



Nelson Galvão Veloso **Investigar a Variação Linguística em Inglês com a Internet e Corpora**

Using the Internet and Computer Corpora to Investigate Language Change



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Dissertação apresentada à Universidade de Aveiro para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em Estudos Ingleses, realizada sob a orientação científica da Professora Doutora Susan Jean Howcroft, Professora Auxiliar do Departamento de Línguas e Culturas da Universidade de Aveiro

I dedicate this to my mother and father who have always been behind me (even when the going got tough) in all my endeavours. The support they have given me over the years is indescribable. In more ways than one you have been the fuel for my motor. In part, this thesis is fruit of your hard work also. Thanks Mom ... Thanks Dad.

o júri

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palavras-chave

Varição Linguística, Neologismos, Corpora Linguística Informatizados.

resumo

A preocupação desta dissertação está em acompanhar as variações linguísticas que têm surgido em grande parte através do uso da Internet. Estas também envolvem mudanças culturais que são expressas através de novas formas de palavras. Os processos de formação das palavras são estudados para analisar as mudanças apresentadas nos casos práticos implementados tal como exemplificou Aitchison (1994). Discute-se também a corpora informatizada e o recurso à produção de corpora específicas de modo a analisar a variação linguística. Os resultados da pesquisa levada a cabo têm implicações quer para os professores, quer para os estudantes de linguagem que precisam estar aptos a descobrir o uso do Inglês moderno. Contudo, os resultados vão muito para além disto e mostram as implicações educacionais envolvidas nas variações linguísticas aqui estudadas.

keywords

Language Change and Variation, Neologisms, Corpus Linguistics.

abstract

This dissertation is concerned with tracking language changes which are seen to have come about largely through the use of the internet. They also involve cultural changes which are expressed through new word forms. The processes of word formation are examined in order to analyse the changes presented in the case studies carried out as exemplified by Aitchison (1994). There is also a discussion of computer corpora and recourse to the production of specific corpora in order to examine language change. The results of the research carried out have implications for both teachers and language learners who need to be able to find out about modern English usage. The results go much further than this however and show the wider educational implications involved in the language changes studied here.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

It is often said that the world we live in is completely different from the one our ancestors lived in. Change and progress is an integral part of human behaviour, without them we would still be stuck somewhere in a prehistoric world. During the Twentieth Century many things have changed and some have done so in short periods of time: science and technology have developed in a way that the world had never witnessed in similar time spans of the past. Today we can cross continents in hours by plane, get from point A to point B in our cars or motor bikes, make a telephone call to our friends or family that live half way around the globe, send a business associate an e-mail in minutes or chat with some stranger who happened to be in the same chat room as us just because their nick (screen name) summoned our attention. We can successfully treat many diseases, transplant body organs, re-attach severed limbs and produce life *In Vitro*. But if we were to take a look through history and try to find one aspect where something has changed the most we would probably find that it has been language, more specifically the vocabulary that we use and have used over the years. In fact, English is and has been associated to many of the above mentioned advances, so much so that Crystal (1998) has commented that English gives access to a world of science, technology and commerce.

We usually pay very little attention to the vocabulary we use, the words that we utter when we are speaking. We, as speakers, have the tendency to concentrate more on the meaning we intend to express than on how we express that meaning. Normally we do not stop to reflect on the language we use unless we are at a dead end and need to find a suitable word for what we are trying to say, or if we are in a situation where language formality might be required, or in the case where we make a linguistic error. But when we stop to think of language we usually think about words because common sense tells us that words are usually at the core of what language is all about, even though not all think this way and defend the theory that “meaning exists in units of language smaller than the word, in morphemes” (Carter, 2001:76). Naturally one could say that this means that most of us do not know where the words we use come from nor do we know how they came to have the meaning they do. Words play such an important

role in our lives, making our lives easier or more difficult depending on which words we choose to use in a given situation. Since the beginning of mankind language has played a very important – if not the most important – role in the development of society, as we know it. Language is the systematic communication, usually by vocal symbols, that humans normally use, although communication can also be achieved through other mediums such as sign language, gestures and facial expressions.

“Language is a social phenomenon: it is used by speakers to communicate with one another in social and cultural contexts in which the language system (narrowly defined as a ‘grammar’) is not the sole means of communication and personal interaction” (Milroy, 1992:4).

We have the need to communicate and usually we do so through language or languages. It is impossible to know or even to pinpoint the origins of language – although there are rough estimates. The reason why it is so difficult to trace the origins of a language is because all languages are multi-influenced means of communication. In other words, a language, over time, can change drastically because of a wide variety of external factors such as phonetics, phonemics, morphology and syntax, pronunciation, colonization, immigration, globalisation, economy of time, deliberate attempts to shape the language and many others. This dissertation takes a particular interest in the effect these external factors have on language in general and more specifically on the effect they have on word formation. “Language always shapes our lives” (Collins, 2002:1). It can make us see things from different perspectives. Sapir defends that we see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation. The same word can sometimes have various interpretations from different people just as the opposite is also possible. Let’s take into account the acronym S.U.V. (Sports Utility Vehicle) as an example. For some this word could signify, “a beautiful car” for others, “expensive car” and yet for others, who probably have some sort of commitment with an environmental group might say, “gas guzzler” or “eco-disaster”.

In this dissertation the origins of the English language will be discussed briefly. If we were to take a good look at the English language we would be able to trace it as far back as the time when the Anglo-Saxons came to Britain –although other scholars refer to earlier periods- some sixteen hundred years ago. It is more than natural that the language spoken back then had very little in common with the English that we use

today. In fact, English, like other languages, has changed so much that an English speaker of 1300 would not have understood the English of 1700, much less the English of today. Due to many of the factors mentioned above and also to the acquisition of new vocabulary from other languages (Latin, Greek, French, etc.) English has evolved greatly. Why is this so? Well, the direct influence of the classical languages began with the Renaissance and has continued ever since; even today Latin and Greek roots are the primary source for English words in scientifically oriented areas. During the last three hundred years the borrowing of words from foreign languages has continued unchecked, so that now most of the languages of the world are represented to some extent in the English vocabulary. Unlike the French there isn't an *Academy* proposing the ban on this or that foreign word, yet. Although education has a levelling effect and may cause some words to be preferred over others in certain contexts.

During the Twentieth Century there have been many technological advances all over the world. The telegraph and the telephone helped start this change. Later came radio and television and other communications technologies, paving the way for what is known today as the 'information superhighway'. Let's consider the Information and Communication Technologies for a moment. Some of the new words that have entered the English language in the last fifteen to twenty years have been computer or Internet related. One of the most influential and popular forms of communication and information exchange today is through the Internet. The Internet constitutes a technological advance because of its extensive system of data links. It can connect the whole world through the exchange of information and messages (e-mail). Many will consider the Internet as one of the greatest developments of the Twentieth Century because of its utility and novelty. Because there was never anything similar to this and because there was a need to call certain things by their names, a variety of words such as e-mail (also email) , online, website, and most recently dot-com (or dot.com) had to be generated. Actually, the Internet has spawned what some might call a totally new form of language. Even David Crystal (2001) has said that Internet language is "something that is neither speech nor writing, but a very curious amalgam of the two" and perhaps because of the origins of the internet English is the most common language on the World Wide Web. This excerpt taken from CNN Online (<http://edition.cnn.com>),

January 17, 2002 clearly gives us an idea about how this new lingo is gaining linguistic momentum:

New technology expands its presence in the dictionary with entries ranging from "ethernet" to "hot-link," which means "a link between documents or applications which enables data from one source to be incorporated into another."

Who remembers the *millennium bug*? There was so much hype leading up to the change from 1999 to the year 2000 that this word/expression was on everyone's lips all around the world. Four years later and the expression is a distant memory. Of the many new words that enter our language, which sometimes do so on a daily basis, just a few are neologisms (a new word or expression, or an existing word used with a new definition) invented for particular situations and usually never seen again. Other words come into the English vocabulary and stay for many years because there is a specialist purpose behind it. And while many words do not make it into a dictionary, the number of dictionary entries is constantly rising: CNN suggests that:

Not only has the number of new words increased, so has the pace of adding them. Random House's 1947 American College Dictionary featured 132,000 words; its 1968 Random House College Dictionary upped that figure to 155,000. The new dictionary has 207,000 definitions. Random House credits the increase to "new and faster means of recording neologisms in dictionaries," including Internet databases. (in CNN Online <http://edition.cnn.com/>)

Back in 1921 Sapir pointed out that everyone knows that language is variable, and not only is there regional variation but language is also constantly evolving. It is true that some aspects of a language change more than others, some at a faster rate than others but, nevertheless, the change encompasses all aspects of the language. If we went back about fifty to sixty years we would find that just about every decade has had its words. This look back at the decades can also offer us a glimpse at the culture of the times. Words such as *A-bomb*, *bazooka*, *bikini*, *aerospace*, *spandex*, *area code*, *love beads*, *CAT scan*, *exit poll*, *gridlock*, *liposuction*, *e-mail*, are words that are very familiar to us now but at other points in history people didn't even dream of the existence of

these words. In Chapter 3 some new words that have appeared over the last few decades will be discussed.

“One of the most important facts about human language is that it is continuously changing. Everyone knows that languages have changed in the course of history: it is easy to see from a distance in time that there are differences between Shakespeare’s English and present-day English, but it can also be shown from close at hand that language is continuing to change in the present just as it did in the past (...) new words and constructions are being adopted and old ones adapted to new uses” (Milroy, 1992:1).

In fact, what Milroy says was witnessed quite recently as will be shown later.

In March 2003, with the eminent escalation of the political situation between the United States and Iraq – actually it was more of an escalation between the Bush administration and Sadaam Hussein – on the various newscasts, in newspapers and magazines a number of new words began to appear more and more. Many people had never heard of the term ‘spider-hole’ before the U.S. Marines captured Sadaam Hussein in the first few weeks of 2004 but, due to its over-exposure through the various media outputs that lasted for a week or more, today many more people are aware of this word. The fact is that media, governments, music and cinema are contributing more and more to the expansion of our language, and many times these so called new words are nothing more than some resurrected archaic words or expressions.

How words could just appear out of thin air and suddenly be in the mouths of dozens of English speaking journalists all over the world, not to mention that it was the military that came up with these new usages, was intriguing. Therefore, research needed to be carried out in order to try to discover and understand how this had happened, and more importantly, why this had happened.

English has changed over the years due to many factors. Through *borrowing* the English language has grown and continues to grow, “Speakers of a language may ‘borrow’ (that is, copy) words from other languages which they have encountered. English has borrowed many thousands of words from other languages, and is still doing so today” (Trask, 1996:12). English, like other languages, has a wide range of mechanisms that are used for creating new words, many times, using its own resources. Through compounding, prefixation and blending new words are constantly appearing.

Word formation and linguistic devices used to produce new words will be discussed in a more detailed manner later in Chapter 2.

Another aspect of the language which will be looked at is how it is more or less used depending on what is going on in the world at the moment. It isn't just a coincidence that yourDictionary.com has chosen the word 'Embedded' as its number one word for the year of 2003. Dictionaries try to be timely, so, many times, they sample words that their compilers consider to be current. Things happen so quickly today that many times it becomes very difficult to ascertain the currency of a word. What is news today may be old tomorrow therefore; a word used yesterday may not be used today. On the other hand, due to one isolated event a word can appear and remain among us for many years to come.

In order to see how the English Language has changed a brief diachronic historical overview is first necessary in order to situate the kind of language change that will be investigated in this dissertation.

1.2 A Brief History of the English Language

1.2.1 The Early Days

In order to know how a language functions it is important to first know where it comes from. Similar to all other living things, the English language has a place of origin, even though we might not be able to specify an exact date or period when this occurred. Many of the languages that exist today have their origins in the same language family as English. The Indo-European (I.E.) family includes most of the languages of Europe, the Near-East and northern India. In turn, all the languages in this family are descended from a single remote ancestor called Proto-Indo-European (P.I.E.). Proto means the first, the earliest, primary. Two of the most important branches of the Indo-European family are Proto-Germanic (or Germanic) and Proto-Romance (or Italic). The latter is what Latin is derived from and later, through time, spawned what is known today as the Romance languages which include Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian and Romanian just to name a few. Germanic, itself, had three branches: North Germanic, East Germanic and West Germanic. The one that interests us most is the West Germanic branch which, over time, developed into what is now known as German, Dutch, Frisian

(Frisian is a language that is spoken on several islands off the coast of the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark), and English. Frisian is actually considered to be one of the closest relatives of English. Both languages derive from Anglo-Frisian, just as High and Low German derive from German. Having said this, a pertinent question arises: how did this language come to England where it developed into what is known as Modern English?

England has suffered many invasions over its history. The first known people to have inhabited England were the Celts. Historians place their arrival on the island somewhere around the fifth millennium BC, but as mentioned before, one can never be precisely certain of this. Sometime around 55 BC the Romans tried invading this region but were unsuccessful. Somehow the Celts were able to stave off the first attack, but one century later the Romans tried again and this time with a much larger army they were victorious. Most of the island known today as Great Britain was under Roman occupation by its legions, various governmental officials and their families from about AD 43 until 410. When the Roman Empire began to disintegrate, the military and governmental officials pulled out of the island but they left many settlements behind. These settlements' names derived in part from the Latin word *castra*, which means camp and spawned such names as *Doncaster*, *Lancaster*, *Gloucester* and *Worcester*. Many of these names still remain across much of the England of today.

As was mentioned above, the Romans occupied most of the island but they never managed to conquer the northern part where the Picts and the Scots lived. Upon the departure of the Romans, these two tribes mounted an invasion of the southern lands. The Celts in the hope of preserving their territory solicited the aid of the Germanic warriors from across the North Sea to help them to defend their land. They received the aid they requested but soon afterwards many Germanic tribes called Angles, Saxons, Frisians and Jutes started pouring into the Celts' territory. By the time they could figure out what had happened they had been conquered by them. Over the next two hundred years the Celts mounted wars of resistance but they were slowly pushed from their land to Wales, Cornwall and the Scottish highlands. Others crossed the channel over to Brittany and those who chose to stay had to abide by the rules of the new government. Thus, over time and after a few generations their original identity vanished within the new Anglo-Saxon society. These peoples spoke similar dialects of

language and after their settlement in Britain, the name of one of these tribes started being referred to when they wanted to refer to their language: Anglisc, known today as English. The word England as we know it today did not appear until the end of the tenth century.

1.2.2 The Old English Period

This period spans roughly between AD 450 and 1070. There is little material from this early era because written records were not often made. The only ‘survivors’ are a few inscriptions that were written at some time between 400 and 500 in the runic alphabet that was implemented by the Anglo-Saxons. As this material is so scarce, it does not provide us with much information on the language. It was at a later stage, when Christian missionaries came from Rome that the literary period began.

Here is a passage (in Trask, 1996:9) which comes from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, an annual record of events kept by English monks about a thousand years ago. It is considered to be relatively easy to follow but demonstrates how far the language has changed from this period.

Brittene igland is ehta hund mila lang and twa hund
brad, and her sind on ðis iglande fif geƿeode: Englisc and Brytwylsc
and Scyttisc and Pyhtisc and Bocleden. Erest weron bugend ðises
landes Brittes; Ða comen of Armenia and gesætan suðewearde
Bryttene ærost ...

Here is a translation into Modern English:

‘The island of Britain is eight hundred miles long and two hundred
wide, and there are on this island five languages: English and British-Welsh
and Scottish and Pictish and Book-Latin. The first settlers of this land were
the British; they came from Armenia and they settled southern Britain first
...’ (Trask, 1996:9-10).

Probably the most important piece of literature to have survived since this period, intact, was the heroic poem *Beowulf*, which was written somewhere around 1000. Around this time there are also some texts which reveal the different Germanic traditions and speak of subjects such as celebration, war and patriotism; we can also

find poems dealing with different Christian subjects. Many of today's scholars believe that most of the texts belonging to the Old English period were written subsequent to the reign of King Alfred (849 – 899) because it was he who arranged to have many Latin texts translated.

When writing numbers it was customary to do so by using Roman symbols. The alphabet used during the Old English period was quite similar to the one we use today and based on the Latin alphabet although, at that time, the use of capital letters wasn't a common practice and not all the letters in today's alphabet existed, to be more precise, *f*, *j*, *q*, *v*, *x*, and *z*. Spelling was also another problem, often the same word could be spelled differently, sometimes there were as many as three or four different spellings on the same page. The variation was so great that the same person could write in his or her own local variety of English and spell it in whatever manner he or she liked. Standardization was only achieved many centuries later at a very slow pace. One of the main reasons for the fixation of English spelling was the introduction of the printing press during the fifteenth century. Although even this allowed a number of variants:

“Faced by a bewildering variety of spellings for a single word, the printers made an effort to reduce the variety by settling on one spelling, or at least on only two or three variants.” (Trask, 1996:33)

Approximately one third of the words we use or see on any page today are of Old English origin, (Crystal, 1988). In fact, if we were to take a closer look at and compare some Old English. words with their present day counterparts we would find that not very much has changed. Many of the words that seem ‘foreign’ are actually quite ‘domestic’. There are a few tricks that will help us understand this. If we take into account the fact that *þ* and *ð* is read as *th* and *æ* is read as *a*, many of the difficult words become instantly simplified and easily recognizable: *æfter* (after), *Dis* (this), *þæt* (that). In Old English the *hw* is similar to our *wh* and the *ht* is equivalent to present day *ght*; therefore *hwæt* gives us *what* and *næht* gives us *night*. Despite its many differences we, today are still able to recognize such words as *singan* (sing) or even *stod* (stood); yet others can be a little more difficult because of slight differences the words may contain, such as *onslepte* (asleep) and *geleornode* (learned) or *geseted* (seated) and *geseah* (saw). By removing the prefix *ge* the words become slightly more familiar. Unfortunately not all words have a familiarity about them; at that time there were two

ways of saying creator: *meotod* or *scieppend*. Neither one of these bears any resemblance to the word we use today.

Another curiosity that arises today is the pronunciation of these Old English words. Although scholars are not exactly sure how many of the words were pronounced they were able to come up with some ideas based on the study of the origin of the language.

“Scholars have always assumed that the Old English spelling is a closer representation of pronunciation than is the case with modern English. It follows from this that in Old English ‘silent letters’ were unlikely, and that a change of sound will be reflected by a change in spelling. Another assumption is that spellings had the sound-values originally associated with spoken Latin (it was, after all, the Latin alphabet that the Anglo-Saxons learned). If these assumptions are valid, quite a lot of information about possible old English pronunciations may be inferred from spellings.” (Graddol, 1997:113)

Old English has another distinguishing feature. The use of coinages or ‘*kennings*’ (from Old Norse) was very frequent back then. These ‘*kennings*’ can sometimes be very difficult to interpret because in the Old English period synonyms were extremely common and many times one meaning had many different words for it. An example of this is that there are at least twenty terms to refer to ‘man’ in the heroic Old English poem *Beowulf*. Some of these are *rinc*, *guma*, *secg* and *boern*. One of the reasons why this might have happened so much is the fact that, unlike modern English, the Anglo-Saxons didn’t rely so much on borrowed words (only about three per cent of their vocabulary was comprised of loanwords) therefore, their word formation processes were based on the native elements that they had.

1.2.3 The Norman Conquest and Middle English

The Middle English period is unlike the Old English period for many reasons. One of the most observable differences is the number of documents that can be found in this period. “The Middle English period has a much richer documentation than is found in Old English” (Jackson, 2001:25). Despite knowing this, there are some factors that must be taken into consideration. The written material that exists in English from this

time was only produced towards the end of the period because until then, the earlier material was written in Latin and, especially, French. The only English seen in the texts were in reference to place names or personal names.

William the Conqueror, the Duke of Normandy, invaded and conquered England and the Anglo-Saxons in 1066 AD. The new overlords spoke a dialect of Old French known as Anglo-Norman. The Normans were also of Germanic stock ("Norman" comes from "Norseman") and Anglo-Norman was a French dialect that had considerable Germanic influences in addition to the basic Latin roots.

Prior to the Norman Conquest, Latin had been only a minor influence on the English language, mainly through vestiges of the Roman occupation and from the conversion of Britain to Christianity in the seventh century (ecclesiastical terms such as *priest*, *vicar*, and *mass* came into the language this way), but now there was an extensive infusion of Romance (Anglo-Norman) words.

The influence of the Normans can be illustrated by looking at two words, *beef* and *cow*. *Beef*, commonly eaten by the aristocracy, derives from the Anglo-Norman, while the Anglo-Saxon commoners, who tended the cattle, retained the Germanic *cow*. Many legal terms, such as *indict*, *jury*, and *verdict* have Anglo-Norman roots because the Normans ran the courts. This split, where words commonly used by the aristocracy have Romance roots and words frequently used by the Anglo-Saxon commoners have Germanic roots, can be seen in many instances. Indeed it is a division still to be found between academic writing and the tabloid press even today.

Sometimes French words replaced Old English words; *crime* replaced *fren* and *uncle* replaced *eam*. In other cases, French and Old English components combined to form a new word, such as the French *gentle* and the Germanic *man* forming the new word *gentleman*. However, in certain cases two different words with roughly the same meaning survive into modern English. Thus we have the Germanic *doom* and the French *judgment*, or *wish* and *desire*. A number of factors led to these changes taking place. Consider the following list of events:

1362 Statute of Pleading decrees law-suits should be in English;

1380 Grammar school masters advised to translate Latin into French as well as English;

1380's New Testament translated into English;
Chaucer writes *Canterbury Tales* in English;

1399 First king of England since 1066 (Henry IV) to speak English as a first language.

These events show that by the last half of the fourteenth century English was becoming used more widely in those domains which had been hitherto dominated by French. (Graddol, 1997:126)

Material in English only began to appear later on towards the end of the thirteenth century and most of it only in the fourteenth century because the number of translations from French and Latin rose and there were also some English manuals that taught the use of these languages. Throughout history there have been those who have said that this change of language was due to an expression of English national identity: "English was being restored to its rightful place as the language of the country" (Baugh and Cable, 1978:148), and those who defend that the change in language was due to a certain feeling of superiority in relation to the French: "It might be safer to speak here of *patriotism*, based on hostility towards the French, rather than nationalism in its fuller, nineteenth century sense" (Graddol, 1997:126). This *hostility* was only witnessed in relation to the French. Latin was still taught and seen as a language that was known only by those who followed religious paths or by those who had a very elevated social position. Despite this dislike for all that was French, much of the poetry from the Middle English period was heavily influenced by the French literary tradition in both content and style. Similarly to the Old English period, a great number of the earlier Middle English literature was of unknown authorship, and there was also one piece of work which, in a way, describes this period: *Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer. But not everything was similar to the Old English period, for instance, the diversity in spelling was far greater than that found in Old English: "This situation may be accounted for by a combination of historical, linguistic and social factors" (Jackson, 2001:26). Different spellings are still found on a regular basis, e.g. *naure*, *noeure*, *ner*, *neure* and *neuer*, which all stand for never. During this period it is also possible to notice a difference in the spelling of some words. Many words look stranger than they really are. At first glance they seem, just as many words in Old English do, to be of foreign origin, but if we understand the differences in the spelling of these words they,

quickly, become recognizable. If we were to see the word *cyrceiaerd* in a text we would probably think it was a word of foreign origin, but if we were to understand that the two c's represent a 'ch' sound then we would see that this word is very similar to our modern *churtyard*. In a very similar way *laiden* gives us laid, *altegaedere* gives us altogether, *howsoolde* gives us household, *seeyinge* gives us seeing and *lyppys* gives us lips. If we were to take a look at the Middle English lexicon we'd see that, early on in this period, more than 90% of the lexicon was of native (Anglo-Saxon) English, but by the time we reach the end of this period this number had dropped significantly to just under 75%. One of the reasons to justify this drop would be the fact that the Middle English period can be described as being a period in which there was an intensive increase in loanwords from other languages, mainly from French and Latin. One reason for this happening was the introduction of French-English bilingualism into England after the Norman conquest of 1066, the proximity of France and the adoption of French ways could also be attributed to this cause and finally, the importance of Latin in the higher structures of society also contributed to the acquisition of a great deal of loanwords. A few examples of these adopted words are sometimes difficult to distinguish between French and Latin: *corrupcioun* (corruption), *famylyar* (familiar), *nacyons* (nations), *courtis* (court), *rurales* (country people), *gramer* (grammar), and *nobyll* (noble). Even though English incorporated many foreign words throughout the Middle English period, borrowing was not an exclusive process of word formation: similarly to Old English, other processes such as compounding and affixation were also used and continued over the years, always extending the English language.

1.2.4 Early Modern English

The Early Modern English period is what some might call a transition period between the Middle English and Modern English periods. Even though there is no clear agreement on when this period began most scholars place its advent around the same time William Caxton set up his press in Westminster in the year 1476. As was mentioned before, the introduction of the printing press helped initialize the process of standardization within the English language.

Printing played a major role in fostering the norms of spelling and pronunciation, in providing more opportunities for people to write, and in giving published works such wider circulation. As a result, more books were published, providing reliable evidence on the development of the (English) language. Furthermore, in the sixteenth century, scholars began seriously to talk about their language, making observations on grammar, vocabulary, the writing system and style. (Jackson, 2001:27)

This Early Modern English period takes place at the same time as the 'Renaissance'. During this era, which spanned more or less two centuries, many advances were made and many of these advances influenced English and its evolution. During the 'Renaissance' there was a renewed interest in the classical languages and literatures, there were hundreds of Latin and Greek words that were borrowed by translators because English did not have an exact equivalent of many words. These difficulties in translating certain words were more obvious in the scientific fields such as medicine and also in theology. But words were not only being imported from Latin and Greek: at this time important scientific discoveries were being made in different parts of the globe and, most importantly, it was a time of exploration.

Writers began to borrow from other European languages to express the new concepts, techniques and inventions that first came from Europe. But as exploration developed worldwide, words came into English from North America, Africa and Asia. Some came directly, while others came indirectly via other European languages. (Jackson, 2001:27)

In *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the English Language* David Crystal claims that during the 'Renaissance', the most distinctive feature in English was the increase in foreign loanwords. Many were unhappy with this situation. The English purists openly criticized the in pouring of foreign vocabulary. They said that the new terms were obscure and interfering with the development of native English vocabulary. There were even those, such as Thomas Elyot, that created new words in the attempt that he would save English by enriching it without having to resort to the use of loanwords. This is similar to the attempt to replace English words in other languages today which sometimes leads to incongruous situations. French is a case in point where instead of

using the ‘English’ word computer, ‘ordinateur’ is used although the former would be more consistent with Latin roots and hence more of a French word!

Similar to the two previous periods, Early Modern English also has its own outstanding pieces of literature and writers. Towards the end of the ‘Renaissance’ it is the work of William Shakespeare (1564 – 1616) and the *King James Bible* of 1611 that provide us with the two most important influences on the development of the English language.

Shakespeare’s work introduced and made popular hundreds of new words in the English language. His authority on English was predominantly in the area of the lexicon, but his work also provided us with a view of how language was developing at that time. It gives us an idea of what was being spoken at that time but, more importantly, Shakespeare’s work provided us with dependable information on areas such as pronunciation, word formation, syntax and language use. The *King James Bible* was a book to be read in church. The number of church-goers in the British kingdom was around 90%, therefore, its influence on the population, and subsequently on the language as a whole, was very great and far reaching. The *King James Bible* was written in a much more conservative style; after all it was a bible. The language used was unlike the Shakespearian language which introduced many new words. Its translators forewarn the readers by explaining that they aimed for a dignified, not so popular style of language. This may be attributed to a more written ‘literary’ style as opposed to a more ‘spoken’ style in Shakespeare. Even when there was modern lexicon they opted to use older, more conservative forms of the language in the King James Bible. Despite this conservative approach used by the translators of the bible, many expressions found in the bible then have been maintained over many, many years and can still be found in Modern English, even though, they might have suffered some minor changes in grammar, emphasis or even in meaning. A few examples of these expressions even today would be: ‘an eye for an eye’, ‘money is the root of all evil’, ‘a wolf in sheep’s clothing’, ‘in the twinkling of an eye’, ‘the salt of the earth’, and so on.

