303 instances in AS, only eight involve a social order or social stability. More than a third (111) are instances of “in order to”. The majority of the remaining senses are in reference to orders given or received in business arrangements and some very few references to military-style hierarchical orders. Table 11 shows the relevant concordances for “order”. Of the nine, only lines 6, 7, and 9 are uttered by the heroes of the book. Lines 1 and 4 describe the objective of police and military personnel ordered by the government. Worthy of note is that the disturbances to which they are responding are the direct result of actions of the very same government. The rest (lines 2, 3, 5, and 8) describe actions and utterances of the villains which demonstrates that the idea of maintaining social order at the expense of personal liberty is a notion only promoted by the antagonists in AS.

**TABLE 11: Concordance Lines of “order” in AS**

1 worn soldiers sent out from Washington to bring order to the ruins. The newspapers did not mention  
2 to the edge of open riots and violence--order must be maintained by any means available. What  
3 who was chairman, kept hammering his gavel for order, and we quieted down some, but not much,  
4 nor state troopers had been able to keep order for the length of a day; nor could  
5 around. There's no confidence left, no faith, no order, no ... no respect for authority. People . . . people seem  
6 of this train in my absence, to preserve order and to keep the cattle from stampeding. Tell  
7 command us. "You propose to establish a social order based on the following tenets: that you're incompetent  
8 time like ours--by opposing the existing social order in the name of those imaginary notions of  
9 You will please stay aboard and maintain such order as you are capable of maintaining." "What about

Concordances run for “moral”, “evil”, “morality”, and “truth” also failed to show any dependency on the notion of a state. On the contrary, the predominant theme would seem to

be the ascendancy of individual rights and assignments of moral status seem to be based on the value systems of the characters rather than adherence to any legal mandate.

For the sake of comparison, the NC has 291 instances of “order”, 133 are “in order to/that”. There are ten instances of the phrase “law and order”, as well as nine instances of “peace and order” law and peace both collocating strongly with law. Of the 291 instances, 93 instances or 32% directly refer to a social, moral, or world order. This is more than ten times the percentage for AS which stands only at 3% of the 303 instances. From this it should be apparent that the NC is heavily concerned with a government-mandated authoritarian order whereas in AS it is treated only as an antagonistic concept.

#### **4.4.2 Militarism**

Relevant terms for the militarism element include “fight”, “fighting”, and variants of “destroy” and “destruction”. The question here is: what is the context of this battle? In AS, an investigation of the concordances for these terms reveals almost no reference to physical conflict. Almost all instances are in reference to a psychological struggle, perseverance in the face of opposition, the overcoming of obstacles. The only references advocating active physical destruction or physical conflict as a solution to problems once again come from only the malefactors of the novel. Here, too, a comparison may be informative. Even a cursory appraisal of the concordances for “fight” in the NC shows a preoccupation with physical conflict. After checking the sense of “fight” used in just the first 100 concordance lines, approximately 40% indicated a real physical fight involving loss of life for victory. Of course, a large number of speeches in the NC are from a time of war, but it is also highly probable that a truly fascist nation will often be at war if militarism is, indeed, a fundamental component of the ideology. In AS there is no valorisation of war or militarism revealed by the

analysis which indicates that militarism is not a significant element of the ideology of the work. This further supports the claim that AS does not present a fascist ideology.

#### **4.4.3 Anti-pluralism and Anti-democracy**

The terms relevant to the investigation of an anti-democratic element are “right”, “life”, and “freedom” as per Table 10 above. Even though there are only five instances of “democratic”, this term was also investigated. The reason the exception was made was due to the scarcity of any significant terms in AS directly relating to democracy. Over a third of the concordance lines of “right” indicated a use referring to human or natural rights in a political or moral sense. These rights are referred to as “inalienable” and explicitly names rights of property, self-defense, to act on one’s own free judgment, life and existence. The right to life is described as being primary to all other rights and could thus explain the frequency of references to life in the text. Freedom of action and of thought is another main theme of the novel, so this could explain the frequency of “freedom”. “Democratic” has five uses, all of which are unfavourable and which could support the possible presence of anti-democratic sentiment. But given the strong advocacy of free agency there does not seem to be an anti-pluralist sentiment. It is worth noting that all references to democracy are not in the political sense, but in a moral sense. The characters who use the term use it as a defense of their moral standpoint rather than as a means to reach a consensus on a course of action. In Rand’s world of inalienable moral principles, democracy must have limits and because these moral principles are treated as absolutes, only the immoral in Rand’s world would attempt to reach a moral conclusion based on consensus as opposed to the rational appreciation of reality.

The lack of significant evidence to support the presence of an advocacy of strong

government in law, militarism, or anti-pluralism would seem to further undermine the assertion that AS promotes fascist ideology.

#### **4.5 Agentless processes (Ergative verbs and the passive voice)**

A list of 293 commonly used ergative verbs was searched for using the concordancer. Of the 3204 instances of ergative verbs, only about 10% were apparently agentless processes. Of these more than a third were natural processes or metaphorical usages, where the actor could not be stated without specifying the scientific process involved such as “the rain clouds burst”, “the bridge will collapse”, or “...it’s decomposing molecularly, and it will crack suddenly, without warning...”. Many other uses were descriptively metaphorical such as “The track broke into sidings among the wells.” Yet others revealed the agent in the extended context, for example, “Hah! I wish they’d all boil in oil. Be lots of fun.” The utterance “Be lots of fun” implies that the speaker imagines himself as the agent of the action “boil”. (It should be noted that this rather perverse sentiment was expressed by one of the villainous characters.) Another example is below, where the agency involved only becomes clear when examining the statement outside the context of the standard concordance range. For example only examining the eight previous or following words surrounding “drop” would not expose the agency of the passage. But a full reading of the extended quote indicates that the agency is embodied in the human beings who engage in the process of thought and productive activity necessary to realize the existence of the food as a consumable quantity.

