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# Lexical Culture\*

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**Abstract:** The paper focuses on the mutual relations between linguistics and lexicography. Against the background of etymology and comparative-historical linguistic studies and using the words 'lexical' and 'culture' as examples, an attempt is made to demonstrate the relevance of morphology, grammar and semantics to the description of vocabulary and its lexicographic codification. Issues of intralingual variety and interlingual diversity can now also be addressed within the theoretical framework of contrastive textology, supported by computer-aided parallel text corpus analysis. However, lexicography is not entirely dependent on the results of linguistic research; it needs to move on and develop its own theoretical base. Recent progress in four fields of dictionary research has indeed contributed to an international upsurge of 'lexical culture'.

**Keywords:** LINGUISTICS (ETYMOLOGY, MORPHOLOGY, GRAMMAR, SEMANTICS), CONTRASTIVE TEXTOLOGY (PARALLEL TEXT CORPORA), LEXICOGRAPHY (REFERENCE SCIENCE, DICTIONARY RESEARCH), CULTURE

**Opsomming: Leksikale kultuur.** In hierdie artikel word gekonsentreer op die gemeenskaplikhede tussen die linguistiek en die leksikografie. Teen die agtergrond van die etimologie en vergelykend-historiese linguistiese studies en met 'lexical' en 'culture' as voorbeelde, word 'n poging aangewend om die relevansie van morfologie, grammatika en semantiek aan te dui in die beskrywing van die woordeskate en die leksikografiese kodifisering daarvan. Kwessies van buitetaalige verskeidenheid en intertaalige uiteenlopendheid word ook aangespreek binne die teoretiese raamwerk van kontrastiewe tekstologie, ondersteun deur rekeneaar gesteunde parallelle tekstorkorpusanalise. Leksikografie is egter nie heeltemal afhanklik van die resultate van linguistiese navorsing nie; dit moet verder vorder en 'n eie teoretiese basis ontwikkel. Onlangse ontwikkeling in vier velde van woordeboeknavorsing het inderdaad bygedra tot 'n internasionale oplewing van 'leksikale kultuur'.

**Sluitelwoorde:** LINGUISTIEK (ETIMOLOGIE, MORFOLOGIE, GRAMMATIKA, SEMANTIEK), KONTRASTIEWE TEKSTOLOGIE (PARALLELE TEKSKORPUSSE), LEKSIKOGRAFIE (VERWYSINGSWETENSAP, WOORDEBOEKNAVORSING), KULTUUR

Lexical culture may be a newish phrase, but it is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, human curiosity in words and their ever-changing forms and meanings lies at the beginning of any scholarly effort to understand them. In this sense, the study of words surely predates linguistics as an academic discipline. Often it was triggered by the need to understand words in texts, in religious texts, in legal texts, and in literary texts, for instance. These are also, in many

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cultures around the world, the early forerunners of linguistic interpretation. To give just one example, from India, in the tradition of Sanskrit scholarship, where the exegesis of religious texts, namely the Vedic hymns, eventually led to the impressive linguistic work of Panini and other grammarians at least four centuries before Christ, producing a description of the structure of words which anticipated the rules of generative grammar by over 2,000 years!

In the Western tradition of linguistics, lexical interest was for a long time focussed on etymology, or the explanation of the origin of words and their change throughout the historical development of a language. This in turn led to the creation of historical-comparative linguistics, or 'philology', especially since 1786 when William Jones stipulated a genetic link between various so-called 'Indo-European' languages from Sanskrit and Greek through Latin to most of the modern Romance, Germanic, Slavonic and Celtic languages.

Knowledge of this kind shows us that our phrase 'lexical culture' has a Greek and Roman pedigree, *lexical* being derived from the Greek words *lexis* and *lexicon* which mean 'word' and 'word-book', respectively, and *culture* (literally) rooted in Latin *culture* which in turn comes from the verb *colere* 'to till' or 'cultivate'. Both *lexical* and *culture* are thus very old words with impeccable Indo-European family connections. If we had more time, we could go on tracing their historical evolution and their cognates in other languages; we would discover, and historical-comparative linguists and historical dictionaries such as the OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY would assist us, that there are fascinating linguistic interconnections, on the one hand, between *lexis* in Greek with *legein* 'to read' and *logos* 'speech' and their cognates in other languages, such as Latin *legere* 'to read' and possibly *lex* 'law', and, on the other hand, between *cultus* in Latin with *colonia* 'settlement' and *collum* 'neck' and its cognates in other languages, such as Greek *kuklos* 'cycle', Middle Dutch *hals* 'neck' and English *wheel*.

Today, etymology is no longer academically very respectable, and historical-comparative linguistics is not in great demand in the universities, but most of the world's great all-purpose dictionaries still record lexical information of this kind, and their buyers and users expect to find it in them.

Meanwhile, the term 'derivation' has acquired a modern sense in addition to its historical one: since the middle of our century linguists seem to be less interested in the (diachronic) processes of lexical evolution, but rather more in the (synchronic) processes of word-formation: How are new words produced from the lexical resources of any one language, and how does 'borrowing', or copying, words from other languages work?

This is the province of morphology, the study of the structure of words in terms of the constituent parts that help to shape them, like roots and affixes, free morphemes and bound morphemes, and derivational and inflectional elements.