This frequency of occurrence of such phrases in both literary and everyday language is a clear indication of the impact that the *King James Bible* continues to have on contemporary English. (Jackson, 2001:28).

However, it must be remembered that despite being an authoritative text, it was far from being consistent in terms of the translation itself but also in terms of the spelling of individual words. For modern readers Norton (2005) sees this as a problem not only of the reading of the text but going much further than this and causing problems of belief.

“what we now read as the King James Bible contains numerous deliberate and some accidental changes to the text.....Second, the presentation of the text – spelling, punctuation and formatting - interferes with the clarity with which it speaks to the minds and souls of present-day readers. Unnecessary background noise gets in the way.’ Norton (2005:17).

Norton points out that the mistakes that are found in the bible were caused not only by the translators but also by the copy the printer was using. In some of the early printings corrections were made to some of the mistakes but unfortunately yet more mistakes were also introduced into the text. This process of correction was finally stopped in 1769 so that the standard version dates from this time and reflects a mid eighteenth century standard of spelling and punctuation.

The first bible was produced at a time in which the expansion of English was very visible.

“The period between 1530 and the Restoration in 1660 (of the monarchy, after the period of the Commonwealth) witnessed the fastest lexical growth in the history of the language” (Jackson, 2001:28).

During this period many borrowed words entered the English lexicon, some words were coined, others were revived from the past, and still others changed their meanings or acquired alternate meanings. This generalized influx of lexicon angered some, who called for an ‘Academy’, which was seen as a solution for the stabilization of the language. Despite the futility of attempting to halt language change, France and Italy adopted a similar stance for their languages but Britain and the United States chose not to go down this road. Because there were so many discussions around the subject of language stabilization many people became aware of the debate on language corruption (Crystal, 1988) and as a result the perception that there was a need to preserve the ‘consistency and stability’ of the English language was felt. Since the idea of having an

'Academy' was defeated and out of the question, voices started calling for another solution. A compromise between trying to prevent language change and some kind of systematisation of language use was attempted. The implementation of grammars, spelling guides, pronunciation manuals and, especially, dictionaries were seen as the only way to create some sort of standardization and, "it was expected that standards of correctness would emerge" (Jackson, 2001:28). In Crystal's *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the English Language* we can find a quote dated from 1582 by a Richard Mulcaster who said,

"It were a thing verie praiseworthy if someone well learned and as laborious a man, wold gather all the words which be vse in our English tung ... into one dictionary". (Crystal 1995:73)

In 1604, Robert Cawdrey took heed of Mulcaster's words and published the first 'dictionary of hard words'. This book which he described as containing about 3000 'hard vsuall English wordes' was nothing more than the first dictionary of synonyms. Other attempts at publishing dictionaries were made, but it was only in 1755, when Samuel Johnson published his *Dictionary of the English Language* that the English lexicon received its first really authoritative treatment. Johnson's dictionary was quite elaborate for its time, besides the alphabetical section, he also included a short history of the language, a grammar, sections on orthography and prosody, and a preface in which he explains his goals and procedures upon having made the dictionary.

1.2.5 Modern English

The Modern English period spans from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the present day. Similar to the previously explained periods, the change from Early Modern English to the Modern English period was gradual and also not very noticeable. Some might say: "If we look at the words used today and look at the same words used in the eighteenth century we will find that many words have changed their meaning over time". It is extremely difficult to say when most of these words changed their meaning, therefore, making the change imperceptible.

However, from a lexical point of view there are some more manifest features in Modern English: for example, its unprecedented growth of scientific vocabulary.

Scientific and technical vocabulary has been on the rise ever since the sixteenth century, but with the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the ensuing periods of scientific exploration and discovery, it was the nineteenth century that supplied us with the most significant boost in English language history. More and more, people started becoming educated. With a higher level of education, so too grew the level of curiosity, especially in the science and technology orientated fields of study. This bilateral growth of literacy and technology helped spread the word of the many discoveries that were being made all over the world. By the end of the nineteenth century the term ‘scientific English’ had become a reality. This reality was even more evident in areas of study such as chemistry, physics and biology, where the lexical enlargement was even more noticeable.

The fact that the United States has become a leading economic power of the twentieth century plays a strong role in the linguistic influence of American English as a dominant variety of the language. This influence of American English can be felt directly through the grammar and pronunciation, but more especially at the level of the lexicon. Looking back in time we can see that there were quite a few differences between American English and British English but, more and more, these two varieties are becoming very much alike. If we were looking to justify this tendency, one of the main reasons would be the greater number of speakers that one country has over the other. The USA has almost four times as many speakers of English as a mother tongue than the UK. During the last century the United States has become more involved in various world affairs, from a political, economic and cultural standpoint. The developments of mass media, cinema and music have also contributed to American English dominance around the world.

Due to the increase of English all over the world, ‘New Englishes’ have also emerged. They are nothing more than

“new varieties of the language that have become localized not only through the influence of the other languages of the regions where they are used, but also through being adapted to the life and culture of their speakers” (Jackson, 2001:30).

Most of these new Englishes started appearing in the colonial era. The most well-known example are the African Englishes from Nigeria, Cameroon and others, Indian English, Philippine English and more. It is important to note that these new

Englishes are not only associated with a given geographical area. New English can also be based on subject matter, and during the twentieth century especially, other types of English have developed at a tremendous rate, such as, telecommunications and, especially, computing and Internet English.

Having traced the evolution of the English language what is now necessary is to categorise the various processes involved in this changing process in order to investigate instances of these changes in modern English. The research questions are:

1. How can changes in the English language be observed?
2. What significance does the internet have on language change today?
3. How does language change relate to cultural changes that have taken place?
4. How can language teachers and learners keep abreast of language changes?

In order to address these questions a methodology for investigating language change and closely connected to this, an analysis of the internet and its role in language change must be made.

Chapter 2 will deal with the theoretical and methodological processes necessary as a sound basis upon which to conduct the research presented in this dissertation.

Chapter 2

2.1 Methodological and Theoretical basis of investigating language change

There are a number of strands that need to be discussed in the process of language change: word formation processes; empirical studies, corpus research methods and modern dictionaries based on extensive corpora. All of these areas need to be discussed in relation to investigating language change as proposed in this dissertation.

2.1.1 Word formation processes

English, as a living language, is changing all the time owing to political and social changes as was discussed in Chapter 1. New words are constantly coming into use and new pronunciations can be heard in many different places. This is a natural process, what some might call, “out with the old and in with the new”, although this would be to oversimplify the process. This change isn’t any type of novel phenomenon, actually, change in language is one of the most natural processes inherent to it, despite sporadic attempts to stem such natural evolutions as corrupting the language. “Everything in this universe is perpetually in a state of change, (...) Language, like everything else, joins in this general flux” (Aitchison, 1993:3). Language is no different from any other existing thing on this planet: with time it suffers change. Ferdinand de Saussure once said, “Time changes all things: there is no reason why language should escape this universal law” (quoted in Aitchison, 1993:4). As was discussed in Chapter 1 English has been changing all through history, just as all other languages have changed. Actually, this is one of the fundamental things we need to understand about languages: they have changed in the past, they are changing today and they will continue to change well into the future.

There are many aspects in which English has changed over the years and one of the most observable is the appearance of new words. Thousands of words enter the English language on a daily basis and it is argued that English has absorbed more new words than any other. Dictionaries are seen as the repository of the lexicon of the English language so the role

of the lexicographer is extremely important in the description of the language. Lexicographers have to read many articles a day in order to compile their lists of words. Clearly then “It is not exactly dictionaries that do the deciding: it is the lexicographers who compile them” (Jackson, 2001) and who help to decide which items will appear in our dictionaries. Although, in the end, the decision about what will be printed in a dictionary lies with its editors, the lexicographers have all the hard work to do identifying the lexicon.

Everyday we use language and, for the most part, not many of us think much about the words we use to communicate. Most of us are not conscious of the various word-formation processes which are used to create, invent, produce or form new words. One of the most observable types of language change is through the emergence of new words or *neologisms*. New words are formed in a variety of ways, some of which have common characteristics with each other. These processes have existed over time (as we saw in the previous chapter) however, a description of them as we shall see below is still to be agreed upon. Many of the words we use today were, at another time in history, considered to be ‘misuses’ of the language or had other meanings, different from those they have today. Equally well, over time we have also ‘lost’ a number of words. Languages are not stagnant; they do not remain the same forever. They are constantly developing and changing. These changes are a sign of the vitality, flexibility and creativeness of a language.

Crystal (1994) suggests eight categories of language change processes: affixation, backformation, compounding, conversion, acronym, initialism, blending and clipping. Algeo (1994) has a classification system based on six groupings : creations, shifts, shortenings, composites, blends and loans. Within these groups he includes other processes classified as separate systems by other authors for example under shifts he includes amelioration, perjoration, widening, narrowing and functional shifts. Algeo’s work is of particular interest because of the work he did on dictionaries where he showed the importance of composites, and especially compounds over other types of word formation. Carter (2001) describes seven categories of language change processes: loan words, semantic change (including perjoration and amelioration), affixation, acronyms, combining, back formation and coinage. It is clear from this that there is no clearly accepted list of these processes and indeed researchers continue to offer other categorisations in accordance with the particular linguistic schools they

adhere to. This dissertation will describe ten major word change processes: borrowing, blending, clipping, backformation, acronyms, compounding, derivation, functional shift, coinage and combinations of a number of these processes based on a combination of the categories suggested by Trask (1996), Yule (1997) and Beard (2004).

2.1.1.1 Borrowing

The English and English speaking nations have explored the world very aggressively over the years, during which time they setup empires on foreign soil and traded all around the globe. This contact with foreign cultures has resulted in the importation or borrowing of thousands of words from those languages into English. *Borrowing* (also known as loan words, see above) is the practice of taking a word from one language into another. The English language has ‘copied’ words from other languages for many years now. Words such as *marmalade* (Portuguese origin) *kayak* (Eskimo origin), *tsunami* (Japanese), *cafeteria* (Spanish), *ballet* (French), *waltz* (German), *soprano* (Italian), and other words have come into the English language over time. Usually, we borrow words from a foreign language because there isn’t any English equivalent of the word. The words once borrowed may undergo other changes. In the examples above the original Portuguese word is ‘marmelada’ which has been altered to be more English in form by changing the final ‘a’ to an ‘e’. It is also common to make plurals of word following the normal patterns in English of adding an ‘s’ to the word (or stem) for example.

2.1.1.1.2 Loan Translation or Calque

Another form of borrowing is what we call *loan-translation*. This process takes words from other languages and literally translates them into English. One of the most well-known loan-translations (otherwise known as *calque*) in the English language is the term *superman* which derives from the German word *Übermensch*. Similarly, in Portugal it is natural to talk about *arranha-céus* a translation of sky-scraper, or *cachorros quentes* from hot dogs. Borrowing is not a characteristic that solely pertains to English. Many foreign languages have

borrowed English words, such as, *walkman*, *bulldozer*, *weekend*, *playstation* or *bungee-jumping*. As described in Chapter 1, this process of borrowing words into the English language had its pinnacle during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but even in present times we can still witness this process taking place which the list of modern words above exemplifies.

2.1.1.2 Blending

Borrowing is the most important way in which base words or stems are added to the English vocabulary. Despite this, this is not the only way English acquires new stems; there are ways of creating them too. For example, if we have a notion that consists of two individual parts, we sometimes create a new stem by using the process of *blending* (also known as combining, see above 2.1.1). This process is achieved when random portions (normally the beginning of one word and the end of another) of two words are “chopped off and stitched together to form a new word” (Trask, 1996:22). Blends sometimes occur when there are speech errors. When we search our mental lexicon for words, we often come up with two words with the same meaning that are pronounced similarly. Because we, as human beings, are often too quick when speaking, we sometimes use a mixture of the two words before we are finished choosing which one we want to use. For example, let’s take the adverbs ‘mainly’ and ‘mostly’: their structure and meaning are very similar, as are their pronunciations. Someone wanting to say, “It was mainly/mostly his own doing”, might find both of these words simultaneously in his or her own mental lexicon while uttering this sentence. Before the speaker can choose the word he or she wants, he/she says, “It was *maistly* his own doing”. Sometimes the speaker will catch his or her own mistake and immediately correct it but at other times the speaker won’t even notice the mistake. Other examples of English speech error blends are:

stummy – “My stummy hurts” – blended from stomach and tummy;

dreeze – “There’s a dreeze blowing through the room” – draft and breeze;

lection – “At the end of today’s lection” – lecture and lesson.

Despite these unconscious errors in language we also blend words with a purposeful intention of creating new, many times, time-saving words. This intentional process began many decades ago and continues to be used today. Some well-known, frequent examples of blending are words such as *smog* (smoke + fog), *motel* (motor + hotel), *brunch* (breakfast + lunch). In more recent years blending has become a more frequent process of word-formation with terms like *guesstimate* (guess + estimate), *skyjack* (sky + hijack), *bit* (binary + digit), *simulcast* (simultaneous + broadcast), *chunnel* (channel + tunnel), *vegebunger* (vegetarian + hamburger). Blending is even used to describe the combination of languages such as French and English (Franglais) or Portuguese and English (Portuglish).

2.1.1.3 Clipping

Another process, which can be considered a bit more drastic as far as reduction is concerned, is *clipping*. This is a process in which a word is created by removing a random portion of a longer word of identical meaning. It normally occurs when a multi-syllabic word (for example, refrigerator) is abridged to a shorter structure (fridge). Through clipping, many words have become common, everyday usages, for example, *zoo* (from Zoological garden), *sitcom* (from situation comedy) or *fax* (from facsimile). The odd thing about clipping is that the newly formed word usually continues to coexist along side the original, so ‘doc’ and ‘doctor’ coexist, ‘phone’ and ‘telephone’ do not seem to cause any interference with each other. The same can be applied to ‘TV’ and ‘television’ or ‘math’ and ‘mathematics’, and the list goes on. Another interesting thing about clipping is that we do not, as English speakers, care much about which portion of the word is clipped. We clip the beginning of (tele) phone, (cara) van, (tele) scope, and (ham) burger, but we also clip the end of rep (resentative), prof (essor), sub (marine), prep (are) and also phys (ical) ed (ucation). Some words have been clipped at the beginning and at the end, such as, (re) fridge (rator) and (in) flu (enza). It is possible to witness some clippings that have, over time, replaced their base form. The examples of (cara) van and cab (riole) seem to have become commonplace, and even though the word exists it is not very usual to hear someone refer to a plane as an aeroplane. In truth, some of these base forms will never go back to their original full form. English speakers even

clip each others names, as in Joe, Al, Tim, Sam, Jem Gill, Sue, etc. We know we can state that clippings are new words, or stems, because they suffer derivations. The clippings for ‘Chevrolet’ and ‘Cadillac’ instantaneously suffered a process of diminutivization, which gave us words like ‘chevy’ and ‘caddy’, just as ‘pup’ has become the diminutive of ‘puppy’. Most of these clippings also assume the plural form, as in, profs, fridges, burgers, vans, subs, and so on. Therefore, clippings are new stems from which other words may be derived.

2.1.1.4 Backformation

We know subconsciously that derivation rules exist. We know that if we want to form the plural of a word we usually add an ‘s’, or if we want to make an *agentive* noun (someone who does something) we normally add ‘-er’.

Backformation is a very specialised kind of word formation. This process is the creation of a neologism by ‘reinterpreting’ an earlier word as a compound. Backformation is the name of a process (and of a word formed by that process) where a new and usually shorter word is formed from an old and longer one by cutting off a suffix. ‘Burgle’ looks like the source of ‘burglar’ but it is actually the other way around. Most backformations are produced by reducing a noun in order to form a verb. Many words came into the English language via this route: donate (from donation), execute (from execution), televise (from television). Backformation normally takes a noun that ends in –er and by removing the final syllable it creates a verb and hence a new word, e.g., painter – paint, peddler – peddle.

2.1.1.5 Acronyms

Everyday we add new and different concepts to our lives. Many times, the numerous word-making processes that are at our disposal are not enough to keep up with the mandatory naming. There are things, jobs, activities and organizations with phrases such as ‘Department of Defence’, ‘New York Police Department’, ‘Weapons of Mass Destruction’, ‘Private Investigator’, ‘North Atlantic Treaty Organization’ or ‘North American Free Trade Agreement’. When we are talking about these entities and are in a situation where we have to

use the term over and over again, we have a tendency to abbreviate and usually pronounce the initials of the words in the phrase, such as: DOD, NYPD, WMD, PI, TV, NATO, NAFTA. If, when we speak or write, we keep using these phrases in full, it will take up a lot of valuable time. Grice's (1975) maxims include the need to provide the appropriate quantity of information which, between speakers who know the subject area well, would not require the frequent repetition of shared knowledge. Therefore, abbreviations or acronyms keep communication running along very smoothly. Often, these abbreviations become words themselves. The verb 'to overdose' has almost been replaced by its abbreviation 'OD'. In speech it now has all the characteristics that other normal verbs have, taking on all the verb suffixes, such as: "Peter OD-ed", "OD-ing is not very cool", "What happens when someone OD-s?" As with clippings, the original word usually stays in the language, however, sometimes the abbreviation becomes a word on its own, with its own distinct meaning (as is the case with ID). Pronounceable abbreviations almost always replace their original phrases. When possible, it is typical to pronounce acronyms as single words, as is the case of NATO, UNESCO, MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Drivers) but compare BBC which remains pronounced as a list of letters because of the impossibility of pronouncing it as a single word especially because it contains no vowels. These three examples of acronyms have kept their capital letters but others have lost theirs and have become regular, everyday terms such as *sonar* (Sound Navigation Ranging). In some classifications (see Crystal 1995 above 2.1.1) a sub division is made between those words that are pronounced as initials, such as BBC mentioned above, which are referred to as initialisms and those pronounced as a word which are classified as acronyms.

2.1.1.6 Compounding

In English, as in many other languages, another common form of acquiring new words is through the process of compounding. This process consists in the joining of two separate words. From its earliest period, English has made use of this process and some examples include *blackboard*, *doorknob*, *girlfriend*, *waterbed*, *rattlesnake*, *football*, *gingerbread* and *textbook*. Some of these compounds have been in our language for centuries, while others have

been formed more recently. Some of the most recently formed compounds include *ozone-friendly*, *laptop* and *high-five*. As can be seen from these compounds the tendency in English is first to hyphenate and then, over time, to drop the hyphen, email is a recent example of hyphen dropping. It is important to note that many times the meanings of the words that make up these compounds have no relation whatsoever to the significance of the compound itself. If we look at the example laptop above, we can see that although the word refers to a small, portable computer the two words involved refer to placing something on our knees (*lap*) which is emphasised by the addition of *top* or on top of.

2.1.1.7 Derivation

Probably the most frequent process of word formation is known as derivation. This process takes place when we add affixes (usually prefixes or suffixes) to already existing words (also known as affixation, see above 2.1.1). As do so many other languages, English has extensive derivational resources (Yule, 1997). The suffix *-al* is one of the many important derivational suffixes in English. Some of the words formed by adding this suffix include: culture – cultural, person – personal, origin – original and agriculture – agricultural. Some of the other common suffixes used in English are *-ness* (happiness, kindness, loudness), *-ful* (powerful, cheerful, hopeful), *-ous* (mountainous, courageous, delirious), *-less* (fearless, useless, topless) and *-ic* (economic, photographic, scientific). Multiple suffixation is also possible in some instances: economy / economic / economical and hope / hopeless / hopelessness. The use of prefixes are also very important in English. Some examples of words formed by adding a prefix to the base-word are: megastar, malnutrition, subhuman, vice-president, trans-Atlantic, stepfather, under-funding, micro-organism, ultra-liberal and miniskirt. It is important to note that the prefix *mini-* did not exist before the 1960's and it first appeared with the word miniskirt. Today, this prefix has become very popular when referring to things of a smaller size, such as, mini-bus, mini-van, mini-budget or even mini-novel. Similarly, there are words formed by multiple prefixation, as in the case of polyunsaturated

and undischarged. It is also possible to combine both prefixes and suffixes in order to form new words, such as, uncooperative, overgeneralization, pre-industrial and non-magnetic.

2.1.1.8 Functional Shift

Another process that can be considered quite productive and becoming more and more common in word formation is, what some call, functional shift. This process consists in altering the grammatical category of a word without altering the word itself. Words grammatically classified as nouns, such as, doctor, gun and butter are used as verbs. For example, and according to this rule, we can doctor important documents, gun someone down at point blank range or butter our toast at breakfast. But other grammatical changes can take place, such as when words change from verbs to nouns (a guess, a takeover, a print), or verbs to adjectives (a see-through material), or from adjectives to nouns or verbs (to dirty, to empty, a crazy, a nasty). Some converted words change their meanings altogether, as in the case of the word embed which will be discussed later in Chapter 3.

2.1.1.9 Coinage

Finally, one of the least common processes of word formation in the English language is what we call coinage, which is nothing more, nothing less than the production or invention of a new word. Nowadays this process is very atypical. Probably the most common way for a coinage to appear is if a company gives their product a name that soon becomes a general English term, such as Gillette, Kleenex, Hoover or Levi's. But these new words can also appear through the influence of music, cinema, video games, sports and so on.

2.1.1.10 Combinations of The Above Processes

It is also important to note that new words are sometimes formed by conjoining two or more of these processes. Just to give an example of this, the word *delicatessen* was borrowed from German and later clipped giving us what we now call a *deli*. These processes have been around for some time and many of the words we use today were, at some time in the past, considered to be misuses of the language, however, if they should make their way into a dictionary, then usually they will be accepted by the English speaking public, in general.

2.2 Methodological Implications of Word Formation Processes

All of these processes have recently been attested by analysts as legitimate forms of language change. The problem though, is how to investigate language change; to know which methods can and should be applied to the study of language change in English. Traditional methods and tools can be applied in some cases but nowadays, with the advance of the technological era, many more have been made available. Aitchison (1994) puts forward the following suggestions:

1. Reporting of a use as different or unfamiliar, deviant form.
2. Checking in a spellchecker.
3. Checking in an authoritative dictionary or a range of dictionaries.
4. Searching in text archives including electronic newspapers.
5. Analysis of citations in terms of meaning, situations of use, likely collocates or co-occurring words. KWIC lists can help this process.
6. Looking for signs of 'leakage' where the word is used metaphorically, 'bleaching' where it is used in a way which suggests a loss of specificity or force, semantic widening or narrowing.
7. Number-based searches in varied reference sources to establish statistical frequency of word use.

The use of technology has thus brought a new range of tools to the process of tracking language change and in the next section these new and improved language tracking tools will be described in relation to their suitability in the detection of language change and variation.

2.3 The Use of Technological Tools to Track Language Change

In the previous section we have examined the various processes that can take place when the subject of word change comes into play. Although these changes can come about in a variety of different ways and for a variety of different reasons, new words, as far as spelling, pronunciation and even word formation are concerned, have some rules that need to be followed. There are certain lexical, phonological and grammatical parameters that characterize a language, making it seemingly impossible or, at the very least, difficult to have (or create) a word such as ‘zgcotniwd’. What is most difficult is tracking the changes that usually occur, discovering how they came about and, more importantly, in which context.

Many researchers (see Aitchinson above) and most speakers hold dictionaries as the authority on all that concerns vocabulary (its origin, definition and correct usage), especially when they are perplexed by an unknown word or phrase. But what happens when the word we are searching for does not appear as an entry in our dictionary?

When a language suffers change it normally does so in a spoken form first, in our day-to-day conversations, independently of them being of a formal or informal nature, and only some time later – if ever – is it possible to see a language begin to change in its written form. As *The Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (2000:487) which is based on a 40 million word corpus of texts from different registers states, “as usual, it is not surprising to find linguistic novelty establishing itself in conversation first and (only) then spreading to the written registers”. These ‘written registers’ are not exclusively referring to dictionaries. They can be, and nowadays usually are, newspapers, magazines, books and others (whether in the traditional printed form or online editions). Actually, because of the elevated monetary costs that are associated with updating and publishing new editions, dictionaries might be the last place to look when trying to find a new word because, “Print dictionaries (...) cannot record

ongoing language change” (Shortis, 2001:67). Dictionaries suffer from other limitations as well, not all word forms are recorded as is the case with particular affixes so that information is not supplied which learners (and others) might need (cf. Howcroft, 2004).

2.3.1 What is a Corpus?

Today, computers are making language study a bit easier for everyone. Computers make it possible to put together large quantities of text in order to develop a larger body of language, also known as a corpus. Although there is a long tradition of consulting a large body of material for linguistic research, it is only with the advent of the personal computer that it is possible to conduct empirical research that does not take a lifetime to complete. Moreover, with the development of CD-ROMs the dependency on printed versions has decreased because they also have a large storage capacity for all kinds of information. The appearance of the Internet has sparked the emergence of online dictionaries and online corpora, just to mention two of its novelties.

David Crystal in his dictionary of linguistics and phonetics defines a corpus as:

“a collection of linguistic data, either written texts or a transcription of recorded speech, which can be used as a starting point of linguistic description or as a means of verifying hypotheses about a language” (Crystal, 1991).

In other simpler terms a corpus is, “a collection of texts or parts of texts upon which some general linguistic analysis can be conducted” (Meyer 2002:xi). In theory, any collection of more than one text can be called a corpus, (corpus is the Latin word for "body", and for this reason a corpus is any body of text). There are many different kinds of corpora. They can contain written or spoken (transcribed) language, modern or old texts, texts from one language or several languages. The texts can be whole books, newspapers, journals, speeches etc, or consist of extracts of varying length. The kind of texts included and the combination of different texts vary between different corpora and corpus types. 'General corpora' consist of general texts, texts that do not belong to a single text type, subject field, or register. An example of a general corpus and one of the last free online corpora in existence is the British

National Corpus (BNC). This corpus is 100 million words in length and contains a variety of language registers such as, speech, writing, formal, informal, public and private. Today, the term "corpus" practically always implies the supplementary characteristic of being "machine-readable", although this was not always the case. "The computer word search facility and availability of electronic text archives and language corpora make it possible to trace a word and its patterns in its context of use, spelling and other details" (Shortis, 2001:64). It also makes possible the fact that we can search and manipulate corpora at greater speeds and improve them with extra information. There are also many large text databases which are not considered to be corpora in the exact sense or end cause but, which many times, can unveil many truths about language change. Two examples of these databases are online versions of newspapers and newspaper CD-ROMs. While online corpora offer us vast amounts of language in various registers, newspaper CD-ROMs come in a narrower variety of registers but they are seen as authoritative, credible representations of language and, furthermore, they provide us with dated material. Therefore it is safe to say that they can provide us with some index of acceptability and frequency of new words together with diachronic information about those words. The term "corpus" also implies a body of text of limited or finite size, although this is not generally so. Birmingham University has been working on the construction of a *monitor corpus*. In this type of corpus texts are continuously being added to it, so it gets larger and larger. The ever growing monitor corpus has great influence in dictionary building as it enables lexicographers, who can search a large amount of new texts, to record new words entering the language, or to register the changing meanings of old words, or the balance of their use according to genre and so on. However, finite corpora also have an important role in lexical studies in the area of quantification. It is possible to quickly produce dependable frequency counts and to subdivide these areas across a variety of dimensions according to the varieties of language in which a word is used.

Monitor corpora have their benefits: they supply a larger, more extensive sample of language and they are not stationary - new texts can always be added, contrasting the synchronic image provided by finite corpora allowing very important diachronic lexical studies to be undertaken. There is a disadvantage to this type of corpus: they are not such a dependable source of quantitative data (which allows us to discover which phenomena are

likely to be genuine reflections of the behaviour of a language and merely classifies observed features in an attempt to explain what is observed), as opposed to qualitative data (where the research performed gives a more detailed description of what is being analysed and where all the data is given the same attention), but today's language studies are becoming increasingly oriented towards lexical variation. The Centre for Corpus Linguistics at Birmingham University (<http://www.corpus.bham.ac.uk/ccl/global.htm>) states:

“The world is changing. To understand how the world is changing we must compare today's texts with yesterday's texts. The Global English Monitor Corpus will tell us how the world will never be the same by finding what is being said now but has never been said before, how it will make it possible to document language use and, more important, semantic change, and it will tell us whether the English language discourses in Britain, the United States, Australia, Pakistan and South Africa have changed in the same way or differently.”

