Raising awareness of collocation in the Japanese EFL classroom Paul Dickinson

Assignment submitted for

Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics

November 2008

Lexis

LX/08/04

Choose a short, authentic, written or spoken text in English (about 200 - 500 words) and select at least twelve examples of collocations, including some fixed expressions. Discuss how you might use these examples to demonstrate to students the constraints on word-combinations in English.

Estimated Word Count: 4,100

(excluding cover page, contents, long quotes, figures, references and appendices)

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1. Introduction

In Alan Bennett's *Miss Fozzard Finds Her Feet* the eponymous Miss Fozzard recounts a conversation with her brother, Bernard, who is recovering from a stroke:

I made him some tea. I said, 'She's made a fool of you.' Bernard said, 'You can speak.' I said, 'You mean talk. I know I can speak. The expression is, you can talk. Anyway why?' He said, 'Monkeying about with your foot feller.' I said, 'Mr Dunderdale? What's he got to do with it?' He said, 'Little games and whatnot. He's obviously a...a...' I said, 'A what?' He said, 'A...thing.' I said, 'Skirt a path round the word, Bernard. A what?' He said, 'Skirt it yourself you stupid...four legs, two horns, where you get milk.' I said, 'Cow. You normally remember that.'

(Bennett, 2007: 203)

Aside from revealing the personal frustrations of aphasia, Bernard's struggle to find the right words also provides a more general linguistic insight: that there are considerable constraints on word-combinations in English. These constraints restrict the choice of words which can appear together, or collocate. When they are at their most restrictive the slightest error in word choice - as in Bernard's use here of 'speak' instead of 'talk' - can make a speaker sound unnatural at the very least. The acceptable syntax of the expression Bernard uses - 'You can speak' - shows us that these restrictions are not always grammatical. In addition, the prefabricated nature of such phrases reveals that their selection involves a single choice (Sinclair, 1991). While this aspect of the language is often playfully exploited by skillful writers and other expert users for humorous or literary effect, the reality for many non-native learners of English is that understanding such constraints is no laughing matter and - if they wish to achieve native-like fluency - is not something they can afford to 'skirt around' (Nation, 2003; Pawley & Syder, 1983).

Building upon a broader, more inclusive notion of collocation, this paper will discuss how the constraints on word-combinations in English might be demonstrated to Japanese EFL learners in an effort to help them 'find their feet' in the uncertain territory of English collocations. I will begin with an overview of collocation and a review of the relevant literature. Next, using examples of collocations from an authentic text I will discuss some possible approaches to raising learner awareness of the constraints on English word-combinations. The implications for English language teaching will then be discussed near the end of this essay.

2. What is collocation?

The term collocation is used and understood in many different ways within the field of TESOL. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss all of the interpretations here, a general overview of collocation together with a definition of how the term is used in this paper is now presented.

2.1 Collocation: An overview

Collocation refers to the way that certain words regularly co-occur with other particular words in discourse. Another way of looking at it is the company words keep (Firth, 1957). Any discussion of collocation perhaps needs to begin with Sinclair's (1991) differentiation between the *open-choice principle* and the *idiom principle*. The open-choice principle refers to a way of seeing text as the result of there being a wide variety of lexical choices available to the language user: 'At each point where a unit is completed (a word or a phrase or a clause), a large range of choice opens up and the only restraint is grammaticalness' (Sinclair, 1991: 109).

However, Sinclair argued that words do not randomly occur in discourse; that there are constraints on consecutive lexical choices which are not provided for by the open-choice principle. Therefore a second principle was needed, which he called the idiom principle. Briefly, the idiom principle

is that a language user has available to him or her a large number of semipreconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear analysable into segments.

(Sinclair, 1991: 110)

Sinclair considered the two models incompatible with each other, with the switch from the idiom principle to the open-choice principle being 'sharp' (1991: 114). He also proposed that for normal texts the idiom principle is the default mode as it can interpret most of a text, switching to the open-choice principle only when necessary and quickly back again (Sinclair, 1991: 114).

As Schmitt (2000: 77) notes, 'the idiom principle highlights the fact that there are regularities in how words co-occur with each other; collocation is the term that covers this notion.' I will now define how the term will be used in this paper.