When we claim that we are now more interested in morphology than in etymology, we are perhaps also making value judgements about such things as

scholarly solidity and historical uncertainty, even (I am exaggerating a little) declaring our preference for fact over fiction. When we say that the morphological resources of English allow the formation of adjectives like *lexical* and *cultural* from nouns like *lexicon* and *culture*, we are observing a regular pattern by inspecting data available to us all, which is an established principle of scientific methodology. However, when we say that English *lexical*, a word first documented in 1836, comes from *lexicon*, borrowed from Greek via Middle French in 1603, and is thus cognate with certain words in other languages, we also grudgingly admit (as does the BARNHART DICTIONARY OF ETYMOLOGY, 1988, from which I have taken this information) that datings depend on the accidental nature of the records on which they are based, and the evidence becomes more and more shaky the further back we go in time, and the more we have to rely on theoretical reconstructions.

Morphology is only one of several branches of linguistics; together with syntax, it forms the field of grammar which has dominated the scene for the last 40 years or so. Indeed, for part of this period it might be argued that there has not been a 'lexical culture', but rather a 'grammar culture' which has tended to relegate vocabulary to lists of items, regarding the dictionary merely as a collection of irregularities that cannot be explained by syntactic rules. One famous British linguist, John Lyons (1971: 514) put it like this:

We can regard the lexicon as a kind of appendix to the grammar — an appendix in which we find, appropriately indexed, all the information that we need to know about particular lexemes or their associated forms and cannot derive from anything else that the grammatical or phonological analysis of the language tells us about them.

By turning their focus of attention away from the lower-level constituents of words towards the higher levels of phrases, clauses and sentences, linguists were in danger for a while of losing sight of the basic lexical units altogether. By regarding words like *culture* and *lexicon* merely as instances of the syntactic category 'noun' and words like *cultural* and *lexical* merely as members of the word-class 'adjective', are we not missing a lot of essential features of these items? (This is one area where the so-called love-hate relationship between linguistics and lexicography could be potentially explosive.)

The aspect of language where 'grammatical culture' has overshadowed 'lexical culture' most is, of course, meaning or semantics. We have already seen how our two favourite words have changed historically and how difficult their interpretation can be. There are certainly multiple senses, as, with *culture*, we move from the cultivation of plants and animals (as in *agriculture* and — of special significance here in Stellenbosch — *viticulture*) to the cultivation of intellectual activities like art, music and education (think of phrases like *high culture* or *cultured person*), and on to further meanings as used in special fields like anthropology, biology and the media; cf. the entry *culture* in the OXFORD

COMPANION TO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE (McArthur 1992: 274).

To elucidate these various senses or meanings, we need a well-developed semantics. Unfortunately, as another British linguist reminds us (Cruse 1990: 139), semantics is still rather young and relatively unsophisticated:

It is probably true to say that the most influential work to date in semantics has been somewhat theoretical in orientation, and has been directed preponderantly towards elucidating and accounting for the logical properties of sentences within the framework of some system or other of formal logic. There has been relatively little in the way of descriptive work ...

Descriptive work is arguably just as important as theory, you will agree.

It might be argued that the descriptive semantics that linguists like Cruse are demanding has already been achieved by lexicographers who have always striven to supply explanations of the lexical units of the language in the form of definitions in dictionaries. There are even some specialised types of dictionaries available which provide such information, e.g. synonym dictionaries and thesauruses (like Laurence Urdang's excellent and original OXFORD THESAURUS, 1991, which arranges words of similar meaning in alphabetic, not thematic, order and gives example sentences to distinguish shades of meanings between them).

While such reference works undoubtedly exist, at least for the major languages of the world, they cannot meet all the various needs users might have, and they do not usually treat more than the core vocabulary, and that only superficially. So we must continue to encourage a two-way debate between linguistic semantics, on the one hand, and practical lexicography, on the other, about what needs to be done and what can be done to describe in detail the semantic behaviour of lexical items in the context of language use.

A number of theoretical approaches and descriptive techniques are available. From these, I can only briefly mention three.

The first is usually called 'lexical field' theory, or 'semantic field' theory, a way of analysing lexical items into conceptual sets or domains. This is associated with German linguists like Jost Trier and Walter Porzig in the 1930's; you may also have come across names like Baldinger, Geckeler, Lipka and Lutzeier. I myself have experimented with the cooking verbs, pipe fittings, and words like *plane*, *level* and *stratum*, but our words *lexical* and *culture* are still waiting to be described in detail (a good summary of this approach is Adrienne Lehrer's book *Semantic Fields and Lexical Structure*, 1974).

The second approach is labelled 'componential analysis' or 'distinctive feature analysis', the former being associated with American anthropology of the 1940's and 1950's, the latter with transformational-generative grammarians, notably Katz and Fodor who produced the famous example of *bachelor* broken down into its sense elements in the form of a family tree. There is also a Euro-

pean version of this theory which goes under the name of 'structural semantics'; the most well-known instance is the analysis of pieces of furniture for sitting on, presented in the form of a matrix of columns and lines, with + and - signs entered in the spaces, attributed to the French linguist Bernard Pottier.

The third approach I want to single out here is the much more recent offshoot of cognitive linguistics and psychology which is pursued under the banner of 'prototype semantics' and popularised by George Lakoff, Anna Wierzbicka and Jean Aitchison and applied to lexicography by Dirk Geeraerts. Geeraerts (1994) gives the example of *trousers / pants / blue jeans* and discusses some of the factors that determine their respective salience and variation in particular contexts.