The importance of corpora to language study is associated with the importance of empirical data. Empirical data enable the linguist to make objective statements, rather than those which are subjective, or based upon the individual's own internalised cognitive perception of language. A criticism of earlier linguistic study was that it often focused on the strange or unusual uses of English and ignored the more usual and general. This meant that there was no information available about what was normal English as opposed to variants.

Corpora have changed the way in which linguists can and do look at language. Many years before the discipline of corpus linguistics was invented empirical data was used in matters concerning lexicography. This can be witnessed as far back as the 19th Century edition of the Oxford Dictionary where Samuel Johnson illustrated his dictionary with examples from literature, and used citation slips to study and illustrate how words were being used at that time. (see Chapter 1)

2.3.2. Present-day Corpora Usage

Today, any linguist who has access to a corpus, or another type of non-representative collection of machine readable text (for example newspaper CD-ROMs and online newspapers) can summon all the examples of a word or phrase from many millions of words of text in a few seconds. Dictionaries can be produced and revised much more quickly than before, allowing us to obtain up-to-date information about language and discover how the language is working. Also, definitions can be more complete and precise since a larger number of natural examples are examined.

The examples that are taken from corpora can be effortlessly structured into more significant groups for analysis. For example, by sorting the right-hand context of the word alphabetically so that it is possible to see all instances of a particular collocate together. Furthermore, because corpus data contains a rich amount of textual information - regional variety, author, date, genre, part-of-speech tags etc - it is easier to tie down usages of particular words or phrases as being typical of particular regional varieties, genres and so on.

2.3.3 Corpus Analysis Tools: Concordancing Software

In order to help in the analysis of the texts that are necessary and help sort out the information that is being sought one can use concordancing software (which is often available online) which, among other things, can aid in the search for all inflected forms of a given word, display lines of text with the search word (key word or node) in the centre or even sort lines so that words to the left or right of the key word are in alphabetical order. In this latter case, right sorting can also show what kind of words follow the key word (collocations) – useful for analysing complementation patterns and what effect they have on meaning. Concordancing software can assist in three main areas or with three types of corpus study: syntactic, lexical and discoursal.

2.3.4 Collocations

As mentioned above, another important and adjacent characteristic within corpus linguistics is the study of collocations. Collocation is a term used to refer to the combination of words that regularly keep company with certain other words. For example, in the collocations 'apple tree', 'apple pie', and 'Adam's apple', 'apple' collocates with 'tree', 'pie', and 'Adam's'. The information retrieved about collocations is important for such things as writing dictionaries and language teaching. Nevertheless, it is not easy to verify which co-occurrences are *significant* collocations (this is when a collocation appears with a greater frequency than chance), especially if one is not a native speaker of a given language or language variety. The ability to call up word combinations rather than individual words, and the existence of mutual information tools which establish relationships between co-occurring words mean that we can treat phrases and collocations more systematically than was previously possible. A phrasal unit may constitute a piece of technical terminology or an idiom, and collocations are important clues to specific word senses.

How is it that we can get and maintain contact with the new words that enter our language on a daily basis?

2.3.5 The 'dweeb' Factor

David Minugh, a lecturer at the University of Stockholm was faced with this question for many years. When living abroad for long periods of time it is natural, even for a native speaker, to lose touch with the linguistic change that may occur in one's mother tongue. Minugh had a very logical approach to this problem, saying, "it is thus imperative for me to spend time back in the States, where I can 'refresh' my intuition, and correct my expatriate folly of assuming that nothing has changed in my absence" (Minugh, 1997: 67). He goes on to say:

"For nearly two decades now, I have been repeatedly called upon to make intuitively based pronouncements upon the acceptability of the English produced by students and – rather more gingerly – that of my Swedish

colleagues. Over the years, my brash American certainty about what is 'correct' has been somewhat dampened by the repeated ability of said colleagues to produce counter-evidence about many aspects of my own language, not to mention the curious variant called British English."(Minugh, 1997:67)

Unfortunately, in many cases and as Minugh explains here, not even a native speaker's intuition is sufficient because it can lead them to err (Sinclair, 1991).

It was during one of his trips back to the United States that Minugh was confronted with graffiti that he saw on a highway overpass. The sign read, 'Harry is a dweeb'. In the attempt to discover the meaning of 'dweeb', David Minugh searched through various dictionaries in the hope that he would unearth what this word meant but his search bore no fruit. His next step was to look at existing corpora to see if he could find some sort of usage of this word, but he laments the fact that existing corpora, "such as Brown and LOB were a revolution in their time, but their 1961 English is not exactly the place to look for new arrivals!" What happened to Minugh in this situation supports what was mentioned earlier in relation to language change. Although graffiti is not an accepted form of English (academically speaking), it is easy to notice that such an expression –dweeb – must have originated through spoken language, eventually becoming graffiti and then, finally, it became an accepted written form. Having encountered some difficulty in obtaining the information he sought while using some of the more obvious tools at his disposal (dictionaries and online corpora), Minugh turned to using Newspaper CD-ROMs because their most important advantage is that there is hardly any other domain which offers such a broad number of linguistically distinctive varieties (Crystal, 1994). In his essay, Minugh (1997:68) says, "contemporary newspaper CD-ROMs are a rich mine for instances of new words and phrases", furthermore (idem), "CD-ROM newspaper corpora will usually provide a wealth of examples, even if for items that at first do not seem very frequent." Minugh did indeed find the word in his search of newspapers on CD-ROM which also reflects the fact that newspapers often are the first written medium to take up neologisms. A similar but somewhat more disciplined approach to investigating change is also described by Aitchison in her work on 'joyriding' which is described below.

2.3.6 Joyriding – A Methodological Approach

In a somewhat similar situation Jean Aitchison was also confronted with a word (*joyriding*) which was being used, by some journalists, with a different meaning. She decided to investigate this situation. Upon doing so she resorted to a computer-assisted approach. Aitchison started by using a tool that is available on the most common word processors: the spellchecker. After entering the word *joyriding* the computer spellchecker did not recognise it, offering other alternatives or solutions. She then consulted the *OED* on CD-ROM for an authoritative account of the desired term but she discovered that the definition and examples given had a different meaning from that which she was looking for. Whereas joyriding signifies the crime of stealing a car and driving it for pleasure, the *OED* gave a different sense of pleasure trip, particularly linking this word to aeroplanes, although when she investigated how the word was being used in context, using *The Times* on CD-ROM, she did find a clear association of the word to criminality.

2.3.7 Building a Corpus with Internet Texts

In the research work that has been undertaken here there are similarities with the aforementioned situations. Similar to Minugh, the researcher also finds himself teaching in a country, other than his native one, that doesn't have English as its mother tongue. In an effort to keep up with language and language change (mainly neologisms and colloquialisms) watching as many English speaking programs as possible, especially news channels, is one strategy but reading (time permitting) informative news magazines is another, by far the most useful however is retrieving information from the Internet. The case studies presented here have come about, in part, due to the need to obtain news, often from news channels like *CNN* and through surfing the Internet and observing changes taking place in the language found there.

While watching a 24-hour news station such as *CNN* or *Sky*, one is almost completely guaranteed the quality of good reporting and more up-to-date information. In a similar

fashion, news magazines also offer a very credible source of information. The Internet, which over the last fifteen years has become one of the most used information mediums, can, however, be considered a double-edged sword. The Internet was created for the people, to be used by the people and that is what has happened. Despite the fact that the Net can be considered a very credible source of information in almost every area of interest, it might have a disadvantage as far as credible authorship is concerned. Since anyone (with minimum basic computer skills) can contribute to this ever-growing phenomenon known as the Internet, what is written and how it is written can sometimes alter certain grammatical patterns and spelling or meaning of certain vocabulary items that have existed within the English language, that is because the published language tends to become more informal. On the other hand, because any individual whatever their background or academic level is allowed to post whatever they wish, the Internet has become an area of great interest to investigate language change.

The availability of numerous texts on the Internet (many times in an assortment of registers) makes it possible to carry out a study in various fields of interest such as “computer-assisted lexicography, tracing words as they come into the language and then developing a provisional account of patterns and movements in their situations of use, meanings and collocates (co-occurring words)” (Shortis, 2001). A computer text-based search can make it possible to extend both Aitchison and Minugh’s method and work, allowing us to be able to do some research into tracking language variation and change, particularly new words that come into the English language.

It is clearly possible to make suggestive and interesting comparisons between the frequencies of items in corpora of similar size and composition which have been constructed at different points in time. As the number and size of computer corpora grow, linguistic researchers are increasingly using them to study changes in language over time (diachronic study of language), comparing usage at one point in time with usage at a later or an earlier period. One advantage of using a generally available corpus is that it provides an index by which successive studies can be calculated. Machine-readable corpora possess the following advantages over written or spoken formats mainly because they can be searched and manipulated in a rapid manner. Corpora are of interest to lexicographers and teachers alike because they allow almost any reasonably informed individual with a true interest in language

to be able to carry out their own research and sift through a number of new texts looking for the occurrence of new words, or for changing meanings of old words.

Chomsky (1965) criticized corpus data as being only a minute sample of a large and potentially infinite population, arguing that it would therefore be distorted and thus an unreal representation of the population as a whole. There might be some truth to this statement but the same could also be said of almost all scientific investigation which has sampling as its foundation. At the time Chomsky warned us of the imperfections of corpora most of the available material was constructed by hand and their size was not as large as they are today. Although size is not synonymous with guaranteed representation, it does have some weight as far as the production of a maximally representative corpus is concerned. Today, this scenario has changed. Now we have computers capable of storing millions of words, allowing us to manipulate information much faster, therefore, the issue of size has been overcome.

Often in linguistics we are not merely interested in an individual text or author, but rather a specific part or a whole variety of language. It is true that we do not achieve any absolutes from corpora but we do get tendencies. The only problem was that established corpora were giving one version of reality but what was being witnessed was something completely different from what they offered similar to Aitchison's experience mentioned above. It was necessary to know how language was working at that particular moment. Since online corpora and dictionaries seemed to be a dead end, it was therefore necessary to create a corpus which was in essence representative of the variety of words under examination, which provided as precise a representation as possible of the tendencies of that variety, as well as its proportions. The search had to turn elsewhere for material with which to work and, consequently, it was necessary to build a corpus made up of a collection of online texts. (See Chapter 3)

Any person who would like to study authentic examples of language can use corpora.

“A corpus is a simple body of text, but from a Corpus Linguistics standpoint, ‘corpus’ can be described as a *large* collection of *authentic* texts that have been gathered in *electronic form* according to a *specific set of criteria*” (Bowker and Pearson, 2002:9).

The internet was searched for texts that included the word embed (as was the case with other case studies, for exactly the same reasons) and came up with many examples that were

later used to compile the corpus (see Chapter 3). While conducting this search an attempt was made to comply with all the necessary requirements that were needed to make up a corpus. The World Wide Web was searched for authentic texts,

“this means that the text is an example of real, ‘live’ language and consists of a genuine communication between people going about their normal business. The text is naturally occurring and has not been created for the express purpose of being included in a corpus” (Bowker and Pearson, 2002:9).

Since the texts used in this study were all taken from the internet, the requisite of the corpus being deemed electronic was secured. A definition of what ‘electronic’ means in this case is that it can be processed by a computer (Bowker and Pearson, 2002). This is important because by using a text in electronic form we are able to use special software packages, that are commonly known as Corpus Analysis Tools (see 2.3.3), which can help us manipulate the available data.

“These tools allow you to access and display the information contained within the corpus in a variety of useful ways (...), [and] when you consult a corpus, you do not have to read the whole text and you can use Corpus Analysis Tools to help you find those specific sections of the text that are of interest” (Bowker and Pearson, 2002:10).

Because proof of the appearance of the word ‘embed’ was indispensable, it was necessary to find as many texts as possible to establish a theory. As Bowker and Pearson state, “there are no hard and fast rules about how large a corpus needs to be”. In their words, large means a greater number of texts than you would be able to easily collect and read in printed form. Therefore, because technology makes it easier for us to compile and consult corpora, various online news sites were searched through for material that could be used. “A corpus is not simply a random collection of texts.” Bowker and Pearson (2002:10) suggest that, “the texts in a corpus are selected according to explicit criteria in order to be used as a representative sample of a particular language or subset of that language”, hence, the criteria used to design the corpus will depend on the purpose of the study to be carried out. In this case material of a particular type and period.

It is usually an implied understanding that a corpus embodies a standard reference for the language variety that it represents.

“This presupposes that it will be widely available to other researchers, which is indeed the case with many corpora – for example. the Brown Corpus, the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen (LOB) corpus and the London-Lund corpus.” (McEnery and Wilson, 2001 <http://bowland-files.lancs.ac.uk/monkey/ihe/linguistics/corpus2/2fra1.htm>).

McEnery and Wilson go on to say that the advantage of having a widely available corpus is that it “provides a yardstick by which successive studies can be measured. So long as the methodology is made clear, new results on related topics can be directly compared with already published results without the need for re-computation”. Furthermore, the use of a standard corpus also means that a continuous database is being used. This implies that any variation between studies is less likely to be attributed to differences in the data and more to the satisfactoriness of the hypothesis and methodology contained in the study.

As true as this may be, times change and along with them so do many other things, including the language we use, how we use it and, from a linguistic standpoint, so do the tools we use to study language change. A number of corpora mentioned by McEnery and Wilson have long since disappeared. Today, even if researchers want to compare their modern-day corpora findings with corpora of the past, they find the task, at the very least, quite difficult, if not impossible to accomplish.

In light of these methodological and theoretical approaches to language change, Chapter 3 will present four case studies investigating recent English language changes and the cultural and technological influences on the English language that they represent. However, as will be shown in the research carried out, the empirical study of English language change is complex and often requires a mixture of these processes in order to fully describe the changes observed. Nevertheless, aspects of Aitchisons methodology (see section 2.2) will be employed where appropriate.

Chapter 3

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three will present four case studies. The first will investigate how the Internet has influenced and continues to have a profound effect on modern English. The research carried out concerns the use of 'blog'. The second case study investigates how government, through the aid of the media, can help shape today's language or what has been described as information dominance or warfare. The functional shift found in the word 'embed' is the object of this second case study. The third case study, 'metrosexual', sheds some light on how language and culture are intertwined and the effects they can have on each other. The last case study, 'google', will see how Internet usage and corporate Internet technology have assisted in the creation of coinages.

3.2 Blog

Over the last few years the Internet has played an enormous role in the lives of many people all over the world and its value increases with every day that passes. Its importance has grown rapidly in all fields of human life including not only education and research, but also marketing and trade as well as entertainment and hobbies. As we have seen, the Internet has also made a somewhat significant contribution to the English language because, generally speaking, English is the universal language on the internet.

In 1991, Tim Berners-Lee created the hypertext technology that is known today as the World Wide Web. He states that the reason for creating it was, "the urge to share of oneself, to join a great global knowledge sharing party, the chance to participate in something cool". Today it is becoming more and more evident that the world of communications has completed a transformation. The printing press and broadcasting are a one-to-many medium. The telephone is one-to-one. With the advent of the World Wide Web we have a medium that is anything we want it to be: one-to-one, one-to-many and many-to-many. Little did Berners-Lee know that back in 1992 when he started his *What's New* page he was, in fact, creating the first-ever weblog, which was intended to be a web page that contained links (and some comments

about the links) to other websites on the internet that the author deemed important or interesting. It was in 1997 that Jorn Barger coined the term weblog and just two years later that the word blog - which is a clipping of the word weblog - started to appear on the Web and in the media.

Following Jean Aitchison's methodology (see 2.2) dictionaries were consulted as authoritative sources of information about the term under investigation. Of the many online and printed dictionaries that were consulted we can see that, even though some of the definitions have some common features, the definitions differ in some ways, mainly in their characteristics.

The Macmillan English Dictionary (2002:136) claims that a blog is:

“a biographical web log: a type of diary on a website that is changed regularly to give the latest news. The page usually contains someone's personal opinions, comments and experiences, and provides links to other places on the Internet”.

The Oxford English Dictionary and *The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* did not have any available entry of this term, although a spokesman for Oxford University Press suggested that the word was now being put into some dictionaries, reflecting its mainstream use. He argued that the term was fairly recent and that such new terms rarely got established as quickly as this one had.

At *Dictionary.com*, (<http://dictionary.reference.com/search?q=google/>) blog is defined as an

“online diary: a personal, chronological log of thoughts published on a web page, also called weblog or web log.”

At *Webopedia* (<http://www.webopedia.com/TERM/b/blog.html>), an online dictionary that provides us with computer and internet technology definitions, blog is defined as

“a web page that serves as a publicly accessible personal journal for an individual. Typically updated daily, blogs often reflect the personality of the author”.

If we go to *Matisse.net* (<http://www.matisse.net/files/glossary.html#B>) we can see that they define a blog as

“a journal that is available on the web. The activity of updating a blog is ‘blogging’ and someone who keeps a blog is a ‘blogger’. Blogs are typically updated daily using software that allows people with little or no technical background to update and maintain the blog”.

Finally, *Merriam-Webster*

(<http://www.m-w.com/cgi-bin/dictionary?book=Dictionary&va=blog>)

defines a blog as:

“a website that contains an online personal journal with reflections, comments and often hyperlinks provided by the writer”.

Merriam-Webster said that ‘blog’ topped the list of most looked-up terms during the last twelve months, with tens of thousands of hits on its website. Due to this the US dictionary publisher proclaimed ‘blog’ as its word of the year for 2004 and, subsequently, announced that it was going to include this term in their 2005 version of the *Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary, Eleventh Edition*. It seems a little ironic that they would name ‘blog’ word of the year and not yet have included it in their dictionaries, but seeing how dictionaries publishers are sometimes so cautious as to the words they include in their newer editions it is safe to say that any reputable dictionary is usually obsolete by the time it is printed. Moreover, more regular updating is prohibited by the elevated cost that is involved when it comes to editing and publishing a new and updated dictionary. One very important contributing factor is the fact that language evolves at such a rapid pace that dictionary compilers cannot keep up via annual editions.

In the attempt to change this situation Merriam-Webster editor, John Morse, has said that,

“By tracking the words people are looking up on *Merriam-Webster Online*, we are developing a better idea of what people want from reference sources... (which) can help lead our editorial staff to make adjustments in revisions of print dictionaries”.

It is interesting to note that in accordance with Aitchison’s methodology (see Chapter 2 Page 9) the computer spell checker on my computer does not recognise the word blog at all and recommends *bog*, *bloc(sic)*, *blot*, *blob* or *blow* as alternatives.

A blog is often a mixture of what is happening in a person’s life and what is happening on the Web, a kind of hybrid diary/guide site, although there are as many unique types of

blogs as there are people. Blogs do not represent anything brand new in human communication because they closely resemble diaries, which in turn can be traced back as far as ancient Greece. However, unlike diaries they are written for a specific audience. Ever since their appearance back in the year of 1992 blogs have become more and more popular. One of the factors contributing to their popularity is that the software used to put them together makes it very easy for people to air their views online. The point of publishing online is for others to read what one has written. The blog format engages a quasi-dialogue in which the blogger posts a link to and most likely comments on a public web posting elsewhere. The source can and very often does reply or 'counterblog' in return. It is possible for a handful of blogs to do nothing but react to and write to each other in public for days on end. If we were to compare blogs to an old media example probably the best would be the 'letter to the editor'. With blogs, the true meaning of 'free press' comes into play because the average person can publish their own work, a possibility previously only provided by the vanity press, at a price.

According to blog analysis firm Technorati, the number of blogs in existence (the blogosphere) has doubled every five and a half months for the last eighteen months. Technorati now estimates that the number of blogs in existence has exceeded 4.8 million, and according to Pew Internet & American Life, a non profit research firm that examines the social impact of the internet, a blog is created every 5.8 seconds.

Blogs have definitely made an impact in the last few years but since September 11, 2001 and the tragic events of that day blogging has expanded. This past year alone saw the popularity of blogs rise to unprecedented numbers as people sought information and analysis about the U.S. presidential election. On August 29, 2001 Dan Chan started his blog called DayPop. Dan explains why he began his blog:

"This is the story of a current events search engine that came about because I couldn't search for information about the 2000 U.S. Presidential Election. "What are those wacky candidates up to today?" I'd wonder. "What do other people think about those wacky candidates?" I'd fumble around on Salon, I'd surf around a couple of blogs, but I needed more. "Why can't I search for news and opinions of events that are happening today?" Finally, now I can!"

Many of these blogs have maintained their popularity as people (either happy or upset about the election's outcome) continue to visit the blogs because of their frequently updated content which usually tends to have a political slant either liberal or conservative. In April, 1997 Dave Winer began *ScriptingNews* (<http://www.scripting.com/>), which is the longest continuously running weblog on the internet and over time, it has probably become one of the most influential blogs to date. He says:

“Blogs are often-updated sites that point to articles elsewhere on the web, often with comments, to on-site articles. A blog is a kind of continual tour, with a human guide who you get to know. There are many guides to choose from, each develops an audience, and there's also camaraderie and politics between the people who run blogs, they point to each other, in all kinds of structures, graphs, loops, etc”.

He also goes on to talk about the four key words that need to be taken into consideration in order to be able to talk about a blog. He says:

1. A weblog is personal -- it's done by a person, not an organization. You see a personality. It's not washed-out and normed-up, the bizarre shows through. That's why weblogs are interesting.

2. A weblog is on the Web -- it doesn't get printed, it can be updated frequently, it's very low cost to produce, and it can be accessed through a Web browser.

3. A weblog is published -- words flow through templates, the process is automated, the writer and designer are elevated. There's also a possibility of using advanced writing tools, and syndication through *RSS*. In other words, technology applies to weblogs, publishing technology.

4. And finally, a weblog is part of communities. No weblog stands alone, they are relative to each other and to the world. The Link and Think project, as an example, is part of the weblog community and part of the World AIDS Day community. My weblog, *Scripting News*, is part of the weblog community and part of the community of independent developers, particularly those using scripting environments. The same can be said of

most weblogs that gain audiences, they connect people together using the Web through common interests.

The first weblog was the first website built by Tim Berners-Lee. From this page he was able to point to all the new sites as they came online. Later on between 1993 and 1996 Netscape created a *What's New* page much like Lee's. "Then" says Winer, "all hell broke loose." The web exploded and the weblog idea grew along with it. In 1998 there were just a handful of sites of the type that are now identified as blogs. It was at this point that the bandwagon jumping began. More and more people began publishing their own weblogs. Suddenly it became difficult to read every weblog every day, or even to keep track of all the new ones that were appearing. This rapid growth continued steadily until July 1999 when Pitas, the first free build-your-own-weblog tool was launched and suddenly there were hundreds. After that Blogger and Gropsoop (two internet web sites dedicated to creating blogs) were also launched and with the ease that these web-based tools provided, the bandwagon-jumping turned into an explosion.

Originally, blogs were link-driven sites, that is they contained information about other sites or web addresses that could be used to jump directly to another site in order to see further information connected to the theme being discussed. Each was a mixture of links, commentary and personal thoughts and essays. They could only be created by those who already knew how to make a website. Today, many of the current blogs still follow this original style, although quality and content have changed. Such links are usually accompanied by the editor's commentary. More skilful editors manage to convey their comment in the sentence or two with which they introduce the link therefore the format of the typical blog, which provides a very short space in which to write an entry, encourages pithiness on the part of the writer.

One central and sometimes controversial aspect of blogging is the use of a feedback system. A comment system allows users to post their own comments on an article or 'thread' (a series of messages on a message board). Most blogs are what David Crystal would call 'asynchronous' (because the postings are placed on boards). Some blogs do not have comments or have a closed commenting system which requires approval from those running the blog. For other bloggers comments are the crucial feature which distinguishes a "true" blog from other kinds of blogs.

While describing the Internet, author Rick Levine (<http://cluetrain.com/>) said that, “A powerful global conversation has begun. Through the Internet, people are discovering and inventing new ways to share relevant knowledge with blinding speed”. Nothing could be truer when we look at how blog use has expanded on the Internet. A blog is a log of the web. The one hallmark of blog is the time-dated entry. Blogs tend to be more actively changed than traditional websites and those changes are immediately noticeable. That energy separates blogs from other websites. Another hallmark is the archives section of the blog, that divides the content by time period or category or both. Blogs are useful for basic knowledge management because they create a gathering place and a searchable repository for information, displayed chronologically and by topic. Blog editors only chronicle what they consider interesting, typically adding personal comments, but some variants have emerged. Some blogs are just a compilation of links to other web sites, where the only chronology is the order in which the editor decided to write about them. Some blogs dedicate themselves to more dominantly subjective commentary, giving them the appearance of online dictionaries; these blogs might have some links but only to the subject at hand. Some blogs are edited by a select group of people, whereas others might be edited communally through their patrons.

The main theme connecting these blog variants is that they are all time ordered and bounded; in other words, all entries are in a chronological order. Because of their popularity blogs have also expanded in form and subject. There are many different types of blogs, some more similar in content than others. In order to demonstrate how popular and therefore influential blogs have become some examples of blogs will be described below.

Personal

Usually, the word blog is used to describe an online diary or journal, the word log coming from a ship’s log. People write their every day experiences, complaints, private and/or public thoughts, poems, prose and much, much more, often allowing others to contribute, fulfilling to a certain extent Tim Berners-Lee’s original view of the World Wide Web as a collaborative medium. The personal blog or online diary has been integrated into the daily life of adults, college students and teenagers alike, with communication between friends playing out over their blogs just as many others do with online text messaging. Within this type of

blog even a fight may break out. With unveiled insults towards each other easily readable by all their friends, enemies and even complete strangers.

Topical

Another common blog type is the topical blog. It focuses on a specific niche, often a technical one (for example Google Blog (<http://googleblog.blogspot.com/>), which covers nothing but Google news). Today, many blogs allow categorization, which means that a general blog can be reshuffled to become a topical blog at the user's need and discretion.

Thoughtful

Where a personal blog is primarily concerned with daily life and events and most of the topical blogs focus on some type of technical topic, blogs in the 'thoughtful' category present an individual's (or small group's) thoughts on whatever subject comes to hand; not necessarily the latest computer technology or political scandal, but more philosophical subjects. 'Thoughtful' blogs blur into the other types but are distinct enough to be in a category of their own.

FriendBlog

A FriendBlog is a distributed networked journal on the web, composed of short, frequently updated posts written by friends connected through their similar interests. The author allows his FriendBlog to connect to other FriendBlogs (belonging to friends and acquaintances), and by doing so their posts also appear in others.

News

Many blogs provide a news digest on a certain topic for example the war in Iraq, the Michael Jackson trial, or even sports. These blogs have short summaries on the subject and links to interesting articles in the press.

Collaborative

These blogs are also known as ‘Collective or Group’ blogs. They consist of a weblog that is written by more than one person about a specific topic. These blogs can either be limited to a group of people or open to the general public. This form of blog involves cooperation between bloggers and traditional media sources, allowing for topics discussed on the air (radio or television) to find its way onto the Web and vice-versa.

Political

Political parties were quick to spot the potential of blogs to reach their (potential) voters. Governments and government offices also use this kind of site to relay information to the (local) population. Often, an individual will link to articles from news web sites and post their own comments as well. The majority of these blogs comment on whatever interests the author. Some are more specialized than others. Political blogs attracted a lot of attention because of their use by two political candidates in 2003: Howard Dean and Wesley Clark. Both of them gained political prominence on the internet, particularly among bloggers, before they were taken seriously by the established media.

Directory

Directory blogs are seen as a very useful tool for web surfers because they collect numerous web sites with interesting content in an easy-to-use and constantly updated format. Political and News blogs can also fall into this category sometimes. These blogs are the ones that most closely resemble the aforementioned *What’s New* pages of the past.

Corporate

These blogs have started to flourish in the last year. Employees of corporations are starting to create official or semi-official blogs about their work, although employers do not seem to appreciate very much this open, free access to what they see as sensitive information or inappropriate behaviour. In 2004, Ellen Simonetti, a Delta Air Lines flight attendant, was fired for posing in uniform on her blog. Joyce Park also suffered the same fate because she

discussed the rationale behind Friendter's technology conversion on her blog. More recently, in January 2005, Joe Gordon was fired from Waterstone's bookshop in Scotland because of some derogatory remark that he made about his boss on his blog.