“Let him try to claim, when there are no victims to pay for it, that a rock is a house, that sand is clothing, that food will drop into his mouth without cause or effort, that he will collect a harvest tomorrow by devouring his stock seed today--and reality will wipe him out, as he deserves; reality will show him that life is a value to be bought and that thinking is the only coin noble enough to buy it.” (Rand 1957: 931).

The remaining instances underscore one of the major themes of the novel, that the antagonists of the novel actively avoid assigning agency to certain events, like the failing of



companies, the passing of bills in the legislature, the improvement of the economy, or the changing of events. Rand explicitly focuses on this use of language. For example, “Conditions will change.’ ‘Who’ll change them?’ There was no answer.” Another example is John Galt’s speech near the end of the novel, where he explicitly denounces the evasive process of ignoring the process of causation inherent in the production of wealth. Clearly, in Galt’s view, every action has an actor and any attempt to gloss over agency is an attempt to either dodge personal responsibility or subjugate others by negating their existence:

“What is the nature of that superior world to which they sacrifice the world that exists?...Their non-material, non-profit worlds are realms where rivers run with milk and coffee, where wine spurts from rocks at their command, where pastry drops on them from clouds at the price of opening their mouth. On this material, profit-chasing earth, an enormous investment of virtue—of intelligence, integrity, energy, skill—is required to construct a railroad to carry them the distance of one mile; in their non-material, non-profit world, they travel from planet to planet at the cost of a wish” (Rand 1957: 948).

This clearly shows Galt’s view of separating agency from action and also further affirms that Rand was conscious of the processes by which agency is disguised in language.

The concordancer was used in a similar manner to search for passive voice. Various forms of ‘to be’ were searched for, the list was then sorted to the R1 position and the remaining results vetted to isolate instances of passive voice. The 2777 instances of passive voice generally reflect English conventions such as “was born” or “is called”, phenomenon where the agent could not be known as in “was abandoned”, natural or scientific process like “I have found that when particles are accelerated to a speed approaching the speed of light...”, or intentionally stylistic uses where the agency of activities like “was achieved” or “were built” is avoided to emphasize that very agency as it is made explicit over the course of the novel.

Rand was consciously aware of the process of concealing agency. It was this, she charged, that enables some people to advocate the persecution of the productive members of

society, by in effect negating their agency in the processes of running businesses, improving the economy, and generating wealth. She also maintained that deceptive use of language played a major role in minimizing the responsibility of elected officials and intellectuals in promoting and passing the legislation which constrains the economic environment, destroys wealth, and creates the very misery they claim to be working against. With this awareness in mind, it is not surprising that the use of agentless processes has been relegated almost exclusively to natural processes or to the antagonists of the novel. Rand ultimately reveals the agency which her antagonists work to conceal, namely the agency of the creative members of the human race. There remain no notable exceptions where the concealment of agency could be said to be concealing a hidden ideology.

#### **4.6 Negation**

As predicted, using the concordancer to search for instances of negation in AS produced a massive amount of data: 13,781 instances. This is almost the same as the number of types generated by the word list generator for the entire novel: 17,355. To sort through this data would require an in-depth literary analysis, something which corpus and concordancing tools do not seem to be properly suited.

There are clearly heroes and villains in the novel. As such, there is almost certainly what Baker, et al. (2008) call “strategies of positive-self presentation and negative-other presentation.” However the terms they use to establish this distinction are necessarily vague and do nothing to aid in the designation of discriminatory or false presentations of character traits. For example, “the construction of in-groups and out-groups”, “labeling social actors more or less positively”, “justification of positive or negative attributions”, “expressing involvement positioning speakers’ point of view”, and “modifying the epistemic status of a

proposition” (Baker, et al. 2008) may all be valid features of discourse. However, there is nothing to inherently indicate an irrational or discriminatory slant to these features per se.

The distinction between what constitutes a truly discriminatory use of negation and the use of negation to form distinctions between types is a thin line. The problem is establishing where such discrimination between features may be founded on a distortion, or misrepresentation of characteristics, something which can only be attained by attention to the text as a whole. Simply establishing that an author distinguishes between two groups as ‘good’ and ‘evil’ is not sufficient to claiming that such a distinction is discriminatory in a fascist sense, i.e. in a racist, xenophobic, or other sense which distorts or misrepresents the characteristics of any particular group to serve an ideological agenda. Thus while corpus analysis can reveal the presence of negation as defined by CDA, whether the use of such negation is indeed ‘negative’ can only be resolved by a philosophical argument which addresses the essential characteristics of the definition of the types cast as “positive-self” and “negative-other”. In other words, while corpus analysis can reveal the presence of such divisions, only a philosophical argument can assess their propriety. Despite this, Chambers (1957) does attempt to make this claim for AS.

Simply the presence of “positive-self” and “negative-other” is not enough in itself to warrant the accusation of manufacturing distorted presentations and therefore being truly discriminatory. Especially in a novel which explicitly addresses moral issues, there must inevitably be a good and an evil represented. In such a work, the good must always be presented as positive, and the evil must be negative by definition. Whether or not those representations are distortions of reality is something only discernible by assessing whether the morality those representations convey is inconsistent with fact. Determining the validity of morality depends on the factual correspondence of the propositions involved, a profoundly

philosophical rather than linguistic issue and one that will not be resolved here.

