A CORPUS LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF PHRASEOLOGY AND COLLOCATION IN THE REGISTER OF CURRENT EUROPEAN UNION ADMINISTRATIVE FRENCH

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Abstract

The French administrative language of the European Union is an emerging discourse: it is less than fifty years old, and has its origins in the French administrative register of the middle of the twentieth century. This thesis has two main objectives. The first is descriptive: using the flourishing methodology of corpus linguistics, and a specially compiled two-million word corpus of texts, it aims to describe the current discourse of EU French in terms of its phraseology and collocational patterning, in particular in relation to its French national counterpart. The description confirms the phraseological specificity of EU language but shows that not all of this can be ascribed to semantic or pragmatic factors. The second objective of this thesis is therefore explanatory: given the phraseological differences evident between the two discourses, and by means of a diachronic comparison, it asks how the EU discourse has developed in relation to the national discourse.

A detailed analysis is provided of differences between the administrative language as a whole and other registers of French, and indeed of genre-based variation within the administrative register. Three main types of phraseological patterning are investigated: phraseology which is the creation of administrators themselves; phraseological elements which are part of the general language heritage adopted by the administrative register; and collocational patterning which, as a statistical notion, is the creation of the corpus. The thesis then seeks to identify the most significant influences on the discourse. The data indicates that, contrary to expectations, English, nowadays the most commonly-used official language of the EU institutions, has had relatively little influence. More importantly, the translation process itself has acted as a conservative influence on the EU discourse. This corresponds with linguistic findings about the nature of translated text.

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(ii) I was admitted as a research student in September 1998, and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in September 1998; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1998 and 2002.

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The initial motivation for this thesis came, albeit hazily, from a period as a stagiaire in the English Translation Division of the Secretariat of the Council of the European Union in the summer of 1997. The fascinating work I carried out there sparked my interest in administrative language. In this context, I am particularly grateful to St. Clair Stewart, Fiona Collier and Shauna Doherty.

The quotations at the beginning of each chapter are taken from David Lodge's *Small World: An Academic Romance* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1984). Midway through my research, I was delighted to find that corpus linguistics has crept into a work of fiction.

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Introduction

'I'd like to take you over to our Computer Centre this afternoon', he said. 'We've got something set up for you that I think you'll find interesting.' He was sort of twitching in his seat with excitement as he said it, like a kid who can't wait to unwrap his Christmas presents. (David Lodge (1984). *Small World: An Academic Romance*, p. 183)

Sociolinguistics, the study of the relationship between language and society, assumes that a change in context implies changes in the language used.[1] This is true for code-switching between languages, such as in diglossic situations,[2] and variation within a single language, owing to differences in the surrounding context. On one level, this thesis puts this assumption to the test with relation to a particular context, and a particular feature of language: the phraseology of the emerging register of European Union administrative French.

The predecessor of the European Union, the European Economic Community, or EEC, was established in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome. It is therefore now over forty years old. This is an appropriate time to consider the administrative discourse of the EU, from a linguistic perspective. Neither the EEC nor its language variety, however, was created ex nihilo: rather France, and French, had an important part to play in its genesis, and continue to do so, despite the EU's increasingly complex linguistic make-up. Only six member states signed the original Treaty of Rome, and this required only four working languages.[3] Since 1995, the number of members has been fifteen, with eleven working

[1] Peter Trudgill (1995, p. 13), for example, explains that for the most part, sociolinguistics deals with "the *co-variation* of linguistic and social phenomena" (the italics are Trudgill's). Also, according to Glyn Williams (1992, p. 101), discussing sociolinguistics from the complementary angle of the sociology of language, "linguistic change is tied to social change". Ronald Wardhaugh (1986, p. 12), finally, considers it from the linguistic side: "sociolinguistics will be concerned with investigating the relationships between language and society with the goal of a better understanding of the structure of language and of how languages function in communication".

[2] Cf. for example Wardhaugh (1986, p. 87) for a discussion of diglossia.

[3] The original Six were Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The original

languages.[4] This situation of language contact is not new for administrative language: in thirteenth-century England, for example, there was a trilingual situation of Anglo-Norman French, English and Latin. The current EU situation, however, is unique, and because of its novelty, linguistically accessible. In the summer of 1997, over the time of the Amsterdam meeting of the European Council which agreed the Treaty of Amsterdam, I completed a three-month *stage* in the English Translation Division of the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers, carrying out translation and, in the month of August when there were no Council meetings, terminology work. Over the course of that summer, in working daily with EU French, English and Spanish, the linguistic specificities of EU language, and the complexity of the linguistic situation of the EU became increasingly clear to me.

The ways in which, and the extent to which, the newly-emerging language of European Union French has come to diverge in relation to its national counterpart are the main foci of this thesis. This does not imply that all change will necessarily have been on the part of the EU discourse alone: rather the French national administrative discourse has also adapted to reflect the increasing supranational role of the EU. Institutional change, reflecting political change, has resulted in modifications to the administrative discourse of both participants. In other words, the EU discourse can be said to be autonomous enough to have an effect on its originator. This research necessarily also highlights similarities between the two discourses, features which might be seen to be common to the administrative register as a whole, regardless of context. This in turn implies some comparison with the general language, or at least other registers of French. The research outlined here is therefore primarily a contribution to the description of the register of administration. In return, the register also offers many opportunities for research on register and language change.

set of languages were Dutch, French, German and Italian.

[4] In addition to the Six, Denmark, Ireland, the United Kingdom (1973), Greece (1981), Spain and Portugal (1986), Austria, Finland and Sweden (1995). These enlargements entailed the adoption of Danish, English, Greek, Spanish, Portuguese, Finnish and Swedish as working and official languages and Irish as an official language only.

The language of administration, along with business and commercial French, the regional dialects of French, colloquial language and slang, has been the target of French prescriptive attitudes: it has been strongly affected, to take just one example, by legislation against the use of Anglicisms. Hand in hand with this prescriptivism has gone a belief that the standard, literary, language is superior to other dialects and registers. This view is perpetuated even today and can be seen for example in the composition of large French text corpora with their bias towards literary language, although the balance in this respect has now started to change. While administrative language is generally considered to be a prestige variety, indeed one which has a notable influence on the general language, it has been criticised on many other fronts: it is often perceived as obscure, excessively conservative and representative of undesirable bureaucratic red-tape. This is true also for the French of the European Union, as French and British newspapers constantly make clear. Despite this, both Paris and Brussels continue to carry out their administrative roles effectively. This paradoxical situation suggests that we do not yet fully understand how these two administrative discourses function, or to what extent we are indeed dealing with two separate discourses.

In order to differentiate the EU and national French administrative discourses, it is necessary to provide an overview of administrative French generally, and to consider the different contexts of situation in which documents are produced in the EU and national contexts. This is the focus of Chapter 1. This then poses methodological problems, which are discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Much of the linguistic discussion of administrative French has concentrated on its shortcomings and offered suggestions for improvement: usually concentrating on issues of lexis and terminology, and targeting individual words and grammatical constructions which are perceived to be typical of the register. Terminological accuracy can also be seen to be one of the main goals of translation in the EU institutions, as many of the sources of information available to translators bear witness: these include electronic and on-line databases of terminology, glossaries, and in-house terminologists. Lexical and grammatical studies have tended to result in a rather static and one-sided picture of the register. A more dynamic picture, and one which shows how language actually functions and how meaning is created and evolves, can be achieved by taking as a starting point the notion of phraseology, roughly defined by Gledhill (2000, p. 1) as "the preferred way of saying things in a particular discourse". Phraseology, defined in this way, is a fairly wide concept which extends to take in aspects of both lexis and grammar, and entails a marrying of quantitative and qualitative analysis. I propose here to approach the phraseology of European Union and national French administrative language from the angle of collocation, that is, the typical co-occurrences of words. The collocational patterning typical of a register is less intuitively obvious than its prominent individual lexical items or grammatical constructions, but it can be easily discerned by corpus methods (see below), and its contribution to the identity of the register is far-reaching. The corpus researcher Michael Stubbs has recently highlighted the importance of such co-occurrences:

> In terms of communicative competence, all words, even the most frequent in the language, contract such collocational relations, and fluent language use means internalising such phrases. In terms of cultural competence, culture is encoded not just in words which are obviously ideologically loaded, but also in combinations of very frequent words. (Stubbs 2001a, p. 313)

A phraseological approach, drawing on analysis of collocation, allows for a fuller picture of a language or register to be drawn than a purely lexical or grammatical approach can do. In some ways it is a more subtle method of investigation, and its findings are ultimately of greater value, as they tell us more about the ways in which language is being used, and the concepts, assumptions and ideologies which lie behind it.

This leads me to corpus linguistics as an appropriate methodology for analysis of this type. Robin Dempsey in David Lodge's *Small World*, speaking in the quotation at the head of this introduction, had a childlike enthusiasm for the potential, or perhaps just the novelty, of the methodology of corpus linguistics in stylistics, and created a corpus of his colleague Frobisher's complete writings. Over the last twenty years, corpus linguistics has become more and more practicable for such small-scale research, not only studies of individual authors, but also focused analyses of whole languages, and particular registers or text-types of a language. This thesis is one such study.

Collocational patterning is often counter-intuitive, as linguists such as John Sinclair (cf. Sinclair 1991) have repeatedly shown. The use of the linguist's own intuition, or such interview techniques as are commonly used in sociolinguistics, are therefore not appropriate for its study. The only reliable way to investigate collocation is through the study of large quantities of real text, the actual size of the corpus being determined by the nature of the analysis and the selection of language varieties under study, but ranging from tens of thousands to hundreds of millions of running words. This allows a more nuanced, and more accurate picture to be built up: a picture which is faithful to the subtleties of language, and one which does not ignore the infrequent or uncommon, while still highlighting what is typical. The impression built up is less clear-cut than one based on a small number of representative texts might be, but is ultimately more accurate. This research therefore draws its validity from the fact that the methodology of corpus linguistics has reached the stage where individual researchers with nothing more than a computer and a small corpus compiled to their own specifications, and some user-friendly analysis tools, can now carry out a revealing linguistic investigation of a particular language, register or genre.

It is in the nature of corpus research to be comparative, especially while it is still a fairly new methodology and there is relatively little in the way of existing research on a particular language or register, and, consequently, much use is made of comparison in the analysis carried out here. In terms of collocational patterning, I am interested both in the extent to which the EU discourse has come to differ from French national administrative language, and the phraseological patterning of the administrative register as compared with the general language, in other words what makes it recognisable as a register. The design of my corpus (cf. Chapter 3) makes possible the comparison of one discourse with another, and also of individual textual genres and types of genre with others. In addition, a small comparator corpus made up of a number of different registers of French enables comparison with the general language. Further, advances in corpus linguistics and linguistic description would progress in a very piecemeal fashion if it were not for comparison with previous research. It is crucial when using such a methodology to replicate, adapt, and compare data and findings.

Collocation and phraseology are areas fraught with terminological problems: because of the disparate disciplinary backgrounds of researchers there has not always been agreement between the various schools of thought over the defining characteristics of different types of collocation, and this has often resulted in different terms for the same concept, or conversely, the same term for arguably different concepts. As a result, it is not possible to retrieve all types of collocation together automatically from an electronic corpus of texts, at least without a large amount of 'noise' or irrelevant information. No single approach, however, can give insight into all of the types of collocation which contribute to the production of meaning in a register and which enable a register to be recognised as such. While a study of this scope cannot be comprehensive, to attempt to describe lexical patterning in a register by restricting oneself to a single definition of collocation is effectively to shut off many potentially fruitful areas from the outset. For this reason, it is more advantageous to take into consideration a number of definitions.

It is possible to distinguish two main approaches to collocational patterning in a corpus of texts: one can take as the starting point either the words which form part of collocations - units of language - or the corpus itself. The first approach I call here a 'micro' approach, and the latter, a 'macro' approach. The former has the advantage of offering a high level of precision, and allowing the analysis to be oriented in a particular direction while highlighting infrequent, but still potentially important, collocations. On the other hand this approach offers only a low level of recall, and may miss quantitatively important collocations and phraseological patterning. The second, data-driven, approach, on the other hand, has the advantage of a high level of recall, while focusing attention on high frequency collocations and patterns, but at the same time can offer only low precision, that is to say that a great deal of manual analysis is necessary once the computer has retrieved potential collocations. The analysis carried out here exploits both approaches. Chapter 4 takes a 'macro' approach, taking as its starting point the corpus itself, and deriving frequent word sequences directly from the data. Chapter 5 is a 'micro' approach, beginning as it does with units of language, in this case, 'locutions' of French. Chapter 6, finally, combines the two approaches. Although it takes a 'micro' approach, to the extent that the investigation of collocational and phraseological patterning begins from individual 'keywords', these keywords, at least according to one definition, are derived from the corpus. In addition, Chapters 4 and 5 have in common the fact that they both concentrate on collocations considered as products, while Chapter 6 brings to the fore instead the process of collocation. In this way, I aim gradually to piece together a picture of the collocational and phraseological patterning in the discourses of EU and national administrative French.

A further point is appropriate at this stage: this relates to the issue of layout, particularly in the later chapters of the thesis, which set out the analysis. Rebecca Posner, in her study of linguistic change in French, draws attention to a potential problem in studies of lexis, which can be applied equally to studies of collocation and phraseology:

> [...] on the whole, discussion of change in the lexicon soon descends to citation of individual examples and a general picture of how a lexicon changes rarely emerges. (Posner 1997, p. 143)

It can be readily understood how an investigation of collocational patterns could quite easily fall into the same trap, and fail to go beyond the 'citation of individual examples'. Since my aim here is to arrive at a general picture of the workings of the phraseology of administrative French, I attempt throughout this thesis to generalise, in order to highlight patterns and tendencies rather than merely to assemble lists of individual examples. On the other hand, there is also a danger in excessive generalisation, and failing to keep the texts in the corpus themselves in the forefront: clearly a sensitive and carefully nuanced balance must be struck.

Chapter 1: The Register of Administrative French

" 'It means', he said, holding up a flat metal canister rather like the sort you keep film spools in, 'It means that every word you've ever published is in here.' " (Lodge 1984, p. 183)

1.1. Introduction and objectives

> All the language of public administration and government may be said to be the language of planning and regulation, the language of public guidance. (Firth 1935, p. 30)

The influential British linguist, J. R. Firth here highlights the many functions of language in administration. When one considers the number and range of areas in our lives which are regulated in some way, and the number of levels - local, regional, national and, increasingly, supranational - from which this regulation comes, it is clear that the language of public administration has a very important role to play, and the sheer mass of administrative documents is difficult to comprehend. Even in today's electronic age, it would be impossible to cram every word ever published into Robin Dempsey's flat metal canister. Administrative language has been described as prestige language (cf. for example Charrow 1982, p. 187), and in France this is arguably more the case than in many other countries. Historically, it has had an important role to play in both disseminating and determining the standard language. Centralised administration both explicitly, as the propagator of linguistic policy (through such organisations as the *Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France* among others) and implicitly, through its own use of language, increases the influence of the standard variety of French. The register, in its various states, has clearly had historical, cultural and social prestige and relevance.

The supranational European Union over the last forty-odd years has taken and is continuing to take an increasingly important part in people's lives, as it both widens to include new Member States, and deepens the scope of its influence and power. The EU is a unique organisation, although others, such as the United Nations and NATO, might be likened to it in different respects. Linguistically, too, the EU is a unique contact situation: this is set out in Section 1.2.1. In order to appreciate the specificity of the EU in this regard, it is useful to consider the French national context and attitudes to language in Paris: this is done in Section 1.2.2. The EU was not created from nothing, however. France had a major role in its genesis and continues to play a large part in its subsequent development. Section 1.3. discusses this early and continuing influence and extends the discussion to issues of linguistic influence on the emerging discourse of EU administrative language.

Just as 'Eurospeak' has its origins in an earlier type of administrative language, so also the French administrative language of the middle of the twentieth century can be traced back and earlier influences discerned. The chapter therefore continues its reverse chronology, jumping back in Section 1.4. to the origins of the register and working back up to the present, highlighting some of the major external influences on the register, including earlier situations of multilingualism and language contact. While the development of the French administrative register over the centuries has been punctuated by bursts of change, this only serves to underline its adaptability and ultimately its functional effectiveness. After all, if the post-war growth of France from an agricultural society to an industrial one really is due to the efficiency of the bureaucracy, as Campbell et al. (1995, p. 278) suggest, then the 'obscurity' of the language cannot have been entirely counter-productive. The popular perception of administrative language, however, stands in contrast to this. Administrative language frequently excites negative public interest, as its particular linguistic characteristics and excessive volume of writing are seen to be indicative of a lack of transparency in the administration, and consequently too great a metaphorical distance between the administration and the citizens of Europe, or between Paris and the provinces. Like a jargon, it can exclude the uninitiated and in this sense one can draw parallels with John Swales' (1990a) notion of discourse communities.[1] The result is that, as Rodney Ball, for example, claims, administrative language is "still frowned upon by many today" (Ball 1997, p. 182). Section 1.5. details this popular view of the register, and measures taken to improve French, and French and English Eurospeak.

Finally, the next section takes a linguistic perspective on the administrative register. Little work has been carried out on EU French in particular, but this section surveys existing research in this area, and also on related registers, such as political and legal language, and administrative registers of other languages. The aim of this section is to provide a background for a study of phraseology in the register, by reviewing research on its lexical and grammatical characteristics.

A note on terminology is necessary at this point. The object of study is the language of public administration, that is, the language used to transmit government policy and practice to the public. This public is, of course, heterogeneous and seeks the information for many different purposes. The various textual genres, both oral and written, must adapt to fit requirements. The interest here does not lie in the so-called 'grey literature', or 'administrative' texts defined by C. P. Auger (1994) as "publications with little or no general distribution", and often a non-professional layout, including such texts as reports, theses and meetings papers. Similarly, the boundary between administrative language and political language, in the sense of party political language, is not clear-cut, because the work of the administration and that of a party in power are inextricably intertwined. This is especially the case in France: Knapp and Wright (2001, p. 277) point out that until 1991 and then again from 1993 to 2001 (and indeed until early

[1] Some of the groups within the EU or French administration, such as the group of EU Commissioners, certainly would seem to fit the six defining characteristics set out in *Genre Analysis*, although Swales' latest work (1998) sets out a revised view of discourse community. Whether or not this thesis is actually dealing with a group of related discourse communities, the point is the same: they are centrifugal, in that they tend to separate people into occupational or special interest groups. See also Chapter 3.

2002), all prime ministers of the Fifth Republic had spent part of their careers in the Civil Service.[2]

Christina Schäffner (1997, p. 119) calls political language an 'umbrella term', and the same can be seen to be true of administrative language. In the particular contexts dealt with here it is impossible completely to separate the administrative from the political and the legislative, as the quotation from Firth above suggests, especially at the European Union level. The European Commission, for example, is unique among international bureaucracies, combining as it does administrative, legislative and executive functions. Moreover, the President of the Commission can be viewed as either an official or a political leader. It should be borne in mind therefore that 'administrative' is meant to be understood here as shorthand for 'politico-administrative'. Various names have been used for this register: bureaucratic language (e.g. Charrow 1982); officialese (Longe 1985); the language of public administration (Longe 1985); Civil Service language (Crystal and Davy 1969). While the focus of each of these is subtly different, public administrative language under any name has the central function of "mediat[ing] between government and the governed" (Longe 1985, p. 307). This definition lies behind the design of the corpus used here (cf. Chapter 3).

1.2. The context of the register of administrative French

The European Union is a unique organisation, in terms of its changing aims, institutional set-up, and scope of activity. The French language is famous as the language of diplomacy. It is necessary therefore to consider therefore how the two interact, by looking at such issues as the degree of influence of French on so-called 'Eurospeak', and the place of the French language in the EU context, where the issue of

[2] Édith Cresson (1991-92) was a business school graduate and Pierre Bérégovoy (1992-93) initially worked for the State gas monopoly (Knapp and Wright 2001, p. 277). Jean-Pierre Raffarin (from 2002), similarly, has a background not in the Civil Service but in business and academia: he graduated from the École supérieure de commerce, lectured at the Institut d'études politiques in Paris for nine years, and has had various jobs in business, among others Director of Bernard Krief Communication in the 1980s.

translation is of vital importance, as compared to its use in the national context. Moving from the abstract level of a language to the more concrete question of individual texts and types of text, it is necessary to consider the context of production of the genres and texts which play a part in the construction and day-to-day workings of the two administrations, in addition to the various constraints on text production resulting from these contexts. Chris Gledhill (1997, p. 87) claims that a specialised corpus, whether defined in terms of its communicative register or its thematic area, must be related to the community from which it emanates. One further aim of this section is to do just that.

1.2.1. The linguistic situation in the European Union

> [...] les langues sont au cœur des échanges, surtout dans le monde moderne, où elles sont par exemple la matière première des industries de service, des industries culturelles. ("La place des langues dans les institutions européennes", DGLFLF website, http://www.culture.fr/ culture/dglf/garde.htm)

In few situations is it more evident that language is a raw material than in the European Union. Language issues have a high profile in the EU, and attract a lot of public attention in all of the member states of the Union. The principle of the equality of official and working languages is as old as the Union itself,[3] dating back to Council Regulation No. 1 of 15 April 1958, which is concerned with the linguistic plurality and the equality of the original French, Dutch, German and Italian, so that all citizens have equal access to Community law. Today, the Union has eleven working languages and twelve Treaty (or official) languages, Irish Gaelic being only a Treaty language. The Amsterdam Treaty adds that:

> Every citizen of the Union may write to any of the institutions or bodies referred to in this Article or in Article 4 in one of the languages mentioned in Article 248 [this Article adds Danish, English, Finnish, Greek, Irish, Portuguese, Spanish and Swedish to the original four languages] and have an answer in the same language. (Treaty of Amsterdam, Article 8D)

[3] Indeed, it can be considered even older, as the EEC followed the precedent of the ECSC, which by 1953 published its Official Journal in Dutch, French, German and Italian (cf. Judge and Judge 1998, p. 292).

Thierry Fontenelle remarks that multilingualism is key: "This fundamental principle aims at ensuring communication and serves as a cement which unites all European citizens, taking account of their cultural and linguistic diversity. Democracy, transparency and equality are superior principles which can only be achieved if multilingualism is implemented and preserved." (Fontenelle 1999, p. 123). Language is probably the most visible mark of diversity (cf. Coulmas 1991b, p. 1). Only the Court of Justice is exempt from the language requirement, adopting as it does a language for each case, although French is dominant.[4]

As the EU expands, the language issue is exacerbated, and the number of official languages can at times be impractical in the day-to-day workings of the institutions. Jean Quatremer, the Brussels correspondent of *Libération* claimed, in the Sunday Times (19 August 2001) that EU officials want English to be the language of the EU, and national languages to be relegated to the level of local dialects.[5] The proposal at the beginning of July 2001 to simplify the administration by moving from a system of three predominant working languages (English, French and German) to the language of choice of officials, he claims, would end in English taking over. A Frenchman himself, he says that "it is as if the French are resigned to this arrogant domination of English, upgraded to the rank of Europe's lingua franca" (*ibid.*). He goes on to suggest that dispensing with French in Brussels could turn the French against Europe.

The French linguist, Claude Hagège, however, does not agree with this pessimistic view. Rather, he says, "Cependant, il n'est pas dit qu'une seule des langues à vocation fédératrices doive occuper toutes ces fonctions. Les destins contrastés des trois principales [...] font bien apparaître la diversité de leurs missions." (Hagège 1994, p.

[4] For more information on the language practices of the main EU institutions, see Judge and Judge (1998, p. 293ff).

[5] This was certainly not the impression I got from speaking to colleagues in the English Translation Division: however, it is understandable that people who derive a living from translation should be in favour of the multilingual policy!

271). He believes that European unity does not toll a bell for Europe's cultural minorities.

As France was one of the original six member states, along with part-Francophone Luxembourg and Belgium, the French language has played a part in European issues from the very start. Understandably, as French has fallen from being the language of half of the member states and one language in four, to the language of a fifth of the members, and only one language in twelve, its relative role has decreased. In practice, however, English, French and German are the most used languages in day-to-day affairs, with French and English more or less equal in internal oral communication, and the commonest languages of document drafting. Judge and Judge give the following figures, based on research carried out in 1996 by the University of Gerhard-Mercator in Duisberg in Germany:

> - internal written communications: French in 75% of cases
> - oral communication with Member States: French in 54% of cases
> - written communication with Member States: French in 56% of cases
> - oral communication in a world-wide context: English in 69% of cases
> - written communication in a world-wide context: English in 71% of cases (Judge and Judge 1998, p. 296)

It is difficult to put a figure on it, but according to the DGLFLF, English has recently overtaken French as the most popular language of drafting in the Commission (Cf. Fontenelle 1999, p.125). English also currently has a slight advantage in some sectors. Especially with recent preparations to widen the Union towards the East, the 1995 accession of Nordic countries, both shifting the geographical centre of Europe eastwards, and the fact that English is by far the most commonly taught second language in the European Union,[6] English may already have gained the upper hand.

A natural result of the multilingual, multicultural climate of the EU is the existence of 'hybrid texts'. While French national administrative documents are strongly culture-bound, this is not the case for European Union documents. Anna Trosborg

[6] Flesch (1998) claims that 90% of young people in the EU are taught English as a second language.

introduces the concept of hybrid texts, or "documents produced in a supranational multicultural discourse community where there is no linguistically neutral ground" (1997c, p. 145), but where documents fulfil identical functions. She goes on to suggest that hybrid texts have specific textual features, of vocabulary, syntax and style:

> In the process of establishing political unity within the Union, linguistic expressions are levelled to a common, (low) denominator. EU documents have developed a specific language involving coinage of new concepts as well as new terms for the drafting of documents and for use in Community negotiations. (Trosborg 1997c, p. 151)

In such an environment, translation necessarily plays a crucial role in communication. The languages of the Member States come into contact through bilinguals, translators and interpreters.[7] Translation is needed both within the institutions, for purposes of information, and for the public, who have a right to documents in their own language. The procedures of translation, however, vary according to the type of document and its purpose. Different genres have very different aims,[8] and this has implications for the process of translation. At a basic level, while the translation of working papers can be fairly flexible, legislative texts must be strictly equivalent, even to the extent of an "équivalence numérique" (Seleskovitch and Lederer 1984, p. 28), which implies that the number of sentences and paragraphs must be identical in the source and target texts.[9]

The translation process is consequently a massive operation, and one which draws heavily on the Community budget. As new Member States join the Union, the language pairs increase exponentially: currently, with eleven working languages, there are a

[7] Uriel Weinreich defines language contact as follows: "two or more languages will be said to be IN CONTACT if they are used alternately by the same persons. The language-using individuals are thus the locus of the contact." (Weinreich 1953, p. 1, the emphasis is Weinreich's). Wardhaugh (1987, p. vii) says that "competition between languages is to be expected when their 'territories' impinge on one another". Neither of these definitions excludes contact in a supranational organisation, although work on language contact tends to concentrate on contact in a national context. In a speech given to the Commission's Fight the Fog campaign, Colette Flesch, a civil servant and herself a native of Luxembourg who has studied in France and the US, explained: "The multilingual and mobile childhood of many officials in the Commission, the fact that they have been expatriates for long periods of time, makes 'mother tongue' not only difficult to define but sometimes bears little resemblance to 'real' native speakers." (Flesch 1998)

[8] For John Swales (1990a, p. 46) genres are defined by their communicative purpose. Cf. also Chapter 3.

[9] Trosborg (1997c, p. 151) calls this the "full-stop rule": that is to say that punctuation must fall at the same place in the source text and the target text.

hundred and ten translation pairs,[10] and measures have had to be introduced to allow the translation and interpreting processes to continue as efficiently as possible. Recent measures have included improvements to on-line and computer-based terminology databases and document archives, which speed up the translation process by eliminating the need for the re-translation of passages,[11] and thereby increase linguistic consistency. Other measures include the practice of relay-interpreting at meetings, where an intermediary language allows a two-stage translation process between uncommon pairs, such as Greek and Finnish, and the practice at summits and European Councils of having half of the translators in situ and the others working from Brussels.[12]

The European Commission, in particular, also makes use of machine translation. European officials can now use the Systran system, via both an email and a web interface (cf. Fontenelle 1999, p. 124-5 and Judge and Judge 1998). While machine translation is useful for gist translations, or for aiding a decision as to whether or not to have a document properly translated, it cannot yet replace human translators except in very limited instances.

In addition to a levelling of linguistic expressions to a low common denominator because of the number of languages involved, there is also the factor of multiple monolingual authorship of documents. As Georgin (1973, p. 234-5) says:

> Enfin la maladresse du style officiel vient souvent de ce qu'un texte de loi, par exemple, loin d'être l'œuvre d'un seul, est le résultat d'une collaboration. Chacun y a apporté ses retouches, ses additions, quelque incidente nouvelle. Et les phrases s'allongent dangereusement. (Georgin 1973, p. 234-5)

[10] The formula for calculating the number of language pairs is n x (n-1), where n is the number of languages. Therefore, originally, when there were four languages (Dutch, French, German and Italian), there were only twelve language pairs. The addition of four more languages would increase the number of pairs over the two-hundred barrier to 210.

[11] The process of translating a very formulaic text by cutting and pasting sentences from very similar previously translated documents is reminiscent of the production of the formulaic style of Old French narrative verse in the oral tradition (cf. J. J. Duggan 1969 and 1973 on the *Chanson de Roland*).

[12] This happened, for example, at the Amsterdam Council in June 1997.

Even when language contact is not an issue in the drafting of a particular document, the EU context of document production is complex. This, however, is something it shares with administrative documents at the French national level.

1.2.2. French national administration and language policy

The interaction between the French administration and the standard language is close and two-way. The standard language, especially its written genres, enables effective administration, and the administration implicitly promotes, and indeed explicitly imposes, the standard language (cf. Offord 1990). The controversial 'Loi Toubon' of 4 August 1994 proclaims that the French language is "un élément fondamental de la personnalité et du patrimoine de la France. Elle est la langue de l'enseignement, du travail, des échanges et des services publics." (Article 1er). In some respects, attitudes have changed little since the Revolution.

Over the last thirty years, many bodies and commissions have been founded to deal with language issues (cf. Section 1.5.1). The first administrative organisation dedicated to the French language was created in 1966, and has developed into the *Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France* (henceforth DGLFLF)[13] which is part of the Ministry for Culture and Communication. The DGLFLF oversees two organisations: the *Commission générale de terminologie et de néologie*, which coordinates the work of the various terminology bodies, and the *Conseil Supérieur de la langue française*, which is an 'organe de consultation', composed of language experts, including writers, scientists and linguists. This latter organisation is concerned with the French language in social cohesion, teaching, 'l'enrichissement' (basically, neologisms to combat the encroachment of Anglicisms), technology and the internet, and its relation with other languages. Even today, the French government strongly favours the national language over regional languages. De Witte explains the extent of this policy:

[13] The website of the DGLFLF can be found at: http://www.culture.fr/culture/dglf/garde.htm.

> France has an active policy of favouring the use of the national language, which takes not only the form of restrictions against the use of other languages [...] but also that of positive incentives to French language expression. The government subsidises the translation of French publications into foreign languages; it subsidises French libraries abroad and French publications for distribution abroad; it offers special aid to theater or film productions using the French language; French language 'world' radio and the French language song also receive official financial support. It should be added that this policy is not fundamentally different from that pursued by most other European states, only perhaps more systematic. (De Witte 1991, p. 173)

The French national administration as it exists today of course has a much longer history than the European Union. Although the administration has been modified through the five Republics, it has its roots in the pre-Revolutionary Ancien régime and much of its structure in the Napoleonic administration,[14] although Robert Catherine (1985) singles out the end of the nineteenth century as the source of the specificity of the register. Knapp and Wright go even further and state that "since the Revolution, changes of régime have left the apparatus of the State, as well as a significant body of legislation, largely intact" (Knapp and Wright 2001, p. 15). It was built on the principles of a meritocracy, with entry through competitive exams, and has always enjoyed the respect of the majority of French people as a strong, independent force, according to Campbell et al. "for reasons of precedent, economic history, and political necessity" (1995, p. 284). Knapp and Wright however state that: "if there is a consensus about the French State, it is neither favourable nor hostile, but schizophrenic" (Knapp and Wright 2001, p. 270) and that there is a constant tension between the ideal and the reality, as they put it:

> [...] persistent tension between the State's mythical status as the impartial embodiment of the nation through successive régimes, as the guarantor of the equality dear to republican values [...] and the messy reality, daily encountered, of an unwieldy bureaucracy that appears neither impartial nor particularly rational. (*ibid.*, p. 270)

The Vth Republic was initially dedicated to reinforcing the role of the administration and has been called 'la République des fonctionnaires', for three main reasons: firstly, the powerful economic role of the State; secondly, the backing given by the régime's founders to the extension of the administration's activities; and thirdly the capacity of

[14] Anne Stevens points out that "Napoleon followed the Revolution, and much of the patterns of French administration today can be traced back to the system which he developed" (Stevens 1996, p. 136). Cf. also Knapp and Wright (2001, p. 271).

civil servants to colonise powerful positions well outside the administration itself, for example on the boards of nationalised industries.

Knapp and Wright summarise the recent changes:

> The environment within which the French administration operates has therefore changed in important ways. The French State is smaller, thanks to privatisations; it is less able to intervene at will; it is more fragmented, both territorially (thanks to decentralisation) and functionally (thanks to independent agencies); it is more subject to controls, both national (slightly) and European (considerably). The transformation was less radical on the other hand, within the administration itself, whether within the élite or at rank-and-file level. (Knapp and Wright 2001, p. 290)

The current relationship between State and administration is the result of a process of change, mainly changes within the State, much of which is related to the increasing role of the EU, which, combined with other contributing factors such as the development of international relations, and the linguistic unification brought about by the Francophonie movement, have shaped the administrative register as it exists currently (cf. Catherine 1985, p. 13).

1.3. France and the European Union - interactions and influences

Given the claim of sociolinguistics that language varies according to the context, one would expect the language produced by the two contexts outlined in Section 1.2. to differ, even although the documents share a similar range of overall purposes. This section develops these ideas further by examining the nature and extent of interaction and mutual influence between the EU and national contexts.

The political scientist, Larsen (1997, p. 24) claims that the political discourses in the domains he investigates, which includes European policy, are national. International texts, moreover, are made up of fragments of different national discourses, that is to say that they are not truly international. Furthermore, the British political scientist, John Gaffney, has suggested that "the legitimacy of the European Union depends upon the emergence of a European-level political discourse" (Gaffney 1999, p. 199). Both of these authors suggest that the European Union discourse does not as yet have a complete coherence of its own. The EU discourse lacks strong central institutions (comparable to the national level), and mass-allegiance to its objectives. It is also, at least as yet, lacking in the mythology and symbols which lie behind national discourses, and it is often the case that issues at the supranational level only impinge on the general public if they contradict or are tied up with national approaches. What is more, the EU represents a different type of leadership from national political and administrative frameworks. Thus the national and EU contexts have a different foundation and draw upon different resources for their discourses.

While it is true that the EU is a unique organisation, even among treaty-based organisations, at the same time it would not be surprising if it shared many features with the national politico-administrative context. As Gaffney (*ibid.*) also points out, EU styles and registers have correspondences in the Member States and, increasingly, Europe represents a shared experience and perspective for its members. There are also EU-wide correspondences at the party-political level.

If one considers France specifically:

> Dans l'Union plus encore que dans les autres organisations, le français, langue latine porteuse de concepts, d'un système socio-économique et d'une conception du droit, partagés par un grand nombre de pays (pays latins, mais aussi pays d'Europe centrale et orientale) joue un rôle privilégié qui nous donne une responsabilité particulière. ("La place des langues dans les institutions européennes", DGLFLF website, http://www.culture.fr/culture/dglf/francais-aime/1998/europe.htm)

This quotation, from the DGLFLF, shows that the French are proud of their place at the heart of Europe. There are grounds for expecting that the French administrative discourse in particular, more than that of any other Member State, will have a degree of overlap with the EU administrative discourse. The most important reason for this is the influence of France on the European Union: France has always had a particular interest in the development of Europe-wide agreements, from the outset when it was concerned by the United States' desire to re-arm Germany as protection against the East. A supranational framework made necessary responsibility on the part of all the countries involved. As Anne Stevens puts it "the structures that were set up then [for the ESCS], and those which followed for the European Economic Community and Euratom, were strongly influenced by French models and patterns of administration, and tended initially to provide a milieu into which French administrative assumptions meshed rather easily" (Stevens 1996, p. 311). De Gaulle was of the opinion that Europe could act as a 'lever of Archimedes', which could allow France to "regain the status she lost at the battle of Waterloo, as the first among nations" (quoted in Knapp and Wright 2001, p. 29). As regards France's role in institutional development, one thinks immediately of Jean Monnet and the Schuman Plan itself. Monnet (the *Commissaire français au Plan* from 1945) was convinced that gradual and pragmatic progress towards a united Europe was the way forward, and prepared a declaration which Robert Schuman, the French foreign minister of the time, made public on 9 May 1950. The following year, this became the European Coal and Steel Community. France also had important roles in the development of the Treaty of Rome, and the Common Agricultural Policy and its price support mechanisms.[15]

French efforts were not always an unqualified success, however. Guyomarch et al. believe that:

> [...] if French governments have been key actors in building the EU, their record is less than consistently positive. Some French leaders have initiated key institutional and policy developments, while others have been responsible for some of the major problems and set-backs in the integration process. (Guyomarch et al. 1998, p. 17)

Various events in the history of the European Union support this view: these include early attempts to coordinate foreign and defence policy (such as the Pleven and Fouchet

[15] C. Flesch (1998) gives a revealing first-hand account of working within the area of agricultural policy: "As a young official, in the Agricultural Division of the Council Secretariat, I first had a German boss. We were dealing with the market organisation for cereals and pretty soon my German vocabulary as far as wheat or rye, levies and restitutions were concerned was much improved but the legal framework, the intellectual approach and the economic tools remained largely French-inspired." She goes on to say that in the years following the first enlargement (to include Britain, Ireland and Denmark) the situation did not change fundamentally for three reasons: firstly because everyone referred to the *acquis communautaire* in French, because key posts were occupied by French speakers, and finally because the British made a serious effort to use French.

Plans), the destruction of the European Defence Community, and the empty chair crisis of 1965.[16] The French voice, or rather French voices, as it has been argued that there was never a single vision,[17] were always to be heard loud and clear.

In addition, the institutions and heartland of the EU have always been in Francophone territory - Strasbourg, Brussels and Luxembourg - so even where the French system might not have had an influence, it is possible that the French language might still have had. It should be borne in mind that this influence was two-way, and naturally the French system has also adapted as a result of power in certain domains, such as monetary policy, foreign and defence issues, and increasingly, justice and home affairs, being transferred to a supranational institution (cf. Guyomarch et al. 1998, and Knapp and Wright 2001, p. 29). Especially since the Single European Act of 1986, the European question has become the concern of the whole French administration. The EU is, however, still very much a developing organism. Indeed as its development and expansion continue, it becomes more and more difficult for the French government, as indeed any other national government, to mould policy development to suit its own needs and desires.

There is also some overlap of personnel between the national context and the EU. These include French *fonctionnaires* working on European questions in France, for example transposing EU directives into national legislation (according to Guyomarch et al. 1998, p. 53, this accounts for several thousand civil servants), officials on secondment to the Commission, Council of Ministers, or Permanent Representation, and experts participating in European working parties.

[16] The 'empty chair crisis' is the name given to the period in 1965 when Charles de Gaulle instructed French ministers not to take part in Council meetings. De Gaulle was opposed to financial arrangements for the CAP, and the proposed practice of majority voting in the Council of Ministers, among other issues.

[17] Guyomarch et al. claim that it is important to "avoid using the shorthand of referring to France as a unitary actor with a continuity of purpose" (Guyomarch et al. 1998, p. 242).

Turning to language, a glance at any EU document shows that French has had an influence on the development of so-called Eurospeak, or lexical items and concepts specific to the EU context. This can be seen in such Anglicised versions of French-inspired concepts as 'subsidiarity', 'comitology', and words and phrases which have remained in French (see Table 1.1. below for examples). Especially before the arrival of English in the EU, French fed many technical expressions into Eurospeak.[18] Timothy Bainbridge identifies three types of French influence in these expressions:

> Some of them have remained French (*acquis communautaire*), some have been at least partially assimilated into English (rapporteur), and some - perhaps the most confusing - have acquired a spurious Englishness in translation in spite of few people being entirely sure of their meaning (comitology, subsidiarity). Irritating though such expressions may be, it must be said that many of them genuinely lack an English equivalent: they are perhaps best regarded as a compact and convenient mental shorthand which, once learnt, is undeniably useful. (Bainbridge 1998, p. xi)

The following table gives examples of expressions in each of these categories, with an explanation of their meaning in the context of the European Union:

(table over)

[18] Goffin (1997, p. 66) is an interesting study of the new words introduced by each of the Treaties of the Union, many of which appear to owe their form to French. Some examples include:
Treaty of Rome: *prélèvements (agricoles), systèmes de préférences généralisées, prix de seuil, mesures d'effet équivalent, montants compensatoires monétaires, prélèvement de coresponsabilité, ressources propres.*
Maastricht Treaty: *Banque centrale européenne, citoyenneté de l'Union, Conseil des Gouverneurs, fonds à finalité structurelle, fonds de cohésion, gouvernement général, acquis communautaire.*

Term	Meaning
Acquis communautaire	'The Community patrimony' (all the decisions, laws etc. agreed to date and accepted by new Member States). First named in writing in the Maastricht Treaty.
Cabinet	French term. The small group of officials who make up the private offices of senior ministers in the European Commission, president of the Parliament etc.
Comitology	Term not yet fully assimilated into English - translation of French 'comitologie'. First used in 1962, and defined as the study of committees and how they operate.
Empty Chair Crisis	'Chaise vide'. Crisis (July-Dec 1965), when French ministers (on de Gaulle's instructions) refused to take part in Council meetings and the French Permanent Representative was withdrawn from Brussels.
Engrenage	Lit. 'meshing in'. Describes the practice of involving national civil servants with the work of the European institutions, especially the Commission.
Espace judiciaire européen	'European legal area'. Proposal put forward by Giscard d'Estaing in 1977.
Europe à la carte	Model of integration in which Member States decide whether or not to participate in activities on a case-by-case basis.
Europe des patries	A 'Europe of nation-states'. Phrase associated with Charles de Gaulle. Describes a model of integration in which states are the essential building blocks.
Fiche d'impact	The written assessment of impact of a legislative proposal.
Finalités politiques	The ultimate goals of the European Union - part of the 'acquis communautaire' but not necessarily in the Treaties.
Hierarchy of acts	Translation of 'hierarchie des actes'. Relates to the reordering of the different types of EU legislation, modelled on French constitutional reforms of 1958.
Juste retour	Became current esp. in 1979-85. Briefly, that a member state should receive a 'fair return' from the Budget, relative to its contribution.
Rapporteur	Member of a committee who is responsible for drawing up a report on a matter referred to that committee.
Social partners	Originally a French expression ('partenaires sociaux'). Employers and employees.
Subsidiarity	The principle that decisions should be taken at the lowest level consistent with effective action within a political system. First reference in an official document in the European Commission's submission to the Tindemans Report on European Union (June 1975).
Two-speed Europe	Translation of the French 'Europe à deux vitesses'. First set out in Tindemans Report (1975). Member States can proceed towards integration at different paces.

Table 1.1.: French influence on Eurospeak. Information adapted from Bainbridge (1998)

On a more terminological note, the French-English European Communities Glossary (1990), compiled by the English and Irish Division of the Council of Ministers translation service, is another source of examples of the presence of French terms in English. The following table lists those terms for which there is no English equivalent, or for which the accepted English translation is in fact a French word:

French Term	English Translation	Comment
acquis communautaire	'acquis communautaire'	Also glossed as 'accession negotiations'.
acquit-à-caution	'acquit-à-caution'	Administrative document used in France in connection with the control of movement of alcohol.
acte-clair	'acte-clair'	A provision not requiring interpretation by the Court of Justice
aide-mémoire	'aide-mémoire'	When in reference to certain oral-diplomatic communications. Also translated 'memorandum' in other contexts.
signer 'en blanc'	to sign 'en blanc'	To sign in blank (like a cheque).
produits dit 'brais résineux'	'brais résineux'	In relation to the Common Customs Tariff
carte d'identité d'étranger commerçant	'carte d'identité d'étranger commerçant'	Only used in French context.
carte professionnelle	'carte professionnelle'	Used in Belgian context.
en cas de force majeure	in cases of 'force majeure'	In legal texts only. Otherwise translated 'in circumstances outside one's control', or 'where unavoidable'
chef de cabinet	'Chef de cabinet'	Standard usage in the Commission
société en nom collectif	'société en nom collectif'	Also translated 'private company'
Collectivité territoriale de la République française	'Collectivité territoriale' of the French Republic	The official status of Mayotte.
Comité interministériel pour les questions de coopération économique européenne	'Comité interministériel pour les questions de coopération économique européenne'	French committee.
contrat-cadre	'contrat-cadre'	Also translated, in different contexts, 'framework contract', 'master contract', 'skeleton contract'
vin de coupage	'coupage' wine	In the context of wine-making.
Cour des Comptes	'Cour des Comptes'	The administrative body which oversees public accounts in France.
cuvée	'cuvée'	In the context of wine-making.
liqueur d'expédition	'liqueur d'expédition'	Glossed 'sparkling wines'.
grains mitadinés	'mitadiné' grains	In the context of durum wheat.
laissez-passer	'laissez-passer'	Also translated 'pass'
liqueur de tirage	'liqueur de tirage'	In the context of wine-making. Also may be translated ''tirage' liqueur'
location vente	'location vente'	A leasing contract with obligation to buy.
société de / à participation financière	'société de / à participation financière	Luxembourg investment company.
rapporteur	rapporteur	In the context of the Economic and Social Committee.
à six	'à six'	Referring to decisions taken in the early days of the EEC, when there were only six members.

Table 1.2.: French terminological items in English. Information from the European Communities Glossary (1990)

These terms represent only a tiny proportion of the roughly 30,000 items in the Glossary. It is notable, however, that other languages hardly show their influence at all.[19] As can be seen from the table, often the French term is only the accepted English translation in a specific context. Often also, the term refers to an institution or a body which is particular to France or a Francophone country: this explains its lack of an English translation. A third category of term is those which are used in particular domains, especially wine-making, which has its own specialised terminology in French. More interesting from the point of view of the role of French in the development of the European Union are those terms which stem from the French administrative framework, or appear to have only an arbitrary connection to France, such as 'acquis communautaire', 'acte-clair', 'signer en blanc', 'en cas de force majeure', 'rapporteur' and 'à six'.

1.4. The historical context

While an appreciation of the present-day situation in the EU and in France is essential for a study of their administrative discourses, it is also valuable to look at the register diachronically, to gain insight into some of the constraints and demands that have contributed to the form of the administrative French from which the EU discourse drew so much in the latter half of the twentieth century.

The development of the administrative register of French is closely linked to the development of the French language itself, as it gradually took over various functions from Latin.[20] A study of French-Latin language contact in the context of administrative

[19] One exception to this is the term 'Butterkäse' from German, which appears in this form in both French and English.

[20] From an early twenty-first century perspective, it is easy to view the situation simplistically, and not appreciate its multilingual nature, and the fact that Latin was far from uniform in the Middle Ages. Julia Smith (1992) discusses the development of Brittany as a territorial principality in the ninth and tenth centuries, and shows the variety in the Latinity of ninth-century Breton hagiographers: she finds that the Latin of Eastern Brittany shows the influence of Carolingian hagiography, and differs noticeably from that of Western Brittany which is closer to the Latin of late antiquity.

writing is beyond the scope of this thesis, but is certainly a revealing area of study in itself. Some of the earliest surviving texts which are recognisably French are administrative documents, although Latin remained the usual language of administration for several centuries longer (cf. Ayres-Bennett 1996, p. 21). The very earliest extant text which is accepted to be French, the *Serments de Strasbourg*, or Strasbourg Oaths, which dates from 842 A.D., is a legal-political document, which sealed the alliance between Charles le Chauve and his brother Louis le Germanique.[21] Anthony Lodge, whose interest lies primarily in the history of colloquial French, points to the charters of Tournai (1197) and Douai (1204) as the first surviving non-literary texts in the *langue d'oïl*, and to eleventh-century legal texts and administrative documents as their equivalent in the *langue d'oc* (Lodge 1993, p. 107 and p. 113). Lodge goes on to discuss the replacement of Latin by French in various functions, noting that:

> [...] between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries French acquired a wide range of official and public functions, not only as the language of government and the law but also as a language of learning. (*ibid.*, p. 120)

This process, which began in the south of France in the late eleventh century and reached the north by the thirteenth (Lodge 1993, p. 120)[22], happened in two stages:

> [...] in the first instance each of the regions introduced its own vernacular writing system into the administrative and legal domains; in the second instance the writing system of Paris gradually spread throughout the kingdom (and beyond), eliminating not only Latin but also regional vernaculars, notably the *langue d'oc*. (*ibid.*, p. 120)

This second stage paralleled the increase in the dominance of Paris in the fourteenth century (*ibid.*, p. 122). By 1539, François I's famous *Ordonnances* signed in Villers-Cotterêts recommended that the "langaige maternel françois" was to be used in preference to Latin for administrative, and judicial, purposes (*ibid.*, p. 126, cf. also Battye et al. 2000, Brunot 1906, pp. 30ff.).[23] As France grew to take in new provinces,

[21] The text of the *Serments de Strasbourg* and a discussion can be found in Brunot (1905, pp. 142ff).

[22] See also Brunot (1905) on the early history of the French language. In particular, he states that "à partir de la deuxième moitié du XIIIe siècle que le français devient la langue administrative de la plus grande partie du royaume. D'où vulgarisation d'une foule de termes d'administration et de droit empruntés au latin pour la plupart."

[23] Rebecca Posner (1997, p. 83) explains: "What the Article [Article 111 of the *Ordonnances*] actually said was that to avoid ambiguity in edicts, in which Latin words could be misinterpreted, all sorts of legal

the edict extended the boundaries of the French language in the administration.[24] A single language of administration would make for more efficient control, a view shared by many with regard to the linguistic situation in the European Union today.