Advice

There are many weblogs whose main function is to provide expert advice, such as Microsoft technical knowledge (GaryDev <http://blog.advisor.com/blog/garydev.nsf>) or fiction publishing for women (Four Chicks and a Book <http://www.codexwriters.com/4chicks/about.htm>).

Audio

Some of the types of blogs that have undergone rapid expansion since the year 2000 are the MP3 blogs, which make audio files available to the user. These MP3 blogs (audioblog.com <http://www.audioblog.com/>) are normally targeted at highly specialized musical genres. Once again there has been consternation about the illegal copying of music over the internet which has affected such sites.

Photography

The increasing presence of digital cameras and broadband connections has made it easier to post and share photos on the web. Bloggers have adapted their software to facilitate the publishing of photos, creating what is called a 'photoblog'. Photo sharing sites such as Buzznet (<http://www.buzznet.com/>) have integrated the typical photo gallery service with photo sharing and blogging, all in one, making it easier for people to communicate and see what it is they are discussing.

The Web has been a place where established news organizations have left their mark for some time. These were the key building blocks of the emergent, grassroots journalism that gave way to the creation of blogs. From the moment that the tools were created, making it easier for everyone to participate, all that was needed was a catalyst and, in some ways,

September 11, 2001 provided that catalyst. Because of their user friendliness, blogs allow just about anyone to have and make written, online contributions.

After 9/11, bloggers started using their blogs to express their sorrow, or other personal views. Some were very critical, whereas others were trying to transmit peace. There were even some people who used blogs to let their family and friends know that they were out of danger:

“I’m okay. Everyone I know is okay”, Amy Phillips wrote September 11 on her blog, “The 50 Minute Hour” (<http://www.50minutehour.net/>). Another man named Gus wrote in his blog (<http://www.asecular.com/ran/0109/010911.htm>) that: “The wind just changed direction and now I know what a burning city smells like. It has the smell of burning plastic”. Over on the other side of The United States, Meg Hourihan (<http://www.megnut.com/>), one of the creators of Blogger, urged people to give blood. Also after the World Trade Center disaster, Dan Perkins, a somewhat unknown cartoonist, changed his website into a blog (<http://www.thismodernworld.com/>) in order to provide enough space to talk about the issues. After doing that he more than doubled his popularity. In an interview with The New York Times, Mr. Perkins says that the reason for change was: “There was suddenly so much to think about and discuss and to try to sort out much more than I could ever squeeze into a weekly cartoon.”

Blogs were also very sought after mediums ahead of the November 2 presidential election. Blogs spread gossip but also served as an outlet for people disenchanted with the mainstream media. It was mainly on blogs that readers first encountered speculation that President Bush wore a listening device during his first debate, forcing the White House to say it had been a laughable, left wing conspiracy theory. Bloggers were also among the first to cast doubt on a CBS television news report that challenged Bush’s military service. Eventually it was discovered that CBS had not gathered all the facts on the story and that the lead journalist, Dan Rather, did not have all the facts. This became known as Rathergate by the process of blending mentioned earlier.

Individual blogs focus primarily on the audience rather than building the collective. Blogs are also effective at distributed conversations. The comments made by contributors are explicit ways of following conversations. Blogs are unique because they are a place where people can publish their ideas, making them stand alone without any interference. Beard

(2004) has explained that the “levels of formality (have) changed, with a tendency for more modern text to be more informal”. As far as blogs are concerned, the quality of writing might be different or even more informal than traditional media types but it represents a personal viewpoint.

Blog communities help interesting ideas percolate from individuals to larger groups and can help the established media (and others) perceive how a certain population is thinking.

After the blog phenomenon exploded, they changed from belonging only to the web’s technical elite to something more accessible to the greater population. This meant that blogs shifted from being merely a log of the author’s travels through the Net, to being more like personal online diaries with all the inherent implications for writing styles and informal content that this implies, not to mention the authors perhaps (idiosyncratic) spelling and use of English.

While weblogs had always included a mix of links, commentary, and personal notes, in the post-Blogger explosion increasing numbers of weblogs eschewed this focus on the web-at-large in favor of a sort of short-form journal. These blogs, often updated several times a day, were instead a record of the blogger's thoughts: something noticed on the way to work, notes about the weekend, a quick reflection on some subject or another. Links took the reader to the site of another blogger with whom the first was having a public conversation or had met the previous evening, or to the site of a band he had seen the night before. Full-blown conversations were carried on between three or five blogs, each referencing the other in their agreement or rebuttal of the other's positions. Cults of personality sprung up as new blogs appeared, certain names appearing over and over in daily entries or listed in the obligatory sidebar of "other weblogs" (a holdover from Cam's original list). It was, and is, fascinating to see new bloggers position themselves in this community, referencing and reacting to those blogs they read most, their sidebar an affirmation of the tribe to which they wish to belong. ([Rebecca Blood, 2000 http://www.rebeccablood.net/](http://www.rebeccablood.net/))

The immediacy mentioned here has obvious implications for the type of writing produced and suggests that time for reflection and revision of what was written was limited leading to an inevitable decline in the standardization of English brought about by the advent of publishing mentioned in Chapter 1. In addition not all blogs written in English are written

by native speakers so it is possible to find examples of interlanguages on the internet which may not necessarily be recognized as such by readers or indeed language learners.

Like almost everything in life, blogs also have those who support and those who condemn them. On one online blog which had as its subject 'Blog Culture', it was clear that not all bloggers agree with the objectives of blogs. Whereas some say that blog culture is sophistry others think that they give people incentives for doing something that is valuable. The subject of plagiarism and authorship is brought out by the comments made by the following blogger :

I disagree that blogs are about "passing off of other people's knowledge as one's own". More often than not, blogs link to other articles, which is a far cry from plagiarism or sophistry suggested by the previous phrase. I read them because I prefer the kind of self-directed reading process that can result from following links from blogs – particularly blogs by people you know or respect – to the process of reading through a magazine, newspaper or website".

The requirements to be considered a blog are that every website be updated at least once (which occurs in about 99.9% of all websites) because it contains two entries.

Many bloggers have discovered that speaking in their own voice draws a surprising response from others. Some blogs may endure for one post or across many decades to come. It might be read by millions or only by those who created it as a record of ideas and events that matter most to the author. In the former case this would be very significant in terms of any peculiarities of language that might thus be propagated to a very wide audience over a significant period of time. The essential element of the blog is that the personalities of the writers come through in their writing; provided the voice of a person comes through it's a blog. This could eventually have repercussions as far language change is concerned in the future. Even though Roger Lass indicated (1980:120 quoted in Hickey, 2004:143) that it is languages that change and not (necessarily) speakers who change languages, my opinion is otherwise because, blogs lack the editorial correction that has come to distinguish the more traditional media types. If anyone can write anything they want, in any which way they prefer, eventually the lexicon will suffer changes, especially as far as the spelling of certain words or phrases is concerned, in a similar way to what occurs in online chats nowadays. Baron (2001)

discusses the changes that have taken place over time cumulating in the email correspondence that is so common today and which is regarded as almost a new genre of writing. The informality of this type of writing contrasts strongly with previous models of letter writing and displays many of the 'weaknesses' teachers have been trying to eradicate.

Upon searching for the word 'blog' in the BNC no examples were found of the word suggesting that this word did not exist prior to the 1990's. It was therefore necessary to create a corpus made up of texts from the internet in order to examine both blog and weblog and their derivatives. Here are some of the results from a Key Word In Context (KWIC) system of analysis which displays the object of the analysis at the centre of a line of text from the corpus (the complete KWIC files can be found in Appendix A)

Blog

lish Dictionary claims that a **blog** is "a biographical web log: a
t technology definitions), "a **blog** is a web page that serves as
we can see that they define a **blog** as "a journal that is availab
b. The activity of updating a **blog** is 'blogging' and someone who
and someone who keeps a **blog** is a 'blogger'. Blogs are typ
". Merriam-Webster said that '**blog**' topped the list of most look
tionary publisher proclaimed '**blog**' as its word of the year for

Blog as can be seen above is a noun. However, the original unclipped form is still to be found in the corpus as can be seen below.

Weblog

bsites) can be considered a **weblog** because it contains two entri
bligatory sidebar of "other **weblogs**" (a holdover from Cam's orig
nline diaries. While **weblogs** had always included a mix of
osion increasing numbers of **weblogs** eschewed this focus on the w

e first free build-your-own- **weblog** tool was launched and suddenl

This also shows how weblog now takes a plural 's' and also appears as an adjective in the final example 'weblog tool'. A person who writes a blog is now known as a blogger and the spelling convention on this form indicates the pronunciation of the word with a short vowel sound on the 'o'.

Blogger(s)

Someone who keeps a blog is a '**blogger**'. Blogs are typically updated through a quasi-dialogue in which the **blogger** posts a link to and most likely the person running the blog. For other **bloggers** comments are the crucial

A further form arising from blog is a verb form 'blogging' and, as can be seen below, this is the action of writing a blog.

Bloggng

The activity of updating a blog is '**blogging**' and someone who keeps a blog is a **blogger**. The tragic events of that day **blogging** has expanded. This past year the controversial aspect of **blogging** is the use of a feedback

The word blog has also been compounded into both counter blog and blogosphere as can be seen below.

Counterblog

and very often does **counterblog** in return. It is possible for

Blogosphere

er of blogs in existence (the **blogosphere**) has doubled every five

The word blog, or even weblog itself, shows that there has been lexical change by influence of the internet and, in a form of boomerang effect, what is written (correctly or incorrectly) on the World Wide Web by one contributor can then be used in speech by those who read it. The fact that so many variations on the term can be attested from the corpus material argues that this is a term which has fulfilled a need in society and will therefore be likely to continue in the modern English lexicon.

As mentioned before, pithiness is encouraged when writing an entry in a blog. This could cause the author to blatantly or inadvertently create new words, producing more neologisms, clippings or blends. In accordance with Trask (1996: 1) it is possible to deduce that English has changed in this small respect because a few years ago this word did not exist, but now, unlike many other neologisms, this one seems to have become fixed, probably because of its widespread use as described on Pp. 55-58.

“As a system changes so the speech in that community, which is partly determined by it, also changes” (Hickey, 2004:7), and since blogs are one of the newest ‘communities’ participating in language exchange it is safe to conclude that the future has many more changes in store for us. The use of blogs has been seen as a democratic movement as it provides ordinary people with a voice and it comes as no surprise therefore that certain countries like China fought against the use of the internet and this aspect of communication between its citizens for some considerable time.

The next case study will deal with a particular situation, the Iraqi war of 2003, and will examine language change associated with the changing patterns of practice associated with that event.

3.3 Embed

In modern day society a great number of events are happening in a great number of fields. Science, politics and media are some of the ever-changing fields that affect everyone's lives in one way or another. We all take part in what happens in the world nowadays. Actively or passively we suffer from the consequences of another person's actions, be it a scientist, politician, teacher, classmate, workmate or friend. The media have a particular role to play in divulging information and consequently on our views of the world and the case study which follows demonstrates a very particular situation. The access to information is now seen as extremely important, so important in fact that the control over information is considered today to be of paramount importance from a military point of view. Wars can be won or lost, it is argued, depending on the type information given to not only the allies but also the enemy. In extreme circumstances it is believed that the enemy may even lose the will to fight if he is persuaded (through information) that his fight is unjust or unwinnable.

A few years ago when watching television a word kept appearing in the various newscasts concerning the second Gulf War. What attracted attention to this situation was not that a neologism was being created because this was not the case, but rather that a word that, previously, was used as a verb was changing its grammatical function. In these newscasts the term 'embed' was being used as a noun. In the attempt to discover more information about what an 'embed' was a combination of the methods David Minugh and Jean Aitchison employed (see Chapter 2) were used. The word was looked up in dictionaries but they proved to be useless because, as mentioned earlier (3.2), one cannot expect any dictionary edition to be updated every time a new word appears. The available online corpora (BNC [100 million words] and Collins-Cobuild [20 million words]) were searched but there were no examples of this term being used in any other way except as a verb. The panorama of using corpus data to infer language change over time is a very exciting one.

As mentioned before, language is and always has been in constant evolution. Every year some dictionaries are updated because every day, people in the global community are inventing, or reinventing, vocabulary so that communication through language is made easier and more adequate for each and every situation that may occur. Recently, the English

language community was able to witness one of these situations in which language was changed or created in order to adapt to a new event.

With the United States planning an attack on Iraq, the Department of Defense (D.O.D.) was doing some *collateral*¹ planning of their own. As was mentioned earlier governments no longer take their role in divulging information lightly as this will help the war to (perhaps) end more quickly or to win the 'war' at home many miles from where the problem lies. Amongst the U.S. Military's many tasks, one of them was to train and prepare dozens of journalists for the war. It was the U.S. Military's intention to embed journalists with front line military units in order for them to report on what they saw and observed while with that unit. Oddly enough these journalists went by the name of 'embeds'. For the first time journalists had lost their capacity to be independent and report objectively on what was happening in a military conflict.

This unprecedented situation attracted attention because the word 'embed' is usually used as a verb. But then, all of a sudden, it kept appearing on every English newscast, in newspapers and magazines as a noun. The objective in this case study is to investigate this very point. An attempt will be made to show that in the past the word 'embed' was used exclusively as a verb, whereas presently, due to a historic declaration of war and the whole political and public relations machine behind it, it can now also be used as a noun. As a basis for these statements the work will be supported on the existing online corpora and a corpus which was constructed using a great deal of texts (approximately 70,000) that were found on the Internet and in magazines during the period of the war.

What is an 'embed'?

An 'embed' is defined as a journalist inserted into a military unit in order to provide coverage of that unit during a battle or war. Embedding journalists within the United States and United Kingdom military forces was nothing more than a well-devised public relations

¹ Collins and Glover (2002) have published a book called *Collateral Language : A User's Guide to America's New War* which discusses the use of such euphemisms by the American military. The actual phrase was 'collateral damage' which was used instead of killing people to describe deaths caused 'incidentally' or by 'friendly fire'.

scheme dreamt up by the Pentagon and Donald Rumsfeld. Indeed newspaper polls of the journalists from America and Britain who were to be embedded were rated under the title “You’re embedded in my heart baby” (See Appendix E). Embeds are not totally controlled by the military but nevertheless every embedded reporter had to sign a contract with the military and had to agree to abide by a fifty point plan that was issued by the Pentagon which detailed what they could and could not report. Naturally, the list of what they were allowed to report was significantly shorter than the list of what they weren’t allowed to report. One of the ‘embeds’ main rules was that they could not report on where they were and other important security details. In fact, a few journalists were sent home by the U.S. Military because they inadvertently gave away some positional information. (The complete Military Guidelines applied to embeds are found in Appendix F.)

The first step was to attain some historical background on the word ‘embed’. Firstly, the definition of ‘embed’ was looked up in two dictionaries; *Macmillan’s English Dictionary* and *Merriam Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*. This way both an American and a British perspective on the definition of the word ‘embed’ could be obtained. According to the Macmillan dictionary traditionally the word ‘embed’ has always been used as a transitive verb:

Embed / verb [transitive]

1 to fix something firmly in a surface or object:

Embed something in something: *She let go of the knife, leaving it embedded in the wood.*

2 to make something a fixed and important part of something else:

Traces of earlier ways of life are embedded in modern society.

3 [COMPUTING] to make images, sound, or computer software a part of other software.

In the Merriam Webster dictionary the same criteria has always been applied:

Main Entry: em·bed

Pronunciation: im-'bed

Function: verb

Inflected Form(s): em·bed·ded; em·bed·ding

transitive senses

1 a : to enclose closely in or as if in a matrix <fossils embedded in stone> b : to make something an integral part of <the prejudices embedded in our language> c : to prepare (a microscopy specimen) for sectioning by infiltrating with and enclosing in a supporting substance

2 : to surround closely <a sweet pulp embeds the plum seed>

intransitive senses : to become embedded

- em·bed·ment /-'bed-m&nt/ noun

Date: circa 1794

What made the word 'embed' so interesting was the fact that ever since the beginning of the second version of the Gulf War, 'embed' and its derivatives had become one of those words that were pronounced on a daily basis during practically every news report or article. This noun apparently appeared some time in mid to late 2002 (see below) when the DOD devised its aforementioned plan. From February 2003 onward its use can be traced more frequently in the written press (newspapers, magazines and online newspaper editions), television and radio. There is an article from *The Newhouse News Service* (<http://www.newhousenews.com/index.html>) dated February 11, 2003 entitled 'TV News Gears Up for Next Generation War Coverage' which said,

"Would-be war correspondents, nicknamed "embeds," are being put through reporter boot camps, supervised by U.S. military personnel or by private companies staffed with ex-soldiers."

Matt Zoller Seitz, "TV News Gears Up for Next-Generation War Coverage," Newhouse News Service, February 11, 2003.

This passage is one of the many that explained where 'embeds' came from and where they were going as can also be seen from the fact that the reporter felt the need to enclose the word in its new usage in inverted commas and refer to it as a 'nickname'. One of the earliest spoken usages of 'embed', in its new grammatical role, was at a news briefing at the Department of Defense on June 21, 2002:

This isn't really a question so much as a request. The number of embeds over in the theater have dwindled to a very small trickle. One that was ongoing last week was a Stars & Stripes reporter. The group that he was

with when they went to the helicopter crash scene, he was literally in the helicopter, then pulled out at the last minute.

So we would like there to be more embeds over there, and when there are embeds that reporters and people with them understand ground rules, and we understood that we were there for the good, the bad and the ugly.

Sandy Johnson, Associated Press, "DoD News Briefing," M2 Presswire, June 21, 2002

From this excerpt of the D.O.D. briefing it is quite clear that 'embed' has assumed a new grammatical classification – that of a noun. Nevertheless to confirm this finding some of the existing corpora were analyzed in order to compare results from these with the results from the specially made corpus. The objective of this comparison is to see if 'embed' appears at all as a noun. When running the search not only was the word 'embed' searched for but also its other forms: embeds, embedded and embedding. Here are some of the results using KWIC that were retrieved from the Cobuild Concordance and Collocations Sampler from Collins Cobuild:

Embed

Floor of the building, he intends to **embed** a series of diodes that light up
About the version you are creating. **Embed** date, time module name, version
Double line, shadow, or no border. **Embed** header text in the top line of the
Is unique and the images he paints **embed** themselves in the imagination
Are you suggesting?" Casey asked. **Embed** the operation as far as we can into corridor
window. The decision to **embed** them in this private, sacrosanct

Embedded

Remove a particle which seems to be **embedded** in the eye.
Piece, hurled by an angry crowd, **embedded** in his skull whilst photographing

Of former country houses and villas **embedded** in the suburbs and in the lovely
With a size ten Christmas Tree lure **embedded** in my left eye, well past the
Germans as a whole should be firmly **embedded** in the European Community
Either an unusual bright quasar **embedded** in thick dust or a very young

Embedding

In place but still needed juridical **embedding**. Hans Kung said in infallible
Which is the full and inseparable **embedding** of the unified Germany into the With six
heavy-duty screws. The **embedding** plate sinks 18 inches into the

Embeds

Fertilized ovum reaches the womb, it **embeds** itself in the wall of the womb
Of dishes the world over. Somehow it **embeds** itself into the fabric of the nation

After searching for the key word (see Chapter 2) it was surprising to find that the Collins-Cobuild Corpus had very few examples of the word 'embed' (17). Despite the small number of examples, it is possible to confirm that 'embed' is always used as a verb and never as a noun. But this is only one very large corpus. There was the possibility that in another large corpus this word might appear as a noun. Therefore the British National Corpus (BNC) was searched to see if the results were similar to Collins-Cobuild or whether the results shone a new light on this study. The major difference between the information available from these two large corpora is that the BNC also includes information about the context of the example,

shown as a group of numbers and letters at the beginning of each concordance line. The results were as follows:

Embed

A08 1967 Embed magnifying glass in lower right hand? he wrote.

BP2 117 Conventional programs (Fig. 2) **embed** the knowledge in the instructions, making it very difficult for all but a few programmers to understand the logic of the program.

BP2 734 Conventional programs **embed** the expertise in the instructions, making it very difficult to understand the logic of the problem.

CM2 204 But, while these points may be reasonable, and some of them may be true, this attempt to **embed** them in a general theory or schema seems unhelpful.

CNJ 312 The Windows interface looks to be as prolific as a Star Trek tribble: we hear Microsoft Corp is working with phone companies to **embed** Windows engines in data phones.

CPG 141 PHILIPS PLANS TO EMBED MACROVISION'S ANTI-PIRACY TECHNOLOGY INTO ITS COLOUR ENCODER CHIPS

Embedded

A6C 1682 Growing in the most sinister manner, it is **embedded** in a battle scene taking place across the River Nile.

A6G 1074 Equally important, Fforde finds a commitment to the market economy and laissez-faire **embedded** in the party's grass roots, and in particular in the outlook of the most traditional Conservative interest, the land.

A73 1551 Burden was pointing to the only one that looked bare, as if until very recently it had lain with its exposed area **embedded** in the river's gravely floor.

ALJ 2445 There were lines of dirt **embedded** in his skin.

B23 1468 However, it is from an understanding of some of the central issues **embedded** in these relationships that both schools and LEAs can reflect for the future.

B2A 1302 Embedded in the White Paper is the assumption that resource management is up and running, and fully operational.

Embedding

AKD 758 `;Object linking and **embedding**'; allows objects created by different applications, i.e. text, graphs or charts to be easily inserted into into a single document.

ARC 504 Grammar schools separated themselves from Public Schools (although, more accurately, it was of course the other way round) by **embedding** themselves in the local provision for secondary education.

CTX 138 Real meaning: Object Linking and **Embedding**.

EA3 91 Thus the **embedding** of a label in a total sentence structure (complete linguistic predication) indicates that it is less tied to its situational context and more related to its linguistic context.

EV6 677 BEEM capsules (Polaron Equipment Ltd, Watford, Herts) are used for **embedding** with a low viscosity resin (e.g. Spurr).

EV6 685 (v) Because of its low viscosity Spurr resin has been found satisfactory as an **embedding** medium.

Embeds

A2C 33 It is systematically ungrammatical colloquial speech which **embeds** people in their feudal ancestry.

CGA 110 Furthermore, the thesaurus **embeds** each word type in a hierarchy.

F9F 765 The fig tree **embeds** its multitudes of seeds in globes of sweet pulp.

HU2 7109 In 18 patients, successive ERCPs and cholangioscopies have shown that the metal mesh initially **embeds** in the bile duct wall and is rapidly covered by a continuous membrane by three months.

HU2 7230 Within a month of placement, the metallic mesh **embeds** into the bile duct wall and, after three months, the struts are buried by the mucosa, giving the impression of a continuous membrane covering the inner stent.

HX9 1651 Phonemically, plea is represented as which also **embeds** the lexical item lee, phonemically .

This time many more examples were found (26) but still, there was no change in the grammatical classification of the word 'embed'. To complete the triangle of corpora a number of texts were gathered from the internet referring to the subject at hand. These texts were taken from wire reports, briefings, articles and other sources. All of them were gathered during the period in which the war was going on and the days immediately after because the word in question is associated with a particular item in the news at that time the subset news reportage was the basic criterion used to compile the relevant texts. As was mentioned earlier this is also one of the first means of attesting any neologism other than by analysis of conversation itself.

Any person who would like to study authentic examples of language can use corpora.

“A corpus is a simple body of text, but from a Corpus Linguistics standpoint, ‘corpus’ can be described as a *large* collection of *authentic* texts that have been gathered in *electronic form* according to a *specific set of criteria*” (Bowker and Pearson, 2002).

Again the different forms in which the word ‘embed’ appears were searched for. First the noun and its plural embeds as shown below:

Embed(s)

“My week at **Embed** Boot Camp,” The New York Times, March 2, 2003.
Would-be war correspondents, nicknamed ‘**embeds**’ are being put through reporter boot camps, supervised by U.S. Military officials

The newspaper went on to print two articles – “from an **embed**” and from a ‘unilateral’.

This is a taste of the closing paragraphs of an **embed** observation

No **embed** has so far been a casualty (...)

Embeds, who are always moving with the troops, work in a sort of military bubble.

In fact the **embed** controls are, if anything, stricter than the system imposed by the Iraqi regime.

The number of **embeds** over in the theatre have dwindled to a very small trickle.

Embed (noun) [C] a journalist placed in a military unit in order to provide news coverage during a war

The United States government has announced that it will **embed** up to 500 journalists – at least 20 percent of them from other countries

Several weeks before I left the states, I learned that I would be put on an aircraft carrier as part of the **embed** program

Why utilize **embeds** if what they’re going to produce isn’t the ‘total’ picture of war, only ‘slices’, as Donald Rumsfeld states?

A suffix was also found to exist with the verb as shown below:

Dis-embed

To **embed** or **dis-embed** is the choice facing many reporters now.

In this case it is evident that the word 'embed' appears quite often as a noun in my specialized corpus. While in the first two corpora there is a predominance of the word as a verb, in the specialised corpus it is the noun form that predominates. Indeed the evidence shows that the word already takes the plural 's' and with a play on Shakespeare's 'to be or not to be' we also have dis-embed, an example of a new suffix added to the verb to describe the new activity of the journalist leaving the military unit. Not only is this the case but if the significance of 'embed' is examined it can be seen that in the Cobuild corpus and in the BNC the examples that are given match the definition given in the dictionaries previously consulted (see above). To embed something means to fix something firmly in a surface or object and also to make images, sound or computer software a part of other software. The examples extracted from the specialised corpus are not usually in agreement with these definitions. Lots of the examples of the word 'embed' were not verb forms of any kind, they were nouns, therefore, naturally, the meaning of 'embed' is clearly quite different.

As mentioned earlier, language is in constant evolution and change and here is a word that for many years has existed and been used both in written and spoken form and now, all of a sudden, because of a public relations exercise, this word has changed grammatically and its meaning is also comprehensively changed. If certain internet sites are examined for the word 'embed', a very different definition can be found. This can be shown very clearly in the site www.wordspy.com. This Web site is devoted to recently coined words and phrases, old words that are being used in new ways and existing words that have enjoyed a recent renaissance. These are not "stunt words" (words [old and new] whose only vocation are to remedy, for a short period of time a situation in which we do not know the correct term) but new words and phrases that have appeared in newspapers, magazines, books, press releases and Web sites. Word Spy is one of the many internet sites where the definition of 'embed' in its most up to date usage can now be found:

Embed (em.BED) n. A journalist inserted into a military unit to provide coverage of that unit during a battle or war.
-embedded adj.
-embed v.

Shortly after this everyone was talking about and using this new word. This new definition started appearing in much of the printed press. To some it was seen as a gift, whereas, to others it was like a literary plague. Here is an example from *The Guardian*:

“... Top of the agenda, as news organizations frantically plan for the possible war in Iraq, is not just the safety of journalists *per se*, but those being deployed under the new euphemism embedding.” (*The Guardian*, February 24th 2003)

Recently on double-checking the internet sites that had been used for this research changes were found to have been incorporated. In The Word of The Week archive that belongs to Macmillan’s online dictionary ‘embed’ was shown to have been elected as the word of the week (2003), with a new definition and a few more instances in which it was used, already posted on the site:

embed *noun* [C]
a journalist placed in a military unit in order to provide news coverage during a war
embed *verb* [I, T]
embedding *noun* [U]

This specific sense of embed, which first appeared last year, has been featured in news reports from both sides of the Atlantic during the past week in the context of the potential war with Iraq. US military officials and news organisations have been planning to place (embed) hundreds of reporters, photographers and cameramen in military units. Potential embeds have been offered specialist military survival training. The whole operation, coined the *Embed program*, is happening on a larger and more organised scale than ever previously contemplated.