#### 4.7 Summary

Chambers (1957), the primary source quoted by writers who assert AS presents fascist tendencies, completely fails to indicate any concrete supporting instance of any such representation. Despite this, his argument has been taken widely as a proof in and of itself, hence motivating the current analysis. In the consistent absence of explicit examples of fascist ideology by detractors, it would seem that there are only two possibilities for the continued proliferation of this view. Either the detractors have not properly read the novel or this fascist ideology must be somehow encoded in the language of the novel. By searching for collocations, prosodies, and examining the use of concealed agency, it was hoped that the motivation for these claims could be made more readily apparent. Ultimately, the results reveal no sign of a preoccupation with the principle elements of fascist ideologies as outlined by Mudde and the use of concealed agency is actually quite explicit in both its intent and content. The ideology of AS would seem to be very explicit and indeed not hidden at all, while at the same time not consistent with scholarly definitions of fascism. Given this, there seems to be no valid support for claims of a fascist ideology in AS.

## CHAPTER 5: VALIDITY AND RELEVANCE

The previous chapters have detailed the theory, method, and results of the current study. This section will discuss and expand upon two central issues raised therein. The first concerns the role of corpus tools in the linguistic analysis of ideology. Specifically of concern to this study is the issue of establishing a valid baseline of comparison to inform conclusions about the target text. In this instance, the target text was AS and the baseline of comparison was the NC. Comparison seemed to prove that AS was devoid of noticeably fascist elements. The issue of whether or not the NC is a suitable basis of comparison will be discussed in 5.1. The second issue concerns the relevance of the current study to the controversy surrounding AS. Since a major motivation for this study was the desire to assess this controversy in relatively objective terms, the controversy must be presented in more detail so as to properly contextualize the significance of this study to the debate. This will be discussed in 5.2.

### 5.1 A Valid Basis of Comparison

The primary criticism of this study that may come to mind is that the NC is propaganda, persuasive, and composed of oratory and personal narrative, while AS is a work of fiction, primarily narrative in nature and perhaps only secondarily persuasive. The genre of AS and the genre of the NC is unquestionably different. However, the NC is still a valid basis of comparison for the specified objectives of this study. The objective of this comparison was not to produce a genre analysis nor to elicit possible stylistic similarities with Nazi literature. If that had been the case, then it would have been more appropriate to focus on Nazi narrative fiction as a basis for comparison. However, the objective of this study was to assess the ideological content of AS. The strategy employed was directed at determining common thematic and topical concentrations. The NC was selected in such a way so as to maximize the ability to claim without equivocation the presence of fascist discourse, not in the sense of

defining the comprehensive properties of fascist discourse authoritatively, but to expose the predominant thematic and topical content of such discourse. If an ideology is being promoted in a text, then regardless of genre, a significant proportion of similar conceptual elements should appear in both sets. The goal of this study was to attempt to readily scan for and identify the conceptual elements of AS and compare them with the NC to establish if similar elements and therefore similar ideology was being represented.

Despite this, the contextual circumstances of the texts selected for the NC were partially screened so as to be more readily comparable to the context of AS. The pre-war Nazi corpus is remarkably unapologetic for its views, with little or no mitigation of some of the more controversial elements of its discourse. AS is also broadly acknowledged for being unapologetic about its views. Most of the content of the NC was composed entirely in a time of peace yet in the midst of the social crisis imposed by the Treaty of Versailles and the build-up to World War II. AS was written in the midst of the cold war and the build-up to the cultural revolution of the 1960s. A primary objective of the NC was to explain and convince people to follow the Nazi philosophy. A primary objective of AS was to explain and convince people to follow the Objectivist philosophy. While these relationships are clearly not one-to-one perfect equivalencies, in all cases, when in doubt, NC texts were selected to most clearly represent texts geared towards convincing people to join the Nazi cause before people could clearly recognize what that would mean. The rationale was that, whatever Rand's potential motivation for writing AS, if the work is significantly persuasive of a particular ideology, then that ideology must be as thematically present in AS as fascism is in the NC. If no such ideological content is present, then AS is not representative of fascist ideology.

## 5.2 How this study contributes to the debate over *Atlas Shrugged*

AS was first published in 1957. Ayn Rand's magnum opus to her philosophy of objectivism was immediately met with and still receives intense criticism. In what Valiant (2005: 67) calls "one of the great moments of journalistic mendacity", Whittaker Chambers (1957) of *The National Review* published a particularly passionate attack on the work. In it he claims, "From almost any page of *Atlas Shrugged*, a voice can be heard, from painful necessity, commanding: 'To a gas chamber — go!'" *The National Review* reprinted the review in 2005 and in 2007 prompting responses from Robert Tracinski and Michael Berliner, both representatives of the Ayn Rand Institute. Trancinski (2005) asserted that Chambers' superficial treatment of both the book's themes and major characters suggest that "Chambers did not even read *Atlas Shrugged*". Berliner (2007), while rejecting the claim that Ayn Rand's political views would lead to Nazism, acknowledges that this interpretation is still popular "with the Left".

Uyl and Rasmussen (1984: 225) observe that one criticism espoused by some conservatives is that "Rand's commitment to the existence of moral truths is thought of as the basis by which governments can limit liberty and thus pave the way to fascism". However, they also explain that Rand asserts that "The essential role of government is to protect people's rights" and since these rights are held as absolute, it should be clear that government is burdened with the responsibility of protecting human rights, not usurping them (Uyl and Rasmussen 1984: 178). In fact, Objectivism considers this to be the prime rationale for the existence of government in the first place. As Valiant (2005: 67) informs us, "Rand was a passionate advocate of freedom and herself a refugee from totalitarianism." Despite these arguments to the contrary, *The National Review* continues to ally itself with Chambers' appraisal as does Austin Cline from the Council for Secular Humanism (Cline 2006), and

numerous other commentators on the internet (see Teachout 2007, Lerner 2007, Gibson 2009, among others). One only has to go to an internet forum where Rand is under discussion to see that the charges of fascism are still a very live issue.