2.2 A definition of collocation

In a corpus linguistic definition, Sinclair describes collocation as 'a general term for two or more words occurring near each other in a text' (Sinclair, 2003: 173). However, Nation (2001) argues that 'it is not sufficient to define a collocation as a group of words that frequently occur together', as corpus evidence tells us that groups such as although he, but if, and of the occur frequently 'but do not intuitively fit our idea of what a collocation

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is' as we 'would also expect collocations to contain some element of grammatical or lexical unpredictability or inflexibility' (Nation, 2001: 324). And while collocation often occurs between immediately adjacent words (*stupid cow* or *go on holiday*) it can also be discontinuous as co-occurring words can appear several words apart, as in 'I *made* him some *tea*' (Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992; Sinclair, 1991). Taking these factors into account, in this paper the term collocation will be used to refer to a group of two or more words that frequently occur together with some grammatical and/or lexical significance, which is not limited to two or three word sequences.

3. Why should collocation be taught?

That collocation should be taught to EFL learners is now generally accepted, despite the earlier scepticism of some towards the idea (for example, Mackin, 1978). A review of three of the most common arguments stressing the importance of developing collocational knowledge is now presented.

3.1 Language knowledge requires collocational knowledge

The evidence of the extent of collocation that advances in corpus linguistics have made possible has justified the pre-computer age vision of those such as Palmer (1933), Firth (1957) and Sinclair (1966) in stressing the importance of the role of collocation in understanding language. Collocations are everywhere. Estimates vary, but Hill (2000) claims that collocations are found in 'up to 70% of everything we say, hear, read, or write' (2000: 53). Collocation highlights the strong patterning that exists in language and shows that a word-by-word approach cannot satisfactorily account for meaning in a text. Nation (2001) writes that the strongest position taken is that language knowledge *is*

collocational knowledge 'because the stored sequences of words are the bases of learning, knowledge and use' (Nation, 2001: 321).

3.2 Efficient language acquisition requires collocational knowledge

It is generally accepted that language is acquired faster and more efficiently when learned in 'chunks', such as set phrases or routines (Ellis, 2001; Ellis & Laporte, 1997; Peters, 1983). There is substantial psycholinguistic evidence which supports this. Schmitt (2000: 78) writes that "lexical phrases in language reflect the way the mind tends to 'chunk' language in order to make it easier to process" and Aitchison (1987: 79) states there are 'powerful and long-lasting' links between words in the mind. In first language (L1) acquisition young children acquire language in chunks (Bolinger, 1976), even - it is claimed - producing collocational constructions they could not have learned from their parents (Pinker, 2007). Research on aphasics shows that in some cases collocational abilities were not overly impaired, despite significant impairment in other language abilities (Bates *et al*, 1988; Goodglass & Baker, 1976).

There is also a growing body of evidence from studies of second language (L2) acquisition that supports the above position. Gleason (1982: 355) states that 'work on second language acquisition indicates that second language learners begin not so much with generative systems as with chunks, prefabricated routines, or unopened packages.' In a comparative study of L1 and L2 English speakers Conklin and Schmitt (2008) found that what they term 'formulaic sequences' were read more quickly than non-formulaic sequences by both groups of participants, supporting the assertion that such chunks 'have a processing advantage over creatively generated language' (2008: 72).

All of the above evidence appears to support the view that collocations are organised in the mind in some way to enable more efficient language processing, for both language reception and language production.

3.3 Fluent language use requires collocational knowledge

A third reason cited supporting the teaching of collocation is that fluent and appropriate language use requires collocational knowledge (Nation, 2003; Pawley & Syder, 1983). For example, Pawley and Syder state that

memorized clauses and clause-sequences form a high proportion of the fluent stretches of speech heard in everyday conversation ... Speakers show a high degree of fluency when describing familiar experiences or activities in familiar phrases ... we believe that memorized sentences and phrases are the normal building blocks of fluent spoken discourse.

(Pawley & Syder, 1983: 208)

There have been several studies which support this position. Towell, Hawkins and Bazergui (1996) found in a study of learners of French as a second language that increased fluency resulted from learners storing memorised sequences. Sung (2003), in a study of international students in the USA, found a significant correlation between the knowledge of lexical collocations and the subjects' speaking proficiency as did Hsu and Chiu (2008) in a study of Taiwanese EFL learners.