This new verb sense is of course related to the core meaning of *embed* (i.e. placing something deeply into something else). The new sense also has an intransitive reading, e.g. *Military correspondents have said they would like to embed with a unit*. Predictably, the term has been used as a modifier in compounds such as embed process and embed opportunity, and there is a related process noun embedding. The countable noun embed, used to refer to such journalists, has gained ground considerably over the past two weeks,

and a Pentagon news transcript talked on 27th February 2003 about air embeds (journalists based in the air as opposed to with ground forces)

Background

The concept of embedding (journalists going behind the lines with the military) is nothing new. Before he rose to political greatness, Winston Churchill was a war correspondent who first gained notoriety through being taken captive during the Boer War. During the Falklands War in 1982, journalists were stationed on British troop ships and many were made honorary officers.

It is interesting to note here that they claim that this is an old practice and therefore hide the somewhat different facts of the case of the Gulf War where information is very clearly being put under certain constraints.

In addition to all these grammatical and semantic changes that occurred with the word 'embed' over the year 2003-4, there are still other relevant aspects to report. The pronunciation of this new noun is different from that of the verb with the stress placed on the first syllable rather than the second. The way we write this word has been affected too. If we look at most of the articles, we will normally find the terms embed, embedded, embeds and embedding in between inverted commas. This change alone is a significant factor in language metamorphosis. In a March 29, 2003 article in *'The Economist'* there's a wonderful example of this:

From your sofa, you can watch the Iraqi conflict unfold in real time, through the eyes of hundreds of reporters 'embedded' in allied units or holed up in Baghdad.

Finally, an honourable mention, the word 'embed' isn't the only one to have appeared with the Gulf War – version two. If an 'embed' is a journalist that accompanies front line troops then there must be a word for those journalists that are on their own with no military protection. Those journalists are known as the 'unilaterals'.

As a result of the appearance of this word in relation to a military campaign, it was recently used by some news agencies to describe the journalists that were inserted into a

particular political party's campaign during the pre-election frenzy: Therefore widening the sphere of use of this functional shift.

“NBC News to 'embed' with Democratic candidates

NBC News has created an "embedding" program to cover the Democratic presidential campaign based on the method the Pentagon set up to cover the Iraqi war by assigning nine reporters to cover each candidate as one-man bands, primarily for MSNBC and MSNBC.com. The plan is geared toward exploiting NBC's broadcast, cable, and Web platforms, although the reporters appear on MSNBC with live reports and campaign footage from their Sony mini-cams. They will also support NBC News by keeping producers and reporters prepared for their periodic ventures into the campaign trail, said Mark Lukasiewicz, executive producer of NBC News specials and its "Decision 2004" coverage.”

- Andrew Grossman, July 17, 2003 in *The Hollywood Reporter .Com*

This widening suggests, as mentioned earlier, that the word has found resonance with people and is fulfilling a necessary role in language use given the recent changes in the restrictions placed on the media, even if these restrictions are not brought to the fore.

During this study we have witnessed how language can be influenced by a historic turning point, although other words appear for an immense range of reasons. It is to be hoped that the next change in language doesn't come about because of a war. (A false hope I'm afraid!)

The next case study deals with cultural changes that have taken place over the last few years in the role and activities of men which appear to warrant new terminology to explain or describe.

3.4 Metrosexual

Although it is not very frequent to observe functional shifts, it is even less frequent to find words being coined. While coinages aren't very frequent they do still take place at times due to the need for neologisms, for example in new discoveries in biology or medicine, at other times they are produced due to a fluke situation. With the enormous number of fashionable terms or buzzwords making their way into the language everyday, it sometimes becomes difficult to keep up with them, much less, know immediately what some of them signify.

As we have seen, there are quite a few processes through which new words can be created. Among them is the process of blending. As mentioned earlier (Chapter 2), frequently used words such as, Portuglisch (Portuguese + *English*), camcorder (*camera* + *recorder*), chunnel (*channel* + *tunnel*) or smog (*smoke* + *fog*), were once created through this process. One of the most recent blends to be used with some frequency (both on and offline) is the word 'metrosexual', which is a blend of the words *metropolis* and *sexual*.

This newly popular media and marketing neologism seems to mean different things to different people but, before analysing the meaning of this word, it is important to see where the word originated and why it came about. This term was coined by British author Mark Simpson back in 1994, in an article entitled, "Here Come The Mirror Men" published in Britain's *Independent*. In this article the author claims that:

"The typical metrosexual is a young man with money to spend, living in or within easy reach of a metropolis — because that's where all the best shops, clubs, gyms and hairdressers are. He might be officially gay, straight or bisexual, but this is utterly immaterial because he has clearly taken himself as his own love object and pleasure as his sexual preference. Particular professions, such as modeling, waiting tables, media, pop music and, nowadays, sport, seem to attract them but, truth be told, like male vanity products and herpes, they're pretty much everywhere".

—Mark Simpson, "Meet the **metrosexual**," *Salon.com*, July 22, 2002

This definition has since developed to the point where today's metrosexual male is seen as someone who:

- is a modern, usually single man in touch with himself and his feminine side;
- grooms and buffs his head and body, which he drapes in fashionable clothing both at work or before hitting an evening hotspot;
- has discretionary income to stay up to date with the latest hairstyles, the newest threads, and the right shaped shoes;
- confuses some guys when it comes to his sexuality;
- makes these same guys jealous of his success with the ladies -- for many metros, to interact with women is to flirt;
- impresses the women who enjoy his company with the details that make the man;

Among them:

- his appreciation for literature, cinema, or other arts
 - his flair for cooking
 - his *savoir faire* in choosing the perfect wine and music
 - his eye for interior design
- is a city boy or, if living a commute away from downtown, is still urbane, if not rightly urban;
 - enjoys reading men's magazines.

Over the years men have been labelled in (or with) other terms such as SNAG (Sensitive New Age Guy), The Renaissance Man or even as a Primp (a man who spends all his time in front of a mirror), but some believe that, contrary to other terms, the metrosexual is here to stay, mainly due to the strong marketing machine that has fueled it. This trend that started in Europe and the United States is beginning to influence tastes from Latin America all

the way over to Asia. Although some have tried to associate this term with a certain sexual orientation (homosexual), it is nothing more than an alternative to being the traditional 'Macho Man' or the infamous 'Bad Boy'.

Men are starting to take better care of themselves, they are trying to eat healthier, look healthier and be healthier. Appearance has a fundamental role in determining if someone looks better or worse in the public eye, therefore, that is why men are beginning to spend greater amounts of money on skin and hair care products. All over the world the number of men seeing plastic surgeons is on the rise, "some men are going for enzyme treatments to fade stretch marks and some executives are going for light makeup enhancements before business meetings". Manicurist Xelha Leyva says, "I have more men than women ... and the men are more vain". This shows that by examining a new blending such as this we are in fact observing a cultural revolution arguably starting with women's lib and moving through various stages to men being able to examine their own role(s) in society more openly.

One thing that seems to be certain is that the male grooming market has increased dramatically. Today, metrosexuality has become a billion dollar business worldwide. Euro RSGC, which claims to be the world's fifth-largest global agency, specializing in advertising and marketing, did a study in 2003 to track the metrosexual trend, polling 510 Americans and 519 Europeans aged 21 to 48. the poll did not break down ethnicity of the sample group. The study found that an increasing number of men are showing metrosexual tendencies and a willingness to indulge themselves, "whether by springing for a Prada suit or by spending a couple of hours at the spa". That is why companies such as Nivea and Neutrogena (whose male grooming products such as moisturizer and face scrub are vanishing quickly from supermarket shelves), have increased sales in what used to be considered a steady market. There are some that see a disadvantage to this because, they say, some men are beginning to feel the same pressures that women have felt for many years. Despite these pressures, the forecast seems to indicate that sales will continue to rise. Jan Hall, president of Neutrogena in North America says, "The trend seems to be that it will continue to grow", because, "beauty companies are developing even more specialized products for men".

Because there is an increase in the number of urban men with a strong aesthetic sense, who don't mind spending a lot of their time and money on their appearance and lifestyle, a

whole new range of options are presenting themselves before young men. Courses are now starting to appear and they are targeting this growing number of well-groomed, sophisticated metrosexuals. Is it possible to educate men on how to become metrosexuals? In 2003 a course was launched by Loews hotels in New York which cost more than \$2000. This course advertised a “Metro Man” package and used the following description for the target participants: “the confident man searching for his inner David Beckham persona”. It aimed to educate, pamper and makeover those men who were interested in participating. “The 24-hour transformation involves lessons on cooking, etiquette, wine and mixing drinks, as well as a consultation with a personal shopper”, which happen to be all or, at least, most of the necessary ingredients in order to live as and be considered a metrosexual. In an interview, Charlotte St. Martin of Loews hotels said, “men are finding that feeling better and looking better also increases their productivity and quality of life”, further adding, “women have known this for a long time and men are now discovering it”, concluding, “the metrosexual lifestyle is here to stay”.

In one online blog a certain contributor wrote that while he was watching TV, “they showed the Channel 11 news commercial, and they’re going to feature these new breed of men called metrosexuals. So naturally I googled it and found a handful of websites that talk about it. Apparently, it’s the new buzzword among the yuppies”.

Well, yuppies or not, this so called buzzword was voted in as the 2003 Word Of The Year by The American Dialect Society. The A.D.S. bases its choice on “words which most colored the nation’s lexicon, or otherwise dominated the national discourse” during the previous year, therefore it is possible to conclude that ‘metrosexual’ did have a significant impact on the English language.

Three main forces have promoted this new word: first the marketing executives, secondly, gay people, and thirdly, the media in general, that is why this neologism seemed to have gained great notoriety and momentum following the publication of “Metrosexuals Come Out” by The New York Times in June of 2003.

From the start, this male revolution has had quite a few spokesmodels (Brad Pitt, David Bowie, Sting, Antonio Banderas, just to name a few), but none like football phenomenon David Beckham. Supposedly he is the man that epitomizes the whole

metrosexual movement. He is usually clean-shaven, well-groomed and well-dressed and, most importantly, he is rich. Most likely this is one of the main factors that contributed towards the multimillion dollar contract that Gillette Co. (male grooming industry) offered him, which he subsequently signed on to. One can even say that metrosexuality has crept into politics. In one instance there was a fashion journalist who said George W. Bush needed a “metrosexual makeover” and even former Democratic presidential candidate Howard Dean has claimed he is a metrosexual.

A metrosexual TV program has even been created. “Queer Eye For The Straight Guy”, shown on the Bravo network, is a program in which five gay men take it upon themselves to “transform a style-deficient and culture-deprived straight man from *drab to fab* in each of their respective categories: fashion, food and wine, interior design, grooming and culture.

The metrosexual takes great pride in himself and in how others view him. Many years ago someone with such tastes would have been called a gentleman and there would have been no problem at all, but today, with the advent of metrosexuality and its association to homosexuality many, so-called ‘Macho Men’ are beginning to distance themselves from this wave, leading Joe Queenan of Men’s Health Magazine to comment that, “No trend has come and gone faster than the metrosexual craze that erupted a couple of years ago”. Most manly men do not want to be confused, in any which way, shape or form, with being homosexual. Even Mark Simpson, the proclaimed creator of this word has stated in one of his articles that, “gay men did provide the early prototype for metrosexuality”.

Although there are a great number of online articles describing and even praising the metrosexual man, it is also possible to find some that speak of the decline of the metrosexual. It is felt that the word ‘metrosexual’ calls people’s sexuality into question and has created a stigma where none existed before. In the aforementioned blog another contributor wrote, “I urge you never to use the word ‘metrosexual’ except in places like this where you write about how dumb it is”.

Once again, some examples were gathered and compiled by using texts that were available online. By running a search on Google’s search engine a significant number of texts that illustrate the use of ‘metrosexual’ and ‘metrosexuality’ in the language were obtained. This can be demonstrated through the following examples:

Metrosexual

and how of the existence of the **metrosexual** man. Simply put, he is a by-product of the modern world. Meet the **metrosexual**. He's well dressed, narcissistic, shrieking, flaming, freaking **metrosexual**. (He'll thank me for doing this, but to determine if you know one, but to determine if you know a **metrosexual**, all you have to do is look at them, they're almost certainly **metrosexual**. The typical metrosexual is a young man with money to burn. The typical **metrosexual** is a young man with money to

Metrosexuality

relaxed, faggoty, submissive **metrosexuality** of David Beckham, posing for the cameras. The final irony of male **metrosexuality** is that, given all its obsession with appearance and lifestyle. **metrosexuality** n. Example Citations: It was the promotion of **metrosexuality** was left to the men's style page. At least, this **metrosexuality**," which, since you ask, is the one you'd like to gauge your own **metrosexuality**, we found short quizzes from absolutely nothing wrong with **metrosexuality**. What is a metrosexual?

Finally, the author of CosmoBlog recommends metrosexuality as appropriate behaviour for the rich:

“So do I think being a metrosexual is shallow? Most definitely! Do I think that everybody should at least try it? MOST DEFINITELY! I think this has been long overdue in the straight world. Gay men have been doing it for years. There's nothing wrong with being in-touch with your feminine side. Believe me, having a manicure and pedicure will NOT make you gay - it'll make you clean! What's wrong with taking care of the body? What's wrong with a little bit of pampering when you're financially able? After all, our body is a temple, right?”

Whatever we may think about this blending and its associated meaning, it is still important for both teachers and learners in their search for knowledge about the English language and its cultural connotations.

The final case study will examine another aspect of the impact of technology on both the language itself and our behaviour.

3.5 Google

People often have misconceptions about the competences of a linguist. A linguist is not supposed to be an expert on what is and what is not considered to be correct, rather, what they seek is to discover how language works in the minds and mouths of its users. It is in the light of this descriptive linguistic practice that the fourth case study came about.

As we have seen in the previous case studies, words are coined for various reasons. Despite the fact that coinage is one of the least common processes of word formation, recently, the linguistic community was able to witness the appearance of another new word, even though it was scorned by some. In the same way that to use the word Hoover, with or without its capitalisation, as a verb is regarded as incorrect by purists as vacuum is considered the appropriate term.

Since the appearance of the Internet the number of its users has increased drastically. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) issued a report in 2002 which stated that 655 million people were using the Internet worldwide. Its estimates were that Internet usage would increase approximately 30% each year. As Internet users, many of us use search engines when surfing the net, in fact, many of us go straight to our favourite search engine as soon as we open our web browsers or have these pages set up as our homepage. It is true that some might see this as a sign of laziness. Why type in an Internet address when we can just type in a keyword and click our way to our desired webpage through the process of hyperlinks? At a time when the Internet has become an overloaded information haven, search engines have become a vital tool for Internet navigation. Search engines are hardly a novelty. They have been around since the early days of the net. Today, what was once a tool has grown into one of cyberspace's biggest businesses. At the forefront of this expanding business is Google™, a company that was founded by two Stanford University PhD. students in 1998. If we are to go to this popular search engine and query for the definition of 'google', the first definition that appears says that Google™ is "currently the most important spidering (the process of surfing the web, storing URLs and indexing keywords, links and text) search engine by far". The website www.ecommerce-dictionary.com claims Google™ "is the most widely used search engine in the world". Upon making my own

inquiry, ten of my closest friends and colleagues all claimed to use Google as their preferential search engine. Naturally, it is difficult to find the actual facts and figures of how many people use Google worldwide, but after reading some news reports it is obvious that Google has secured its place in the *Internet (search engine's) Hall of Fame*.

Over the years, Google's popularity has grown so much that it has spawned into a verb. In 2002, The American Dialect Society chose the verb 'to google' as "The most useful word of 2002". The verb 'to google' is a neologism which, in general terms, means to perform a web search (primarily with the Google search engine), although, as we shall see, 'to google' could have an alternate meaning.

One of the steps taken was to run a search on Google's search engine itself. The query [google + verb] was typed in. The search, which took approximately 0.32 seconds to be completed, came up with 254,000 hits, that is 254,000 examples were found. At the top of the list was a website that was already one that had proved interesting and useful for the kind of linguistic material sought here, it was The WordSpy. The information given about this site is as follows:

"This Web site is devoted to *lexpionage*, the sleuthing of new words and phrases. These aren't "stunt words" or "sniglets," but new terms that have appeared multiple times in newspapers, magazines, books, Web sites, and other recorded sources".

Upon opening the link to this site using the query described above the following definition of 'google' as a verb is given:

google (GOO.gul) *v.* To search for information on the Web, particularly by using the Google search engine; to search the Web for information related to a new or potential girlfriend or boyfriend.
—**Googling** *pp.*

Along with the definition of the verb 'google' this website offers some example citations which are dated as far back as September 10th, 2000:

Dave Eggers, the 29-year-old author of 'A Heartbreaking Work of Staggering Genius' and editor of the quarterly journal McSweeney's, will

chat with folks at a private Denver residence on Tuesday. ... Eggers is owner of probably the most **Googled** name out there right now.

—"Novelist Dave Eggers to speak in Denver," *The Denver Post*, September 10, 2000

Still a rare practice among the online masses, **Googling** the one you (might) love is fairly common among the young, professional and Internet-savvy. 'Everyone does it,' said Jena Fischer, 26, a Chicago advertising executive. 'And if [they say] they're not doing it, they're lying.'

—Nara Schoenberg, "Don't Go Into Date Blind; Singles Googling Before Canoodling," *Chicago Tribune*, April 2, 2001

Because the WordSpy was one of the first websites to post this new word and its definition, its founder, Paul McFedries, came under fire from Google Inc., subsequently receiving a letter from one of Google's lawyer's concerning his citation of the word google (v.). This letter reads in part:

Dear Mr. McFedries:

I am trademark counsel for Google. I have recently become aware of a definition of "google" on your website, www.wordspy.com. This definition implies that "google" is a verb synonymous with "search." Please note that Google is a trademark of Google Technology Inc. Our brand is very important to us, and as I'm sure you'll understand, we want to make sure that when people use "Google," they are referring to the services our company provides and not to Internet searching in general. I attach a copy of a short, informative piece regarding the proper use of "Google" for your reference.

We ask that you help us to protect our brand by deleting the definition of "google" found at wordspy.com or revising it to take into account the trademark status of Google.

The inclusion of the word 'google' as a verb in this popular website obviously touched a nerve. "Google's problem is one of the paradoxes of having a runaway successful brand. The bigger it gets, the more it becomes part of everyday English language and less a brand in its own right" (Jonathan Duffy, BBC News Online). This follows on the tradition mentioned earlier (Chapter 2) of companies such as Hoover or Kleenex who have had their names become part of the lexicon.

Upon being faced with the option of either deleting the definition of google (v.) or revising the definition, taking into account the “trademark status of Google”, Paul McFedries chose the latter. He later updated his webpage by adding an addendum:

Notes:

Note that Google™ is a trademark identifying the search technology and services of Google Technologies Inc.

As in the previous case studies, first dictionaries were consulted, as they are usually taken as reliable sources of information about the lexicon. Unfortunately, the most recent edition that was available was printed in 2002. Having taken into account the fact that this word first appeared somewhere around the same period of time, it seemed to be nothing more than a matter of protocol.

After having a look in the Macmillan English Dictionary these predictions were confirmed. The verb ‘google’ was nowhere to be found. After some reflection on the matter it was obvious that, as was seen before in the previous case studies, certain conventional methods and tools cannot be applied when dealing with coinages.

The next step was to see what information could be found on the Web in one of the existing online corpora. The BNC was searched using a query on the word google but, surprisingly or not, there were no examples of this key word available. This was similar to David Minugh searching for ‘dweeb’ mentioned earlier (see section 2.3.5). Minugh was absolutely correct when commenting that existing online corpora, “such as Brown and LOB (and others) were a revolution in their time, but their 1961 English is not exactly the place to look for new arrivals!”; this fact does not cause much surprise because, as previously mentioned, it is well-known that when a language suffers change, it normally does so through the spoken form first (in our day-to-day conversations), it is only some time later if at all that language begins to change in the written form.

Because the Internet has such a great influence on our daily lives through the use of chat rooms, blogs, newsgroups, and so on, it is more than natural that some of these coinages might appear printed online before they appear in a traditional written form. For this reason,

the next step was to run a search, using the Google search engine, on some of the existing online dictionaries. The results were a little surprising. The websites that belonged to the most well-known dictionary publishers did not recognize the verb 'to google' in their online editions. Perhaps this was because they had not updated their dictionaries in order to include the verb yet, whereas, other more web-oriented online dictionaries and language-devoted websites gave up to three entries for the word 'google', including for the verb.

When the word 'google' was searched for on *MED Online* the answer obtained was the following:

google – matches: 0
There are no matches for this search.

Here are some near matches:
goggle; gaggle; gargle; giggle; gobble; goodie; gurgle; ogle and others.

After searching on *Merriam-Webster Online* the answer was much the same:

The word you've entered isn't in the dictionary. Click on a spelling suggestion below or try again using the search box to the right.

Suggestions for **google**:
1. goggle; 2. guggle; 3. googol; 4. gaggle; 5. Gogol; 6. goggled; 7. gulag; 8. goggle-eye; 9. guggled; 10. goggler

In an effort not to be outdone by its competitors, *Cambridge Dictionaries Online* came up with practically the same result:

Results
google was not found in the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*
Did you spell it correctly? Here are some alternatives:

gaggle; gazelle; giggle; giggly; gigolo; goggle; goggle; goggle; goggle-box; guzzle and others.

Or you could try searching for '**google**' on the World Wide Web

These results are somewhat similar to those that can be found for spellcheckers on personal computers as shown earlier and as Aitchison found in her work. Therefore, taking the latter

piece of advice from the *COD*, a search on the Internet was conducted for google. Despite not having found information from the major online dictionaries, information was found on websites such as Langmaker, Wikipedia, Dictionary.com and the aforementioned The WordSpy. In each one of these sites there is either a definition, an example of the verb and why it is used or both the noun and the verb. Most of these online dictionaries offered a similar definition to the one originally posted on The WordSpy, although it is also possible to find a variation of the verb, namely, 'googling', which has a similar, yet, slightly different meaning as will be shown below.

The definition given at The WordSpy is very similar to the definitions given on the other online dictionaries, as can be observed by the following examples that were extracted from these various websites:

Langmaker

google (v.) - Neologism Profile

Word: google

Part of Speech: v.

Other Forms: googled, googling

Etymology: [Used on the TV show, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*.] Note: Google's name itself is from *googol*, a 1 followed by 100 zeros.

Definition: To search for something in Google. "*I googled until I could google no more.*" "*I googled him.*"

Wikipedia

The verb to google or google it (*yourself*) is a neologism meaning "to perform a web search" (primarily with the Google web search engine). The coinage of the word is mainly due to the tremendous popularity of that search engine. The American Dialect Society chose the verb *to google* as the "most useful word of 2002".

Dictionary.com

1

Main Entry: google

Definition: to search for information about a specific person through the Google search engine

Example: She googled her high school boyfriends.

Etymology: trademark Google

Usage: googling n

2

Main Entry: google

Definition: to search for information on the Internet, esp. using the Google search engine

Example: We googled to find the definition of the new word.

Etymology: trademark Google

Usage: googling n

One of the things that appeared a little bit odd about these results was the fact that, despite not being considered as an official entry in its dictionary, Macmillan does accept the verb 'google' in its chart of The Most Popular New Words of 2003, placing it at number two in a list of over forty new words. Furthermore, this Word of the Week Archive offers a definition and some background on its usage:

google or Google *verb*[I,T]

to use the Internet search engine Google™ to find information about someone or something

“If people want to find something online, they invariably take a look at Google™ search results, so it is no surprise that the name of this tool has become synonymous with the idea of the activity of searching the Net. The use of **google** as a transitive verb lies predominantly in the context of finding out information about people, as the quote above illustrates – fathers **google** prospective son-in-laws, patients **google** potential doctors etc, as if the lives of individuals are defined by all that is posted about them online. Passive use is very common here, individuals under scrutiny *are*, or very commonly *get*, *googled*. This has led to use as a participial adjective **Googled**, e.g. the **Googled** party. An especially common use is in the

context of performing secret checks about potential boy- or girlfriends, e.g. ... he **Googled** a woman he had a crush on and found out she was once at a party attended by Salman Rushdie ... (*New York Observer*, January 2001). The compound **Google dating** has also been coined in this context”.

One cannot evade the fact that this verb, due to the popularity of Google just might be one to stay around for some time. As Jonathan Duffy, a journalist on CBS News explains, “In the US Google has mutated into a verb. Singletons will ‘google’ a new boyfriend or girlfriend – run their name through a search engine – to check them out. People now talk about ‘googling’ and being ‘googled’”. This verb clearly seems to be a product of American English and, as we know, due to its influence on other brands of English it undoubtedly has room for expansion. This coinage has even been spotted on some television programs: on one episode of the medical drama series ER, actors playing colleagues of the character Dr. Susan Lewis talked of ‘googling’ her blind date. CBS News and *60 Minutes* has deemed the verb to be “part of the global language” (CBS News Defining Google, January 2, 2005). It has even been mentioned on a blog called Languagehat where one contributor (Vincent) posted a message that read, “Don’t they know Buffy already had ‘googled’ as a verb? Once something’s been verbed on Buffy, forget it!” Actually, it is possible to find many blogs dedicated to language and other language oriented newsgroups that have had heated discussions on this matter, to such an extent that on one of these sites (*8 Ways to Sunday*) the subject matter was whether ‘google’ should or should not be capitalized, “Is “Google” still capitalized when it’s something you do, not something you use? Even the authorities can’t seem to agree on a consistent rule”, and also, “You are so my hero for addressing this pressing question of our generation. I too, will not be capitalizing “google” when used as a verb, which I tend to use while speaking much more frequently than typing, so it may be a moot point”. The use of this verb has even managed to pass the language barrier. A news report on Portuguese radio station *TSF* stated:

²“Ultimamente, o Google tem atingido uma tal projecção, que o acto de procurar na internet através dele passou a ser designado pelo verbo "to google". Sempre rápidos a inventar palavras, os brasileiros já lançaram o termo em português: guglar. Se não encontra é porque ainda não guglou”.

Or the message that was posted on a Portuguese weblog acknowledging this verb:

³“O google pra mim já virou verbo! Eu não digo vou procurar, eu digo vou "googlar"! [sic]

Finally, as described in the earlier case studies, once again a corpus was constructed to examine how the verb ‘to google’ is used. Here are some results for the KWIC concordances carried out (the full files are to be found in Appendix F)

Google

into a verb. Singletons will **google** a new boyfriend or girlfriend from the firm after he added **google** to his online lexicon. The , people have started to say **google** to mean search. The word has they still can. The verb "to **google** has yet to take off on this oo, will not be capitalizing **google** when used as a verb. Which I or us, it's Google grammar. **google** (verb)—to search the Web usin

Googling

their daughter said she was **googling** for her other sock." And here m out. People now talk about **googling** and "being googled". On an of Dr Susan Lewis talked of **googling** her blind date. And singer

² Ultimately, Google has reached such projection that the act of using it to search the internet has been designated by the verb “to google”. Always quick to invent words the Brazilians have come up with the Portuguese term ‘to google’ (guglar). If you haven’t found it yet it is because you haven’t ‘googled’ (guglou).

³ To me google has already become a verb. I do not say that I am going to search for something, I say that I am going to ‘google’ it.

Googled

tential employers. Classmates **googled** old friends. In some ways t
ip to Minnesota recently, she **googled** a high-school classmate she h
against one another -- say, **googled** vs. "yahooed." Googlefight r

From these results it is clear that, despite attempts to prevent the use of a registered trade name from becoming a part of the lexicon, this process cannot be halted as the need is felt to describe modern day activities for which there is no acceptable alternative.

The implications of these results for teachers and learners and in the wider educational sphere will be discussed in Chapter 4, together with some suggestions for further work that needs to be carried out in this area of language change.

Chapter 4

4.1 Conclusion

The central theme surrounding this investigation is concerned with the fact that language, like everything else is in constant change and the question of how teachers, students and anyone else interested in this subject can go about discovering and tracking neologisms and language change through the use of the Internet and computer corpora. The results go much further than this though and show how cultural change and changes in the access to information have come about. These wider educational issues need to be faced by any teacher concerned with the English language today.

