

Centre for English Language Studies

Postgraduate programmes, Open Distance Learning

ESSAY COVER SHEET AND DECLARATION

IMPORTANT: Please complete ALL sections of this template and PASTE it into the FIRST PAGE of your essay

Student ID number	923793
Module Number (1-6)	4
Title of Degree Programme:	MA Applied Linguistics
Title of Module:	Corpus Linguistics
Assessment Task No.	CL/06/03
Submission	First submission
Date Submitted	30th June, 2009
Name of tutor	Janet Cotterill
Word Count	4408

Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis
Utilize Evidence and Intuition to Reveal how
Texts Cohere to Discourse Ideology

An assignment for Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics

June, 2009

Module 4- Corpus Linguistics

Centre for English Language Studies

Department of English

University of Birmingham

Birmingham B15 2TT

United Kingdom

CL/06/03

It is claimed that corpus research can assist studies of ideology in discourse. Give a demonstration of how this might be the case, pointing out the advantages and disadvantages of corpora to this kind of study. You may either (i) take an ideologically significant text and show how a corpus study can back up or challenge judgements made about it, for example by revealing hidden meanings or (ii) make a study of a group of ideologically significant keywords in one or more of the corpora in the Bank of English or (iii) compare how one or two ideologically significant lexical items are used in two contrasting corpora (e.g. the 'guard' and 'sunnow' corpora in the Bank of English).

1.0 Introduction

Language corpora are large, electronically-stored collections of texts that can be used for a variety of purposes in investigating how languages function (Hunston, 2000; i). While less than a decade ago they were mainly exploited to aid in language teaching and translation (ibid; 1), it will be demonstrated here how language corpora can prove indispensable tools in the study of ideology in discourse.

Critical discourse analysis, from here on CDA, classically has been used to study and expose ideology in texts, (Fairclough, 1989, Stubbs, 1996), but has received negative criticism for various reasons: some analyses rely on intuition rather than objective, quantitative methods to support findings (Stubbs, 1996: 128), which is "untrustworthy with respect to the frequency and distribution of different forms and meanings of words, and to the interaction of lexis, grammar and meaning" (ibid; 31). Another criticism of CDA is that analysts sometimes use extreme sample texts to "prove a point" (Baker et al, 2008: 283), rather than use real representative texts to support arguments.

Likewise, corpus linguistics, from here on, CL, has received negative criticism, but for lacking qualitative explanations, being too objective or general (ibid: 279), and disregarding context (Widdowson, 2000; cited in Baker et al, 2008; 279). So, following

Stubbs' assertion, "There are patterns which contribute to the meaning of texts, but which are not open to direct observation... not in the individual words, but in the grammar" (Stubbs, 1996; 92), I will demonstrate how CL can compliment CDA in exposing such hidden, ideologically significant meanings in texts' lexicogrammatical patterns. CL provides CDA with quantitatively vast samples of automatically generated real language with which ideological content in a sample text can be compared. This ensures that a systematic and quantitative, rather than purely intuitive analysis, is conducted—not relinquishing intuition, of course, but using corpora, as Sinclair says, "To find explanations that fit the evidence, rather than adjusting the evidence to fit a pre-set explanation" (Sinclair, 1991; 36).

To accomplish this demonstration, I will describe the sample text's context, or the discourse from which it originates, and then demonstrate how it coheres to its context ideologically, aided by CDA. Simultaneously the analysis will be reinforced with objective, quantitative examples from corpora in the Bank of English to illustrate lexicogrammatical patterns' ideological tendencies in terms of collocation and semantic prosody. First, though, it is crucial to examine the background of CL and CDA in more detail to clarify certain aspects of ambiguous technical terminology that will be used throughout.

2.0 Context and Technical Terminology

2.1 Aspects of CDA

As stated briefly above, this demonstration and analysis are keenly directed at exposing ideology in discourse with the aid of CL resources, and because CL has

received negative criticism for neglecting analysis of the broader contexts surrounding texts (Fowler, 1991a; 89; cited in Stubbs, 1996; 128), from whence ideology is conveyed to create coherent texts, aspects of CDA will be utilized to bridge this gap. For the analysis, relevant aspects of Norman Fairclough's *Language and Power* descriptive framework (1989; 111) will be used initially to expose ideology in the sample text. First, though, the exact implications of the term 'ideology' as it is used in this demonstration must be clarified.

2.2 Ideology

Ideology is one of several 'cultural keywords' that are used with "extreme ambiguity across different social domains and major institutions" (Stubbs, 1996; 188). As it is of central importance to this study, ideology will be more narrowly defined, not so much according to what it is, as it is extremely ambiguous, but according to how it functions within society following CDA's, and specifically Fairclough's use of the term. In society, ideology is what enables unequal power relations between the capitalist and working classes to be implemented consentingly through hegemony, rather than physical coercion. Ideology is manifested within institutional practices that people engage in subconsciously, ones that seem universal and commonsensical because they have become naturalized—that is; accepted as natural, every day processes (Fairclough, 1989; 33). Following this sense of the term, it will be demonstrated how ideology is conveyed:

not as intentional bias, but as the reproduction of a dominant discourse, in which particular definitions and classifications acquire, by repetition, an aura of common sense, and come to seem natural and comprehensive rather than partial and selective (Hall, 1982; 72).