There are four possible explanations for this phenomenon. One is that AS is explicitly fascist in its ideological content and Objectivists are simply trying to deny its fascist elements. Another is that it is implicitly fascist in that the philosophy represented does not formally present a fascist argument, but that the way in which the story is presented promotes a fascist sense of life, i.e. that it presents fascist characters as heroic, fascist principles as ideals in practicum. Another is that AS contains stylistic elements which are reminiscent of fascist discourse, whether or not the content of the message itself is, indeed, fascist. This could possibly invoke some unconscious emotional reaction secondary and unrelated to the content. The fourth possibility is that AS is being misrepresented, either knowingly by people who have read it and realize that there is no advocacy of fascism therein, or unknowingly by people who have never read it and instead have reached their conclusions on purely secondary sources.

The current study has shown that thematic elements of fascism are not significantly present in AS, thus effectively ruling out the first and second possibilities. The ideological content of AS would not seem to be either explicitly or implicitly fascist in its orientation. The third possibility, that stylistic elements may evoke a psychological association with fascist discourse, is something which cannot be addressed with the current analysis. A comparative analysis of fascist discourse genre and the genre elements of AS would be necessary to address this adequately. If this third possibility was also to be discounted, then the only remaining possibility would be the fourth one, that AS has been misrepresented by its critics. Whereas it would be impossible to establish conclusively the motivation for such



misrepresentation, the classification of such criticism as such would be sufficient to clear the field for unbiased critical appraisal of the work.

What this means is that this study has shown that any charge of fascism in AS is most probably due either to a superficially stylistic similarity or to a misrepresentation of the work. The ramifications are that similar techniques could be used to assess the relevance or veracity of ideological criticism for a wide range of texts. It is hoped that this linguistic analysis may serve to inform literary analysis and criticism of AS. In so doing, it is also hoped that the methods employed in this study may serve to promote the further cooperative integration of linguistics proper with these closely related fields.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Since the birth of modern linguistics, the study of language has been intensely concerned with the study of meaning and consequently the problem of how people manage ideological content in communication. With the advent of computers, researchers have gained the ability to search massive quantities of data for significant patterns with a relatively small investment of time. Corpus linguistics has removed many barriers to the detailed analysis of texts and enabled researchers to base their explorations on relatively objective data, where before they were forced to rely mainly on their intuitive grasp of the language. It is now possible to see how people actually use language, to determine what the norms of language use really are and to begin to explore deviations from those norms.

The ideas that we hold inevitably have an effect on the words we choose, the concepts that we hold as commonplace, the ones we may attempt to conceal, or think of as so matter of fact that we would not even think twice before expressing them. Where ideas are boldly expressed outright, the identification of those ideas and the debate about them has been traditionally in the domain of literary criticism, philosophy, and politics. However, Critical Discourse Analysis has brought many of such issues within the province of linguistics proper, especially in the study of ideology and cases where ideology may not be expressed outright, but managed, hedged, and concealed. Nevertheless, if an ideology is to be communicated by a text, it cannot be concealed perfectly. After all, if the ideology is perfectly undetectable, it is not communicable, and thus the text cannot be said to be ideological at all. Corpus tools now enable CDA researchers to examine the minutiae of a text, to look for subtle patterns of ideology that may not be explicitly presented, but implied by an author's habitual patterns of thought, the prosody and collocations of their representation of concepts.

*Atlas Shrugged* has been accused of promoting a fascist ideology. As a highly

influential book in American society, the ramifications of such charges are profound. However, the debate has mainly cycled from assertion to counter-assertion. The application of corpus linguistics and CDA to literary analysis may provide a method for addressing debates of this nature without appealing to primarily subjective arguments of an emotional nature. If the conceptual elements of an ideology can be established, then it should be possible to search for those elements and thereby establish the presence of the ideology in question.

In the present study, a corpus of texts representative of fascist ideology was compiled. An academic definition of the elements of fascist ideology was obtained from the literature. Frequency patterns of keywords potentially corresponding to the elements of fascism were checked in AS against the NC and the Bank of English, as a general corpus of the English language. Keywords that appeared at a significantly higher frequency than the general corpus were then checked for significant patterns of collocation and then investigated in context to verify real ideological content. To assess the potential use of concealed agency to defer responsibility for actions which could be considered to promote a fascist ideology, the use of ergative verbs and the passive voice were also investigated using a combination of corpus tools and contextual analysis. Finally, the use of negation was investigated and produced no conclusive evidence beyond the fact that an atmosphere of positive-self and negative-other was, indeed, constructed. However, the validity of that construction could not be assessed within the context of a linguistic study. Overall, no indications of fascist ideology were detected in the novel. As could be expected of a collection of blatantly fascist texts, all the elements of fascism registered prominently in the NC. If AS was indeed promoting fascist ideology, it would be expected to present these conceptual elements in a positive light. Since it did not, it would not seem to promote fascist ideology.