The three positions summarised here stressing the importance of collocational knowledge appear well supported by the available evidence. Accepting that collocation should be taught to EFL learners, we need to consider how this might best be done. Using examples of various types of collocations from an authentic text the following sections will address this question.

4. The text and selected collocations

In this section I will present a brief overview of the text from which selected examples of collocations were taken, before discussing the examples and the reasons for their choice.

4.1 The text

The text that examples of collocations were chosen from is a passage from Alan Bennett's dramatic monologue *Miss Fozzard Finds Her Feet*, which was part of a series of twelve monologues originally filmed for BBC Television entitled *Talking Heads*. It was chosen as it contains a range of typical collocations which should be useful for demonstrating collocational constraints to Japanese EFL learners. The passage is also generally conversational and contains some useful discoursal expressions. It does however, have some regionally specific variations that may need explanation (for example, that *tea* is used to refer to the evening meal, not the drink). A transcript of the text appears in Appendix 1.

4.2 The selected collocations

It is obviously an impossible task to teach every potentially useful collocation. A more realistic goal is to raise learner awareness of the extent of collocation and to provide some useful 'noticing' strategies, so that learners are better equipped to notice collocations themselves. Therefore, while some examples were especially chosen to address typical collocational problems of Japanese EFL learners, others were selected in order to present a sufficiently wide range of typical collocations. Unusual collocations of the type which typically appear in poetry or literary novels were avoided as they have great potential to confuse learners. The majority of examples and suggested activities presented here are

intended for learners of an intermediate level or above. The selected collocations are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Examples of collocations from Miss Fozzard Finds Her Feet

Example	Reason for selection						
get my tea	Example of a delexical verb + noun collocation.						
put the light on put the kettle on	Examples of a common phrasal verb without a direct Japanese translation. The meaning of these phrases is also somewhat opaque. As Hill (2000) writes of a similar item, 'learners may have no trouble with the literal <i>put the cat out</i> but cannot relate that to <i>put the light out</i> ' (Hill, 2000: 51).						
Looking up	Another example of a phrasal verb (as it is used in this text). Polysemous, it offers opportunities for exploring its various meanings and uses in different contexts.						
going on holiday go on bloody holiday	Examples of a common delexical verb + preposition + noun collocation. The second example illustrates how an intensifier can be used in such structures.						
qualified physiotherapist	Japanese learners of English often produce something like the unnatural sounding 'She has a doctor's license', instead of using this more economical phrase. This is possibly due to L1 interference as the Japanese equivalent of qualified (shikaku no aru) roughly translates as 'have a qualification/license.'						

Example	Reason for selection							
what do you call it	Useful discourse 'enabling device' (Moon, 1997: 56). It might be an especially helpful phrase for learners to use when trying to find the right word for something.							
You know	The most frequent spoken English collocation (Shin & Nation, 2008). It plays an important role in maintaining what McCarthy terms <i>confluence</i> , 'the jointly-produced conversational <i>flow</i> by which we recognise good, smooth, and efficient performance in multi-party talk' (McCarthy 2008: 32). As it is so frequently used (45,000 times in just under 5 million words of speech) when such items are absent from conversation the resulting speech sounds unnatural (McCarthy, 2008).							
made him some tea	Example of another common delexical verb + noun collocation.							
made a fool of you	Example of a fixed expression which allows inflection. Without a direct Japanese translation. Japanese has a similar, yet slightly different expression using a different verb <i>suru</i> (do).							
you can talk	Example of a 'fossilised' fixed expression which clearly demonstrates the idiom principle and shows just how restricted lexical choice can often be. A useful discoursal expression.							
What's he got to do with it?	Another fixed expression. Example of an interrogative discoursal expression, used especially in arguments. Could be used in context to demonstrate its use and how it allows some substitution (for example, that for he as in What's that got to do with it?).							
stupid cow	Example of a semi-idiom.							

5. How should collocation be taught?

In this section I will discuss some approaches to teaching collocation using selected examples of typical collocations. As collocations, as they are defined in this paper, come in various forms some learning activities are more suited to teaching certain types of collocations than others. This section will show how teachers need to consider the type of collocation being taught as well as the needs and proficiency levels of learners when choosing activities.