Hall's sense of discourse from the above quotation is the sense of discourse that this demonstration and analysis will borrow, and the idea that through the repetition of commonsense lexical and grammatical patterns a dominant discourse's ideology is established and reinforced will be demonstrated quantitatively using concepts from CL.

2.3 Relevant concepts from Corpus Linguistics

As this is a demonstration of how CL can aid CDA in exposing ideology in discourse, it is of some interest to note that similar analyses have exploited the two systems together successfully in the past. Bill Louw (1993), Michael Stubbs (1996), and Paul Baker et al (2008), among others, have all used CL resources to show how ideological positions are conveyed, not solely through individual words, but within patterns of vocabulary and grammar which can be compared to vast samples of automatically generated real discourse in the form of concordances. A concordance is defined simply as an index of word forms, or, "a collection of the occurrences of a word-form, each in its own textual environment" (Sinclair, 1991; 32). For the scope of this analysis, which is limited by space, two concepts from CL will be utilized to compare concordances that have similar patterns to those in the sample text suspected of carrying ideological content in subtle ways.

2.4 Collocation

The first of these concepts is collocation. Collocation is, "The habitual co-occurrence of two (or more) words" (Stubbs, 1996; 176), and by observing frequent collocations, "we can glimpse the recurrent wordings which circulate in the social world" (ibid; 194), which become commonsensical, and thus convey a given discourse's

ideology. Words collocate with each other when they frequently occur close to one another, and words that frequently occur close to a given, scrutinized word, or node word, are collocates of that word. In CL, a span of four words to the left and right of the node word is generally used to make calculations about collocation (Hunston, 2000; 15). Two basic statistical measurements from CL will be used in this analysis to describe collocation. The first is MI score, which compares the actual co-occurrence of two words with their expected co-occurrence, and illustrates the mutual attraction between words. The other is t-score, which reinforces judgements made regarding collocates' MI scores by taking into account the actual number of times a collocation occurs in a corpus, thus eliminating confusion caused by collocates that have only a small amount of evidence in a corpus. Collocates with high MI scores and t-scores, then, provide the analyst with a true sense of collocational significance (ibid; 16-18). In the analysis section, t-score and MI score will be shown to provide quantitative, general evidence with which collocational tendencies in the sample text can be compared to illustrate ideological tendencies. These tendencies will be described predominantly in terms of semantic prosody, the second concept from CL that will be utilized in this demonstration.

2.5 Semantic Prosody

An often quoted definition of semantic prosody is, “A consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates” (Louw, 1993; 157). More simply, semantic prosody will be defined as a collocational phenomenon that occurs when meaning is not confined to particular words, but is instead spread across a phrase or a whole clause (Stubbs, 1996; 173, Hunston, 2000; 123). Using corpora to study semantic prosody proves useful, as its description is largely inaccessible to human intuition, alone

(Louw, 1993; 157). Specifically in this study, corpus concordances will be used to compare patterns of semantic prosody in typical language use with those in the sample text's lexicogrammar to demonstrate how, in order to create a coherent text in a particular discourse context, ideology is either consciously or unconsciously conveyed by its producer within patterns of language which can be described in terms of markedly negative or positive semantic prosody. Before the analysis though, it is crucial to examine exactly why, and by whom, the sample text has been deemed ideologically significant.

3.0 The ideologically significant text

The ideologically significant sample text is, "Drugs: To Legalize or Not", which will be referred to as T1 from this point on. T1 is located within a discourse that can be described as 'the U.S. government's political, criminal, and legislative attitude toward illicit drugs', and involves the way the U.S., through a number of social institutions and discourses, controls, through ideological hegemony and physical coercion, the way the public regards and interacts with such drugs. T1's discourse and ideology are evident in certain aspects of its context:

3.1 Ideological context

T1 is a written, persuasive news article, so it is non-interactive. It was published in the Wall Street Journal, but was initially found on MSN's homepage, where anyone using hotmail or MSN for another reason would most likely have seen its link. Very likely, then, several million people at least saw the link, and perhaps millions actually read the article. T1's author is John P. Walters, who for eight years was director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy under the United States' President George W.

Bush. (This information is clearly stated at the end of the article.) As the U.S.'s "Drug Czar":

Mr. Walters guided all aspects of federal drug policy and programs--supporting efforts that drove down teen drug use 25 percent, increased substance abuse treatment and screening in the healthcare system and dramatically dropped the availability of cocaine and methamphetamine in the U.S. He also helped build critical programs to counter narcoterrorism in Colombia, Mexico, and Afghanistan (Hudson.org).

Several similar articles have been written and are related intertextually and ideologically to the same discourse. Although CDA argues that, "All linguistic usage encodes ideological positions" (Stubbs, 1996; 128), this discourse, and its representative text, T1, have been judged to be *significantly* ideological—that is, through the language of its commonsensical institutional practices, the public is controlled extensively hegemonically, and coercively (law enforcement, penal institution, et cetera). Those who judge T1's discourse to be ideologically significant will be described as an oppositional discourse, whose judgement of T1's discourse as significantly ideological is represented by a direct response to T1: (The Wall Street Journal's online version of T1 is directly followed by readers' comments regarding the text.)