It is hoped that the results of this study may help to inform the debate over AS and

prompt the re-evaluation of traditional literary criticism of the novel. Beyond the controversy surrounding AS, the use of similar strategies to assess ideological content in other genres is also suggested by this study. The analysis of political speeches, TV programs, newscasts, and even children's books and song lyrics could potentially identify the ideologies encoded therein. Unquestionably, more research into this method of analysis is needed to establish confidence in the technique and to expose the shortfalls and limitations of such an approach. However the potential benefits of expanding the objective measures available to CDA and textual analysis are great. Not only could such studies serve to raise the standards by which critics and commentators make their assertions, but could potentially also raise the standards of how we assess all forms of media and the content encoded therein.

## **APPENDIX 1: Full List of Texts Used in Nazi Corpus**

*Note: All texts except those of Adolf Hitler are courtesy the German Propaganda Archive <http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/ww2era.htm>. Adolf Hitler's Speeches and Mein Kampf were obtained from the Hitler Historical Museum <http://www.hitler.org/speeches/>.*

### **Joseph Goebbels:**

More Morality, Less Moralism!	The Fuhrer as a Speaker
What Does America Really Want?	The Coffee Drinkers
Great Days	The Morals of the Rich
Children With Their Hands Chopped Off	England's Guilt
A Unique Age	Missed Opportunities
Churchill's Lie Factory	Winston Churchill
The Veil Falls	Mimicry
The Door to a New Era	The Matter of the Plague
When or How?	The Jews are Guilty!
The Clay Giant	Mr. Roosevelt Cross-Examined
A Different World	The New Year
The Good Companion	Heroes and Film Heroes
The So-Called Russian Soul	God's Country
Don't Be Too Fair!	What is at Stake
The European Crisis	The War and the Jews
Morale as a Decisive Factor in War	The Higher Law
The Creators of the World's Misfortunes	The Year 2000
We Demand	Isidor
Hail Moscow!	Why Do We Want to Join the Reichstag?
And You Really Want to Vote for Me?	Kutemeyer
Germans, Buy only from the Jew!	The Jew

Der Fuhrer	Raise High the Flag!
One Hundred and Seven	Christmas 1931
We are Voting for Hitler!	Advice for a Dictator And for Those Who Want to Become One
Make Way for Young Germany	The New Year 1934
The New Year 1938-39	The New Year 1939/40
The New Year 1940-41	Goebbels on New Year's Eve 31 December 1943
1933 Speech on Hitler's Birthday	German Women
The Radio as the Eighth Great Power	The Racial Question and World Propaganda
Communism with the Mask Off	The Coming Europe
Youth and the War	Christmas, 1941
Nation, Rise Up, and Let the Storm Break Loose	

**Hermann Goring:**

Nationalism and Socialism

**Rudolph Hess:**

The Oath to Adolf Hitler	To the Front Fighters of the World
Electing Adolf Hitler Fuhrer	The Launching of the Training Ship Horst Wessel

**Adolf Hitler:**

Selected Speeches 1921-1941 from the Hitler Historical Museum  
Mein Kampf

**Robert Ley:**

Fate ? I believe!	The Jews or Us...
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**Gertrud Scholtz-Klink:**

To Be German Is to Be Strong

Tradition Does Not Mean Stagnation, But Rather Obligation

**APPENDIX 2: Full Frequency List of Terms Relating to Nationalism (highlighted terms were those deemed significant for further study)**

Atlas Shrugged			Nazi Corpus			Bank of English		
	572396 words			478266 words			450 million words	
word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.
country	325	0.06%	German	2063	0.43%	national	201582	0.04%
state	225	0.04%	state	1050	0.22%	country	200157	0.04%
national	100	0.02%	national	1033	0.22%	state	192616	0.04%
nation	44	0.01%	Germany	996	0.21%	American	182986	0.04%
states	42	0.01%	nation	795	0.17%	states	125299	0.03%
America	12	0.00%	nations	307	0.06%	America	102493	0.02%
American	10	0.00%	Germans	301	0.06%	countries	86152	0.02%
United States	9	0.00%	states	273	0.06%	United States	78272	0.02%
nationalization	7	0.00%	country	178	0.04%	German	65904	0.01%
nationalize	6	0.00%	fatherland	114	0.02%	Germany	65845	0.01%
nationalized	6	0.00%	countries	107	0.02%	nations	50356	0.01%
countries	5	0.00%	countrymen	27	0.01%	nation	47559	0.01%
native	4	0.00%	germanic	26	0.01%	Americans	41738	0.01%
Americans	3	0.00%	germanism	25	0.01%	native	16052	0.00%
nations	2	0.00%	nationalist	21	0.00%	Germans	14084	0.00%
state's	2	0.00%	nationalism	15	0.00%	nationwide	10726	0.00%
America's	1	0.00%	state's	15	0.00%	nationalist	7549	0.00%
countrymen	1	0.00%	germanization	11	0.00%	nationalism	4561	0.00%
nationwide	1	0.00%	native	11	0.00%	nationalists	3786	0.00%
			nationalization	9	0.00%	countrymen	1488	0.00%
			nationalistic	8	0.00%	countryman	788	0.00%
			nationalists	4	0.00%	nationalistic	697	0.00%
			germanized	3	0.00%	germanic	499	0.00%
			motherland	3	0.00%	fatherland	496	0.00%
			germanaustrian	2	0.00%	nationalization	350	0.00%
			German's	2	0.00%	nationalized	346	0.00%
			countryman	1	0.00%	nationalize	54	0.00%
			germanaustrians	1	0.00%	germanism	9	0.00%
			germandom	1	0.00%	germanization	7	0.00%
			germanizing	1	0.00%	germanized	5	0.00%
			nationalized	1	0.00%	germanizing	1	0.00%
						America's	0	0.00%
						germanaustrian	0	0.00%
						germanaustrians	0	0.00%
						germandom	0	0.00%
						German's	0	0.00%
						motherland	0	0.00%
						state's	0	0.00%