Ever since the first sounds were uttered by humans language has been changing. It is shifting at this very moment and most surely will continue to do so as long as the human race survives. We were able to see that the English language can be traced back thousands of years to Proto-Indo-European (PIE), which had its probable origin somewhere in Eastern Europe. As the speakers of PIE gradually spread to the rest of Europe and Asia, so too did the language begin to branch out bearing new dialects, which in turn spawned into new languages. During the next millennia this process took place repeatedly until our present day, and continues to do so.

As we have been able to perceive, languages do not suffer the same types of change. There are a number of word changing processes that affect a language. Some might suffer quicker, more drastic changes whereas others, with the passing of time, might slowly but steadily be altered quite significantly. One thing we can be sure of is that all languages have and will inevitably undergo change. The changes can be many and also in many different areas; whether the change is in vocabulary, in grammar, pronunciation, meaning or spelling one can be assured that it will eventually happen. When necessary a language might even create new words by using the resources that are available to it. Today, the most important way our language has of coining new words is through the process of compounding and derivation, although many others exist, as described in Chapter 2. The question is determining ways to identify and track these alterations using the resources that are available to us.

Over the past twenty years the study of language has been taking great steps in the area of corpus linguistics which is none other than the study of language through corpus-

based research, but it differs from traditional linguistics in its insistence on the systematic study of authentic examples of language in use.

Looking back to the time in which the texts were being selected and collected in order to construct the corpora necessary for the research presented here, it is possible to determine that many of them came from online newspapers and magazines. This is in accordance with what David Minugh (1997) describes in his essay as this was the most suitable means of investigating the changes he observed in the language at that time. He says (1997:68), “contemporary newspaper CD-ROMs (and now online newspapers) are a rich mine for instances of new words and phrases”, (my brackets) furthermore, these types of digital texts will, “usually provide a wealth of examples, even if for items that at first do not seem very frequent.” This is true because as we have been able to see in previous chapters, the importance that the World Wide Web exercises on language is gaining more and more momentum, and it has the advantage over newspaper CD-ROMs of being financially more viable in an educational setting.

The Internet has grown to uncountable proportions over the last ten years. Its number of users has grown substantially (see pp. 76) and its content is so diverse that one can find almost anything that one might need, in a variety of registers. Similar to newspaper CD-ROMs, the Internet, “for the EFL teacher and student provides a wealth of information on collocations and usage far beyond what handbooks can provide” (Minugh, 1997:67). Nowadays, practically everyone of studying age is computer literate and more and more schools are equipped with computers and internet access. “The simplicity and accessibility” of using both online corpora and newspaper CD-ROMs “opens up corpus studies for the first time to language students at relatively elementary levels (...) while simultaneously providing opportunities for language investigation that will reward even the most advanced student” (Minugh, 1997:67). It is for reasons such as this that language corpora seem to have an ever-growing importance in language teaching, leading Sinclair (1997:25) to claim, “the likely impact on language teaching will be profound”. The impact on teaching English as a Foreign Language that the internet has had is profound. The global use of English brings with it a number of complex questions about what English as a global means of communication means for teaching English. Analysis of the characteristics of this English is of paramount importance for both teachers and learners in order to provide a basis for learning.

At the time this project was started, knowledge about the existence of CD-ROM newspaper corpora and their potential for use in language teaching was very limited and their availability to common researchers was fairly restricted, but upon further investigation it is evident that they can provide help in the discovering the meaning of new words, semantic shifts and other types of conversion, because their most important advantage is that there is hardly any other domain which offers such a broad number of linguistically distinctive varieties (Crystal, 1994), aside from the Internet, of course.

The use of computer corpora and the Internet, as far as the field of language teaching / learning is concerned, aids teachers to the extent that they can give more elaborate, authentic examples and “learners can see many examples of words in context and can thus learn more about what these words mean and how they can be used” (Bowker and Pearson, 2002:11), they could be of assistance to the language student who does not know which context certain words may be used in or which connotations they have or even which words they collocate with. They can provide teachers with materials that can be more easily manipulated in order to bring out the use of certain structures and the patterns of use of certain lexical items with certain meanings in particular genres. They could also, if carefully chosen, be employed by professional translators for highly specific text types, and they might even be taken as reference sources in machine translation.

Teachers usually need to come up with examples of a particular word, expression or construction. As we have seen, concordancing software permits their retrieval, from a given number of texts (of all the contexts in which the specified expression occurs) and allows teachers to select and arrange what is most important to them. This process can offer the teacher a range of examples with which to illustrate a particular usage of a determined word or phrase. Using corpora can reduce the learner’s dependency on the teacher but also the teacher’s dependency on the textbook, “thus allowing teachers to concentrate on their role as learning rather than language experts.” (Sinclair, 1997:25).

As Guy Aston (1997) pointed out, learners should be made aware of the limits of any corpus. That is why analysis, reflection, cross-referencing and even comparison with other corpora might help learners understand how different collections of texts can provide different information. It may be useful for different groups within a class to work with different corpora and compare their findings. In this particular situation, the use of

computer corpora was beneficial because it allowed the discovery and examination of a number of new words in the English language.

As far as the Internet is concerned, more and more schools are being equipped with computers and Internet access thus allowing teachers to plan their classes in a different format from the traditional teacher (active) - student (passive) classroom system. Through the use of computers students can also search the Internet for online texts that might be useful to a particular area of study and construct their own corpora allowing them, among other things, to discover peculiarities inherent in the English language. On the other hand, unfortunately, many schools and universities haven't started buying (or simply cannot afford) and using another important source of electronic text: newspaper CD-ROMs.

“One of the most important disadvantages to almost any newspaper CD-ROM – particularly in today's academic environment where adequate funding is increasingly difficult to receive – is the fact that they are usually quite expensive: prices for CD-ROM editions range from £395 for the 1997 subscription of *The Guardian* to as much as £950 for the 1997 subscription of *The Financial Times*” (Tobias Rademann, 1998).

Another reason for this misfortune might be the fact that many teachers are still completely unaware of the benefits that could be reaped by using corpora. One of the big advantages of using corpora is that they can be used by anyone who wants to study authentic examples of language use (Bowker and Pearson, 2002). Because newspaper CD-ROMs are comprised of genres that correspond to people's daily reading experience, they allow us to have contact with the most contemporary form of language being used. It is this significant variety within the genre itself that makes a collection of newspaper articles a much more representative sample of a given language than most others. In addition, “newspapers can usually be classified according to social aspects (e.g. quality vs. popular press) and regional aspects (e.g. UK vs. US), thus enabling researchers to conduct both synchronic and diachronic studies, investigating social and regional differences in language use” (Tobias Rademann, 1998) or, as was attempted in this dissertation, discovering the appearance of new words. Furthermore, since at least the major newspapers tend to have considerably large target audiences, “the language used in newspaper articles is often assumed to be characteristic of the respective period and society they are published in” (Tobias Rademann, 1998)

As Adrian Beard (2004) has illustrated, texts reflect the various social contexts of their time, therefore giving us a more updated account of the language that is being used. Celce-Murcia (2002) argues that language must be studied through context and discourse in order to be able to understand the relationship between form and purpose. Moreover, Celce-Murcia (2002:120-1) insists that students themselves should have “repeated and meaningful experience with contextualized discourse” so that they can learn more about how the grammar of the language works. Many examples used in traditional approaches lead to language courses being designed which very often do not adequately reflect the use of present-day English (Mindt, 1997)

As a teacher, and more recently as a student, using corpora allowed intuitions about the current usage of language to be confirmed against the statements found in various dictionaries. Available online corpora, but more importantly CD-ROM newspaper corpora (because the source is normally considered to be more credible and authoritative) can prove to be very beneficial not only to the English department at a university but, because of the multifaceted nature of the texts, they can also be useful to other departments (such as Science or Law), hence the costs of the CD can be shared amongst them, making it cheaper and more cost effective. The greater number of tools that teachers and students have at their disposal, the more work they are bound to accomplish and the more up-to-date they tend to be.

The fact that today we can use corpus data, whether available online or specially constructed, to investigate diachronic language change is very exciting. It is undoubtedly possible to make suggestive and remarkable comparisons between the frequencies of the items found in corpora of similar size and composition which have been constructed at different points in time. The LOB and Brown Corpora, compiled in 1960, have been used for exactly this purpose and are also used to compare British and American English respectively.

The case studies presented here exemplify that corpus-based studies can do much to bring the teaching of English into better accordance with actual language use. (Mindt, 1997) We were able to see that, through the structures that are available today it was virtually impossible to discover certain aspects as simple as a definition. For example, in the particular case of the word ‘embed’, it is possible to see how the available online corpora and dictionaries were used, but also how a specific corpus had to be constructed

from texts that were collected on the Internet. This wasn't just any simple search on the Net to find texts related to a certain subject. It involved searching, compiling and, most importantly, cross-referencing in order to obtain the results shown. There is an aspect of this particular piece of research which actually goes much further than investigating language change and that is investigating how information is now being 'controlled' by the powers in the world, in this case the American military dominance of strategic information. As teachers we also need to educate our students to critically evaluate their sources of information and this is of particular importance when we are using the internet.

Over the last few decades emphasis has been put in language teaching on student autonomy and ways in which this can be achieved (Tribble and Jones 1990, Johns, 1991, Council of Europe 2001). The use of the internet and computer corpora clearly have a very strong part to play in this movement towards learner autonomy.

Another aspect brought out by the research carried out here is that of the influence that technology is having on publications and questions of authorship. These are questions that we will all have to face in the near future, if not already, and which will have a profound effect on teaching. As both the blog and google case studies attest we now have the means to access vast amounts of information (of varying quality) or to produce and publish our own. Questions of authorship are of increasing preoccupation to teachers when they have to evaluate the results of students' research which in some cases can be seen to be simple copy and paste essays or even written by someone else to order, a service offered over the internet for a small fee.

Equally the metrosexual case study reflects fundamental changes that are taking place in society today. With increasing cultural globalization we need to be able to inquire into what these changes mean both linguistically and culturally.

In conclusion, as teachers we must be researchers and be able to analyze these multifaceted aspects of language and cultural change in order to be better teachers ourselves and to engage with technology and all its power and resources but also to help our students to become more autonomous and more critically aware of the changes taking place around them.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Weblog/Blog Concordance

ct, creating the first-ever weblog. It was in 1997 that Jorn Bar
Jorn Barger coined the term weblog and just two years later that
two years later that the word blog - which is a clipping of the
h is a clipping of the word weblog - started to appear on the We
lish Dictionary claims that a blog is “a biographical web log: a
quickly”. At Dictionary.com, blog is defined as an “online diar
on a web page, also called weblog or web log. At Webopedia (an
t technology definitions), “a blog is a web page that serves as
ual. Typically updated daily, blogs often reflect the personalit
we can see that they define a blog as “a journal that is availab
b. The activity of updating a blog is ‘blogging’ and someone who
tivity of updating a blog is ‘blogging’ and someone who keeps a
ging’ and someone who keeps a blog is a ‘blogger’. Blogs are typ
omeone who keeps a blog is a ‘blogger’. Blogs are typically upda
nd to update and maintain the blog”. Finally, Merriam-Webster de
ly, Merriam-Webster defines a blog as “a website that contains a
”. Merriam-Webster said that ‘blog’ topped the list of most look
tionary publisher proclaimed ‘blog’ as its word of the year for
ironic that they would name ‘blog’ word of the year and not yet
print dictionaries”. A blog is often a mixture of what is
e are as many unique types of blogs as there are people. Blogs d
ance back in the year of 1992 blogs have become more and more po
ead what one has written. The blog format engages a quasi-dialog
a quasi-dialogue in which the blogger posts a link to and most l

an and very often does counterblog in return. It is possible for is possible for a handful of blogs to do nothing but react to a on end. If we were to compare blogs to an old media example prob 'letter to the editor'. With blogs, the true meaning of 'free p own work. According to blog analysis firm Technorati, the firm Technorati, the number of blogs in existence (the blogospher er of blogs in existence (the blogosphere) has doubled every fiv estimates that the number of blogs in existence has exceeded 4. ial impact of the internet, a blog is created every 5.8 seconds. the tragic events of that day blogging has expanded. This past y r alone saw the popularity of blogs rise to unprecedented number 29, 2001 Dan Chan started his blog called DayPop. Dan explains w Dan explains why he began his blog: "This is the story of , I'd surf around a couple of blogs, but I needed more. "Why can I can!" Many of these blogs have maintained their popula utcome) continue to visit the blogs because of their frequently ongest continuously running weblog on the internet and over time e one of the most influential blogs to date. He says: "B ments, to on-site articles. A blog is a kind of continual tour, cs between the people who run blogs, they point to each other, i er to be able to talk about a blog. He says: 1. A weblog is per bout a blog. He says: 1. A weblog is personal -- it's done by a e shows through. That's why weblogs are interesting. 2. A weblog blogs are interesting. 2. A weblog is on the Web -- it doesn't g through a Web browser. 3. A weblog is published -- words flow th ords, technology applies to weblogs, publishing technology. 4. A chnology. 4. And finally, a weblog is part of communities. No we is part of communities. No weblog stands alone, they are relati an example, is part of the weblog community and part of the Wor orld AIDS Day community. My weblog, Scripting News, is part of t

ipting News, is part of the weblog community and part of the com
he same can be said of most weblogs that gain audiences, they co
sts. The first weblog was the first website built b
e. The web exploded and the weblog idea grew along with it. In 1
pe that are now identified as blogs. It was at this point that t
began publishing their own weblogs. Suddenly it became difficul
ame difficult to read every weblog every day, or even to keep tr
e first free build-your-own-weblog tool was launched and suddenl
b sites dedicated to creating blogs) were also launched and with
explosion. Originally, blogs were link-driven sites. Each
e. Today, many of the current blogs still follow this original s
ore the format of the typical blog, which provides a very short
times controversial aspect of blogging is the use of a feedback
ges on a message board). Some blogs do not have comments or have
proval from those running the blog. For other bloggers comments
e running the blog. For other bloggers comments are the crucial
which distinguishes a “true” blog from other kinds of blogs.
rue” blog from other kinds of blogs. While describing the
be truer when we look at how blog use has expanded on the Inter
s expanded on the Internet. A blog is a log of the web. The one
the web. The one hallmark of blog is the time-dated entry. Blog
ceable. That energy separates blogs from other websites. Another
s the archives section of the blog, that divides the content by
e variants have emerged. Some blogs are just a compilation of li
ded to write about them. Some blogs dedicate themselves to more
of online dictionaries; these blogs might have some links but on
to the subject at hand. Some blogs are edited by a select group
e main theme connecting these blog variants is that they are all
. Because of their popularity blogs have also expanded in form a
e are many different types of blogs, some more similar in conten

than others. Some examples of blogs are:

Personal Usually, the word blog is used to describe an online collaborative medium. The personal blog or online diary has been interesting. Friends playing out over their blogs just as many others do with messaging. Within this type of blog even a fight may break out.

Topical Another common blog type is the topical blog. It focuses on a specific niche (but Google news). Today, many blogs allow categorization, which means that a general blog can be reshuffled to become a topical blog at the user's need and discretion. Where a personal blog is primarily concerned with events and most of the topical blogs focus on some type of technical subject, blogs in the 'thoughtful' category focus on philosophical subjects. 'Thoughtful' blogs blur into the other types but not in his.

News Many blogs provide a news digest on a current trial, or even sports. These blogs have short summaries on the news.

Collaborative These blogs are also known as 'Collective or Group' blogs. It consists of a weblog that is written by more than one person about a specific topic. These blogs can either be limited to a general public. This form of blog involves cooperation between bloggers and traditional media sources. It is quick to spot the potential of blogs to reach their potential voters as well. The majority of these blogs comment on whatever interest is generalized than others. Political blogs attracted a lot of attention on the internet, particularly among bloggers, before they were taken seriously.

Directory Directory blogs are seen as a very useful tool in an organized format. Political and News blogs can also fall into this category sometimes. These blogs are the ones that most closely resemble a directory.

Corporate These blogs have started to flourish in

ate official or semi-official blogs about their work, although e
for posing in uniform on her blog and Joyce Park also suffered
technology conversion on her blog. More recently, in January 20
Advice There are many weblogs whose main function is to pr
dio One of the types of blogs that have undergone rapid ex
nce the year 2000 are the MP3 blogs, which make audio files avai
ilable to the user. These MP3 blogs (audioblog.com) are normally
e user. These MP3 blogs (audioblog.com) are normally targeted at
eating what is called a 'photoblog'. Photo sharing sites such as
ervice with photo sharing and blogging, all in one, making it ea
t gave way to the creation of blogs. From the moment that the to
t. Because of their easiness, blogs allow just about anyone to h
tributions. After 911, bloggers started using their blogs
bloggers started using their blogs to express their sorrow, or
ere even some people who used blogs to let their family and frie
ips wrote September 11 on her blog, "The 50 Minute Hour". Anothe
er man named Gus wrote in his blog that: "The wind just changed
t, changed his website into a blog in order to provide enough sp
tream media. It was mainly on blogs that readers first encounter
ned earlier. Individual blogs focus primarily on the audie
nterference. In what concerns blogs, the quality of writing migh
is thinking. After the blog phenomenon exploded, they cha
r population. This meant that blogs shifted from being merely a
nline diaries. While weblogs had always included a mix of
osion increasing numbers of weblogs eschewed this focus on the w
of short-form journal. These blogs, often updated several times
were instead a record of the blogger's thoughts: something noti
reader to the site of another blogger with whom the first was ha
ried on between three or five blogs, each referencing the other
personality sprung up as new blogs appeared, certain names appe

bligatory sidebar of "other weblogs" (a holdover from Cam's original is, fascinating to see new bloggers position themselves in the process of reading and reacting to those blogs they read most, their sidebar lists almost everything in life, blogs also have those who support or condemn them. On one online blog which had as its subject 'Blog Culture' was able to see that not all bloggers agree with the objectives of blogs. Whereas some say that blog culture is sophistry others think it is valuable. Here is what one blogger thought: "I disagree that blogs are about 'passing off of one's own'". More often than not, blogs link to other articles, which is the result of following links from blogs – particularly blogs by people you know or respect (blogs by people you know or respect can be considered a weblog because it contains two entries). Many beginning bloggers are intimidated by the question of whether creating a blog is silly. Just because we are often intimidated by the question of whether creating a blog is a deterrent in creating a blog. Many bloggers have discovered that speaking up and getting a response from others. Some blogs may endure for one post or a few. The essential element of the blog is that the personalities of the people who write for it come through it's a blog. This could eventually have implications for how sessions have been used in the blogs you mention – what effect do

Appendix B

YOU'RE EMBEDDED IN MY HEART, BABY

Who is the new "Scud Stud"? These journalists are trudging in Arthur Kent's dusty footsteps



NAME David Bloom (NBC)

CALL HIM "Bunker Buster"

CREDENTIALS Veteran of both Simpson trials. Hair musses extremely well

RATING:



NAME Patricia Sabga (NBC)

CALL HER "Satellite Dish"

CREDENTIALS Covered 9/11 from New York City. Ashleigh Banfield is seriously jealous

RATING:



NAME Richard Engel (ABC)

CALL HIM "Big Baghdaddy"

CREDENTIALS Taught himself to speak Arabic. Is young and sensitive

RATING:



NAME Rageh Omaar (BBC)

CALL HIM "Desert Fox"

CREDENTIALS Oxford educated. Skin stays dewy fresh even under harsh desert conditions

RATING:



Appendix C

D.O.D Directives on Embedded Journalists

101900Z FEB 03
FM SECDEF WASHINGTON DC//OASD-PA//
TO SECDEF WASHINGTON DC//CHAIRS//
AIG 8777
HQ USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//PA//
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECPA//
JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC//PA//
SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//PA//
CJCS WASHINGTON DC//PA//
NSC WASHINGTON DC
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
INFO SECDEF WASHINGTON DC//OASD-PA/DPO//
UNCLAS

SUBJECT: PUBLIC AFFAIRS GUIDANCE (PAG) ON EMBEDDING MEDIA DURING POSSIBLE FUTURE OPERATIONS/DEPLOYMENTS IN THE U.S. CENTRAL COMMANDS (CENTCOM) AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY (AOR).
REFERENCES: REF. A. SECDEF MSG, DTG 172200Z JAN 03, SUBJ: PUBLIC AFFAIRS GUIDANCE (PAG) FOR MOVEMENT OF FORCES INTO THE CENTCOM AOR FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE OPERATIONS.

1. PURPOSE. THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES GUIDANCE, POLICIES AND PROCEDURES ON EMBEDDING NEWS MEDIA DURING POSSIBLE FUTURE OPERATIONS/DEPLOYMENTS IN THE CENTCOM AOR. IT CAN BE ADAPTED FOR USE IN OTHER UNIFIED COMMAND AORS AS NECESSARY.

2. POLICY.

2.A. THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE (DOD) POLICY ON MEDIA COVERAGE OF FUTURE MILITARY OPERATIONS IS THAT MEDIA WILL HAVE LONG-TERM, MINIMALLY RESTRICTIVE ACCESS TO U.S. AIR, GROUND AND NAVAL FORCES THROUGH EMBEDDING. MEDIA COVERAGE OF ANY FUTURE OPERATION WILL, TO A LARGE EXTENT, SHAPE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT NOW AND IN THE YEARS AHEAD. THIS HOLDS TRUE FOR THE U.S. PUBLIC; THE PUBLIC IN ALLIED COUNTRIES WHOSE OPINION CAN AFFECT THE DURABILITY OF OUR COALITION; AND PUBLICS IN COUNTRIES WHERE WE CONDUCT OPERATIONS,

WHOSE PERCEPTIONS OF US CAN AFFECT THE COST AND DURATION OF OUR INVOLVEMENT. OUR ULTIMATE STRATEGIC SUCCESS IN BRINGING PEACE AND SECURITY TO THIS REGION WILL COME IN OUR LONG-TERM COMMITMENT TO SUPPORTING OUR DEMOCRATIC IDEALS. WE NEED TO TELL THE FACTUAL STORY - GOOD OR BAD - BEFORE OTHERS SEED THE MEDIA WITH DISINFORMATION AND DISTORTIONS, AS THEY MOST CERTAINLY WILL CONTINUE TO DO. OUR PEOPLE IN THE FIELD NEED TO TELL OUR STORY – ONLY COMMANDERS CAN ENSURE THE MEDIA GET TO THE STORY ALONGSIDE THE TROOPS. WE MUST ORGANIZE FOR AND FACILITATE ACCESS OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL MEDIA TO OUR FORCES, INCLUDING THOSE FORCES ENGAGED IN GROUND OPERATIONS, WITH THE GOAL OF DOING SO RIGHT FROM THE START. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, WE WILL EMBED MEDIA WITH OUR UNITS. THESE EMBEDDED MEDIA WILL LIVE, WORK AND TRAVEL AS PART OF THE UNITS WITH WHICH THEY ARE EMBEDDED TO FACILITATE MAXIMUM, IN-DEPTH COVERAGE OF U.S. FORCES IN COMBAT AND RELATED OPERATIONS. COMMANDERS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICERS MUST WORK TOGETHER TO BALANCE THE NEED FOR MEDIA ACCESS WITH THE NEED FOR OPERATIONAL SECURITY.

2.B. MEDIA WILL BE EMBEDDED WITH UNIT PERSONNEL AT AIR AND GROUND FORCES BASES AND AFLOAT TO ENSURE A FULL UNDERSTANDING OF ALL OPERATIONS. MEDIA WILL BE GIVEN ACCESS TO OPERATIONAL COMBAT MISSIONS, INCLUDING MISSION PREPARATION AND DEBRIEFING, WHENEVER POSSIBLE.

2.C. A MEDIA EMBED IS DEFINED AS A MEDIA REPRESENTATIVE REMAINING WITH A UNIT ON AN EXTENDED BASIS - PERHAPS A PERIOD OF WEEKS OR EVEN MONTHS. COMMANDERS WILL PROVIDE BILLETING, RATIONS AND MEDICAL ATTENTION, IF NEEDED, TO THE EMBEDDED MEDIA COMMENSURATE WITH THAT PROVIDED TO MEMBERS OF THE UNIT, AS WELL AS ACCESS TO MILITARY TRANSPORTATION AND ASSISTANCE WITH COMMUNICATIONS FILING/TRANSMITTING MEDIA PRODUCTS, IF REQUIRED.

2.C.1. EMBEDDED MEDIA ARE NOT AUTHORIZED USE OF THEIR OWN VEHICLES WHILE TRAVELING IN AN EMBEDDED STATUS.

2.C.2. TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, SPACE ON MILITARY TRANSPORTATION WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE FOR MEDIA EQUIPMENT NECESSARY TO COVER A PARTICULAR OPERATION. THE MEDIA IS RESPONSIBLE FOR LOADING AND CARRYING THEIR OWN EQUIPMENT AT ALL TIMES. USE OF PRIORITY INTER-THEATER AIRLIFT FOR EMBEDDED MEDIA TO COVER STORIES, AS WELL AS TO FILE STORIES, IS HIGHLY ENCOURAGED. SEATS ABOARD VEHICLES, AIRCRAFT AND NAVAL SHIPS WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ALLOW MAXIMUM COVERAGE OF U.S. TROOPS IN THE FIELD.

2.C.3. UNITS SHOULD PLAN LIFT AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT TO ASSIST IN MOVING MEDIA PRODUCTS TO AND FROM THE BATTLEFIELD SO AS TO TELL OUR STORY IN A TIMELY MANNER. IN THE EVENT OF COMMERCIAL COMMUNICATIONS DIFFICULTIES, MEDIA ARE AUTHORIZED TO FILE STORIES VIA EXPEDITIOUS MILITARY SIGNAL/COMMUNICATIONS CAPABILITIES.

2.C.4. NO COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT FOR USE BY MEDIA IN THE CONDUCT OF THEIR DUTIES WILL BE SPECIFICALLY PROHIBITED. HOWEVER, UNIT COMMANDERS MAY IMPOSE TEMPORARY RESTRICTIONS ON ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSIONS FOR OPERATIONAL SECURITY REASONS. MEDIA WILL SEEK APPROVAL TO USE ELECTRONIC DEVICES IN A COMBAT/HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT, UNLESS OTHERWISE DIRECTED BY THE UNIT COMMANDER OR HIS/HER DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVE. THE USE OF COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT WILL BE DISCUSSED IN FULL WHEN THE MEDIA ARRIVE AT THEIR ASSIGNED UNIT.

3. PROCEDURES.

3.A. THE OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS (OASD(PA)) IS THE CENTRAL AGENCY FOR MANAGING AND VETTING MEDIA EMBEDS TO INCLUDE ALLOCATING EMBED SLOTS TO MEDIA ORGANIZATIONS. EMBED AUTHORITY MAY BE DELEGATED TO SUBORDINATE ELEMENTS AFTER THE COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES AND AT THE DISCRETION OF OASD(PA). EMBED OPPORTUNITIES WILL BE ASSIGNED TO MEDIA ORGANIZATIONS, NOT TO INDIVIDUAL REPORTERS. THE DECISION AS TO WHICH MEDIA REPRESENTATIVE WILL FILL ASSIGNED EMBED SLOTS WILL BE MADE BY THE DESIGNATED POC FOR EACH NEWS ORGANIZATION.

3.A.1. IAW REF. A, COMMANDERS OF UNITS IN RECEIPT OF A DEPLOYMENT ORDER MAY EMBED REGIONAL/LOCAL MEDIA DURING PREPARATIONS FOR DEPLOYMENT, DEPLOYMENT AND ARRIVAL IN THEATER UPON RECEIPT OF THEATER CLEARANCE FROM CENTCOM AND APPROVAL OF THE COMPONENT COMMAND. COMMANDERS WILL INFORM THESE MEDIA, PRIOR TO THE DEPLOYING EMBED, THAT OASD(PA) IS THE APPROVAL AUTHORITY FOR ALL COMBAT EMBEDS AND THAT THEIR PARTICULAR EMBED MAY END AFTER THE UNIT'S ARRIVAL IN THEATER. THE MEDIA ORGANIZATION MAY APPLY TO OASD(PA) FOR CONTINUED EMBEDDING, BUT THERE IS NO GUARANTEE AND THE MEDIA ORGANIZATION WILL HAVE TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR AND PAY FOR THE JOURNALISTS' RETURN TRIP.