Where's the other half of the story? This is propaganda written by someone who believes in drug control and did it for a living. The author doesn't even recognize that there is a philosophical issue of personal choice and freedom to be considered. His views are presented as unquestioned truths, to be imposed on all by force of law (onlinewsj.com, Brown, Bill; 2009).

Conveyed informally, the oppositional discourse regards T1's discourse ideology as significant because its presuppositions and cultural assumptions have become

so commonsensical that the discourse type has become “naturalized” (Fairclough, 1989; 92); that is, the United States’ government’s anti-drug policy and programs’ ideological message has been inculcated in such a way that open involvement with [illicit] drugs is commonsensically understood to be taboo across the entire nation, and even globally. This discourse’s naturalization is manifest. All members of society, even those who are members of the oppositional discourse, are compelled to follow the dominant discourse’s ideological principles, or risk the literal loss of personal freedom (prison confinement), and social alienation. Employing CL and CDA, the viability of the oppositional discourse’s judgement will now be tested by examining T1’s conveyance of ideology.

4.0 CL and CDA analysis of T1

4.1 Ideology conveyed through lexicogrammatical patterns observable in terms of collocational information and semantic prosody

Fairclough exposes ideology by examining:

The ways in which the grammatical forms of a language code happenings or relationships in the world, the people or animals or things involved in those happenings or relationships, and their spatial or temporal circumstances, manner of occurrence, and so on (Fairclough, 1989; 120).

Together, semantic prosody and Fairclough’s question, “Are sentences positive or negative?”, demonstrate specifically how T1 distinguishes between “what is not the case in reality from what is the case” (ibid; 125), and thus reveal the ideology that is established intertextually by the participants in T1’s broader discourse context.

4.2 Subtle negative polarity and collocational information

In functional grammar, negative polarity, an aspect of the interpersonal mode of meaning, is simply conveyed by the adverb ‘not’, in a clause’s mood block: e.g., ‘I did go/I did not go. You are fat/You are not fat.’ However, during the complex process of cohering intertextually to its discourse’s ideology, a text often adopts a subtler means of realizing such positivity and negativity, a process which is describable in terms of semantic prosody.

As implied by the title, “Drugs: To Legalize or Not”, the reader might expect the content of the article to list the pros and cons of both sides in a debate. Bearing in mind this implied neutrality, the first sentence indeed appears to be a neutral, fact-offering, declarative sentence, with no explicitly marked negativity:

Justified alarm over drug-related Mexican border violence has led to the predictable spate of drug legalization proposals. (P1)

The dictionary denotations for ‘spate’ are: “1. Freshet, flood. 2 a: a large number or amount b: a sudden or strong outburst: rush” (Merriam-Webster’s, 1993; 1127), which seem neutral. But, searching the pattern ‘spate+of+NOUN’ in The Bank of English, from here on the BOE, an extremely suggestive list of collocates for ‘spate of’ is generated:

‘spate+of+NOUN’

Collocate’s MI Score	Attacks: 7.2	Killings: 8	Murders: 7.8	Shootings: 9.2
Collocate’s t- Score	Attacks: 12	Killings: 6.4	Murders: 6.2	Shootings: 5.4

As a t-score and MI score of 2.0 or greater are considered significant (Hunston et al, 1998; 64, Walker, CELS email), all the above scores are significant. All of these

collocates are unequivocally negative nominalizations of violent, criminal acts. So, although ‘spate of drug legalization proposals’ initially appears neutral, the phenomenon of negative semantic prosody imbues ‘drug legalization proposals’ with the negativity that ‘spate’s more infamous collocates generally receive. As this phenomenon is not explicitly conveyed to the reader, or to the analyst’s intuition, it constitutes a hidden meaning, and one that begins to illustrate the contrasting ideological classification schemes of T1’s intertextual discourse domain. In T1, one of the primary ways in which positive and negative classification of meanings is conveyed is, although ‘drug usage’ or ‘addiction’ are literally processes, effects, or consequences of people’s conscious actions, ‘addiction’, ‘drugs’, and ‘violence’ associated with them are represented as agents with malevolent agendas.

4.3 Negative semantic prosody conveyed arbitrarily through action processes

By representing particular abstract nouns associated with ‘drug legalization proposals’ as agents in “action process sentences” (Fairclough, 1989; 122), agency is conveyed, and the threat of ‘drugs’ and ‘drug legalization proposals’ is intensified:

Agent+Action Process+Patient

Agent	Action Process	Patient	Paragraph
Addiction, violence and drug poison	hammered	middle America	(P4)
The addiction epidemic	shattered	families	(P4)
[The addiction epidemic]	created	a staggering toll of family violence	(P4)
Cocaine and crack	present	a comparable case study	(P5)
cocaine and crack	did to	our urban poor	(P5)

Examining the pattern ‘NOUN+hammered+NOUN’ in the BOE to generate concordances with ‘hammered’ as an action process, the predominant combination of process participants includes a human agent thoroughly defeating another human patient. This is conveyed through synecdoche, as the name of one team, a collection of human agents, beats the name of another team. Interestingly, ‘hammered’, in this sense, is most often used in sports discourse:

NOUN+ hammered+ NOUN

in that position as Australia hammered Fiji 66-0 in their final pool
 September 1998 </dt> SOCCER beaks hammered Ian mccall with a ú1,000 fine --
 and Croatia to come." <p> Belgium hammered San Marino 10-1 in their last
 thin film of volcanic dust. As Berg hammered nails into the wood, he noticed
 as one of his favourites. Bernstein hammered Desert Sky and Appalachia on
 Ham beat Newcastle 2-0, Blackburn hammered Wimbledon 3-1, Southampton edged
 his mouth a cave where blacksmiths hammered metal. I didn't look nowhere. <p>
 while allied jets and bombers hammered Iraqi army units in occupied
 359-2280. <p> 991 Rawhide Bosals Hammered Dulcimers One of the first
 Arena. Four years ago Riddick Bowe hammered Hide in a WBO title contest in Las
 title. <p> Bracewell's boys hammered Yorkshire by 97 runs in the Benson
 <dt> 19 July 1999 </dt> BRAZIL hammered Uruguay 3-0 to retain their Copa
 Gayfield club's reserves. Brechin hammered Albion Rovers 8-1 at the
 son of Labour MP Brian -- hammered mum Christine's Ford Fiesta along
 cork blew. The falling brimstone hammered skulls, set clothing on fire and
 and in Algeria in 1954; the British hammered kampongs in Malaya and villages in
 Beattie made it 3-1 for Cove. BRORA hammered LOSSIEMOUTH 7-1 with hat-tricks
 were 1-0 winners over ROTHES, BRORA hammered WICK 6-0 and FORRES ran out
 Keith beat Rothes 1-0 while Brora hammered Wick 6-0 thanks to a </subh>
 better deal for work." But Mr Brown hammered motorists and smokers. He raised
 and Clach drew 0-0 and Buckie hammered Lossiemouth 5-1. <hl> Stat man;
 Two months later, privacy buffs hammered Microsoft because Windows 98
 of wing play. Cha das Caldeiras hammered `em. <p> More seriously, it also

Just as agents hammer patients, ‘NOUN+hammered+NOUN’, in typical English usage, in T1, ‘addiction’, ‘violence’, and ‘drug poison’ caused by ‘the methamphetamine epidemic’ are represented as such conscious agents capable of hammering the patient, ‘middle America’, which, also through synecdoche, represents an entire class of individuals as one homogeneous patient. As drugs are obviously not conscious agents, readers will naturally react more negatively to a causal representation of people being

victimized by a drug and phenomena related to it, rather than if the experience represented people as being the responsible agents who act upon a substance. It is difficult to determine whether T1's author deliberately chose to represent the participants as such, experientially, but what is clear is the author's interpretation of the intertextual discourse involving drugs and people: a discourse that includes the control or prevention of drugs like methamphetamines, cocaine, and crack employs an ideological classification scheme that regards such drugs as dangerous, violent entities that are capable of 'hammering' an entire section of a population, and must be combated.

The process of 'drugs', and therefore by immediate contextual association with them, 'drug legalization proposals' being represented negatively ideologically as willful agents is also accomplished through the use of metaphor, which is discussed in Fairclough's fourth question:

4.4 What metaphors are used?: Metaphors and negative semantic prosody

In T1 metaphors are employed extensively to reinforce the negative representation of 'drugs':

...during the frightening epidemic of methamphetamine... (P2)

...so similar to the crack outbreak of the 1980s. (P2)

Americans can't forget the meth epidemic hitting the heartland... (P3)

The addiction epidemic shattered families... (P4)

First, 'crystal meth' collocates with 'epidemic', and 'crack', with 'outbreak'. In the BOE, epidemic and outbreak often collocate with more literally infectious diseases such as 'AIDS', 'flu', and 'cholera'. So, although the two are not diseases in the sense of illnesses that are caused by invisible, randomly infectious viruses or pathogens, they are

metaphorically represented as such. The negative semantic prosody that drugs receive from this is obvious, and needs not be discussed in greater detail—but, significantly, this representation contradicts the previous representation, in which drugs were represented as conscious agents. One reason disease outbreaks or epidemics are so scary is because of their particular lack of agency or consciousness. They infect arbitrarily, invisibly, and unconsciously. This is evident in the BOE looking at the pattern ‘the+flu+VB+NOUN’, which generates no relevant examples of the flu as agent, compared to the pattern ‘VB+the+flu’, for which there are over fifty concordance lines; because people passively contract diseases, and are treated for them. So, it is of particular interest to see the epithet ‘the frightening epidemic of methamphetamine’, as the juxtaposition of ‘frightening’ with ‘epidemic’ carries ironic implications regarding agency.

Examining ‘JJ+epidemic+of’ in the BOE, the pattern’s collocates are unsurprisingly negative, as it can be intuited that an epidemic is a negative thing, but what is not discernable from intuition alone is that collocates comprising the adjectival element in the pattern, either classifying or epithetic, can be grouped into five general meaning groups that describe or classify epidemics:

‘JJ+epidemic+of’

Meaning Group	Adjectival Collocate
temporality/ chronology	current, post-war, contemporary, persistent, sudden, last, impending, new, present, recent, seasonal
scale/area of impact	large, larger, global, international, local, general, isolated, nation-wide, world-wide, wide-spread
verity/existence	actual, such, apparent, veritable, virtual
severity	deadly, drastic, infectious, major, minor, nasty, persistent, raging, serious, severe, terrible, virulent, worst
evocative effect on people	mysterious, nasty, persistent, serious, severe, terrible, terrifying, raging

As the actual collocation is ‘frightening epidemic’, it is of some interest to note that the above meaning group into which ‘frightening’ is grouped is ‘evocative effect on people’. Out of roughly 100 concordances in which epidemic is modified with an adjective, the majority of these collocations are categorized within the first four meaning groups. This implies that epidemics are usually described in terms of when and where they occur, whom they affect, how real they are, and how severe they are. So the collocation in T1 of ‘frightening’ with ‘epidemic’ does not follow typical English usage, according to the BOE. This suggests that, paradoxically, T1 simultaneously represents an epidemic as an agent, capable of terrifying the public, (rather than just being recent or large), and as an unconscious phenomenon, functioning as a participant with no agency in the sentence. The ideological effect on experiential meaning is a frightening one, indeed— and the idea is presented as commonsensical to the reader.