With the French Revolution two and a half centuries later, the state changed in nature from feudal to bureaucratic, and the French language took on a new role in symbolising that state. The Revolution also influenced the development of the French lexicon (Ayres-Bennett 1996, p. 229). The new bureaucratic state, with control over every aspect of people's lives, "required that all its members speak the same language. Language became the essential symbol of the nation. Whereas the motto of the Ancien régime had been 'Une foi, une loi, un roi', that of the new post-revolutionary state was 'République une, langue une: la langue doit être une comme la République'" (Lodge 1993, p. 213).

Since the Revolution, even more so than under the Ancien régime, public administration and language have gone hand in hand in France. Malcolm Offord (1990, p. 16) shows that both the protection and promotion of the standard language "has been achieved by means of policies aimed at centralising and unifying the country administratively and socially, and thus linguistically" (cf. also Section 1.2.2. above, and Battye et al. 2000 for a century by century examination of French attitudes to the standard language). Rebecca Posner puts forward a possible motivation for having a standard language:

> The standard can be a means of control. Legitimate language is used in legislation and administration. It can serve an authoritarian regime, by distancing the prestige code from the language of the populace. It can also have a democratic purpose - by encouraging the populace to adopt the same code, in which opinions can be cogently expressed in free discussion, or by tolerating variation within the code, without stigmatising some variants as socially unprestigious. (Posner 1997, p. 46)

Today, there is an increasing number of governmental and private organisations which aim to protect and promote the language (cf. Brulard 1997, Judge 1993, Lodge 1993, p.

instruments should henceforth be 'prononcez, enregistrez et delivrez aux parties en langage maternel françois et non autrement'."

[24] For more information on this, cf. Brunot 1917, p. 89ff.

236ff, Offord 1994), even if many of these organisations apparently do very little in practice (Offord 1994).

Linguistic as well as historical analyses have been carried out on early administrative documents. A. Dees (1980) carried out a computer-based corpus study of several thousand charters, comprising almost a million words, from the *langue d'oïl* area, including Belgium, from the thirteenth century. Dees was interested in the administrative documents less for their own sake than in the contemporary French language as exemplified by these texts. Charters are particularly useful for linguistic purposes in that they have been consistently preserved, and cover the area in question fairly evenly; this is essential for a study like Dees' where interest lies in the geographical distribution of phonological, morphological and syntactic features.

Lodge (1985) presents analysis of a different genre of document from the same period. The language of his thirteenth-century 'livres de comptes', or account books, from Montferrand "est plus variée que celle des terriers et des chartes, laquelle est plus soumise aux formules conventionnelles" (Lodge 1985, p. 49). There is little evidence to allow any conclusions or generalisations to be drawn with regard to the syntax of the Auvergnat dialect, however, as the syntactic structure of the sentences is restricted, and as a result Lodge concentrates instead on morphology, lexis and orthography.

Thus far this chapter has surveyed only briefly the French language and its internal development, and some sociolinguistic influences on its development. More could certainly be said on the genesis of administrative French itself, and the situation of language contact between administrative Latin and the vernacular in France. A further important issue is that of the contact in Britain between French and English,[25] within

[25] Wardhaugh (1987, p. 67) explains that the French influence on English predates the Norman Conquest, but that "the invasion of 1066 did more than bring in a few Normans into positions of power at the very top of the administration. Normans occupied all the important posts and a deliberate policy of colonization was pursued. The Norman variety of French, Anglo-Norman, came for a while at least to be a serious competitor to the indigenous English and Celtic languages."

areas related to public administration. This all adds up to a situation of trilingual language contact in the Anglo-Norman culture of the thirteenth century. Sarah Thomason (2001) states that the result of language contact is that at least one language will exert some influence on at least one other language, especially in the area of word borrowing. While there was indeed a situation of language contact, however, its extent should not be overemphasised. Wardhaugh explains that from the late eleventh century "while there is some evidence of bilingualism, the vast majority of the people apparently remained unilingually anglophone. A classic case of diglossia appears to have resulted with each language used exclusively in certain domains. Bilingual ability was necessary for both anglophones and francophones only in those areas in which the two groups came into contact." (Wardhaugh 1987, p. 68).

As Section 1.6.2. discusses, there is considerable overlap between the language of administration and the language of the law. After the Norman Conquest, English finally triumphed in Britain, but the French influence was extensive (cf. Lehmann 1992), because of the "official grip of the Norman government, church, legal system, and various aspects of social and economic life" (Anttila 1989, p. 162). Borrowing is a common outcome when, as Anttila puts it (*ibid.*, p. 162) "a foreign upper class imports or imposes its way of life on speakers of other languages".[26]

The influence of French on English in these areas is perhaps most evident in the hundreds of Romance loanwords dating from this time and the following centuries right up to the time of the Revolution (cf. Crystal and Davy 1969, Anttila 1989, Lehmann 1992, Galonnier 1997, Wise 1997,[27] Iglesias-Rábade 2000). In fact, borrowing from

[26] Cf. also Dorian (1978) on the influence of English on East Sutherland Gaelic in the Scottish Highlands. While Gaelic was the original language of the area, English became associated with the ruling class and the machinery of government, and its influence spread from the centres of secular and ecclesiastical administration, gradually taking over the functions of East Sutherland Gaelic.

[27] Hilary Wise (1997, p. 82) gives some specific examples of French political terminology acquired around the time of the Revolution which originated in English: "Although the Revolution interrupted such activities, political terminology continued to flow across the Channel in both directions, producing Anglicisms like *ultimatum, pétition, opposition, constitutionnel, majorité, motion*." "We should however remember that influence was reciprocal during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. French was not only the diplomatic language of Europe; it acted as a kind of lingua franca for the ruling élite [...] From

English into French today and over the last century is effectively often re-borrowing, or borrowing back, often with a modification in meaning. The influence was not, however, limited to single words. As Thomason points out, "it is not just words that get borrowed: all aspects of language structure are subject to transfer from one language to another, given the right mix of social and linguistic circumstances" (Thomason 2001, p. 11). She goes on to explain that "various claims can be found in the literature to the effect that this or that kind of feature is unborrowable, but counterexamples can be found (and have been found) to all of the claims that have been made to date" (*ibid.*, p. 63, and cf. also Anttila 1989, p. 169). Roger Lass (1997), for example, proposes a hierarchy of diffusability, according to which lexis (in a suggested descending order of nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and prepositions) is more readily borrowed than morphology, which is in turn more readily borrowed than word order, and so on. Uriel Weinreich, in his seminal work on languages in contact (1953, p. 67), however, would presumably have objected to such a hierarchy (he cites similar orderings by Whitney, Pritzwald and Dauzat), claiming that opinions on relative amounts of borrowing are superficial, and indeed may lack any real meaning.

Language contact between French and English has certainly gone beyond isolated lexical items which do not affect the structure of English. Crystal and Davy highlight instances of French loanwords co-existing alongside their English counterparts and indeed sometimes forming pairs of terms, such as 'breaking and entering' and 'goods and chattels' where, they suggest, there was doubt as to whether the words were true synonyms, and the need for inclusiveness, given the nature and function of the legal register, led to the coupling (Crystal and Davy 1969, p. 208, cf. also Stubbs 1996a, p. 109, and 2001, p. 178).

Also borrowed, although perhaps less salient, were idioms (according to Lehmann (1992) this was made possible because of the extended period of borrowing); syntactic

the failed diplomacy in the nineteenth century English imported 'détente', 'rapprochement', 'fait accompli', 'entente cordiale', 'communiqué', 'attaché', 'protocol' and many more."

phrases (or collocations, such as the noun and adjective combinations 'attorney general' and 'malice aforethought', cf. Lehmann 1992, p. 268), although these non-native patterns were not usually generalised beyond the collocation in question; and syntactic patterns into which native words were substituted for foreign (Anttila 1989). Luis Iglesias-Rábade also highlights the influence of French on phraseology (Iglesias-Rábade 2000), suggesting that phrasal structures made their way into English by way of literature and translation rather than through bilingualism in society.

Within the administrative register therefore, the situation of language contact in the EU is not brand new. Indeed, D. A. Trotter (2000, p. 2), discussing late Medieval Britain says that: "Outside literary texts, documents in two or more languages, and language-mixing within the same text, were widespread, and this phenomenon, an oddity to modern eyes, patently created no obstacle to effective communication." In the context of the EU, this is not an oddity to modern eyes. In the same volume, Laura Wright (2000) points out that bills, accounts and inventories are a text type where a mixing of two or more languages is the norm. She claims that this variation is a characteristic of the text type, and that it is rule-governed, concluding that "an appreciation of the multilingual content of business records leads to the perception of Britain not as a monolingual island, but as a multilingual part of the European trading area" (Wright 2000, p. 149). Reminiscent of the 'équivalence numérique' of EU documents, accounts conventionally had "a close visual affinity with both languages", in this case medieval Latin and English. William Rothwell confirms this, saying that: "The evidence from the *York Memorandum Book* [records detailing administrative and commercial life of York between 1376 and 1492] shows that a wide range of differing combinations of Latin, French and English may be identified in the drafting of administrative documents around the turn of the fourteenth century." (Rothwell 2000, p. 230).

While the particular configuration of the EU is new and politically uncharted territory, therefore, the contact situation in which the administrative register of French found itself in the latter half of the twentieth century is not linguistically brand new. It has previously come into contact with both Latin and English, and been modified to varying degrees. Similarly, while the complex system of translation in the EU is unique, it is not new for individual administrative documents to demonstrate in themselves the multilingual environment from which they originate. The EU is however particularly fascinating for the very complexity of its linguistic situation, and its novelty: we are able to glimpse change and language contact actually in progress.

1.5. Popular perceptions of administrative language

The current language of public administration, while functionally effective, is often derided, both in popular opinion and even in the view of the public figures who use it, for its inability to innovate, and obscurity (cf. Crystal and Davy 1969, p. 242). It is often felt that it is inaccessible to a large number of those affected in some way by it (e.g. Fairclough 1989, p. 218); that is to say, like the language of a discourse community, the administrative register can shut out the uninitiated, as the connotations of the partial synonym 'bureaucracy' make clear.[28] Raymond Williams in his study of keywords in society notes that Thomas Carlyle as early as 1850 referred to bureaucracy as a "Continental nuisance" (Williams 1976, p. 40).

The notion of the modern bureaucracy is generally considered to have been developed by Max Weber. From his essay on bureaucracy (in Gerth and Mills 1948, Chapter 8), one can extract the following characteristics of such a structure: firstly, the bureaucratic structure is based upon written documents.[29] This allows for continuity of function,[30] beyond the lives of the individuals who run it and those who determine policy.

[28] Cf. the Concise Oxford Dictionary's second definition (9th Edition): "the officials of such a government, esp. regarded as oppressive and inflexible".

[29] According to Giddens, documents serve a dual function - they are: "records of the past and prescriptions for the future" (1984, p. 152).

[30] Robert Catherine attributes the register's unity of tone to this continuity: "Le style administratif est l'image même de cette continuité, ce qui explique qu'en dépit de la succession des ministres et des générations d'administrateurs, il conserve cette unité relative de ton [...]." (Catherine 1985, pp. 22-23).

Secondly, matters are regulated abstractly - that is there is a "principled rejection of doing business 'from case to case'" (*ibid.*, p. 224)[31] and regulations must allow for every contingency. Thirdly, "modern loyalty is devoted to impersonal and functional purposes" (*ibid.*, p. 199). Finally, secrecy increases the power of the informed. It is therefore not surprising that the language which emanates from such organisations should be criticised as being excessive, abstract, authoritarian, impersonal and inclined towards obscurity. Like the community of science writers, the community of administrators (and translators) is also "highly aware of the power and pitfalls of terminology and written expression" (cf. Gledhill 1999, p. 231). Knapp and Wright suggest that the French, Napoleonic, model of administration "resembled a Weberian bureaucracy before Weber: hierarchical, impartial, rational, predictable, self-contained" (Knapp and Wright 2001, p. 271). The practice, however, they claim, never matched the model. The EU, similarly, can be seen to fill the criteria of a Weberian bureaucracy.

Rodney Ball, who discusses a related type of language under the name "the administrative / technocratic style", a wider concept but one which encompasses the notion of the administrative register used here, traces its emergence in France back to the 1930s, and claims that commentators have been criticising it for half a century (Ball 1997, p. 182) and continue to do so today. He identifies the root of negative popular opinion when he notes that the language variety originated in specialist circles but "is found more and more often in material intended for the general reader" (*ibid.*, p. 182).

Opinions are similar, it appears, on both sides of the Channel. The success of a book such as Sir Ernest Gowers' *The Complete Plain Words*, whose stated purpose is "to help officials in their use of English as a tool of their trade" (Gowers 1973, p. 1)[32], attests to the popular belief that Civil Service writing is unclear. Gowers is careful to point out however that "The fact is not that officials do uniquely badly but that they are uniquely

[31] Campbell et al. explain that: "such procedures arise because certain public problems recur frequently, and routine solutions free officials from having to reinvent the wheel each time a problem comes up" (1995, p. 278).

[32] The first edition appeared in 1954. Reference here is to the second edition.

vulnerable. Making fun of them has always been one of the diversions of the British public." (*ibid.*, p. 227). This is supported by the unqualified success of the 1980s television series *Yes Minister* and *Yes Prime Minister*.

Anthony Lodge has claimed that prescriptive attitudes exist not only in laypeople's attitudes, but are also "to be found lurking in an insidious way in work published about the French language by respected scholars, notably in histories of the language" (Lodge 1993, p. 7). He defines linguistic prescriptivism as the "readiness to condemn non-standard uses of the language" (*ibid.*, p. 3). Linguistic purism, on the other hand, is "a desire to protect the traditional standard from 'contamination' from any source, be they foreign loanwords or internally generated variation and change" (*ibid.*, p. 3). Administrative language has been the victim of purism but not prescriptivism by this definition.

René Georgin's 1973 work, *Le code du bon langage. Le langage de l'administration et des affaires*, is a prescriptive discussion of administrative and commercial French, written for officials in public and private administrations as "un manuel pratique du langage, qui traite à la fois de la grammaire et du vocabulaire" (1973, p. 11), and as such is very similar in content and purpose to Gowers' work. Georgin believes that: "on constate de plus en plus, de tous côtés et à tous les échelons de la hiérarchie sociale et bureaucratique, un emploi moins pur et moins sûr de notre langue" (*ibid.*, p. 227). He points out such 'faults' to avoid in all language production as inappropriate words, neologisms, some of which, such as *actualisation, environnement, globalisation, parution* and *utilisateur*, originate in the administrative context, clichés (*procéder à un échange de vues, faire un tour d'horizon, une chute verticale*), Anglicisms, slang and abbreviations, and truncated words. With specific reference to administrative language, he says:

> On peut lui reprocher (...) le manque de simplicité, un excès de pompe et de formalisme, l'emploi de formules-clichés routinières et démodées, des recherches littéraires et une affectation hors de propos, des néologismes barbares, des pléonasmes qui alourdissent inutilement la rédaction, la longueur embarrassée de ses phrases. (Georgin 1973, p. 234)

Attitudes to the register had not changed by the late 1980s. The researcher Claude Labarrère, following the defence of his thesis on French in legislation in 1989, was overwhelmed by media attention, and realised that he had struck a chord with the French public:

> Même son de cloche partout: "On ne comprend plus rien aux textes émanant de l'Administration. C'est un charabia. Les textes qui intéressent la vie de chacun d'entre nous (législation fiscale, législation sur les loyers, etc.) sont de plus en plus difficiles à comprendre". (Labarrère 1990)

He goes on to show that it is not only those who are affected by the policy and regulations transmitted or 'explained' by such language who would like it to change, but also many of those who use it. These include such influential figures as Georges Pompidou, who hated jargon, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who strove for clarity in his administrative documents, and François Mitterrand.

Of course, more can potentially change in thirty years in an organisation as young as the EU. Perhaps what Georgin was referring to in 1973 was merely teething troubles? Apparently not, however. The linguist Thierry Fontenelle, who has worked in the EU, noted in 1999 that:

> Some criticism is constantly being levelled at the obscure nature of European texts and the 'distance' which separates those who produce these texts and the target audience, i.e. the European citizen, is repeatedly emphasised. It should be borne in mind that this is also partly due to the nature of the texts in question, however, and the somewhat sceptical attitude towards official texts is not really different when these texts are produced by a national administration for its citizens. (Fontenelle 1999, p. 122, note 2)

If criticism is due to the nature of the texts then it is unlikely to abate. For the same reason, measures to change administrative language are unlikely to be wholly successful.

Within the context of French in the European Union also, then, there are continuing attacks, by the public, politicians, the press and linguists within the administration themselves, on what has been called, in different languages, 'Eurospeak', *eurobabillage,* *le brouillard linguistique européen*, 'Eurofog' (cf. Goffin 1997, p. 63), all of which encapsulate the register's perceived obscurity. If anything, the register should come across as less foreign and less obscure for a French speaker than for an English speaker, since a large number of the terms peculiar to the EU construction are, as we have seen, direct translations from French, or are effectively still French words. French has regularly been the source language for European Union concepts because France has often been the model or major player in the development of the EU framework (cf. Section 1.3.).

In Georgin's work and that of other researchers, the obscurity of the register is blamed particularly on individual vocabulary items and grammatical constructions and for this reason these are the focus of his work (cf. Section 1.6.3.). Bilingual glossaries and databases, compiled in the EU, similarly, take as their focus terminological items, proper names and abbreviations (cf. *European Communities Glossary*, 1990). As Chapter 2 will discuss, the linguist Michael Halliday was one of the first to point out that "often it is not the lexical item alone but the collocation [that is, the co-occurrence] of two or more lexical items that is specific to one register" (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1964, p. 88). Chris Gledhill, through his work on scientific papers, has also shown that phraseology and the collocational patterns of, especially, grammatical items, vary according to genre and register (cf. for example, Gledhill 1995). There has been little work on these features of administrative language, although Goffin (1997, p. 64) points out that the criticism has been extended to phraseology among other areas, and even to the concepts which lie behind such linguistic manifestations. The popular view is that the language cannot hope to be clear and precise if the concepts are vague and perceived to be designed to conceal the truth.

1.5.1. Attempts to 'improve' administrative language

Claude Labarrère (1990) makes the point that "l'Administration [...] est le premier écrivain de France", and that consequently, administrators, along with teachers, play an important part in the future of the French language. For social reasons too, it is important that the reader should be readily able to understand administrative documents. As Gowers points out:

> The need for the official to take pains is even greater, for if what the professional writer has written is wearisome and obscure the reader can toss the book aside and read no more, but only at his peril can he so treat what the official has tried to tell him. (Gowers 1973, p. 2)

As such, the administrative register has been the target of purist and prescriptive attitudes and measures which aim to make it more accessible. This obscurity is only partly due to unfamiliar technical terms. With reference to English, Crystal and Davy suggest that a distinction can be made between such irreplaceable technical terms and merely confusing terms which could, without detriment to the meaning of the text and the context from which they issue, be worded more clearly (cf. Crystal and Davy 1969, p. 242).

The French nation is well known for its attempts to standardise, promote and improve its national language (cf. Lodge 1993, p. 3, and Wise 1997, p.234ff), and the administrative register has not been excluded from such measures, despite being considered a prestige variety. A number of ministerial terminology commissions have been formed to target vocabulary items, writing courses organised in ministries and the *Conseil supérieur de la langue française*, since its foundation in 1989, has created various working groups (Labarrère 1990). For a time, there even existed an *Association pour le bon usage du français dans l'Administration*: this was set up in 1967, under Georges Pompidou (cf. Georgin 1973, p. 341, Caput 1975, p. 237, Catherine 1985, p. 9, and Labarrère 1990), but was dissolved in 1982, because of a lack of both funds and influence. Such attitudes are not restricted to Paris, either: in Belgium, the Walloon *Conseil supérieur de la langue française* has issued recommendations on the "lisibilité des textes administratifs".[33]

[33] The relevant texts are available on the internet at http://www.cfwb.be/franca/publicat/pg019.htm

Recently, a *Comité d'Orientation pour la Simplification du Langage Administratif* (COSLA) was formed under Michel Sapin, the Ministre de la fonction publique et de la réforme de l'Etat. This committee, which held its first meeting on 3 July 2001, has been set up for three years, and is composed of a number of experts, linguists, language users and administrative representatives, including, among other famous names, Alain Rey, Henriette Walter and Julia Kristeva). Its ultimate aim is to make administrative forms, letters and reports more comprehensible: in the short term this involves the rewriting of six administrative dossiers, and in the longer term a process of language simplification, taking the form of a guide to administrative drafting, a glossary of terms, and related computer software. The *Scotsman* (7 August 2001) explained that: "its task is to sweep out the mounds of circumlocution, archaic legalese and pompous obscurity that make any encounter between the citizen and the apparatus of the state an exercise of sheer mental endurance". The President of the European Commission himself, Romano Prodi, has backed efforts to simplify EU law too, calling it complex and obscure (*The Scotsman*, 18 August 2001).

Within the European context, clear language has the additional advantage of accelerating and improving the translation process, and thereby lowering costs. To give just one example of the manner in which the EU is attempting to put into practice its official policy of using clear, simple language, the Commission Translation Service, the world's largest translation service, which accounts for approximately one third of the institution's staff,[34] has run a light-hearted campaign, called 'Fight the FOG',[35] to encourage the use of plain language by authors and translators. Its booklet, which defines FOG as "that vague grey pall that descends on EU documents, obscuring meanings and messages, causing delays and irritation", makes an important distinction

[34] The Commission translation service website can be found at http://europa.eu.int/comm/translation/en/enintro.html. Thierry Fontenelle (1999, p. 122) puts the total of Commission translation staff at 1800, of which 1400 are translators and the others are terminologists, documentalists, computer support staff and secretaries. In addition, twenty-five percent of translations are farmed out to freelance translators.

[35] The website address of the 'Fight the FOG' campaign is http://europa.eu.int/comm/translation/en/ftfog/index.htm). The 'Fight the FOG' booklet is available here, along with the texts of various lectures presented during the campaign.

between 'Eurojargon', which is not readily understood by outsiders, and 'Eurospeak', which is seen as valuable, and indeed essential, for discussing EU-specific concepts which have no national counterpart (cf. Crystal and Davy, quoted above).

Today, also, the Plain Language Commission campaigns for administrative documents which can be understood by all literate citizens and not just lawyers and special interest groups. With this aim, they have recently produced a new booklet for EU bureaucrats (*The Scotsman*, 18 August 2001).

The view that the perceived verbosity of administrative language serves a certain purpose is shared by the systemic functional linguist, Rick Iedema, who points out:

> If administrative texts are sometimes (or often!) seen as unnecessarily formal, imposing or verbose, we may be forgetting that their linguistic subtlety and complexity serves two purposes at once: the organization of human activity (shouldness) and institutional positioning (interpersonal distance). To want to make administrative/bureaucratic discursive practices more 'user-friendly' may either encourage the kind of 'synthetic' democratization Fairclough talks about, or it may favour reductive kinds of linguistic 'simplicity', which end up signalling greater differences in power than the original bureaucratese. (Iedema 1997, pp. 95-6)

In other words, the very function of administrative documents necessitates a level of complexity. Iedema therefore calls for future linguistic research on the semiotic principles of administrative discourse in the framework of Systemic Functional Grammar.

1.6. Linguistic characteristics of administrative French

The previous section discussed the popular perceptions of the administrative register. It was noted that administrative language is generally considered to be obscure, unintelligible, and excessive, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This section sets out some expectations of the register from a linguistic perspective, which serves to balance the picture created above.

While the interest in this research lies in administrative language, it is clear that the administrative register overlaps considerably with other registers, notably political and legal language. This is inevitable, given the interrelation of the roles of politicians, who decide policy, lawyers, who translate policy into legislation, and administrators, who implement policy, apply it to concrete cases and transmit the legislation to the public. In France, there is an especially close link between the administrative and the political structures: Knapp and Wright comment that in the Fifth Republic "it became hard, in short, to know where the civil service ended and the government began" (2001, p. 277). In addition both politicians and the media also transmit policy and legislation to the public in their different ways. With this in mind, Sections 1.6.1 and 1.6.2. highlight the salient features of political and legal language respectively, before moving on to the administrative register itself. None of these sections aims to be comprehensive, but rather to concentrate on features which are revealing for the research here.

1.6.1. The boundary with political language

There is a large degree of overlap between political and administrative language, compounded by their reciprocal influence. To simplify greatly, the function of the administration is to implement policy (made by politicians), and to act as a bridge between legislation and the public. Not unlike politicians' speeches, although with different aims and motivations, administrators popularise political decisions and legislation, both primary and secondary. Like administrative language, the boundaries of political language are not easy to delimit, and the register covers a wide range of fields.

A large part of the work on political language is qualitative and interpretative in focus, (cf. Seidel 1985 for a survey of approaches to French political discourse). This is hardly surprising, if one agrees with Musolff, Schäffner and Townson that "politics is constituted in discourse, both in written texts and oral debates, which in turn shape and modify material political developments" (1996, p. 4). George Orwell's famous essay on political language is just one such example. He says of political writing:

> As soon as certain topics are raised, the concrete melts into the abstract and no one seems able to think of turns of speech that are not hackneyed: prose consists less and less of *words* chosen for the sake of their meaning, and more and more of *phrases* tacked together like the sections of a prefabricated hen-house. (1946, p. 355)[36]

For John Gaffney too, "politics is essentially a question of language" (1993, p. 185), not only for politicians themselves, but also for others dealing with political language, civil servants, and diplomats among others. For Gaffney, the exploitation of language variety has the potential to maximise success, not to exclude the uninitiated. Accordingly, much work has been done on the language and discourse of individual politicians, through the analysis of single texts, or collections of texts.[37] However, the study of individuals' language is not as narrow as it might at first appear:

> By studying the discourse of contemporary French leaders, we can expect to learn not only about the individual leader's discursive styles, but the political leadership role itself and, most significantly, the political process within which it operates, and the political culture in which it is embedded and from which it draws its effectiveness. (Drake and Gaffney (eds.) 1996, p. 12)

The political culture and processes can also be approached at a more detailed level. In politics, "potentially significant changes can occur not simply at the level of 'ideology' or 'political tradition', but at the level of the sentence, the word, or the spaces between words" (*ibid.*, p. 4).

Thus, the analysis of individual words can be enlightening too.[38] In one of the few French introductory volumes on corpus linguistics (see also Chapter 3), Habert, Nazarenko and Salem draw attention to the fact that corpus studies have shown that one form of a word can differ significantly in its usage from another form of the same word:

[36] Orwell continues: "In our time it is broadly true that political writing is bad writing. Where it is not true, it will generally be found that the writer is some kind of rebel, expressing his private opinions and not a 'party line'. Orthodoxy, of whatever colour, seems to demand a lifeless, imitative style. The political dialects to be found in pamphlets, leading articles, manifestos, White Papers and the speeches of under-secretaries do, of course, vary from party to party, but they are all alike in that one almost never finds in them a fresh, vivid, home-made turn of speech." (Orwell 1946, p. 362)

[37] Cf. Gaffney's (1993) analysis of de Gaulle's 'Vive Montréal' speech and Mitterrand's 'Lettre à tous les Français', and the papers on individual politicians in Drake and Gaffney (1996).

[38] Cf., for example, Trew (in Fowler et al. 1979) and Musolff (1996, p. 16) on 'internationalisms' or etymologically-related expressions which carry different connotations in different languages.

> On peut dire que de grandes oppositions idéologiques se sont souvent exprimées à travers l'emploi du singulier ou du pluriel d'une même forme de vocabulaire. Les classes *ouvrières*, proclamait le pouvoir monarchique sous Louis Philippe (1830-1848); *la classe ouvrière* contestaient les organisations ouvrières. De même, les années 1970 ont vu s'opposer les défenseurs *des libertés républicaines* (la gauche et les syndicats) aux défenseurs de *la liberté*, avec, bien entendu, des contenus partiellement différents. Cette distinction est en revanche moins pertinente dans le cas de l'étude de *Menelas* [[39]]: le comportement du singulier et du pluriel de *sténose* ne justifie pas qu'on les considère separément. (Habert et al. 1997, p. 211)

That is, the singular form of a word can often present very different ideological meanings from the plural form. It can sometimes be most useful therefore to treat word forms separately: this was one reason behind the decision not to lemmatise the corpus compiled for this research (cf. Chapter 3). Susan Hockey (2000, p. 91) discusses work by Olsen and Harvey (1988) which carries out analysis of the collocations of keywords in French-Canadian political texts more or less contemporaneous with French revolutionary documents. Keywords such as *droits, patrie, pays* and *peuple* differ greatly between the two discourses.

Research has also been carried out on metaphor in political discourse. In this regard, Christina Schäffner's (1999) work on the metaphors of construction and movement in European discourse on unity and integration gives clear insights into the ways in which politics is conceptualised - in particular that metaphor variation in different countries reflects different attitudes within the particular country, or even within political parties, rather than intercultural differences. Although one might expect administrative language to exploit metaphor much less systematically, it would not be surprising for its presence to be noted in speech genres in particular, genres which can be seen as political as well as administrative. Straehle et al.'s study (1999) of the item 'unemployment' in two genres of EU language (Commissioners' speeches and Presidency Conclusions) is also in this vein, and links the study of individual words with the study of metaphor; Straehle et al. find differences between genres, connected to their respective purposes and audiences, whether external or internal, and similarities stemming from a broader metaphor of 'struggle' which is linked to economic discourses in general.

[39] 'Menelas' is the name of one of their corpora, containing texts in the domain of heart disease.

Finally, the well-known translation scholar, Peter Newmark has discussed English political language from the point of view of collocation and translation:

> One characteristic of political language is that it tends to collocations that are repeated so often that they become clichés, therefore weaker in force, giving them the same dull thud as many abstractions. (Newmark 1991, p. 159)

He mentions such collocations as 'loudly applaud', 'stick firmly' and 'overriding priority', which he claims "don't usually bear one-to-one translation, but they have to be translated in all their banality (not difficult)" (*ibid.*, p. 159).

Political language, then, has tended to be studied from the point of view of rhetorical structure and the centrality of key concepts. This will be particularly relevant to this thesis where the focus is on the speech texts contained in the corpus, and in Chapter 6, where the analysis looks at the collocational patterning of keywords.

1.6.2. The boundary with legal language

As was noted above, administrative language borders not only on political language, but also on the language of the law. A great deal of work has been carried out on this highly distinctive register, and it is not the aim here to do more than summarise briefly some of the most significant linguistic characteristics of the register, with reference to the particular constraints on legal draughtsmen.

Gowers notes that "legal drafting must [...] be unambiguous, precise, comprehensive and largely conventional" (1973, p. 8). While intelligibility is important, the need for an appropriate degree of accuracy outweighs this. The many and easily recognised peculiarities of legal style are due in large part to the need for caution, balancing precision and vagueness where necessary, and conveying a particular meaning while simultaneously excluding alternatives. Crystal and Davy present an excellent discussion of the characteristics of legal English. They point out that legal language is one of the least communicative registers in function, as it is not designed to "enlighten language-users at large" (1969, p. 193), but rather to present information for scrutiny by experts. The job of administrators is partly to translate expert-to-expert language in a huge variety of fields into language which is intelligible to the lay-person. In doing so they encounter strong linguistic conservatism, manifested in archaisms and a dearth of punctuation, among other features, owing to a reliance on language which has a proven track-record of effectiveness. Legal language is also characterised, according to Crystal and Davy, by long sentences with a relatively high proportion of dependent clauses, most notably in recitals, and subordinating devices, lexical repetition rather than pronouns for precision of reference, adverbial clauses, a highly nominalised style, a lack of adjectives and intensifying adverbs, and technical vocabulary, whether items specific to the register, or items with specific meanings in the legal context. English legal language has the additional feature of a large French and Latin element, dating back to before the Norman Conquest, and while some of the terms effectively became English words, even if only seldom breaking the boundaries of legal language, many are still considered foreign terms.

Although the constraints and many of the linguistic characteristics of legal English are shared by French, one cannot presume that the context of production will manifest itself in the same ways. Indeed, there are also divergences, for historical and linguistic reasons. In his discussion of convergences between legal language in French and English, Bernard Galonnier (1997) notes the presence of specific jargon, including Latinisms, set formulae and obsolete terms, an elevated tone, owing to the use of certain prepositions, nominalisation, and elaborate syntax, and the presence of terms from the general language which have a particular, narrower, meaning in the law. The two specific registers are further brought together by the presence of French terms in both. The differences, too, are notable according to Galonnier. For example, in the specific context of pronouncements:

> [...] dans leurs jugements les magistrats anglais, loin d'être concis et synthétiques comme leurs confrères français, se montrent fort prolixes et ne craignent pas de faire preuve d'humour et de recourir à une langue imagée. (Galonnier 1997, p. 428)

Spoken legal English can be differentiated from French in its specific concepts, prolixity, for example in its use of litotes and hedging, use of metaphorical language, and anti-intellectualism. Galonnier shows that the differences are more fundamental than terminology, rooted rather in "l'émanation de l'âme d'un pays et de ses particularismes culturels" (*ibid.*, p. 437).

In a similar way to administrative language, attempts have been made to simplify legal French. Hilary Wise points to a government Circular published in 1977 (*Journal Officiel* of 24 September) which aimed to "faciliter la compréhension par les justiciables du langage employé par les practiciens du droit" (Wise 1997, p. 193). It was proposed, among other measures, that twenty-nine Latin expressions should be rendered in French, and many excessively long formulae be shortened.[40]

On the basis of the work surveyed in this section and the previous one, one might expect the administrative corpus here to contain a wide variety of linguistic styles, bordering as it does on both political and legal language (cf. also Chapter 3 and Appendix 1 for details of the corpus).

1.6.3. Administrative French

Atkinson and Biber have pointed out that: "Research on bureaucratic language has been undertaken more often for prescriptive than descriptive ends: much work in this area has been generated by the 'plain English' movement" (1994, p. 356). It would not therefore be surprising for such work to be strongly biased. Not all work, however, has been prescriptive, although this work does tend to go into more detail: the administrative register is often passed over quickly in descriptive work on stylistics. In his introduction to French and the French-speaking world, Rodney Ball notes that in administrative French, which he terms the administrative-technocratic style, as in colloquial French

[40] "For example *ad nutum* should be replaced by *au gré de, de cujus* by *défunt*, [...] 'ordonne l'exécution du jugement' should replace 'dit que le jugement sortira son plein et entier effet pour être exécuté selon les forme et teneur' " (Wise 1997, p. 193).

(and also as in legal French as has been shown), "newly coined and traditional items [are] to be found side by side" (Ball 1997, p. 181). The examples he gives also indicate that administrative language is characterised by nominalisation, complex syntax and technical vocabulary which originates in specialist circles.

The Italian linguist, Gaetano Berruto has carried out detailed descriptive research into the administrative register of Italian (Berruto 1987, 1997). He discusses what he calls "italiano burocratico", which is "la varietà (scritta ma anche parlata) usata negli ambiti amministrativi, ufficiali"[41] (1997, p. 14). Some of the most salient characteristics of this register, which covers a large number of conceptual fields, are: officialness and uniformity, an appearance of solemnity, archaisms and Latinisms but at the same time also neologisms, richness in set phrases, and repetition. In the area of morphosyntax, Berruto draws attention to the highly nominal style, and textually, the variety's well-defined text structures. One of the reasons for these characteristics, according to Berruto, is the prestige and power accorded to the bureaucrats by a special language.

Linguistic analysis of the French administrative register is not new. Robert Catherine's study of *Le style administratif*, originally published in 1947 (fifth edition 1985), aims to "expliquer l'écriture de l'Administration, en vue d'en tirer un enseignement pratique d'ordre professionnel et, si possible, d'en améliorer la qualité et l'audience" (Catherine 1985, p. 7). Catherine therefore states his aim to be prescriptive. While remaining aware of the internal variation within what he defines as administrative language, variation caused by factors such as the age of the department or service in question and its level of contact with the public or business, Catherine looks in detail at the vocabulary typical of the administration, elements of its sentence structure and types of document. As regards vocabulary, he points out that:

> L'originalité du vocabulaire administratif est beaucoup moins constituée par l'existence d'une terminologie propre à l'Administration que par le goût de cette dernière pour un

[41] That is to say, "the variety (written but also spoken) used in administrative or official domains." (My translation)

> certain nombre de mots et de tournures qui se retrouvent dans la plupart de ses manifestations littéraires. (Catherine 1985, p. 27)

That is to say, that administrative language is recognisable less by its terminological items than by a number of non-specialised words and phrases. These, through constant usage, "transforme en autant d'idiotismes plus ou moins justifiés" (*ibid.*, p. 27). However, it is not just the words and phrases which define the register, but their arrangement. Even back in the 1940s, Catherine touches briefly on the importance of collocation for the definition of the register of administration:

> [...] chaque mot pris en lui-même n'a pas, le plus souvent, de caractère spécifique. [...] Et puisque ce sont surtout ici l'agencement des mots et la fréquence de leur emploi qui importent. (1947, p. 24, and also 1985, p. 27)

Catherine also notes that many of the locutions or vocabulary items which he discusses are not specific to the register, but may have specific meanings or typical uses in administrative language. He cites such examples as *mettre en œuvre* and *communiquer*. Certain types of locution are also more or less likely to be used: in particular "les locutions verbales à forme imagée ou familière" are very unlikely to occur.

René Georgin's (1973) study of administrative French, as Section 1.5. above discussed, is also prescriptive in nature, and more obviously so than Catherine's. However, there is also necessarily an element of description. The features of the register which Georgin proscribes are likely to be those which appear to him more notable. Of course, there are many areas left untouched in such a study also. Georgin discusses a number of features of the register in turn, beginning with what he calls 'les mots nobles', or weighty words, which create an effect through their apparent specificity, but in fact can be paraphrased in a much simpler manner. An example is the verb *effectuer*, used often unnecessarily in a wide variety of contexts. Georgin notes: "C'est à croire que le verbe *faire* est rayé de son vocabulaire" (1973, p. 236). The second feature to elicit comment is the use of personification in administrative language, as in the example 'la décision s'inspire de ce principe'. He goes on to proscribe *impropriétés*, such as *mise en place* being used for abstract ideas and not just physical objects; clichés (*étroitement lié, à la lumière de*); the use of pleonastic expressions (*exclusivement réservé, un achat d'un montant de cent mille francs*); overuse of nominal constructions, the present participle, passive constructions; the inversion of the subject (*Sont prohibées..., Sont exempts de la taxe...*), and finally what he calls *gaucheries*, a rather vague and catch-all category for clumsy turns of phrase. It might be deduced from this that these are some of the most salient characteristics of the register. Georgin also identifies a number of verbs in his study of administrative French, which typically collocate with a particular noun or adverb (Georgin 1973, pp. 274-6). A list of these, with their typical environment in the administrative corpus, can be found in Appendix 7 (see also Chapter 6 for discussion).

Within corpus linguistics, very little has been said about collocations in administrative language specifically. However, this has been noted as potentially fertile ground for analysis. The corpus linguist Göran Kjellmer, for example, finds that collocations are frequent in the 'miscellaneous' category of the Brown Corpus. He explains:

> This is only natural when we realise, first that collocations are characteristically established and invariable or formulaic chunks of language, and secondly that genre H contains a large number of official reports and documents where that kind of language is generally favoured. (Kjellmer 1987, p. 136)

If this is true also of French, and there is no reason to believe that it would not be, administrative language should reveal a lot about collocation and inversely, a study of collocation should provide a useful addition to the description of administrative language.

1.7. Conclusion

History has shown that a multilingual situation in which language contact plays a large part is not unprecedented for the administrative register. Rather, the administrative register has been the point of contact between languages before, as in the Anglo-Norman culture of thirteenth-century England. The current linguistic situation in the European Union is, however, both unique and increasingly complex: there is a constant tension between the principle of the equality of the official languages of all of the Member States, and the practical demands this puts on the translation process and the Community budget. In practice, this had led to a situation where some languages are more equal than others. French, English and German have been the big three for nearly thirty years: now, however, the balance is beginning to change with English apparently gradually taking over from French as the first among equals. It is an appropriate time, therefore, to take stock of EU French.

On the one hand, French has clearly had a major part to play in the development and evolution of Eurospeak. The origins of the EU discourse in the French language, and of the EU institutional set-up in the French administrative framework, and the continuing central role of France have clearly had an influence at the conceptual level and on lexical items. The part which the national discourse has played in the phraseology of Eurospeak remains to be seen.

On the other hand, the increasingly complex language contact situation, although it is limited to one particular register, should, according to theories of language contact, have an effect on the discourse of EU French. Interaction between Brussels and Paris should, reciprocally, have led to variation in the national discourse. Has institutional change, from the 1950s onwards, resulted in a new administrative discourse in both the EU and the French national contexts? A synchronic study of the state of divergence of the two discourses at the end of the twentieth century is the first step to answering this question.

A further question, but one which is currently unanswerable, is whether the emergence of a monoglot environment is the most likely outcome. Research into languages in contact shows that this is a common outcome,[42] but most such work is based on languages in a national context, which often encroach on each other's territory in more than one domain. The choice of multilingualism in the EU, however, was deliberate, and

[42] Sarah G. Thomason (2001, p. 12) "one common outcome [of language in contact] is the disappearance of one of the languages."

fundamental to its objectives, however impractical it might sometimes appear. A more likely scenario is a move towards a larger number of document types being made available in only one or two languages; closer to a functional diglossia. If this turns out to be the case, one might wonder whether the weight of the conceptual basis in French will be sufficient to guarantee its place as one of the main languages.

Chapter 2: Concepts of Phraseology and Collocation

"His eyes gleamed with a kind of manic glee, like he was Frankenstein, or some kind of wizard, as if he had me locked up in that flat metal box." (Lodge 1984, p. 183)

2.1. Introduction

In the field of administration, as in other specialist domains such as science and the legal profession, there are well-developed terminological resources, the function of which is, as the linguist John Sinclair has put it: "to maintain the semantic isolation of the terms and to counter the natural pressures of usage" (Sinclair 1996, p. 102). The Commission of the European Union, for example, has its own terminological database, Eurodicautom, which is constantly updated and now also available on-line. The Secretariat of the Council of Ministers too has its own in-house terminological database, and publishes the *European Communities Glossary*, for a number of language pairs, detailing the accepted translations of technical terms in the areas covered by the Council's work, in addition to acronyms and the names of agreements, conventions, organisations and treaties. In order to develop such resources, the EU institutions have terminologists in the different translation services. Terms are identified in documents as they pass through: that is to say that, although terminology work is not based on corpora as such, it is grounded in authentic texts. The study of terminology has been quite slow to exploit the methods of corpus linguistics: Meyer and Mackintosh (1996) suggest that this is due to practical considerations of time. Since terminography deals with new words, it is impractical to design and compile corpora for the extraction of terms. However, they come to the conclusion that such problems can be overcome and that corpora will be invaluable to terminographers in the future (cf. also de Schaetzen 1996 for a similar view). This is already being proved to be correct, as work by Jennifer Pearson (e.g. Pearson 1998) shows. Corpora, and particularly the collocational information contained in them, are well suited to the retrieval of terminological information.

While a terminological approach to EU administrative language has value, this is only one side of the coin. A focus on terms brings to the fore the conceptual domains touched on by the EU, but cannot provide insight into the workings of the language itself, and how meaning is created in the register. In recent work, John Sinclair has made a fundamental distinction between the 'terminological tendency', the "tendency for a word to have a fixed meaning in reference to the world", and the 'phraseological tendency', or the tendency whereby "words tend to go together and make meanings by their combinations" (Sinclair 2000, p. 13). These tendencies are closely related to Sinclair's earlier conceptions of the idiom principle and the open-choice principle (see Section 2.5.1. below). The phraseological tendency accounts for the co-occurrence of 'manic' and 'glee' in the quotation at the head of this chapter: new connotations of meaning are created by their combination.

The main issue investigated in this chapter is the ways in which words can be said to 'go together' in language. Chapters 4 to 6 of this thesis then attempt to answer this question with regard to the administrative discourse of the EU, comparing this with the French national administrative discourse. The corpus linguist Alan Partington points out:

> If the *raison d'être* of the idiom-collocation principle is to save processing time and effort, then it would tend to be most typical of on-line, spontaneous discourses, that is to say, conversation. We might expect preconstructed and semi-preconstructed phrases to be less common in writing, where time constraints tend to be less rigid. (Partington 1998, p. 20)

This is not the case, however. In fact, the administrative register relies to a large extent on prefabrication, and as Partington himself goes on to note:

> [...] in very many genres of writing, pre-cooked expressions are still diagnostic, vital elements. We need only think of legal documents, scientific/medical papers, business reports and so on. There are two reasons for this. Many kinds of lexical items, including prefabs, function as powerful indicators of register, and in most circumstances it is important for a writer to signal the register to which the text belongs. Secondly, although it may be less pressing than in conversation, there is still a need in written texts to balance new information with old information, novelty with habit, (prefabs contributing to the

> second items of these pairs) to cut down processing effort, especially if the text is long. (*ibid.*, p. 20)

It would appear, therefore, that prefabrication in administrative writing is motivated by more than mere time constraints, although of course this is still an issue (more than, for example, in literature), especially given the actual context of text production and translation. Rather, prefabrication has an important additional part to play in defining the register and genres in question: set phrases can be seen to function as a "membership badge" (McKenny 1999). Legal issues are also crucial and, related to this, intertextuality plays a significant role in the register: in other words, existing texts are to a certain extent the 'memory' which allows for a consistent and recognisable register.

In her work on the relationship between phraseology and terminology in Language for Special Purposes (LSP), Gläser (1992) suggests that while LGP (Language for General Purposes) has a fully developed system of phraseological units, in LSP phrases are uncommon, and are seldom figurative (that is to say, non-compositional idioms). She claims that they function instead as terms, are stylistically neutral and are linked to particular discourse communities (cf. Swales 1990a, and Chapter 3 for a discussion). Resche (1997), on the other hand, sees comparative phraseology as a useful complement to comparative terminology. For her, phraseological units add a functional dimension to terminological units, and do indeed exist in specialist genres. This thesis approaches administrative French from the phraseological side, through its typical collocations and phraseological patterning.

2.2. Phraseology and collocation - problems of definition

Sinclair's definition of the phraseological tendency is by nature very general: it covers all types of lexical co-occurrence. Within the umbrella term of the phraseological tendency, however, there are a number of terminological problems: both 'phraseology' and 'collocation' have been used in different ways. The multiplicity of terms has been seen as proof of inconsistency: Howarth, for example, says, "the main reason for this lack of consistency lies in the way in which most of those with an interest in prefabricated language have focused on only a part of the whole spectrum of such expressions" (Howarth 1998, p. 6). It is also a consequence of the fact that collocation has been considered relevant in the context of more than one discipline.[1] The systemicist Gordon Tucker has commented (2000) that collocation is a phenomenon in search of a theory. Rather, it is not short of theories, but is in search of a unifying theory to connect all the different approaches.

The term 'phraseology' has traditionally focused on co-occurrence in the form of set phrases, particularly with regard to the Russian and East European traditions of research in lexicology, although it has recently also been used to describe the rhetorically-motivated expression of discourse communities. Chris Gledhill (e.g. 1995, 1999, 2000), for example, in his study of collocation in science writing, proposes a rough definition of phraseology which is a very convenient working definition for the purposes of this thesis. According to him, phraseology is "the preferred way of saying things in a particular discourse" (Gledhill 2000, p. 1 and p. 202). He goes on to expound this definition:

> The notion of phraseology implies much more than inventories of idioms and systems of lexical patterns. Phraseology is a dimension of language use in which patterns of wording (lexico-grammatical patterns) encode semantic views of the world, and at a higher level idioms and lexical phrases have rhetorical and textual roles within a specific discourse. Phraseology is at once a pragmatic dimension of linguistic analysis, and a system of organisation which encompasses more local lexical relationships, namely collocation and the lexico-grammar. (Gledhill 2000, p. 202)

[1] The main areas of application for studies of collocation are lexicography (cf. Sinclair (ed.) 1987 for Cobuild's pioneering approach to dictionary entries), language teaching (cf. for example, Bahns 1993, Howarth 1996, Granger 1998), psycholinguistics (e.g. Pawley and Syder 1983 and their notion of prefabricated sentence stems which contribute to native speakers' ability to produce fluent stretches of discourse; Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992, who place the 'lexical phrase' at the centre of language acquisition; Deacon 1997, for the role of prefabrication in the evolution of human language) and stylistics and text linguistics (e.g. Gläser 1998, cf. also Halliday and Hasan 1976 on the role of collocation in textual cohesion, and Fernando 1996, p. 215). It has also been shown that collocations have a role in language change: Anttila, for example, points out that "Habitual linguistic collocation may become permanent, and if part of the collocation is lost, the remainder changes meaning, when it takes on the semantics of the earlier phrase" (1989, p. 138).

As such, phraseology is a means of relating different types of collocation, the "process by which words combine into larger chunks of expression" (*ibid.*, p. 1). This is a wider definition of collocation than many researchers would accept. Geoffrey Williams agrees that collocation is a problematic term, saying that: "de par sa nature, la collocation demeure un concept difficilement formalisé, aucune définition ne satisfait tout le monde" (G. C. Williams 2001b). He suggests that it is therefore best to describe collocation in terms of prototypes. He defines collocations as "des liens syntagmatiques habituels, lexicalement transparents, arbitraire, syntactiquement bien formés" (*ibid.*). Williams extracts two main tendencies from research on collocation: firstly, "la tendance lexicographique qui tend à une formalisation des collocations pour les inclure dans des dictionnaires", and secondly, "la tendance contextualiste, en ligne directe avec les travaux de Firth, qui considère les collocations comme un phénomène textuel et les définit en fonction de l'apparition de cooccurrences à l'intérieur d'une fenêtre" (*ibid.*). 'Collocation' has been used in particular in the Firthian tradition to highlight lexicogrammatical aspects of co-occurrence: it too comes loaded, however, like a palimpsest, with connotations of previous uses. These tendencies are discussed further in Sections 2.4. and 2.5. respectively.