**APPENDIX 3: Full Frequency List of Terms Relating to Racism (highlighted terms were those deemed significant for further study)**

Atlas Shrugged			Nazi Corpus			Bank of English		
word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.
light	272	0.05%	jewish	316	0.07%	white	142084	0.03%
black	145	0.03%	jew	308	0.06%	black	132407	0.03%
dark	145	0.03%	jews	300	0.06%	european	123605	0.03%
white	142	0.02%	europa	289	0.06%	europa	104711	0.02%
blue	122	0.02%	race	202	0.04%	french	93817	0.02%
gold	103	0.02%	racial	141	0.03%	light	86488	0.02%
green	102	0.02%	european	121	0.03%	race	68839	0.02%
gray	98	0.02%	french	108	0.02%	church	63343	0.01%
fair	36	0.01%	jewry	95	0.02%	green	62421	0.01%
mexico	35	0.01%	light	70	0.01%	brown	61029	0.01%
race	30	0.01%	aryan	61	0.01%	blue	54775	0.01%
brown	24	0.00%	christian	50	0.01%	africa	54378	0.01%
yellow	24	0.00%	church	45	0.01%	gold	53685	0.01%
blond	18	0.00%	gold	42	0.01%	japan	51762	0.01%
christ	17	0.00%	white	41	0.01%	china	51515	0.01%
mexican	17	0.00%	aces	40	0.01%	japanese	43822	0.01%
europe	14	0.00%	black	28	0.01%	fair	41743	0.01%
golden	6	0.00%	dark	24	0.01%	dark	40309	0.01%
church	5	0.00%	catholic	23	0.00%	african	38780	0.01%
orient	4	0.00%	japan	21	0.00%	chinese	37221	0.01%
tanned	4	0.00%	churches	20	0.00%	christian	29288	0.01%
oriental	3	0.00%	fair	18	0.00%	asian	24367	0.01%
european	2	0.00%	japanese	18	0.00%	yellow	22872	0.01%
latin	2	0.00%	christianity	16	0.00%	asia	20867	0.00%
mexicans	2	0.00%	frenchman	12	0.00%	golden	20674	0.00%
aces	2	0.00%	chinese	11	0.00%	jewish	19259	0.00%
asia	1	0.00%	negroes	11	0.00%	catholic	19224	0.00%
blondish	1	0.00%	negro	10	0.00%	grey	18357	0.00%
cathedral	1	0.00%	aryans	9	0.00%	mexico	16862	0.00%
cathedrals	1	0.00%	gray	9	0.00%	latin	13977	0.00%
churches	1	0.00%	yellow	9	0.00%	racial	13689	0.00%
french	1	0.00%	africa	8	0.00%	aces	13527	0.00%
tan	1	0.00%	atheism	8	0.00%	jews	13319	0.00%
whiteness	1	0.00%	brown	8	0.00%	christ	12692	0.00%
whites	1	0.00%	african	7	0.00%	gray	9960	0.00%
			asiatic	7	0.00%	churches	8544	0.00%
			blue	7	0.00%	whites	8294	0.00%
			china	7	0.00%	cathedral	7500	0.00%
			europeans	7	0.00%	blonde	7193	0.00%
			racially	7	0.00%	mexican	7007	0.00%
			catholicism	6	0.00%	europeans	6856	0.00%

			catholics	6	0.00%	christians	5897	0.00%
			christians	6	0.00%	arabs	5401	0.00%
			golden	6	0.00%	christianity	4563	0.00%
			atheist	5	0.00%	catholics	4506	0.00%
			atheists	5	0.00%	frenchman	4242	0.00%
			cathedral	5	0.00%	tan	3393	0.00%
			frenchmen	5	0.00%	oriental	3102	0.00%
			judaism	5	0.00%	blond	2863	0.00%
			asia	4	0.00%	orient	2727	0.00%
			christ	4	0.00%	jew	2499	0.00%
			atheistic	3	0.00%	negro	1642	0.00%
			jewess	3	0.00%	racially	1522	0.00%
			judaized	3	0.00%	catholicism	1450	0.00%
			latin	3	0.00%	judaism	1267	0.00%
			negroid	3	0.00%	tanned	1188	0.00%
			orientals	3	0.00%	mexicans	984	0.00%
			cathedrals	2	0.00%	frenchmen	826	0.00%
			judaization	2	0.00%	yiddish	751	0.00%
			oriental	2	0.00%	cathedrals	694	0.00%
			arabs	1	0.00%	negroes	643	0.00%
			asian	1	0.00%	aryan	501	0.00%
			christendom	1	0.00%	christendom	497	0.00%
			europeanize	1	0.00%	atheist	496	0.00%
			europeanized	1	0.00%	jewry	461	0.00%
			green	1	0.00%	whiteness	374	0.00%
			jewesses	1	0.00%	atheism	331	0.00%
			jewification	1	0.00%	asiatic	289	0.00%
			jewified	1	0.00%	atheists	273	0.00%
			jewishness	1	0.00%	jewishness	208	0.00%
			mexico	1	0.00%	atheistic	143	0.00%
			negroids	1	0.00%	orientals	127	0.00%
			negros	1	0.00%	aryans	121	0.00%
			orient	1	0.00%	jewess	42	0.00%
			whites	1	0.00%	negros	38	0.00%
			yiddish	1	0.00%	negroid	37	0.00%
						blondish	17	0.00%
						europeanized	9	0.00%
						judaization	7	0.00%
						judaized	6	0.00%
						negroids	6	0.00%
						jewesses	5	0.00%
						europeanize	2	0.00%
						jewification	1	0.00%
						jewified	0	0.00%