Two aspects are often overlooked when these semantic issues are debated, and I have spent many years of my career trying to draw people's attention to them: one is intralingual variation, the other is interlingual contrast. It surely matters, I would have thought, whether a semantic description is done not only for the purpose of establishing the similarities and differences between the analysed lexical items in question (as the three approaches that I have mentioned try to do), but also to check if the style, register or text type in which they typically occur have an impact on the relations between them. Thus, a word like *culture* does not have a single or basic meaning, but various uses in communicative situations. So in the discourse community of social history, *culture* is often synonymous with *civilisation*, while in political texts it can mean 'race' (think of the phrase *multicultural society*), while in medicine the term *culture* can be paraphrased by something like *growth of micro-organisms*.

The other factor in semantic description apart from intralingual variation is interlingual contrast. As we all know, there is no such thing as straightforward one-to-one lexical equivalence, especially between pairs of languages which are not genetically related, and this causes great difficulties in translation, a process with which I am sure most of you are familiar. If you are, you will also be aware of a particularly problematic aspect of this interlingual matching, or lack of fit, namely what is commonly referred to as 'culture-specific vocabulary', or those lexical items that are used to label things, concepts and institutions unique to a particular society. This is an area where linguists sometimes give up, and leave the field completely to ethnographers, translators, and bilingual lexicographers (cf. Hartmann 1992).

While admittedly these problems of intralingual variation and interlingual contrast seem at times unsolvable, we must not lose heart, and indeed help seems to be at hand, both theoretically and practically. In a book which I published 15 years ago, entitled *Contrastive Textology* (Hartmann 1980), I made out a case for an integrated approach to this problem. I saw it as the combination of intralingual variety studies or discourse analysis and interlingual contrastive analysis (hence the term 'contrastive textology' which unfortunately has not caught on, although the desirability of such an approach has since been acknowledged by other linguists, too). Contrastive statements about a pair of

languages only make sense if they are based on the analysis of so-called 'parallel texts', defined as examples of discourse from corresponding genres. This has remained a theoretical demand or dream as long as we have not had the means to carry it out on a large scale.

Today, computer technology gives us the opportunity to attempt a new generation of contrastive text linguistics for the benefit of semantics, translation and bilingual lexicography. I cannot go into the intricacies of 'corpus linguistics', as the literature is too complex to review and the operational procedures are too diffuse to present here. Let me just hint at the essentials. The recent boom in monolingual text corpora, especially of English, has tended to minimise interlingual or crosslinguistic work, although even monolingual corpora can have a contrastive dimension when they give us data about different regional varieties (such as British vs. South African English), about intralingual registers (such as spoken vs. written), or about different periods of the same language.

It is extremely difficult to get a good overall picture of the field of bilingual text corpora, as their scope and design features vary according to whether they are intended for linguistic description, foreign-language teaching, bilingual lexicography, human translation, machine translation, artificial intelligence research, or speech technology, and reports are scattered over very diverse periodicals and conference proceedings. I find it helpful to distinguish two types of parallel texts: 'bitexts' or translationally matched texts (such as European Union reports and laws and their translated versions in other languages), and 'paired texts' which are independently written texts from two languages, but matched in terms of similar communicative settings (such as the manifestoes of the political parties in Britain and Germany). Interesting work has been done, both on aligned bitexts and on matched paired texts, to extract lexical equivalents, which is a promising technique of potential benefit to translators and bilingual lexicographers.

May I end this section by presenting a brief illustration of what I have done on an English-only text corpus with our two words *lexical* and *culture*. One of our students on the Exeter M.A. Course in Lexicography, Lucia Cortese, recently enjoyed a practical placement at COBUILD in Birmingham. I asked her to check and print out all occurrences of the two words, *lexical* and *culture* from the 'Bank of English' corpus of over 200 million words. The material came, by fax, laid out in the form of concordance pages, with the words in question in a central column together with preceding and following context line by line. You will be interested to know that there were 81 citations of *lexical* and exactly 100 citations of *culture*. (See appendix.)

The fact that the two words did not occur together, not even once, simply means that the corpus has no record of the phrase *lexical culture*, and if it does not occur in a large corpus, the likelihood is that it may be a nonce-formation. (If my paper had been processed in Birmingham, Lucia would of course have found quite a number of instances.) The concordance printouts in the

Appendix tell us a number of facts about these two words and their collocations that we could not have predicted simply from native speaker intuition alone, e.g. that *lexical* collocates most frequently with nouns that it modifies, such as *database* and *item*, while *culture* rarely forms noun compounds as first item (in such phrases as *culture gap* or *culture studies*; *culture shock*, surprisingly, was absent), but often forms the last element in collocations like *our culture*, *French culture*, *working-class culture*, *nature and culture*, *civic culture*, *black culture*, *post-modern culture*, and *lesbian culture*.

Before I move on to more strictly lexicographic topics, let me briefly check over the ground we have covered so far. We started by looking for evidence of 'lexical culture' in linguistic studies. We found some in etymology and historical-comparative linguistics, and in the dictionaries inspired by these diachronic perspectives. As we went forward into the structural linguistics of our own century, we saw the emergence of the pioneers of semantics (such as lexical field theory), and also some progress in the field of morphology. But we also noted that during the period (after the 1950's) of the predominance of grammatical theory, linguists pushed lexical considerations to one side. Now, the pendulum has swung again in the other direction, and we can observe further advances in semantics, including contrastive studies, in discourse analysis, in computational linguistics, and in psycholinguistics.