Van der Wouden has drawn attention to the double meaning of 'collocation', saying that "this shift of meaning between an abstract term for a certain phenomenon and the concrete instances of this very same phenomenon is extremely common and hardly ever leads to misunderstanding" (van der Wouden 1997, p. 6). Collocations are generally seen as products, or units, in lexicographical approaches, while the process of collocation has been stressed by recent work in neo-Firthian linguistics, and is being developed into a more inclusive view of language (cf. Section 2.5.), all the time based on actual language data.[2]

[2] Cf. Stubbs (1996, p. 172): "These collocations are open to introspection only in a very rough and ready way: often native speakers' intuitions about collocations are very inaccurate, and intuitions certainly cannot document such collocations thoroughly."

It is tempting to retain the term 'collocation' regardless of how far away from word-with-adjacent-word cooccurrence one moves. Michael Hoey disagrees with this solution, however:

> [...] it is not in my view helpful to allow the term 'collocation' to expand in a shapeless manner to cover any observation made about the relationship of a word with its environment. It would be better to reserve the term for the particular association a word may have with another word: when we talk of 'the company a word keeps', let us mean 'company' in the old-fashioned sense reflected in the idiom that talks of a young man and woman of good reputation 'keeping company' rather than in the more general sense used when one talks of a person mixing in 'bad company'. The first 'company' assumes a special relationship with a particular other; the other use of 'company' assumes a general relationship with a wide range of people with common characteristics. (Hoey 1997, p. 4)

While it might nonetheless be argued that a single term has certain advantages, since it does not introduce unnatural divisions between phrases and non-phrases, or between lexis and grammar, the term 'collocation' is reserved here for the particular relationship between one word (lexical or grammatical) with another, and 'phraseology' is used in the more general sense of 'typical linguistic environment'.

The next three sections of this chapter examine the relationship of words with their typical environments in language: the analysis in Chapters 4 to 6 puts these concepts into practice by investigating the typical patterning of items in administrative language. Clearly, semantic and pragmatic factors have an important role in word co-occurrence. So too do issues of register and genre. The three sections focus in turn on the locus of creation of phraseology. Section 2.3. considers phraseology which is the creation of the administrators: that is to say, phraseological patterning which has developed to fulfil the needs of the EU and French national discourses. Section 2.4. turns to phraseology as it has generally been considered by lexicographical approaches, focusing on word patterning which has its origins in the general language: that is, phraseological items which are the cumulative creation of language users, and part of the linguistic heritage which the EU register has adopted from French. This notion emphasises the syntactic and semantic features of phraseological patterning. Section 2.5., finally, turns to 'collocation proper', or the neo-Firthian statistical, text-based, notion of collocation, and related notions which have since been developed from it. This final type of patterning, therefore, is a phenomenon of text, the creation of the mechanisms of language.

2.3. Phraseology as the creation of administrators - discoursal notions

Much of the patterning of language can be explained by real-world factors of semantics and pragmatics. Lexical items occur in each other's company because their concepts are related in the world. An instruction manual for a car, say, is likely to contain the lexical items 'gear-stick', 'clutch' and 'engine' because these objects are closely related in the real world. When things come together frequently in the world, or when particular actions are frequently carried out through language, then language can develop mechanisms to save processing time. Administrative language has a reputation for being formulaic, for having a high proportion of conventionalised phrases which express common events and entities in the real world.[3] We are dealing here, therefore, with lexical co-occurrences created by administrators themselves, or by the discourse in question. The phenomenon of intertextuality in the EU discourse, whereby sections of legal texts are used wholesale in subsequent texts, heightens the appearance of its formulaic nature. In this respect and because of the habitual practice of translation, it cuts across the notion of natural language.

This kind of phraseological patterning can be highlighted by analysis of recurring sequences of words in a corpus: this is the approach taken in Chapter 4. This also necessarily emphasises frequent terminological items in the discourse. Similar research has been carried out on English and Spanish.

[3] Such formulae, repeated sequences of words which aid text production by expressing common ideas, are reminiscent of the use of formulae in the Old French oral tradition. For further information on this, see J. J. Duggan (e.g. 1969, 1973), who has created a concordance of the *Chanson de Roland*, which highlights the repeated hemistiches. Formulae are "received by the singer from the tradition just as individual words are received by the literary poet from the lexicon of his language" (1969). In this vein, too, the French linguist G. Gross talks of 'figement discursif', or the use of fixed sequences (Gross 1996, p. 143).

According to the corpus linguist Göran Kjellmer, all recurring sequences of words are potential collocations. A more precise definition is that collocations are both lexically determined (that is, recurrent in the corpus in question)[4] and grammatically restricted (i.e. grammatically well-formed) (Kjellmer 1984, p. 163 and 1991, p. 116). Thus, although the sequence 'although he' is lexically determined in Kjellmer's corpus, that is to say recurrent, it is not grammatically well-formed. Conversely, while 'yesterday evening' is grammatically restricted it is not lexically determined. 'Last night' on the other hand meets both criteria and can therefore be considered a collocation by this definition. Within the bounds of these two constraints, however, some collocations "possess a higher and others a lower degree of lexicalisation" (*ibid.*, p. 164). Lexicalisation is the result of a number of factors, namely absolute frequency, relative frequency, length, distribution over texts and text categories, and structure (*ibid.*, p. 165). Kjellmer's definition of collocation thus includes traditional idioms, both encoding and decoding idioms (cf. Section 2.4. below). However, collocations should not be seen to constitute a well-defined category like single-word lexemes. Rather they should be placed along a continuum ranging from established collocations (which often do function as one-word lexemes, e.g. 'the Soviet Union')[5] to sequences of doubtful cohesion. Kjellmer allows for combinations of lexical and function words too: indeed he points out that it is only when we take into consideration such phrases as 'it is obvious that', and 'a number of', that "the ubiquity and indispensability of set expressions become fully apparent" (Kjellmer 1991, p. 115). Such collocations are the concept behind his *Dictionary of English Collocations* (1994), which is based on recurrence in a corpus: the Gothenburg Corpus of Collocations, itself a subcorpus of all of the collocations in the Brown Corpus (cf. Chapter 3).

[4] This is also a criterion for inclusion as a collocation in Sinclair's work - see Section 2.5. below. It is not however a requirement in a lot of work on collocation from a pedagogical perspective - cf. for example Howarth (1996).

[5] Kjellmer's established collocations can be further described with reference to their 'prediction', for example whether the item on the left is predicted by the item on the right or vice versa, or if both items predict the other (cf. Kjellmer 1991). Thus, in the collocation 'corpus linguistics', the item on the left ('corpus') predicts the item on the right ('linguistics') more strongly than the other way round.

According to this definition we can expect to find a high proportion of collocations in the administrative corpus: Kjellmer explains that while collocations are indispensable in all types of text,[6] they are more characteristic of informative, formal, text types (Kjellmer 1987, p. 133). His findings support the conclusion that collocations occur most frequently in Category H of the Brown Corpus, the miscellaneous category, made up predominantly of administrative, business and official documents and reports. In this type of writing, he claims, "clarity and communicative success are more important than originality" (*ibid.*, p. 139). Such a finding is of course wholly dependent on the corpus used, and since the Brown Corpus is fairly small and relatively heterogeneous, it is not necessarily the case that similar results would have been found with other corpora. It may be simply that this category is more cohesive, and the texts less heterogeneous than those in, say, the literature categories. Kjellmer accounts for this finding, and in particular the fact that Category H is significantly different as regards long collocations, as follows:

> First, fairly long collocations (≥ 5 words), viz. collocations of a somewhat fossilised nature, are particularly at home in the more formal genres of the Brown Corpus, those sometimes referred to as 'informative'. Secondly, collocations in general are more frequent in formal/informative genres of text than in informal/imaginative, probably because writers of the former type of text are more likely to fall back on stereotypes, ready-made patterns, than are writers of the latter type of text, where originality is more of a virtue. And thirdly, in ALL kinds of text collocations are essential, indispensable elements, elements that are often neglected as the material with which our utterances are very largely made. (Kjellmer 1987, p. 140, the emphasis is Kjellmer's)

The approach taken in Chapter 4 of this research to extracting collocations from a corpus of texts follows on logically from Kjellmer's definition of collocation as structured patterns which recur in identical form. Similar work has been described by Altenberg (Altenberg and Eeg-Olofsson 1990, Altenberg 1993, 1998). Altenberg and Eeg-Olofsson recognise two conceptions of collocation, a broad and a strict, Firthian,[7] sense. In its broad sense, collocation can be seen as more or less equivalent to 'recurrent word combinations', or continuous sequences of words in identical form (Altenberg and

[6] Kjellmer's research and comments are based on English, but there is no reason to expect that French will be different in this respect.

[7] Cf. Section 2.5.2. below for discussion of Firth's concept of collocation.

Eeg-Olofsson 1990, p. 3). The grammaticality of the sequence is therefore no longer a necessary requirement. This notion is by definition corpus-based and particular to a limited sample of language. The Firthian notion of collocation on the other hand, and as Section 2.5. shows, "goes beyond this notion of textual co-occurrence and emphasizes the relationship between *lexical items in language*" (*ibid.*, p. 3, emphasis, Altenberg and Eeg-Olofsson). It is still corpus-based to the extent that a language is constituted by actual texts. It is not, however, restricted to contiguous items, nor is it specific to particular word forms. In an important sense, then, the Firthian notion of collocation can be seen as the broader of the two. Altenberg and Eeg-Olofsson's research investigates the former type of collocation. They extract recurrent word combinations from their corpus[8] and analyse the resulting combinations in terms of lexicogrammar (grammatical structure and collocability) and function. Altenberg and Eeg-Olofsson claim that multiword expressions are an intermediate component in language, being partly generated by the speaker/writer and partly retrieved from memory, and therefore that research into collocation will cause the borderline between lexis and grammar to become fuzzier and more complex (Altenberg and Eeg-Olofsson 1990, p. 19).

Altenberg (1998) continues this line of enquiry, examining the phraseology of spoken English as represented by the London-Lund Corpus. He shows how an approach which it might be expected would obscure any variation in recurrent word combinations can in fact prove to be of significant theoretical and practical importance in describing the phraseology of speech. Altenberg claims that spoken English has a high proportion of such combinations - he estimates that over 80 per cent of the words in the corpus form part of a recurrent word combination, although many of them have little or no phraseological interest. This includes grammatical collocations, since a frequency-based approach will make no distinction between grammatical words and semantically-heavy lexical words, and therefore give both their due weight. His emphasis is on the pragmatic, "the range of commonplace clauses which regularly occur in spoken English

[8] Altenberg and Eef-Olofsson used the London-Lund Corpus, a 500,000 word corpus of prepared and spontaneous speech.

as signals of agreement, acknowledgement, thanks and so on" (Cowie 1998a, p. 11). Altenberg shows how prefabricated elements are prevalent in language, at lexical, grammatical and pragmatic levels, and concludes that "comparatively few examples [...] are completely 'frozen', semantically or grammatically" (Altenberg 1998, p. 121).

Pragmatic specialisation is not the only factor at work, however:

> [...] at the lower levels we also find a large number of conventional expressions serving various 'propositional' (semantic and grammatical) functions, [...]. Thus, depending on the forces at work and the function of the conventionalized expressions, we may talk of 'pragmaticalization', 'lexicalization', and 'grammaticalization', even if these processes are not always easy to distinguish in individual cases" (Altenberg 1998, p. 121)

Although this thesis deals predominantly with written administrative French, or in the case of speeches language which is written to be spoken, rather than spontaneous spoken language, these factors are also appropriate to the corpus.

The British linguist Chris Butler has carried out work in a similar vein, based on a corpus composed of five subcorpora covering spoken and written Spanish and based predominantly on journalistic texts. His work has found that few of the frequent sequences relate to the subject matter of the texts (although this figure is higher in the written corpus than the spoken one); and also that many of the frequent sequences are of an interpersonal, rather than an ideational, nature (Butler 1997, p. 69). Butler has further determined that there is a relationship between lexical sequences and the mode of communication: namely that the written corpus has much fewer frequently-repeated sequences, and more which relate to the subject matter of the texts. His main interest, however, was in the implications of such sequences for Functional Grammar (FG). He concludes that, while sequences may appear to constitute a threat to FG, as indeed to any grammar based on constituent structure, it is not necessary to reject FG, but merely to develop it in certain ways to cope with phraseological phenomena.

The approach taken in Chapter 4 here can therefore be seen to combine the interest of Altenberg and Butler in recurrent multiword sequences with the work of Gledhill (e.g.

2000) on the phraseology of specific registers. It aims to show how multiword sequences, involving both lexical and grammatical words, establish the fundamental phraseology of the administrative register.

2.4. Phraseology as the creation of general language users - semantic and syntactic notions

The previous section focused on phraseology as it has been developed by administrators themselves to express frequent meanings in the register of administration. The administrative register is not, however, a self-contained part of the French language: rather it exploits lexical, grammatical and phraseological resources of the general language where these suit its purposes. This section therefore surveys the phraseological resources available.

> [...] we can mention idioms, fixed phrases, variable phrases, clichés, proverbs, and many technical terms and much jargon, as examples of recognised patterns where the independence of the word is compromised in some way (Sinclair 2000, p. 10)

Sinclair here points to a number of types of phraseological unit. Terminological items and jargon are closely related to the discourse of the language variety in question: we might turn to the general language for the other types of unit listed here, which are related by their focus on semantic and syntactic elements. Chris Gledhill has claimed that "science writing is highly devoid of idioms of the traditional kind, but is rich in metaphor and collocational restrictions" (1999, p. 234, and cf. also 2000, pp. 1-2). Given its predominant informational function, we might expect administrative language to be similarly devoid of such units as idioms and proverbs, but whether this is restricted to particular genres or modes within the register is another matter: this is discussed further in Chapter 5. This section begins by relating work on phraseology to research on idioms, setting out Adam Makkai's useful distinction between encoding and decoding idioms, which is crucial for an appreciation of collocations. It then widens the object of study to idiomaticity as a whole: it is important to note that in looking at idioms and phrases we are not dealing here with collocation in its strict sense, but with lexical patterning which contributes to the phraseology of a language or register. The next sub-section focuses on lexicographical approaches to collocations.[9] With the benefit of these discussions, the final part of this section looks at work in France on 'locutions'.

Ultimately, it would seem to be impossible, and also perhaps undesirable, to lose sight of the parallels between idioms and collocations. Although collocations are usually distinguished from idioms on the grounds that they are semantically compositional (cf. van der Wouden's definition, 1997, p. 9), that is to say that the constituents all contribute to the overall meaning of a collocation, there is clearly some degree of semantic cohesion involved in a collocation, otherwise meaning could not be produced by collocation. D. A. Cruse, who approaches collocation through lexical semantics, distinguishes a class of 'bound collocations' and says that:

> These [collocations] are of course easy to distinguish from idioms; nonetheless they do have a kind of semantic cohesion - the constituent elements are, to varying degrees, mutually selective. (Cruse 1986, p. 40)

Compositionality appears to be therefore a 'more or less' feature of word combinations (cf. also van der Wouden 1997, p. 11), with idioms at one extreme and collocations at the other.

2.4.1. Encoding and decoding idioms

> Matters of wit, curiosity and love of the unusual, the absurd, etc., have a further impact on the intuition. These things are memorable, and ordinary things are not. The computer does not discriminate. (Sinclair 1997, p. 33)

Idioms, that is to say, semantically non-compositional phrases, or phrases which have a meaning which is more than the sum of their component words, such as *il pleut des cordes* ('it's raining cats and dogs'), have a tendency to stand out in language whereas other, less intuitively eye- (or ear-) catching word combinations do not.[10] This is one

[9] See also Section 2.5. for further discussion of collocations, in the neo-Firthian statistical sense.

[10] Cf. the Concise Oxford Dictionary's first definition of an idiom: "a group of words established by usage and having a meaning not deducible from those of the individual words" (Ninth Edition 1995).

explanation for the predominance of studies of traditional idioms in linguistics, especially outside corpus linguistics.[11] Their salience has the result of making them appear a more common and fundamental part of language than is actually the case. They could be seen as 'say-me' memes (cf. Blackmore 1999, p. 84[12]).

The linguist Adam Makkai, writing in 1972, opened his seminal study of *Idiom Structure In English* as follows:

> It is generally agreed that the study of idiomaticity in natural languages, at least in Western scholarship, is one of the most neglected and under-explored aspects of modern linguistics. (Makkai 1972, p. 23).

Thirty years on, this is still at least partly true. However, while the study of the general phenomenon of idiomaticity is still to a certain degree marginalised in linguistics and has only recently begun to be given its due place, the study of idioms, or semantically non-compositional units, which is effectively the focus of Makkai's work, has seen extensive, indeed statistically disproportionate, research.

For Makkai, collocations can be subsumed under idioms, or rather under the concept of 'idiomaticity', and are not identified merely on the basis of semantic non-compositionality. His work is crucial for studies of collocation, because it introduces

[11] Both Hockett (1958) and Householder (1959), working in the late 1950s, proposed reductionist conceptions of idioms, emphasising semantic non-compositionality above any other criterion for the recognition of idioms. Hockett's definition of an idiom, as any grammatical form the meaning of which is not deducible from its structure, is not generally accepted as a workable concept. Indeed, it has been argued that the notion is too broad a category to be of practical value in empirical linguistics (cf. Moon 1998a, p. 10, Howarth 1996, p. 17), although it is a fundamental concept. The definition implies that since morphemes do not have deducible meaning, every morpheme is necessarily an idiom (except when functioning as constituents of larger idioms). Idioms therefore become the ultimate form-meaning pairings, and constitute the entries of an ideal dictionary. Householder's notion of linguistic primes (1959, p. 235) proposes a very similar, although not identical, concept. 'Primes' are "units to which all others may be reduced, but which may not be further reduced themselves". This notion of an idiom is important here in that it reinforces the semantic non-compositionality which is generally accepted to be the common feature in all studies of idiom, and the crucial difference between idioms and collocations, if we are to adopt a definition of collocation which does not imply idiom as a subgroup. However, the more common notion of an idiom is that of a multiword group.

[12] 'Say-me' memes are memes, that is, units of cultural information, which are particular easy to say and therefore reproduce themselves fastest. As Blackmore puts it: "The point is you are less likely to want to pass on some boring thing you heard about the health of your neighbour's rose bushes than a rumour about what your neighbour was doing behind them." (1999, p. 84)

some important distinctions. Makkai suggests a reason for the terminological confusion apparently inherent in the study of idiom:

> [...] almost every linguist, or philologist for that matter, who considered the problem, saw something else in idiomaticity. To some, it was a matter of UNUSUAL ENCODING, that is a PHRASEOLOGICAL problem, to others a matter of MISUNDERSTANDABILITY, that is AMBIGUOUS DECODABILITY; and again to others the failure to understand a form despite previous familiarity with the meanings of its constituents, and so forth. (Makkai 1972, p. 7, the emphasis is Makkai's)

His own approach recognises two types of idiom, accounting for the first two of these conceptions of idiomaticity:

> It seems appropriate to consider these 'phraseological peculiarities'[13] as IDIOMS OF ENCODING, and lexical clusters (*hot dog, hot potato, red herring*), and tournures (*to fly off the handle, to seize the bull by the horns*, etc) as IDIOMS OF DECODING. (*ibid.*, p. 25)

It follows that idioms of decoding are necessarily also idioms of encoding, or 'phraseological peculiarities', but the reverse is not true. Idioms of decoding are traditional or semantic idioms: that is to say, semantically non-compositional sequences of words. Idioms of encoding, however, include phraseological items and collocations. In accordance with this definition, the overriding principle can be considered to be that of 'idiomaticity', with 'idiom' and 'collocation' as subgroups. Idioms are necessarily also collocations (since idioms of decoding are simultaneously idioms of encoding), but collocations are not idioms, although they do display idiomaticity.

Although in a large part of his work Makkai limits himself to idioms of decoding, this thesis is concerned in the main part with idioms of encoding, or those phraseological items and collocations which are not also idioms of decoding. As van der Wouden says: "Collocations are compositional *post hoc*: once the form and meaning of a certain collocation are known, the combination is not surprising any more" (van der Wouden 1997, p. 55). Phraseological items and collocations can be seen as lexicogrammatically non-compositional. The distinction made here between idioms and collocations is

[13] For example, the use of the preposition 'at' rather than any other in 'he drove at 70 mph'.

crucial to an investigation of the wider principle of idiomaticity. In later work (1992b), Makkai takes this line of argument further in claiming that the essence of language is idiomaticity, because even syntax and phonemes can be subsumed under idiomatic structures.[14] He has moved away from idioms as a counterpart to collocation, to a more fundamental idea of idiomaticity as an organising principle of language, a view not dissimilar to Sinclair's current notion (cf. Section 2.5.1.).

2.4.2. Idiomaticity

The Hallidayan linguist Chitra Fernando's conception of idioms continues the move away from the traditional idea of sequences which add up to more than their component parts. It is this broadening of the notion that allows Fernando to claim that idioms, which are sometimes but not always non-literal, are not marginal in language, but have nonetheless been neglected by linguistics. Fernando's study is an analysis of idioms from a Hallidayan perspective. She clarifies her terminology:

> Idioms and idiomaticity, while closely related, are not identical. The basis of both is the habitual and, therefore, predictable co-occurrence of specific words, but with *idioms* signifying a narrower range of word combinations than *idiomaticity*. Idioms are indivisible units whose components cannot be varied or varied only within definable limits. (*ibid.*, p. 30)

Idiomaticity on the other hand:

> is exemplified not only in idioms and conventional *ad hoc* collocations, but also in conventional lexicogrammatical sequencing most apparent in longer text fragments. (*ibid.*, p. 30)

Faithful to Halliday's three metafunctions, Fernando sets out a three-way typology of idioms: ideational, interpersonal and relational idioms (the last an adaptation of Halliday's textual metafunction). The first of these, ideational idioms (she gives as examples *bread and butter* and *red herring*), are the closest to the traditional notion of an idiom, contributing as they do to the content of a discourse. It is not surprising then

[14] Makkai (1992b, p. 362): "Syntax itself is heavily idiomatic. S → NP + VP is but an Indo-European idiom with limited or zero validity in Sino-Tibetan." Even phonemes can be considered idiomatic: "idiomatic chunks of the universal phonetic raw materials common to humankind" (*ibid.*, p. 361).

that Fernando should comment that it would be unusual to find this type of idiom in administrative regulations or legal documents. Much more pervasive in language, although not as intuitively salient, are interpersonal and relational idioms (examples of which include, respectively, *bless you, go to hell* and *on the contrary, in sum*). Although Fernando does consider these to be idioms, they are also phraseological units and as such display idiomaticity.

Parallels can be drawn between Fernando's work and that of Gloria Corpas Pastor on the collocational units of Spanish. She uses *fraseología* as the overriding term for her focus of study, following, yet adapting, the definition of the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (Real Academia Española, 1992):

> Conjunto de frases hechas, locuciones figuradas, metáforas y comparaciones fijadas, modismos y refranes, existentes en una lengua, en el uso individual o en el de algún grupo. (Corpas Pastor 1996, p. 16)[15]

Corpas Pastor's definition, however, is in a sense wider than this in that it includes additional types of combination, especially to allow for internal variation in phrases, and at the same time narrower in that it excludes types of combination that do not belong to the general language. Her phraseological units are therefore:

> [...] unidades léxicas formadas por más de dos palabras gráficas en su límite inferior, cuyo límite superior se sitúa en el nivel de la oración compuesta. Dichas unidades se caracterizan por su alta **frecuencia** de uso, y de coaparición de sus elementos integrantes; por su **institucionalización**, entendida en términos de fijación y especialización semántica; por su **idiomaticidad** y **variación potenciales**; así como por el grado en el cual se dan todos estos aspectos en los distintos tipos. (*ibid.*, p. 20, my emphasis)[16]

Corpas Pastor identifies three subgroups of phraseological unit, with a primary distinction between *enunciados fraseologías* (which are complete speech acts) and *locuciones* and *colocaciones* neither of which constitute complete speech acts. While

[15] "A group of set phrases, figurative idioms, metaphors and fixed comparisons, idioms and proverbs, which exist in a language, in the language use of an individual or group." (My translation)

[16] "[...] lexical unities composed of more than two graphic words at the lower extreme, and up to the level of a complex sentence. Such unities are characterised by their high frequency of use, and by the co-occurrence of their component elements; by their institutionalisation, understood in terms of fixedness and semantic specialisation; by their idiomaticity and potential for variation; and also by the degree to which all of these aspects contribute to the distinct types." (My translation)

locuciones are fixed in the system the latter are fixed, to a greater or lesser extent, in norms of usage. This distinction is adopted here (cf. in particular Chapters 5 and 6).

More recent research has found traditional idioms to be rarer than is generally perceived in language. Rosamund Moon (1998a, 1998b), for example, draws this conclusion from her study of the rhetorical function of 'fixed expressions and idioms' (FEIs) in a corpus of 18 million words of English,[17] made up predominantly of journalistic and literary texts, registers which might be expected to contain a relatively high proportion of idioms (Moon 1998b, p. 79). It is only really with the development of corpus linguistics that the actual role of idioms has been open to investigation. Chapter 5 of this study follows an approach similar to Moon's, although with the opposite aim. While Moon begins with a defined list of expressions, and builds up a description of these based on her corpus, in terms of behaviour and patterning, including variation, the interest here is in the phraseology of a particular register of language.

For Moon, the category of FEIs covers both collocations and idioms and has three macrocategories, each of which comprises three or four subcategories and demonstrates a different 'problem'. These are: anomalous collocations (for example, *kith and kin* (a so-called 'cranberry collocation'), *by and large* (an 'ill-formed collocation')); formulae (e.g. *I'm sorry to say* (a simple formula - with a special discourse function), proverbs, sayings and similes); and finally metaphors (e.g. *on an even keel*, ranging from opaque (pure idioms) to transparent). Respectively, these three categories represent problems of lexicogrammar, pragmatics and semantics, and reveal the three factors which Moon takes into account in identifying FEIs, namely lexicogrammatical fixedness, institutionalisation and non-compositionality. FEIs therefore demonstrate idiomaticity in that they are "single choices syntagmatically, restricted lexical choices paradigmatically, and motivated by discoursal considerations" (Moon 1998a, p. 19).

[17] The Oxford Hector Pilot Corpus, an 18 million word corpus of English, covering journalism, fiction, non-fiction and 'ephemera'. Moon's database of 6,700 FEIs is based on the first edition of the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1987).

2.4.3. Lexicographical approaches

As for collocations (cf. Williams 2001b, quoted above)[18], much of the research on phraseological units has aimed to formalise them in dictionaries.[19] This section looks briefly at the major lines of research in this vein, which stem from the Russian tradition of phraseology.

The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English (Benson, Benson and Ilson 1986) presents a definition of collocation which is close to that adopted by neo-Firthian linguists, in that it defines collocations as non-idiomatic (i.e. semantically compositional) phrases and constructions, which can be either lexical, composed solely of lexical words, or grammatical, that is, containing grammatical items in addition to lexical words. The BBI Dictionary is broadly speaking within the Russian tradition of phraseology. This tradition, which has spread from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to Western Europe, is centred around the phraseological unit, and has been particularly influential in dictionary compilation.[20] Its principal legacy, as Cowie notes, is "a framework of descriptive categories that is comprehensive, systematic, and soundly based" (Cowie 1998a, p. 4), the various researchers being united by a primary distinction between word-like and sentence-like units (nominations and propositions).

Igor Mel'čuk can certainly be considered to be within the classical Russian tradition. He views collocations as units: "collocations - no matter how one understands them - are a subclass of what are known as *set phrases*" (Mel'čuk 1998, p. 23). An important concept in Mel'čuk's work is that of the lexical function, of which he has identified around sixty. These are defined as:

> [...] a very general and abstract meaning, coupled with a D(eep) Synt(actic) role, which can be lexically expressed in a large variety of ways depending on the lexical unit to which this meaning applies. (*ibid.*, p. 32)

[18] Williams' own research has centred on collocational networks for the lexicography of sublanguages.

[19] Čermák (2001) offers a good discussion of lexicographic approaches to idioms and phraseology.

[20] A good summary of the Russian tradition of collocation can be found in Cowie (1998).

In other words, a lexical function relates a node word to another word in terms of meaning. An example of lexical functions in action is the pairing 'clean shave', or as Makkai expresses it: 'Magn(shave$_N$) = clean', which means that the general meaning of 'very' in the context of 'shave' is realised by the accompanying adjective 'clean'. While the notion is theoretically useful, Fontenelle (1994, p. 46) questions whether Mel'čuk's dictionaries are likely to become popular tools, given that few people (linguists apart!) ever read the preface of a dictionary. However, a substantial body of work has been carried out on lexical functions in various languages.[21]

2.4.4. Locutions

Given the focus here on phraseological items borrowed by the administrative register from the general language, perhaps the obvious place to start in identifying phraseological units in the corpus is with a dictionary of such units: this is the approach employed in Chapter 5 which investigates the role of generally recognised phraseological units, with reference to Alain Rey and Sophie Chantreau's *Dictionnaire des expressions et locutions* (1993). It is useful at this stage to examine Rey and Chantreau's concept of an 'expression' or 'locution'.

In their own words, their object of study is 'la phraséologie':

> [...] c'est-à-dire [...] un système de particularités expressives liées aux conditions sociales dans lesquelles la langue est actualisée, c'est-à-dire à des *usages*. (*ibid.*, p. v)

Phraseology is therefore seen here as particular expression within a social context, and not isolated from the context of use, as is often the case. The definition can therefore be compared with that of Gledhill (1995, 1999)[22], although Rey and Chantreau still focus on expressions which are fixed to a greater or lesser extent. This phraseological system is composed of:

[21] Cf. for example Wanner (ed.) 1996, which contains papers on a number of languages, including Russian, English, German and a Mexican Uto-Aztecan language, Huichol, and also contains a paper, by Ulrich Heid, on the use of lexical functions to extract collocations from corpora.

[22] For Gledhill, phraseology is "a system of preferred expressions differentiated by the rhetorical aims of a discourse community" (e.g. 1995, p. 11).

> des groupes de mots plus ou moins imprévisibles, dans leur forme parfois et toujours dans leur valeur. (Rey and Chantreau 1993, p. v)

Their wide definition thus coincides with Makkai's notion of idioms, embracing as it does both decoding idioms, which are unpredictable in their form and value, and encoding idioms, which are unpredictable in form. They explain these two types further by means of an example:

> Connaître le sens de *mors*, celui de *dent* et les règles de syntaxe qui permettent de les assembler, ne suffit pas pour comprendre, et *a fortiori* pour bien employer: **prendre le mors aux dents**. (*ibid.*, p. v)

and:

> on trouvera ici maintes locutions sans aucune explication que leur sens courant, maintes locutions issues d'une image très claire en apparence, et où les mots, semble-t-il, ont gardé leur valeur banale. Qu'on y prenne garde: même dans ce cas, la locution pose toujours un problème, qui peut être exprimé par la question : pourquoi cet assemblage de mots pour exprimer telle idée? (*ibid.*, p. xi)

'Locution' and 'expression' in fact describe the same reality, but a reality considered from different perspectives. While a 'locution' is "une unité fonctionnelle plus longue que le mot graphique, appartenant au code de la langue (devant être apprise) en tant que forme stable et soumise aux règles syntactiques de manière à assumer la fonction d'*intégrant*"[23] (*ibid.*, p. vi), that is to say, a functional form, an expression is the same reality, but seen as a rhetorical or stylistic device for expressing an idea.

The emphasis here differs from Gross's notion of a 'locution'. For him, a locution is the result of the adaptation of words to a new context:

> Pour qu'on puisse dénommer un concept nouveau à partir d'un agglomérat d'autres mots, il faut que ces mots perdent d'abord leur actualisation, c'est-à-dire ce qui les lie à une situation donnée. Le groupe n'est plus alors un syntagme régulier mais peut être appelé une *locution*. A ce niveau, il n'est pas nécessaire que la suite obtenue soit figée sémantiquement. (Gross 1996, p. 144)

[23] Rey and Chantreau (1993, p. vi, footnote) note that: "L'*intégrant* de Benveniste est une unité apte à être reprise pour être intégrée dans une unité du niveau supérieur: élément dans le mot, mot dans le syntagme, syntagme dans la phrase minimale, etc."

It is more straightforward to list what Rey and Chantreau's dictionary does not include: namely figurative uses of single words - that is to say, 'locutions' are necessarily multiword units - and groups of words with a technical or scientific value, that is, terms. Within these restrictions, inclusion in the dictionary is not based solely on frequency, although it was compiled on the basis of a corpus of predominantly literary texts, but also on the "caractère interne" of the entries, and what Rey and Chantreau call "transfert métaphorique". The result is that many of the *locutions* are semantically non-compositional, or decoding idioms, but on the other hand many are not, and are instead elements of phraseology.

Guiraud's (1961) definition of locutions differs considerably from Rey and Chantreau's. For him, there is necessarily a certain archaism which has survived in a locution, whether it be an archaism in the form of the expression (in the syntax, for example), or in the content of the expression, in that it refers to something which no longer exists. A locution is:

> une expression d'origine marginale - le plus souvent technique, mais aussi dialectale, argotique ou affective, stylistique - qui est passée dans la langue commune avec une valeur métaphorique et s'y est conservée sous une forme figée et hors de l'usage normale. (Guiraud 1961, p. 7)

Rey and Chantreau likewise note the fact that locutions can help older forms to survive in the French language, in including archaic words (they give the examples of 'au <u>fur</u> et à mesure' - 'as' (emphasising the gradual nature of a progression) - and 'avoir <u>maille</u> à partir' - 'to have a bone to pick with someone'), or stemming from a comparison or sense which is now outdated and has only survived in the locution in question (such as 'faire des châteaux en Espagne' - 'build castles in Spain'). There can therefore be a strange clash between modern and archaic forms in language as a result of these locutions. It would not be surprising, given Ball's remark (1997, p. 181), to find that in administrative language traditional and newly-formed items regularly collocate: whether or not this is due to the presence of locutions remains to be seen. The units in which this study is most interested, therefore, are not marginal, and are not necessarily metaphorical, but rather are fundamental to the administrative register.

This approach to phraseology, that of identifying units, has a tendency to produce taxonomies of types. While this has undeniable uses and advantages, for example in education, taxonomies by their very nature risk misrepresenting the nature of the phenomenon. Pawley and Syder make this clear:

> [...] we would assert that this feature of gradation is a fact of language, and in seeking discrete classes we are in danger of misrepresenting the nature of a native speaker's knowledge. (Pawley and Syder 1983, p. 212)

In the course of this section a variety of types of phraseological unit have been set out, motivated by such criteria as fixedness, semantic compositionality and institutionalisation. It is possible to envisage a synthesis of these, a multidimensional space in which phraseological units could be positioned on a number of clines. However, given that phraseology and collocations are register-bound, a large part of lexical patterning and phraseology, which allows registers and genres to be recognised, would remain unaccounted for.

2.5. Phraseology as the creation of the text - statistical notions of collocation

The third main notion of phraseology investigated in the administrative register here has been developed from the work of the British linguist J. R. Firth, and includes what might be called 'collocation proper'. The notion has been shown to be very powerful, and has been extended beyond lexical collocation, to a more holistic concept. The essential quality of such collocational patterning is that it is text-based: actual instances of co-occurrence are the focus, rather than abstract relations. For this reason, corpus linguistics has been the framework within which much of this research has been undertaken.

2.5.1. John Sinclair and the idiom principle

As John Sinclair, paraphrasing Firth (1957a), has said, "The basis of lexical patterning is the tendency of words to occur in the vicinity of each other to an extent that is not predicted by chance" (Sinclair 1992, p. 390). Some of this patterning results from real-world considerations. Other types of patterning are tied in with register and genre considerations, which Sinclair describes as "large-scale conditioning choices" (*ibid.*, p. 110). It would seem that it is easier to re-use patterns, especially where creativity is not the main goal,[24] but this does not explain why a particular sequence of words or pattern should gain currency and others should not.

Section 2.1. drew attention to Sinclair's latest conception of the terminological and phraseological tendencies. These tendencies demonstrate the two types of lexicon used by speakers (Sinclair 1996). Sinclair claims that users of a language have two resources open to them: first an 'extended term bank', or set of words which have a consistent meaning; and secondly an 'empty' lexicon, or words which have no permanent set of properties attached to them. The lexicon entry in this case is built up through an examination of usage. Chapter 6 of this thesis examines the usage and environment of a selection of items.

In order to see how the holistic phraseological tendency has been developed, it is important to go back to its roots, in Sinclair's earlier work, Firth's pioneering work, and that of other researchers. While lexical collocation is at the centre of such studies, it has never been the only phenomenon identified to be at work.

Sinclair (1991) is a fundamental work in the study of collocation, especially as it relates to recent developments in corpus linguistics. His definition is a statistical or textual one:

[24] Even where creativity is the principal goal, recent studies have shown that existing patterns can be reworked and thus revitalised - cf. Moon 1998b, p. 80. There is evidence from psycholinguistics to suggest that typical collocates are primed in the brain when words are used (cf. Pinker 1999, p. 132 et seq. on the priming of associated words)

> Collocation is the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text. (Sinclair 1991, p. 170)

The 'short space' is often taken to be four words each side of the central, or node, word (cf. Sinclair and Jones 1974).[25] Collocation is therefore not dependent on a semantic relationship between the items in question, although of course semantics plays an important role. This definition has been criticised. Howarth, for example, notes that this view "takes no account of any psychological aspects of significance, such as the role that the use of familiar expressions might have in language production and comprehension, nor the internal grammatical or lexical structure of an expression" (Howarth 1996, p. 6). Howarth's aims however are pedagogical, and here psychological considerations are clearly important. When, however, the aim is to identify the typical or characteristic features of a genre or register, the statistical or textual notion of collocation is in fact an ideal starting point (cf. Gledhill 2000).

Collocations, being partly generated and partly retrieved, are an intermediate component of Sinclair's two interdependent organising principles: these are the open-choice principle and the idiom principle. These principles are models of interpretation which explain the way in which meaning arises from text.

The open-choice principle is also known as the 'slot-and-filler' model, and is the basis of most grammars. The principle:

> [...] envisag[es] texts as a series of slots which have to be filled from a lexicon which satisfies local restraints. At each slot, virtually any word can occur. (*ibid.*, p. 109)

Slots open up whenever a unit, whether it be a word, a phrase, or a clause, is completed and the only restraint is grammaticality. The idiom principle, on the other hand, accounts for constraints that cannot be accounted for by the way the world works, or by register choices:

[25] In fact, in the analysis in Chapter 6 of this thesis, WordSmith Tools has been set to identify collocations five words to each side of the node. This does result in more examples being identified: examples which are not in fact collocations can subsequently be manually eliminated.

> The principle of idiom is that a language user has available to him or her a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analysable into segments. To some extent, this may reflect the recurrence of similar situations in human affairs; it may illustrate a natural tendency to economy of effort; or it may be motivated in part by the exigencies of real-time conversation. (*ibid.*, p. 110)

An example of the idiom principle in action is Sinclair's example of the patterning around 'naked eye', (cf. for example Sinclair 2000), where it is not possible to say which elements are part of the phrase and which are optional. Phrases, in other words, have an indeterminate extent, and can permit internal lexical or syntactic variation. As Hunston and Francis point out, the idiom principle breaks down the artificial barrier between the phrase and the non-phrase (Hunston and Francis 1999, p. 231).

Sinclair's definition of idiom is also interesting and may be contrasted with Makkai's notion set out above:

> [...] a group of two or more words which are chosen together in order to produce a specific meaning or effect in speech or writing. (Sinclair 1991, p. 172)

Collocations and idioms are both surface manifestations of the idiom principle. This definition implies that idioms and collocations overlap to a considerable extent. Idioms have a rhetorical function in text and have been seen as pragmatically marked (cf. Gledhill 1999). Sinclair explains the difference as follows:

> In principle, we call co-occurrences idioms if we interpret the co-occurrence as giving a single unit of meaning. If we interpret the occurrence as the selection of two related words, each of which keeps some meaning of its own, we call it a collocation. (Sinclair 1991, p. 172)

Diachronically, therefore, collocations may become idioms, in a process not unlike the development of Guiraud's locutions (cf. Section 2.4.4. above).

2.5.2. J. R. Firth and early neo-Firthian collocation

Sinclair's current view of the phraseological tendency of language can be traced back directly to J. R. Firth's work on collocation. Firth is generally agreed to have been the first to adopt the term collocation in its present, technical sense in linguistics, in the context of a theory of meaning, although the concept and indeed the term can be traced further back. For reasons of space, it is not possible to go into detail on this here.[26] It is only with Firth that analysis and the theoretical study of collocation as a linguistic phenomenon really took off. He first drew attention to the phenomenon of collocation in his 1951 paper 'Modes of Meaning'. Collocation is introduced here as a level at which meaning can be analysed: meaning by collocation is part of lexical meaning. In the later 'Synopsis of linguistic theory' (1957c), Firth states that:

> the habitual collocations in which words under study appear are quite simply the mere word accompaniment, the other word-material in which they are most commonly or most characteristically embedded. (Firth 1957c, p. 11)

Over the following pages he develops, and, in fact, modifies this definition:

> The collocation of a word or a 'piece' is not to be regarded as mere juxtaposition, it is an order of *mutual expectancy*. (*ibid.*, p. 12)

According to this definition, idioms are necessarily collocations, but not vice versa. That is to say that collocation is the more general category. Slightly later again, the definition is of "actual words in habitual company" (*ibid.*, p. 14), a more general definition still in that it does not specify whether the 'habitual company' should be understood to be particular words, or words with a related meaning, or grammatical classes. This is the definition which has informed much neo-Firthian research into collocation thirty-odd years later and which is implied by Firth's famous line "You shall know a word by the company it keeps!" (Firth 1962, p. 11).

[26] For further information on earlier concepts of collocation, see for example Robins (1967), who notes that the Greek Stoics pointed out 2300 years ago that "word meanings do not exist in isolation, and they may differ according to the collocation in which they are used" (1967, p. 21). Robins also calls attention to the treatment of collocation in Indian linguistics, in which collocation is seen from the point of view of decoding and its restriction of the meaning range of a word. Moving closer to the present day, Kennedy (1998) points to Cruden's identification in his *Concordance*, over 250 years ago, of repeated co-occurrences of certain words in the Bible. McEnery and Wilson (2001, p. 23) identify the basic idea behind collocation as dating back to 1930s Prague School linguistics, where it is termed 'automation'. Just over a decade before Firth's influential adoption of the term, G. L. Trager (1940) used it in a technical sense in context of a technique for analysing morphological and syntactic phenomena in order to establish Russian noun categories: in his use, syntagmatic collocation stands in opposition to paradigmatic 'congruence'. More in the Firthian vein, although from a lexicographical rather than a contextualist perspective, is the work of H. E. Palmer (cf. Palmer 1917, and Palmer and Blandford 1976 (first edition 1924)), for whom collocation is the co-occurrence of both lexical and grammatical words. See also Mitchell (1971) for a comparison of Firth and Palmer.

A parallel concept to collocation in Firthian linguistics, and one which has been picked up again recently in the phraseological tendency, is that of colligation. If collocation is an order of mutual expectancy of particular words, colligation operates at one remove.

> Collocations are actual words in habitual company. A word in a usual collocation stares you in the face just as it is. Colligations cannot be of words as such. Colligations of grammatical categories related in a grammatical structure do not necessarily follow word divisions or even sub-divisions of words. (Firth 1962, p. 14)

Colligation operates at the grammatical level of meaning. The relationship between collocation and colligation can therefore be seen on a scale of generality,[27] although the two do not necessarily work in parallel. The notion of colligation today has been extended to cover the syntactic constraints, or even just preferences, of particular words. Hoey, for example, suggests that:

> [...] *colligation* can be defined as *the grammatical company a word keeps*. Just as a lexical item may have a strong tendency to co-occur with another lexical item, so also that lexical item may have an equally strong tendency to occur in a particular position or (a separate point) to co-occur with a particular grammatical category of item. (Hoey 1997, p. 8, the emphasis is Hoey's)

This notion can also be seen as a cross between collocation and colligation, or the meeting place of the two.

According to Firth, collocation should be studied from attested examples, and here it is possible to draw a direct line from Firth to modern corpus linguistics with its inductive approach and its reliance on complete attested texts. Firth himself recommended studying the collocational patterns of key or pivotal words, that is, sociologically important words. This is still an approach to collocation in linguistics today.[28]

From this initial recognition of the phenomenon of collocation, there has been a concern with register theory. Firth claimed that statements of meaning at the collocational level

[27] Cf. for example Mitchell 1975, p. 121.

[28] Cf. Chapter 6 for a discussion of Stubbs' and Scott's approaches to keywords, among others.

could be made for the key words of a "restricted language", and in fact help to justify the restriction of the field. This concept has developed into that of register, and the notion of general or core language has been undermined.[29] Elena Tognini-Bonelli (1996) has suggested that Firth did not extend the usefulness of collocational meaning to the standard language as a whole only because such collocational data was unavailable. In a later paper (1957b), Firth shows that the concepts of primary and derived meanings must also be abandoned: he recounts how in a conversation with Malinowski about the meaning of the word 'ass' in familiar, colloquial English, they are forced to, as he puts it, "place the word in another 'language'" (Firth 1957b, p. 106) to bring in the 'animal' meaning, normally considered to be the primary meaning of the word. Rather, 'ass' normally collocates with expressions of personal reference and address. A word's most frequent meaning clearly does not necessarily correspond to people's intuitive ideas of its primary meaning, and there are perhaps superficially surprising differences between registers. The concept of meaning by collocation can resolve these difficulties.

Although he did not develop the concept, or indeed the study of collocation as much as he might have,[30] Firth was, characteristically, quite far-sighted in this respect. He called for collocational study of ordered series of words, such as calendrical terms, which are traditionally seen, and indeed learned, as members of a semantic set. He claimed that such study could be revealing.[31] Indeed, words should always be regarded separately, not just from other members of a set, but also from other members of a paradigm. Thus the collocational patterns of the form *marcher* could differ significantly from those of *marches, marché* etc., patterns which an undifferentiated analysis of the lemma MARCHER would conceal (cf. Firth 1962, p. 12, and also Halliday 1966b, Mitchell 1975, Sinclair 1992, p. 390 and Gitsaki 1996). The corpus used in this research is not

[29] However, see Gledhill (1999) for the idea that collocational shift may be the key to our understanding of core and periphery in language.

[30] Lyons (1966, p. 295) goes as far as to claim that Firth never even made it clear how collocation and the collocational level fit into his general theory.

[31] Hoey has recently pursued similar ideas (2000), and has shown that even intuitively 'uninteresting' words, such as items in the number system, have their own distinctive collocational patterns.

lemmatised; therefore differences in the environments of different word forms are brought to the fore.

For M. A. K. Halliday (1961), in the context of scale-and-category grammar, from which the systemic model of language is developed:

> Collocation is the syntagmatic association of lexical items, quantifiable, textually, as the probability that there will occur, at n removes (a distance of n lexical items) from an item x, the items a, b, c... . Any given item thus enters into a range of collocation, the items with which it is collocated being ranged from more to less probable; and delicacy is increased by the raising of the value of n and by the taking account of the collocation of an item not only with one other but with two, three, or more other items. Items can then be grouped together by range of collocation, according to their overlap of, so to speak, collocational spread. The paradigmatic grouping which is thereby arrived at is the 'set'. (Halliday 1961, p. 276)

Collocation is thus syntagmatic, and sets are paradigmatic. It can be seen from the quotation above that collocation for Halliday is a probabilistic notion: that is to say that the probability of co-occurrence with particular lexical items can be calculated. This is necessarily a textual notion based on actual texts, and accounts for the success which corpus linguistics has had in explaining the notion of collocation. It has been able, as Krishnamurthy has expressed it, "to raise the status of collocation beyond the simple definition 'the co-occurrence of two lexical items in a text within a certain proximity'" (2000, p. 34). This work was foreseen in Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens' *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching*. They pointed out that linguists had started to use computers to study collocations in large volumes of text, and that "this work should yield much new information about the lexical level of language" (1964, p. 34).

Bazell et al.'s volume from 1966 collects together a number of papers which are key to the understanding of early neo-Firthian collocational study. Some of the authors agree with Firth, while others develop alternative ideas on collocation. Lyons, for instance, claims that the collocations of a word are not part of its meaning, although he accepts that meaning can be conveyed in part by a set of collocations. He also expressly distinguishes phrases and locutions from collocations. He believes that there should be a place in the synchronic description of a language for these, but points out that phrases are often no longer collocations of units but units in themselves. They are "what Saussure called 'locutions toutes faites, auxquelles l'usage interdit de rien changer, même si l'on peut y distinguer, à la réflexion, des parties significatives'" (Lyons 1966, p. 297). Lyons thus considers these to be qualitatively different from collocations, which are "pairs of particular items between which there holds a strong relation of unilateral, or bilateral, syntagmatic presupposition, which is distinct from, and in the case of unilateral presupposition frequently at variance with, syntactic dependency" (*ibid.*, p. 297), and not just the extreme end of a continuum.

For Halliday (1966b), co-occurrence is a statistical phenomenon. He interprets Firth's collocational level as treating lexical patterns as different in kind and not merely in delicacy from grammatical patterns. He then proceeds to outline methods for the description of lexical patterns in the light of a lexical theory which is "complementary to, but not part of, grammatical theory" (1966b, p.148), although recognising that all formal items enter into both grammatical and lexical patterns. The whole of language can be described either grammatically, as entering into closed systems and ordered structures, or lexically, in open sets and linear collocations.

In the late 1960s, collocation for Sinclair was not necessarily recurrent, but even at that early stage he recognised that contiguity is not a necessary criterion for collocation (cf. Section 2.5.3. below). He also recognised that "we speak casually about 'fully grammatical items' or 'function words' as if there were items which were entirely irrelevant in the study of lexis" (1966, p. 422). As he rightly indicated, although function words never attain the status of separate lexical items, neither do words like 'amok', 'hale' and 'eke', which are always used in combination with at least one other item. This seminal work also sets out the definitions of 'node' (the item whose collocational patterns one is interested in), 'span' (the number of items on each side relevant to the node), and 'collocates' (lexical items within the span), concepts which are still used today in collocational analysis, and are also used in this research.