3.B. WITHOUT MAKING COMMITMENTS TO MEDIA ORGANIZATIONS, DEPLOYING UNITS WILL IDENTIFY LOCAL MEDIA FOR POTENTIAL EMBEDS AND NOMINATE THEM THROUGH PA CHANNELS TO OASD(PA) (POC: MAJ TIM BLAIR, DSN 227-1253; COMM. 703-697-1253; EMAIL

TIMOTHY.BLAIR@OSD.MIL). INFORMATION REQUIRED TO BE FORWARDED INCLUDES MEDIA ORGANIZATION, TYPE OF MEDIA AND CONTACT INFORMATION INCLUDING BUREAU CHIEF/MANAGING EDITOR/NEWS DIRECTOR'S NAME; OFFICE, HOME AND CELL PHONE NUMBERS; PAGER NUMBERS AND EMAIL ADDRESSES. SUBMISSIONS FOR EMBEDS WITH SPECIFIC UNITS SHOULD INCLUDE AN UNIT'S RECOMMENDATION AS TO WHETHER THE REQUEST SHOULD BE HONORED.

3.C. UNIT COMMANDERS SHOULD ALSO EXPRESS, THROUGH THEIR CHAIN OF COMMAND AND PA CHANNELS TO OASD(PA), THEIR DESIRE AND CAPABILITY TO SUPPORT ADDITIONAL MEDIA EMBEDS BEYOND THOSE ASSIGNED.

3.D. FREELANCE MEDIA WILL BE AUTHORIZED TO EMBED IF THEY ARE SELECTED BY A NEWS ORGANIZATION AS THEIR EMBED REPRESENTATIVE.

3.E. UNITS WILL BE AUTHORIZED DIRECT COORDINATION WITH MEDIA AFTER ASSIGNMENT AND APPROVAL BY OASD(PA).

3.E.1. UNITS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ENSURING THAT ALL EMBEDDED MEDIA AND THEIR NEWS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE SIGNED THE "RELEASE, INDEMNIFICATION, AND HOLD HARMLESS AGREEMENT AND AGREEMENT NOT TO SUE", FOUND AT [HTTP://WWW.DEFENSELINK.MIL/NEWS/FEB2003/D20030210EMBED.PDF](http://www.defenselink.mil/news/feb2003/d20030210embed.pdf). UNITS MUST MAINTAIN A COPY OF THIS AGREEMENT FOR ALL MEDIA EMBEDDED WITH THEIR UNIT.

3.F. EMBEDDED MEDIA OPERATE AS PART OF THEIR ASSIGNED UNIT. AN ESCORT MAY BE ASSIGNED AT THE DISCRETION OF THE UNIT COMMANDER. THE ABSENCE OF A PA ESCORT IS NOT A REASON TO PRECLUDE MEDIA ACCESS TO OPERATIONS.

3.G. COMMANDERS WILL ENSURE THE MEDIA ARE PROVIDED WITH EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO OBSERVE ACTUAL COMBAT OPERATIONS. THE PERSONAL SAFETY OF CORRESPONDENTS IS NOT A REASON TO EXCLUDE THEM FROM COMBAT AREAS.

3.H. IF, IN THE OPINION OF THE UNIT COMMANDER, A MEDIA REPRESENTATIVE IS UNABLE TO WITHSTAND THE RIGOROUS CONDITIONS REQUIRED TO OPERATE WITH THE FORWARD DEPLOYED FORCES, THE COMMANDER OR HIS/HER REPRESENTATIVE MAY LIMIT THE REPRESENTATIVES PARTICIPATION WITH OPERATIONAL FORCES TO ENSURE UNIT SAFETY AND INFORM OASD(PA) THROUGH PA CHANNELS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. GENDER WILL NOT BE AN EXCLUDING FACTOR UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCE.

3.I. IF FOR ANY REASON A MEDIA REPRESENTATIVE CANNOT PARTICIPATE IN AN OPERATION, THEY WILL BE TRANSPORTED TO THE NEXT HIGHER HEADQUARTERS FOR THE DURATION OF THE OPERATION.

3.J. COMMANDERS WILL OBTAIN THEATER CLEARANCE FROM CENTCOM/PA FOR MEDIA EMBARKING ON MILITARY CONVEYANCE FOR PURPOSES OF EMBEDDING.

3.K. UNITS HOSTING EMBEDDED MEDIA WILL ISSUE INVITATIONAL TRAVEL ORDERS, AND NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL (NBC) GEAR. SEE PARA. 5. FOR DETAILS ON WHICH ITEMS ARE ISSUED AND WHICH ITEMS THE MEDIA ARE RESPONSIBLE TO PROVIDE FOR THEMSELVES.

3.L. MEDIA ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR OBTAINING THEIR OWN PASSPORTS AND VISAS.

3.M. MEDIA WILL AGREE TO ABIDE BY THE CENTCOM/OASD(PA) GROUND RULES STATED IN PARA. 4 OF THIS MESSAGE IN EXCHANGE FOR COMMAND/UNIT-PROVIDED SUPPORT AND ACCESS TO SERVICE MEMBERS, INFORMATION AND OTHER PREVIOUSLY-STATED PRIVILEGES. ANY VIOLATION OF THE GROUND RULES COULD RESULT IN TERMINATION OF THAT MEDIA'S EMBED OPPORTUNITY.

3.N. DISPUTES/DIFFICULTIES. ISSUES, QUESTIONS, DIFFICULTIES OR DISPUTES ASSOCIATED WITH GROUND RULES OR OTHER ASPECTS OF EMBEDDING MEDIA THAT CANNOT BE RESOLVED AT THE UNIT LEVEL, OR THROUGH THE CHAIN OF COMMAND, WILL BE FORWARDED THROUGH PA CHANNELS FOR RESOLUTION. COMMANDERS WHO WISH TO TERMINATE AN EMBED FOR CAUSE MUST NOTIFY CENTCOM/PA PRIOR TO TERMINATION. IF A DISPUTE CANNOT BE RESOLVED AT A LOWER LEVEL, OASD(PA) WILL BE THE FINAL RESOLUTION AUTHORITY. IN ALL CASES, THIS SHOULD BE DONE AS EXPEDITIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE TO PRESERVE THE NEWS VALUE OF THE SITUATION.

3.O. MEDIA WILL PAY THEIR OWN BILLETING EXPENSES IF BILLETED IN A COMMERCIAL FACILITY.

3.P. MEDIA WILL DEPLOY WITH THE NECESSARY EQUIPMENT TO COLLECT AND TRANSMIT THEIR STORIES.

3.Q. THE STANDARD FOR RELEASE OF INFORMATION SHOULD BE TO ASK "WHY NOT RELEASE" VICE "WHY RELEASE." DECISIONS SHOULD BE MADE ASAP, PREFERABLY IN MINUTES, NOT HOURS.

3.R. THERE IS NO GENERAL REVIEW PROCESS FOR MEDIA PRODUCTS. SEE PARA 6.A. FOR FURTHER DETAIL CONCERNING SECURITY AT THE SOURCE.

3.S. MEDIA WILL ONLY BE GRANTED ACCESS TO DETAINEES OR EPWS WITHIN THE PROVISIONS OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS OF 1949. SEE PARA. 4.G.17. FOR THE GROUND RULE.

3.T. HAVING EMBEDDED MEDIA DOES NOT PRECLUDE CONTACT WITH OTHER MEDIA. EMBEDDED MEDIA, AS A RESULT OF TIME INVESTED WITH THE UNIT AND GROUND RULES AGREEMENT, MAY HAVE A DIFFERENT LEVEL OF ACCESS.

3.U. CENTCOM/PA WILL ACCOUNT FOR EMBEDDED MEDIA DURING THE TIME THE MEDIA IS EMBEDDED IN THEATER. CENTCOM/PA WILL REPORT CHANGES IN EMBED STATUS TO OASD(PA) AS THEY OCCUR.

3.V. IF A MEDIA REPRESENTATIVE IS KILLED OR INJURED IN THE COURSE OF MILITARY OPERATIONS, THE UNIT WILL IMMEDIATELY NOTIFY OASD(PA), THROUGH PA CHANNELS. OASD(PA) WILL CONTACT THE RESPECTIVE MEDIA ORGANIZATION(S), WHICH WILL MAKE NEXT OF KIN NOTIFICATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE INDIVIDUAL'S WISHES.

3.W. MEDIA MAY TERMINATE THEIR EMBED OPPORTUNITY AT ANY TIME. UNIT COMMANDERS WILL PROVIDE, AS THE TACTICAL SITUATION PERMITS AND BASED ON THE AVAILABILITY OF TRANSPORTATION, MOVEMENT BACK TO THE NEAREST LOCATION WITH COMMERCIAL TRANSPORTATION.

3.W.1. DEPARTING MEDIA WILL BE DEBRIEFED ON OPERATIONAL SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS AS APPLICABLE TO ONGOING AND FUTURE OPERATIONS WHICH THEY MAY NOW HAVE INFORMATION CONCERNING.

4. GROUND RULES. FOR THE SAFETY AND SECURITY OF U.S. FORCES AND EMBEDDED MEDIA, MEDIA WILL ADHERE TO ESTABLISHED GROUND RULES. GROUND RULES WILL BE AGREED TO IN ADVANCE AND SIGNED BY MEDIA PRIOR TO EMBEDDING. VIOLATION OF THE GROUND RULES MAY RESULT IN THE IMMEDIATE TERMINATION OF THE EMBED AND REMOVAL FROM THE AOR. THESE GROUND RULES RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF THE MEDIA TO COVER MILITARY OPERATIONS AND ARE IN NO WAY INTENDED TO PREVENT RELEASE OF DEROGATORY, EMBARRASSING, NEGATIVE OR UNCOMPLIMENTARY INFORMATION. ANY MODIFICATION TO THE STANDARD GROUND RULES WILL BE FORWARDED THROUGH THE PA CHANNELS TO CENTCOM/PA FOR APPROVAL. STANDARD GROUND RULES ARE:

4.A. ALL INTERVIEWS WITH SERVICE MEMBERS WILL BE ON THE RECORD. SECURITY AT THE SOURCE IS THE POLICY. INTERVIEWS WITH PILOTS AND AIRCREW MEMBERS ARE AUTHORIZED UPON COMPLETION OF MISSIONS; HOWEVER, RELEASE OF INFORMATION MUST CONFORM TO THESE MEDIA GROUND RULES.

4.B. PRINT OR BROADCAST STORIES WILL BE DATELINED ACCORDING TO LOCAL GROUND RULES. LOCAL GROUND RULES WILL BE COORDINATED THROUGH COMMAND CHANNELS WITH CENTCOM.

4.C. MEDIA EMBEDDED WITH U.S. FORCES ARE NOT PERMITTED TO CARRY PERSONAL FIREARMS.

4.D. LIGHT DISCIPLINE RESTRICTIONS WILL BE FOLLOWED. VISIBLE LIGHT SOURCES, INCLUDING FLASH OR TELEVISION LIGHTS, FLASH CAMERAS WILL NOT BE USED WHEN OPERATING WITH FORCES AT NIGHT UNLESS SPECIFICALLY APPROVED IN ADVANCE BY THE ON-SCENE COMMANDER.

4.E. EMBARGOES MAY BE IMPOSED TO PROTECT OPERATIONAL SECURITY. EMBARGOES WILL ONLY BE USED FOR OPERATIONAL SECURITY AND WILL BE LIFTED AS SOON AS THE OPERATIONAL SECURITY ISSUE HAS PASSED.

4.F. THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES OF INFORMATION ARE RELEASABLE.

4.F.1. APPROXIMATE FRIENDLY FORCE STRENGTH FIGURES.

4.F.2. APPROXIMATE FRIENDLY CASUALTY FIGURES BY SERVICE.

EMBEDDED MEDIA MAY, WITHIN OPSEC LIMITS, CONFIRM UNIT CASUALTIES THEY HAVE WITNESSED.

4.F.3. CONFIRMED FIGURES OF ENEMY PERSONNEL DETAINED OR CAPTURED.

4.F.4. SIZE OF FRIENDLY FORCE PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTION OR OPERATION CAN BE DISCLOSED USING APPROXIMATE TERMS. SPECIFIC FORCE OR UNIT IDENTIFICATION MAY BE RELEASED WHEN IT NO LONGER WARRANTS SECURITY PROTECTION.

4.F.5. INFORMATION AND LOCATION OF MILITARY TARGETS AND OBJECTIVES PREVIOUSLY UNDER ATTACK.

4.F.6. GENERIC DESCRIPTION OF ORIGIN OF AIR OPERATIONS, SUCH AS "LAND-BASED."

4.F.7. DATE, TIME OR LOCATION OF PREVIOUS CONVENTIONAL MILITARY MISSIONS AND ACTIONS, AS WELL AS MISSION RESULTS ARE RELEASABLE ONLY IF DESCRIBED IN GENERAL TERMS.

4.F.8. TYPES OF ORDNANCE EXPENDED IN GENERAL TERMS.

4.F.9. NUMBER OF AERIAL COMBAT OR RECONNAISSANCE MISSIONS OR SORTIES FLOWN IN CENTCOM'S AREA OF OPERATION.

4.F.10. TYPE OF FORCES INVOLVED (E.G., AIR DEFENSE, INFANTRY, ARMOR, MARINES).

4.F.11. ALLIED PARTICIPATION BY TYPE OF OPERATION (SHIPS, AIRCRAFT, GROUND UNITS, ETC.) AFTER APPROVAL OF THE ALLIED UNIT COMMANDER.

4.F.12. OPERATION CODE NAMES.

4.F.13. NAMES AND HOMETOWNS OF U.S. MILITARY UNITS.

4.F.14. SERVICE MEMBERS' NAMES AND HOME TOWNS WITH THE INDIVIDUALS' CONSENT.

4.G. THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES OF INFORMATION ARE NOT RELEASABLE SINCE THEIR PUBLICATION OR BROADCAST COULD JEOPARDIZE OPERATIONS AND ENDANGER LIVES.

4.G.1. SPECIFIC NUMBER OF TROOPS IN UNITS BELOW CORPS/MEF LEVEL.

4.G.2. SPECIFIC NUMBER OF AIRCRAFT IN UNITS AT OR BELOW THE AIR EXPEDITIONARY WING LEVEL.

4.G.3. SPECIFIC NUMBERS REGARDING OTHER EQUIPMENT OR CRITICAL SUPPLIES (E.G. ARTILLERY, TANKS, LANDING CRAFT, RADARS, TRUCKS, WATER, ETC.).

4.G.4. SPECIFIC NUMBERS OF SHIPS IN UNITS BELOW THE CARRIER BATTLE GROUP LEVEL.

4.G.5. NAMES OF MILITARY INSTALLATIONS OR SPECIFIC GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS OF MILITARY UNITS IN THE CENTCOM AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY, UNLESS SPECIFICALLY RELEASED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE OR AUTHORIZED BY THE CENTCOM COMMANDER. NEWS AND IMAGERY PRODUCTS THAT IDENTIFY OR INCLUDE IDENTIFIABLE FEATURES

OF THESE LOCATIONS ARE NOT AUTHORIZED FOR RELEASE.

4.G.6. INFORMATION REGARDING FUTURE OPERATIONS.

4.G.7. INFORMATION REGARDING FORCE PROTECTION MEASURES AT MILITARY INSTALLATIONS OR ENCAMPMENTS (EXCEPT THOSE WHICH ARE VISIBLE OR READILY APPARENT).

4.G.8. PHOTOGRAPHY SHOWING LEVEL OF SECURITY AT MILITARY INSTALLATIONS OR ENCAMPMENTS.

4.G.9. RULES OF ENGAGEMENT.

4.G.10. INFORMATION ON INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION ACTIVITIES COMPROMISING TACTICS, TECHNIQUES OR PROCEDURES.

4.G.11. EXTRA PRECAUTIONS IN REPORTING WILL BE REQUIRED AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES TO MAXIMIZE OPERATIONAL SURPRISE. LIVE BROADCASTS FROM AIRFIELDS, ON THE GROUND OR AFLOAT, BY EMBEDDED MEDIA ARE PROHIBITED UNTIL THE SAFE RETURN OF THE INITIAL STRIKE PACKAGE OR UNTIL AUTHORIZED BY THE UNIT COMMANDER.

4.G.12. DURING AN OPERATION, SPECIFIC INFORMATION ON FRIENDLY FORCE TROOP MOVEMENTS, TACTICAL DEPLOYMENTS, AND DISPOSITIONS THAT WOULD JEOPARDIZE OPERATIONAL SECURITY OR LIVES. INFORMATION ON ON-GOING ENGAGEMENTS WILL NOT BE RELEASED UNLESS AUTHORIZED FOR RELEASE BY ON-SCENE COMMANDER.

4.G.13. INFORMATION ON SPECIAL OPERATIONS UNITS, UNIQUE OPERATIONS METHODOLOGY OR TACTICS, FOR EXAMPLE, AIR OPERATIONS, ANGLES OF ATTACK, AND SPEEDS; NAVAL TACTICAL OR EVASIVE MANEUVERS, ETC. GENERAL TERMS SUCH AS "LOW" OR "FAST" MAY BE USED.

4.G.14. INFORMATION ON EFFECTIVENESS OF ENEMY ELECTRONIC WARFARE.

4.G.15. INFORMATION IDENTIFYING POSTPONED OR CANCELED OPERATIONS.

4.G.16. INFORMATION ON MISSING OR DOWNED AIRCRAFT OR MISSING VESSELS WHILE SEARCH AND RESCUE AND RECOVERY OPERATIONS ARE BEING PLANNED OR UNDERWAY.

4.G.17. INFORMATION ON EFFECTIVENESS OF ENEMY CAMOUFLAGE, COVER, DECEPTION, TARGETING, DIRECT AND INDIRECT FIRE, INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION, OR SECURITY MEASURES.

4.G.18. NO PHOTOGRAPHS OR OTHER VISUAL MEDIA SHOWING AN ENEMY PRISONER OF WAR OR DETAINEE'S RECOGNIZABLE FACE, NAMETAG OR OTHER IDENTIFYING FEATURE OR ITEM MAY BE TAKEN.

4.G.19. STILL OR VIDEO IMAGERY OF CUSTODY OPERATIONS OR INTERVIEWS WITH PERSONS UNDER CUSTODY.

4.H. THE FOLLOWING PROCEDURES AND POLICIES APPLY TO COVERAGE OF WOUNDED, INJURED, AND ILL PERSONNEL:

4.H.1. MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE REMINDED OF THE SENSITIVITY OF USING NAMES OF INDIVIDUAL CASUALTIES OR PHOTOGRAPHS THEY MAY HAVE TAKEN WHICH CLEARLY IDENTIFY CASUALTIES UNTIL AFTER NOTIFICATION OF THE NOK AND RELEASE BY OASD(PA).

4.H.2. BATTLEFIELD CASUALTIES MAY BE COVERED BY EMBEDDED MEDIA AS LONG AS THE SERVICE MEMBER'S IDENTITY IS PROTECTED FROM DISCLOSURE FOR 72 HOURS OR UPON VERIFICATION OF NOK NOTIFICATION, WHICHEVER IS FIRST.

4.H.3. MEDIA VISITS TO MEDICAL FACILITIES WILL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH APPLICABLE REGULATIONS, STANDARD OPERATING PROCEDURES, OPERATIONS ORDERS AND INSTRUCTIONS BY ATTENDING PHYSICIANS. IF APPROVED, SERVICE OR MEDICAL FACILITY PERSONNEL MUST ESCORT MEDIA AT ALL TIMES.

4.H.4. PATIENT WELFARE, PATIENT PRIVACY, AND NEXT OF KIN/FAMILY CONSIDERATIONS ARE THE GOVERNING CONCERNS ABOUT NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE OF WOUNDED, INJURED, AND ILL PERSONNEL IN MEDICAL TREATMENT FACILITIES OR OTHER CASUALTY COLLECTION AND TREATMENT LOCATIONS.

4.H.5. MEDIA VISITS ARE AUTHORIZED TO MEDICAL CARE FACILITIES, BUT MUST BE APPROVED BY THE MEDICAL FACILITY COMMANDER AND ATTENDING PHYSICIAN AND MUST NOT INTERFERE WITH MEDICAL TREATMENT. REQUESTS TO VISIT MEDICAL CARE FACILITIES OUTSIDE THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES WILL BE COORDINATED BY THE UNIFIED COMMAND PA.

4.H.6. REPORTERS MAY VISIT THOSE AREAS DESIGNATED BY THE FACILITY COMMANDER, BUT WILL NOT BE ALLOWED IN OPERATING ROOMS DURING OPERATING PROCEDURES.

4.H.7. PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW OR PHOTOGRAPH A PATIENT WILL BE GRANTED ONLY WITH THE CONSENT OF THE ATTENDING PHYSICIAN OR FACILITY COMMANDER AND WITH THE PATIENT'S INFORMED CONSENT, WITNESSED BY THE ESCORT.

4.H.8. "INFORMED CONSENT" MEANS THE PATIENT UNDERSTANDS HIS OR HER PICTURE AND COMMENTS ARE BEING COLLECTED FOR NEWS MEDIA PURPOSES AND THEY MAY APPEAR NATIONWIDE IN NEWS MEDIA REPORTS.

4.H.9. THE ATTENDING PHYSICIAN OR ESCORT SHOULD ADVISE THE SERVICE MEMBER IF NOK HAVE BEEN NOTIFIED.

5. IMMUNIZATIONS AND PERSONAL PROTECTIVE GEAR.

5.A. MEDIA ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD ENSURE THAT MEDIA ARE PROPERLY IMMUNIZED BEFORE EMBEDDING WITH UNITS. THE CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL (CDC)-RECOMMENDED IMMUNIZATIONS FOR DEPLOYMENT TO THE MIDDLE EAST INCLUDE HEPATITIS A; HEPATITIS B; RABIES; TETANUSDIPHTHERIA; AND TYPHOID. THE CDC RECOMMENDS MENINGOCOCCAL IMMUNIZATIONS FOR VISITORS TO MECCA. IF TRAVELING TO CERTAIN AREAS IN THE CENTCOM AOR, THE CDC RECOMMENDS TAKING PRESCRIPTION ANTIMALARIAL DRUGS. ANTHRAX AND SMALLPOX VACCINES WILL BE PROVIDED TO THE MEDIA AT NO EXPENSE TO THE GOVERNMENT (THE MEDIA OUTLET WILL BEAR THE EXPENSE). FOR MORE HEALTH INFORMATION FOR TRAVELERS TO THE MIDDLE EAST, GO TO THE CDC WEB SITE AT [HTTP://WWW.CDC.GOV/TRAVEL/MIDEAST.HTM](http://www.cdc.gov/travel/mideast.htm).

5.B. BECAUSE THE USE OF PERSONAL PROTECTIVE GEAR, SUCH AS HELMETS OR FLAK VESTS, IS BOTH A PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CHOICE, MEDIA WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR PROCURING/USING SUCH EQUIPMENT. PERSONAL PROTECTIVE GEAR, AS WELL AS CLOTHING, WILL BE SUBDUED IN COLOR AND APPEARANCE.

5.C. EMBEDDED MEDIA ARE AUTHORIZED AND REQUIRED TO BE PROVIDED WITH, ON A TEMPORARY LOAN BASIS, NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL, CHEMICAL (NBC) PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT BY THE UNIT WITH WHICH THEY ARE EMBEDDED. UNIT PERSONNEL WILL PROVIDE BASIC INSTRUCTION IN THE PROPER WEAR, USE, AND MAINTENANCE OF THE EQUIPMENT. UPON TERMINATION OF THE EMBED, INITIATED BY EITHER PARTY, THE NBC EQUIPMENT SHALL BE RETURNED TO THE EMBEDDING UNIT. IF

SUFFICIENT NBC PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT IS NOT AVAILABLE FOR EMBEDDED MEDIA, COMMANDERS MAY PURCHASE ADDITIONAL EQUIPMENT, WITH FUNDS NORMALLY AVAILABLE FOR THAT PURPOSE, AND LOAN IT TO EMBEDDED MEDIA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS PARAGRAPH.

6. SECURITY

6.A. MEDIA PRODUCTS WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO SECURITY REVIEW OR CENSORSHIP EXCEPT AS INDICATED IN PARA. 6.A.1. SECURITY AT THE SOURCE WILL BE THE RULE. U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL SHALL PROTECT CLASSIFIED INFORMATION FROM UNAUTHORIZED OR INADVERTENT DISCLOSURE. MEDIA PROVIDED ACCESS TO SENSITIVE INFORMATION, INFORMATION WHICH IS NOT CLASSIFIED BUT WHICH MAY BE OF OPERATIONAL VALUE TO AN ADVERSARY OR WHEN COMBINED WITH OTHER UNCLASSIFIED INFORMATION MAY REVEAL CLASSIFIED INFORMATION, WILL BE INFORMED IN ADVANCE BY THE UNIT COMMANDER OR HIS/HER DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RESTRICTIONS ON THE USE OR DISCLOSURE OF SUCH INFORMATION. WHEN IN DOUBT, MEDIA WILL CONSULT WITH THE UNIT COMMANDER OR HIS/HER DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVE.

6.A.1. THE NATURE OF THE EMBEDDING PROCESS MAY INVOLVE OBSERVATION OF SENSITIVE INFORMATION, INCLUDING TROOP MOVEMENTS, BATTLE PREPARATIONS, MATERIEL CAPABILITIES AND VULNERABILITIES AND OTHER INFORMATION AS LISTED IN PARA. 4.G. WHEN A COMMANDER OR HIS/HER DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVE HAS REASON TO BELIEVE THAT A MEDIA MEMBER WILL HAVE ACCESS TO THIS TYPE OF SENSITIVE INFORMATION, PRIOR TO ALLOWING SUCH ACCESS, HE/SHE WILL TAKE PRUDENT PRECAUTIONS TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF THAT INFORMATION. THE PRIMARY SAFEGUARD WILL BE TO BRIEF MEDIA IN ADVANCE ABOUT WHAT INFORMATION IS SENSITIVE AND WHAT THE PARAMETERS ARE FOR COVERING THIS TYPE OF INFORMATION. IF MEDIA ARE INADVERTENTLY EXPOSED TO SENSITIVE INFORMATION THEY SHOULD BE BRIEFED AFTER EXPOSURE ON WHAT INFORMATION THEY SHOULD AVOID COVERING. IN INSTANCES WHERE A UNIT COMMANDER OR THE DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVE DETERMINES THAT COVERAGE OF A STORY WILL INVOLVE EXPOSURE TO SENSITIVE INFORMATION BEYOND THE SCOPE OF WHAT MAY BE PROTECTED BY PREBRIEFING OR DEBRIEFING, BUT COVERAGE OF WHICH IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE DOD, THE COMMANDER MAY OFFER ACCESS IF THE REPORTER AGREES TO A SECURITY REVIEW OF THEIR COVERAGE. AGREEMENT TO SECURITY REVIEW IN EXCHANGE FOR THIS TYPE OF ACCESS MUST BE STRICTLY VOLUNTARY AND IF THE REPORTER DOES NOT AGREE, THEN ACCESS MAY NOT BE GRANTED. IF A SECURITY REVIEW IS AGREED TO, IT WILL NOT INVOLVE ANY EDITORIAL CHANGES; IT WILL BE CONDUCTED SOLELY TO ENSURE THAT NO SENSITIVE OR

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IS INCLUDED IN THE PRODUCT. IF SUCH INFORMATION IS FOUND, THE MEDIA WILL BE ASKED TO REMOVE THAT INFORMATION FROM THE PRODUCT AND/OR EMBARGO THE PRODUCT UNTIL SUCH INFORMATION IS NO LONGER CLASSIFIED OR SENSITIVE. REVIEWS ARE TO BE DONE AS SOON AS PRACTICAL SO AS NOT TO INTERRUPT COMBAT OPERATIONS NOR DELAY REPORTING. IF THERE ARE DISPUTES RESULTING FROM THE SECURITY REVIEW PROCESS THEY MAY BE APPEALED THROUGH THE CHAIN OF COMMAND, OR THROUGH PA CHANNELS TO OASD/PA.

THIS PARAGRAPH DOES NOT AUTHORIZE COMMANDERS TO ALLOW MEDIA ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION.