Today, there is a greater willingness on the part of linguists to acknowledge their indebtedness to dictionaries as repositories of lexical knowledge and codification, and on the part of lexicographers to utilise ideas and techniques supplied by linguists. However, while I am stressing this increasing two-way traffic, I do not believe that lexicography is only dependent on progress in linguistics; lexicographers need to develop their own institutions and theories which are appropriate to their specific requirements, and also borrow from other fields such as information technology.

The terminological distinction that is sometimes made between 'lexicology' and 'lexicography' can be misleading. Lexicology, where it is recognised as such, is a branch of linguistics dealing with aspects of the vocabulary (historical, morphological and semantic). Lexicography is not merely applied lexicology, but a related set of lexically based activities which has its own theoretical premises and professional practices. And a lot of these are not 'linguistic' even, so much so that among some of my colleagues we have recently been talking in terms of a wider context of 'reference science', which would include the theory and practice of making reference works of all kinds, including encyclopedias, maps, directories etc., by reference professionals, for the benefit of a variety of users with a variety of reference needs and reference skills (we note, in passing, that 'reference' in this wider sense is only partly connected with the sense in which it is used in semantics).

May I, in the final section, venture a few thoughts on the state of this field of lexicography which I see as being positioned within a wider reference perspective, but still as part of 'lexical culture'. Dictionaries and all other types of

reference works are indeed cultural products serving cultural purposes, which is why the famous French lexicographer Alain Rey — who is also interested in encyclopedias and in intercultural translation — calls the general-purpose explanatory dictionary 'le dictionnaire culturel' (Rey 1987), and why the most recent volume of the *Lexicographica Series Maior*, a festschrift in honour of the Czech-American doyen of lexicography, Ladislav Zgusta, has the title *Cultures, Ideologies and the Dictionary* (Kachru and Kahane 1995).

I have been very fortunate in my academic career to be associated in a modest way with the rise and establishment of lexicography as an interdisciplinary and international field. Exactly 30 years ago, in the title of one of my first review articles, I asked the deliberately provocative question "Is lexicography making progress?" (Hartmann 1965). Today such a title would be quite unthinkable in the light of all the associations, conferences, journals and other publications on the subject (cf. the *International Encyclopedia of Lexicography* edited by Hausmann *et al.* 1989-91), in addition to the flood of dictionaries and other reference books on the market world-wide.

But this growth has been uneven, and some of the progress on the theoretical side of lexicography has been an uphill struggle, I must admit. During my 20 or so years at Exeter, a small provincial university in the county town of Devon in Southwest England, I managed to organise five meetings that have made a contribution to progress by bringing like-minded people together, in 1978 at the Lexicography Seminar of the British Association for Applied Linguistics, in 1980 at the International Summer School on Applied Linguistics and Dictionary Making, in 1983 at the LEXeter Conference on all Aspects of Lexicography (which also became the first EURALEX Congress), in 1986 at the Seminar on the History of Lexicography, and in 1989 at the Workshop on Lexicography in Africa, all with published proceedings. In 1984 we established the Dictionary Research Centre, and since 1987 we have run 10 international one-week courses in Lexicography called InterLex.

Encouraged by the success of all these events, we explored the idea of mounting a European diploma course at Master's level, which we designed with the help of an ERASMUS grant and a consortium led by people at Exeter, Lille and Amsterdam. This M.A. in Lexicography is now in its fourth session. The subject of training is of course fraught with limitations and laced with compromises, but the course attracts half a dozen students each year (from almost as many different countries) who all manage to obtain a practical placement with a dictionary publisher.

My involvement with all these ventures, with the *Lexicographica* series, and visits at centres in other countries has given me an awareness of the possibilities of the field, but also of the enormous differences between the various national, linguistic and cultural traditions. The results of a survey I attempted of the lexicographic scene in Europe was published in *Lexikos* (Hartmann 1993). Before that, I had published the papers of a modest workshop on lexicography in Africa (Hartmann 1990). After my 1995 visit to South Africa I am in a much



better position to compare notes and see where the real differences lie in terms of lexicography between Europe and Africa.

Finally, a few words about my view of four aspects or branches of 'dictionary research', as I prefer to call the enterprise of metalexicography.

The lexicography of a country or language depends not only on the external history of that country or language, but also on the internal cultural traditions that help to shape successive generations of dictionary-making. It is therefore imperative to explore all facets of dictionary history (cf. Hartmann 1986).

Another aspect of dictionary research is dictionary typology, or the classification of the many genres of reference works that we find in various periods, countries, or cultures. Of the many types that we have studied at Exeter, the 'bilingualised' learner's dictionary has offered some intriguing new features (cf. Hartmann 1994).

Innovation may occasionally come from dictionary criticism, a relatively old field which has been bedevilled by prejudice and arbitrary personal opinions. More recently, attempts at rational evaluation of dictionaries against sets of more objective standards have shown promise (cf. Osselson 1995).

All these branches of dictionary research can profit from an empirical look at dictionary users, their reference needs and reference skills which originally cause and ultimately test the compilation of such works. Several postgraduate projects at Exeter have made significant contributions to this field (cf. Diab 1990, Stark 1990).