Sinclair (1966) also develops Firth's own ideas about register, showing that collocational patterns are dependent on register. However, since a rigorous definition of register was still a long way off, he suggests that a better approach would be to make a series of lexical descriptions of different registers and then search for their common elements.

2.5.3. Later developments

The statistical notion of collocation has subsequently been developed in various ways. While the extensions to the notion discussed here, non-contiguous collocation and the collocational patterning of grammatical words, still concern 'collocation-proper', they represent the widening of the notion to a holistic phraseological tendency of which collocation is at the heart.

For Sinclair in 1966, mutual prediction between lexical items depended on a number of elements:

> (a) the strength of the predictions of items over each other
> (b) the distance apart of the items
> (c) the nature of the items which separate them, whether continuing a 'thread' [...], or not
> (d) the grammatical organization.
> (Sinclair 1966, p. 411)

With regard to (b), while distance ultimately sets the boundary of collocation, there is no smooth decrease in predictability as the distance from the node word increases. Rather, some nodes are routinely separated from their collocates, or from particular collocates, as (c) also indicates. Sinclair and Renouf, in a paper concerned with lexis in language learning (1988), investigated this further, drawing attention to grammatical frameworks: these are presented in more depth in Renouf and Sinclair's 1991 paper. A framework is a grouping of common grammatical words, specifically "a discontinuous sequence of two words, positioned at one word remove from each other; they are therefore not grammatically self-standing; their well-formedness is dependent on what intervenes" (Renouf and Sinclair 1991, p. 128). An example is the framework 'a [TIME PHRASE] ago', which gives the sequences 'a year ago', 'a fortnight ago', 'an age ago', among many others. Renouf and Sinclair demonstrate that grammatical frameworks (such as 'a [time phrase] ago') offer important insights into collocation: firstly, in that the choice of lexical word between the framework is limited; and secondly in demonstrating that grammatical words have collocates and can collocate with each other.[32] Although Firth's best known examples of collocation demonstrate the habitual co-occurrence of lexical items, such as 'rancid butter' and 'dark night', collocational relevance for him was not restricted to lexical words. He claimed rather that the study of the collocations of such words as 'and' and 'for' raises the problem of the grammatical classification of words. Sinclair has subsequently questioned the classification of 'of' as a preposition, based on its phraseological patterning (Sinclair 1991).

Grammatical items may be used as a starting point for the phraseological characterisation of a register or discourse. Gledhill (2000), for example, looks at the patterns of collocation of the salient grammatical items in his corpus of pharmaceutical science research articles, investigating the rhetorical role of these items and also analysing phraseological differences between the rhetorical sections of research articles. Lexical collocation obviously has a role to play in the predominant phraseology of genres, but grammatical collocation "is involved in an immense portion (if not a majority) of the typical kinds of expression to be found in a particular text" (2000, p. 220). One of his major contributions is to emphasise the part played by phraseology in the genre. He suggests that even something as fundamental as tense choices is partly determined by phraseology rather than semantics.[33] In abstracts, for example, the past tense 'was' is shown to have a very different phraseological role to the present tense 'is'. 'Is' is used either as part of 'there is', and is followed by a statement of evidence (e.g. 'There is no indication that...'), or in 'extraposed *it* and *that*-clauses' ('it is apparent that...' followed by an explanation). 'Was', on the other hand, is mostly "involved with

[32] Butler (1998) applied this notion to Spanish. He shows that the most important collocational frameworks "give rise to sequences which express particular ranges of meaning", and that they differ according to the register in question.

[33] Cf. Hunston and Francis's discussion (1999, p. 254) of Gledhill. They show how he presents a phraseological account of choices, where lexis can be the driving force behind grammar, including choice of tense.

statements of qualitative results where the subjects are either key biological entities in the cell [...] or biochemical items involved with a tumour's effect on the metabolism" (2000, p. 158).

2.5.4. Beyond collocation

Two further approaches, which undeniably extend beyond collocation in its true sense are, however, valuable concepts and useful to a holistic model.

2.5.4.1. Pattern Grammar

In recent years, British linguistics has seen an attempt to integrate all of these types of collocation, and indeed all co-selection tendencies. This attempt began with Gill Francis's 1993 paper, and has subsequently been developed by Hunston and Francis (1998, 1999) in the form of 'pattern grammar'. Pattern grammar, which can be seen as a high-level motivation for many of the co-occurrence phenomena above, follows on from, but goes beyond, Firthian collocation and colligation. While for Firth and Sinclair 'patterning' is the general patterning around a word, for Hunston and Francis 'patterning' is much more restrictive. Francis explains:

> While there is colligation at work here in the broadest sense, the most interesting aspect of this and many other structures is the blend of colligation and collocation, where the collocational possibilities involve not individual words, but semantic sets of words and phrases. (Francis 1993, p. 141)

Interest in such patterns can be traced back many years, to Hornby (cf. Hornby in 1954 (cf. Hornby 1975) and Cowie 1978), who developed verb patterns for pedagogical dictionaries, thereby providing a link between grammar and meaning. Hornby, however, illustrated his dictionary with invented examples rather than examples drawn from authentic text, as corpus linguistics does today. Grammatical items, by reason of their very frequency in language, are fundamental in a description of what is characteristic in a register or genre, even if they are less psychologically salient than fully lexical items. Hunston and Francis suggest that grammatical items occur in typical patterns, alongside lexical items which are often semantically restricted. Pattern grammar shows that it is possible to create a grammar which begins with the word: this is the opposite approach to that of Hasan who treats lexis as the most delicate grammar (e.g. Hasan 1987).

Pattern grammar is the result of a project to code the complementation patterns of all the verbs in the Cobuild dictionary, and is a natural development from Renouf and Sinclair's grammatical frameworks, although it takes lexical words and not the frameworks themselves as the starting point. Most importantly, theoretically speaking, pattern grammar constitutes important evidence for the interdependence of lexis and grammar. The notion of patterns can also explain semantic, or discourse, prosody (see Section 2.5.4.2. below) and semantic clusters. The end result, as Gill Francis explains, is:

> [...] that we will be able to specify all major lexical items in terms of their semantic preferences, and all grammatical structures in terms of their key lexis and phraseology. (Francis 1993, p. 155)

Pattern grammar, as mentioned above, was first applied to verbs, a fruitful place to start according to Altenberg (1993), who claims that verb-complementation pairings are the communicative core of utterances and the locus of the most important information. However, Hunston and Francis's later work (1999) shows that words of all grammatical classes can be so described.[34] A pattern is the linguistic environment of a node word, and can consist of particular words (more often grammatical words, although the pattern 'V *way* prep' (e.g. demonstrated by 'he talked his way into the post of chief costume designer') is an example of a pattern containing a lexical word), word-class groups, to-infinitives, WH-clauses, -ing-clauses, and so on. Hunston and Francis define patterns as follows:

> [...] a pattern is a phraseology frequently associated with (a sense of) a word, particularly in terms of the prepositions, groups, and clauses that follow the word. (Hunston and Francis 1999, p. 3)

[34] Hunston (2000a) applies the pattern grammar approach to modal verbs, and shows how phraseology can be a reliable indicator of the sense of a modal.

There can be several elements in a pattern or just one (e.g. V to-inf). Some patterns are very familiar, such as the simple patterns V and Vn which correspond to the traditional distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. It can thus be seen that pattern grammar to a large extent develops traditional grammatical analysis, although it takes the idea of the habitual company of words much further in attempting to describe the whole of the language in a principled fashion.

Hunston and Francis have shown that there is an important correlation between the patterns they have identified around particular verbs, and the various senses of the verb in question, namely that the division into patterns tends to correspond to the senses of the verb. This relation can also be seen by analysing the verbs which manifest a particular pattern: intuitively recognisable sense groups can be discerned. Tightening the link further, they have identified groups of semantically-related verbs which have two, or more rarely, more than two, patterns in common.

The concept of patterning can be seen to account for some instances of collocations, in the concrete sense of fixed phrases. Highly frequent collocational units are simply extreme cases of patterning, in that the patterns allow only a restricted lexis (Hunston and Francis 1998, p. 63). At the other extreme, utterances which are apparently produced by rules are merely the instantiation of patterns which allow a wide range of lexical items. Patterns, however, can only ever indicate typical usage or typical phraseology, and never rules. They are neither fixed nor free. It can be seen therefore that co-occurrence and the idiom principle are not restricted to lexical phrases, but extend also to patterns in general (*ibid.*, p. 66). The result is the phenomenon of 'pattern flow', where utterances move from one pattern to the next, like a wave. The grammar is therefore based on the pattern and no longer on the clause, or any other unit. In this way co-occurrence and co-selection are shown to have an even more important place in language production, as they are no longer restricted to lexical phrases, but can be extended to lexical, grammatical, word-class and various other groupings.

In addition to the link between patterns and meanings, finally, pattern grammar also makes clear the interdependence of lexis and syntax. Hunston and Francis describe their grammar as "the first pedagogic grammar to integrate syntax and lexis using corpus data" (*ibid.*, p. 45). In fact, they prefer the term 'grammar' for the system of both words and patterns, but claim that it is impossible to begin with the idea of one single lexicogrammatical system for historical reasons.[35] Hunston and Francis claim that the notion of pattern precisely captures the interface between lexis and grammar (*ibid.*, p. 62). The idea that lexis and grammar are ultimately inseparable is not new:

> A general and vague idea exists that the study of a given language should proceed on a double basis: lexicology, or the study of words, and grammar, or the study of their mutations and combinations. A little reflection, however, will convince us that this is far from being a true and logical conception of the problem. It will be found that the two subjects are bound up with each other and interdependent, and that they can only be differentiated by doing violence to each. The words themselves and their attendant phenomena cannot be separated except by invoking the arbitrary. (Palmer 1917, p. 32)

In a sense we have come full circle from Palmer. The study of co-selection and collocation appears now to have found the power to draw together many previously divided areas of language study.

2.5.4.2. Discourse prosody

The notion of discourse prosody, or semantic prosody, continues the gradual move away from Firth's original concept of collocation as the co-occurrence of one lexical word with another. Semantic prosody can be seen as either the collocation of a word with a particular field of meaning, or the cumulative effect of collocations, that is the meaning a word assumes by virtue of its frequent or typical collocates. Collocation is therefore taking on a pragmatic dimension. While the node word itself is neutral, it assumes a particular colouring as a result of its collocates.

[35] Cf. Berry (1977, p. 71), who claims that lexis and grammar, in the eyes of systemicists, are "sufficiently different to be regarded as separate levels, yet sufficiently similar to be regarded as parallel levels".

The concept of semantic prosody was introduced by Sinclair (1991),[36] and then developed by Louw, who also coined the term in 1993, Stubbs (1995, 1996, 2001b), and Partington (1998), among others. The concept is therefore still very new, and remains to be fully developed.

Sinclair shows how certain words have a tendency to occur with particular meanings. The verbs *happen* and *set in* for example, are associated with unpleasant things. As Partington puts it, semantic prosody is an aspect of expressive connotation:

> Often a favourable or unfavourable connotation is not contained in a single item, but is expressed by that item in association with others, with its collocates. (Partington 1998, p. 66)

Louw's rather poetic definition of semantic prosody is that it is:

> a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates. (Louw 1993, p. 157)

'Prosody' is used in a sense similar to Firth's, that is, a feature which extends over segmental boundaries. Semantic prosody is the spreading of connotational, rather than Firth's phonological, colouring beyond single word boundaries. Louw shows how established, though not consciously recognised, semantic prosodies can provide a background against which irony can be introduced, deliberately or otherwise, to a text, and also how prosodies can bifurcate into positive and negative through such grammatical principles as transitivity.[37] For example 'build up' used intransitively with things or forces as the subject has a negative semantic prosody (e.g. 'lactic acid that builds up in the muscles that causes you pain', 'tension that builds up on the shoulders', '[hard skin] builds up'), whereas used transitively, often with a human subject, it has a positive semantic prosody ('alternative training methods, particularly for building up leg

[36] Sinclair (1996), however, points out that semantic prosody can be traced to Darmsteter's (1886) notion of 'contagion'.

[37] Formally similar words can also have completely different semantic prosodies, as Sealey (1999) shows in her discussion of the negative semantic prosody of 'childish' which can be contrasted with the positive semantic prosody associated with 'childlike'. Piper (1999) similarly demonstrates the different linguistic patterning (including semantic prosody) around the near synonyms 'individuals' and 'people' in the context of New Labour documents.

strength', 'building up an ideal distribution of staff across the day', 'build up the confidence of our members').[38]

Stubbs describes semantic prosody as a particular collocational phenomenon, of words acquiring guilt by association (Stubbs 1995, p. 51):

> some words (e.g. CAUSE) have a predominantly negative prosody, a few (e.g. PROVIDE) have a positive prosody, many words are neutral in this respect, but all words are restricted in the collocates with which they occur. (Stubbs 1996a, p. 176)

The phenomenon of semantic prosody demonstrates the interrelationship of *langue* and *parole,* as the word in question acquires particular connotations from its typical collocates. *Parole* therefore affects *langue* in the long term. In later work (2001b) Stubbs prefers the term 'discourse prosody', which emphasises their role in discourse coherence.

Hoey (1997) takes the notion a logical step forward in suggesting that semantic prosody need not be restricted to a positive/negative dichotomy.[39] Rather he proposes that

> If *cause* and *happen* have semantic prosody with negative events, it follows that we should talk of *train as a* having semantic prosody with 'occupations', rather than collocating with them. Of course this semantic prosody will include many items that are also collocations but what makes the notion so useful and important is that is cannot be subsumed by its collocations. (Hoey 1997, p. 5)

In following Hoey's suggestion one need not wait until a co-occurrence becomes significant in the corpus or text in question before the relationship between node and collocate can be accounted for linguistically. By looking at the field of meaning associated with the node word, rather than the particular collocates thrown up by a corpus, it is thus possible to make more powerful generalisations (cf. *ibid.*, p. 7).

[38] These examples are all authentic examples taken from the BNC Sampler CD (1999).

[39] There is, however, a close relationship between semantic prosody and van der Wouden's polarity items. 'Positive polarity items' are items which cannot felicitously appear in negative contexts. Not all kinds of words are polarity items - for example van der Wouden concludes that most content words, and numerals are not particular about the polarity of the environment in which they appear (van der Wouden 1997, p. 24).

A closely related notion which is important from the point of view of this thesis with its discourse approach is that of the local semantic prosody, introduced by Tribble (cf. Tribble 1998). A local semantic prosody is a connotation which a word picks up only in a particular context, and which constitutes important local knowledge for writers in a genre, although Tribble points out that this may be part of its general semantic prosody, or semantic prosody in the 'general' language. McKenny asks:

> Could this taking on of a special meaning in a genre be the first step in the process whereby one of the lexical items in an expression, which was originally composed according to the free choice principle, gets a specialized or more figurative meaning (as in Howarth's restricted collocations) or even becomes delexicalized (as in baked beans). (McKenny 1999)

Studies of semantic prosody have until very recently been limited to investigations of individual words (cf. Sripicharn 2000 for a survey of work up to that date). Louw (2000) suggests that semantic prosody can be a more general concept, and one with a greater theoretical role in linguistics. He proposes an updated working definition of semantic prosody:

> A semantic prosody refers to a form of meaning which is established through the proximity of a consistent series of collocates, often characterisable as positive or negative, and whose primary function is the expression of the attitude of its speaker or writer towards some pragmatic situation. A secondary, although no less important attitudinal function of semantic prosodies is the creation of irony through the deliberate injection of a form which clashes with the prosody's consistent series of collocates. (Louw 2000, p. 57)

Louw then goes on to suggest the possibility of contextual prosodic theory which could provide a means of finding all of the semantic prosodies in a language by computational means. It remains to be seen whether this will be successful.

2.6. Conclusion

Throughout this chapter it has been quite clear that, as Fontenelle has noted, "there is no such thing as a clear, non-controversial and all-embracing definition of collocation" (1994, p. 47). Nor is the term 'phraseology' without its problems. However, in terms of the concepts lying behind these terms, neo-Firthian linguistics is already able to offer a powerful model of phraseology, which has at its core a statistical notion of collocation. It can be imagined that the turn to discourse and pragmatics which is behind the notion of discourse prosody will be the focus of much attention in phraseology and collocation studies within corpus linguistics over the next few years. This allows for a holistic model of language patterning, which in turn breaks down divisions of lexis and grammar and makes way for a subtler and more nuanced description of language.

In examining phraseological patterning, however, it is important not to dismiss more traditional notions, such as set phrases and locutions, while still taking advantage of corpus techniques which enable a thorough and all-embracing analysis of a register or a discourse. This allows us to approach phraseological patterning in administrative language from three separate but related angles: from the perspective of the discourse, through patterning which is the creation, or has been developed by, administrators themselves; from the perspective of the general language, the phraseological heritage from literary and journalistic French in particular; and from the perspective of the texts. With the description provided by each of these three approaches, we can come to a fuller understanding of the specificity of EU administrative French than is possible through more restricted analysis.

Chapter 3: Methodological Considerations and Language Variety

" *'What's the use of that?' I asked. 'What's the use of it?' he said, laughing hysterically. 'What's the* use*? Let's show him, Josh.'* " (Lodge 1984, p. 183)

3.1. Introduction

The latter part of this chapter explains the use of corpus linguistics as the methodology for this research. Given the phraseological approach to language outlined in Chapter 2, how can this methodological framework advance the description of administrative French? What are the advantages of corpus linguistics over other approaches? Before considering these questions, however, it is necessary to define administrative language in linguistic terms. Chapter 1 introduced the context of production of EU and French national administrative texts: the question is now raised as to what relationship these texts have to each other. What common elements of context connect them? On what dimensions do they differ among themselves? In other words, how can they be characterised in terms of register, genre and discourse? How, then, should a corpus be constituted in order to be a valid representation of the register, which is analysable with existing tools?

The first section of the chapter looks at register and genre analysis, with two main aims. Firstly, at a theoretical level, it discusses the many ways in which the notion of a general language can be subdivided for the practical purposes of language description. The second aim, to situate administrative language in terms of register and genre, is more practical. Although all administrative language is united by a common aim of communicating policy to a more general public, this does not imply that there will be no regular linguistic differences within this language variety. Indeed work in register and genre analysis suggests that there will be patterns of difference owing to situational and functional differences: the ways in which this extends to phraseological patterning is one of the questions investigated in Chapters 4 to 6.

Secondly, it is necessary to consider the aims and concerns of the field of discourse analysis in its various forms. Given the main focus of analysis here on the discourse of EU administrative French as compared with its national French counterpart, it is necessary to position this distinction in terms of a discoursal difference and to review what the discourse approach, which has often been more qualitative in nature, can offer. This involves a consideration of the field of Critical Discourse Analysis, which has tended to focus on political language and which has recently been criticised from within corpus linguistics.

The third main section (Section 3.4.), tackles the relatively young methodology of computer-based corpus linguistics. It is necessary both to justify its suitability for a study of this type, and to set out some methodological decisions which have to be made in the design of the administrative corpus compiled and used here. The final section of the chapter then sets out the final design of the corpus, drawing on methodological issues discussed in the earlier parts of the chapter.

3.2. Register and genre - language varieties

Sociolinguistics as a branch of linguistics takes as its starting point the fact that languages are not unstructured, homogeneous wholes. Rather, language varies according to considerations outside of the system, or code, itself. Sociolinguistics, therefore, can be seen as the study of the co-variation of language and society: the famous sociolinguist, William Labov, for example, has said that "We may define a *sociolinguistic variable* as one which is correlated with some non-linguistic variable of the social context" (1972b, p. 237, the emphasis is Labov's). Sociolinguistics makes a primary distinction between user-related variation and use-related variation (cf. Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1964, p. 77; Hudson 1996); that is to say, between language which takes the form it does because of factors related to the speaker or writer, and language which is shaped by the uses to which it is put by its users. As Trudgill expresses it, "behaviour does not only have to be appropriate to the individual, it also needs to be suitable for particular occasions and situations" (1995, p. 84). Even here of course, in distinguishing between *who* someone is and *what* he or she is doing, it is impossible completely to separate the two, as there are natural correlations between user and use - in Halliday's words: "the two are interconnected - what we do is affected by who we are: in other words, the division of labour is *social* - dialects become entangled with registers" (1978, p. 2). However, the fact remains that the two are ultimately separate - any person *could* use any type of language, so the division is essential in theory, and valuable for description.

User-related variation includes variation according to sex, geographical factors (dialect), social class (sociolect), age, generation and so on. Use-related variation on the other hand occurs in accordance with the purpose to which language is put by the user and can vary along a number of axes, including the formality of the situation, the relationship between speaker and hearer, the mode of language being employed (spontaneous speech, writing, prepared speeches etc.) and the subject matter, among others (cf. Section 3.2.1.1. below). Not only does language vary according to various factors, external or internal to the user, but it also forms recognisable varieties. Configurations of factors lead to conventional forms of text (cf. Hudson 1996, p. 22), which can be recognised by sets of linguistic items. Recent work has also shown that it is not just sets of linguistic items as such, but also collocational and phraseological patternings, which can identify a language variety (cf. for example Partington 1998, pp. 17-19, Gledhill 2000).

Although this premise is straightforward and intuitive, the situation itself is complex in practice, and this is demonstrated by the great variation in linguists' divisions of language, not to mention the wide range of often contradictory terminology used. With regard to language varieties and text typology, numerous dimensions and subdivisions have been suggested. A recent discussion on the Corpora electronic mailing list highlights this intractable problem.[1] In response to a query about whether a corpus of written academic prose in the disciplines of commerce/economics and natural science/history should be called specific registers or genres, the four linguists who commented all proposed different solutions, involving a range of definitions of 'register', 'genre', and related notions such as 'sub-register', 'super-genre' and 'high-level genre'. The problem is further obscured by the frequent use of other terms such as 'style' in certain contexts: Hill (1958, p. 448), for example, calls official writing a style; and Crystal and Davy (1969) eschew the term 'register' and adopt 'style' instead, for such varieties as Civil Service Language. They feel that the term 'register' is "applied to varieties of language in an almost indiscriminate manner, as if it could be usefully applied to situationally distinctive pieces of language of any kind" (1969, p. 61).

3.2.1. The notion of register - situational variation

Coleman and Crawshaw draw attention to a fundamental distinction which can be made between studies of 'register':

> [...] register could be defined either as a series of points on a scale of formality (*niveau de langue*), or as a concentration of stylistic features which was conditioned by context or occupation and exemplified by particular categories of text (*registre* or *variété*). (Coleman and Crawshaw 1994, p. 8)

The notion of register is often linked to level of formality in language. This is especially true of many of the discussions of register in French language studies.[2] Sanders (1993) provides an overview of such studies in the late 1970s and 1980s, from Caput's early treatment of register, through Muller's five-point scale of variation, to Battye and Hintze's three register levels.[3] Sanders comes to the conclusion that much work remains

[1] Archives can be found at http://www.hd.uib.no/corpora. The discussion in question ran from 31 August to 4 September 2000.

[2] Cf. Sanders (1994, p. 88), who notes that 'register' and *registre* have been used in different ways: in English generally to emphasise functional variation, and in French to emphasise situational variation, especially with regard to the formality/informality continuum.

[3] *Le français soigné*, *le français familier* and *le français non-standard*, cf. also Battye et al. 2000.

to be done, especially in disentangling register variation and social class variation in French. This biased description is due to the "adherence to an artificially predetermined, largely written, standard" (*ibid.*, p. 50). Sanders also concludes that style labels do not permit a fluid representation of socio-situational variation and are therefore not satisfactory. As Hilary Wise also says:

> [...] it is not difficult to think of recognisable varieties which do not fit neatly into a single category. Correspondence relating to business or administration, for example, constitutes a type of text where occupational style and register are inextricably mixed. The specialised lexis of a particular occupation group is usually involved, but register plays an important role too, in that business letters are generally forms of communication between people who have never met [...] (Wise 1997, p. 179)

Sometimes, the term 'style' is also used to mean a register defined by degree of formality (cf. Trudgill 1995). 'Style', however, has been used in many other ways as we have already seen: in fact it is probably the term with the widest range of usage, or the vaguest depending on one's perspective.[4] Here, it is preferable to reserve style for an individual use of language, or deviation from a defined 'norm', something which is rare in administrative language, with the exception of speeches. A view of language which focuses on the whole language as the object of inquiry would thus confuse style and register, in that both deviate from the only defined norm, defined on the basis of the whole language. However, it is preferable here to follow Halliday (see below) in viewing language as a group of varieties, whether these are termed registers or not. In this way, language has not one but multiple norms, depending on the context. It is meaningless to say that a whole register represents deviation from a norm if there is no overarching norm, and therefore here it is useful to distinguish between 'register' and 'style', and to reserve 'style' for idiosyncratic uses of language within a register.

Situationally-defined varieties (diatypic variety), like dialects, are therefore not discrete (cf. Hudson 1996, p. 24), however one chooses to describe them, and many terms,

[4] Cf. for example Carter and Nash (1990), who discuss style as deviation, style as ornamentation, and style in context (in relation to a contextually-defined norm). The notion of style as ornamentation, presupposing as it does that style does not affect the meaning of language, does not fit in with a Firthian or Hallidayan view.

including register, style, variety and text type, have been adopted in linguistic research. The next section discuss a very influential and thoroughly developed notion of register, that of M. A. K. Halliday, which is far more specific and does not depend on one single feature of the context.

3.2.2. The notion of register - functional variation

In addition to being used to indicate varieties defined on a scale of formality, register has also been used for occupational varieties of language, which may have a partial correlation with the situational features outlined above. In his introduction to sociolinguistics, Trudgill (1995, p. 84-85) ties register to occupations, and claims that registers are usually characterised solely by vocabulary differences.

For Halliday, register is determined by the context of situation, and accounts for much more than mere vocabulary differences. Registers are "not marginal or special varieties of language. Between them they cover the total range of our language activity." (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1964, p. 89). The term register for variation of this sort was proposed by Reid (1956, cf. Ellis and Ure 1969; and also Halliday 1978, p. 110), and interpreted in the framework of Hill's institutional linguistics (cf Hill 1958) by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964). For them, registers differ primarily in form (*ibid.*, p. 88), and therefore "the crucial criteria of any given register are to be found in its grammar and its lexis" (cf. also Couture 1986b, p. 82). What is interesting from the point of view of this thesis is that "often it is not the lexical item alone but the collocation of two or more lexical items that is specific to one register" (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1964, p. 88).

A more recent discussion of register by Halliday defines it in terms of groups of features:

> A register is a cluster of associated features having a greater-than-random (or rather, greater than predicted by their unconditional probabilities) tendency to co-occur; and like a dialect, it can be identified at any delicacy of focus. (Halliday 1988, p. 162)

There are three types of factor in the context of situation in Hallidayan linguistics which configure to define a register: these are the field (the focus of the activity); the tenor (the relationship between the people taking part in the instance of language); and the mode (the role of language, at the most basic level whether it is written or spoken) (cf. Halliday 1978, p. 31; Eggins 1994, p. 9; Thompson 1996, p. 36). These are related to the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions of language in the context of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (cf. Halliday 1994). With knowledge of these three factors it is possible to predict linguistic features in language: that is to say, the three dimensions of variation have consequences for the linguistic form of the language. Administrative language of the type examined here could be considered in the following way. In terms of field, what is happening in abstract terms is that information, about policy, legislation, decisions taken etc., is being transmitted from certain parties in the administration to other interested parties (the public or selected groups). As regards tenor, there is a formal, social, relationship between writer/reader and speaker/listener, especially to the extent that the writer/speaker is often anonymous, depersonalised, or at the very least, rarely representing his or her individual view. The relationship ultimately is that between those who govern and those who are governed. Finally, in terms of mode, the texts dealt with here do not all fit into a single mode. Rather, some are written, including press releases and reports, while others are spoken, or, more accurately, written to be read aloud, as in the case of speeches.

Couture (1986c, p. 81) also discusses what she terms 'traditional bureaucratic language' in a Hallidayan framework. She limits her definition of bureaucratic language to a purely written register, the function of which is to distance the speaker/writer from the listener/reader, because it is in the nature of a bureaucracy that it goes beyond individuals. The register, according to Couture, appears in such genres as memos, reports and guidelines. On a scale of explicitness, she places bureaucratic language very low down (towards 'elliptical'), but above poetic language.

3.2.3. Biber and the notion of text type

While some linguists reject the term ‘register’ because of its vagueness in practice, others see this same vagueness to be an advantage. The American corpus linguist, Douglas Biber, for example, chooses to adopt a very broad definition of register: “I use the term *register* in this paper, as it is used in this book, as a general cover term for all language varieties associated with different situations and purposes” (Biber 1994, p. 32). In other work he uses the terms register and genre indiscriminately for any such externally-defined varieties of language, from the very specific to the very general,[5] arguing that because there is a continuous space of variation, discrete distinctions are not useful (cf. also Biber 1988, 1989, 1992, 1994, Finegan and Biber 1994, Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1994).

Biber’s influential notion is that of the linguistically-defined ‘text type’. The distinction between situationally and linguistically-defined varieties is important. While Halliday identifies varieties by external criteria and then identifies linguistic features, and patterns of collocation, associated with them, Biber proceeds in the opposite direction. He identifies features which co-occur in texts, and then interprets these in functional terms. His approach is macroscopic, and “sets out to define the underlying parameters of textual variation” (Biber 1985), as opposed to a microscopic analysis which would investigate individual linguistic features in detail. He uses factor analysis to group linguistic features (identified empirically on the basis of text corpora) by their co-occurrence in texts. The salient co-occurrence of these features indicates underlying communicative functions that they share. As he remarks:

> This approach is based on the assumption that strong co-occurrence patterns of linguistic features mark underlying functional dimensions. Features do not randomly co-occur in texts. If certain features consistently co-occur, then it is reasonable to look for an underlying functional influence that encourages their use. (Biber 1988, p. 13)

[5] Indeed for Biber, even writing is a register “at an extremely high level of generality in that only one parameter is specified: primary channel” (1994, p. 42).

Biber in perhaps his most influential work (1988), uses sixty-seven syntactic and lexical features. These fall into sixteen grammatical categories (cf. Biber 1989, p. 7), and include for example, THAT-deletion, demonstrative pronouns, word-length, third person pronouns, infinitives, BY-passives etc. From these, Biber extracts seven dimensions of textual variation, or rather six fully developed dimensions and a further 'factor' which is not sufficiently represented to be fully interpreted. These dimensions are continuous scales of variation; to put it another way they are not dichotomous, although they are named after the end points of these scales.[6] This enables Biber to undermine a great deal of previous linguistic research in showing that:

> [...] there is no linguistic or situational characterization of speech and writing that is true of all spoken and written genres. On the one hand, some spoken and written genres are very similar to one another (e.g. public speeches and written exposition). On the other hand, some spoken genres are quite different from one another (e.g. conversation and public speeches), as are some written genres (e.g. personal letter and academic exposition). (Biber 1988, p. 36)

The notion of text type has both advantages and disadvantages from the perspective of this thesis. At the most basic level, it is a post-hoc notion. The implication of this is that one therefore cannot design a corpus on the basis of a text type without a large amount of prior analysis. Elena Tognini-Bonelli states that "in corpus building the only safe first step is to base the initial selection of texts on situational parameters" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001, p. 61). Biber also recognises this and warns against compiling a corpus on this basis: "In defining the population for a corpus, register/genre distinctions take precedence over text type distinctions. This is because registers are based on criteria external to the corpus, while text types are based on internal criteria" (1993c, p. 245). He clarifies: "There is no a priori way to identify linguistically-defined types." (*ibid.*, p. 245).

[6] Biber's dimensions are: (1) Informational versus involved production; (2) Narrative versus non-narrative concerns; (3) Explicit versus situation-dependent reference; (4) Overt expression of persuasion; (5) Abstract non-abstract information; (6) On-line informational elaboration; and (7) "seems to mark academic hedging or qualification but is not sufficiently represented for a full interpretation" (1988, p. 115). These dimensions have been modified in subsequent work: Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998, p. 148) for example, retain only the first five of these dimensions, and change their names slightly.

The second disadvantage concerns the linguistic features on which Biber bases the dimensions. A fairly restricted number of syntactic and lexical linguistic features are taken into account: around sixty-seven, although this varies from one study to another. The problem is not so much the restricted number of features, as the fact that those which are included are all at a very high level of generality. The lexical features, for example, include such general categories as 'nouns', 'first person pronouns' and 'infinitives'. Biber does not take account of individual lexical items, nor does he consider collocational patterns, despite the fact that he recognises elsewhere that these can be register-specific, and can act as powerful indicators of register:

> [...] linguistic features from all levels - including lexical collocations, word frequencies, nominalizations, dependent clauses, and a full range of co-occurring features - have patterned differences across registers. Therefore characterizations of 'general English' are usually not characterizations of any variety at all, but rather a middle-ground that describes no actual text or register. (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998, p. 234)

More importantly, perhaps, Biber's approach assumes that features have a similar function throughout language. Features vary in their relative value from register to register, but they have a register-independent function. He admits this assumption himself: he relies on the assumption that "such features function in comparable ways for all members of a speech community" (Finegan and Biber 1994, p. 315). This has been shown not necessarily to be true: as we saw in Chapter 2, Section 2.5.3. for example, Gledhill (1997, p. 91) has shown in work on phraseology in science language that the function of even such a high-level feature as tense is determined in part by the phraseological constraints of a register.

Despite these problems, Biber's approach has a lot to offer, beyond the important theoretical notion of a text type as an internally, and linguistically-defined variety. His work is corpus-based, and consequently opens up possibilities for corpus-based research. Biber himself sets out the strengths of corpus methodology, claiming that its great advantages are that it uses large databases of naturally-occurring language, and can enable analyses "of a scope not otherwise feasible" (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1994, p. 169). In this way, it does not accord undue weight to individual texts or genres. In his studies, Biber has generally used the LOB corpus (the British-English counterpart of the Brown corpus), and the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English, in order to work with a sample of both written and spoken language over a wide range of externally-defined registers.

Biber's work is also important for its multi-dimensional perspective. This emphasises the fact that there are continua in language, and that registers vary along a number of dimensions, which explains in part continuing terminological and definitional problems in this area of linguistics. Register or genre groupings are never discrete. As Biber says:

> Genre distinctions do not adequately represent the underlying text types of English, however. Texts within particular genres can differ greatly in their linguistic characteristics [...]. On the other hand, different genres can be quite similar linguistically [...]. Linguistically distinct texts within a genre represent different text types; linguistically similar texts from different genres represent a single text type. (Biber 1989, p. 6)

While Biber's text types are not suitable for the purposes of building a corpus, especially one which aims to demonstrate correlations between context of situation and language used, the notion is theoretically important, and serves the useful purpose of emphasising the fact that genres and registers are not discrete categories, and therefore that one cannot necessarily generalise or presume them to have certain linguistic features.

3.2.4. The notion of genre

The term 'genre', like register, has been used in many contexts. Aristotle distinguished literary genres such as epic poetry and comedy as classes of texts and placed these in a hierarchy, with tragedy as the highest genre (cf. Bywater 1909). John Swales has overviewed the meaning and use of the term in such areas as literary studies, folklore, rhetoric and its more modern adoption in linguistics, where it refers to classes of text which are no longer necessarily literary (1990a, pp. 33-34). This section looks briefly at the Hallidayan notion of genre, distinguishing it from register, and then discuss in more detail Swales' conception of the term, along with his related notions of discourse community and task.

3.2.4.1. Hallidayan genre

Genre in the Hallidayan sense is defined in terms of "total social activity" (cf. Ventola 1984, p. 285). Genre is at a higher level of abstraction than register, beyond the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions: in other words, whereas register is defined by the context of situation, genre is related to the wider context of culture, a notion which Firthian and Hallidayan linguistics has adopted from the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (cf. Malinowski 1935, p. 18). In this way, genre contextualises register which in turn contextualises language (J. R. Martin 1997, p. 6).

For Couture, genres are intertextual: that is to say, they are "defined by their capacity to evoke other texts" (1986c, p. 82). A crucial distinction between register and genre is that genres can only be realised in complete texts, because they specify conditions for beginning, continuing and ending texts. Registers on the other hand can be realised in any stretch of text in context. Suzanne Eggins provides a particularly concise definition of genre:

> The concept of genre is used to describe the impact of the context of culture on language, by exploring the staged, step-by-step structure cultures institutionalize as ways of achieving goals. (Eggins 1994, p. 9)

The context of culture is more abstract than the context of situation, and defines the overall function of the interaction. The focus in Hallidayan genre analysis is on the stages which make up a complete text, its 'schematic structure' (cf. Eggins 1994, p. 36).

3.2.4.2. Swales' genre analysis

For John Swales, register labels are misleading, and overprivilege similar content while ignoring communicative purpose (cf. Swales 1990a, p. 3). For this reason he prefers the notion of genre, often used in ethnographic approaches and also systemic linguistics, to register. He sets out a working definition of genre, making five observations:

> A genre is a class of communicative events. [...]
> The principal criterial features that turns a collection of communicative events into a genre is some shared set of communicative purposes. [...]
> Exemplars or instances of genres vary in their prototypicality. [...]

> The rationale behind a genre establishes constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their content, positioning and form. [...]
> A discourse community's nomenclature for genres is an important source of insight.
> (*ibid.*, pp. 45-54)

Genres are also dynamic, and can change over time. A further related notion is that of a discourse community, which is a socio-rhetorical network with a common set of goals, which 'owns' genres. Discourse communities recruit by persuasion, training or qualification (*ibid.*, p. 24), and have six defining characteristics:

> A discourse community has a broadly agreed set of common public goals. [...]
> A discourse community has mechanisms of intercommunication among its members. [...]
> A discourse community uses its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback. [...]
> A discourse community utilizes and hence possesses one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims. [...]
> In addition to owning genres, a discourse community has acquired some specific lexis. [...]
> A discourse community has a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discoursal expertise. (*ibid.*, pp. 24-27)

Swales' later book (1998) revises the notion of discourse community, through a 'textography' of a university building. The old notion, Swales considers from the outset is somewhat utopian and removed from reality and the tensions of real life (1990, p. 32). The original concept is more useful for validating groupings than seeing how they were initiated. The revised notion adopts Killingsworth and Gilbertson's distinction (1990, quoted in Swales 1998, p. 201) between local discourse communities, in which members habitually work together, and global discourse communities, which are defined by their commitment to particular kinds of discourse. By this definition, the EU institutions house a number of related local discourse communities.

Gledhill (e.g. 1995, 1997) combines Swales' approach to genre analysis with corpus linguistics. Unlike Biber's notion of text type, the concept of genre does not presume that linguistic features are uniform in their function across different varieties of language. Rather, grammatical features can be unique to a genre: for instance, the function or meaning of the passive in one genre need not be equivalent to the meaning of the passive in another genre (cf. Gledhill 1997, p. 91 and 2000, p. 33).

The discussion of language varieties in this chapter has looked in detail at notions of register, text type and genre. Halliday's concept of register is situational, that is to say, defined on the basis of features of the context of situation. Biber's multidimensional notion is the only internally or linguistically-defined notion discussed here. It has been seen, however, that one cannot design a corpus on the basis of a post-hoc variety. Finally, Swales' notion of genre stresses communicative purpose, and allows differentiation between the context of situation and the actual purpose of the documents dealt with.

The distinction between register and genre is theoretically important. These varieties are alike in some ways: both are external definitions, unlike the notion of text type. However, there is an important distinction to be made between features in the context of situation, and aspects of the communicative purpose. Some researchers choose not to distinguish at all between different types of variety: Stubbs (1996a), for example, does not distinguish between text type and genre, arguing that:

> The important point is not knowing in some mechanical way which genre an example fits into, but knowing how the category can make a difference to the way in which it is integrated. (Stubbs 1996a, p. 12)

In his index, he cross-references genre, register and style to text type, listing such distinct varieties as authoritative texts, parliamentary debate, religious texts, spoken and written language as text types. While Stubbs' solution is justified in the context of his research, as is Biber's decision not to distinguish between genre and register, the question remains as to what to call the categories of text which make up the administrative corpus. Since the aim is to show that some phraseological patterning is related to the context of the language in the corpus, while other patterning is tied to aspects of the communicative purpose, it makes sense to make the distinction between register and genre. It can be said therefore that this research is dealing with the corpus of a register - the texts are in the register of administrative language - which comprises many genres - and that the texts belong to genres. The two halves of the corpus, European Union and national, represent separate discourses (see Section 3.3. below). It is arguable that some of the texts in the corpus are more accurately described as being part of other registers (such as legal and political language), but these are very closely related to the administrative register and appear in the same set of contexts. In saying that this analysis investigates a corpus of a register, therefore, this thesis does not, strictly speaking, deal with a Hallidayan register because, at the most basic level, the texts display more than one mode (texts which are written and texts which are written to be spoken). The possibility of adopting another term entirely was considered - a term such as institutional domain (cf. Ellis and Ure 1982), for example - but there is no such thing as a purely neutral term and whichever term were adopted here would have come with its own theoretical baggage. Rather it is preferable to view the corpus as representative of the register of administrative language. It is what Hatim and Mason (1990, p. 54) would call an 'open-ended' register as opposed to a 'maximally-restricted' one.

3.3. Discourse analysis

> We say that we 'conduct' a conversation, but the more fundamental a conversation is, the less its conduct lies within the will of either partner. [...] The way in which one word follows another, with the conversation taking its own turnings and reaching its own conclusion may well be conducted in some way, but the people conversing are far less the leaders of it than the led. (Gadamer 1979, p. 345)

The way in which one word follows another in conversation, and the processes of turn-taking between participants in a conversation, are two of the interests of discourse analysis. Gadamer's remarks are true also of written language, however: the way in which words in administrative texts, for example, follow one another is heavily dictated by a configuration of register, genre, and discourse. As the discourse analyst Deborah Schiffrin has remarked, the field is one of the vastest, yet one of the least defined, areas in linguistics (e.g. 1994, p. 42), and this is borne out by the extensive and varied literature.[7] A detailed discussion of the field is beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather,

[7] Cf. for example, Swales' (1990b) contribution to the *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*. Schiffrin (1994) discusses approaches to discourse analysis from within speech act theory, interactional

this section aims merely to highlight the main contours of research in this vast field, with a particular focus on French discourse analysis and the younger field of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

There have been a number of introductions to discourse analysis, which have emphasised the heterogeneity of work carried out in the field (e.g. Stubbs 1983, Nunan 1993, Schiffrin 1994, Mills 1997). Schiffrin (1994, p. 20ff) makes a primary distinction between those definitions which consider discourse to be a unit of language above the level of the sentence - a formalist approach to discourse - and those functionalist approaches which have a particular focus on language in use. Mills (1997), however, discounts the formalist, structural, notion of discourse, seeing the entire field of discourse analysis to be a reaction to a formal linguistics which shows no interest in language in use (1997, p. 135). The formalist stance is held up to scrutiny in Reboul and Moeschler (1998), who criticise the use of *discours* to signify a linguistic unit with the same validity as the phoneme or the morpheme, and instead support a definition which stresses the context of occurrence of the language: "une suite de phrases dont les bornes sont posées, plus ou moins explicitement, par ceux qui les ont produites" (1998, p. 7). Nonetheless, discourse can still be seen either in terms of language in use (cf. Brown and Yule 1983), or in terms of extended text, above the level of the sentence, but still related to its context of occurrence, as in the work of Hoey, Coulthard and Brazil (cf. Mills 1997, p. 132). Schiffrin has also proposed a third view of discourse which attempts to bridge the formalist-functionalist dichotomy. Disregarding the problems of terminology associated with the definition, Schiffrin's notion encapsulates the idea that discourse is larger than other units of language, while at the same time avoiding the charge of decontextualisation by suggesting that it is composed of 'utterances' (inherently contextualised units) rather than decontextualised sentences. This thesis deals with language in the wider context, its context of situation, as well as, necessarily,

sociolinguistics, the ethnography of communication, pragmatics, conversation analysis and variation analysis. She claims that this interdisciplinary basis is due to an "ultimate inability to separate language from how it is used in the world in which we live" (1994, p. 419).

its co-text, and shall therefore use 'discourse' in this third sense. The notion of discourse used here is thus also fundamentally Hallidayan. Halliday sees discourse as "the exchange of meanings in interpersonal contexts of one kind or another" (1978, p. 2). These contexts are themselves semiotic constructs with social value (*ibid.*). Discourse constitutes one part of a threefold division of language, the other two elements of which are phonology and lexicogrammar (Halliday 1985 and 1994).

Gledhill (e.g. 2000), while focusing on units below the level of the sentence (collocations, and particularly grammatical collocations), is interested in the roles which these have to play in complete texts, especially in science writing, and the ways in which scientific research articles relate to the community of scientists in their working environment. Collocations, he shows, can have important functions as discourse markers, and help to lead readers through the text. The discourse under investigation must always therefore be related to its context of occurrence:

> Rather than seeing language as a vehicle for scientific abstractions, discourse analysis views language as a barometer of the social and professional context from which it emerges, changing as the social variables, textual conventions or topic change. (Gledhill 2000, p. 27)

It was the function of Chapter 1 of this thesis to set out the context of occurrence of administrative documents.

3.3.1. French discourse analysis

Discourse analysis, as introduced above, is predominantly an Anglo-Saxon tradition, which can arguably be traced directly back at least as far as the middle of the twentieth century (cf. Schiffrin 1994, p. 18). The French tradition of *l'analyse du discours* is grounded on entirely different foundations, and in its current state deals with very different features of language. David Banks (2000) has suggested that the difference in theoretical foundation between French and Anglo-Saxon discourse analysis goes back to Descartes and Locke: that is to say, to the difference between an essentially deductive, or top-down, approach and an empirical, bottom-up, approach. Dominique

Maingueneau, one of the main exponents of discourse analysis in France, cites Gadet's analysis of the differences between French and Anglo-Saxon discourse analysis (Maingueneau 1987, p. 10). Gadet characterises French discourse analysis as being concerned primarily with institutional written language, its aim being an explanation of form rather than usage, while its method is grounded in structuralist linguistics. Anglo-Saxon discourse analysis, on the other hand, is concerned with describing usage in oral language,[8] especially ordinary conversation, and stems from work in anthropology, and specifically interactionism. Maingueneau goes on to stress these differences, claiming that Coulthard's introduction to discourse analysis (1979), has nothing in common with his own *Initiation aux méthodes de l'analyse du discours* (1976).

French discourse analysis, according to Maingueneau, can be seen as a conjuncture of linguistics, Marxism and psychoanalysis. He attributes its success to the tradition of *explication de textes* in French schools. Despite its apparent greater cohesiveness as compared with Anglo-Saxon discourse analysis, the term is far from transparent in French: "la notion d' 'analyse du discours' [est devenue] une sorte de 'joker' pour un ensemble indéterminé de cadres théoriques" (Maingueneau 1987, p. 8). Clarifying this point, Maingueneau claims that while it used to be sufficient to define discourse analysis as the study of the context of production of *énoncés*, nowadays one must also specify the methodological approach taken.

Glyn Williams, in his monograph on the French tradition of discourse analysis (1999), traces the development of the field from Russian formalism, through structuralism and post-structuralism, and discusses in detail the influence of Saussure (in linguistics), Foucault (in philosophy - see also below), Lacan (in psychoanalysis), and Althusser's

[8] It may be argued that Anglo-Saxon discourse analysis is not prototypically concerned with oral language: however, it certainly does not eschew ordinary spoken language, and as we have seen (cf. Schiffrin 1994) one of the dominant approaches to discourse analysis is to be found within conversation analysis.

Marxism, particularly his disciple Michel Pécheux's attempts to develop "a linguistic method for promoting Althusser's theory of ideology" (G. Williams 1999, p. i).

French discourse analysis as it exists today is also partly derived from Benveniste's theory of enunciation (Achard 1997, p. 191, and also G. Williams 1999, pp. 3 & 6), a theory which is still in practical use today (cf. Maingueneau 1991). Banks (2000) characterises the *théorie d'énonciation* as a cognitive theory which attempts to explain language with cognition as its starting point, unlike linguistic theories, such as Systemic Functional Linguistics, which approach the issue from the opposite angle, that is to say, explaining cognition with reference to linguistic processes.

Pennycook (1994) proposes an essentially Foucauldian view of discourse which he believes to be more powerful than either the predominant view in applied linguistics, and the definition most readily accepted in critical discourse analysis (see below). As was noted above, French discourse analysis is also indebted to Foucault's notion of discourse. Indeed, according to Williams, "between the 1960s and the present, this body of work has moved closer to the post-structuralism of Michel Foucault" (1999, p. i). Foucault (1969) in his early 'archaeological' work rejects the idea that discourse relates words to things:

> [...] je voudrais montrer que les 'discours', tels qu'on peut les entendre, tels qu'on peut les lire dans leur forme de textes, ne sont pas, comme on pourrait s'y attendre, un pur et simple entrecroisement de choses et de mots : trame obscure des choses, chaîne manifeste, visible et colorée des mots ; je voudrais montrer que le discours n'est pas une mince surface de contact, ou d'affrontement, entre une réalité et une langue, l'intrication d'un lexique et d'une expérience. (1969, p. 66)

Rather, discourses "forment systématiquement les objets dont ils parlent" (*ibid.*, p. 67). That is, there is a dialectic between texts as instances of discourse and society. As Williams succinctly puts it:

> What Foucault did was to show that discourse analysis was much more than linguistic analysis pure and simple in the sense of trying to indicate which sentences might be grammatically possible. Rather, his focus was upon the systems of rules which make the appearance of certain statements rather than others possible in particular settings, at particular historical conjunctures. (Williams 1999, p. 76)

The EU and national administrative context are different historical conjunctures, and as such different discourses.

3.3.2. Critical discourse analysis and reactions

The French approach to discourse analysis discussed above is not completely foreign, however, to Anglo-Saxon studies. Glyn Williams (1999, p. 3) cites Norman Fairclough as one of few who have encompassed Marxism and the work of French linguists into their own work. He later (p. 29) also claims that Hodge and Kress's (1988) work *Social Semiotics*, although they draw on Hallidayan functional grammar to a greater extent than Fairclough, represents a move towards French discourse analysis. Fairclough, Hodge and Kress are among the most well-known critical linguists, or critical discourse analysts: the group also includes such researchers as Fowler, Trew, Van Dijk and Coulthard. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerged as a defined research area with the publication of Fowler et al.'s *Language and Control* in 1979 and has continued in a similar vein since, although more recently it has encountered fundamental criticism (see below).

Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (1996) offer a particularly compact outline of the aims of CDA, in the introduction to a volume which highlights the heterogeneity of the field:

> Critical Discourse Analysts, unlike Chomsky, feel that it is indeed part of their professional role to investigate, reveal and clarify how power and discriminatory value are inscribed in and mediated through the linguistic system: Critical Discourse Analysis is essentially political in intent with its practitioners acting upon the world in order to transform it and thereby help create a world where people are not discriminated against because of sex, colour, creed, age or social class. (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard 1996, p. xi)

Critical linguistics goes beyond its roots in sociolinguistics. Whereas in sociolinguistics grammar pre-exists social processes (cf. Fowler and Kress 1979, p. 189), critical linguistics seeks to explain the reason for the occurrence of variation (cf. Fairclough 1989, p. 8), and sets out to defamiliarise the familiar in language (cf. Fowler 1987, p. 483): in this way it attempts to draw attention to, and ultimately to change, the discursive structures of power expressed, and not merely reflected, in this variation

(Fowler et al. 1979, p. 1). The approach therefore also draws on Foucault's concern with power and social structures. 'Critical' is used to mean just this: in the words of Fairclough, "*Critical* is used in the special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people - such as the connections between language, power and ideology referred to above" (1989, p. 5). Understandably, then, in order to investigate such topics as sexism, racism, and inequality in general, not to mention politics, the field favours certain types of language over others: critical linguistics tends to concentrate on contentious, often political, language, such as institutional or public discourse, advertising, newspapers, interviews, rules and regulations and political speeches (cf. Fowler et al. 1979, Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard 1996). One can understand therefore why this approach would have an interest in the administrative language investigated here, given its function in transmitting policy and regulations. The aim in this thesis is not political - although the language analysed arguably is - but rather purely linguistic, and for this reason is not within the scope of critical linguistics.

The boundary between discourse analysis and CDA may be seen as fairly fluid, depending on one's conception of the latter. Hoey (1996, p. 163), for example, draws the conclusion that discourse analysis cannot help but be, in effect, critical discourse analysis. Fowler would not agree with this view, however. He calls for the consolidation of the field, otherwise, "the danger is that 'critical linguistics' in the hands of practitioners of diverse intellectual persuasions will come to mean loosely any politically well-intentioned analytic work on language and ideology, regardless of method, technical grasp of linguistic theory, or historical validity of interpretations" (1996, p. 6). As yet, however, there is no clearly defined method of approaching texts, and as Fowler has pointed out (*ibid.*, p. 8), CDA has got high mileage out of relatively few linguistic concepts: these include transitivity, modality, nominalisation, transformations, word order and coherence (cf. especially Fowler and Kress 1979, p. 198ff). Despite Fowler and Kress's early claims that "there are social meanings in a natural language which are precisely distinguished in its lexical and syntactic structure"

(1979, p. 185), it has rarely turned its attention to the levels of lexis or lexicogrammar, although more recent critical approaches have indeed moved into this area.

In recent years, critical discourse analysis has been attacked from other areas in linguistics. Alan Davies (1999), for example, finds fault with 'seductive' modernist theories such as critical discourse analysis from the stance of applied linguistics, claiming that:

> Certainly there is a trace of strong Whorfianism running through the certainties of both CDA and CAL [critical applied linguistics] which seems to take for granted that language is a direct reflection of meaning. Such a restricted view reflects a meagre view of the resources available to language. (Davies 1999, p. 142)

As such, critical approaches to language are not interested in the real-world language problems which Davies believes applied linguistics should focus on (*ibid*., p. 142), and should therefore be considered to be of only marginal importance in this area. Kress however (1990, p. 93) views CDA as working within applied linguistics, because of its concern with texts from problematical domains. Henry Widdowson, also, believes that CDA has little theoretical grounding and is ultimately a form of Whorfian linguistic determinism (Widdowson 1998, p. 138).

Stubbs (1996a, b) also takes issue with some of the claims and methods of critical discourse analysis, and offers suggestions from corpus methodology for making the approach more sound. His criticisms are many and detailed (cf. 1996b, p. 102ff), but relate to several principal issues: first, he claims that CDA is inherently, and unavoidably, circular; secondly, that its standards of analysis are vague and its methods of data collection and analysis inexplicit; thirdly, that with rare exception (cf. Stubbs and Gerbig 1993 for examples) it concentrates on inadequate fragments of text and claims to be able to generalise from these; and finally, that CDA is a disguised form of political correctness. Despite these weaknesses, Stubbs believes that CDA has an important agenda and raises crucial issues, and is therefore a worthwhile pursuit. It is therefore desirable to carry out such studies more carefully. He believes that the comparative and quantitative methods of corpus linguistics could strengthen the field, that is to say that comparison with other texts, or ideally a large quantity of corpus data, and the investigation of a wider range of linguistic features could provide critical analyses with a greater validity. Of course, not all linguistic features are readily amenable to investigation by corpus methodology: those which extend across sentence or clause boundaries can be difficult to identify (cf. Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998, p. 106).

Since Stubbs made these suggestions, a variety of studies, in addition to his own critical discussions of sociologically important keywords, have already been carried out which can be seen as critical linguistics using corpus methods.[9] To look at just one of these, Susan Hunston (1999a), for example, carried out a critical investigation into the prosody of disadvantage and suffering, using the Bank of English. In her analysis of the asymmetry inherent in the collocations of the words 'man' and 'woman' and terms referring to deafness in the corpus, she demonstrated that while corpora can indeed provide insights into such apparent discrimination, at the same time the analyst cannot take corpus evidence for granted, as quantification is not necessarily evidence of marginalisation.

Although this study does not come under the label of critical discourse analysis, it is clear that corpus linguistics has a lot to offer such analysis, and it is the aim of this research to bring these methods to bear on administrative discourse, as considered in its social and historical context, although with a linguistic and not political aim.

As we have seen, both discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis have identified linguistic features which they expect to be revealing about the language as a whole, or the social context under investigation. As we have also seen, however, not all of these can be easily investigated with corpus tools, and it is for this reason that relatively few

[9] For example, Stubbs 1996a; Sealey 1999; Cotterill 2000.

studies in discourse analysis or critical discourse analysis have employed the methodology. In future, more and more will do so, if Biber et al.'s (1998, p. 131) optimism concerning new tools of analysis is well-founded. However, if one takes as the starting point the level of the word, or indeed the lexical phrase, things look immediately brighter. Not only is it possible to search automatically for such items in a corpus, but also "it turns out that the use of many lexical and grammatical features can only be fully understood through analysis of their functions in larger discourse contexts" (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998, p. 106). In this way, it is possible to relate discourse analysis to collocational analysis. This is the approach taken by Gledhill (e.g. 2000), who investigates the extent to which grammatical collocation can demonstrate the typical phraseology of science writing in English. Collocations, in addition to their crucial role in the phraseological resources of a language or register, are also good indicators of higher-level discourse structure. This approach to discourse analysis can therefore deal simultaneously with language above and below the level of the sentence, and indeed clarify the relationship between lower levels of language (collocations), and higher levels (discourse structure).

3.4. The methodology of corpus linguistics

> One cannot guess how a word functions. One has to *look at* its use and learn from that. But the difficulty is to remove the prejudice which stands in the way of doing this. It is not a *stupid* prejudice. (Wittgenstein 1967, p. 109)

Expressed most simply, a corpus is any body of text.[10] Over the last forty years, however, in parallel with developments in computer technology, the word has come to refer to a more specific concept, although according to Kennedy, the very rapidity of the increase in activity in corpus linguistics, keeping pace with these developments, means that "even the very notion of what constitutes a valid corpus can still be controversial"

[10] Stubbs (2000) discusses the possibility of using the world wide web as a corpus for linguistic purposes. He concludes that while it has some advantages (its large size, and the fact that it contains a large amount of unpublished material), it also has considerable disadvantages (including the written nature of the majority of its texts, and the difficulty in determining size or proportions).

(Kennedy 1998, p. 2).[11] Nevertheless, the term is now generally understood to mean a sample of naturally-occurring language, usually in machine-readable form and often designed to be representative of a language,[12] or a language variety, such as a particular register, genre, mode and so on. Elena Tognini-Bonelli has recently provided a definition of a corpus which incorporates its accepted core features and optional tendencies:

> A corpus can be defined as a collection of texts assumed to be representative of a given language put together so that it can be used for linguistic analysis. Usually the assumption is that the language stored in a corpus is naturally-occurring, that it is gathered according to explicit design criteria, with a specific purpose in mind, and with a claim to represent larger chunks of language selected according to a specific typology. Not everybody, of course, goes along with these assumptions, but in general there is consensus that a corpus deals with natural, authentic language. (Tognini-Bonelli 2001, p. 2)

Definitions of corpus linguistics are often just as vague. McEnery and Wilson begin their introduction to corpus linguistics by reducing the methodology to its essence - "the study of language based on examples of 'real life' language use" (1996, p. 1). This definition points to the fact that corpus linguistics is, as Wolfgang Teubert, professor of corpus linguistics at Birmingham University, and editor of the *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, has phrased it, "the modern face of empirical linguistics" (Teubert 1996, p. vi). As such, it stands in contrast, although not necessarily in contradiction, to the top-down approach of general or theoretical linguistics.

Corpus linguistics is a methodology: that is to say, it is a way of approaching or analysing language, and as such it has a wide range of applications. A glance down the contents pages of the *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* which has existed since 1996, any introductory volume on corpus linguistics,[13] or any of the many edited

[11] Even fairly recently, the word has commonly been used for collections of language instances, for example illustrating particular linguistic constructions or features: cf. Jordan 1986, who investigates a corpus of hundreds of examples of the construction 'do so'.

[12] Biber, Conrad and Reppen in their introduction to corpus linguistics describe a corpus as a "large and principled collection of natural texts" (1998, p. 4). McEnery and Wilson (2001) set out their defining criteria for a corpus: it should be a representative sample, of finite size, machine-readable, and provide a standard reference for the language or language variety in question.

[13] For example, Biber et al. (1998); Sinclair (1991); McEnery and Wilson (1996, 2001); Kennedy (1998); among others.

volumes in the field[14] provides an idea of the versatility of the methodology today. Indeed it is one of the strengths of the methodology that it can be applied to a wide range of areas and questions in linguistics, language and literature.[15]

It is not a theory of language, although it can be, and often is, exploited by various linguistic theories. Similarly it is not a branch of linguistics in the way that, for example, sociolinguistics, the study of the relation between language and society, or historical linguistics, the study of language change and variation over time, are. Nonetheless, the actual status of corpus linguistics is still debated. Graeme Kennedy takes a rather conservative view, claiming that "the use of corpora does not in itself constitute a new or separate branch of linguistics. Rather, corpus linguistics is essentially descriptive linguistics aided by new technology." (Kennedy 1998, p. 268). Gordon Tucker (2000), at the other end of the scale, however, claims that corpus linguistics is on the way to becoming a discipline in its own right, at least to the extent that such modes of communication as conferences, journals and electronic mailing lists mean that researchers working with corpora in distinct linguistic disciplines could be seen to constitute a wide discourse community.

John Sinclair has summed up the changing face of corpus linguistics in saying:

[14] For example, Aarts and Meijs (1984, 1986, 1990); Aijmer and Altenberg (1991); Kytö, Rissanen and Wright (1994); Meijs (1987); Svartvik (1992a); Thomas and Short (1996); Wichmann, Fligelstone, McEnery and Knowles (1997), among others.

[15] Corpus linguistics is perhaps best known for its applications in lexicography. All major modern dictionaries draw their data from corpora to varying extents. The methodology also has many applications in education - teaching, teacher-training (cf. Wichman et al. 1997, Wilson and McEnery 1994), language learning (cf. Gledhill 1998b and also the work of Sylviane Granger at Louvain on the International Corpus of Learner English, and its various national components - cf. Altenberg 1997, Greenbaum 1991, 1992, Kaszubski 1997). It has also found a niche in the young field of forensic linguistics, in critical linguistics, text linguistics and discourse analysis, and Language for Specific Purposes (cf. J. Martin 1997). Within general linguistics it has found uses in the investigation of lexis, syntax (with tagged corpora), grammar, lexicogrammar, and even features of spoken language, such as intonation and turn-taking with an appropriately marked-up corpus of spoken language. Given its empirical nature, corpus linguistics is also a valid methodology for historical linguistics where introspection is not an option (the Helsinki corpus is a corpus of Old to Early Modern English, cf. Ihalainan 1990 and Rissanen 1992). Another large field which makes use of the methods and products of corpus linguistics, and provides an impetus for corpus building, is Natural Language Processing (NLP), which now uses corpora in the development of taggers, parsers and similar tools, and in such data-intensive applications as machine translation.

> Thirty years ago when this research started it was considered impossible to process texts of several million words in length. Twenty years ago it was considered marginally possible but lunatic. Ten years ago it was considered quite possible but still lunatic. Today it is very popular. (Sinclair 1991, p. 1)

This quotation indicates three things. First, it indicates that developments in corpus linguistics have gone hand in hand with development in computer technology. Increased computer memory and more refined software tools have enabled larger and larger collections of text to be analysed more and more delicately. The process of 'tagging' or automatically, or indeed manually, annotating text with additional information such as word class, or intonation, has opened up further possibilities for research. Although the general tendency has been to gather ever-larger corpora, such as the 100 million word British National Corpus, and the Bank of English, which currently stands at 415 million words and is still growing, not all progress has been made in this direction. Rather, smaller, specific corpora (for example of individual genres, learner language, child language) have retained their own place in the field. Size is not everything: design and representativeness are also crucial (cf. also Section 3.4.4.), and are dictated by the aims of the research in question.

Second, the quotation points to the fact that corpus linguistics has over time improved its public face. The intellectual climate in linguistics thirty years ago was biased towards the predominance of rationalism and the rise of Noam Chomsky's Transformational Generative approach. As a result, empirical linguistics was experiencing a period of unpopularity. Over the decades, as the methodology has produced unexpected findings about language, it has become more mainstream.

Third, Sinclair's words are a reminder that computerised corpus linguistics is still a relatively young methodology. Although it stems from a much older tradition of empirical linguistics, it is only in the last forty years or so that technological progress has enabled empirical linguists to make the move from index cards to computers for storing their data. The latter arguably offers qualitatively as well as quantitatively distinct approaches and results. W. Nelson Francis (1992), the creator of the famous Brown corpus, surveys the extent of corpus linguistics 'B.C' (before computers), with reference in particular to three main, 'meta' aims: lexicographical corpora, such as the corpora of examples which lay behind such renowned dictionaries as Johnson's, the OED and Webster's,[16] the dialectological corpora popular in the late nineteenth century, and grammatical corpora, such as Jespersen's and the Survey of English Usage. We can also look to anthropological linguistics and such linguists as Boas and Sapir, who carried out linguistic analysis on early corpora of native American folktales (cf. Biber 1990, p. 257). Until the advent of computers, however, the impression was of a patchwork of isolated studies with no overall aim, and little coherence.

In the late 1950s, work began on huge mainframe computers, with data painstakingly entered on punched cards by hand. It was this climate which provided the background for such landmarks in corpus linguistics as the Brown corpus of one million words of written American English published in 1961 (created at Brown University), its British English counterpart, the LOB[17] (Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen) Corpus, and the work on the Survey of English Usage (SEU) at University College London in the 1960s, which produced major grammars of English (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985). Since this time, corpora have developed in two parallel ways: they have become larger, and they have become more specific: in this category might be considered such corpora as the CHILDES project at Carnegie Mellon University which includes corpora of children's language, and the various parts of the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE), among the many personal corpora created to answer specific research questions and not therefore commercially available. Finally, there is much potential for work to be done with different types of corpus, such as multimedia corpora, incorporating images, sound and even video, as discussed by McEnery and Wilson (1996 & 2001, p. 188).

[16] McEnery and Wilson (2001) also draw attention to Juilland's (1956) 'mechanolinguistics', corpus work which resulted in word frequency lists for French, Spanish, Romanian and Chinese.

[17] There have been updates made of both the Brown and LOB corpora: FROWN and FLOB were created at Freiburg, and contain material from 1991, thirty years on from the original corpora.

3.4.1. Corpus linguistics and collocation

> Because each element occurs more frequently than each item, a native speaker of a language has a greater experience, conscious or subconscious, of the relationships which exist between two elements than of the relationships which exist between two items. For this reason a linguist studying grammatical structure can rely more on his own intuitions than can a linguist studying collocations. Consequently linguists studying collocations resort more quickly to the use of statistical techniques in order to obtain more objective verification of their observations. (Berry 1977, p. 54)

As this quotation, and the discussion of collocation in Chapter 2 show, it has long been recognised that corpus linguistics is an ideal methodology for the investigation of collocation. This is for two main reasons: firstly, corpora can provide the large quantities of data which are necessary in order to discern patterns in language, including collocational patterns. Secondly, when investigating collocation, one tends to begin at the level of the word, and the analysis tools used in corpus linguistics are ideally suited to finding surface features of language. With regard to the analysis of text types, recurring collocations provide the norm against which individual texts can be interpreted (Stubbs 2001, p. 304).

Because of this fact, corpus linguists have been criticised for paying too much attention to collocation, and indeed only investigating collocation because corpora and concordance tools are convenient for this purpose. Alan Partington accepts that this attention is partly due to novelty, but counters the criticism in the following way:

> The paradox of the observer - that we can only perceive physical reality by means of (and some would say distorted by) the tools we use to observe it - is common to all sciences which rely on data. Think, for example of how the object of study of, say, astronomy is very much defined by the tools available to it - the telescope and radio-telescope. When new tools become available in linguistics, new phenomena will be accessible to study. In the meantime we make the fullest use of what we have. (Partington 1998, p. 144)

Stubbs (1999) puts forward a similar view, drawing parallels with the use of the telescope in astronomy and the microscope in biology, but he points out in addition that we must proceed carefully since patterns may be created by this new observation technique which one may mistakenly attribute to language rather than to the technique. This is a variation on the observers' paradox discussed by Partington above.

The literature on collocation using corpus methodology is extensive, as Chapter 2 has demonstrated. Work has been done on lexical collocation in the general language (cf. Kjellmer 1987, 1990, 1991), and on lexical and grammatical collocation in specific registers (cf. Gledhill 1995, 1997, 1999). Corpus research has also highlighted types of collocation which had not previously been recognised, such as discontinuous sequences (Renouf and Sinclair 1991, Butler 1998), semantic prosody (cf. Louw 1993, Stubbs 1996a), and multiword sequences (cf. Altenberg 1993, 1998, Altenberg and Eeg-Olofsson 1990, Butler 1997).

3.4.2. Corpora and translation

Corpora have, until recently, been little exploited in translation studies, while, conversely, translated text has been unfairly treated in corpus linguistics, being considered atypical of the language in question (even when the text in question is the Bible). In recent years, this situation has begun to change as translation studies has become aware of the potential of corpora[18] and corpus linguistics has developed its applications to translation studies.[19] As Mona Baker has pointed out:

> [Translated text] has been specifically excluded from monolingual corpora, where it is generally treated as unrepresentative of the language being studied, irrespective of the direction of translation: even text translated into one's own native language does not normally qualify for inclusion in a monolingual corpus. Where translated text has been studied at all, the idea has been to show that 'translationese' is common [...]. (Baker 1996, p. 175)

Generally speaking, since the late 1970s translation studies has undergone a change of focus which has opened up the way for the exploitation of corpus methodology. Baker (e.g. 1993, 1999) perhaps the leading proponent of corpus linguistics in translation studies, believes that the field is close to reaching a turning point in its development as a discipline, broaching the divide from prescriptive to descriptive, and that this is a direct

[18] This is especially the case for studies which focus on the process of translation: cf. Baker 1993, 1996, Kenny 1997a, 1997b, and Hansen 2000 who treats translations as a text-type in their own right.
[19] For example, investigations into the product of translation: cf. Partington's (1998) investigation of false friends, Tognini-Bonelli 1996, Gledhill 1999.

consequence of corpus methodology. Translation studies has in recent years moved in the direction of authentic data and pragmatic equivalence (cf. Toury's work in Descriptive Translation Studies, discussed in Baker 1993), and towards an appreciation of the target text, and the place of the translation in the target text system (cf. Even-Zohar, cited in Baker 1993). Baker's own research, on the Translational English Corpus at UMIST, has developed these lines of thinking, in laying the groundwork for analysis of the distinctive features of translated text through monolingual comparable corpora, thereby freeing the researcher completely from the source text. Baker considers translated texts to be different, because of their different contexts of production and reception, but not deviant or corrupt (Baker 1999, p. 282-3). Baker's work has begun to redress the balance in studies of the translation process and in the analysis of the distinctive features of translated texts, such as conservatism, and 'levelling out' (*ibid.*, pp. 176-7, see also Chapter 7), but much remains to be done on the product of translation with multilingual corpora. Raphael Salkie's INTERSECT corpus at the University of Brighton is an on-going project in the context of comparative linguistics.

There are two types of corpus which can be exploited for translation studies. The first, a parallel corpus, is necessary for studies like Salkie and Baker's, which concentrate on the process of translation. Parallel corpora contain texts in one language and their translations in another. The second type of corpus is the comparable corpus,[20] which contains subcorpora of texts in different languages, not translations of each other but texts which share features with each other - whether functionally equivalent or situationally equivalent, etc. While this second type cannot reveal much directly about the process of translation, it is equally valid for analysis of the final product of translation. With an aligned parallel corpus one has the option of singling out particular words and analysing the actual translations in different contexts of the word, whereas comparable corpora (or unaligned parallel corpora, functioning effectively as comparable corpora) are more suited to the analysis of 'false friends', or cognate words

[20] Baker also uses this term for a monolingual corpus, made up partly of original texts and partly of translated texts. Zanettin (1994, p. 101) calls a comparable corpus a 'globally' parallel corpus.

which are used differently in the languages in question. Recently, comparable corpora have been used for this purpose, in such studies as Partington (1998) and Tognini-Bonelli's work towards a database of comparable units of meaning in English and Italian (1996).

Baker's findings on the specific characteristics of translated text should not rule out the presence of such texts in a corpus, although they are clearly important to bear in mind. In the case of administrative language at supranational levels there are many reasons why it would be unfair and unrepresentative to exclude translated text, especially as the EU recognises equal legal status for all language versions of a text. While Goffin claims that "les versions traduites laissent transparaître en filigrane les modes d'expression du modèle, tant est forte la prégnance du texte originaire" (1997, p. 70), it is arguable that a multilingual context of production is quite simply a feature of EU administrative texts (cf. also Chapter 1, Section 1.2.1.).

In the EU context, there is no neutral ground. Even the fact that a text is originally produced in a particular language does not guarantee its 'nativeness'. Indeed it could be argued that a translated version, having at least necessarily been produced by a native speaker,[21] is more likely to represent 'genuine' French, or English. Translation is the norm more than an exception. Given the complexity of the situation, then, the best policy would seem to be to follow the EU in accepting each language version of a text as a linguistic as well as a legal equivalent. Paul Bayley (2000), in his domain-specific corpus of European integration texts, takes the view that high quality official translations should be considered linguistic equivalents of their originals.

Because of the nature of the language register under analysis, this project can take corpus analysis for translation studies one step further. While recognising that some of the texts have been translated and that this may, and almost inevitably will, have made a

[21] Translators in the European Union institutions translate only into their native language.

difference to the product, it accepts this as simply a feature of the register and not as a reason to exclude translated text from the corpus.

3.4.3. French corpus linguistics

Section 3.4. above suggests that English has been the main focus of corpus work. This is certainly true, but corpus research has not been carried out exclusively on English. With regard to French, it is useful to distinguish between the corpus linguistics of French, that is, corpus-based analysis of the French language, and French corpus linguistics, or corpus linguistics as it is carried out in France and other Francophone countries. The two do not always coincide, as much research on the French language has been carried out in other countries (e.g. Sweden, cf. Gellerstam 1992, Engwall 1996), just as a lot of work on English has been carried out in non-Anglophone countries, especially the Netherlands and the Scandinavian nations. French corpus linguistics tends to be of a different nature from Anglophone corpus linguistics, and often has different aims.

Claire Blanche-Benveniste, in a special issue of the *Revue française de linguistique appliquée*, has asked:

> Qu'en est-il pour le français? [...] on n'a pas développé, en France, des corpus conçus comme ceux des autres pays d'Europe. Les corpus écrits à base littéraire y tiennent une bien plus grande place. (Blanche-Benveniste 1996, p. 26)

France may be lagging somewhat behind, but this is not to say that there is not a great deal of research to be taken into account. There is a large number of corpora containing French language texts, whether monolingual corpora of French or multilingual corpora with French as one of the components. These include such specific corpora as the Aarhus Corpus of Contract Law (made up of Danish, English and French), the Canadian Hansard corpus (English and French versions of Canadian parliamentary transactions), the CRATER corpus (a domain-specific corpus of telecommunications language in French, English and Spanish), and the European Corpus Initiative corpus (which contains a subcorpus of four million words of French journalistic texts). As regards spoken corpora, Gabriel Bergounioux's *Corpus d'Orléans* (1966-1970) "avait l'ambition de refléter une parole collective, celle qu'entendaient, à la fin des années 60, les Orléanais" (Bergounioux 1996, p. 87). Gougenheim et al. (cited in McEnery and Wilson 1996, p. 2 and also Wise 1997, p. 16) created a corpus of transcribed spoken French from 275 informants, investigating high frequency lexical and grammatical choices. This corpus was used as the basis of the *Dictionnaire du français fondamental*, which aims to capture the 'core' of the language. Similarly the *Groupe Aixois de Recherches en Syntaxe* (GARS) has been compiling since the mid-1970s a two-million word corpus of spoken French at the University of Provence (Blanche-Benveniste 1996, p. 27).

As regards written language, the *Trésor de la langue française* has been compiled since the 1960s on the basis of Frantext, a text archive of 160 million words (Habert et al. 1997). This huge archive contains a range of genres and periods, and is perhaps the closest French equivalent to the BNC or Cobuild corpus. However, it has a strong bias towards literary texts. Ayres-Bennett claims that "most histories of the French language have been based on predominantly *literary* texts" (1996, p. 2, the emphasis is Ayres-Bennett's). The same would seem to be true of most dictionary descriptions of the French language, and Frey and Latin confirm this: "[la lexicographie] a tout d'abord privilégié les textes littéraires considérés comme illustrant le mieux la norme valorisée de la langue" (Frey and Latin, eds. 1997, p. 21). As Frey and Latin's volume demonstrates, however, corpus linguistics is also exploited for lexicography in other Francophone areas: they gather together a collection of lexicographical studies of national varieties of French, such as Cameroon French and Nigerian French. Lexicographical work is not limited, either, to the 'general' language: as Chapter 2 indicated, Geoffrey Williams has carried out a corpus study of terminology in the field of plant biology, the aim of which is to improve the content of specialised dictionaries for the benefit of learners (G. C. Williams 2001a).

Habert et al. (1997), in currently the only general introductory book on corpus linguistics in French, deal with three specific French corpora,[22] none of which is publicly available. While there have been corpora in France since the 1960s, Habert et al. claim that what is new is annotation, the increase in corpus size, and the accessibility of corpora and tools (cf. Habert et al. 1997, p. 7). In their introduction to *les linguistiques de corpus*, they concentrate almost totally on annotated corpora, of which there are still relatively few, especially compared to English: "Les corpus enrichis sont aujourd'hui majoritairement de langue anglaise ou américaine." (*ibid.*, p. 14). Habert describes the current situation in French corpus linguistics as follows:

> La conjoncture actuelle tient, semble-t-il, à la rencontre d'une tradition anglosaxonne de linguistique descriptive s'appuyant sur les corpus électroniques et d'un profond changement de cap en traitement automatique du langage naturel. (*ibid.*, p.8)

French is somewhat behind English in the field:

> La francophonie s'engage dans le mouvement, avec un certain retard et une réticence certaine à mettre dans le domaine public des ressources comme les corpus étiquetés et les étiqueteurs." (*ibid.*, p. 14)

That is to say, English has dominated because of the long history of Anglo-Saxon corpus-based descriptive linguistics and the place of British and American English in Natural Language Processing projects. Their own approach is one which draws heavily on the Sinclairean approach, with a corpus defined necessarily as a *principled* collection of texts. Habert rejects as corpora mere collections of textual data, such as those used by NLP (*ibid.*, p. 144).

3.4.4. Issues in corpus linguistics

As the previous sections have indicated, corpora today come in many shapes and sizes, and vary according to a range of dimensions. The major types currently include general corpora, corpora of registers, genres, periods and so on, monolingual corpora, bi- or

[22] These three corpora are: 'Menelas' - a corpus of texts on the subject of coronary diseases; 'Mitterrand1' - containing radio and television broadcasts by François Mitterrand during his first septennat; 'Enfants' - responses by two thousand informants to the question «Quelles sont les raisons qui, selon vous, peuvent faire hésiter une femme ou un couple à avoir un enfant?»

plurilingual corpora, comparable corpora (bilingual corpora with equivalent texts in each language), parallel corpora (texts and their translations in another language), diachronic corpora (tracing a language from one point in time to another, such as the Archer Corpus, and the Helsinki Corpus), synchronic corpora, learner corpora, monitor corpora which trace the rate of change of a language or language variety, total population corpora (such as the complete works of a particular author), full-text corpora and sample-text corpora.

The various objects of study therefore differ wildly, and so do approaches to corpus linguistics. In Anglophone corpus linguistics, there are three main theoretical approaches (cf. Hunston 2000b), which can be referred to by their principal places of origin. The Birmingham approach, which is behind the well-known Cobuild project,[23] adopts the theoretical approach of John Sinclair, and concentrates predominantly on phraseology and patterning in language. They support Sinclair's 'clean-text' policy (Sinclair 1991, pp. 21-22), according to which the corpus is not permanently marked up in any way, as this would impose a theory on the data. The Cobuild corpus does however have a limited level of tagging, termed 'light mark-up' (Clear et al. 1996, p. 306). The Lancaster approach (cf. work by G. Leech, e.g. 1993, 1997), on the other hand, believes that corpora should be enriched by tagging and mark-up of various kinds, such as lemmatisation, word-class tagging, or even semantic tagging. Finally, in Douglas Biber's approach to corpus linguistics in the USA (e.g. Biber 1988, Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998), the interest lies in register analysis and comparison. Biber's approach is multidimensional, seeking to describe registers along a range of axes according to the clustering of linguistic variables.

The issue of whether or not to mark-up or tag a corpus is a highly contentious one in corpus linguistics, and indeed humanities computing generally.[24] There are valid

[23] Cobuild was set up in the early 1980s as a joint venture, between Collins (now HarperCollins) and Birmingham University.

[24] For a very thorough and up-to-date discussion of computing in the humanities, with particular reference to literary and linguistic computing, see Hockey (2000).

arguments on both sides of the debate, and each approach has value for different research aims. For this study of collocation, a surface feature of language, Sinclair's clean-text policy has been adopted, but this is not to reject the usefulness of annotation, especially for the study of syntax, semantics, prosodic features or discourse. For a study of phraseology, however, often careful manual analysis of the data produced by WordSmith Tools, or intelligent use of the facilities available, is sufficient.[25] Biber, Conrad and Reppen say that: "many linguistic investigations - including most of the analyses in this book - are not possible if we are restricted to simply searching for words" (1998, p. 257). Stubbs and Gerbig (1993, p. 79), on the other hand, advocate untagged text, saying that "it is easy to underestimate what can be done with concordances of untagged text". They go on to give examples, such as the identification of sentence-initial units, and claim that with untagged text "the pattern matching of concordance programs can identify important syntactic patterns" (*ibid.*). While they agree that some investigations simply cannot be carried out with untagged text, they insist that "one does not abandon a very powerful observation method because it is not perfect" (*ibid.*). A further complication of tagged text is the issue of compatibility. This can be solved by adopting a standard, all-purpose encoding system, such as that proposed by the TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) (cf. Sperberg-McQueen and Burnard 1995). There is clearly a balance to be drawn between the advantages of annotation for certain types of analysis, and the time taken to equip a corpus with such annotation.

A perennial problem in corpus linguistics which remains to be dealt with in the context of this study is that of corpus representativeness. This is often regarded as being related to the issue of size, but the two are in fact independent. The problem is circular: in order to generalise from the corpus to the whole language, register or genre, a corpus needs to be a representative sample, but it is impossible exactly to define the parameters of the

[25] For example, although the corpus used here is not lemmatised, it is effectively possible to search for a lemma, by truncating, or inserting all the possible forms of the word required into the search tool. This works well for an inflecting rather than a highly agglutinating language. The WordList function, however, produces a list of word forms, rather than lemmas, although it is possible (if very time-consuming) to lemmatise manually from a WordList.

total population of texts of a language, register or genre without resorting to artificial means, such as defining the population as, for example, 'all the texts printed in 1961 in the United States' (the definition underlying the design of Brown corpus). In that case, the onus is merely passed on to this artificially-restricted population and the issue becomes one of whether the population is representative of the language/register/genre. It should be noted in addition that compiling a corpus of whole texts and not two thousand word (or other length) samples is to take it for granted that a language or register is effectively a collection of texts - a collection of instances and not an abstract faculty of the mind. In terms of Halliday's analogy (e.g. Halliday 1991), texts are 'the weather', instances of which build up over time to constitute language, or 'the climate'.

So it is better to begin instead with the problem of what a corpus is supposed to represent. The design of the administrative corpus represents a compromise between a proportional corpus and a corpus for studying variety, the specific design being motivated by the availability of texts. These two types of corpus are distinguished and discussed by Biber, Conrad and Reppen:

> [...] a proportional corpus would be of limited use for studies of variation, because most of the corpus would be relatively homogeneous. That is, most texts in a proportional corpus would be from conversation, and these texts would be very similar in their linguistic characteristics (in comparison to other registers).
>
> In most corpus studies, we are interested in the range of linguistic variants that occur in a language or in describing one variety of a language relative to another variety. It is therefore critical that the corpus cover all the varieties of the language. (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998, p. 247)

Proportional corpora themselves can be of two types, according to Clear:

> [...] 'What is the likelihood that a native speaker has encountered this word recently?' This question is framed in terms of the *reception* of language input. An alternative but related query is 'what is the likelihood that a native speaker has used this word recently?' This looks at the issue of word frequency from the point of view of the *production* of language output. (Clear 1992, p. 24, the emphasis is Clear's)

A general corpus designed to reflect language reception will therefore exaggerate the importance of a small proportion of texts (including literature, journalism etc.), whereas in a corpus reflecting language production these important texts will be overwhelmed by spoken language, and specifically conversation.

In the case of administrative language, a 'production' corpus would be composed predominantly of documents such as press releases, especially those issued by the European Commission, and Presidential speeches, which are many times more frequent than documents such as treaties, which are extremely infrequent, appearing only once every five years or so on average. A 'reception' corpus, on the other hand (that is, one reflecting the texts read or listened to by an audience - such as the general public) would have to give much greater weight to treaties and other such primary legislative texts which are used as reference documents by a large number of people, but presumably rarely ever read from start to finish.[26] The message is clear: only a few texts have lasting influence, and it is impossible to gauge the influence of any single text. So any techniques for corpus compilation will necessarily be based partly on estimations, although this is not to say that it is futile to attempt a careful design.

To return to Biber's distinction between proportional corpora and corpora for studying variety, a corpus designed for studying genre variety on the other hand might have equal quantities of the genres within the register of administrative language (press releases, speeches, reports, legislation etc.). The advantage of this type of corpus is that it is easier to analyse the differences between these genres - as it is, some of the genres included in the corpus are represented by small quantities of text which make it invalid to claim representativeness for them. The disadvantage, however, is that there is no weighting to reflect the different frequencies of publication and varying degrees of linguistic influence exerted by the different genres or individual texts. On a more practical note, text availability causes problems for such an approach, as some genres are only available in very small quantities and the large differences in text length

[26] In a similar vein, but talking of science language, Swales (1990a, p. 14) has shown that even those scientific papers which are widely read are probably not read in their entirety, at least in the order intended by their presentation on the page.

between the genres means that long texts (such as the *Rapports* in the French national side of the corpus) would be represented by only a few texts and would therefore cover only relatively few subject areas while categories of press releases and other such generally short texts would have to be present in huge quantities to match the quantity of running words and would as a result cover many more fields. The compromise nature of the corpus aims to reduce such problems.[27]

Atkins, Clear and Ostler, in a seminal paper on the topic of corpus design, also recognise this problem and conclude that, as the collection of a representative sample of total language production is not feasible (even though strictly speaking only production defines the language variety (Atkins, Clear and Ostler 1992, p. 5; Clear 1992, p. 26)), "the compiler of a general language corpus will have to evaluate text samples on the basis of *both* reception and production" (Atkins, Clear and Ostler 1992, p. 5). The case is the same, although slightly less complicated, for a register-specific corpus.

The compromise design therefore aims to give due weight to important texts in order not to misrepresent the register and at the same time to enable comparison of genres, from the point of view of collocation and phraseology. The corpus should therefore be able to provide insights into the relative frequency of patterns and the quantitative importance of particular genres.

Although corpus linguistics has come a long way since the beginning of the decade, Sinclair's caution still holds true:

> The results are only as good as the corpus, and we are at a very primitive stage of understanding the character of corpora and the relation between decisions on the constitution of the corpus and information about the language derived from the corpus. (Sinclair 1991, p. 9)

[27] Leech, however, says that: "We should always bear in mind that the assumption of representativeness must be regarded largely as an act of faith" (1991, p. 27).

This caveat holds for all of the analysis carried out in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this thesis. Ultimately it is only in the light of analysis that it is possible to refine corpus design.

3.4.5. Tools for corpus analysis

Regardless of its design and claims to representativeness, an electronic corpus in itself is of no more use than an unanalysed collection of texts. In order to benefit from the huge advances in technology which the second half of the twentieth century witnessed, it is necessary to combine a corpus with some form of analysis tool. Generally speaking, progress in available interrogation software has failed to keep pace with the demands of researchers, but this is not to say that there are not very useful packages and programs available. McEnery and Wilson (2001), Oakes (1998) and Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998) contain guides to corpus analysis tools.

The principal tool for corpus analysis is the concordancer. There are different kinds of concordancer, but in all cases, its function is to search for and show instances of a particular word, sequence of words or construction, in its immediate context (KWIC, key word in context). There is a large number of concordancers available today, for different platforms, PC or Mac, some free and some commercially available. The program chosen for use in this research is Mike Scott's WordSmith Tools (Version 3, Oxford University Press 1999). WordSmith Tools represents a logical step forward from Scott's earlier Microconcord and Wordlist programs, combining a suite of facilities in one. The three main tools are: Concord, a concordance program which retrieves specified strings of characters from the corpus; WordList, which generates alphabetical and frequency-based wordlists from the corpus, based on either single words, or sequences of between two and eight words; and Keywords, which identifies words which are key (outstanding in their frequency) in one text or corpus in comparison with another. WordSmith Tools also contains a range of other related features such as an aligner which aligns a text and its translation, a 'text converter' for reformatting texts, and a 'splitter' for separating a large text into smaller ones.

The main advantages of WordSmith Tools for this research are as follows: it works on a PC platform; it can deal with English and French, including the accented characters; it can cope with a corpus of two million words; it is easy to switch between the Concord, WordList and Keyword programs in order to consider a piece of analysis from different perspectives at once; and it is possible to align texts in different languages.

3.5. The administrative corpus

In light of the methodological considerations discussed above, it is necessary at this stage to set out the corpus of administrative French compiled and used in the analysis described in the remainder of this thesis. This section begins by identifying the need for a new corpus of texts, tailored to suit the linguistic analysis carried out, then details the textual sources and final design of the corpus, and draws attention to the various possibilities for comparison that such a design opens up.

One might argue that it is better, as a general rule, to make use of existing resources where possible. This allows for more direct comparison of findings. However, the lack of suitable corpora of French (cf. Section 3.4.5.) made it necessary in this case to build a personal corpus of administrative language. At this relatively early stage in the exploitation of computer corpora for French register analysis, this is methodologically useful: it is only through practice and repeated experimentation that corpus designs can be tested and compared, in terms both of the hypotheses that corpus analysis can make about language, and also the potential shortcomings of the corpus. A second advantage of starting from scratch is that this makes it possible to dictate exactly which genres are represented and which texts included in the corpus - that is to say that the corpus can be designed to fit exactly the needs of the research. There is therefore less of a distance enforced between the analyst and the text: this, according to Svartvik (1992b, p. 10), is the greatest danger of a heavy dependency on corpus data. Had there already been several corpora of French administrative language, the temptation to exploit these for the sake of the advantages to be gained in superior mark-up and existing peer-criticism of the corpus in question, even if they did not otherwise fit the criteria of this research quite perfectly, might have been overwhelming.

In the event, however, there was no temptation, as there was no suitable corpus. Various projects could offer useful data but not a whole corpus. For example, ELRA[28] has a corpus of 7.1 million words in French (and in another eight languages) of debates and minutes of the European Parliament. This is a useful corpus in itself, but not one that could be said, by any stretch of the imagination, to represent more than a small part of the register of administrative French. Similarly, the Hansard French/English corpus represents a single genre of Canadian French. Frantext, the largest French language corpus, and the resource behind the seventeen-volume *Trésor de la langue française* comprises a vast amount of text, of which only a small fraction is 'administration publique', the overwhelming majority being literary texts. For this reason, therefore, it was decided at the start of this period of research to create a new corpus.

3.5.1. Text sources

All of the texts in the administrative corpus (FRADCO[29]) were downloaded from the internet between March and September 1999. The key web resources used are listed in Appendix 1. Copyright, often a considerable hindrance for corpus designers, was not a problem in building this corpus for personal research use. Both the French governmental sites and the European Union sites allow a copy of their texts to be reproduced and stored for non-commercial purposes.[30]

3.5.2. Design of administrative corpus

Appendix 1 also details the textual contents of the complete French administrative corpus. FRADCO contains just over two million running words,[31] equally divided

[28] The European Language Resources Association. ELRA's website can be found at: http://www.icp.grenet.fr/ELRA/home.html

[29] The **FR**ench **AD**ministrative **CO**rpus.

[30] See, for example: http://europa.eu.int/geninfo/copyright_fr.htm, for copyright information.

[31] 2,121,553 according to the WordList facility of WordSmith Tools.

between European Union and French national government texts (FREUCO and FRNACO[32]). It is made up of 1,086 whole texts of varying lengths, again equally divided between the two halves of the corpus. Although a two-million word corpus is small compared with the new generation of corpora for lexicographical work, such as the British National Corpus, the Bank of English, or French corpora like Frantext, it must be borne in mind that these are general corpora, which seek to represent the language in question as a whole, or at least as a set of varieties, if we agree with Partington that a whole language is a "mythical beast" (Partington 1998, p. 146), while the administrative corpus is simply that: a corpus of texts which samples a single register of French within a limited time-frame. In this light, its representative power suddenly becomes much greater. The whole of the 'Miscellaneous' category of the Brown Corpus, which contains government documents, industry reports, college catalogues and similar, for example, makes up only 6% of the corpus, or roughly 60,000 words. For a register-specific corpus, then, two million words is substantial: certainly large enough, if well-designed, to provide information on the typical phraseology of the register.

The corpus is a synchronic sample of the register. The great majority of the texts date from late-1997 to mid-1999, although there are some older texts, included on the basis of their continuing influence. These include treaties and constitutional texts, which are relatively infrequent genres, but an important part of the register of administrative French. In addition to the short time-period from which the texts are drawn, an effort was made during compilation to sample texts evenly throughout a calendar year where possible, in order to avoid the possibility of a surfeit of texts all referring to events at a particular time in the administrators' working year.

As can be seen from the tables in Appendix 1, each half of the corpus is made up of a wide range of textual categories - nineteen in the EU part of the corpus and eighteen in

[32] **FR**ench **EU** **CO**rpus, and **FR**ench **NA**tional **CO**rpus.

the French national part.[33] Whether or not some of the categories which appear under the same name in both halves of the corpus (e.g. *communiqués de presse*), or more than once in the same half (e.g. the various categories of administrative speech) represent in fact the 'same' genre remains to be seen in the analysis. However, it is likely that there will be considerable overlap in these respects, so that the thirty-seven categories will not be shown to equate with thirty-seven different genres. There is, therefore, no one-to-one pairing of genres between the two halves of the corpus, although each side contains a similar range of types of texts, and has attempted to sample the population of available documents.

The tables also show that the corpus contains texts of varying degrees of formality,[34] and both written texts and texts which were written to be read aloud, i.e. speeches. It was felt justifiable to include the latter category for three main reasons. Firstly, even within the written mode there are variations - some texts are written to be read in their entirety, while others are written to be consulted (e.g. primary and secondary legislation). Secondly, there is in any case no clean division between the written and spoken modes. As we have seen, Douglas Biber has found that there is "no single parameter of linguistic variation that distinguishes among spoken and written genres" (1988, p. 55). Finally, although the written mode is arguably more central to the administrative function - this is perhaps one of the main differences between administrative and political language - speeches are more often than not conceived in writing and then subsequently delivered orally. Indeed, the texts of EU speeches are made available on the websites on a 'check against delivery' basis: that is to say, it is not guaranteed that they do not differ from the version which was delivered. This would

[33] Robert Catherine (1985) lists eight main types of administrative document: *les bordereaux et fiches de transmission, les lettres, les notes, les comptes rendus, les rapports, les instructions, les circulaires* and *les décisions.* While some of these are represented in the administrative corpus, others are 'internal' documents and not available to the public.

[34] At the formal end of the spectrum are such genres as Commission, Council and ESC press releases, while at the informal end are Commission memos, and Court of Justice Bulletins.

seem to be a tacit acknowledgement that they are to all intents and purposes written texts.[35]

In addition to covering a wide range of genres, the available texts were also sampled to cover a wide range of subject matters - for example, by collecting press releases from each of the various ministries of the French government, or Commission Directorates. In this way, although the sampling is ultimately random, it is also stratified in order to avoid the predominance of one subject matter which could influence the subsequent analysis and conclusions. Larger texts (the treaties, Assemblée Nationale debates, etc.) tend to cover more than one subject field, or at least different sub-fields within a general area, so despite their individual sizes these are unlikely to bias the subject matter of the corpus heavily. However, a corpus of any size will be unavoidably biased to a certain extent, depending on the texts which are included or left out: this is simply a result of the context-dependence of human language and the lack of an easily-definable total population of texts. It is rarely possible in corpus research to apply the tried-and-tested social science sampling methods, all of which require a finite and clearly-defined total population.[36]

With regard to the comparative analyses which the structure of the corpus makes possible, the two halves of the corpus contain similar quantities of written-to-be-spoken material, in the form of speeches (184,229 words EU, and 184,371 words national). This allows direct comparison to be made between the two halves of the corpus, and also between written-to-be-spoken and written texts. The French national half of the corpus also contains about 50,000 words which are a mixture of written text and transcribed debate from the Assemblée Nationale. Unfortunately an equivalent was not available for

[35] Cf. also Gowers (1973, p. 9): "What has been prepared in writing and is then read out (such as a paper to a learned society, or a formal statement or lecture) is, however, fair game. So are speeches, as soon as the author has revised them for publication. Many reported speeches, for instance in Parliament, are partly prepared and partly extempore, and it is not always easy to tell from reading them which parts are which."

[36] Certain types of corpus analysis do allow for strict sampling methods, such as authorship studies which analyse the complete œuvre of a writer, and production corpora which collate the complete production of an individual or group of individuals over a specified time period.

the European Union side of the corpus, but as the genre is clearly an important one, it was deemed appropriate to include it in a corpus which aims to represent the whole register. Both sides of the corpus also contain substantial quantities of press release material. Although the quantities are not equal in this case, it is still possible to compare the two halves indirectly since each part is substantial (over 150,000 words), and when the two halves are combined, the 'press release genre' as a whole can be compared with the rest of the corpus taken as a whole, or with a well-defined section of it, such as the speeches. As Biber says:

> It is important to realize [...] that the representativeness of a corpus can be investigated empirically - and it is through these sorts of investigations that we can learn to build better corpora in the future. (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998, p. 250)

With retrospect it may become clear that an alternative corpus design would be more appropriate, but in the meantime its present design opens the way for many types of comparative analysis, and is as valid as a pre-analysis corpus can be.

3.5.3. The comparator corpus

Corpus-based analyses, especially corpus-based register analyses, are of little value without some element of comparison. Much of the analysis of the administrative register in this study is already internally comparative at the levels of discourse and genre. Further, the second part of the analysis effectively sets up a comparison between the administrative corpus and a larger, more general corpus of French, composed predominantly of literary and journalistic texts, by taking as the starting point a corpus-based dictionary of locutions (Rey and Chantreau 1993). Another aspect of the analysis compares the French administrative register with English: this is done with the help of a part-comparable, part-parallel corpus of EU texts in English, mirroring the EU side of the French administrative corpus. With the conclusions from Section 3.4.2. on the validity of translated text in mind, the design of the English EU corpus is a hybrid, which allows for optimum linguistic analysis. The main part of this half of the corpus consists of parallel texts. One group of texts, however, the Commission Speeches genre, is only available in the original language, which depends on various factors like the speaker and the country in which the speech was delivered. Only very rarely are speeches available in more than one language, so it has been considered more valid to compile a comparable collection of texts in English rather than to restrict the corpus to those few speeches which were important enough to have been translated, as this would have meant artificially restricting the range of subject matters and contexts of the speeches. The English corpus can therefore be used as a comparable corpus, (with the parallel part of it being treated as effectively comparable), or defined subgenres of the parallel part can be aligned and analysis carried out on the actual translation of words or extended units in actual context.