5.1 Deliberate learning of new collocates

In one of the earliest studies recommending the explicit teaching of collocation Channell (1981) found that learners fail to realise the potential of known words as they only use them in a limited number of collocations that they feel sure of. To overcome such limited use of collocations, Channell argued that it is essential to expose learners to a large variety of typical collocations whenever a word is first acquired. She recommended doing this using example sentences or collocational grids such as this one:

	woman	man	child	gop	bird	flower	weather	landscape	view	house	furniture	peq	picture	dress	present	voice
handsome		+		_							+				+	
pretty	+	Г	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+		
charming	+		+							+				+	Π,	+
lovely	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Figure 1 Collocation grid (from Channell, 1981: 120)

Grids are especially suited to presenting many adjective + noun and delexical verb + noun combinations. For example, grids can be used to demonstrate acceptable adjective + noun collocations, such as *qualified physiotherapist*, as well as unacceptable ones. They

are also suitable for developing learner awareness of the restrictions of delexical verb + noun combinations exemplified in *get my tea*, *going on holiday* and *made him some tea* after they had encountered them in a text.

The grid approach is not without its critics however. Nesselhauf (2005) believes that grids are limited in their effectiveness as they only provide information on the form, not the usage of collocations. She argues that knowledge of all aspects of usage (for example, semantic prosody, pragmatics and stylistics) can only be learned in typical contexts (Nesselhauf, 2005: 269). However, as Carter (1998: 217-219) points out, teachers 'sensitive to teaching vocabulary in context will not present the grids as immutable, but rather as hypotheses which learners can test against further data.' In light of this, it is important to remember the limitations of grids and to use them appropriately in conjunction with other learning activities.

5.2 Concordances

Concordances, lists of examples of a particular word or group of words used in context, are another useful tool for teaching collocation. Several writers (Nation, 2001; Woolard, 2000) have pointed out the learning benefits of using concordances. A potential problem with concordances is that the sheer range of examples that sometimes come up may overwhelm and confuse learners. For instance, the concordance lines that a corpus search of the item *looking up* provide several different uses and senses of its meaning (see Figure 2). While this may be beneficial for more advanced learners, it also has great potential to confuse less proficient learners. Therefore, although concordance lines can be

very useful, teachers need to carefully consider how to best use them with their learners. For example, whether it would be more beneficial to use preselected examples, rather than giving learners access to unsorted corpus data.

ill, the food stores were not in a good way either. He paused, **looking up** into the sky, eyes straining. Was the object growing larger? aving time to begin a new project," said Ninheimer, without **looking up** from the notations he was making in the current issue of So as one of the few remaining private homes. 'I say, things are **looking up** a bit! Father's flat in Paris wasn't nearly as grand as this." ole bonne femme. He was moved to Aldershot. Things are **looking up**. I've landed a job in the kitchen of the officers' mess of th r her." "Galilee built this house?" Niolopua nodded, still not **looking up**. "When?" "I don't know exactly. A long time ago. It was the he said scarcely a word throughout the supper, seldom even **looking up** from her plate. There was no doubt as to the star of the eve flower in the hedgerow; the drone of a jet overhead, and his **looking up**, squinting against the brightness of the sky, to see it making udents, telling a story about how God 's hands worked; then **looking up** and seeing a stranger at the back of the room, and dying. Hi tower with a beautiful marble balcony rose from the castle. **Looking up**, Jung noticed the elegant figure of a regal woman sitting o ead made public their findings for others to apply. Life was **looking up** when, in 1906, Pierre died after being run over by a lumber at the petri dish had not only not been contaminated, but, on **looking up** the records, found that the climate in London in July to Aug cher." The couple had returned from the park and were now **looking up** towards the sky through a hole in the roof of the turf shed heck for trachoma hung from the ceiling. 'God," Mark said, **looking up** at it, 'vicious." He began to compare the texts of the psalm egory sat down to eat with his new family, not speaking, not **looking up**, worried that no one would feed Oliver, that he would neve his wings in intellectual exploration. He had spent his time **looking up** pointless information, memorizing facts, and writing papers

Figure 2 Sample concordance lines for *looking up* from the Bank of English

Hoey (2000) argues that even without access to a computerised corpus it is possible to adopt useful vocabulary learning strategies. He recommends getting learners to use a text to produce a manual concordance. One activity Hoey suggests involves doing a keyword in context search, collecting the instances of use and lining them up just as in a computer concordance, then having the learners reflect on the patterns they found (2000: 240).