In conclusion, I would like to say that I am optimistic, both in terms of the 'lexical culture' that is building up in the relations between linguistics and lexicography, and the way lexicography is being established as a respectable discipline. The future looks bright, but having recognised this lexical culture, we must nurture it in every way we can. This includes attention to training, to more ambitious research, to better documentation facilities, and to more intensive contacts between people, disciplines and countries around the world.

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## Appendix: COBUILD concordances of 'lexical' and 'culture'

[The author is grateful to COBUILD, Birmingham, for permission to reproduce these concordances, and to Lucia Cortese for obtaining them.]

<	< >	Another alternative is to work toward some sort of	lexical	ordering of planes in accordance with general moral	>
<	<	those of assigning different weights and of establishing	lexical	priorities are undeniably hard to establish and	>
<	<	the process of picture classification bypasses any	lexical	or logogen system, whereas when names for pictures	>
<	<	whereas when names for pictures have to be found,	lexical	search and retrieval will become necessary." If this	>
<	<	by technical terms, and it has had its intrinsic	lexical	and syntactic productivity exploited by Hegel and	>
<	<	follows a different route. It does not specially involve	lexical	changes, nor syntactic changes (as with Hegel), though	>
<	<	s work with Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar and	Lexical	-Functional Grammar. Frederick Newmeyer, Linguistic	>
<	<	Criseyde's heart and the weakness of women: an essay in	lexical	interpretation", Studia Neophilologica, vol. 54 (	>
<	<	they know # I'm the last person to try and trap rap in a	lexical	ghetto of # Yo!" and # Hey, motherf # er!" but,	>
<	<	Cobuild. Collins and Birmingham University International	Lexical	Database run by MX. A computer fed each week with	>
<	<	I think <ZF1> the <ZFO> the target skills are control of	lexical	items er and control of structural items # <ZF1> The	>
<	<	er of the language in context. Target skills control of	lexical	items control of structural items task type text	>
<	<	perhaps you use in your teaching the concept of linked	lexical	items which in the kind of description I use is called	>
<	<	s very useful for them to have basic concentration at a	lexical	level when they've actually taken part <ZGY> in a	>
<	<	neatly into the model that I'm proposing for our new	lexical	database. [laughs # <FOX> Mhm.<FOX> We can't talk	>
<	<	<ZGY> So stage one we chose erm a few of the commonest	lexical	items in the languages. This was because many of our	>
<	<	how <ZF1> what <ZFO> what we found <ZGY> very common	lexical	items <ZGY> Then from that experience we deliberately	>
<	<	s true but why don't I just out all my <ZGY> <MOX> Which	lexical	realization <ZGY> <FOX> Cos you don't know the cost	>
<	<	ZGY> publisher <ZGY> etcetera and you've got a 1+ a new	lexical	database which contains ei erm information pertaining	>
<	<	database which contains ei erm information pertaining to	lexical	items. And this is where some of the points that have	>
<	<	for us phonetics will be one relation within that new	lexical	database which could also contain [pause # information	>
<	<	or er corpus would have er erm a field anyway in the	lexical	database. How much more information was added to it	>
<	<	thing the figure in the erm <FOX> Mm.<MOX> er	lexical	database would be updated. Erm [pause] and that would	>
<	<	we for instance added in some of the fields of the old	lexical	database which you were interested in for instance a	>
<	<	a <ZFO> a <ZFF> s+ <ZFO> starting point for that new	lexical	database the sooner it can be circulated to other	>
<	<	again one thing that the [pause] that s+ possible new	lexical	database would have is actually all the attested forms.	>
<	<	pause] FX you were wanting some information from the old	lexical	database weren't you.<FOX> Have we done five?<FOX>	>
<	<	it more than once?<MOX> <ZGY> <MOX> Can you use it for a	lexical	database <ZGY> use it as a <ZGY> <MOX> Yes.<MOX> <ZGY>	>
<	<	times <ZGY> <MOX> <ZGY> <MOX> The admin database the	lexical	database <MOX> <ZGY> <MOX> the grammar database.<MOX>	>
<	<	except possibly having a syntax field in the new	lexical	database which connects with the tagger there is no	>
<	<	data on a grammatical basis.<FOX> Yes.<MOX> We only have	lexical	<FOX> Yeah.<MOX> <ZGY> <FOX> But this grammar database	>
<	<	Mm.<FOX> going to be a massiver thing than the original	lexical	database <MOX> Yeah that's why I said link not <ZF1> I	>
<	<	connection between lexis [pause] and what they're doing,	Lexical	items must be mentioned at some point in what they're	>
<	<	might be a good idea to do it both for sort of erm fully	lexical	passives <ZGY> and for those and then together.<MOX>	>
<	<	<ZGY> in the gr in grammatical ones # <ZF1> In <ZFO> in	lexical	ones you can start off with the basic frequency of the	>
<	<	<ZF1> I've <ZFO> I've begun looking at these er semi-	lexical	er cohesive items like stuff and thing. Perhaps we	>
<	<	could think of them as being on the borderline between	lexical	cohesion and substitution.<MOX> Yeah.<FOX> in which	>
<	<	ought to do if it was <MOX> You'd think.<MOX> a typical	lexical	item in a nom+<FOX> Mm.<MOX> at the end of a nominal	>
<	<	class they're it's <ZGY> that gets increasingly more	lexical.	<MOX> Yeah. Yeah.<FOX> Yeah.<FOX> Yeah.<MOX> So I mean	>