However, at other times it is desirable to be able to carry out comparative analyses with a more general corpus of French texts, or at least a sample of different registers. It is not necessary to have at one's disposal a large general corpus of French, such as an equivalent of the British National Corpus for English. It was shown above that a more limited number of general corpora is available for French than for English, and in any case, the notion of a 'general language' has been disputed for a long time:

> The label 'the English language' is in fact only a shorthand way of referring to something which is not, as the name may seem to imply, a single homogeneous phenomenon at all, but rather a complex of many different 'varieties' of language in use in all kinds of situation in many parts of the world. Naturally, all these varieties have much more in common than differentiates them - they are all clearly varieties of one language, English. But at the same time, each variety is definably distinct from all the others. (Crystal and Davy 1969, p. 3)

Biber and Conrad (2001, p. 177) similarly note that analyses show that no single register can represent general English. This study has attempted to overcome the problem of the lack of a large general corpus of French by compiling a fairly small corpus, made up of texts from a range of genres which are freely and generally available. This corpus merely provides a selection of 'other' French, made up of fairly typical, non-discipline specific, texts in the standard language. It does not pretend to representativeness. While the design and compilation of a large general corpus would constitute an enormous project, beyond the scope of this study, a small corpus can be assembled quite rapidly, using texts already in electronic format, on CD-Rom or from the Internet, for instance.[37] This will be termed here a 'comparator corpus'. The term 'control corpus', while more generally used, implies a more representative sampling of a language, covering a greater number of genres, and also ideally including spoken language, especially conversation which makes up such a large proportion of the language people both produce and are exposed to in daily life. A control corpus, in other words, should aim to represent the language as fully as possible. The comparator corpus compiled here, on the other hand, seeks merely to provide a point of reference beyond the register of administrative language.

The comparator corpus compiled for the purposes of this study contains roughly two and a quarter million words of running text, and is therefore of a similar size to the complete French administrative corpus, which enables direct comparison to be made between the two corpora. It is made up of four genres (or macro-genres) of text: in decreasing order of size: journalism (texts from *Le Monde*, covering a number of subgenres, including *biographie*, *courrier*, *marché financier*, *nécrologie*, and *libre opinion*); non-fiction (prose texts on a range of topics); fiction from a number of authors;[38] and biblical texts (five books from the Old and New Testaments - from a twentieth-century edition of the Bible). As figure 3.1. below indicates, the journalism section is by far the largest. While the limited range of genres is a weakness of the comparator corpus, the inclusion of a large proportion of journalistic text seeks to increase the variety of the corpus. Journalistic language has the considerable advantage of being a very wide genre: what one might, following David Lee,[39] call a 'supergenre', embracing many genres and subgenres and covering a potentially unlimited variety of subject matters. Burr (1996, cited in Hockey 2000, p. 21) has argued that journalism is a

[37] Cf. also Inkster 1997, and Raphael Salkie's INTERSECT website at the University of Brighton (http://www. brighton.ac.uk/edusport/languages/html/intersect.html) for useful text sources.

[38] Unfortunately, copyright restrictions mean that only texts which have come out of copyright are freely available, and this means that the texts are necessarily fairly old, although an arbitrary cut-off point has been imposed, including texts from the twentieth century only.

[39] In a discussion on the Corpora electronic mailing list on 31 August 2000, archived at http://www.hd.uib.no/ corpora.

fusion of literary and spoken and special purpose language, and as such represents the modern language as it is. In other words, the internal heterogeneity of the journalism section goes some way towards compensating for the restricted range of genres in the comparator corpus as a whole.

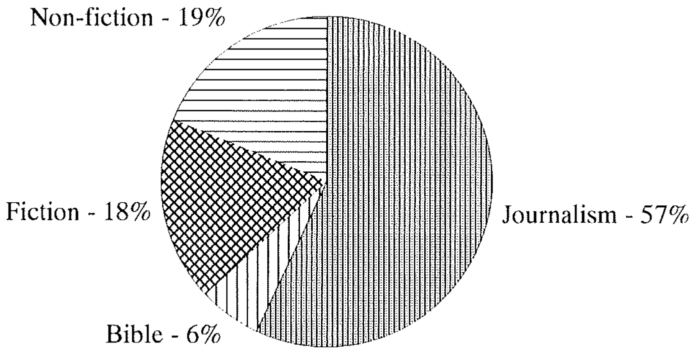


Figure 3.1.:Comparator Corpus - c. 2.25 million words

In addition, the BNC Sampler (Oxford University Humanities Computing Unit, 1999), a 2 million word sample of both spoken and written English, designed to be representative of the full 100 million word British National Corpus, is available as a point of comparison for the English component of the EU administrative corpus. Clearly, this corpus can claim to be much more representative than the French comparator corpus, as it includes a larger range of genres, and also spoken language, but in size it is roughly comparable to the French comparator corpus.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter has set out the tools, both theoretical and methodological, which are necessary for an examination of collocational and phraseological patterning in administrative language. Before arguing for the use of corpus methodology and justifying the corpus design adopted, it was necessary first of all to establish the object of study, administrative language, in theoretical terms. Administrative language is ultimately a set of texts, or individual instances of language in use: this raises the question of what these texts have in common with one another, and on what levels they can be differentiated. At the highest level, administrative language is united by situational features, that is by register, in a Hallidayan sense: the texts all mediate in some way between administrative institutions and citizens. One subset of this register is the language of the European Union, the principal focus of this thesis. Another is French national administrative language. These two particular ways of viewing the function of administration, and of dividing up the sphere of influence of their institutions, can be seen as separate discourses, which implies an ideological difference. Each of the two discourses employs a number of types of text in order to carry out its function: these differ between the two discourses although there is a certain degree of overlap. These types of texts are genres: texts fall into genres by virtue of a common communicative purpose. This research can also be considered to be discourse analysis, in the sense of analysis of units of language larger than the sentence and in their context of use, to the extent that phraseology and collocation have a role in the coherence and structure of texts.

Chapter 4: Multiword Sequences

"Then we get to the real nitty-gritty." (Lodge 1984, p. 183)

4.1. Introduction

Following the order of approach set out in Section 2.2. of Chapter 2, this chapter focuses on phraseology as the creation of the users of administrative language. The method adopted enables the identification of phraseological patterning directly from the corpus, rather than imposing expectations on it. The starting assumption of this 'macro' approach is what has been called the 'strong hypothesis' of collocation: namely, that every syntagm is a collocation (cf. Gledhill 1999, p. 226). While this is a more open definition of collocation than is generally accepted, it is a convenient starting point: every syntagm is certainly a potential phraseological unit.

Since administrative documents rely to a relatively large extent on formulae, terms and intertextual reference, often for legal reasons, any analysis which concentrates on relatively long repeated sequences of words is likely to highlight these features of language as well as providing insights into the typical phraseology of the register. The largely synchronic nature of the corpus used here means that the extent of intertextuality may not be as apparent as it would be from a diachronic analysis, but for all of the other reasons, one might expect a high number of repeated sequences, and in particular a relatively high number of longer sequences as compared with other registers.

The WordList facility of WordSmith Tools (Scott 1999) enables the researcher to make wordlists, ordered either alphabetically or according to frequency, both for single words in a corpus, and also for sequences of between two and eight words, which WordSmith terms 'clusters'.[1] While the analysis in this chapter is based on wordlists of multiword sequences, for the purposes of reference and comparison, Appendix 3 contains wordlist statistics for single words, and tables of the top 100 words according to frequency, for the complete administrative corpus (FRADCO) and the two subcorpora individually (FREUCO and FRNACO), in addition to the comparator corpus and the English EU corpus. It is worth considering the different single-word lists briefly: a comparison of FREUCO and FRNACO shows that while the most frequent word forms in both subcorpora are grammatical or function words, FREUCO also contains four content words in its top thirty most frequent word forms - these are 'Commission', 'Conseil', 'articles', 'membres' - but the equivalent list for FRNACO contains only grammatical words. Compared with the more general comparator corpus, however, FRNACO does contain some highly frequent content words. This finding appears to blur the distinction between function (closed-class) and content (open-class) words in the context of the administrative register. A basic insight of the information sciences, expressed recently by Kretzschmar and Tamasi is that:

> [...] frequently occurring words carry little information (like English function words) while infrequently occurring words tend to be rich in information (like all Latinate nouns of scientific vocabulary). (Kretzschmar and Tamasi 2001)

Do such frequently occurring words as 'articles' and 'membres' function effectively in the EU discourse as grammatical rather than content words? This suggests that the boundary between grammatical and content words may shift depending on register or discourse issues. In any case, these wordlists indicate that we should not limit our focus solely to lexical words, in the sense of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, as the majority of phraseological and collocational studies do, or indeed solely to grammatical words (cf. Gledhill 2000, p. 17-18).[2] This chapter and Chapters 5 and 6 concentrate

[1] While WordList only shows repeated sequences, i.e. those occurring at least twice in the corpus, it is possible to overcome this limitation by selecting the same corpus twice, and then treating as single occurrences those sequences which are returned with a frequency of two. This possibility was also pointed out recently on the Corpora mailing list by Tony Berber Sardinha.

[2] Gledhill also however treats some high frequency 'content' words, such as auxiliary verbs as grammatical for the purposes of his research (2000, p. 18). He believes that this "allows for a more nuanced analysis of words which are often considered to be at the intersection between grammar and lexis" (*ibid.*). One might go further and suggest that the boundary between lexical and grammatical words

predominantly on the top end of the wordlists: this requires an approach which is open to both lexical and grammatical words as they are traditionally defined.[3]

This approach makes it possible to highlight different types of patterning in the different lengths of sequence, which enables the identification of core phraseology. It does, however, have certain shortcomings. It has to be borne in mind that only those sequences which recur in *identical* form will be highlighted. However, it is not true to say that variation is completely overlooked: while occasional variation is certainly disregarded by this method, consistent and frequent variations are recorded. Thus, sequences of words which are commonly used in immediate collocation with particular words and with other sequences will stand out. In addition, the interplay between WordList and the Concord facility also emphasises regular patterns of co-occurrence. However, there is no means of according due weight to phraseological items which are variable in word order or syntax. Nevertheless, this particular approach has the potential to give many insights into the phraseological patterning of the register, especially when considered in conjunction with the complementary approaches taken in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.1.1. Procedure

The WordList facility of WordSmith Tools has been used to carry out this analysis. WordList is able to extract exactly repeated sequences of between two and eight words in length: in addition it is possible to identify longer sequences on the basis of the

is register and even genre-specific.

[3] Notwithstanding the unusually high frequency of some content words in the corpus, and especially the EU subcorpus, the data in both the EU and the national subcorpora fit the A-curve which Kretzschmar and Tamasi (2001) have found to describe not just variation in the vocabulary of a written text but also in the lexicon of the spoken language and speech sounds. This is "an asymptotic curve with a high limit at the Y-axis and a low limit along the X-axis", and is developed from Zipf's Law (cf. Zipf 1949). The A-curves for FREUCO and FRNACO can be found at the end of Appendix 3 of this thesis. These A-curves confirm the accuracy of the data used here, and demonstrate that the appearance of high-frequency lexical items where only grammatical items might be expected is not an artefact of the data or the corpus design, but a phenomenon of language (specifically of the administrative register) which must be accounted for. Kretzschmar's recent work focuses on the applications of this for the development of a new theory of language change: a theory which does not rely on Labov's assumption of mechanical change in a closed system (cf. Labov 1994).

8-word sequences. As regards sentence and clause boundaries, WordList does not recognise clusters which occur over a punctuation boundary (colon, semi-colon, comma, full-stop, exclamation mark or question mark). It is highly likely, given the formulaic nature of administrative documents, that some recurrent sequences do occur over such boundaries in the corpus, but as Scott (1999, in the *Help* facility of WordSmith Tools) notes, these punctuation marks help define clause boundaries: as a result, the sequences are unlikely to constitute phraseological elements. This approach does not correspond to that of Butler (1997): in his study, Butler takes no account of sentence boundaries in extracting repeated sequences, although he suggests that sequences which occur only or predominantly over sentence boundaries are unlikely to be highly frequent in his texts (1997, p. 64-65).

Given the extremely large number of recurrent sequences in the corpus, and the particular interest here in the typical, core phraseology of the register, the analysis has been restricted to sequences which occur a minimum number of times, the actual frequency depending on the size of the corpus or subcorpus used in each part of the analysis. As Butler has pointed out, the setting of a minimum frequency of occurrence also has the advantage of "exclud[ing] at least some of the sequences which are incidental products of particular texts rather than indicating phenomena of more general importance" (Butler 1997, p. 65). As Altenberg notes, however: "Neither length nor frequency is a criterion of phraseological status, but the frequency threshold gives at least some guarantee that the selected word-combinations have some currency in spoken discourse and that they are of some interest from that point of view" (Altenberg 1998, p. 102).

A further reason for restricting myself to the most frequent sequences relates to the limitations of this particular facility of the software: WordList is very 'memory-hungry' when dealing with sequences of words, especially longer sequences, and the most recent version (Version 3) does not produce perfectly reliable results over very large corpora. The reason for this is that if WordList runs out of available memory while processing the data, it does some 'housekeeping', discarding sequences which have appeared only once by that stage (Scott 2000, personal communication), with the result that subsequent runs can produce slightly different results, especially as regards long sequences with low frequencies of occurrence.[4] The problem can be alleviated by increasing the minimum frequency of occurrence of the sequences one is interested in, but the only way completely to resolve the problem appears to be to run the procedure over smaller corpora. The next version of WordSmith Tools aims to overcome these problems (*ibid.*).

Faced with a list of sequences for a particular corpus, the most immediately obvious feature is the large proportion of overlap between lengths of sequence, and it seemed sensible to reduce the lists so that each sequence appears only in the longest possible sequence: for example, to disregard the 3-word sequence 'traité sur l'Union' where the full unit is clearly the 4-word 'traité sur l'Union européenne'. It is no simple matter to pare down the lists in this way, however. It is not possible merely to exclude those sequences which are part of longer sequences - sometimes the frequency will be significantly higher for a 3-word sequence than, say, the 4-word sequence containing it. This highlights the fact that language is not produced, in speech or in writing, by clipping together sequences of words, but rather there is a constant fluctuation between the open choice principle and the idiom principle (cf. Sinclair 1991, and Chapter 2, Section 2.5.1.). Butler has commented on this phenomenon of sequences occurring in overlapping sets:

> As might be expected from the general pattern of decreasing frequency for sequences of increasing length, there is, in each case, one or more core sequence(s) of 3 words with high

[4] One can get an impression of the extent of the problem by selecting the corpus files twice, running the procedure, and then casting one's eye down the frequency list for sequences which apparently occur an odd number of times. As is to be expected, among the most frequent sequences there are very few cases of odd frequencies, which indicates that single instances are only rarely discarded in the 'housekeeping' process, and the frequency given by WordList is never more than one fewer than the actual frequency, but as one scans further down the list, the frequencies of an increasing number of sequences are inaccurate, sometimes by more than one occurrence (this presumably happens when the frequency of a sequence is at one the first time WordList tidies up, and has gone back up to one again when this happens for a second or third time). This means that higher frequency sequences are generally very accurate, but low frequencies cannot be relied upon, at least without scrupulous cross-checking with the Concord facility. This is not a problem, however, when the interest is in the most frequent sequences.

> frequency, extended on each side to form subsequences which are less common. (Butler 1997, p. 72)

There are often co-occurrence tendencies or preferences, for example for conjunctions, discourse markers, positive or negative words, rather than particular words to each side of the individual sequences. This is the phenomenon to which Sinclair was referring in his discussion of the phrase 'set eyes on':

> Many phrases have an indeterminate extent. As an example, consider *set eyes on*. This seems to attract a pronoun subject, and either *never* or a temporal conjunction like *the moment*, *the first time*, and the word *has* as an auxiliary to *set*. How much of this is integral to the phrase, and how much is in the nature of collocational attraction? (Sinclair 1991, p. 111)

The phenomenon of overlap between lengths of sequence has been recognised and formally measured in statistics, using the concept of cost criteria.

4.1.2. The concept of cost criteria

Working in the area of collocational knowledge acquisition, Kita et al. (1994) have suggested a measure for dealing with such overlapping in multiword sequences of varying lengths. Their measure, which they term 'cost criteria', is related to the measure of Mutual Information (cf. Kita et al. 1994, Jelinek 1990[5] cited in Kita et al. 1994, Oakes 1998) in that both are concerned with identifying collocations in a corpus. The two differ, however, in that cost criteria is based on absolute frequency rather than relative frequency.[6] In this way, cost criteria accords due weight to high frequency collocations, but does not artificially inflate the importance of low frequency ones. Kita et al. describe the measure of cost criteria as follows:

> The cost criteria measure is based on the assumptions that (1) collocations are recurrent word sequences, and (2) the recurrent property is captured by the absolute frequency of a word sequence. However, a simple absolute frequency approach does not work, because the frequency of a subsequence is always higher than that of the original word sequence. For example, because 'in spite' is a subsequence of 'in spite of', 'in spite' appears more

[5] The measure of Mutual Information can only identify collocations of two words in a corpus. Jelinek 1990, however, (cited in Kita et al. 1994, Oakes 1998) has proposed an iterative form of Mutual Information which allows longer sequences to be extracted.

[6] The formula for the reduced cost for a word sequence α is: $K(\alpha) = (|\alpha| - 1) \times (f(\alpha) - f(\beta))$, where β is a longer sequence which includes α. $|\alpha|$ is the length of α in words. A high value of $K(\alpha)$ suggests that α is a full collocation, or has a greater unity as a collocation than β.

> frequently than 'in spite of'. However, given the context 'in spite', it is highly probable that 'of' follows 'in spite'. Consequently, we must consider that 'in spite of' is a collocation but 'in spite' is not. The idea of cost criteria formalizes this, and it can quantitatively estimate the extent to which processing is reduced by considering a word sequence as one unit. (Kita et al. 1994, p. 56)

From their work on the ATR Dialogue Database Corpus, Kita et al. demonstrate that while Mutual Information tends to extract compound noun phrases in both English and Japanese, such as 'slide projector' and 'Wall Street' (*ibid.*, p. 61), the cost criteria measure tends to extract frozen phrase patterns, such as 'may I have your name and address' and 'so please hold the line' (*ibid.*, p. 61).

4.2. FRADCO - the complete administrative corpus

Owing to the limitations of the most recent version of WordList, outlined above, it is currently impossible to obtain perfectly consistent results for multiword sequences for the whole two million word corpus at once. The RAM memory required to hold the many thousands of sequences to be found in the corpus is greater than the capacity available. This means that it is not possible to state precisely the number of sequences of each length which appear in the corpus, or to calculate the proportion of the corpus which is made up of such sequences. It is possible, however, to give rough figures, in order to demonstrate the importance of these sequences, and to discuss the highest frequency sequences, since the limitations of the software have very little effect on these.

The highest total of types given from five subsequent runs of WordList for each length of sequence is as follows. These figures are of all repeated sequences, i.e. sequences with a frequency of two or greater. Only the figure for single words, given for comparison, is completely reliable. It must be remembered that there is a large amount of overlap between lengths of sequence: for example, all of the 8-word sequences will appear in part in the 7-word sequence list, so the sum of all of the lengths of sequence is a massive overestimation of the quantitative importance of these multiword sequences by type.

Length of sequence	Number of types
8 words	32,510
7 words	39,562
6 words	58,053
5 words	74,751
4 words	86,949
3 words	106,725
2 words	94,704
Total	**493,254**
no. of single words with a frequency > 1	23,602

Table 4.1.: Repeated sequences in FRADCO

The following are the twenty most frequent 8-word sequences in FRADCO (these high frequency sequences are consistent across subsequent runs of the software):

	Word	**Freq.**	**% of corpus**
1	ARTICLE # ARTICLE # ARTICLE # ARTICLE #	259	0.01
2	DE LA LOI NB #-# DU #	106	
3	CONFORMÉMENT À LA PROCÉDURE VISÉE À LARTICLE # [7]	75	
4	DE LA LOI NO #-# DU #	69	
5	STATUANT CONFORMÉMENT À LA PROCÉDURE VISÉE À LARTICLE	67	
6	LOI NO #-# DU # JUILLET #	66	
7	ARTICLE # DE LA LOI NB #-#	57	
8	LA MINISTRE DE LEMPLOI ET DE LA SOLIDARITÉ	55	
9	LARTICLE # DE LA LOI NB #-#	52	
10	VU LA LOI NO #-# DU #	50	
11	A PRÉSENTÉ SES CONCLUSIONS À LAUDIENCE DE LA	48	
12	LA LOI NO #-# DU # JUILLET	45	
13	MINISTRE DE LA CULTURE ET DE LA COMMUNICATION	44	
14	SUR PROPOSITION DE LA COMMISSION ET APRÈS CONSULTATION	44	
15	LA LOI NB #-# DU # FÉVRIER	42	
16	LOI NB #-# DU # FÉVRIER #	42	
17	A MANQUÉ AUX OBLIGATIONS QUI LUI INCOMBENT EN	41	
18	DE LA RÉFORME DE LETAT ET DE LA	41	
19	LA RÉFORME DE LETAT ET DE LA DÉCENTRALISATION	41	
20	MANQUÉ AUX OBLIGATIONS QUI LUI INCOMBENT EN VERTU	41	

Table 4.2.: 8-word sequences in FRADCO

The hash symbol (#) indicates any number. While numbers have been shown to have interesting collocational patterns of their own (cf. Hoey 2000), it was felt that in these types of document, numbers would not as a general rule have significant patterns of

[7] With regard to apostrophes, WordList has been set to consider these as part of the word (i.e. l'article = 1 word, and shown as 'larticle' in the list).

collocation, since they are predominantly used in dates, document numbers, reference numbers of laws etc., as can be seen from the list above. Thus, to treat numbers individually in making a wordlist would obscure many otherwise important sequences. The same is true with the names of months of the year, although there is no way of conflating these, except manually. Generally speaking, therefore, if a sequence contains a specific month name, then the underlying sequence will in fact be more frequent than the WordList frequency would suggest. Sometimes, however, months do collocate noticeably with other words for pragmatic reasons; for example, meetings which happen at particular times of year such as European Councils which are usually held in December and June, at the end of a national Presidency.

These sequences are very clearly characteristic of the administrative register rather than the general language. Moreover, the majority of the more frequent long sequences come from legislative texts, or refer to these. Numbers 8 and 13 above demonstrate in addition that this analysis can highlight terms in the various component fields, and the names of organisations, bodies, individuals, and, as in these cases, ministries. As mentioned briefly in Chapter 2, terminological work has so far only rarely been based on corpora (cf. Baker 1998, Pearson 1998), although it does rely on authentic texts: while corpora are ideal for retrospective analyses of terms used, they have been seen as unsuitable to the purposes of building terminological databases, which by their nature are required to be very up-to-date. Frequency of occurrence is much less important in terminology too, indeed it is rare terms and neologisms which must be focused upon: these are not readily highlighted by the type of analysis carried out here.

The comparator corpus contains far fewer long sequences. Only forty-four 8-word sequences are repeated at least ten times, as compared with around 500 in FRADCO. This is due in large part to the fact that the corpus was only designed as a point of comparison and is therefore small for a general corpus (or at least a non register-specific corpus). The great majority of these long sequences in the comparator corpus are from a single genre: the *Conseil* genre of *Le Monde* texts. These texts constitute reports of the

French Council of Ministers, partly based on Press Releases issued by this body. Another is the sequence 'et il engendra des fils et des filles', repeated 17 times in the book of Genesis.

Shifting attention to the other end of the scale, the twenty most frequent 3-word sequences in FRADCO are listed below, with their respective frequencies and also their frequencies in the comparator corpus. These latter figures were obtained using the Concord facility of WordSmith Tools.

N	Word	Freq.	%	Freq. in Comp. Corpus
1	DE LA COMMISSION	1,927	0.09	121
2	ET DE LA	1,854	0.09	734
3	DANS LE CADRE	1,480	0.07	111
4	LA MISE EN	1,347	0.06	154
5	À LARTICLE #	1,316	0.06	11
6	EN MATIÈRE DE	985	0.05	126
7	LES ÉTATS MEMBRES	955	0.05	4
8	DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ	889	0.04	127
9	DE LARTICLE #	881	0.04	13
10	MISE EN OEUVRE	846	0.04	69
11	LA COMMISSION A	828	0.04	1
12	DANS LE DOMAINE	821	0.04	96
13	CE QUI CONCERNE	804	0.04	101
14	DE LUNION EUROPÉENNE	772	0.04	4
15	EN CE QUI	767	0.04	89
16	LE CONSEIL EUROPÉEN	763	0.04	7
17	LE CADRE DE	693	0.03	42
18	ET À LA	643	0.03	196
19	DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE	634	0.03	445
20	DE LA POLITIQUE	593	0.03	165

Table 4.3.: 3-word sequences in FRADCO

Unlike the list of 8-word sequences above, the majority of these sequences are not restricted to the administrative register, and indeed every one appears at least once in the comparator corpus, although some clearly refer to administrative and political bodies (e.g. 'la Commission', 'l'Union européenne', 'le Conseil européen'). Instead, many are grammatical or partly grammatical sequences which are frequent also in the general language ('mise en œuvre', 'dans le domaine', '(en) ce qui (concerne)', 'et à la'). Below are the most frequent 3-word sequences in the comparator corpus. The most frequent sequences in the comparator corpus occur with a much lower frequency, despite the roughly comparable corpus size. This is partly due to the more general nature of the corpus.

N	Word	Freq.	%	Freq. in FRADCO
1	IL Y A	1,372	0.06	513
2	ET DE LA	734	0.03	1,854
3	CONSEIL DES MINISTRES	598	0.03	214
4	IL NY A	480	0.02	151
5	CE NEST PAS	472	0.02	92
6	DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE	445	0.02	634
7	DE # À	424	0.02	214
8	PRÉSIDENT DE LA	380	0.02	504
9	DE #	365	0.02	357
10	DU # AU	350	0.02	66
11	CEST-À-DIRE [8]	348	0.02	198
12	EST-À-DIRE	348	0.02	198
13	NE SONT PAS	342	0.02	414
14	DE PLUS EN	304	0.01	192
15	PLUS EN PLUS	301	0.01	189
16	TOUT LE MONDE	293	0.01	39
17	DE LA GUERRE	292	0.01	30
18	MINISTRE DE LA	290	0.01	280
19	DE LA FRANCE	289	0.01	238
20	À LA FOIS	288	0.01	302

Table 4.4.: 3-word sequences in the comparator corpus

Although only two sequences ('et de la' and 'de la république') are common to the lists of the top 20 sequences by frequency of both corpora, many more from the FRADCO list appear lower down the comparator corpus list. This highlights the fact that a register employs the resources of the general language to a greater or lesser extent, but is not a highly isolated 'sublanguage' like the language of air traffic control, or weather reporting.

It is clear from the 8-word sequence lists that in many cases even longer sequences are present in the corpus. Sometimes, however, there is some variation. In order to investigate this, all of the sequences which appear at least ten times in the whole corpus were taken and grouped them into related 'families'. The following sequences and sentence stems came out as most typical of the register as a whole. The words outside

[8] In addition, 'c'est à dire' (non-hyphenated) appears in both corpora.

the brackets are more central to the sentence stem, while the words in brackets are optional expansions. An oblique line has been used to separate alternatives within a sequence.

- [statuant] conformément à la procédure fixée / prévue / visée à l'article # [et après consultation du comité économique et social et du comité des régions]
- a présenté ses conclusions à l'audience de la [sixième chambre [du # MONTH #]
- sur proposition de la Commission et après consultation [du Parlement européen et du Conseil du #]
- [le Royaume de Belgique] a manqué aux obligations qui lui incombent en vertu [de l'article # / ladite directive]
- statuant à la majorité qualifiée sur [proposition / recommandation de la Commission]
- réglementaire et administratives nécessaires pour se conformer à la directive [#CE du / #CEE du Conseil]
- [la Commission] a décidé de saisir la Cour de Justice
- [jour suivant celui de] sa publication aux Journal Officiel des Communautés européennes
- [dans un délai de trois mois / cinq ans] à compter de la [date d'entrée en vigueur du règlement]
- le paragraphe # / l'article # / le premier alinéa est remplacé par le texte suivant
- [le présent règlement est obligatoire dans tous] ses éléments et directement applicable dans tout état membre
- la Commission des Communautés européennes a introduit un recours visant à faire constater que
- la majorité qualifiée est définie comme la même proportion des voix pondérées des membres
- [le comité émet son avis sur ce projet] dans un délai que le président peut fixer en fonction de l'urgence [de la question en cause]

- sera publiée au Journal Officiel de la République française
- [à] la date de publication de la loi NB [# du #]
- vous pouvez consulter le tableau dans le JO NB # du ### page # [à]
- le président de la République promulgue la loi dont la teneur suit
- [la commune] dont la population est supérieure à la moitié de la population totale [de celles-ci / concernée]

- à la majorité des deux tiers de ses membres
- des émissions de gaz à effet de serre

Although this list was made on the basis of the whole corpus, it is notable that few long sequences appear in both subcorpora. In fact the top group is drawn exclusively from FREUCO, the middle group from FRNACO, and only the last two sequences occur in both subcorpora with a frequency greater than ten.

There is much greater overlap between subcorpora at the level of 3 and 4-word sequences, which tend to be grammatical in nature. Of the top fifty 3-word sequences in FREUCO by frequency, 13 occur also in the equivalent list for FRNACO. In descending order of frequency in FREUCO, and with comments following where the usage differs greatly between the subcorpora, these are:

de la Commission
à l'article
dans le cadre
la mise en
et de la
en matière de
mise en œuvre
ce qui concerne
dans le domaine
de l'article #
le cadre de
de la politique
et à la

Although 'de la commission' appears in both subcorpora, it is about five times less frequent in FRNACO, and in less than 20 cases refers to the European Commission, but more often to a number of other commissions (e.g. 'la Commission générale de terminologie et de néologie', various 'commissions départementales' etc.). With regard to 'ce qui concerne', the top 50 most frequent sequences in FREUCO also contains 'en ce qui', with a frequency of 584 (compared with 607 for 'ce qui concerne'). It might be expected that the two sequences would both appear with similar frequencies. The examples of 'ce qui concerne' which are not immediately preceded by 'en' (29) in FREUCO are preceded instead by 'pour' to make the expression 'pour ce qui concerne': there are 578 instances of 'en ce qui concerne' compared with 29 of 'pour ce qui concerne', a ratio of roughly 20:1). There are also a few examples of 'en ce qui' immediately followed by an object pronoun ('en ce qui me / le / la concerne'). In FRNACO, however, the picture is different: there are 155 instances of 'en ce qui concerne' and 39 of 'pour ce qui concerne', a ratio of roughly 4:1.

The same procedure was then carried out with 4-word sequences. Of the top 50 in each subcorpus, only five are shared:

en ce qui concerne
dans le cadre de
la mise en œuvre
dans le domaine de

la mise en place

These are all clearly grammatical in nature, and employed in other registers too. Indeed, a glance at this list would probably not enable one to pin them down as typical of the administrative register. In addition, the sequence 'du # MONTH #' (e.g. 'du 5 juin 1998') occurs in both, with the months in question differing between the two.

As regards 5-word sequences, there is little overlap between the subcorpora at the top end of the frequency list:

dans le domaine de la
la mise en œuvre de
dans le cadre de la

All of these are extensions of the 4-word sequences above. There are no shared 6 or 7-word sequences.

There are also clear similarities even where sequences are not identical, such as between 'est remplacé par le texte suivant' in FREUCO and 'sont remplacés par les mots' in FRNACO, and between 'publication au journal officiel des communautés européennes' and 'au journal officiel de la République française'. If this comparison were extended to, say, the top 100 sequences of the two subcorpora, several more sequences would be shared.

While much of the difference in multiword sequences can be attributed to the discourse or context of production of the texts (whether EU or national), other differences appear to stem from finer distinctions. Indeed, a glance at the text files of each sequence shows that many sequences occur exclusively in a single genre, or a couple of closely-related genres. For this reason it was decided to run the WordList procedure over defined parts of the corpus individually.

4.3. Sequences in speech genres - a comparison of FREUCO and FRNACO

The groups of speech genres in the two subcorpora are of similar sizes. Wordlists were compiled for sequences of between three and eight words with a frequency of occurrence of at least ten, for both European Union and national speeches.

FREUCO	Types	Tokens
8-word sequences	1	17
7-word sequences	6	109
6-word sequences	17	318
5-word sequences	53	939
4-word sequences	181	3399
3-word sequences	710	14338

Table 4.5.: Sequences in FREUCO speech genres

FRNACO	Types	Tokens
8-word sequences	2	23
7-word sequences	4	53
6-word sequences	7	101
5-word sequences	16	259
4-word sequences	68	1227
3-word sequences	443	8486

Table 4.6.: Sequences in FRNACO speech genres

There are few long sequences with a frequency of greater than ten occurrences. The European Union subcorpus has more sequences at almost every length, in terms of both types and tokens, with the exception of 8-word sequences, where the difference is minimal. This suggests that the speeches of this subcorpus rely more on formulae and set expressions, including reference to institutions, people, etc.

4.3.1. The overlap between lengths of sequence

In order to investigate the extent of overlap between lengths of sequence, three types of sequence were marked for each of the subcorpora:

a) are not part of a longer sequence (at least with a frequency of occurrence ≥10) - that is to say, sequences which could be said to have a certain unity at the length in question;

b) are ONLY part of a longer sequence - that is to say, sequences which have no particular unity at the length in question;

c) are part of a longer sequence, but also have some unity at the length in question - in other words, shorter sequences which have a greater frequency of occurrence than the longer sequence of which they are a part.

In this way, sequences which have a potentially greater role in the register as a whole are not hidden in a mass of data.

FREUCO Length of sequence	a. not part of longer sequence (with fr. >10)	b. only part of a longer sequence	c. part of longer seq. but with greater frequency at this length
8	1/1 - 100%	0/1 - 0%	0/1 - 0%
7	4/6 - 66.7%	2/6 - 33.3%	0/6 - 0%
6	6/17 - 35.3%	8/17 - 47.1%	3/17 - 17.6%
5	26/53 - 49.1%	17/53 - 32.1%	10/53 - 18.9%
4	100/181 - 55.2%	43/181 - 23.8%	38/181 - 21.0%
3	455/710 - 64.1%	69/710 - 9.7%	186/710 - 26.2%
Totals	592/968 - 61.2%	139/968 - 14.4%	237/968 - 24.5%

Table 4.7.: Sequence overlap in FREUCO

FRNACO Length of sequence	a. not part of longer sequence (with fr. >10)	b. only part of a longer sequence	c. part of longer seq. but with greater frequency at this length
8	2/2 - 100%	0/2 - 0%	0/2 - 0%
7	1/4 - 25%	2/4 - 50%	1/4 - 25%
6	1/7 - 14.3%	3/7 - 42.9%	3/7 - 42.9%
5	6/16 - 37.5%	5/16 - 31.3%	5/16 - 31.3%
4	43/68 - 63.2%	6/68 - 8.8%	19/68 - 27.9%
3	336/443 - 75.8%	31/443 - 7.0%	76/443 - 17.2%
Totals	389/540 - 72.0%	47/540 - 8.7%	104/540 - 19.3%

Table 4.8.: Sequence overlap in FRNACO

Those sequences which appear in a list because they are part of a longer sequence with the same frequency of occurrence (Column b. in the tables above) are least interesting from a linguistic perspective. It is revealing, however, to look in more detail at the sequences which are not part of a longer sequence and at those which form part of longer sequences, but with a lower frequency of occurrence, especially with regard to the concept of cost criteria.

The following sequences are not part of a longer sequence:

FREUCO

8-word sequences:	Yves-Thibault de Silguy Membre de la Commission
7-word sequences:	Jacques Santer Président de la Commission européenne
	le pacte de stabilité et de croissance
	les chefs d'état et de gouvernement ont
	le maintien de la stabilité des prix
6-word sequences:	je vous remercie de votre attention
	des chefs d'état et de gouvernement ont
	au sein de la zone euro
	de maintenir la stabilité des prix
	Conseil des gouverneurs de la BCE
	politique monétaire axée sur la stabilité

FRNACO

8-word sequences:	de monsieur Jacques Chirac président de la République
	monsieur Jacques Chirac président de la République a
7-word sequences:	la déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme
6-word sequences:	de la politique de la ville

The longer sequences in both subcorpora tend to refer to the major figures in the administration and various institutions, or to indicate the main concerns of the European Union and French government. The sequence 'je vous remercie de votre attention' is a politeness formula used at the end of official speeches: in fact it only ever occurs as the final words of a text. Many of the shorter sequences are also names of individuals, bodies, institutions, laws, etc. Others, examples of which are given below, are either more grammatical in nature, and are used to structure texts and ideas, or else, while clearly still typical of the administrative register, are more general and can be used in a wide range of contexts.

FREUCO

5-word sequences (examples):	mesdames et messieurs les députés
	dans le domaine de la

	taux de change de l'euro
	dans le cadre de la
	la mise en place de
	la mise en œuvre de
	c'est la raison pour laquelle
4-word sequences (examples):	dans la zone euro
	en ce qui concerne
	de plus en plus
	un certain nombre de
	la création de l'euro
	pour la première fois
	le traité de Maastricht
3-word sequences (examples):	Monsieur le président
	des états membres
	à la fois
	introduction de l'euro
	dans ce contexte
	en faveur de
	des fonds structurels

FRNACO

5-word sequences:	le président de la République
	le passage à l'an #
	dans le domaine de la
	dans le cadre de la
	la mise en œuvre de
	mesdames et messieurs les ministres
4-word sequences (examples):	de plus en plus
	en ce qui concerne
	la société de l'information
	pour la première fois
	je suis heureux de
	entre nos deux pays
	dans le même temps
3-word sequences (examples):	monsieur le président
	de la France
	en matière de
	je souhaite que
	de notre pays
	il nous faut
	je vous remercie
	de nos concitoyens

Some of these are almost completely specific to speeches, such as those containing the first person pronouns (singular or plural), as well as the speech formulae.

Tables 4.7. and 4.8. above show that there is a great deal of overlap between sequences of different lengths. An example of this is the 3-word sequence 'mesdames et messieurs' which occurs in this form 110 times, as the 4-word sequence 'mesdames et messieurs les' 47 times, and as the 5-word sequence 'mesdames et messieurs les ministres' 10 times. Such sequences demonstrate that while sequences of words have collocational preferences, they also allow for variation or choice. Here a sample of such sequences is tracked, one specific to speeches and pragmatic in nature, one lexical and one grammatical, through the different sequence lengths, using the concept of cost criteria, and investigating alternative collocations at each stage.

FRNACO sequence (α)	**Frequency**	**K(α) (reduced cost of α)**
'mesdames et messieurs'	110	126
'mesdames et messieurs les'	47	111
'mesdames et messieurs les ministres'	10	4
('mesdames et messieurs les ministres, Mesdames'	9)	

The figures for the reduced cost of α suggest that the shortest sequence has the greatest unity, closely followed by the 4-word sequence. The 5-word sequence, on the other hand, has very little unity as compared with the 6-word sequence given. The examples of 'mesdames et messieurs' which are not also part of 'mesdames et messieurs les' almost all appear as an address between pairs of commas, or at the beginning of a sentence. Often, also, this sequence is part of a list, for example, 'Messieurs les Présidents, Messieurs les Professeurs, Mesdames et Messieurs'. The 3-word sequence appears almost exclusively in two positions in a text: either at the very start, or at the end. These, of course, are the occasions when a speaker addresses his or her audience directly. As the frequencies show, in only ten instances is the 4-word sequence 'Mesdames et Messieurs les' followed by 'ministres'. The other occurrences are followed by a number of other nouns: 'Mesdames et Messieurs les Ambassadeurs / auditeurs / députés / élus / parlementaires / Présidents / responsables' etc. 'Ministres' is the most frequent immediate collocate. Every instance of this 5-word sequence appears at the very beginning of the text in question.

FREUCO sequence (α)	**Frequency**	**K(α) (reduced cost of α)**
'de la commission'	262	446
'président de la commission'	39	18
'président de la commission européenne'	33	8
'Santer président de la commission européenne'	31	0
'Jacques Santer président de la commission européenne'	31	

In this example also, the shortest sequence has the most unity as a phraseological unit, in this case by a substantial margin. The 6-word sequence 'Santer Président de la

Commission européenne' has no unity at all as compared with the 7-word sequence 'Jacques Santer Président de la Commission européenne'. The sequence 'de la Commission' is preceded by a large number of words in the corpus, forming, most frequently, 'Membre de la Commission', 'au nom de la Commission', 'la proposition de la Commission', 'la recommendation de la Commission', 'les services de la Commission', etc. The 7-word sequence is preceded in all instances by either 'Monsieur' or its abbreviated form 'M', with the even longer sequence 'discours de M. Jacques Santer Président de la Commission européenne' being by far the most frequent extension. Extending the sequence to the right, there are no significant collocates.

FREUCO sequence (α)	**Frequency**	**K(α) (reduced cost of α)**
'dans le cadre'	91	80
'dans le cadre de'	51	108
'dans le cadre du'	15	152 (compared with 'dans le cadre')
'dans le cadre de la'	15	

Unlike the two cases above, in this example of more grammatical sequences, it is not the shortest sequence which has the most unity as a phraseological unit. Rather, in the corpus used here, it is the sequences 'dans le cadre de' and, even more so, 'dans le cadre du' which have the strongest claim to collocational unity.

This discussion of cost criteria points to the fact that multiword sequences are a good starting point for the investigation of variation in the corpus. Altenberg has noted this: "Another striking observation is that, at each of these levels, there are comparatively few examples that are completely 'frozen', semantically or grammatically" (1998, p. 120-121).

4.3.2. The overlap between subcorpora

In order to investigate the overlap between subcorpora when considering speech genres, again three types of sequence have been marked:

a) Sequences unique to one subcorpus (or with frequency <3 in the other subcorpus) - that is, sequences which are near discourse-specific in the corpus, and potentially specific to one particular context of administrative language;

b) Sequences with frequency ≥10 in one corpus, but smaller (≥3 but <10) in the other, about which it is not possible to say very much in a corpus of this size;

c) Sequences with frequency ≥10 in both subcorpora - that is, sequences which might appear to be common either to the speech mode in the administrative register, or to the administrative register as a whole, regardless of 'discourse'. Above all, these tend to be grammatical sequences ('en ce qui concerne', 'le domaine de la', 'il y a', and formulae specific to speeches - 'mesdames et messieurs').

FREUCO Length of sequence	**a. Sequences unique to subcorpus**	**b. EU fr.>=10 NA fr. <10 (>=3)**	**c. Seq. with fr. >=10 in both subcorpora (as proportion of EU)**
8	1 - 100%	0 - 0%	0 - 0%
7	6 - 100%	0 - 0%	0 - 0%
6	16 - 94.1%	1 - 5.9%	0 - 0%
5	40 - 75.5%	10 - 18.9%	3 - 5.7%
4	117 - 64.6%	41 - 22.7%	23 - 12.7%
3	292 - 41.1%	251 - 35.4%	167 - 23.5%
Totals	472 - 48.8%	303 - 31.3%	193 - 19.9%

Table 4.9.: Overlap between subcorpora - FREUCO

FRNACO Length of sequence	**a. Sequences unique to subcorpus**	**b. NA fr. >=10 EU fr. <10 (>=3)**	**c. Seq. with fr. >=10 in both subcorpora (as proportion of NA)**
8	2 - 100%	0 - 0%	0 - 0%
7	3 - 75%	1 - 25%	0 - 0%
6	5 - 71.4%	2 - 28.6%	0 - 0%
5	10 - 62.5%	3 - 18.8%	3 - 18.8%
4	24 - 35.3%	21 - 30.9%	23 - 33.8%
3	103 - 23.3%	173 - 39.1%	167 - 37.7%
Totals	147 - 27.2%	200 - 37.0%	193 - 35.8%

Table 4.10.: Overlap between subcorpora - FRNACO

It is a general tendency that shorter sequences are much more likely to appear in both subcorpora. The main reason for this is that shorter sequences, of 3 and 4 words in length, are more likely to be grammatical in character, while longer ones tend to be real-world references (institutions, legal instruments, names of individuals etc.). There are no sequences longer than 5 words which are common to both subcorpora, with a frequency of at least 10 occurrences in both. There is a total of 193 shorter sequences (3, 4 and 5 words in length) shared by the subcorpora. These are listed in Appendix 4.

A total of 472 sequences is unique to FREUCO and only 147 sequences to FRNACO, which again suggests that the EU discourse relies more on such prefabricated expressions. Often it is evident why a particular sequence should be discourse-specific, for example the sequence 'Jacques Santer Président de la Commission' in the EU subcorpus. In such cases, there is often an equivalent sequence in the other subcorpus: in this case 'Jacques Chirac Président de la République'. This holds also for names of bodies and institutions, and policy areas, since the EU and French administration have different spheres of interest and power, and other such references to real world entities. In other cases, it is equally clear why the sequence should appear in one context only, such as 'mes chers compatriotes' (FRNACO), 'millions de francs' (FRNACO), and 'pour notre pays' (FRNACO), since EU speakers only rarely speak for, or on behalf of, a single Member State.

More interesting from a discourse analytic point of view are those sequences which are more grammatical in character and yet only appear in the speeches of one subcorpus, or where there is a large disparity in frequency between the two. Such anomalies may merely be related to the size or balance of the corpus, or else simply to chance. On the other hand, these sequences may be the manifestation of more fundamental phraseological differences between the French of the European Union and national administration. Larsen (1997, cf. also Chapter 1) claims that political discourses in the European Union domains he investigates are national, and that international texts, moreover, are made up of fragments of different discourses. Furthermore, Gaffney

(1999), as we have seen, has suggested that there may as yet be no fully-formed EU-level political discourse, owing partly to the lack of strong central institutions. The EU-level is lacking in the mythology and symbols which lie behind national discourses, and it is often the case that EU-level issues only impinge on the general public if they contradict national approaches. What is more, the European Union is of course not designed for leadership purposes in the same way as national political and administrative frameworks. Thus the national and EU contexts have different foundations, draw on different resources for their discourse, and represent a different type of leadership. For these reasons, it would not be surprising were French national and European Union language found to differ both in terms of phraseological units of a grammatical nature and collocational patterns.

In FREUCO, there are a number of cases where there is a disparity in the frequency of certain grammatical or semi-grammatical sequences in the speeches, which is consistent with the rest of the corpus, although sometimes to a lesser degree. These sequences appear therefore to be typical of the discourse (EU or national), but not specific to speeches. Some examples of the most salient are as follows:

'en matière de politique' There appears to be no major difference in usage between the two subcorpora, except for the fact that FREUCO uses this sequence about three times more frequently. It is generally immediately followed by an adjective relating to a policy area: 'régionale', 'budgétaire', 'agricole', 'douanière', 'fiscale', etc.

'sur la base de' FREUCO uses this sequence most often in the context of legislation (e.g. 'sur la base de l'article J4', 'sur la base de l'accord signé à Luxembourg', 'sur la base de la loi no. 1398'), and it is this difference which results in the disparity in frequency between the two subcorpora. This is rare in speech genres, where the difference appears to be due to chance.

'à moyen terme' [9] This sequence is used only twice in FRNACO speeches, compared with over 40 times in FREUCO. It is used in the European Central Bank speeches in the context of 'le maintien de la stabilité des prix à moyen terme', and also in the Commission speeches, but only rarely here in a financial or budgetary context.

'de premier plan' This sequence collocates frequently in the EU subcorpus with the phrase 'jouer un rôle' (e.g. 'jouer un rôle de premier plan dans les négociations').

'l'entrée en vigueur' Although this sequence is used in both subcorpora, and in similar ways (generally referring to the entry into force of various treaties, agreements and laws), it is much more frequent in EU discourse (139 times as compared with 22).

[9] See also Chapter 5.

In other cases, the sequence appears only in the speeches of the EU discourse. This is true for 'je vous remercie de votre attention', used to mark the end of a speech by thanking the audience, and also the sequence 'risque de change', which in all but one case occurs in FREUCO and in all but one of these in Commission speeches. This is because it is a term particularly appropriate to the EU context - translated as 'exchange risk' in the Glossary of the European Communities (1990).

In several cases, the anomaly only appears in the speeches, although the sequences in question are not unique to these genres. These appear therefore to be characteristic of the speech genres and the EU discourse.

'en termes de' In the corpus as a whole, the frequencies of this sequence are consistent across the subcorpora. In the speeches, it occurs once only in FRNACO, and 18 times in FREUCO, in a wide range of contexts: 'les moyens suffisants en termes de personnel', 'un poids du passé plus lourd en termes de dettes', 'les objectifs fixés en termes de PNB', etc. There are no significant clusters.

'à la baisse' The disparity in use of this sequence is due to the phrase 'révision à la baisse' ('revision of figures downwards'), which appears predominantly in speeches by the Commissioner responsible for economic, monetary and financial affairs.

'de l'ordre de' This sequence, which is almost always used in the context of numbers and figures (e.g. 'l'inflation est de l'ordre de 1%'), tends to appear in speeches in the EU subcorpus and official reports in FRNACO.

'en fonction de' This sequence often occurs in the longer set phrase, in EU legal texts, 'un délai que le Président peut fixer en fonction de l'urgence de la question en cause'. When it occurs in speeches, its usage is more flexible: 'adapter la coopération en fonction de l'évolution des besoins', 'une approche qui varie en fonction de son expertise'.

In FRNACO, there are also some, although fewer, grammatical or semi-grammatical sequences which occur with a much higher frequency than in FREUCO. In the following set of sequences, there is a disparity in frequency between the speeches of the two subcorpora, a disparity which is consistent with the rest of the corpus, sometimes to a lesser degree, but which cannot be explained with reference to its being the subject of a single text:

'le passage à l'an #' The year in question is in every case 2000, which is seen as a milestone. The EU subcorpus is particularly concerned with problems which will arise because of the dawn of the year 2000, especially in information technology. In the national subcorpus, on the other hand, the year 2000 is described as something to be celebrated: 'nous fêterons tous ensemble le passage à l'an

2000', 'le passage à l'an 2000 constitue un évènement important'. Even where the reference is to potential computer problems, the tone is one of optimism and responding to a challenge: 'maîtrisons ensemble le passage à l'an 2000'.

'entre nos deux pays' Unsurprisingly, this sequence does not occur at all in FREUCO. European speakers do not foster links between individual countries, but rather between the EU as a whole and third parties. The corpus shows however that nationally-directed speeches frequently refer to problems, similarity of views, and cooperation between France and other countries.

'la prise en charge' Although this sequence does not collocate frequently with other individual words or phrases, it is very much more common in FREUCO (53 occurrences compared with five, and 11 to one in the speeches).

'la conviction que' When this sequence is used in FREUCO, its subject is most frequently 'le Conseil européen', whereas in FRNACO, its subject more often than not is a first person ('je' or 'nous'). Thus, it would seem that the disparity is related to the tendency for EU speakers not to use the first person, but rather to speak on behalf of an institution.