Again, without the aid of CL in generating the above concordance information, it would be effectively impossible to classify adjectival collocates into meaning groups utilizing intuition, alone. At this point it should be clear that, whether deliberately or unconsciously on the part of the author, T1’s ideological classification scheme, through arbitrarily negative collocation and semantic prosody, represents drugs and their effects (epidemic, addiction, violence) as indiscriminate agents capable of causing much harm to a large population of people. Therefore, they must be combated and controlled. This negative ideological classification scheme contrasts an equally prominent and antithetical positive classification scheme, one that enables T1 to cohere intertextually to its broader discourse’s ideology.

4.5 Lexicogrammatical patterns that support the dominant discourse's ideology characterized by positive semantic prosody

The basic proposition of Stubbs' *Text and Corpus Analysis* is that it "Is always possible to talk about the same thing in different ways" (1996; 158). This proposition needs to be disambiguated. Although it is *possible* to talk about the same thing in different ways, in order to create a well-textured text (i.e., textually cohesive and coherent to its context and discourse), it is imperative to talk about things in particular ways. These particular ways will be described as language that coheres to and supports the ideology of a given discourse. This characteristic of language appears to increase more and more palpably and predictably in texts situated within particularly controversial discourses (in the dialectic sense of the term) between two competing discourses (in the contextual sense of the term) that have contrary ideologies. This is observable in T1, and describable in terms of semantic prosody:

Effective laws got the addicted into treatment... and saved lives. (P4)

...we deployed targeted prevention measures... (P4)

...[we] used law enforcement and regulation to cut meth production... (P4)

First, the same questions from Fairclough's framework, "What types of process and participant dominate?" and "Is agency unclear?" apply to the above excerpts. 'Effective laws' are represented as agents that perform an action, getting [the addicted] into treatment, on a patient, 'the addicted'. In reality, of course, effective laws cannot literally act on people; it is people who get the addicted into treatment. Within the metaphoric representation of laws as agents performing an action, an ideological presupposition is encapsulated: Treatment is something positive, and 'the addicted' are sick, or endangered,

as if they have been attacked by drugs, and thus need treatment. Treatment is used in both medical and drug addiction discourses, and although what it entails in each discourse is different, the presence of ‘saved lives’, conveys a sense that the agentive ‘effective laws’, as if they are doctors, are capable of saving the lives of the addicted. Instead of the people who created the laws (the author and other members from the government and anti-drug institution) receiving credit for the supposed good deed, it is the laws themselves who are credited. This attribution is not stated or described as positive, explicitly, though, but is evident phraseologically across the entire clause, and is demonstrable in terms of positive semantic prosody using the BOE. Looking at the pattern ‘effective+NOUN+VB+NOUN’ generates forty-two concordance lines, of which twenty-four are irrelevant. Of the eighteen remaining lines:

effective+NOUN+VB+NOUN

4. Respect for the child. Although effective parents require compliance with economy to protect its profits. Effective change, say critics like Larry manager. To be both skilful and effective, managers require data, about the task to be learned. Effective explanations require teachers to needed to use the skill. Secondly, effective explanations include usefulness the skill can be used. Thirdly, effective explanations help students assume the chart table, two simple but effective panels include rows of toggle moisturisers for lips. some highly effective ones include Clarins Lip Beauty making teams seeking to make effective decisions establish patterns of In contrast, the networks of effective organizations achieve scale clothing and cars. The highly-effective products include Insultec, a roof gil.com.au BUSINESS EFFECTIVE STRATEGIES SAVE TAX </hd> MOST is no exception. Even the most effective products take time, sometimes a this book will attempt to explain, effective teachers manage students without a different (and in my opinion more effective) approach: Identify managers who with novelty. Adequate Support? Effective paragraphs provide statements and For variety in development, effective paragraphs use examples, concrete to Take a Stand Hints for Creating Effective Titles Use titles that provoke

The verbs, objects, and compliments that follow the phrase ‘effective+NOUN’ are predominately positive. Verbs that accompany the adjective ‘effective’ are primarily positive in that they emphasize the presence, giving, or creating of something:

‘Effective+NOUN+VB+NOUN’

Verbs that collocate with ‘effective’:	include, help, establish, achieve, manage, provide,
--	---

Verbs that are not manifestly positive, such as ‘require’, and ‘take’, have positive connotations (‘effective explanations require teachers...’, ‘effective products take time’) in the immediate context of the nouns and adjective, ‘effective’, with which they collocate. This illustrates the phenomenon of positive semantic prosody spread across entire clauses.