< <ZF1> in+ <ZFO> includes some kind of considerable er  
 < word". A difficult word. That's straight lexis you know  
 < by one in doing <ZGY> as well as a bit of syntactic and  
 < tagging system. This assigns a part of speech to every  
 < suite. This assigns a semantic tag or tags to every  
 < tag set was loosely based on Tom mcArthur's Longman  
 < pause # <M01> So the system's lexicon consists of the  
 < match is not found the system tries to match on the  
 < tag the words for the category. <MOX> <ZGY> <M01> Every  
 < <MOX> <ZF1> That <ZFO> that's <ZF1> the the 1+ <ZFO> the  
 < Yes. Yeah. <MOX> Well in this case er <ZF1> the <ZFO> the  
 < sixty-one doesn't it the that we always said that a  
 < r+ <ZFO> the reigning wisdom in this field of really er  
 < subtle ways in the way meanings are woven into their  
 < the twiddly bits are missing. okay what you've got is  
 < Mm.<FOX> Things like well they're not sort not very  
 < notion of collocation where they were 1+ collocates with  
 < <ZGY> <MOX> And putting what appears to be the strongest  
 < would be to start off with the sort of fairly infrequent  
 < that I want to be sure I get in that are reasonably  
 < often than that one or whatever. I mean they will accept  
 < numbers <ZF1> but [pause] <ZFO> but we just had to use  
 < that <ZGO> <MOX> <ZF1> Phase <ZFO> phase three was the  
 < <ZGY> <MOX> Ah yes. Yes <ZGY> <MOX> Oh and the <ZF1>  
 < yes. Yes <ZGY> <MOX> Oh and the <ZF1> lexical er <ZFO>  
 < up <ZGY> <MOX> <ZGY> MX's <FOX> That's right and the  
 < that would hold several others and say okay what other  
 < up.<MOX> Well we've got bits and pieces of that in the  
 < word list by taking stuff out of <ZF1> the <ZFO> the old  
 < database software are we going to be able to use the old  
 < stage of the kind of things we were putting in the  
 < this is part of what I'm hoping to build into the new  
 < a lot <ZGY> in the dictionary <MOX> There's a lot in the  
 < state <ZGY> you know being an <ZGO> arrangement of  
 < lexis out of the grammar. Er cobuild is a programme in  
 < been <ZGY> expressed <ZGY> as stomachache as a single  
 < although obviously it's the <ZF1> same <ZFO> same  
 < <M02> Yeah.<M04> The minimum is eight.<M03> Right.<F01>  
 < <B> And there are individual freaks. Navaho makes no  
 < ail roti sous la cendre aux petits oignons nouveaux. <B>  
 < Whatever the meaning intended for this term, its  
 < Siemens, the German electronics company, have shown that

lexical additions so that <FOX> Yeah.<MOX> it's not purely a  
 lexical problems.Nice to see it's there anyway. Hard words  
 lexical process. It's that sort of description is what these  
 lexical item or syntactic idiom in a text using probabilistic  
 lexical item in the text as you will see on the <ZGY> fourth  
 Lexical and Contemporary English which may be familiar to some  
 lexical item together <ZF1> with its <ZFO> with its syntactic  
 lexical item alone without the syntax tag as probabilistically  
 lexical item.<MOX> <ZGY> content <ZGY> are super categories  
 lexical realization of what I've been feeling a need for in  
 lexical work is running in parallel because erm on Monday erm  
 lexical set is not a set of words that go in the same  
 lexical semantic development er a lot more things are learned  
 lexical and grammatical structure. So presumably children are  
 lexical categories. You don't have any functional categories.  
 lexical words like theirs and what's and your and <MOX> Mm.  
 lexical items <FOX> Mm.<MOX> so we wanted wrong idea and wrong  
 lexical item as the collocate <FOX> Yes.<MOX> but putting in  
 lexical items that I thought well no first of all I'd take the  
 lexical. There's not many actually because <ZF1> most of the  
 lexical frequencies quite happily and accept that everyone  
 lexical items basically didn't we.<MOX> Yeah.pause # <FOX>  
 lexical syllabus for the Cobuild English Course.<MOX> As well  
 lexical er <ZFO> lexical syllabus of course <MOX> Right.<MOX>  
 lexical syllabus of course <MOX> Right.<MOX> has a few erm  
 lexical syllabus has the <ZGY> something <ZGY> as well hasn't  
 <MOX> That's right.<MOX> items figure in this  
 lexical database haven't we. I mean if you coded a word list  
 lexical database you'd find which ones figured in which  
 lexical database in database format rather than the kind of  
 lexical database of you know er category of er V plus this  
 lexical database which is information at every word form of  
 lexical database as well yeah.<FOX> <ZGY> of course <ZGO> Erm  
 lexical and <ZGY> phonic <ZGO> equivalences. Hey nonny nonny  
 lexical computing or it was when you started er and therefore  
 lexical item and wouldn't be spelt with one word <ZGY> er but  
 lexical item.<MOX> Isn't there a problem with hurt that the  
 lexical information write dictionaries and generally make lots  
 lexical distinction between blue and green, while literary  
 Lexical dressings:preface gustative = entree petale = tranche (

lexical make-up involves an incongruity: the seeming claim  
 lexical analysis # looking up the existence of a word in a