6.A.2. MEDIA PRODUCTS WILL NOT BE CONFISCATED OR OTHERWISE IMPOUNDED. IF IT IS BELIEVED THAT CLASSIFIED INFORMATION HAS BEEN COMPROMISED AND THE MEDIA REPRESENTATIVE REFUSES TO REMOVE THAT INFORMATION NOTIFY THE CPIC AND/OR OASD/PA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THE ISSUE MAY BE ADDRESSED WITH THE MEDIA ORGANIZATION'S MANAGEMENT.

7. MISCELLANEOUS/COORDINATING INSTRUCTIONS:

7.A. OASD(PA) IS THE INITIAL EMBED AUTHORITY. EMBEDDING PROCEDURES AND ASSIGNMENT AUTHORITY MAY BE TRANSFERRED TO CENTCOM PA AT A LATER DATE. THIS AUTHORITY MAY BE FURTHER DELEGATED AT CENTCOM'S DISCRETION.

7.B. THIS GUIDANCE AUTHORIZES BLANKET APPROVAL FOR NON-LOCAL AND LOCAL MEDIA TRAVEL ABOARD DOD AIRLIFT FOR ALL EMBEDDED MEDIA ON A NO-COST, SPACE AVAILABLE BASIS. NO ADDITIONAL COSTS SHALL BE INCURRED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE IAW DODI 5410.15, PARA 3.4.

7.C. USE OF LIPSTICK AND HELMET-MOUNTED CAMERAS ON COMBAT SORTIES IS APPROVED AND ENCOURAGED TO THE GREATEST EXTENT POSSIBLE.

8. OASD(PA) POC FOR EMBEDDING MEDIA IS MAJ TIM BLAIR, DSN 227-1253, CMCL 703-697-1253, EMAIL TIMOTHY.BLAIR@OSD.MIL.

Appendix D

BNC

Embed

[A08](#) 1967 Embed magnifying glass in lower right hand? he wrote.

[BP2](#) 117 Conventional programs (Fig. 2) embed the knowledge in the instructions, making it very difficult for all but a few programmers to understand the logic of the program.

[BP2](#) 734 Conventional programs embed the expertise in the instructions, making it very difficult to understand the logic of the problem.

[CM2](#) 204 But, while these points may be reasonable, and some of them may be true, this attempt to embed them in a general theory or schema seems unhelpful.

[CNJ](#) 312 The Windows interface looks to be as prolific as a Star Trek tribble: we hear Microsoft Corp is working with phone companies to embed Windows engines in data phones.

[CPG](#) 141 PHILIPS PLANS TO EMBED MACROVISION's ANTI-PIRACY TECHNOLOGY INTO ITS COLOUR ENCODER CHIPS

Embedded

[A6C](#) 1682 Growing in the most sinister manner, it is embedded in a battle scene taking place across the River Nile.

[A6G](#) 1074 Equally important, Fforde finds a commitment to the market economy and laissez-faire embedded in the party's grass roots, and in particular in the outlook of the most traditional Conservative interest, the land.

A73 1551 Burden was pointing to the only one that looked bare, as if until very recently it had lain with its exposed area embedded in the river's gravelly floor.

ALJ 2445 There were lines of dirt embedded in his skin.

B23 1468 However, it is from an understanding of some of the central issues embedded in these relationships that both schools and LEAs can reflect for the future.

B2A 1302 Embedded in the White Paper is the assumption that resource management is up and running, and fully operational.

Embedding

AKD 758 ;Object linking and embedding'; allows objects created by different applications, ie text, graphs or charts to be easily inserted into into a single document.

ARC 504 Grammar schools separated themselves from Public Schools (although, more accurately, it was of course the other way round) by embedding themselves in the local provision for secondary education.

CTX 138 Real meaning: Object Linking and Embedding.

EA3 91 Thus the embedding of a label in a total sentence structure (complete linguistic predication) indicates that it is less tied to its situational context and more related to its linguistic context.

EV6 677 BEEM capsules (Polaron Equipment Ltd, Watford, Herts) are used for embedding with a low viscosity resin (e.g. Spurr).

EV6 685 (v) Because of its low viscosity Spurr resin has been found satisfactory as an embedding medium.

Embeds

A2C 33 It is systematically ungrammatical colloquial speech which embeds people in their feudal ancestry.

CGA 110 Furthermore, the thesaurus embeds each word type in a hierarchy.

F9F 765 The fig tree embeds its multitudes of seeds in globes of sweet pulp.

HU2 7109 In 18 patients, successive ERCPs and cholangioscopies have shown that the metal mesh initially embeds in the bile duct wall and is rapidly covered by a continuous membrane by three months.

HU2 7230 Within a month of placement, the metallic mesh embeds into the bile duct wall and, after three months, the struts are buried by the mucosa, giving the impression of a continuous membrane covering the inner stent.

HX9 1651 Phonemically, plea is represented as which also embeds the lexical item lee , phonemically .

Collins-Cobuild

Embed

Floor of the building, he intends to **embed** a series of diodes that light up
About the version you are creating. **Embed** date, time module name, version
Double line, shadow, or no border. **Embed** header text in the top line of the
Is unique and the images he paints **embed** themselves in the imagination
Are you suggesting?" Casey asked. **Embed** the operation as far as we can into corridor
window. The decision to **embed** them in this private, sacrosanct

Embedded

Remove a particle which seems to be **embedded** in the eye.
Piece, hurled by an angry crowd, **embedded** in his skull whilst photographing
Of former country houses and villas **embedded** in the suburbs and in the lovely
With a size ten Christmas Tree lure **embedded** in my left eye, well past the
Germans as a whole should be firmly **embedded** in the European Community
Either an unusual bright quasar **embedded** in thick dust or a very young

Embedding

In place but still needed juridical **embedding**. Hans Kung said in infallible

Which is the full and inseparable **embedding** of the unified Germany into the With six heavy-duty screws. The **embedding** plate sinks 18 inches into the

Embeds

Fertilized ovum reaches the womb, it **embeds** itself in the wall of the womb
Of dishes the world over. Somehow it **embeds** itself into the fabric of the nation

My examples of **embed**

“My week at **Embed** Boot Camp,” The New York Times, March 2, 2003. Would-be war correspondents, nicknamed ‘**embeds**’ are being put through reporter boot camps, supervised by U.S. Military officials

The newspaper went on to print two articles – “from an **embed**” and from a ‘unilateral’.

This is a taste of the closing paragraphs of an **embed** observation

No **embed** has so far been a casualty (...)

Embeds, who are always moving with the troops, work in a sort of military bubble.

In fact the **embed** controls are, if anything, stricter than the system imposed by the Iraqi regime.

Appendix E

Metrosexual Concordance

to confuse alert readers is metrosexual. Witness this: Joe says to
at work today, he calls me a metrosexual at lunch in front of a bunch
ly indicate that you're not a metrosexual) -- how about a little edific
ion, for the road. what is a metrosexual? The newly popular media and
ent people, but in general, a metrosexual: Mark Simpson, a British and
erfect sense to maintain that metrosexuals are all straight -- after al
impson is gay, does that mean metrosexuals are too?impson clarified thi
tterly immaterial because the metrosexual has In general parlance, to b
eneral parlance, to be called metrosexual is not to be Signs that metr
xual is not to be Signs that metrosexuality has gone mainstream includ
crombie & Fitch, a middlebrow metrosexual fashion option, among straigh
and preening associated with metrosexuality. h the maze that is 21st
he phenomenon to qualify as a metrosexual. Now, is that worth poppin' s
ers him into the world of the metrosexual man. revolutionaries like Ch
ve been replaced by clean-cut metrosexual icons like soccer star David
n America and elsewhere, with metrosexuals seen from the islands of the
of India. He emphasizes that metrosexuality has nothing to do with sex
study this year to track the metrosexual trend, polling 510 Americans
ng number of men are showing "metrosexual tendencies" and a "willingnes
ed States, where the topic of metrosexuality has saturated the media. F
ess heterosexuals into worthy metrosexuals. The subject has even crept
sident Bush should consider a metrosexual makeover. Catering to metros
sexual makeover. Catering to metrosexual travelers (CNN) -- Often the
rior is now checking in: the metrosexual male. already gets his hair c
s eyebrows shaped. "I see the metrosexual man as a person who is very i
been watching the rise of the metrosexual phenomena. Metrosexual - The

metrosexual or a heterosexual, a metrosexual is a person who is not only i
festyle. So how do you spot a metrosexual? They are a bunch of sensitiv
urban So do I think being a metrosexual is shallow? Most definitely!
to decline. This year, it's "metrosexual," a term coined back in 1994
nalists love to use the word "metrosexual" in articles about the season
on of "Queer Eye" is not that metrosexuals are abundant, but that they
he Times article claimed that metrosexuals (also known as "faumosexuals
sophisticated? Will the word "metrosexual" and shows like "Queer Eye" j
been trying to find all these metrosexuals I keep reading about. Do the
ay, but I sure didn't see any metrosexuals. who is not, I suspect -- e
eatly and combs his hair -- a metrosexual. Yet, this manly classic now
s manly classic now seems too metrosexual for young men to wear. If Jam
Times would describe him as a metrosexual rather than as a gentleman. I
ugh, that if you called him a metrosexual, he would make a witty quip,
y. This new target market is "metrosexual", a term coined a few years a
says Ms Salzman, is a classic metrosexual. So too is Bill Clinton, she
to this, which suggests that metrosexuality—or something like it—may a
ith it hipsters, you may be a metrosexual. According to Michael Flocke
e wiles of Venus. Put simply, metrosexual men are muscular but suave, c
But don't be deceived by the metrosexual superpower's pleatless pants—
-century orientation. Just as metrosexuals are redefining masculinity,
ome and gone faster than the "metrosexuality" craze that erupted early
ose in the know insisted that metrosexuals were not in fact snooty busb
y gender-neutral word "Hmm"), metrosexuals were a subversive force pois
maging to the prospects for a metrosexual putsch was the speed with whi
pect, it is not clear whether metrosexuality was a naturally evolving t
tly expired. The fate of the metrosexual movement is eerily similar. O
1994, the derisive notion of metrosexuality was deliberately perverted
Metrosexual car dealerships, metrosexual muffler shops, and even metro
exual muffler shops, and even metrosexual lawn-care services began spri

. Another major cause of the metrosexual implosion was the inevitable
t community. Sensing that the metrosexual powers-that-be were seeking t
ere seeking to. Ultimately, metrosexuality was done in by its own inh
man the barricades. Meet the metrosexual David Beckham, the captain of
shrieking, flaming, freaking metrosexual. (He'll thank me for doing th
know one, but to determine a metrosexual, all you have to do is look a
hem, they're almost certainly metrosexual. The typical metrosexual is a
inly metrosexual. The typical metrosexual is a young man with money to
ey to Beckham is the biggest metrosexual in Britain because he loves b
ovide the early prototype for metrosexuality. Decidedly single, definit
American by the most refined metrosexuals, but its alarming popularity
ing frat boys is proof of how metrosexuality has gone mainstream -- whi
ed. Female "Sex and the City" metrosexuality has seen to that. Female m
lity has seen to that. Female metrosexuality is the complement of male
ity is the complement of male metrosexuality, except that it's active w
t that it's active where male metrosexuality is passive. No longer is a
se days. Beckham, unlike most metrosexuals, is happily married, though
But now that everyone's gone metrosexual it's also true of straights.
es (the exhibitionism of male metrosexuality is literally asking to be
as become the unholy grail of metrosexual sex. The booty has become the
ront, zippers over ass cracks metrosexuality has also converted Hollywo
otiate the anxiety created by metrosexuality's impact on masculinity wh
used to convert young men to metrosexuality in the first place. This c
one of America's most famous metrosexual males, leads an all-boys-toge
ces transformed into a raving metrosexual before our very eyes. Apparen
the new power dynamic between metrosexual men and women and how metrose
osexual men and women and how metrosexual men have to be the center of
en him and his real love: his metrosexual alter ego in the Day-Glo gimp
lad-mags are actually raving metrosexual but still in denial, which is
Mathers hates are definitely metrosexual. And yet Em, who like Beckham

es, is clearly and alarmingly metrosexual himself; we're all looking at relaxed, faggoty, submissive metrosexuality of David Beckham, posing for or not, I have always been a metrosexual. Most of my friends have always been metrosexual. (What do you think of metrosexual men?) However, in the West many men found the concept of metrosexual very appealing and most women or anyone of the thousands of metrosexual men, suggests. Earlier this week an she'd discovered called a 'metrosexual'. Apparently he's a 'man with hey're as memorably silly as 'metrosexual'. I go online and visit words of neologisms and type in 'metrosexual'. Wordspy continues: 'Here Simpson's description of the metrosexual type that appeared in Salon.com David Beckham as the ultimate metrosexual]: "The typical metrosexual is the metrosexual]: "The typical metrosexual is a young man with money to most situationist even, to see metrosexuality now being talked about withious when I first wrote about metrosexuality back in 1994, shortly after, when I wrote about how male metrosexuality was coming out of the closet. It's clear though that, like metrosexuality, Becks is someone that if had to invent. Beckham is the metrosexual future, but also a way of adapting the early prototype for metrosexuality. Decidedly single, definitely and new lads both had strong metrosexual tendencies, it's just that the footballing icon and militant metrosexualist who outed the footie fetish of Men' they declare that metrosexual men are no longer so self-absorbed family-oriented'. Apparently metrosexual men are also very fond of Felton in the 1970s, and that in fact metrosexual man is "any straight man who is. So the that dandyish young metrosexual about town is actually a nappier 'Future of Men' survey into 'metrosexuals' covered a rather top-heavy corporate sponsors of 'ultimate metrosexual' David Beckham, by contrast, they were simply too old to be metrosexualised. More puzzlingly still, the femininity. No wonder Salzman's metrosexual is so domesticated. In their case the profitability of their metrosexual category - hence the repeated repeated reassurances that the metrosexual is actually straight - the ma

y Kendal, something that most metrosexuals probably wouldn't be seen de
e appeared a major feature on metrosexuals by Warren St John ('Metrosex
dited/blamed for starting the metrosexual epidemic back in 1994. Being
the NYT as the father of the metrosexual turned out to be a mixed bles
e. The media gang-bang of the metrosexual continued to grow, rapidly de
sian TV. 'What does a typical metrosexual wear,' the interviewer asked
vanity, but I'm a rather bad metrosexual. As you can see from my un-ir
than that bleedin' nancy-boy metrosexual. Let's talk about me instead
CNN programme to discuss the metrosexual, where he came from and where
y Salon.com article 'Meet the metrosexual' of last year was indeed the
d the original source for the metrosexual concept – which 'we updated,
ing' work in her briefings on metrosexuals to the media. Flattery may
eing my price. Maybe I'm more metrosexual than I'm willing to admit. Co
, some months after 'Meet the metrosexual' ran on Salon (July 2002). T
hat 'influenced' by 'Meet the metrosexual', right down to the title and
he Age a version of 'Meet the metrosexual' some months previously. They
rinted the dodgy 'Rise of the metrosexual' article finally sent me an e
ending the dodgy 'Rise of the metrosexual' article in which he sniffed:
Australia ran an item on the metrosexual last night without any mentio
ou, if 60 Minutes Australia's metrosexual item is anything to go by, Au
ng to go by, Australian media metrosexuals are lying mostly to themselv
a rather anxious Australian 'metrosexual' saying over and over again t
. Is he gay? No, he's the new metrosexual man. As many of you know by
of you know by now, the term "metrosexual" was coined by a journalist (
raid to show it. Essentially, metrosexuals are guys who take on behavio
emale domain. You may have a metrosexual brother, male friend or boyfr
d how of the existence of the metrosexual man. Simply put, he is a by-p
shrieking, flaming, freaking metrosexual. (He'll thank me for doing th
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as become the unholy grail of metrosexual sex. The booty has become the
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one of America's most famous metrosexual males, leads an all-boys-toge
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en him and his real love: his metrosexual alter ego in the Day-Glo gimp
lad-mags are actually raving metrosexual but still in denial, which is
Mathers hates are definitely metrosexual. And yet Em, who like Beckham
es, is clearly and alarmingly metrosexual himself; we're all looking at
relaxed, faggoty, submissive metrosexuality of David Beckham, posing f
ting. The final irony of male metrosexuality is that, given all its obs
o love itself. Europe is a "metrosexual" superpower, writes Parag Kha
hanna concludes that "just as metrosexuals are redefining masculinity,
New Europe: the world's first metrosexual superpower. Metrosexuals alw
But don't be deceived by the metrosexual superpower's pleatless pants—
-century orientation. Just as metrosexuals are redefining masculinity,
e.edu/display.article?id=4366 metrosexual (met.roh.SEK.shoo.ul) n. An u

is appearance and lifestyle. —metrosexuality n. Example together is ve
've lived, is a haven for the metrosexual. A metrosexual, in case you d
haven for the metrosexual. A metrosexual, in case you didn't catch any
ovember 17, 2003 The typical metrosexual is a young man with money to
ere. —Mark Simpson, "Meet the metrosexual," Salon.com, July 22, 2002 A
" Salon.com, July 22, 2002 A metrosexual is a clotheshorse wrapped aro
to paint his fingernails, the metrosexual is not afraid to embrace his
brace his feminine side. Why "metrosexual"? The metro- (city) prefix in
n wrote another article about metrosexuals in the online magazine Salon
ons. There is no escaping the metrosexual. The second example citation
s succinct description of the metrosexual type from his Salon.com artic
st Citation: The promotion of metrosexuality was left to the men's styl
n of The Face — address their metrosexual readership as if none of them
g star Vickers, a self-styled metrosexual, embody an emerging racing de
ile of a new demographic: the metrosexual. Defined as "urban males with
on appearance and lifestyle," metrosexuals have marketers taking a fres
ters.com/trendspotting/9001,1,metrosexual.html power in the workplace.
r a sarong—as the epitome of “metrosexuality,” According to the expert
ictionary.com/define.php?term=metrosexual Regular guys cast a jaded e
lar guys cast a jaded eye at 'metrosexual' trend By Olivia Barker, USA
tract squabbles — the sagging metrosexual movement epitomized by the Qu
When my grandmother knew what metrosexual meant, I realized how overexp
h. "I'm sure you'll be seeing metrosexual breakfast cereals and action
w," Hein grumbles. The word "metrosexual" actually emerged a decade ag
Howard Dean labeled himself a metrosexual, then admitted he really didn
his three-headed monster, the metrosexual, that needs to be slain," say
I has seen a 33% Last month "metrosexual" was declared the most misuse
February: In the category of "metrosexual conundrum," "Are sneakers wit
com/life/lifestyle/2004-01-21-metrosexual-backlash_x.htm Monday March
Yahoo!: What does the term "metrosexual" mean? Cheryl Crystal Lake,

ed around like a green salad, metrosexual has become the phrase of the
heart of what it means to be a metrosexual, we went straight to the slan
what we learned, we assume a metrosexual is a straight guy fastidious
you'd like to gauge your own metrosexuality, we found short quizzes fr
absolutely nothing wrong with metrosexuality.

Appendix F

Google Concordance

google (GOO.gul) v. To search for in

September 10, 2000 Using google to scope out a new boyfriend aim you can only use the verb google to refer to a Google search. scurantist in me. Navigate to google.com and you get a simple text Enter anything you fancy and google.com comes back with a plethora n.com. But, how did the word "google" become a verb in the English er, I think, is that the word google is catchy, has nothing to do m, and I frequently switch to google.com to perform searches.) Ap into a verb. Singletons will "google" a new boyfriend or girlfriend k about "googling" and "being googled". On an episode of ER, she e since been told: "That girl googled you because she knows who yo from the firm after he added "google" to his online lexicon. The , people have started to say "google" to mean search. The word has they still can. The verb "to google" has yet to take off on this e's concern is misplaced. To "google" is to use the Google service engine exists. Anyone using "google" as a verb only reinforces th Owen, UK I disagree that "to google" has taken off over here. It' oice. When I say I'm going to google something, I look it up on Go s at all popular... The word "google" conjured up visions of googl oogle" conjured up visions of googley eyes. Like those moving eyes childhood, she used the word "googles" to refer to those bits and CBS News has deemed the word "google", as a noun or even a verb, t ining most people who do use "google" as a verb, are actually usin efininitely not using the word "google" in relation to the search en , and certainly aren't using "google" as a verb in their vocabular ity - those who actually use "google" as a verb in their vocabular Google does best. It makes to google as a verb much more attractiv apitalizing the verb form of "google." Verbs are not traditionally .adammessinger.com/2004/06/12/google-verb-case/trackback/ You are oo, will not be capitalizing "google" when used as a verb. Which I or us, it's Google grammar. google (verb)—to search the Web usin y site includes an entry for "google" as a verb: Earlier this eve ome aware of a definition of "google" on your website, www.wordspy This definition implies that "google" is a verb synonymous with "s y deleting the definition of "google" found at wordspy.com or revi in trademark protection, but "google" is an important new verb, so eric? Search Lexis-Nexis for "googled or googling or (google w/7 v

Is in the 'language police': "Google is now a verb, meaning to sea
. Bad news for a company like Google. posted by cachilders at 12:2
ne 24 All I have to say to Google and its lawyers is 'Good luck
ing and I would say 'I dunno. Google it.' posted by Nauip at 12:46
do about that. I also use "Google" as a verb, meaning only to s
rb, meaning only to search on Google. I think that's natural. I do
lly like the word in general. Google is a cool site and all, but t
icked a lame name. Secondly, Google is a nice company and all, bu
PST on June 24 Whenever I Google something, I send it to Barne
on details. In point of fact, Google has been contacting people wh
contacting people who define "Google" as "search for" and asking t
finition to "search for using Google." Not a large deal -- and Go
le." Not a large deal -- and Google's suggested change comports w
rts with how most people use "Google" when they use it as a verb.
une 24 William Gibson used Google as a verb in his most recent
Recognition. I'm afraid that Google is too late. posted by Specia
heir food for the same reason Google doesn't want to be in the dic
24 When I tell someone to "Google it", I hardly mean for them t
I mean that they should go to Google and look for it. Is it really
ne 24 I can understand why Google wants to protect the term, bu
oke and get a cola. I think Google's had a good go. They're stil
legal. As a practical matter, Google cannot win: just as Xerox and
s legal trademark rights, and Google is setting out to do the same
y diligent action. As long as Google can show that they have follo
ing the trademark in court. Google, the Verb by William Arruda
4, 2004 It is no secret that Google is the world's leading Intern
m Member Benefits Unlocking Google's Hidden Potential Exclus
article is not about the noun Google, it is about the verb. The wo
The world's newest verb, "to Google," has become a part of everyd
day activity, too. Many of us Google more often than we do any oth
irst time I heard someone use Google as a verb, I was on a confere
d in, "Apparently not, I just Googled her and almost nothing came
article, he said, "I know, I Googled you before you came in." T
u came in." This time I was Googled. Perhaps one of the more r
that fueled this trend, being Googled or Googling is far from a fa
unanimously agreed that being Googled is common—and it is here to
me. The implications of being Googled are widespread when it comes
hall, you can count on being Googled. Being Googled reveals how
unt on being Googled. Being Googled reveals how visible you are
ssful personal branding. Your Google results also become useful da
you. So the prospect of being Googled brings up some interesting q
ur personal brand: Is being Googled the new millennium version o
ndard credit-check? Will your Google results be figured into wheth
ucational program? Will being Googled become a routine step in eva
s? If you don't show up in Google, do you exist? Quantitatively

ing, you are somebody if your Google results cover multiple pages. ly unknown brand, however, if Google can't find you, or worse, if s. So if you don't show up in Google, will you be dismissed? Wi u be dismissed? Will being Googled replace reference checking i s and client bids? After all, Google provides a much more objectiv references for you. Will your Google results be the determining fa for a new job? Will being Googled change the way we name our k lenge for getting an accurate Google assessment. Google doesn't di n accurate Google assessment. Google doesn't discern between John r children to ensure accurate Google results? I don't have all th I would start to use the verb Google as part of my regular vocabul build a plan to increase your Google visibility and ensure it says positive results when you are Googled: 1. Create your own Web si o increase your visibility in Google. There are lots of article ba individuals will improve your Google ranking and increase your vis r something specific, buy the Google ad words related to that topi the right hand column of all Google searches for the terms you se r article. For now, I have to Google a new client so that I can pr b search" (primarily with the Google web search engine). The coina eady use "google" as a verb. Google became a verb on blogs three to google" or not "to google" Google's lawyers ban verb Google's e" Google's lawyers ban verb Google's trademark counsel sending o er-letters over "to google" - Google's trademark counsel has begun eb, particularly by using the Google search engine; to search the nd or boyfriend. Amazingly, Google's lawyers don't like this. Th : I am trademark counsel for Google. I have recently become aware th "search." Please note that Google is a trademark of Google Tech that Google is a trademark of Google Technology Inc. Our brand is ke sure that when people use "Google," they are referring to the s received a letter from one of Google's lawyers concerning his cita eb, particularly by using the Google search engine; to search the th "search." Please note that Google is a trademark of Google Tech that Google is a trademark of Google Technology Inc. Our brand is ke sure that when people use "Google," they are referring to the s nd advice and points out that Google can't really do anything abou s fun, it works. And what the Google (TM) lawyer knows, but does n nk is right. That letter from Google is a bluff, an example of a c

Update: I'm well aware that Google, in order to protect their tr mpanies insist on doing this? Google has called in the lawyers to y and stop people from using "Google" has a verb ("Did you google mare. "'Do you Yahoo?' No, I Google," he wrote last year in his o . From its inception in 1998, Google has grown from the project of lar search engine on the Web. Google answers over 150 million quer it grew, something happened. Google reached a tipping point -- a g more than a search engine. Google became a verb. "Throw out y

roups. The difference between Google and earlier search methods is earlier search methods is that Google just works. ("Uncanny," one e results you were looking for. Google largely solved the problem of ve search. Flanagan compared Google to the Segway scooter: "You t . And while most people find Google useful to extract hidden nugg ion, others are interested in Google for precisely the opposite re posite reason. They are using Google's more than 3 billion indexed ide poll of wired humanity. Googlefight.com, for example, invite say, "googled" vs. "yahooed." Googlefight runs a Google search on "yahooed." Googlefight runs a Google search on each keyword and ta results to "yahooed"'s 572.) Googlefight is just for fun, but Tom m," he tested both phrases on Google. Since both phrases turned up cided that both were valid. "Google is better than grammar books, ote. He sometimes had to use Google... Of course he did! Is there any among us who does not use Google half a dozen times a day? Thi omputer science, is hooked on Google. I myself use Google — whic ked on Google. I myself use Google — which is to say, I google — itsar massacre.* I flipped to Google, typed in "churchill frightful

Googled

k about "googling" and "being googled". On an episode of ER, show e since been told: "That girl googled you because she knows who you eric? Search Lexis-Nexis for "googled or googling or (google w/7 ve revise such references. I've googled many factoids about this in t e" as a verb. For example, "I googled the company, but found very l elf." Naturally, people also googled each other. Singles googled t o googled each other. Singles googled to check out prospective date respective dates. Job-hunters googled potential employers. Classmat tential employers. Classmates googled old friends. In some ways t ip to Minnesota recently, she googled a high-school classmate she h against one another -- say, "googled" vs. "yahooed." Googlefight r t results wins the "fight." ("googled," with 13,000 results to "yah

Googling

their daughter said she was "googling for her other sock." And here rovide) that shows the use of googling as a synonym for "searching t m out. People now talk about "googling" and "being googled". On an of Dr Susan Lewis talked of "googling" her blind date. And singer

o you are now.' So hurrah for googling!" says Williams. "Science got
tween Google in specific, and googling in general, I can't see why G
search engine and calling it "googling". But what strikes me most is
efore you know it, people are googling at the new search engine of Y
h Lexis-Nexis for "googled or googling or (google w/7 verb)" and you
g that according to WordSpy, "googling" means to use an Internet sea
ree that it is odd to define "googling" such that it doesn't have to
they hope to avoid: talk of "googling Yahoo" and "googling Teoma."
talk of "googling Yahoo" and "googling Teoma." posted by Tubes at 12