As drugs and their legalization proposals are consistently represented as sinister, victim-causing, agentive enemies, ‘drug laws’, ‘control’, ‘prevention’, and the other agents that support the anti-drug discourse are represented as the necessary, just, and militant force that must be called on to save the people and win a war. This is evident in the pattern ‘NOUN+deployed+JJ+NOUN’, which allows the excerpt, “we deployed targeted prevention measures... [to cut meth production dramatically]” from T1 to be compared with typical samples in the BOE:

NOUN+deployed+JJ+NOUN

Army and police forces deployed armored cars near some government southern states of the Confederacy deployed large numbers of men in the field riots </h> Reuter: SECURITY forces deployed armoured vehicles on the streets Iraq. At the end of December Jordan deployed extra troops and tanks along the of mobility (sealift, airlift, deployed amphibious forces, pre-positioned at a meeting in Ethiopia. Iran deployed elite troops on its frontier with WASHINGTON: The United States deployed additional stealth fighters to case which Ms Clare Short deployed last week. Having seen to it that in Richmond, came as the government deployed more police and soldiers in an in less than 10 days. The troops deployed armoured vehicles and fired shots some 17,000 years ago, artists deployed various shades of yellow, pink, piercing their body armour. The SAS deployed special units in south Armagh and privatisation. Regulated utilities deployed private funds that the Government countryside. Taleban authorities deployed heavy artillery on to the border

As can be inferred intuitively, ‘deployed’ is often used in military contexts. But, whereas in typical English usage in the BOE militaries often deploy forces, vehicles, and weapons to combat enemy forces or keep the peace, T1’s ‘we’ are represented as the heroes who deploy ‘prevention measures’ against the enemy, ‘meth production’. Subtly asserted, through grammatical metaphor, is the ideological presupposition that it is in fact a clear war between two antithetical armies that is being fought.

Again borrowing from Fairclough’s sixth question, “Are the pronouns we and you used, and if so, how?”, T1’s arbitrary tendency to represent meanings it favors positively is observable in terms of subject pronouns:

...we deployed targeted prevention measures... (P4)

...we learned the importance of education... (P11)

We know that the disease begins with the use of addictive drugs...(P11)

...we need to help those who are addicted... (P11)

we faced an inherent weakness... (P12)

We are increasing the pathways to treatment (P13)

In T1, ‘we’ are always doing something positive, or faced by something negative.

However, examining collocational tendencies for the verb ‘increase’ and specifically here, its present participle, ‘increasing’, in the BOE, the verb has the capacity to collocate neutrally; that is, with either positive or negative nouns. Two significant examples include: ‘increasing’+ ‘risk’, which has a t-score of approximately twelve, and shows the capacity of ‘increasing’ to collocate negatively, and ‘increasing’+ ‘importance’, which has a t-score of approximately eleven, and illustrates the capacity of ‘increasing’ to collocate positively. But, in the BOE, like in T1, the way in which ‘we’ collocates with ‘[are] increasing’ is not neutral:

‘we+are+increasing’

at any previous time and we are increasing at record rates. HISTORY OF
 are on bus routes. <p> WE are increasing expenditure on remodeling and
 and the bad thing is that we are increasing it, and that may be a bit
 sings of slowing up. <p> We are increasing our efforts in the United States
 confusion. For example, we are increasing our presence in the marketplace
 up with," he said. `But we are increasing our effort to knuckle down and
 chief executive, said: `We are increasing our financial targets based on
 Sacrifice <p> And he adds: `We are increasing programme spending by Pounds 450m
 We are grasping the nettle. We are increasing quality control and written
 of economic regulation, we are increasing safety and security both at our
 towns and villages, safer. We are increasing the strength of the gardai to an
 gathering this information. We are increasing the information base. What's
 last week we announced that we are increasing the pay of about 7 percent of our
 <p> Also as proposed, we are increasing the dollar value of a company # s
 considerable. Today we are increasing the greenhouse effect by adding
 get requests back about how we are increasing the certification required of
 in the coming year. `We are increasing the number of patients having
 years to train a doctor. We are increasing the number of training places. We
 three roles of English erm we are increasing the commitment to English erm
 capacity to 60,000. And now we are increasing to another 50,000. So I think
 electronic road-pricing we are increasing usage charges and lowering

In the BOE twenty out of twenty-one valid concordance lines that include the pattern
 ‘we+are+increasing’, which generates all instances in which ‘increasing’ is used as a
 transitive verb with an object, ‘we’ are increasing something positive. In contrast, when
 ‘they’, or ‘it’ is used the tendency of positive semantic prosody within a clause drops
 significantly. In typical English it appears that the capacity of ‘increasing’ to carry
 positive or negative prosody depends on what comprises the subject, or agent, participant
 in the sentence. This phenomenon is logical intuitively, as it seems obvious that people
 would be inclined to describe their own actions in an arbitrarily positive manner.
 However, it is clearly not possible, through intuition alone, to search 500 million words
 of real texts, and automatically generate such substantive evidence for a general,
 ideologic tendency across a language.