This activity could be useful for raising awareness of delexical verb + noun collocations (*get my tea*) and phrasal verbs (*put the light on*). For example, learners could be asked to find all instances of *put* in the selected text. They would find the following:

I put the light on

I'm not sure where to **put** myself so I go **put** the kettle on.

The meaning of the first example might be understood by many learners, but if not they could look at the collocation in context, which should make its meaning clearer:

Then I go into the sitting room and there's Bernard sitting there in the dark. I **put the light on** and he's got the atlas open. I said, 'What are you doing in the dark?'

The second example is more complex and learners may need guidance from the teacher as *put* is used here as part of the chunk *I'm not sure where to put myself* whose meaning is perhaps not as easy to work out from the context. However, it may provide a good learning opportunity as the teacher could provide other examples and uses of the collocation which could be expanded to include *put yourself/herself* and so on.

The third instance, *put the kettle on*, should be more understandable, especially as learners have already encountered the semantically and syntactically similar *put the light on*. Hopefully, they will be able to make a connection between the two and see that to *put + household item + on* where there is no use of an indirect object (as in *put the toaster on the bench*) in this variety of English means to do something to the item that causes it in turn to do something (i.e. emit light or boil water). Again, alternative uses of the collocation could also be elicited from learners and/or pointed out by the teacher.

5.3 Dictionaries

Another valuable source of data, especially for more proficient learners, are corpus-based general or collocation dictionaries. Teachers can have learners do in-class activities using dictionaries as well as provide independent learning strategies to further develop learners'

collocational knowledge. For example, if learners have difficulty with the phrase *She's* made a fool of you they could be asked to look at the entry for fool in a good English-English dictionary. The entry for fool in the *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's* English Dictionary (2003) provides the following information and examples:

If you **make a fool of** someone, you make them seem silly by telling people about something stupid that they have done, or by tricking them. *Your brother is making a fool of you... He'd been made a fool of.*

Learners gain several benefits from this type of information. They get some contextual information on the use of the expression which should assist their understanding of it as well as get to see the degree of restriction that it has (i.e. although not allowing lexical substitution, that it can be used in different tenses and allows some flexibility in word order). In addition, this particular dictionary entry also has examples of other expressions using *fool*, such as *more fool you*, *play the fool* and *act the fool*, providing a further learning opportunity for the more advanced learner. However, to gain the maximum benefit from using dictionaries learners need a systematic way of recording the information they receive. If learners can be taught to use dictionaries effectively, they will be more able to independently explore collocation and thus develop their collocational knowledge outside the classroom.

5.4 Memorising unanalysed chunks

A useful strategy for acquiring fixed expressions such as *you can talk, what do you call it* or *What's he got to do with it?* is memorising unanalysed chunks. Nation (2001) argues that it is an especially important learning strategy for a learner who wishes to quickly achieve fluency in limited areas. According to Nation, the most effective way of memorising chunks is to follow the same learning guidelines used for individual words.

He lists these as:

1. Write each chunk on a small card with its translation on the other side so that there

has to be active retrieval of its form or meaning.

2. Repeat the chunk aloud while memorising it.

3. Space the repetitions so that there is an increasingly greater interval between

learning sessions.

4. Use mnemonic tricks like the keyword technique, putting the chunk into a sentence,

visualising examples of the meaning of the chunk, and analysing its parts.

5. Don't learn chunks with similar words or meanings together. They will interfere with

each other.

6. Keep changing the order of the word cards to avoid serial learning.

(Nation, 2001: 343)

These all appear to be useful activities for learning fixed expressions, although the first

suggestion could be problematic as it is not possible to translate many irregularly formed

or idiomatic chunks and retain their exact meaning.

The approaches discussed here are just a small selection of many possible ways of

building learners' awareness of collocation. They should, however, be especially useful

for demonstrating the constraints on the word-combinations represented by the selected

examples.

6. Implications for language teaching

Recognition of the importance of collocational knowledge has several implications for

English language teaching. First, teachers need to know the types of collocations that

their learners should be made aware of. As most current ELT coursebooks and materials

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do not reflect the importance or extent of collocation teachers need to seek this knowledge elsewhere. Language corpora are one valuable source of more reliable evidence of collocations.