<	that in 1914 died violently, passing into some other	culture	whose form is still unclear to us. Think of its	>
<	that has been learned from the animal and tissue	culture	studies, in order to determine the maximum tolerated	>
<	his visit is far less influential for them than its	Culture	One planners think it is.<t> American Catholics in	>
<	orthodoxy but as true sacramentally-imbued pastors that	Culture	one leaders make themselves welcome in Culture Two and	>
<	It was getting hotter, and desert was spreading, and the	culture	they had lived by for three thousand years was failing	>
<	guests' problems on your own. Other expressions of the	culture,	like Feldman's complaint policy and his declarations	>
<	be <FCH> given <FCH> meaning. Much of what we call	culture	and civilization consists in efforts people have made,	>
<	her own embryos, one after the other, to places of	culture	and edification. Jesse, Woodson, James, and Frank were	>
<	and freedom.Gayle and David are an example of how this	culture	-wide pattern works. For the past five years, Gayle has	>
<	to the surface. There's a rhythm of change in a	culture	where you push, then you pull back a little bit and	>
<	by its adherents in the historical setting of Western	culture.	His concern with social and political questions led to	>
<	stirring the pot will cook up an ever more vibrant civic	culture,	improving the quality of life for us all. Those of us	>
<	Fri. 7:30 p.m.Having a Wonderful Time (1938) A	culture	-seeking typist vacations at a mountain resort and	>
<	Speaking to foreign journalists, the deputy minister for	culture	of the Afghan government said that the foreign	>
<	Jovic called for an .. for .. bilateral ties in the ..	culture,	educational, scientific, technical and border	>
<	and belongs to a new class of virus.Now they want to	culture	it in the laboratory.<h> THE FARMING WORLD 1622british	>
<	and they are as much a part of Greek history and	culture	as the Hellenistic majority. There are small and	>
<	into Europe they brought with them a more sophisticated	culture	than the Neanderthals had # And this may certainly	>
<	lover valuable increases her value. In a materialist	culture,	this kind of thinking is common. How does one know	>
<	touch with the pop music, the mini-skirts, the teenage	culture	of the 1970s. Her peers were for the most part	>
<	the absence of correspondence between polity and	culture,	inherent in 'Canadian audiences' consumption of United	>
<	Random House).Almond, G. and Verba, S. (1963), The Civic	Culture	(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).Althusser,	>
<	which Weber carved out a position for himself within	culture,	with which he effected his own insertion into	>
<	culture Weis (1985, p. 7) adopts a hegemonic view of	culture	which sees culture as semi-autonomous (Gramsci, 1971).	>
<	Clearly, the majority of people within almost every	culture	no longer believe that the only true experience of	>
<	into what we know today as Sanskrit. The Indo-Aryan	culture	was decidedly patrist, evidence of ancestor-worship of	>
<	100 people whose language one does not speak and whose	culture	one does not understand should not be underestimated.	>
<	an economic "base".As Worsley remarks, 'the concept of	culture	has been virtually ignored by those social scientists	>
<	abilities: some effects of age, schooling, and	International Journal of Psychology, vol. 14 (1979),	writ large would become the essence of the modern	>
<	educationalsystem; in the urban context, this peasant	culture	and society are tending towards individualism and	>
<	consequently in tension with Bellah's view that American	culture	exists.Already in the early 1970s, ideas were	>
<	acknowledges that an alternative to the prevailing	culture	and Commerce <LTH> Paris is indisputably one of the	>
<	<LTH> PHOTO WITH CAPTION # <LHH> The Capital of French	Culture	in Oberammergau and Salzburg,but came away imbued with	>
<	as Germanophiles,following happy experience of German	culture	You'd be amazed at how many people call us in	>
<	direct about what they want or need. It's part of the	culture.	but Peter Muller, the Amandari's brilliant architect,	>
<	world hotels make an irritating nod towards the local	culture,	or that of china's occupation will be dependent in	>
<	this as a poignant symbol for the fate of Tibet's living	culture,	that has diversity of age, colour, class, cultural	>
<	were writers of fiction or poetry, representative of a	culture		>