5.0 Conclusion

By using Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis together to show how a given text coheres to its discourse's ideology, I hope to have demonstrated that Corpus Linguistics can, indeed, assist studies of ideology in discourse, and that this is evident in terms of certain key aspects:

Namely, that meanings realized in T1's lexicogrammatical elements which are contrary to T1's more general discourse ideology are consistently represented negatively in terms of negative collocation and semantic prosody. Simultaneously, those meanings which support its more general discourse ideology are represented positively, which is evident through consistent positive collocation and semantic prosody. Positive and negative semantic prosody, as ideological phenomena, often co-exist when process participants that are not normally considered capable of filling agent positions in action process types, often in the form of nominalizations, do in fact act as agents. This results in grammatical metaphor, which represents ideological classification schemes for the reader in a clearly palpable form, enabling the reader to either accept or refuse the ideology that is shared intertextually by all texts across the discourse.

Because of and due to its arbitrary tendencies in collocation and semantic prosody, T1 clearly functions as a coherent text. T1's discourse blatantly states that its objective is to win the war on drugs, and a significant aspect of this war is a linguistic one—the aspect in which its ideology becomes commonsensical to the general public. As to the validity of the oppositional discourse's judgement that T1's discourse is significantly ideological in a negative way, it depends, of course, upon which discourse the reader of both discourses has been most influenced by. As T1's discourse is the

dominant discourse in the overarching political and linguistic discourse realm regarding illicit drugs, the oppositional discourse faces an extremely challenging task if it intends to compete in any way with T1's naturalized discourse ideology.

6.0 References

- Baker, P. et al. (2008) *A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bank of English (Harper Collins Publishers; University of Birmingham)
- Fairclough, N. (1989) *Language and Power*. London: Routledge.
- Hall, Stuart. (1982) *The Rediscovery of "Ideology; Return of the Repressed in Media Studies"*, in M.Gurevitch, T.Bennett, J.Curran and S.Woollacott (eds.), *Culture, Society and the Media*, London: Methuen, 1982.
- Hunston, S. (1998) *Verbs Observed: A Corpus-driven Pedagogic Grammar*, in *Applied Linguistics* 19/1: 45-72. University of Birmingham: Oxford University Press.
- Hunston, S. (2000) *Corpus Linguistics*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.
- Louw, B. (1993) 'Irony in the Text or Insincerity in the Writer? The Diagnostic Potential of Semantic Prosodies', in M. Baker, G. Francis and E. Tognini-Bonelli (eds) *Text and Technology: In Honour of John Sinclair*, pp. 157–76. Philadelphia/Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sinclair, J. (1991) *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 'spate.' Mish, F. (1993) *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*. 10th Edition. U.S.A: Merriam-Webster, Inc.
- Stubbs, M. (1996) *Text and Corpus Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Walker, C. (2009) CELS email post. Received on May 4th, 2009.
- Hudson.org http://www.hudson.org/learn/index.cfm?fuseaction=staff_bio&eid=JohnWalte
rs

www.wsj.comhttp://online.wsj.com/article/SB124061336043754551.html

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124061336043754551.html#articleTabs%3Dcomments>

Appendix 1- Text One

Drugs: To Legalize or Not

Progress in Colombia provides clear evidence that the war on drugs is winnable, while history repeatedly shows that relaxed restrictions lead to more abuse and addiction.

P1 Justified alarm over drug-related Mexican border violence has led to the predictable spate of drug legalization proposals. The most prominent was a call by three former Latin American presidents -- from Brazil, Colombia and Mexico -- to end what they claimed was the drug war. While there are many "end the drug war" plans, all of them, as even their advocates admit, result in more drug use and addiction. Their response? We should emasculate prevention and law enforcement and just spend more on treatment.

P2 What would America look like with twice or three times as many drug users and addicts? To answer, consider what America was like in the recent past, during the frightening epidemic of methamphetamine, so similar to the crack outbreak of the 1980s. Each was a nightmare, fueled by ready drug availability.

P3 Americans can't forget the meth epidemic hitting the heartland earlier this decade. In 2004, 1.4 million people said they had used methamphetamine in the past year, according to the National Survey on Drug Use and Health. The powerful, long-lasting stimulant began growing rapidly as the make-it-yourself drug, using a precursor in over-the-counter cold medicine. It later was produced in large quantities by Mexican traffickers and smuggled into the U.S. Drugs weren't just an urban problem anymore.

P4 Addiction, violence and drug poison hammered middle America. The addiction epidemic shattered families and created a staggering toll of family violence. Effective laws got the addicted into treatment through the courts, and thereby saved lives. In parallel, we deployed targeted prevention measures and, importantly, used law enforcement and regulation to cut meth production dramatically. As a result, use (as measured by workplace drug testing and youth surveys) and supply (as measured by the Drug Enforcement Administration) dropped sharply: by 60% or more between 2002 and 2008.

P5 Cocaine and crack present a comparable case study. Urban policy experts on the left and right -- who agree about little else -- have a united view of what cocaine and

crack did to our urban poor. Pushing back against crack made urban life better for all Americans.

P6 The violence essential to drug trafficking is meant to be shocking -- from the marijuana traffickers who brutally murdered DEA special agent Enrique "Kiki" Camarena in Mexico in 1985 to the viciousness of rolling heads across a dance floor -- calculated to frighten decent citizens and government authorities into silence.