'dans cette voie' The disparity here may merely be due to chance since the difference between the relative frequencies is not particularly large. There are common collocations in the texts with the verbs 'poursuivre' (e.g. 'il nous faudra poursuivre dans cette voie') and 's'engager' (e.g. 'sera imprudent de s'engager dans cette voie').

In two cases, the sequence is specific to the speech genres of FRNACO. These are 'il nous faudra' and 'je le sais'. There is a tendency for texts in the national subcorpus to use first person pronouns more than those in the EU subcorpus. In addition, FREUCO uses them more in a couple of formulae, in particular 'je vous remercie de votre attention', while FRNACO uses them in a wider range of contexts, the most frequent being 'je souhaite que...', 'je suis heureux...' 'je sais que...' and 'je tiens à...'. In a single case, while the sequence occurs in other genres, the anomaly only appears in the speeches. This is the sequence 'de veiller à', which is on the whole more frequent in the EU subcorpus, but has a much greater frequency in the speeches of FRNACO than those of FREUCO. This disparity is not due to a single common usage in the subcorpus: rather it is used in a wide range of contexts, such as 'veiller à l'épanouissement de l'enfant' and 'veiller à la qualité du recueil'. It tends to be preceded by an impersonal expression, ('il convient de', 'il lui incombe de', 'il est important de', 'il nous appartient de').

4.4. Sequences in individual genres

As each genre category in the corpus is of a different length, with varying numbers of texts, the numbers of sequences found in them differ considerably. There is of course a correlation between the size of the genre in the corpus and the number of repeated sequences. For this reason, it is difficult to compare pairs of genres: instead, this section looks at each of the genre categories individually, highlighting both quantitative and qualitative features of interest, for example where a fairly small genre contains a relatively high number of sequences, and where these differ markedly from the equivalent list of sequences in the whole corpus. Further details about each of the genres are contained in Appendix 1. This analysis reveals the main concerns, and the most frequent formulae and phraseological patterns of each genre. It is shown that while there are similarities among the genres, thereby indicating that they have something in common at the level of register, there are also significant differences. In other words, genre considerations also have an effect on the language used in different contexts.

This approach also enables one to see how the different genres relate to each other: one may ascertain, for example, whether all the Press Release genres are similar as regards multiword sequences, or if they differ as much among themselves as they do when compared with separate genres. Multiword sequences at the two extremes are discussed, that is to say, the longest sequences (of 7 and 8 words in length, occurring with a frequency of at least 5), and 3-word sequences (with a frequency of at least 10). The figures given are for types rather than tokens of sequence in the genres in question. Once again, it is difficult to obtain an accurate idea of the quantitative role of such sequences (their tokens in each genre), because of the overlap among lengths of sequence. Those genres with high proportions of multiword sequences therefore rely to a large extent on *different* sequences. The qualitative analysis which follows, however, takes into account features of some genres related to sequence tokens, for example, where a genre contains both a number of highly frequent sequences, and also numerous sequences with a much lower frequency. This can happen when a genre uses a limited number of exactly repeated sequences, for example at the very start or end of a text. For the shorter (3-word) sequences, and where the genre has a sufficiently large number of these, the WordList Comparison feature of WordSmith Tools has been used to compare this wordlist with that of FRADCO as a whole. This reveals the major disparities between the two wordlists: for example, sequences which are particularly important in the genre but not in the whole corpus.

4.4.1. FREUCO

PRSP Speeches - Commission

Long sequences: Although this genre is the second largest in FREUCO, it is only ranked eighth in terms of number of long sequences. This points to a low proportion of such sequences in the genre, which is confirmed by a standardised figure: the genre is ranked thirteenth in terms of frequency of long sequences per 10,000 words, with only 1.01 8-word sequences, and 1.78 7-word sequences. The sequences tend to feature the names of Commissioners and their position, such as Yves-Thibault de Silguy, the Commissioner responsible for economic, financial and monetary affairs, Edith Cresson, responsible for research and innovation, and Jacques Santer, the President of the Commission.

Short sequences: As in the whole corpus, the sequence ‘de la Commission’, which occurs here 240 times (0.14%, compared to 0.09% in FRADCO), is the most frequent. As regards those sequences which are key in the genre as compared with the whole corpus, ‘la zone euro’ stands out, followed by sequences referring to Jacques Santer as President of the Commission, and the speech formula ‘Mesdames et Messieurs’. Of course there are also many frequent grammatical sequences, although these are not key in the genre. The negative ‘key sequences’ (those which occur with an unusually low frequency in the genre as compared to the main corpus) include intertextual references to articles and legislation.

PASP Speeches - Parliament

Long sequences: This genre contains only one 7-word sequence: 'Messieurs les Chefs d'État et de gouvernement', which occurs 7 times. This serves to address the audience at the start of a speech.

Short sequences: By far the most frequent 3-word sequence is 'le Parlement européen'. Others are the names of other institutions. As compared to FRADCO, the grammatical sequences 'au cours de' and 'il convient de' are especially important in this speech genre.

ECB Speeches - European Central Bank

Long sequences: Of the three speech genres in FREUCO, this genre has the highest proportion of long sequences: 7.07 7-word sequences and 2.36 8-word sequences per 10,000 words. As the genre is relatively small, however, this equates to only three 7-word and nine 8-word sequences. Unlike the other two speech genres, these relate neither to the principal actors in the European Union, nor to the formalities of giving a speech. Rather, they serve to highlight the main concerns of the ECB: the strategy of monetary policy and the stability of prices in the medium term.

Short sequences: As one might expect from the ECB speech genre, a number of money-related or finance-related sequences are foregrounded, such as 'la zone euro', 'la stabilité des prix', 'taux de change', 'la politique monétaire', 'valeur de référence', 'la croissance monétaire' and 'les banques centrales', among others. There are also a number of sequences related to deadlines or future plans: 'à moyen terme', 'maintenir la stabilité', 'à long terme' and 'à court terme'.

PRIP Press releases - Commission

Long sequences: The long sequences in this genre point to the Commission as the principal actor: as is to be expected from the function of press releases, the longest sequences are clearly narrative, placing an event (usually the Commission referring a matter to the Court of Justice, or sending a reasoned opinion ('avis motivé') to one of the Member States) firmly in space and time.

Short sequences: The shorter sequences support the comments above. The name of 'la Commission européenne' is the most key, followed by sequences where the Commission is subject of a number of different verbs. Again, references to legislation feature most strongly in the negative key sequences.

PRPRES Press releases - Council

Long sequences: This genre has only a small number of long sequences, none of which occurs more than 6 times. Those which do occur refer mostly to bodies or organisations, such as the 'Forum Euro-Méditerranéen de l'énergie', the 'Banque Centrale Européenne' and, not surprisingly, the Council of the European Union.

Short sequences: The 3-word sequences of this genre similarly show a preoccupation with cooperation with other groups, such as various 'Conseils d'association', the 'Forum Euro-Méditerranéen' mentioned above, and foreign affairs generally. Grammatical or structuring phrases are also particularly frequent in this genre.

PRCES Press releases - Ecosoc

Long sequences: The Economic and Social Committee press release genre contains only two 8-word sequences with a frequency of at least 5. These are 'le # septembre # le Comité Économique et' and 'septembre le Comité Économique et social européen' (where the hash once again indicates any number, in this case, part of dates). Given that their frequencies of occurrence are identical (5), it is clear that these two 8-word sequences actually constitute one longer, 10-word, sequence. The 7-word sequences which occur are also based on this longer sequence. Although there are insufficient examples on which to base a strong claim, it would seem that this genre shares with the Commission press releases the fact that the longer sequences indicate the principal actor - in this case, of course, EcoSoc.

Short sequences: Although there are six 3-word sequences with the minimum frequency, five of these combine to make up the 8-word sequences above, and the only different one at this length is 'la société civile', which occurs 10 times, over four different texts (out of ten), in four cases followed immediately by 'organisée' (translated as 'organized civil society'). One of the texts deals in some detail with the concept, attempting to refine the vague, catch-all definition, as those outside the institutions of the European Union and their relation to it, through the ESC.

OMBPR Press releases - Ombudsman

Long sequences: This genre, the smallest in the FREUCO, contains no sequences of 7 or 8 words with a frequency of at least 5.

Short sequences: It is also the only genre in FREUCO to contain no examples of 3-word sequences with a frequency of 10 or more.

RG General report - introductions

Long sequences: Like OMBPR above, this genre contains no long sequences with a frequency of greater than 5 occurrences.

Short sequences: It does contain a small number of 3-word sequences (3) occurring with a frequency of at least 10. These are: 'de l'Union européenne', 'le Conseil européen', and the grammatical sequence 'en matière de'.

OJL Legislative texts - JO (OJ L Series)

Long sequences: This genre of legislative texts has the third highest proportion of long sequences: 33.45 7-word and 24.66 8-word sequences per 10,000 words. By far the most frequent sequence is a reference to a particular issue of the JO: 'Journal Officiel NB L # du ### P'. Of the others, a large number indicate the genre's concern with the entry into force of legislation: '(est obligatoire) dans tous ses éléments et directement applicable dans (tout état membre)', 'à compter de la date d'entrée en vigueur'; and references to other primary and secondary legislation.

Short sequences: The genre is also noteworthy in terms of shorter sequences: with 64.67 3-word sequences per 10,000 words, it has the second highest concentration of such sequences in FREUCO. These reveal similar concerns to those of the longer sequences, that is to say, with other legislation, in comparison with 'le présent règlement'. The most negatively key sequence is 'le Conseil européen'.

COM COM documents (OJ C Series)

Long sequences: The C Series of the Official Journal, like the L Series, contains a large number of sequences which reveal the extent of intertextuality, and cross-referencing among legislative texts. These include: 'vu le traité instituant la Communauté Européenne', '(sa) publication au Journal Officiel des communautés européennes', 'article # est remplacé par le texte suivant'. There are also multiword phrases indicating the different parties: 'les autorités compétentes de l'état membre d'origine / d'accueil' - the authorities in question act as both subject and object, and also frequently as the passive agent. Also among the most frequent sequences, however, are technical terms: 'transbordeurs rouliers et engins à passagers à grande vitesse', 'alimentation du moteur au gaz naturel comprimé'.

Short sequences: The short sequences, both in terms of absolute frequency and their relative frequency as compared with FRADCO, are of various types: cross references to other legislation, common sequences with a wide range of different uses like 'de la Commission', grammatical sequences and technical terms. Among the negative key sequences are both 'le Conseil européen' and 'la Commission européenne', and also 'les états membres'.

TREAT Treaties

Long sequences: The Treaty genre, the fourth largest in the corpus, has by a substantial margin the highest proportion of long sequences per 10,000 words in FREUCO, with a massive 73.2 7-word and 59.27 8-word sequences (equating to 788 and 638 sequences respectively). A large proportion of these serve to structure the text, or make reference to other articles within the same text, or to other legislative texts: 'conformément à la procédure visée à l'article #', '(le) paragraphe # est remplacé par le texte suivant'. The sequence 'article # article # article # article #', which occurs by far the most frequently of the 8-word sequences (with 259 occurrences) comes almost entirely from a passage in the consolidated Treaty of Amsterdam where articles from previous treaties are re-numbered. It is therefore not particularly interesting from a phraseological point of view, but does demonstrate that legal requirements have a great effect on the language in this type of text. There are also a number of names of institutions and bodies, and names of agreements, policies, etc: for example 'la politique étrangère et de sécurité commune', 'Communauté européenne du charbon et de l'acier', and the 'Acquis de Schengen' appears as part of a number of sequences.

Short sequences: As regards short (3-word) sequences, also, this genre has the highest proportion of any in the corpus, with 82.68 sequences (of frequency 10 or more) per 10,000 words. Among those which are not merely a part of a longer sequence discussed above, many are concerned with the consolidation or updating of treaties, or 'le présent traité', and the entry into force of such. The most negative key sequence is 'la Commission a', which occurs only four times in this large genre, highlighting the fact that the texts in question do not share a narrative style with the Press release genres.

CE European Council sessions

Long sequences: The most frequent sequence, occurring 25 times, is: 'les gouvernements des Etats membres et la Commission (des Communautés européennes étaient représentés comme suit)'. This almost always occurs at the outset of a text, and is followed by a list of representatives from each of the member states and the Commission.

Short sequences: The patterns among the shorter sequences are very different, and indicate that both the Présidence and the European Council as a whole are frequently actors in the clause. Member states are named more frequently than in the corpus as a whole, but as individuals and not collectively: indeed 'les états membres' is the most negatively key 3-word sequence.

PC98 European Council Conclusions of the Presidency

Long sequences: As is only to be expected, the European Council itself appears as the main actor in this genre, with a number of 8 and 7-word sequences including its name tied with a limited number of actions: 'le Conseil européen se félicite de ce que / de la décision / des progrès', 'le Conseil européen invite le Conseil (et la Commission) à'.

Others once again refer to specific policies: 'la politique européenne commune en matière de sécurité et de défense'.

Short sequences: 'Le Conseil européen' is still most evident (most frequent and most key) at the level of 3-word sequences, and appears as both subject and object.

LB White papers

Long sequences: In this genre, the longer sequences are notably made up of references to specific directives: (with a number of slightly different wordings) 'la directive concernant [sur] l'aménagement du temps de travail', 'la directive sur le temps de travail', and also the issue of health and safety of workers.

Short sequences: The most significant short sequences refer to particular spheres of action - transport, especially 'les compagnies de chemin de fer' and 'le secteur ferroviaire', patents, health and the safety of workers.

PRCJE European Court of Justice Bulletin

Long sequences: This genre has the second highest proportion of long sequences: sixty 7-word sequences and 48.51 8-word sequences per 10,000 words. It also contains a couple of highly frequent individual sequences, including 'a présenté ses conclusions à l'audience de la' (referring to particular 'avocats généraux' who have delivered opinions to various different Chambers of the House), and a number of sequences which together form the longer sequence 'le Royaume de Belgique a manqué aux obligations qui lui incombent en vertu (de l'article # / ladite directive)'.

Short sequences: With 64.37 3-word sequences per 10,000 words, the PRCJE genre has the third highest concentration. Many of the most key sequences refer to legislation, especially directives, since it is when there is a breach of these that a case will be pursued at the Court of Justice. The only negative key sequence returned is 'le Conseil européen', which does not occur at all in the genre. The Commission, on the other hand, is frequently mentioned.

PT Programme of Work

Long sequences: The most frequent 8-word sequence merely acts as a title: 'programme de travail pour la Commission pour la # [date]'. Others reveal the genre's concern with the putting into practice of plans: 'la mise en œuvre du plan d'action'; and with adapting legislation: 'modification du règlement de base portant organisation (commune des marchés)' - the five instances of this latter sequence all appear in the same document.

Short sequences: By far the most key sequence is 'la Commission a'. Taken by itself this tense usage may appear surprising, since the object of the texts in the genre is to set out plans for future action, rather than report on action taken in the past. However, on cross-checking with Concord, it becomes clear that the sequence almost always collocates with such words as 'proposé', 'présenté', 'contribué' 'poursuivi', etc. These, material or relational processes, are very different patterns of collocation from such press release genres as PRIP, where the sequence collocates most notably with 'estimé', décidé', 'adopté', 'approuvé', 'examiné' and 'considéré', or mental processes. A more detailed analysis of the actual instances in this genre, reveals that on many occasions, the Commission has taken preliminary action or make preliminary decisions in order that future action may go ahead.

PRMEMO Memo - Commission

Long sequences: Despite being relatively large in terms of number of word tokens, this genre contains no examples of long (7 or 8-word) sequences.

Short sequences: The most frequent 3-word sequences tend to be grammatical in nature: 'dans le cadre', 'la mise en œuvre', 'en matière de', or else to refer to institutions of the Union or member states and third countries (those not contracting parties to the agreement or treaty in question). The practice of 'le blanchiment des capitaux' (money laundering) is also key in this genre of the corpus, but this is entirely due to the presence of one text on the subject.

PRPESC PESC - Council

Long sequences: By far the most frequent sequence in this genre relates to the 'déclaration de la présidence au nom de l'Union européenne sur'. In every case, this sequence constitutes the opening words of the text, and is followed by a wide range of topics (such as a particular state, nuclear testing, an agreement, elections and executions). Less frequent sequences denote particular groups of states, such as 'les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale', 'les membres de l'espace économique européen', 'les pays de LAELE [...]' (EFTA).

Short sequences: Disregarding those frequent sequences which merely combine to make up the longer sequences above, the three word sequences betray a concern with 'les droits de l'homme' and 'la peine de mort'. The European Union is also constructed as congratulating itself - '[l'Union européenne] se félicite de': this collocates with a wide range of nouns, such as 'décision', 'position prise', 'des efforts', 'de cette initiative', and many others.

PA97 Action plans

Long sequences: Once again, this genre contains no instances of 7 or 8-word sequences.

Short sequences: At the level of 3-word sequences, the genre has 16. These reveal the main concerns of the genre to be 'la société de l'information', and educational multimedia. Alongside grammatical or semi-grammatical sequences also frequent in the whole corpus, such as 'la mise en œuvre' is the similar construction 'la mise en réseau', or 'networking'.

4.4.2. FRNACO

SPPR Speeches - President

Long sequences: Of the three speech genres in FRNACO, SPPR contains the highest proportion of longer sequences (1.73 7-word and 1.15 8-word sequences per 10,000 words). However there is only a slight difference, and long repeated sequences appear in these three genres to a much lesser extent than most of the other genres. Every one of the 8-word sequences and all but one of the 7-word sequences refers in some way to Président Chirac; this is often however part of the title of the speech - 'discours / allocution de Monsieur Jacques Chirac Président de la (République, à l'occasion de)'. The remaining 7-word sequence is 'à chacune et à chacun d'entre vous', which tends to come towards the end of a speech as the President is summing up and addressing his audience again, but in many different contexts: 'je salue .....', 'alors, bonne chance à ......', 'mon amitié à .....'.

Short sequences: Many of the most frequent 3-word sequences of the genre combine to make up the longer sequences above. There is also, in particular, a high proportion of first person pronouns and possessive adjectives (je, nous, mes), and a large number of grammatical sequences.

SPPM Speeches - Premier Ministre

Long sequences: There is only one 8-word sequence in this genre: this is the name of 'la déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme'. Two of the three 7-word sequences are therefore also accounted for by this, and the third refers to the sphere of influence of a Ministry / Minister 'de la recherche et de la technologie'.

Short sequences: The range of short sequences in this genre is very similar to the SPPR genre above, combining a range of grammatical sequences, fragments of speech formulae, and references to 'le pays' and 'les concitoyens'.

SPM Speeches - Ministers

Long sequences: This genre contains no examples of 7 or 8-word sequences, despite its relatively large size.

Short sequences: Once again, the most frequent 3-word sequences in this genre are similar to the other two speech genres above, in that there are many grammatical or semi-grammatical sequences, and a relatively high proportion of first person pronouns. Few of the sequences which occur with a frequency of at least 10 are specific to one text

- rather, most of them are common to the speeches generally, or even to the administrative register as a whole.

CPCM Press releases - Council of Ministers

Long sequences: The Council of Ministers Press release genre has the second highest proportion of long sequences in FRNACO, with 33.27 7-word and 25.74 8-word sequences per 10,000 words. There are a number of sequences with a frequency of 40 (identical to the number of texts in this genre of the corpus): unsurprisingly these tend to combine to form longer formulae for introducing the text, such as 'le service de presse du Premier Ministre a diffusé le communiqué suivant' and 'le Président de la République a réuni le Conseil des Ministres au Palais de l'Elysée (le mercredi)'. Other relatively frequent sequences point to the fact that the Council of Ministers carries out various actions: 'Conseil des Ministres a adopté les mesures individuelles suivantes'. Also, the names of Ministers, Ministries, and policy areas are frequent among the types of sequence.

Short sequences: As regards 3-word sequences, this genre contains the third highest proportion of types in FRNACO, with 55.87 types per 10,000 words. Those which are most frequent (in absolute terms) and most significant (key sequences as compared to FRADCO as a whole) tend also to be fragments of formulae for text organisation. In addition, much reference is made to place and time - to indicate where and when action happened, or decisions were made.

CPPM Press releases - Premier Ministre

Long sequences: This genre contains only very few longer sequences (in terms of both types and tokens), the majority of which refer to 'la ministre de la culture et de la communication'. Others suggest a highly narrative style, typical of a press release: 'le # septembre # le premier ministre a' (cf. the PRIP and PRCES genres, in FREUCO, above).

Short sequences: There are only fourteen 3-word sequences of the required frequency. Some continue the narrative style of the longer sequences, others are unexceptional grammatical sequences, and a few reveal some of the concerns of the press releases, such as 'l'aménagement du territoire', 'les droits de l'homme' and 'technologies de l'information'.

CPM Press releases - Ministries

Long sequences: The most frequent long sequences generally contain the names of ministries, while the less frequent (5 or 6 occurrences) indicate a very wide range of subject matter for the press releases: 'l'accompagnement des personnes handicapées dans leur vie quotidienne', 'la Commission supérieure du service public des postes', 'mission passage informatique à l'an #'.

Short sequences: The 3-word sequences reveal similar concerns, with a wide range of issues, depending on the Ministry in question. Few of the sequences are shared by a number of different texts, except for the grammatical sequences, of which 'et de la' is key in the genre, surprisingly perhaps for a purely grammatical sequence which was also the second most frequent 3-word sequence in the comparator corpus.

CPS Press releases - Sénat

Long sequences: As in the other press release genres of both subcorpora, the long sequences of genre tend to refer to ministers, namely the '(ministre) délégué à la coopération et à la (francophonie)' and 'le ministre délégué chargé des affaires européennes', and also to policy areas: 'de la défense et des forces armées'. None is particularly frequent.

Short sequences: At this level of sequence length, a high proportion contain the names of certain individuals in the Sénat, and also types of document ('projets de loi', 'communiqué de presse'). The most important concerns are revealed to be 'les affaires étrangères', finance, 'fruits et légumes' (although this owes its salience to a single text on the subject).

RAPO Official reports

Long sequences: This genre has no particularly frequent sequences - the most frequent is 'la Commission générale de terminologie et de néologie with 10 occurrences, all in a single text. Other sequences on the whole contain the names of ministries, charters, and specialist areas of interest: 'Ministre de la Culture et de la Communication', 'la charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires', 'mission d'étude sur la spoliation des juifs de France', 'et de la lutte contre l'emploi des clandestins'.

Short sequences: The most signficant sequences refer to 'propositions' or proposals. There is also a concern with culture and language, primarily from one or two individual reports. Indeed most of the frequent sequences are text-specific. Given the nature of the genre, it is not surprising that sequences referring to legislation and articles are highly negatively key.

RAPM Reports

Long sequences: This genre contains a large amount of reference to other texts, and this is evidenced in the longer sequences: 'la loi NB #-# du # janvier', 'décret NB #-# du # octobre #'. Sequences also reveal some of the principal concerns of this type of document: 'la réforme de l'état et de la décentralisation', 'aménagement et de réduction du temps de travail', 'la formation tout au long de la vie'.

Short sequences: While longer sequences tend to refer to other texts and legislation, these are not among the most frequent shorter sequences, or indeed the most key. Rather, the most key sequences by far are: 'la fonction publique' and 'la formation continue', which reveal some of the concerns of reports rather than their organisation, and intertextuality.

JO Journal Officiel

Long sequences: As in FREUCO, above, the Journal Officiel genre contains a relatively high proportion of long sequences: 31.45 7-word and 24.1 8-word sequences per 10,000 words. Like the JO genre of FREUCO, here the most frequent sequences tend to be intertextual references to other articles and other pieces of legislation, such as 'vu le décret no. #-# du #', indications of the process of making legislation: 'sera publié au journal officiel de la République française', and the names of Ministries.

Short sequences: When it comes to numbers of 3-word sequence types, the JO genre takes second position in the corpus, with 66.76 types per 10,000 words. Again, both the most frequent, in absolute terms, and most key, consist of intertextual references, and also formulae used in legal texts, such as 'fait à Paris', which comes at the end of a piece of legislation, and 'adoption le # [date]'. The genre also contains a relatively large number of sequences which are unique to it.

DP Press Dossiers

Long sequences: The longer sequences in the Dossier de Presse genre rarely occur in more than one text, because of the fact that they tend to convey subject matter, and the Dossiers are subject-specific. In this case, more than in any other, sequences are specific to texts, rather than genres, or the register as a whole.

Short sequences: The frequency list of 3-word sequences is dominated by sequences towards the grammatical end of the scale, with the unusual phrase 'mise en ligne' as one of the most frequent and the most key sequence. The other key sequences again tend to convey subject matter and be specific to one text.

TFCONV Seminal texts - Conventions

Long sequences: There are only two 8-word sequences repeated 5 times or more (in this case 6 and 7 times) in this genre. These are: 'les Etats parties prennent toutes les mesures appropriées' and 'du secrétaire général de l'organisation des Nations Unies'.

Short sequences: The large majority of the 3-word sequences in this genre combine to form the longer sequences above. Those which do not are varied and appear not to have much in common: '[de] la présente convention', references to other articles, and 'de ses parents' (from the 'Convention relative aux droits de l'enfant').

TFCONS Seminal texts - Constitution

Long sequences: The only repeated sequences are concerned with the modification or consolidation of the constitution, e.g. 'la loi du # novembre # modifie ainsi'.

Short sequences: At shorter lengths, sequences naming institutions, bodies and people are most frequent: 'Président de la République', 'l'Assemblé nationale', 'Conseil des Ministres', 'Cour de Justice', etc. Others are legal expressions: 'magistrats du siège', 'de plein droit'[10], 'projets de loi', 'une loi organique', etc.

TFDH Seminal texts - Human Rights

Long sequences: This genre contains few long sequences: those that do appear name 'le secrétaire général du Conseil de l'Europe', and evoke the abstract ideal that 'toute personne a droit à la liberté'.

Short sequences: Of those 3-word sequences which do not combine to form longer ones, the most significant is 'la présente convention'. The others tend to refer to administrative concerns, such as contracting parties, committees, legislation and articles.

ANCRs Account of National Assembly debates - transcription

Long sequences: As might be expected from the only genre which contains transcriptions of authentic debates, the large majority of long repeated sequences are from material inserted in brackets by the transcriber, such as 'applaudissemen[11] sur les bancs du groupe socialiste', 'sur les bancs du groupe démocratie libérale'. There are however a couple of others, which highlight the main concerns of the debates, such as environmental issues: 'émissions de gaz à effet de serre'.

Short sequences: These tendencies are clear from the shorter sequences too, the great majority of which combine to form the longer sequences. Below the most frequent sequences there are many grammatical sequences which are not specific to the administrative register. It appears that while the speech genres are, of course, prepared speech, in these respects they have a lot in common with spontaneous speech.

[10] This sequence is mentioned in Chapter 5 as a locution.

[11] WordSmith has been set to truncate words of more than 14 characters, hence 'applaudissemen[ts]'.

ANCRw Account of National Assembly - reports

Long sequences: There are only a few sequences with a particularly high frequency: these tend to be references to other documents, such as 'compte rendu NB # application de l'article #', 'application de l'article # du règlement mardi / mercredi #'. Others express the various Commissions as agents: 'la Commission a repoussé l'amendement NB # de', 'la Commission a adopté un amendement du rapporteur'.

Short sequences: Like the press release genres, and the long sequences above, the 3-word sequences in this genre often express bodies as agents. There are also many references to different types of legislation and other documents: 'projets de loi', 'amendements', 'compte-rendus', 'articles', 'codes', etc.

ANPL National Assembly draft legislation

Long sequences: This is the genre with the highest proportion of long sequences in FRNACO: 59.01 7-word and 45.31 8-word sequences per 10,000 words. By far the most frequent sequence is: 'de la loi NB #-# du #' with 89 occurrences, and all of the most frequent sequences refer to particular articles or laws. At a lower frequency, there are also references to the recurrent concerns: 'Conseil de prévention et de lutte contre le dopage'; and also a number of references to deadlines and statistics: 'délai de trois mois à compter de la', 'supérieure à la moitié de la population totale'.

Short sequences: With regard to 3-word sequences also, this genre of draft legislation has by far the highest proportion in FRNACO. It has 80.85 types of 3-word sequences per 10,000 words. 'De coopération intercommunale' has a massive keyness value of over 1000, which indicates that the sequence is very frequent in the genre, and also very infrequent in others. As is to be expected, the genre contains many intertextual references. The sequence 'dans le domaine' is one of few negative key sequences which is not obviously limited to the FREUCO subcorpus.

CGLM Letters from PM to the Commissaire au plan (Chief of the French Planning Economic Agency)

Long sequences: This genre contains no instances of either 7 or 8-word sequences. This is likely, however, to be due to its small size.

Short sequences: Again probably owing to its small size, the CGLM genre contains only a very small number of 3-word sequences (three, or 7.65 per 10,000 words), and indeed all of these combine to produce the longer sequence 'le Commissaire général du Plan'.

4.4.3. Discussion

These mini-analyses show that, while different genres contain different types of repeated multiword sequence, the genres fall roughly into distinguishable groups. As a group, the speech genres in both of the subcorpora, which were also discussed in Section 4.3. above, turn out to contain relatively few sequences compared with other types of genre. The most frequent longer sequences tend to feature names, of people, institutions and, particularly in the case of the ECB speeches, policies and central concerns. Most key in the genre, as is to be expected, are formulae which are specific to speeches, such as address formulae. The shorter sequences, on the other hand, are predominantly grammatical in nature. Sequences in press release genres are varied, although quite small in number. Notably, they betray the genre's concern with locating events in time and space, and with the actor, particularly in the case of European Commission press releases. The greatest proportions of multiword sequences are found in genres of a legal nature, whether primary legislation, such as European Treaties (the genre with the highest proportion of sequences of each of the lengths investigated), or secondary legislation, such as the Journal Officiel genres in each subcorpus, and also draft legislation. By far the largest part of these sequences, however, is made up of extensive reference to previous legislation, and cross-reference to articles within the same document. A number of genres also contain repeated formulae which organise the texts and indeed enable the texts to be recognisable as of that genre: these include the European Council Sessions, Treaties, programme of work and debate transcriptions.

Chapter 2, Section 2.3. referred to a similar study by Altenberg, in which he found that multiword sequences serve various functions: pragmatic, lexical and grammatical. The main tendencies of the sequences in this data support Altenberg's finding. Speech formulae can be seen as the result of a force of pragmatics, names of Ministries, technical terms and policy areas as the result of lexicalisation, and the many grammatical sequences, including subject plus verb sequences ('la Commission a proposé') are due to the grammatical function.

4.5. Correlations between sequence length and collocation type

Sections 4.3. and 4.4. have shown that genres and modes of administrative language can be differentiated on the basis of the multiword sequences they contain: in terms of quantities of sequences, types of sequence and individual sequences. Section 4.4., in investigating sequences at the two extremes of length, also indicated that there is a correlation between sequence length and sequence type.

Not surprisingly, there is increasing variety as the sequences reduce in length, and this is not merely because longer sequences, by definition, contain shorter sequences. Longer sequences are concerned almost totally with how the text is organised and with reference to particular bodies etc. This is not inconsistent with Butler's conclusions for spoken Spanish: he finds that "in the spoken texts (including the magazine interviews), many of the very frequent sequences are of an *interpersonal* nature, serving either to express agreement or disagreement (...), or to indicate speaker comment, including degrees of modal or illocutionary commitment..." (Butler 1997, p. 69, the emphasis is Butler's). Others are textual in nature, or serve to highlight particular parts of the message. Only a few are ideational / representational, and these mostly temporal, and occurring mostly in the written corpus.

At the level of 3-word sequences, some are clearly common to the language as a whole rather than being specific to the administrative register, as can be seen from the comparison with the comparator corpus in Section 4.2. This shows how the register fits in with the general language, which of its resources it exploits and in what ways it does so. Some phraseological units at this level are composed entirely of grammatical words. Some, however, are units only at this length, rather than being merely part of a longer sequence. These tend to be grammatical sequences, such as 'en matière de' and 'et à la'. Many, on the other hand, are very much more frequent in the 3-word sequence list than as part of a longer sequence, thus showing that they are more typically 3 or 4-word sequences, which can be employed in language in a wide variety of contexts. While they regularly form part of longer sequences, they are more adaptable and have a range of typical collocates. For example, 'dans le cadre de' collocates frequently with a range of related nouns: 'programme', 'politique', 'protocole', 'processus', 'procédure'. 'Mise en œuvre', likewise, collocates frequently with 'programme', 'politique', 'plan'. Chapter 6 will develop the discussion of collocation of keywords in the register with related sets of words, as well as with individual words and features of syntax.

This chapter has also touched briefly on the fact that sequences differ in their distribution within individual texts, as well as in their distribution among genres and modes of language. While grammatical collocations tend to be evenly spread through texts, a number of sequences concerned with discourse organisation have favourite positions in texts, most notably at the very beginning or at the end. A more detailed analysis of the positional tendencies of sequences is beyond the scope of this study.

4.6. Conclusions

As was stated at the start of this chapter, it is impossible to put a definite figure on the number of multiword sequences in the corpus. This is partly due to the limitations of WordSmith Tools, but more fundamentally because of the indeterminate nature of what constitutes a sequence. Given more accurate software, it would be possible to quantify all of the sequences of each length in a corpus, but owing to the high level of overlap between lengths of sequence, this figure would be an overestimation of the quantitative importance of these sequences. On the other hand, it is arguable that near-identical sequences, or variations of sequences, should be included in the figures, but computer software is only able to retrieve identical sequences. Despite these unresolved or unresolvable questions, one can generalise by saying that there does appear to be a higher number of repeated sequences in the European Union subcorpus than in the French national one. This could of course be in part the result of subtle imbalances within the corpora, but suggests also that European Union language, partly because of the process of document translation, is more reliant on formulae and repeated sequences, whether lexical, pragmatic, or grammatical.

Kjellmer has attempted to quantify the role of multiword sequences (which he calls collocations) in his corpus. He says that:

> It is obvious, both from the definition and from the list of examples, that collocations are essential text elements. In fact, they account for a very high proportion of almost any running text in modern English. To give a few figures: in the one-million word Brown Corpus there are 336,103 collocations if we count tokens and 84,708 if we count types. However, since many collocations overlap (for instance, *in a moment* and *a moment* are both counted as collocations and included in those figures), the figures do not indicate the exact proportion of collocations in a piece of running (Brown) text, though they do suggest that the proportion is a high one. (Kjellmer 1987, p. 134)

Altenberg, similarly, gives a rough estimation that over 80 percent of the words in the corpus are in some way part of such a sequence (1998, p. 102). This would suggest a massively important role for multiword sequences, but he points out that "many of these combinations are of little phraseological interest, since they consist of mere repetitions or fragments of larger structures (e.g. *the the* [sic], *and the, in a, out of the*)" (*ibid.*, p. 102).

It has been shown in this chapter that different lengths of sequence bring to the fore different types of phraseological patterning, and terminological items particular to the domain of public administration, in the register, not just formulae and conventional expressions created by the discourse, but also grammatical collocations and set phrases. It has been shown also that sequences in the register can be typical of a genre, or be discourse-bound, that is to say that there are notable differences between the European Union and the national French subcorpora. The shorter sequences (of three and four words in length), have a lot more in common across the different genres and between the two subcorpora, and might therefore be seen to be symptomatic of a register rather than a discourse or genre. Some are also frequent in the general language, although not necessarily used in the same ways in general and administrative texts. Longer sequences tend to be specific to the subject matter of texts, and are often motivated by pragmatic factors.

Altenberg has noted that:

> What is perhaps the most striking impression that emerges from the material is the pervasive and varied character of conventionalized language in spoken discourse. The use of routinized and more or less prefabricated expressions is evident at all levels of linguistic organization and affects all kinds of structures, from entire utterances operating at discourse level to smaller units acting as single words and phrases. (Altenberg 1998, p. 120)

Whether or not the EU-level can be said to have a discourse of its own, as opposed to just being an amalgam of component national discourses as Larsen has suggested, the differences in multiword sequences, which are not limited to the longer sequences, but also extend to shorter grammatical sequences, indicate that its language can certainly be differentiated on a phraseological level from that of the French national discourse.

Chapter 5: Traditional 'Locutions'

" 'With that tape,' he said, 'we can request the computer to supply us with any information we like about your ideolect [sic]*.' 'Come again?' I said. 'Your own special, distinctive, unique way of using the English language.* " (Lodge 1984, p. 183)

5.1. Introduction

The question is now posed as to whether phraseological differences between the two subcorpora are limited to phraseology which is the creation of the administrators, or whether distinctions can be made within the administrative register with regard to features of phraseology which are borrowed from the general language, namely 'locutions' (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.4.). Does the picture established by Chapter 4 change when another approach is taken to the corpus, or are the findings consistent?

The approach taken in this chapter effectively compares the general language and the register of administration, owing both to the source of the phraseological patterning investigated and also to comparisons made between the comparator corpus and the administrative corpus (FRADCO). This comparative data is used in particular to investigate the presence, role and function of common locutions in the two corpora, and the function and distribution of these locutions between the two halves of the administrative corpus (FREUCO and FRNACO), as well as between genres within this corpus. In this way, it can be ascertained whether certain locutions are more genre or register bound. It is interesting to see also whether the locutions which are employed have anything in common, in terms of semantics, syntactics, pragmatics or discoursal usage.

This chapter therefore takes a 'micro' approach to collocations in the corpus: the starting point is readily-accepted idiomatic phrases of French. As Rey and Chantreau say, "aucun discours ou presque ne peut faire l'économie des locutions, lieux communs éculés ou produits plaisants de l'imagination populaire" (1993, p. xiii). While few varieties of language can do without such phrases, each genre or register draws on the phraseological resources of the French language to a different extent, and possibly for different purposes.

Examples are given, followed, in square brackets, by the subcorpus from which they are taken, and the genre of text (for example, [frnaco\cppmfr] to refer to the 'Communiqué de Presse, Premier Ministre' genre of the national French subcorpus - cf. Appendix 1 for details of the abbreviations used). Where it is necessary also to refer to a particular text within the genre category, this also features in the brackets (e.g. [frnaco\cppmfr\cp980303]). Similarly, where it is useful to indicate the number of occurrences of a particular locution in the corpus, this appears before the square brackets (e.g.: 7 [frnaco\cppmfr\cp980303]). Where it is not otherwise indicated, examples come from FRADCO, the complete administrative corpus.

5.1.1. The *Dictionnaire des expressions et locutions*

Rey and Chantreau's *Dictionnaire des expressions et locutions* (1993) has been introduced in Chapter 2, Section 2.4. Here it is necessary, however, to indicate the sources of its entries. The dictionary is based partly on existing dictionaries and collections of 'locutions' and partly on a corpus, in the loose sense of the term, of authentic texts. It should come as little surprise, given the history of corpus linguistics in France (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3.), that the majority of texts included in the corpus are literary in nature: the literary part of the text collection constitutes some 450 texts. However, Rey and Chantreau note that "c'est même une tendance remarquable de la locution française, de nos jours, que d'intégrer des éléments de discours répété, provenant de la politique, de la publicité, souvent véhiculés par les médias de masse" (1993, p. xv). They give as examples from the field of politics such common phrases as 'le pré carré' and 'l'état de grâce'. In light of this, this second edition of the dictionary has extended the range of texts in its reference corpus, with the result of "réintroduisant ainsi dans la phraséologie ce pouvoir social qui dépasse la référence à un créateur individuel et repérable" (1993, p. xv). Little detail is given concerning this element of the source material, but the editors do note that they have made use of articles from a number of newspapers and magazines.[1] Given the extent of the time period covered in the reference corpus, it is understandable that the dictionary covers current usage and also older locutions, some of which have now even fallen out of use completely. These are marked *vx* or *vieilli* in the entry. It turns out that few of these appear in the administrative corpus.

Although the dictionary gives no indication of the frequency of the locutions in the reference corpus,[2] in searching for the locution in the administrative corpus this analysis is effectively comparing the register of administrative French with the general language to the extent that it is represented by this reference corpus. In addition, in order to gain some idea of frequency, and more importantly, the function of such locutions in different types of language, these have been compared with the comparator corpus (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.5.3.). Although this corpus is relatively small and, similarly, more or less restricted to texts from literary and journalistic genres, which does not enable us to draw definitive conclusions, it is sufficiently varied to provide an additional point of comparison.

Rey and Chantreau's dictionary therefore has the advantage of being fairly extensive, including as it does over 11,500 locutions. A definitive collection of such phrases can never be compiled, since new combinations can always be added to the collection, while other phrases drop out of active usage. Furthermore, any decisions as to the frequency

[1] "Nous avons également utilisé des articles du *Charivari*, de *Libération*, du *Magazine littéraire*, du *Monde*, du *Nouvel Observateur* et de *La Petite Lune*." Rey and Chantreau (1993, p. 816).

[2] Rey and Chantreau do note, however, that their locutions gain part of their importance from their frequency in the language (1993, p. x). While frequency is not a major consideration for inclusion in the dictionary, it is still recognised that locutions have a quantitatively important role in language.

required by a potential phrase for inclusion in such a list must be arbitrary. Nonetheless, this dictionary constitutes one of the best starting points for a discussion of collocation in the register in question.

5.1.2. Procedure

Using the Concord facility of *WordSmith Tools*, the administrative corpus was searched for all of the 11,647 locutions as listed in the index to the *Dictionnaire*. The editors highlight the fact that the locutions they discuss are not inflexible in form. Rather they are variable, in that they can incorporate interspersed material and can allow substitution of some items. At the same time, however, the item substituted, whether an alternative verb, adjective or noun, etc., is far from arbitrary. Yet, the entries in the dictionary cannot take account of all the possible variations. Some entries hint at alternative wordings, or possible collocates, while in other cases these can be found from the concordances but are not considered in the relevant dictionary entry.

Inevitably, the locutions as they appear in the main entry in the dictionary, and in the index, are not necessarily in the form in which they are always used in actual text, so some care was required in order to maximise the chances of successfully retrieving all instances of each locution. Rey and Chantreau suggest that, because they are not all formally stable, the expressions "ne sont que très partiellement à la portée de l'ordinateur" (1993, p. xiv). Rosamund Moon, too, recognises this problem in her research, saying:

> Finding exploitations and variations of FEIs is the hardest part of corpus-based investigations, and ultimately a matter of serendipity. Searches are most successful when the query consists of two lexical words, fairly close together. (Moon 1998a, p. 51)

Generally speaking therefore, it was necessary to search on the basis of an uninflected form of the word (or the largest possible part of a word which remains common to its singular and plural forms, for example), which appeared to be the most essential to the phrase, using wildcard characters to truncate the word. When the word had an accent, two forms were entered, an accented form and an unaccented form, to counteract the inconsistency in the texts, particularly with regard to accents on uppercase characters. When searching on the basis of a verbal form, it was of course necessary to search for a form, or more than one form simultaneously, which took account of different forms for different tenses or persons of the verb. Often it was necessary to refine the search and run the procedure again, for example to add a collocate to be found within set horizons to the left and to the right of the node word (5 words either side), or to re-define the limits of such collocates. On the whole it was preferable to search on the basis of the minimum form which was thought to be essential to the phrase, and then manually to discard concordance lines which were not in fact instances of the phrase being searched for, rather than to assume a larger number of elements to be essential to the phrase and risk overlooking some variants. Despite the care taken, some instances of expressions will almost certainly have remained hidden from view, perhaps because the constituent parts of the locution are separated by more than five words in a particular instance, or because they involve some creative manipulation of the dictionary form of the phrase with the result that all that remains is the grammatical structure (cf. Moon 1998a, p. 92).

In this way, a list was built up of those locutions which appear in the administrative corpus. At this initial stage no distinction was made between those which appeared to be frequent in the corpus, and those which appeared with a frequency of just one instance. However, with the help of the main dictionary entries, it was possible to note instances where the surface form was identical to a locution but where the sequence of words did not, in fact, constitute a locution.

5.2. The presence of locutions in the administrative corpus

There are 11,647 locutions and idiomatic expressions in Rey and Chantreau's dictionary. Evidently, this is by no means the extent of this type of phraseological resource in the French language, or even in the administrative register. In searching for the locutions itemised in that work, a number of other expressions which appear to have a similar status in the language came to light, and there must be many more. These included such items as:

Noun phrases:

(un véritable) cheval de Troie [e.g. freuco\prspfr]	≅ a veritable Trojan horse
un effet boule de neige [freuco\prspfr]	≅ a snowball effect
une chasse aux sorcières (aveugle) [freuco\prspfr]	≅ a (blind) witch hunt
épée de Damoclès [freuco\prspfr]	≅ sword of Damocles
bonne chance et bon vent [frnaco\spprfr]	≅ goodbye and God speed!

Verb phrases:

en être la cheville ouvrière [frnaco\spmfr]	≅ to be the mainspring
défendre 'bec et ongles' [frnaco\ancrwfr]	≅ defend something tooth and nail

Proverbial phrases:

tous les œufs dans le même panier [frnaco\ancrsfr]	≅ all one's eggs in the same basket

Idiomatic expressions:

jeter son âme au diable et son tablier aux orties [frnaco/rapofr]	≅ literally: throw one's soul to the devil and one's overalls (≅ habit) to the thistles. = "renounce one's calling"

In addition, there were a number of cases of locutions similar, but not identical, to those in the *Dictionnaire*. Generally speaking, if the variation was minor and did not affect the meaning of the expression, such as the replacement of one word with a synonym, the deletion of a word which did not directly affect the meaning of the locution, or a difference in definite or indefinite articles, for example, then this was counted as an instance of the locution, but if the variation had a greater effect on the locution, then it was not. There is no way of automatically extracting all of these systematically from the corpus, not least because it is always possible to query their status as locutions. This analysis, therefore, is limited to a discussion of those which appear in the *Dictionnaire*, while recognising that it is potentially only a small sample of the most frequent phrases of French.

Of these 11,647 locutions, 633 were found in the complete administrative corpus. This represents 5.43% of the complete list of locutions in the dictionary. Appendix 2 lists these locutions, with their total frequencies across FRADCO.

Frequency	Total No. of locution types	% of Dictionnaire	% of locutions present in Admin. corpus (633)
0	11,014	94.57	
1	251	2.16	39.65
2	96	0.82	15.17
3	44	0.38	6.95
4	30	0.26	4.73
5	24	0.21	3.79
6-10	50	0.43	7.90
11-20	42	0.36	6.64
21-50	52	0.45	8.21
51-100	19	0.16	3.00
>100	25	0.21	3.95
	11,647	100.00	100.00

Table 5.1.: Locutions in FRADCO - types

The table above details the presence of locution types in FRADCO, the complete administrative corpus. If one considers locution tokens, the figure is of course much higher, and indicates a more important role for this type of collocation in the corpus. As regards tokens, there is a total of 11,673 instances. Approximately two-fifths of the locutions which appear in the corpus do so with a frequency of only one, and over 70% appear five times or fewer. Clearly, it is not possible to say much about these, except to draw generalisations regarding their lexical or grammatical tendencies as a group (see Section 5.4.). As is to be expected, the number of locutions with a certain frequency in the corpus drops as the frequency rises. However, there are still a number of locutions which occur with a frequency of over 100 instances (cf. discussion of these in Section 5.5. below). Of these, 16 occur with a frequency of between 101 and 200, three with a frequency between 201 and 300, two between 301 and 400, two between 401 and 500, and two locutions occur with a frequency of over 501 instances (one with 895 occurrences and one with 1481).

5.3. Zero-frequency locutions

As Table 5.1. shows, a vast majority (94.57%) of the locutions in the *Dictionnaire des expressions et locutions* do not appear in FRADCO. This is not surprising, given the size of the corpus used in this study, its register-specificity, and the predominantly literary source of the locutions in the dictionary. While the focus here is on those locutions which *do* feature in the administrative corpus, before discussing these in more detail, a brief consideration of both those locutions which do not appear at all (locutions with zero-frequency), and those which at first sight seem to appear in the corpus but which in fact do not, that is to say, sequences which match locutions in their surface form only, is in order.

Over eleven thousand of the locutions in the *Dictionnaire* do not appear in the administrative corpus. Clearly, it is not possible, or for that matter useful, to deal with these in any detail here. Many are quite clearly more at home in the spoken language, or in very informal settings (e.g. 'foutre le bordel' (vulg.: 'to create havoc'), 'en voilà une affaire' ('what a business'/'what an affair')). It is not surprising either that the various locutions which are proverbial in nature do not tend to appear in the corpus. On the other hand, there are many locutions which it can be imagined may well appear in a larger administrative corpus, locutions which one might imagine hearing in a political speech, for example: such as 'c'est le moment ou jamais' ('it's now or never'), and 'cœur de pierre' ('heart of stone'). It is quite probable however that they would occur only a couple of times even in a much larger corpus. It might be expected that the relative frequencies would not vary much.

A number of locutions appeared at first glance to occur in FRADCO. Looking beyond the mere surface form, however, these turned out not to be occurrences of the locution as it appeared in the *Dictionnaire*, but rather the result of the rules of syntax, or literal counterparts of locutions.

A d'autres   Dictionary: response to a promise which seems impossible or to lies. (≅ that's a likely story!)