**APPENDIX 4: Full Frequency List of Terms Relating to Xenophobia (highlighted terms were those deemed significant for further study)**

Atlas Shrugged			Nazi Corpus			Bank of English		
572396 words			478266 words			450 million words		
word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.
in	7425	1.30%	in	10254	2.14%	in	8143020	1.81%
they	2919	0.51%	we	3615	0.76%	they	1830327	0.41%
them	1770	0.31%	they	3076	0.64%	we	1486402	0.33%
we	1541	0.27%	our	2888	0.60%	out	916686	0.20%
like	1403	0.25%	them	1137	0.24%	them	652612	0.15%
out	1100	0.19%	us	1079	0.23%	like	645429	0.14%
us	658	0.11%	other	772	0.16%	other	592811	0.13%
our	587	0.10%	out	644	0.13%	our	460178	0.10%
other	440	0.08%	same	584	0.12%	us	414159	0.09%
same	293	0.05%	like	313	0.07%	same	228802	0.05%
others	259	0.05%	enemy	286	0.06%	different	150836	0.03%
friends	150	0.03%	foreign	251	0.05%	others	112456	0.02%
friend	89	0.02%	others	204	0.04%	foreign	107966	0.02%
outside	86	0.02%	different	171	0.04%	outside	85760	0.02%
strange	68	0.01%	enemies	147	0.03%	friends	82174	0.02%
inside	63	0.01%	similar	72	0.02%	friend	61443	0.01%
difference	60	0.01%	outside	71	0.01%	similar	60910	0.01%
enemy	58	0.01%	difference	65	0.01%	inside	60179	0.01%
enemies	57	0.01%	friends	48	0.01%	difference	39571	0.01%
theirs	56	0.01%	friend	40	0.01%	strange	22408	0.00%
different	47	0.01%	ours	37	0.01%	friendly	22368	0.00%
ours	33	0.01%	differently	33	0.01%	differences	21981	0.00%
stranger	33	0.01%	friendly	32	0.01%	enemy	15331	0.00%
friendly	18	0.00%	differences	30	0.01%	enemies	7655	0.00%
strangers	9	0.00%	alien	29	0.01%	differently	7260	0.00%
differences	5	0.00%	strange	19	0.00%	ours	5913	0.00%
similar	5	0.00%	foreigner	9	0.00%	stranger	5618	0.00%
alien	4	0.00%	stranger	7	0.00%	alien	5346	0.00%
foreign	3	0.00%	inside	5	0.00%	theirs	4461	0.00%
outsider	3	0.00%	theirs	5	0.00%	strangers	4339	0.00%
outsiders	3	0.00%	outsider	1	0.00%	outsiders	3840	0.00%
differently	1	0.00%	outsiders	1	0.00%	outsider	3120	0.00%
foreigner	1	0.00%				foreigner	1486	0.00%

**APPENDIX 5: Full Frequency List of Terms Relating to the Strong State / Anti-democracy (highlighted terms were those deemed significant for further study)**

Atlas Shrugged			Nazi Corpus			Bank of English		
	572396 words			478266 words			450 million words	
word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.	word	count	freq.
right	689	0.12%	war	1128	0.24%	good	369849	0.08%
life	555	0.10%	life	731	0.15%	right	361303	0.08%
good	412	0.07%	right	365	0.08%	life	300796	0.07%
order	303	0.05%	good	334	0.07%	war	179881	0.04%
moral	247	0.04%	peace	295	0.06%	free	144940	0.03%
evil	222	0.04%	socialist	295	0.06%	order	109601	0.02%
free	135	0.02%	fight	294	0.06%	law	101089	0.02%
wrong	132	0.02%	order	291	0.06%	death	95568	0.02%
law	119	0.02%	army	273	0.06%	military	83966	0.02%
fight	114	0.02%	military	255	0.05%	wrong	69372	0.02%
death	113	0.02%	fighting	192	0.04%	rights	69190	0.02%
morality	113	0.02%	freedom	167	0.03%	army	67760	0.02%
truth	105	0.02%	socialism	153	0.03%	peace	66368	0.01%
fighting	89	0.02%	truth	148	0.03%	fight	46287	0.01%
destruction	83	0.01%	lies	143	0.03%	fighting	38692	0.01%
destroy	78	0.01%	democracy	136	0.03%	crime	37469	0.01%
rights	59	0.01%	free	131	0.03%	truth	34645	0.01%
destroyed	42	0.01%	death	115	0.02%	democratic	33769	0.01%
freedom	41	0.01%	rights	113	0.02%	freedom	29081	0.01%
lie	40	0.01%	destruction	112	0.02%	laws	28390	0.01%
destroyer	33	0.01%	moral	104	0.02%	communist	28360	0.01%
equal	31	0.01%	law	96	0.02%	equal	25428	0.01%
destroying	29	0.01%	lie	88	0.02%	democracy	24275	0.01%
peace	22	0.00%	democratic	86	0.02%	criminal	22798	0.01%
command	20	0.00%	destroy	81	0.02%	moral	21903	0.00%
military	20	0.00%	laws	77	0.02%	democrats	21479	0.00%
crime	19	0.00%	socialists	75	0.02%	lies	20519	0.00%
slave	18	0.00%	equal	69	0.01%	tradition	20331	0.00%
equalization	17	0.00%	communist	63	0.01%	lie	18487	0.00%
army	16	0.00%	destroyed	63	0.01%	command	16024	0.00%
lies	16	0.00%	evil	55	0.01%	destroyed	15151	0.00%
criminal	14	0.00%	criminal	47	0.01%	evil	13622	0.00%
criminals	14	0.00%	fighters	47	0.01%	crimes	12720	0.00%
righteous	14	0.00%	wrong	46	0.01%	socialist	12385	0.00%
rightful	14	0.00%	command	45	0.01%	destruction	10418	0.00%
righteousness	13	0.00%	crime	34	0.01%	destroy	10107	0.00%
slaves	12	0.00%	dictatorship	31	0.01%	collective	9543	0.00%
destroyers	11	0.00%	equality	31	0.01%	liberation	9179	0.00%
evils	10	0.00%	warfare	31	0.01%	communists	8386	0.00%
collective	9	0.00%	armies	30	0.01%	equality	8207	0.00%
destructive	9	0.00%	destroying	30	0.01%	liberty	7967	0.00%