P7 The violence of traffickers, which has harmed tens of thousands, is dwarfed by the millions harmed by another violence, that done daily by those in our own communities under the influence of drugs. Roughly 80% of child abuse and neglect cases are tied to the use and abuse of drugs. It is not that drug abuse causes all crime and violence, it just makes it much worse by impairing judgment, weakening impulse control and at some levels of pathology, with some drugs, causing paranoia and psychosis. Well more than 50% of those arrested today for violent and property crimes test positive for illegal drug use when arrested. Legalized access to drugs would increase drug-related suffering dramatically.

P8 The origins of federal drug laws were a response to disastrous drug and violence epidemics when virtually every family had access to opiate- and cocaine-based remedies around the end of the 19th century. Drugs were available without penalty. Addiction was rampant, with an estimated 250,000 opiate addicts in the U.S. population of 76 million.

P9 Or if you really think that prohibition causes the problem, remember that ancient China was brought to its knees by easy access to opium. Today, even highly traditional and regulated societies like Thailand, Malaysia, Iran and Afghanistan are suffering terrible addiction problems -- because heroin is addictive and easily accessible. Making highly addictive drugs easier to get and use is what makes this harm greater.

P10 Although cynics on the left and right assert the drug problem is as big or bigger than ever, it is simply not true. Illegal drug use is still a problem, but by any fair assessment it is a smaller problem. Half as many teens are using drugs than 30 years ago and a quarter fewer than seven years ago, according to the Monitoring the Future, an ongoing study conducted by the University of Michigan under grants from the National Institute on Drug Abuse. Cocaine and meth use are less than half what they were at their peak. Even drug offenders are a smaller percentage of the prison population than they were 15 or even seven years ago.

P11 What are the indelible lessons? In the process of making the drug problem much smaller, we learned the importance of education -- not principally teaching the young about the health dangers of specific drugs, but teaching young and old about the disease of addiction. We know that the disease begins with the use of addictive drugs and that those drugs change the brain -- they create craving, impair judgment and lead to withdrawal or a feeling of illness in absence of the drug. Science has helped us see that we need to help those who are addicted particularly when they do not want our help -- every family of an addict or alcoholic knows that denial is a terrible part of this disease.

P12 When I became the drug policy director in 2001, we faced an inherent weakness in prevention programs for youth. Teens told us they had been taught the dangers of drugs, but if their boyfriend or girlfriend used they did not want to be judgmental or estranged, so they were likely to join in. We put treatment specialists together with some of the best creative minds in advertising to fashion prevention messages directly presenting drug abuse as a sickness that places an obligation on friends to help stop it. We enlisted the idealism and caring of the young to reverse the force of peer pressure. The ads were an important contributor to our progress that needs to continue and grow. With this knowledge of addiction, how do we choose to make more victims?

P13 We have learned to apply public health tools that have been proven effective against other diseases. We have learned that addiction is a treatable disease. We are increasing the pathways to treatment -- through routine health care, the workplace, places of worship and schools. Do we want to end all this by taking the courts out of the equation? Supervised, court-sanctioned treatment works best. Legalization robs us of this tool.

P14 We have also learned how to join law enforcement and national security resources to break down trafficking groups and narcoterrorists. One of the greatest international policy success stories of the last decade has been the transformation of Colombia from a state dominated by narcoterrorism, violence and corruption to a thriving liberal democracy.

P15 Between 2001 and 2007, the U.S. government's estimate of the maximum potential production of cocaine in Colombia dropped 24%. There is no certain method of translating that into drug profits, but even conservative estimates show that a 24% reduction equaled hundreds of millions of dollars in lost revenue. There is now evidence

that the combined effect of reduced production and increased seizures dropped the available Colombian cocaine supply to the U.S. from 2001 to 2007.

P16 Colombia is the genuine backdrop for understanding the threat in Mexico today. The criminal gangs in Mexico go back decades. Many are drawn from generations in the same extended families. They have become wealthier and better armed, but the border areas they seek to control are an old battleground. The corruption they use to protect themselves has deep roots. They have become more dangerous as they have lost profits from the cocaine and meth trade over the last two years. Those who think legalizing drugs will stop the violence by cutting off the money to these groups seem unaware that they not only smuggle drugs and people across the border for profit, but that they also kidnap, hijack, manage large auto-theft operations and have extensive protection rackets.

P17 Moreover, some of us remember that Bobby Kennedy was leading organized-crime strike forces against extremely dangerous mafia families, decades after the end of Prohibition. It is the violence focused on the threat of violent takeover by rival criminal groups that is an unfortunate but perhaps necessary first step in restoring the rule of law.

P18 Legalizing drugs is the worst thing we could do for President Felipe Calderón and our Mexican allies. It would weaken the moral authority of his fight and the Mexicans would immediately realize that we have no intention of reducing consumption. Who do we think would take the profits from a legal drug trade? U.S. suppliers would certainly spring up, but that wouldn't preclude Mexican supplies as well -- or Mexican production for consumption in other countries. The Mexicans know that they too have a dangerous use and addiction problem. They have already learned that it is wrong and dangerous to make abuse and addiction worse.

P19 We can make progress faster when more of us learn that drug use and addiction can not be an expression of individual liberty in a free society. Drug abuse is, by nature and the laws of organic chemistry that govern this disease, incompatible with freedom and civil society. Drug abuse makes human life solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short (a special version of Hobbes's hell in our own families). In the deepest sense, this is why failure is not an option.

John P. Walters is executive vice president of Hudson Institute and was director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy from 2001 to 2009 under President George W. Bush.