<	of any formal education and his public championing of a	culture	of loud and loutish C2-ishness. This finds its most	>
<	have always used it as the language of literacy and	culture,	and in Pakistan, where the mother tongues of the vast	>
<	invite the Japanese in. It'd wipe out any remaining	culture,	but they'd make the air breathable." <LTH> Are you	>
<	weren't enough) of how much Elvis looted from black	culture.	The photo selection is good (if not better) than most	>
<	Hackney Homeless tent, things get slicker. YOGHURT	CULTURE	are about smooth grooves, the mood of Motown soul and	>
<	to make things better. <LTH> <LHH> LEO <LTH> The call of	culture	is very strong for Leos this week. In fact you could	>
<	Programmes were removed from the Ministry of Sport,	Culture	Youth Affairs to the Ministry of Education. and	>
<	not sufficiently attuned to the new Council's # business	culture	to work for Westminster. No thought is given to their	>
<	but our main concern is to set about creating a lesbian	culture.	From the start we have organised discussions,	>
<	muscles (or lack of them). And for women who mix in a	culture	where it's 'in' to reveal breasts, the string vest is	>
<	and audience a lesson in the evils of a Euro-centric	culture,	Everyone cheers, and you can't help but wonder if she,	>
<	short, there is emerging a global mass button-thumping	culture	with inane, if not regressive values, and we continue	>
<	Roots, an anthology of gay history, sex, politics and	culture	presents a wide range of essays and a troubling amount	>
<	where contact with the modern African-Caribbean	culture	a mixture of fascination and revulsion. <LTH> Those	>
<	10.30-m # <KPD> 4.80 <KPD> 3.50 concs). <LTH> QUEER	CULTURE	# The Future of Lesbians and Gay Men in Theatre and	>
<	the power to create laws that promote its language and	culture	# If approved by lawmakers in Canada's 10 provinces,	>
<	Muslim country or a country of completely different	culture	# Oh, I have to tell you that the level of knowledge	>
<	has taped a message for the American people # Iraq's	culture	and information minister says Iraq has officially	>
<	<▷ Audio footage of an Indian chant)<▷ Berkes: Our	culture	is important, one boy tells us later, we're proud of	>
<	series on the family # In the last few decades, American	culture	has changed quite a bit # The American family has	>
<	9205050211 UKRAINIANS STRUGGLE TO REGAIN IDENTITY UN,	CULTURE	Noah Adams, host:<▷ The vote for independence in the	>
<	class, and Gwen Macsai's hilarious send up of our body	culture	told me why # Thanks, Gwen # By the way, I am an avid	>
<	what else are we missing out on in terms of Japanese	culture?	<▷ Reid: Well, there are really some good movies–	>
<	You know, there's no doubt about it # I call this a	culture	war # We're kind of, you know—there's an old	>
<	Schneiderman (Medical Ethicist): Maybe we are in a	culture	of cure rather than in a culture of care # This is a	>
<	but– <▷ IRENA BUDO, Hungarian Teacher in Ukraine: In	culture	and in democracy– <▷ Ms. SZOLVACI: But spiritual	>
<	is where it's at the city's where we live that's and our	culture	and our lives basically are linked to cities now in	>
<	were so integrally connected with western history and	culture	that in fact it was impossible er for those resources	>
<	have written about the concept of organizational	culture.	I'm thinking of books like In Search of Excellence	>
<	major focus of my P H D is to look at this concept of	culture	and see how it can be applied in a more rigorous	>
<	you think that's due to nature or due to culture.<FOX>	Culture.	<M01> Right. Right. Thank you. pause  <FOX> I think we	>
<	of this year, examining almost every aspect of Jewish	culture,	but ignoring the Holocaust. This omission, highly	>
<	life to the city is now regarded as history, as museum	culture,	then all Glasgow is diminished. <▷ The Second City	>
<	before 1995, said meaningfully: 'It's a question of	'culture	in Europe, not European culture # Aaah .. <▷ It	>
<	that created the world's greatest free enterprise	culture	should appear here, beneath the myth he was himself so	>
<	state and military zone, and their ancient Buddhist	culture	destroyed or driven into exile. Stalinism and nazism	>
<	done. Bloom in particular saw that transmission of the	culture	is the rock upon which liberal democracy might	>
<	20 outlets are planned by 1995. <▷ But bridging the	culture	gap is not always without its problems. <▷ In Hong	>

<	firms or launching their own businesses where male	culture	does not dominate. <t> In my experience, however,	>
<	And Major, the man who was railing against Britain's yob	culture	a month ago, was there to get what turned out to be a	>
<	for stifled entrepreneurial vigor. The political	culture	that created the conditions in which crack selling is	>
<	developments in technology and to our accelerated	culture.	But within what remains of that shabby, embarrassing	>
<	Among the infinite echoes of our sorry post-modern	culture,	anything and nothing goes. Everything around us is	>
<	the sixties, he averred, his view of the emerging new	culture,	would have been brighter.<t> Peter Hall, on his Royal	>
<	hands in apocalyptic horror at the dangers of American	culture,	while at the same time enjoying a passionate love	>
<	owed much to the same kind of argument. Working-class	culture	was inherently racist, officers would say. Once the	>
<	Charter of 1955, which did indeed call for 'the doors of	culture	to be opened to all # thus placing culture, however	>
<	That book was subtitled Tales for an Accelerated	Culture.	In the novelty of that description, and a narrative	>
<	live here among ourselves to defend our history and our	culture."	A project that they obviously feel Le Pen can help	>
<	the garden as a site for the interaction of nature and	culture,	and incorporates fossils, skulls, encrusted tools and	>
<	rather the part that can be absorbed, let us call our	'culture	acquisition device". That means I can line it up with	>
<	own grammar, and computers, too. We are going from a	culture	dominated by literal logic to a culture in which there	>
<	was to exterminate his people, their religion and their	culture;	and he called for an international commission to	>
<	in the power to make proposals on health, education and	culture	(though only their cross-border aspects) and on	>
<	You can take individuals and scatter them into another	culture.	If you take a Japanese or a Chinese and you dump him	>
<	cheeks. For Filipinos, superstitious and sentimental by	culture,	the era of 'Steady Eddie' has started well.<p> That	>
<	many Jews, the middle-class ones often embraced French	culture.	As early as the 1920s several Jewish women there	>
<	to be exposed to television programs which reflect our	culture,	our multiculturalism, our ethics and our values	>
<	keys in locks to language, music, geography, maths and	culture.	She said the school, established in 1978, aimed to	>
<	for a variety of disciplines. In Aboriginal art and	culture	lessons for nine to 12-year-olds, they'll learn about	>
<	while showing off to the world, but he can't destroy our	culture,"	he said. He can try and make us go to discos and	>
<	her whole life as an Aborigine out of touch with her own	culture	in a society which largely ridiculed and rejected her	>