destroys	7	0.00%	morality	30	0.01%	capitalism	7052	0.00%
dictator	7	0.00%	criminals	26	0.01%	criminals	6884	0.00%
war	7	0.00%	democracies	24	0.01%	disorder	6859	0.00%
liar	6	0.00%	communists	22	0.00%	fighter	6604	0.00%
rightfully	6	0.00%	fight	22	0.00%	communism	6555	0.00%
tradition	6	0.00%	liberty	22	0.00%	capitalist	5958	0.00%
democratic	5	0.00%	capitalism	21	0.00%	fighters	5884	0.00%
liberty	5	0.00%	communism	21	0.00%	ethical	5749	0.00%
commandment	4	0.00%	tradition	21	0.00%	rightly	5424	0.00%
slavery	4	0.00%	capitalist	20	0.00%	ethics	5183	0.00%
commandments	3	0.00%	rightly	20	0.00%	warfare	5157	0.00%
morals	3	0.00%	destructive	19	0.00%	fight	4992	0.00%
rightless	3	0.00%	fighter	19	0.00%	socialism	4926	0.00%
commanding	2	0.00%	liberation	19	0.00%	slave	4922	0.00%
crimes	2	0.00%	slave	18	0.00%	destructive	4474	0.00%
dictatorship	2	0.00%	slavery	18	0.00%	destroying	4405	0.00%
equality	2	0.00%	ethical	16	0.00%	slavery	4124	0.00%
ethics	2	0.00%	evils	16	0.00%	morality	4066	0.00%
fighter	2	0.00%	morally	16	0.00%	slaves	3939	0.00%
fighters	2	0.00%	crimes	13	0.00%	socialists	3622	0.00%
fight	2	0.00%	destroys	13	0.00%	armies	3419	0.00%
liberating	2	0.00%	liars	12	0.00%	fascist	3397	0.00%
lied	2	0.00%	dictator	11	0.00%	dictator	3302	0.00%
righteously	2	0.00%	slaves	11	0.00%	commanding	3065	0.00%
truths	2	0.00%	truths	10	0.00%	dictatorship	2787	0.00%
armies	1	0.00%	fascist	9	0.00%	truths	2782	0.00%
capitalist	1	0.00%	morals	9	0.00%	lied	2728	0.00%
collectively	1	0.00%	collective	8	0.00%	commands	2579	0.00%
commanded	1	0.00%	capitalistic	7	0.00%	morally	2537	0.00%
commands	1	0.00%	capitalists	7	0.00%	fascism	2354	0.00%
democratization	1	0.00%	ethics	7	0.00%	democracies	2228	0.00%
dictatorial	1	0.00%	liar	7	0.00%	collectively	2197	0.00%
dictatorships	1	0.00%	destroyers	6	0.00%	commanded	2081	0.00%
inequalities	1	0.00%	dictatorships	6	0.00%	liberated	1930	0.00%
liars	1	0.00%	disorder	6	0.00%	capitalists	1820	0.00%
liberate	1	0.00%	liberate	6	0.00%	liar	1810	0.00%
liberated	1	0.00%	liberating	6	0.00%	righteous	1499	0.00%
liberation	1	0.00%	commanded	5	0.00%	morals	1377	0.00%
morally	1	0.00%	democrats	4	0.00%	evils	1258	0.00%
rightly	1	0.00%	fascism	4	0.00%	destroys	1204	0.00%
warfare	1	0.00%	liberated	4	0.00%	totalitarian	1190	0.00%
			commands	3	0.00%	liberating	1101	0.00%
			destroyer	3	0.00%	inequalities	1034	0.00%
			dictatorial	3	0.00%	rightful	1015	0.00%
			commandment	2	0.00%	liberate	896	0.00%

			communistic	2	0.00%	<b>destroyer</b>	<b>873</b>	<b>0.00%</b>
			democratization	2	0.00%	righteousness	816	0.00%
			equalization	2	0.00%	dictatorial	656	0.00%
			righteous	2	0.00%	commandments	627	0.00%
			collectively	1	0.00%	liars	523	0.00%
			collectivism	1	0.00%	destroyers	495	0.00%
			inequalities	1	0.00%	rightfully	381	0.00%
			righteously	1	0.00%	democratization	346	0.00%
			righteousness	1	0.00%	dictatorships	344	0.00%
			rightful	1	0.00%	commandment	309	0.00%
			totalitarian	1	0.00%	collectivism	283	0.00%
						equalization	178	0.00%
						capitalistic	156	0.00%
						righteously	112	0.00%
						communistic	61	0.00%
						rightless	3	0.00%

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