A second implication is that teachers need to become more aware of problems that might result from interference from their learners' L1. Several studies have shown the problems of L1 interference in learning certain types of collocations (Bahns, 1993; Bahns & Eldaw, 1993; Nesselhauf, 2005). Greater awareness of the specific collocational problems learners are likely to have as a result of their L1 can only be beneficial. Better informed teachers are more able to implement lessons addressing the specific needs and backgrounds of their learners and this applies as much to collocational knowledge as to any other aspect of language learning.

A third implication is that teachers need to use appropriate activities for teaching collocation. Activities need to be suitable for the type of collocation being taught as well as the needs and abilities of learners. Teachers also need to teach learners effective learning strategies that will enable them to independently develop their collocational knowledge beyond the classroom.

7. Conclusion

The importance of collocational knowledge to language learning is well established. It has a central role in efficient language acquisition and proficient language production. As linguists such as Sinclair have demonstrated, a language can neither be adequately

understood nor fluently produced on a word-by-word or purely grammar-focused basis. Traditional grammar-based approaches to materials design and language teaching have often failed to acknowledge this. A greater emphasis on collocation in language teaching and learning is needed if more learners of English are to truly 'find their feet' in the language.

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Appendix 1: Extract from Miss Fozzard Finds Her Feet by Alan Bennett

House dark when I got in. I imagine they're in the sitting room, the pair of them only I call out and there's no sound. So I get my tea and read the *Evening Post*, nice to have the place to myself for a change.

Then I go into the sitting room and there's Bernard sitting there in the dark. I put the light on and he's got the atlas open. I said, 'What are you doing in the dark?' He said, 'Looking up the Maldive Islands.' 'Why,' I said, 'you're not going on holiday?' He said, 'No, I'm not. How can I go on bloody holiday? What with?' And he shoves a bank statement at me.

I've a feeling he's been crying and I'm not sure where to put myself so I go **put the kettle**on while I look at his statement. There's practically nothing in it, money taken out nearly every

day. I said, 'What's this?' He said, 'It's that tart from Hobart.' I said, 'Miss Molloy? But she's a

qualified physiotherapist.' He said, 'Yes and she's something else...she's a - what do you call it

- female dog.'

I said, 'Did you sign these cheques?' He said, 'Of course I signed them.' I said, 'What were you doing, practising writing?' He said, 'No.' I said, 'Where is she?' He said, 'The Maldive Islands, where I was going to be.' I said, 'Well, we must contact the police. It's fraud is this.' He said, 'No, it isn't.' I said, 'What did you think these cheques were for?' He said, 'I knew what they were for. For services rendered. And I don't mean lifting me on and off the what's it called. It's stuff she did for me.' I said, 'What stuff?' He said, 'You know.'

...I made him some tea. I said, 'She's made a fool of you.' Bernard said, 'You can speak.' I said, 'You mean talk. I know I can speak. The expression is, you can talk. Anyway why?' He said, 'Monkeying about with your foot feller.' I said, 'Mr Dunderdale? What's he got to do with it?' He said, 'Little games and whatnot. He's obviously a...a...' I said, 'A what?' He said, 'A...thing.' I said, 'Skirt a path round the word, Bernard. A what?' He said, 'Skirt it yourself you stupid...four legs, two horns, where you get milk.' I said, 'Cow. You normally remember that.'

Appendix 2: Possible collocation learning activities

Example	Possible learning activity
get my tea	Collocation grids; study of concordances
put the light on put the kettle on	Study of concordances and dictionaries
Looking up	Study of concordances and dictionaries
going on holiday go on bloody holiday	Collocation grids; study of concordances
qualified physiotherapist	Collocation grids; study of concordances and dictionaries
what do you call it	Memorising unanalysed chunks; study of concordances
You know	Memorising unanalysed chunks; study of concordances
made him some tea	Collocation grids; study of concordances
made a fool of you	Study of concordances and dictionaries
you can talk	Memorising unanalysed chunks; study of concordances
What's he got to do with it?	Memorising unanalysed chunks; study of concordances
stupid cow	Study of concordances; memorising unanalysed chunks