	Corpus: followed by a noun - 'en faisant appel à d'autres fonctionnaires' [frnaco\rapmfr]; 'par rapport à d'autres services' [freuco\ojlfr]
A la page	Dictionary: ≅ up to date / in touch Corpus: literal - 'l'internaute ne s'arrête pas à la page d'accueil' [frnaco\dpfr]
De cheval	Dictionary: qualifies certain nouns, expressing idea of strength, e.g. 'fièvre de cheval' ≅ raging fever Corpus: literal - 'la consommation de viande de cheval ou de sanglier' [frnaco\cpmfr]
En avoir	Dictionary: euphemism ('avoir des couilles') ≅ to have balls Corpus: following rules of syntax - 'après en avoir informé les autorités' [freuco\comfr]
En béton	Dictionary: very solid Corpus: concrete (!) sense only; 'des produits en béton pré-moulé' [freuco\pripfr]
Faire bien les choses	Dictionary: to show great generosity to one's guests - specific meaning Corpus: non-specific meaning - 'le hasard fait bien les choses' [frnaco\ancrsfr]
Frapper à toutes les portes	Dictionary: seek help wherever one can Corpus: metaphorical, but with the sense of requesting admission / accession - 'onze États frappent à la porte de l'Union' [freuco\prspfr]
Peu de choses	Dictionary: describes something unimportant, particularly to devalue something offered ≅ nothing much Corpus: literal - 'mais peu de choses ont été faites pour l'aménagement de Paris' [frnaco\spmfr]
Un de ces quatre	Dictionary: elliptical 'un de ces quatre matins' ≅ one of these days Corpus: literal - 'un de ces quatre programmes' [freuco\prspfr]
Vaste programme!	Dictionary: Supposed quotation from Général de Gaulle Corpus: surface form only - 'un vaste programme de réformes' [freuco\ptfr]

5.4. Low-frequency locutions

About 70% of the locutions from the *Dictionnaire* which do occur in the administrative corpus occur with a frequency of five or fewer. Given such a low frequency of occurrence for each of these locutions, it is impossible to make valid generalisations about their use individually. At the same time, however, the types of locution which are represented may be investigated.

5.4.1. Idioms

Chris Gledhill has claimed that "science writing is highly devoid of idioms of the traditional kind, but is rich in metaphor and collocational restrictions" (1999, p. 234). Despite their lack of traditional idioms, science texts "employ a system of expression which is as 'idiomatic' (i.e. distinctively fluent) as any other discourse" (2000, p. 2). Rather than conveying subject matter, such idiomatic expressions "function as signals of posture in discourse" (1995, p. 11). This is broadly consistent with Chitra Fernando's finding that idioms differ in their function across different discourse types. She classifies idioms as ideational, interpersonal and relational (textual) idioms, following Halliday's three metafunctions. Fernando found that:

> The kinds of discourse in which ideational idioms are likeliest to occur are informal speech, journalism, TV and radio broadcasts, the last three powerful vehicles of the newsworthy. They are used more sparingly in academic discourse, spoken and written. To find them, for example, in legal documents or administrative regulations would be decidedly unusual. (Fernando 1996, p. 101)

While the corpus here is described as an 'administrative' corpus, it is not composed purely of administrative regulations. Rather, a proportion of the texts comprises administrators' speeches, reports, and press releases. In these genres, which often aim to persuade an audience, it would not be surprising to find idioms, whether ideational, interpersonal or relational. A number of the low frequency locutions are indeed idiomatic. These include:

Jouer au chat et à la souris (1 occurrence [frnaco\rapofr])	≅ to play cat and mouse
Vivre de l'air du temps (1 [frnaco\sppmfr])	≅ to live on air
Se mettre dans la peau de qqn (1 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ to put oneself in someone's shoes
Oiseau de mauvais augure (1 [freuco\paspfr])	= lit.: bird of ill omen
Y perdre son latin (1 [frnaco\rapofr])	≅ not to be able to make head nor tail of...
La politique de l'autruche (1 [frnaco\ancrsfr])	≅ to bury one's head in the sand (lit.: ostrich politics)
Poser les jalons (1 [freuco\pc98fr])	≅ to prepare the ground
Prendre le taureau par les cornes (1 [freuco\paspfr])	≅ to take the bull by the horns
Recevoir qqn cinq sur cinq (1 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ to hear someone loud and clear
Remettre les compteurs à zéro (2 [frnaco\spmfr + rapofr])	≅ to start from scratch (lit.: to reset the meters to zero)
Rideau de fer (2 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ iron curtain[3]

It is notable that a large number of these idioms appear in the speech genres of the corpus. All are infrequent, occurring only once or twice in the whole corpus, but it might be expected that these figures would rise with the size of the corpus, and in addition, a number of other idiomatic locutions would also appear in a larger corpus. While it would appear, then, that idioms are extremely infrequent, if not indeed 'decidedly unusual' as Fernando has claimed (1996, p. 101), in such genres as legislation or regulations, they are certainly not exceptional in the discourse of European

[3] This idiom (iron curtain) of course originated in a political context, referring to the line which separated Communist countries from non-Communist ones. It was introduced in 1946 in a speech by Churchill, and calqued from English into French.

Union or national French administration. Rather they serve to make a potentially dry administrative speech (in terms of its subject matter) more memorable, persuasive, or motivating for the listener, or indeed reader.

5.4.2. Proverbial expressions

A number of proverbial expressions are included in the *Dictionnaire*. None of these was found in the administrative corpus. As was noted above, however, the corpus is not completely devoid of such expressions. It is to be expected, therefore, that a larger corpus constructed along the same lines would in fact contain some of the proverbial expressions to which Rey and Chantreau draw attention. It is also possible of course, that the administrative corpus does contain examples of these expressions, but that they have been adapted so much to suit the context in which they are being used that they become invisible to a corpus approach, at least with a corpus which is not tagged for grammatical categories. This could happen, for example, if only the distinctive grammatical structure remains, and all of the lexical words are modified to suit the immediate context. It has been found, by Moon (1998a, pp. 57 and 131) that proverbial expressions are rarely used in their full or canonical form, but rather are usually adapted.

5.4.3. Intertextuality

It was seen in Chapter 4 that the administrative register relies to a large degree on intertextuality, or reference to other texts within the same register. A couple of locutions also demonstrate that the register draws, to a certain extent, on reference to texts outside the register, or on broader cultural references. One of these is the successful advertising slogan for Esso petrol: 'avoir/mettre un tigre dans le/son moteur' (2 occurrences [frnaco\spmfr] = to put a tiger in one's tank). This allusion is exploited twice in the administrative corpus, both times in the same text. The text in question is a speech given at the Sorbonne by Claude Allègre, the (now ex-) minister for national education, research and technology. In it, reference is made explicitly: the minister first recalls the advertising slogan, putting it in inverted commas (and presumably in the speech as it was delivered making it clear that he was quoting), and then uses the slogan as a metaphor, equating the 'tiger', which signifies power and speed, with 'research', and suggesting that the University put a tiger - research - in its tank to enable it to develop over the next century. The allusion is arguably somewhat laboured, but has the effect of making the minister's point more vivid.

The second allusion is the much-quoted line from Voltaire's *Candide*: 'Tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles' (2 occurrences [frnaco\spprfr + ancrsfr] = everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds). Once again, the quotation is modified. One text, a speech by Jacques Chirac to the young people of Mexico and Latin America, merely states that while the present situation is not 'le meilleur des mondes', it is at least 'un meilleur monde'. Given the impossible optimism of the notion of the best of all possible worlds, 'un meilleur monde' is by comparison realistic and therefore possible, and for that, a more convincing political statement. In the second text (the transcription of a meeting of the Assemblée Nationale), the speaker claims that since the situation in the energy industry does not seem to be heading towards 'le meilleur des mondes possibles', it is necessary to take steps to improve the situation in the future. Again, the reference adds little, except perhaps for a little cultural colour, to the speech.

5.4.4. Metaphorical expressions

A large number of the lower frequency locutions which appeared in the administrative corpus are metaphorical in nature. These include:

A la chaîne (1 [freuco\pripfr])	≅ (as if) on a production line / mechanical
A la clé (1 [freuco\pa97fr])	≅ at the end of the day
A cor et à cris (1 [frnaco\rapofr])	≅ insistently
A la dérive (1 [frnaco\sppmfr])	≅ adrift / downhill (fig.)
A portée de la main (1 [frnaco\ancrsfr])	≅ within reach / easily accessible
A reculons (2 [frnaco\spprfr + rapofr])	≅ backwards
A bout de souffle (1 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ breathless / short of breath / inspiration
A double tranchant (1 [freuco\pripfr])	≅ double-edged
A deux vitesses (6 [frnaco\spprfr + rapofr + ancrsfr])	≅ two-speed
Aller sur le terrain (1 [frnaco\spprfr])	≅ in-situ
Au pied de la lettre (1 [frnaco\rapofr])	≅ literally / in the strict sense
Aux abonnés absents (1 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ absent (metaphor from field of telecommunications: on holiday answering service)

Avoir voix au chapitre (1 [frnaco\spprfr])	≅ to have a say in the matter
Avoir toute latitude pour (1 [frnaco\rapmfr])	≅ to be at liberty to
Baisser les bras (1 [frnaco\spprfr])	≅ to give up
Contre vents et marées (2 [frnaco\spprfr])	≅ against all the odds
Déposer son bilan (1 [freuco\pripfr])	≅ to go into liquidation
En dents de scie (1 [frnaco\rapofr])	≅ serrated / irregular
Enfoncer une porte ouverte (1 [frnaco\ancrsfr])	≅ to labour an obvious point
Entrer en ligne de compte (5 [freuco\lbfr + cefr + ojlfr, frnaco\spmfr])	≅ to take into account
Être le dos au mur (1 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ to have one's back to the wall
Être sur la mauvaise pente (1 [freuco\pripfr])	≅ to be going downhill
Être de son temps (1 [frnaco\spprfr])	≅ to be of one's time
Faire ses premières armes (1 [frnaco\rapofr])	≅ to make one's début
Faire du bruit (1 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ to be important / create a stir
Faire un tour d'horizon (2 [freuco\prspfr + frnaco\cpmfr])	≅ to survey
Faire machine arrière (1 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ to retreat
Faire la navette (1 [freuco\pripfr])	≅ to be sent backwards and forwards
Baptême du feu (1 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ baptism of fire
Il y a belle lurette (1 [frnaco\rapofr])	≅ ages ago
Jeter aux oubliettes (1 [frnaco\spmfr])	≅ to discard
Le jeu n'en vaut pas la chandelle (1 [frnaco\ancrsfr])	≅ 'the game is not worth the candle' / it is not worth the effort
Jour J (1 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ D-day
(Re)mettre sur les rails (3 [freuco\pripfr + cefr, frnaco\spmfr])	≅ to put (back) on the rails
Occuper le devant de la scène (3 [freuco\prspfr, frnaco\spmfr + ancrwfr])	≅ to take centre stage
Pour le meilleur et pour le pire (1 [frnaco\spmfr])	≅ for better or for worse
Prendre les devants (1 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ to make the first move
Prêter le flanc à (1 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ to lay oneself open to
Il doit se retourner dans sa tombe (1 [frnaco\rapofr])	≅ 'he must be turning in his grave'
Second souffle (1 [frnaco\sppmfr])	≅ second wind / new lease of life
Sonner le glas (de qqch) (1 [frnaco\spprfr])	≅ to sound the knell of
Tirer au clair (1 [freuco/prspfr])	≅ to clarify
Tourner la page (3 [freuco\prspfr, frnaco\spprfr])	≅ to turn over a new leaf
Travailler d'arrache-pied (1 [freuco/prspfr])	≅ work relentlessly

Little can be said about these individually, since each occurs just once or only a couple of times in the corpus, and this is not a high enough frequency on which to base any generalisations. However, as a group, metaphorical expressions make up a more substantial category of locutions, and it is informative to bear in mind the range of images drawn upon in administrative language, which has traditionally had a reputation for dryness of expression. A large number of the locutions above occur in speech genres.

5.4.5. Interpersonal locutions

A couple of the locutions present in the corpus are clearly interpersonal in nature. As might be expected, such formulae also tend to occur in the speech genres:

Avoir l'honneur de (2 [frnaco\rapofr + freuco\prspfr])	≅ to have the honour of (e.g. contributing to a project, presiding over a meeting)
Bon vent! (3 [frnaco\spprfr])	≅ goodbye / farewell

5.4.6. Legal and political locutions

More crucially, a number of the locutions in the *Dictionnaire* are marked explicitly as having originated in a legal or political context, or as having recently been rejuvenated in a political context. In the general language, these are often used in a metaphorical sense, whereas in the corpus on the whole they retain their original meaning. These include:

A huis clos (4 [frnaco\tfdhfr + anplfr, freuco\precesfr + treatfr])	≅ 'in camera'
Au ban de (1 [frnaco\rapofr])	≅ (to be) banished from (e.g. a country)
Avoir gain de cause (2 [freuco\pripfr])	≅ to win the case (in law)
Avoir force de loi (3 [frnaco\sppmfr + tfconsfr + ancrwfr])	≅ to have the force of law
Bons offices (1 [frnaco\ancrwfr])	≅ good offices (pol.) (services rendered)
Pré carré (1 [frnaco\cpmfr])	≅ sphere of influence
Cas de force majeure (6 [frnaco\tfconsfr + jofr + ancrsfr, freuco\ojlfr])	≅ case of absolute necessity
En mon âme et conscience (2 [freuco\prspfr])	≅ in all conscience (witness formula)
Dans tous les azimuts (1 [frnaco\rapmfr])	≅ in all directions
Descendre dans la rue (1 [freuco\prpresfr])	≅ to take to the streets
Donner acte à qqn (1 [frnaco\rapofr])	≅ to acknowledge the truth to someone
Noyau dur (4 [frnaco\spmfr + rapofr + ancrsfr, freuco\prspfr])	≅ hard core
En instance (5 [frnaco\jofr + ancrwfr, freuco\prmemo + prpescfr])	≅ pending
En lieu et place de qqn (4 [frnaco\rapmfr, freuco\prspfr + ojlfr])	≅ for and on behalf of (e.g. to sign)
Et pour cause (2 [frnaco\ancrsfr])	≅ and for good reason
Etre juge et partie (3 [frnaco\sppmfr + ancrwfr])	≅ to be judge and judged
Faire bloc (1 [frnaco\spmfr])	≅ to unite
Faire droit à (3 [freuco\prcjefr + prspfr])	≅ to grant
Flagrant délit (4 [frnaco\tfconsfr])	≅ 'in flagrante delicto'
Mettre en demeure (3 [frnaco\anplfr, freuco\pripfr + treatfr])	≅ to order (s.o. to do s.t.)
Le cachet de la poste faisant foi (4 [frnaco\jofr + cpcmfr])	≅ the postmark to be taken as proof
Le troisième âge (1 [frnaco\rapofr])	≅ senior citizens

Some of these locutions are quite frequent in the administrative corpus (in this case, the subcorpus and genre category is only indicated if there is a highly marked tendency towards one subcorpus or a particular genre):

A juste titre (20)	≅ rightly
En connaissance de cause (13)	≅ with full knowledge of the facts
De (plein) droit (153 [esp. freuco\prspfr, frnaco\anplfr])	≅ by rights
D'ores et déjà (118 [esp. freuco\prspfr, frnaco\dpfr + cpmfr + rapmfr])	≅ already, henceforth
En tout état de cause (74)	≅ in any case
En cause (247)	≅ concerned, involved

En temps utile (28 [esp. freuco])	≅ in due time
En vertu de (332 [esp. freuco, esp. prejefr + pripfr + treatfr])	≅ in accordance with
Être / entrer en vigueur (440 [esp. freuco, esp. treatfr])	≅ to be in force / enter into force
Sans délai (45)	≅ forthwith, immediately

5.5. High-frequency locutions

Locution	Total No. of occurrences in FRADCO	Total expressed as % of locutions tokens (11,673)
Dans le cadre (de)	1481	12.69
Tenir compte de	895	7.67
Entrer / Etre en vigueur	440	3.77
Avoir lieu (de)	408	3.50
Jouer un rôle	338	2.90
En vertu de	332	2.84
A compter de	299	2.56
A l'égard de	251	2.15
En cause	247	2.12
Prendre à sa (en) charge	194	1.66
Sous réserve de	193	1.65
De plus en plus	189	1.62
Dans la mesure de (où)	181	1.55
A long terme	165	1.41
De (plein) droit	153	1.31
Faire face	146	1.25
Etre en mesure de	139	1.19
En revanche	137	1.17
Au plus tard	132	1.13
Donner lieu à	130	1.11
Bien sûr	127	1.09
Tout au (du) long de	121	1.04
D'ores et déjà	118	1.01
Prendre acte de qqch	118	1.01
A moyen terme	107	0.92

Table 5.2.: Locutions with a frequency over 100 in FRADCO

'Dans le cadre (de)' is by far the most frequent locution in the corpus: it occurs 1481 times. 'Cadre' as an individual word is the 66th most frequent word in the corpus, with 2416 occurrences (disregarding instances of the plural form 'cadres' which is generally used in the sense of 'manager'). This means that the locution 'dans le cadre (de)' accounts for over 60% of the instances of the individual word. In the comparator corpus, 'cadre' is the 739th most frequent word, appearing only 271 times out of 2,223,862 words: this represents one instance every 8200 words or so, whereas in FRADCO 'cadre' occurs once every 880 words on average. More significantly, 'dans le cadre de' occurs only 111 times in the comparator corpus: therefore the locution accounts for only 41% of the occurrences of 'cadre' as an individual word. It is also notable that all but three of the occurrences in the comparator corpus appear in journalistic texts. This suggests that the locution differs greatly in its usage among genres.

5.5.1. Distribution between subcorpora

There are significant differences in the occurrence of locutions between the two subcorpora (FREUCO and FRNACO). As regards types of locution, FREUCO contains 382 of the 633 locutions: this equates to 60.35% of those locutions which appear in the complete administrative corpus, and 3.27% of the total number in the *Dictionnaire*. FRNACO, by contrast, contains instances of 509 types of locution, or 80.41% of those in FRADCO and 4.36% of the total number. It should be remembered that the two halves of the corpus are almost identical in size. Regardless of whether these statistics would remain the same in a larger corpus of administrative language, the figures show that, at least in the corpus used here, the subcorpus of European Union language makes use of fewer types of locution than the French national side of the corpus. As regards the overlap between the two subcorpora, only 258 locutions (40.76%) appear in both halves of FRADCO.

When one looks at the figures for tokens of locutions, however, the picture changes. FREUCO has 6609 instances of locutions, out of the 11,673 tokens present in the complete corpus, or 56.62%. FRNACO, on the other hand, has only 5064 instances of the locutions from Rey and Chantreau's dictionary, or 43.38% of the total. FREUCO therefore can be seen to make more use of locutions, considered as tokens. The mean number of occurrences per locution in FREUCO is 17.3, whereas in FRNACO, an average of only 9.95 uses is made of each locution.

If these figures can be generalised beyond the corpus used here to the administrative register as a whole, it would seem that European Union language makes frequent use of a smaller number of locutions, while the French national equivalent exploits a wider range of locutions, but draws on this particular phraseological resource less frequently. The possibility remains, of course, that FREUCO makes frequent use of locutions which are not present in Rey and Chantreau's dictionary. This would not be surprising, since many of the texts in this subcorpus were not originally drafted in French, but only translated into French, albeit by native speaker professionals.

The distribution of each locution between the two subcorpora was then compared. A frequency of five or fewer in the whole corpus was judged insufficient to base a claim for unequal distribution. In addition, the higher the frequency of locution, the smaller the possibility that any disparity can merely be attributed to chance. First, locutions, of which at least 75% of the instances appear in the European Union subcorpus, may be collated. Those which occur most frequently are least likely to owe this disparity to chance.

(table over)

Locution	Occ. in FREUCO	Total Occurrences	% of occ. in FREUCO
Entrer / Etre en vigueur	361	440	82.05
En vertu de	287	332	86.45
A long terme	134	165	81.21
Etre en mesure de	105	139	75.54
Prendre acte de qqch	107	118	90.68
Entre autres	62	70	88.57
Prendre (bonne) note	65	68	95.59
Avoir l'intention de	59	66	89.39
Avoir trait à	36	43	83.72
De premier plan	28	34	82.35
Ce faisant	28	33	84.85
De sorte que	28	29	96.55
Donner suite à (qqch)	24	28	85.71
En temps utile	26	28	92.86
Sans réserve	18	24	75.00
Suivre de près	18	22	81.82
Tirer profit de qqch	16	21	76.19
En détail	18	20	90.00
Entre temps	16	16	100.00
Donner le signal de (qqch)	11	13	84.62
Mettre à (l')exécution	11	13	84.62
Porter préjudice à qqn	12	13	92.31
Prendre la parole	10	13	76.92
Aller de l'avant	10	12	83.33
Pour peu que	9	12	75.00
Par comparaison (avec)	9	11	81.82
Sur un pied de	11	11	100.00
A bref délai	8	9	88.89
Qui plus est	7	9	77.78
En bonne voie	7	8	87.50
Passer en revue	8	8	100.00
De toute urgence	7	7	100.00
Comme il se doit	6	6	100.00
Dans la ligne	6	6	100.00
Donner à penser	5	6	83.33
Surveiller de près	6	6	100.00

Table 5.3.: Locutions typical of FREUCO

These locutions appear to be more central to the phraseology of European Union discourse than the national French equivalent. The following, by contrast, are the locutions of which at least 75% appear in the national French subcorpus:

Locution	Occ. in FRNACO	Total Occurrences	% of occ. in FRNACO
Prendre à sa (en) charge	168	194	86.60
Bien sûr	98	127	77.17
Faire appel à	55	70	78.57
A distance	55	69	79.71
Avoir droit à	48	57	84.21
Il est vrai que	36	41	87.80
A son tour	25	32	78.13
Aux côtés de qqn	24	30	80.00
En quelque sorte	22	28	78.57
Avoir raison	19	23	82.61
Mettre à plat (qqn)	19	21	90.48
Rendre service (à qqn)	17	19	89.47
En retour	13	17	76.47
A l'écart (de)	13	16	81.25
Etre en jeu	11	14	78.57
Donner l'exemple	12	12	100.00
En honneur de (qqn ou qqch)	12	12	100.00
Tout de suite	9	11	81.82
Quand même	9	10	90.00
En tout point / en tous points	7	9	77.78
Etre garant de qqch	9	9	100.00
Pas du tout	8	9	88.89
A l'usage de qqn	8	8	100.00
Mettre en doute	6	8	75.00
Prendre garde	8	8	100.00
Sous prétexte (de)	6	8	75.00
De premier (second, dernier) ordre	6	7	85.71
Faire (toute) la lumière sur qqch	7	7	100.00
A deux vitesses	6	6	100.00
A la rencontre (de)	5	6	83.33
Au long de	5	6	83.33
Cas de force majeure	5	6	83.33
Il y va de	6	6	100.00
Mettre en jeu	6	6	100.00

Table 5.4.: Locutions typical of FRNACO

It would seem that these locutions exemplify discourse-based differences within the register of administrative language. Other locutions, however, appear to be characteristic of the register as a whole. The following are those locutions which are fairly evenly distributed between the two subcorpora (a 45%/55% disparity, or closer). Once again, only those locutions with a total frequency of greater than five are considered, and again those towards the top of the list have more claim to accuracy:

Locution	Total Occ.	Occ. in FREUCO	% of occ. in FREUCO	Occ. in FRNACO	% of occ. in FRNACO
A compter de	299	150	50.17	149	49.83
A l'égard de	251	137	54.58	114	45.42
En cause	247	132	53.44	115	46.56
Sous réserve de	193	102	52.85	91	47.15
De (plein) droit	153	75	49.02	78	50.98
Tout au (du) long de	121	58	47.93	63	52.07
Faire preuve de	80	44	55.00	36	45.00
En tout état de cause	74	36	48.65	38	51.35
En fait	67	33	49.25	34	50.75
Faire valoir	51	24	47.06	27	52.94
Etre à même de	35	16	45.71	19	54.29
Mettre à profit	33	18	54.55	15	45.45
Pour le compte de	28	14	50.00	14	50.00
Faire défaut	24	11	45.83	13	54.17
A peu près	20	9	45.00	11	55.00
Aller dans le sens de qqn	16	8	50.00	8	50.00
A condition de	14	7	50.00	7	50.00
Autrement dit	14	7	50.00	7	50.00
En connaissance de cause	13	7	53.85	6	46.15
Mettre en chantier	12	6	50.00	6	50.00
A tout prix	11	5	45.45	6	54.55
Sous le signe de	11	6	54.55	5	45.45
Dans une certaine mesure	10	5	50.00	5	50.00
A vrai dire	8	4	50.00	4	50.00
Donner corps à qqch	8	4	50.00	4	50.00
Faire ses preuves	8	4	50.00	4	50.00
Coup d'envoi	6	3	50.00	3	50.00
De longue haleine	6	3	50.00	3	50.00

Table 5.5.: Locutions which appear equally frequently in FREUCO and FRNACO

5.5.2. Distribution among genres

Just as there is a disparity in the occurrence of locutions between the two subcorpora, there is also a disparity among genres. At first glance, a number of locutions, of both high and low frequency, show a strong bias towards a single genre. Many other locutions show strong biases towards one or more genres, but are not absolutely restricted to these genres. Generally speaking, locutions show a tendency either towards genres of a legislative nature, or towards speeches. For example, 'entrer / être en vigueur' appears most frequently in legal texts, such as Community legislation (ojlfr), European treaties (treatfr), and the French Journal Officiel (jofr). 'A compter de' likewise tends to be used in the two Official Journal genres (ojlfr and jofr). 'Prendre (bonne) note', on the other hand, appears most frequently in the European Council Meetings (cefr), a genre which does not have an equivalent in the French national side of the corpus, and in keeping with this finding hardly appears at all in this subcorpus.

On the other hand, some locutions appear in a wide range of genres, that is to say they do not appear to be genre-specific. These include some of the most frequent locutions, such as 'dans le cadre de' and 'tenir compte de'. Some of the slightly lower frequency locutions also appear in a large number of genres, including legal texts, speeches, and press releases. These include:

A long terme
Être en mesure de
Faire preuve de
Avoir l'intention de (in FRNACO)
Mener à bien
De premier plan (in FRNACO - too infrequent to draw conclusions in FREUCO)
Aller de pair avec

5.5.3. Distribution between modes

Since the subcorpora are not of equal size and since there is no perfect one-to-one mapping of genres between subcorpora, raw figures cannot be compared directly. Rather, each subcorpus was divided into two parts: speeches (which are written to be spoken) and written texts, while bearing in mind that there is a lot of variation within these two categories. The national French subcorpus also has a text composed of transcribed speech with written annotations, a *compte rendu* of Assemblée Nationale debates. This particular genre is discarded for the purposes of this comparison, since it introduces a different mode of production, that of spontaneous speech.

Category	**Number of words**	**% of whole corpus**
FREUCO speeches	196,281	18.42
FREUCO written genres	869,108	81.58
FRNACO speeches (not including 'ancrs' - transcription of AN debates)	198,102	18.76 ('ancrs' - 4.76%)
FRNACO written genres	807,707	76.48

Table 5.6.: Proportions of FREUCO and FRNACO made up of spoken and written genres

The focus was first on those locutions which appear to be in some way tied to the speech genres. Since these genres of each subcorpus account for roughly 18 or 19 per cent of the total of that subcorpus, locutions (with a frequency of 20 or above in the whole corpus) of which greater than or equal to 40% of the occurrences are in speech genres, compared to the whole of the subcorpus, are highlighted. This allows for the possibility that chance alone accounts for their higher frequency in that genre. Locutions are ordered by their percentage occurrence in speeches, to highlight those which appear to be most linked to that mode. First, those locutions which are most frequent in the speeches of FREUCO:

Locution	**No. of occurrences in speeches**	**% of occurrences in speeches (compared with FREUCO as a whole)**
A mon sens	14	100.00
Mettre à plat	2	100.00
Bien sûr	27	93.10
A peu près	8	88.89
Vouloir dire	10	76.92
Aller loin	9	75.00
Avoir raison	3	75.00
Il est (n'est pas) question de	5	71.43
En quelque sorte	4	66.67
A côté de	7	63.64
A juste titre	5	62.50
Etre loin de	8	61.54
D'ores et déjà	20	54.05
Etre en train de	16	53.33
A moyen terme	41	51.90
Au fur et à mesure	4	50.00
Aux côtés de qqn	3	50.00
En détail	9	50.00
Tout comme	4	50.00
Rendre hommage à (qqn / qqch)	8	47.06
A court terme	17	45.95
De plus en plus	30	45.45
Faire défaut	5	45.45
Mettre à profit	8	44.44
Faire preuve de	19	43.18
A son tour	3	42.86
Premier pas	6	42.86
Voir (le) jour	3	42.86
Faire face	38	40.00
Il est vrai que	2	40.00

Table 5.7.: Locutions typical of FREUCO speeches

Second, those locutions which have a high proportion of occurrence in the speeches of FRNACO (an asterisk highlights locutions which also appear in the list for FREUCO):

Locution	No. of occurrences in speeches	% occurrences in speeches (compared with FRNACO as a whole, but minus 'ancrs', i.e. speeches and written genres)
Sans réserve	5	83.33
* Avoir raison	13	81.25
Ce faisant	4	80.00
* Aller loin	19	76.00
* A mon sens	6	75.00
Prendre part à	14	73.68
* Rendre hommage à (qqch / qqn)	34	72.34
Avoir l'intention de	5	71.43
* Bien sûr	63	70.79
* Vouloir dire	12	70.59
Tirer parti de	8	61.54
* Voir (le) jour	9	60.00
* A juste titre	7	58.33
Aller de pair avec	5	55.56
* Etre en train de	6	54.55
* Aux côtés de qqn	12	54.55
* Faire défaut	6	54.55
Faire part de qqch à qqn	15	53.57
* A côté de	9	52.94
* A son tour	13	52.00
* Premier pas	3	50.00
* Faire preuve de	13	48.15
Mener à bien	11	44.00
A l'heure	12	41.38
* En quelque sorte	9	40.91

Table 5.8.: Locutions typical of FRNACO speeches

It is notable that although there is a substantial overlap between the two lists - 16 locutions appear in both lists - there is not a total correspondence. Of course, some locutions appear in the other list with a percentage slightly below the 40% taken as the cut-off point for the lists. Others occur with only a small overall frequency, either in one subcorpus or both, so percentage figures will not necessarily be completely accurate. This may account for the apparent importance of both 'sans réserve' and 'mettre à plat', in the speeches genres of FRNACO and FREUCO respectively, each of which is apparently below the expected proportion in the other subcorpus. Some, however, show a discrepancy between subcorpora: 'prendre part à', for example, which occurs in the speeches genres of FRNACO 14 times (accounting for 73.68% of its occurrences in this subcorpus), occurs in the speeches of FREUCO only twice (8.33% of its occurrences here). This locution therefore seems to be more characteristic of European Union administrative language as a whole, while within this discourse it is very much more frequent in written genres, whereas in the national French discourse it is less common on the whole, but where it does occur, it is more common in speech genres. The concordance lines for this locution confirms this assessment, and suggest a reason. In FREUCO, and in particular in the Official Journal genre (ojlfr), 'prendre part à' is part of the set formula: 'Le président ne prend pas part au vote', and tends to come towards the end of the text. In the speeches in FRNACO, the locution collocates weakly with the adjective 'active', but does not appear to be restricted in its usage.

'En détail' is another locution which would appear from these statistics to function in very different ways in the two discourses. Fifty per cent (that is, nine) of its occurrences in FREUCO are in speeches, while in FRNACO it appears only twice in total and not at all in speeches. Since the figures are so low, this is not perhaps surprising, but the disparity between subcorpora suggests a difference in usage, perhaps suggesting that it should be considered a fixed phrase or formula in EU language, as in the case of 'prendre part à' above. The concordance lines reveal no such pattern however, although there is a strong tendency for the locution to collocate with words in the semantic field of examination: 'analyser', 'examiner', 'étudier', 'présenter'.

This suggests that some locutions are more discourse-based, and others more genre-based. FRNACO has slightly fewer locutions which show a strong tendency towards one mode rather than another: it will be remembered that FRNACO had a smaller number of locution tokens than FREUCO, and since the Assemblée Nationale debates genre have been disregarded in these calculations, the figure is smaller still.

Despite these lower percentages, the rough ordering of locutions remains globally the same between the two subcorpora.

It is also interesting to look at those locutions which are much more frequently used in written genres. The following are the locutions (again of a total frequency of 20 in the whole corpus) which appear in the written part of either of the two subcorpora with a frequency of at least 90% (a locution which was evenly spread between the two modes would have a proportion of around 82% in the subcorpus in question):

Locution	**No. of occurrences in written genres**	**% occurrences in written genres (compared with FREUCO as a whole)**
Sous réserve de	102	100.00
Faire état de	16	100.00
Faire foi	16	100.00
A usage	15	100.00
A défaut de	15	100.00
A distance	14	100.00
Etre en droit de	13	100.00
Prendre acte de qqch	106	99.07
A compter de	148	98.67
En vertu de	282	98.26
Au plus tard	95	96.94
En temps utile	25	96.15
Dans la mesure du possible	22	95.65
Prendre (bonne) note	61	93.85
Mettre un terme à	15	93.75
Autant que possible	14	93.33
Sans délai	27	93.10
Pour le compte de	13	92.86
Entrer / Etre en vigueur	335	92.80
Prendre à sa (en) charge	24	92.31
Avoir lieu (de)	243	91.70
Avoir trait à	33	91.67
Prendre part à	22	91.67
Rendre compte	20	90.91
Faire usage de	20	90.91
Dans le cadre de	893	90.75
Entre autres	56	90.32

Table 5.9.: Locutions typical of FREUCO written texts

Locution	No. of occurrences in written genres	% occurrences in written genres (compared with FRNACO as a whole, but minus 'ancrs')
* A défaut de	43	100.00
* Au plus tard	33	100.00
* Pour le compte de	14	100.00
Par la suite	12	100.00
* Faire foi	10	100.00
Mettre en lumière	9	100.00
* Entre autres	7	100.00
Donner suite à (qqch)	4	100.00
* Prendre (bonne) note	2	100.00
* En temps utile	2	100.00
En détail	2	100.00
De sorte que	1	100.00
* Sous réserve de	89	98.89
* A compter de	146	97.99
* En vertu de	44	97.78
* A usage	21	95.45
Avoir droit à	45	93.75
* Faire état de	28	93.33
* Dans la mesure du possible	13	92.86
En tout	12	92.31
Dans la mesure de (où)	44	91.67
Faire valoir	22	91.67
* Entrer / Etre en vigueur	72	91.14
* A distance	50	90.91

Table 5.10.: Locutions typical of FRNACO written texts

Once again, a large number of the locutions appear in both lists (15 locutions), and either very low frequencies of occurrence or a proportion only slightly below the 90% cut-off point can account for some discrepancies. A couple of locutions show interesting differences between the two corpora, however. 'En détail' and 'prendre part à' (both discussed above) are significant in the written part of one subcorpus and the speech genres of the other. These two locutions would appear therefore not to be bound in any way by the mode of discourse (written or written-to-be-spoken), but rather differ most in usage between discourses (EU or national).

A number of locutions therefore differ in usage according to mode. The following locutions, on the other hand, are distributed between speeches and written genres in proportions almost exactly that predicted by chance (a proportion of 16-24% in speech genres, equivalent to 76-84% in written genres). It might be surmised that these are defined more at the level of either discourse or register rather than mode.

FREUCO
En cause
En tout état de cause
Faire appel à
Avoir droit à
Tirer parti de

FRNACO
En cause
Prendre à sa (en) charge
Être en mesure de
Tout au (du) long de
D'ores et déja
Prendre acte de qqch
En fait
Faire le point
Avoir trait à
Être à même de
Au détriment de
De premier plan
Faire usage de
Tirer profit de qqch

There is very little overlap between these two lists. This is partly due to the narrow band of percentage proportions allowed (if percentages were widened, the lists would become more similar), and partly due to low frequencies of occurrence of certain of the locutions. It may also in some cases suggest that a difference in discourse (EU or national) has a greater role to play than mode.

5.5.4. Distribution: conclusion

It would seem therefore that different locutions are restricted in their usage at different levels. Some seem particularly common in the administrative register as a whole. Given the use of Rey and Chantreau's dictionary, with its literary and journalistic source material, as the starting point for this analysis, of course virtually none of the locutions is unique to the administrative register, but it is clear that some are used in different ways in this register from the language as a whole: this is the case with locutions which originated in legal contexts, but which have been adopted by the general language and often used in a metaphorical sense. Some, on the other hand, seem closely linked with one discourse (as represented by the two subcorpora), some to a particular type of genre (e.g. speeches, legal texts), and some to a particular genre (e.g. Commission speeches, rather than Parliament speeches). Yet others will almost inevitably appear to be restricted to individual texts, without being tied to one of the above categories, but with a corpus of this size it is impossible to make generalisations in this regard.

5.6. A case-study by genre: *Conclusions de la Présidence*

An alternative way of comparing genres is to take a sample genre and to consider its use of locutions. With a different design of corpus, it would be possible to compare the use of locutions across two broadly equivalent genres. Given the aims of the administrative corpus design - namely to represent the range of genres, while making sure to include legal texts, speeches, press releases and a range of the other available texts - and the fact that the two contexts are very different in terms of history, present-day function and sphere of influence, it is difficult to find direct equivalents. The two subcorpora are only equivalent to the extent that they both aim to sample a wide range of the types of document available. It is proposed here, therefore, to investigate the role of locutions in the Presidency Conclusions of the European Council genre of FREUCO (pc98fr). The corpus contains the conclusions, or summarized reports, from the European Councils which took place between December 1997 and June 1999.[4] The European Councils are summit meetings which bring together the Heads of State or Government of the Member States and the President of the European Commission, held in the Member State which holds the Presidency of the Council, in order to discuss the general direction of the Union rather than specific everyday issues.

[4] This period covers the European Councils in Luxembourg (Luxembourg Presidency), Cardiff (UK Presidency), Vienna (Austrian Presidency), Berlin and Cologne (both of which took place during the German Presidency)

This genre is discussed by Straehle et al. (1999), in an analysis of the metaphor of 'struggle' as applied to the issue of unemployment, and compared with the genre of Commissioners' speeches.[5] They show that the differences between the two genres can be attributed to their different purposes and audiences, Presidency Conclusions being "internal organizational discourse", directed in the first instance towards other organisations and governments, and the Commissioners' speeches being external discourse. However, the distinction is not totally clear-cut since the understanding of both requires some inside knowledge of how the institutions work and both are ultimately available to a more general public than their initial audiences (cf. 1999, p. 96). Given the aim of Presidency Conclusions, to give instructions to politicians and officials, Straehle et al. are not surprised that "the foe-like characteristics of an opponent (i.e. the personification of unemployment) are minimally emphasized" (1999, p. 89). In the speeches, on the other hand, unemployment is shown to be presented as a problem to be solved (cf. also Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2.1.).

The Presidency Conclusions genre of FREUCO is 74,171 words in size, and accounts for 6.96% of the subcorpus. A total of 615 locutions from the *Dictionnaire* occur in this genre: the average number of locutions per thousand words is therefore 8.29, which is the third highest proportion for a genre in the subcorpus. As regards locution types, 104 are used in the genre, 43 of them only once. Many of these can be seen to reflect the genre's concern with the general direction of development in the European Union, such as: 'poser les jalons' ('to prepare the ground', for a project etc.), 'prendre son élan' ('to gather speed', 'take a run up'), 'comme par le passé' ('as formerly', 'as in the past'), 'clé de voûte' ('keystone'), 'mettre en chantier' ('to undertake', e.g. a project), 'aller de l'avant' ('to forge ahead'), 'à court terme' ('short-term'), 'faire le bilan de' ('to take stock of'), 'parer à toute éventualité' ('to prepare for all eventualities'). A number of others are concerned with the beginnings and endings of projects, their deadlines and intermediate stages - these include: 'toucher à sa fin' ('to come to an end'), 'de bonne

[5] This genre is also represented in the administrative corpus - the 'prspfr' genre.

heure' ('early'), 'sous peu' ('soon'), 'au plus tôt' ('as soon as possible'), 'coup d'envoi' ('kick-off', 'start').

The most frequent locution in the genre, as in the complete corpus, is 'dans le cadre de', which occurs 124 times in the Presidency Conclusions. It collocates with such words as 'processus', 'stratégie', 'politique', 'programme', 'dialogue', 'initiatives', 'Agenda' (as in 'Agenda 2000').[6] A number of locutions occur much more frequently in the genre than their relative proportions in the subcorpus would lead one to expect. One of these is 'prendre acte de (qqch)' ('to note something', or 'to record something formally'). The subject of the verb is almost always the European Council, and the object, most commonly, 'un rapport', but also 'des travaux' and 'l'intention de la Commission'. The Commissioners' speech genre contains no examples of this locution. 'Prendre (bonne) note' ('to take note') also occurs more frequently than might be expected in the Conclusions. Again the European Council is most frequently the subject of the verb, and the phrase serves to present its view on a topic discussed or reported on in the course of the summit. The locution occurs only four times in the Commissioners' speech genre, and interestingly two occurrences refer to the Cardiff European Council.

'En temps utile' (in due course, esp. in the sense of within a set deadline) is used of projects and measures relating to the development of the European Union. It is not surprising that this locution should be used in texts which report on the general directions of the Union. It appears only once in the speeches, and is used in a less specific sense: that of knowing in due course (i.e. when all the facts come to light and not necessarily within a set deadline) which agricultural policy is best for the Union.

[6] 'Agenda 2000' is a study presented by Jacques Santer to the European Parliament in July 1997, described as a "detailed strategy for strengthening and widening the Union in the early years of the 21st century" (Bainbridge 1998, p. 8). It was accepted for further negociations at the Luxembourg European Council in December 1997.

5.7. A case-study by locution: 'A long / moyen / court terme'

Finally, as a further approach, this section considers a single locution, or rather a set of three related locutions, and investigates in more detail their place and use in the complete corpus. These locutions are 'à long terme', 'à moyen terme' and 'à court terme' (in the long / medium / short term). These were felt to be intuitively interesting, especially as regards the differences in usage, both among the three, and between the two subcorpora: one might wonder, for example, whether the EU has different long term goals and plans from the national French administration.

The first thing one notices when making concordance lists of these locutions is that there is a range of related locutions, or variations on the locution, such as 'sur le long terme', 'en long terme', '[solution/accord etc.] de long terme'. It is also notable that the three locutions, or just two of them, often combine in actual usage. For example, the complex locution 'à moyen et / ou (à) long terme' is fairly frequent, and a number of other variants, such as 'à court, moyen et long terme', 'à court et à long terme' and 'à long et (à) moyen terme' also appear. There is a strong tendency towards the order 'court', 'moyen', 'long', as if the nearer future is envisaged first. Rather than count each of these as an instance of two or three locutions at once, and thereby inflate the figures for each, it was decided to count each only once, as an instance of the last locution in the combination: thus 'à court et à long terme' was taken to be an instance of 'à long terme'.

'A long terme' is the most frequent of the three locutions (and the fourteenth most frequent of all the locutions in the corpus), appearing 165 times in total, of which 134 are in FREUCO and 31 in FRNACO. 'A moyen terme' is the second most frequent, with 107 instances, 79 in FREUCO and 28 in FRNACO. 'A court terme' is the least frequent (although still the fortieth most frequent locution in the whole corpus), with 57 instances, and a distribution of 37 in FREUCO and 20 in FRNACO. It is clear, therefore, that European Union discourse appears to have quantitatively greater recourse to these particular locutions than French national discourse, although this is perhaps not surprising since this subcorpus has a higher share of the total number of locution tokens (cf. Section 5.5.1. above). Looking at the corpus on the whole, 'à long terme' is used in 26 genre categories (out of 37), 'à moyen terme' in 23, with about a fifth of all occurrences in the European Central Bank speech genre (ecbfr), and 'à court terme' in 17, of which also about a fifth of all occurrences are in this same genre. A total of only 10, or almost one in four, genres contain instances of all three locutions. This is surprising since it might be expected that the same type of text will use all three more consistently, as all are found in texts which set out projects for the future and guidelines as to the direction the Union might take.

In the corpus as a whole (FRADCO), there is a small amount of overlap between the collocates of each of the three locutions:

'à long terme'
moyen, taux, contrats, viabilité, court, politique, développement, perspective(s), effets, stabilité, stockage, création, économique(s)

'à moyen terme'
long, stabilité, budgétaire, perspectives, prix, programme, court, croissance, pacte, mesures, objectifs, politique, budget

'à court terme'
long, moyen, affectant, deséquilibres, écarts, heures, monétaire, œuvre

Each locution collocates with the other two. However, lists of decontextualised collocates reveal only part of the picture. 'A court terme' can be seen from concordance lines to occur frequently with negative items. To put it differently, something which is only a short-term solution is not seen as very valuable, and things which are planned for the short term are often relatively negative, since a better solution in the long term often starts off as a regression compared with the original situation. There are texts which discuss the shrinking of the ozone layer in the short term, and a short-term imbalance in prices owing to such factors as raw material price changes. In the medium term, issues like the price stability and budgetary concerns seem to be most important. Long-term solutions are the ultimate goal because they lead to stability. At the same time, problems may arise in the long term which were not envisaged.

Looking at the collocates in each subcorpus separately, the picture changes slightly:

'à long terme'
FREUCO: taux, moyen, contrats, viabilité, stabilité, stockage, clé, court, effets, économiques, commission, conseil, coopération
FRNACO: politique, cinq, moyen, équilibre

'à moyen terme'
FREUCO: stabilité, budgétaire, prix, croissance, programme, court, mesures, monétaire, pacte, politique, budget, communautaire, déficit, perspectives
FRNACO: court, formation, perspectives

'à court terme'
FREUCO: deséquilibres, monétaire
FRNACO: heures, supplémentaires

There are too few instances of 'à court terme' to enable generalisations to be drawn about the types of things which are envisaged or planned in the short term. In the medium term, it is the European Union discourse which is more concerned with budgetary issues and economic stability. The national French discourse appears more concerned with abstract plans, hopes, objectives and reform, although it too talks of medium-term economic issues. FRNACO has relatively few instances of 'à long terme' compared to FREUCO, but allowing for this quantitative difference, there seems to be little difference between the types of things which are planned or happen in the long term: employment issues, economic and financial issues, and political issues are all common.

5.8. The quantitative role of locutions in FRADCO

It is difficult to be accurate as regards the proportion of the corpus which is made up of these locutions. Any attempt to calculate the proportion raises the issue of what exactly ought to be considered part of the locution, and the issue of variation within locutions. In addition, even if one were merely to calculate the mean number of words per locution based on the form of the locution as it appears in the *Dictionnaire*, there is also the issue of whether or not there is a correlation between length of locution and number of tokens of that locution, as clearly it is the token count which is relevant here. Glancing down a frequency-ordered list of locutions, there does appear to be a slight correlation, with the number of words per locution increasing slightly as frequency decreases (that is to say, the more frequent locutions have a slight tendency to be shorter). Rosamund Moon too (1998a, p. 78) found a small corrrelation between frequency and length of the FEIs in her data: as frequency increases, the average number of words decreases. At the same time, however, the most frequent locution by far has four words, and is consequently above the mean. While this does not seem to be a very important correlation, it should not be completely overlooked.

In spite of all of these caveats, it is perhaps useful to make a rough estimate, in order to gauge the relative importance of the resources of general language phraseological elements in the administrative corpus. Moon did not attempt to calculate this proportion, but made a rough guess that between 4 and 5% of her corpus was made up of FEIs (1998a, p. 57). In the administrative corpus, there are 11,673 locution tokens. The overall average number of words per locution (based on types rather than tokens) is taken to be 3.39 words.[7] Therefore, it can be calculated that around 39,600 words in the corpus are part of one of the locutions in the *Dictionnaire*. This represents around 1.87% of the total corpus. Of course, a larger proportion of the corpus will be made up of this type of locution, since, as was noted above, the *Dictionnaire* makes no pretensions to being exhaustive, and indeed a number of similar locutions were noted while searching for those contained in the dictionary, and the methods of identifying locutions will inevitably have resulted in a few examples remaining hidden from view. Thus, the disparity between the figure arrived at in this study and in Moon's could have resulted for a variety of reasons: the difficulty in calculating accurately, or the fact that the focus here is on a smaller number of locutions and a smaller corpus: on the other hand, it may be a property of the register-specificity of this corpus.

[7] This figure is an average arrived at by counting up the total number of words contained in all the locutions in the forms in which they are found in the *Dictionnaire*, and dividing by 633, the total number of locution types found in the corpus.

5.9. Conclusions

The analysis carried out in this chapter has shown that a fairly small number of the locutions listed in Rey and Chantreau's *Dictionnaire des expressions et locutions* occur in the administrative corpus. Of these, the lower frequency locutions are of various types: metaphorical, interpersonal and idiomatic: one cannot say therefore that the register is entirely devoid of traditional idioms. However, these play only a minor role, at least in quantitative terms, and their usage is concentrated in certain genres, notably speeches and press releases. Other locutions originated in legal or political contexts, and tend to be used in the corpus in their original, non-metaphorical sense. The higher frequency locutions tend to be more grammatical in nature, and include complex prepositions, grammatical phrases, and discourse-structuring devices. These differ in their distribution between the two subcorpora. The two discourses, of European Union French and national French administrative language, have been shown to draw on this phraseological resource to different extents and for subtly different purposes. Furthermore, the distribution of locutions differed both among genres, and also between the different modes covered by the corpus (written and written-to-be-spoken). More detailed analyses were made of a particular genre, that of Presidency Conclusions following European Council meetings, and of a set of three particular locutions, 'à long terme', 'à moyen terme' and 'à court terme'.

This approach clearly has its shortcomings. By taking Rey and Chantreau's *Dictionnaire des expressions et locutions* as the source of locutions, discussion of such expressions has inevitably been limited to those contained in this dictionary: an analysis of the corpus texts here reveals many more locution candidates. At the same time, the use of such a dictionary has the advantage of a ready-made list of prime candidates, and provided a point of contact with the 'general' language, as it is represented by the collection of mostly literary and journalistic texts used as the basis of the dictionary.

It is evident that more analysis could be carried out on this data. For example, a number of additional comparisons are possible: between genres other than speeches, compared with the remainder of the corpus or with the comparator corpus. Also, more detailed analysis of individual locutions could prove insightful (at least from the point of view of these locutions, if not the register as a whole), and further investigation into the locutions employed by particular genres considered individually would certainly be useful. However, this analysis has both contributed further to the picture of phraseology initiated in Chapter 4, and indeed consolidated this picture. In terms of the general language phraseological resources which the administrative register of French has recourse to, the EU discourse can again be differentiated from its national counterpart. This is true at the level of the number and range of general language locutions employed, and at the level of the typical environment and function of individual locutions.

Chapter 6: The Phraseology of Keywords

"My entire œuvre *seemed to be saturated in grease. I'd never realized I was so obsessed with the stuff."* (Lodge 1984, p. 183)

6.1. Introduction

Chapter 4 investigated phraseology which is the creation of those who use the particular discourse of administration; Chapter 5 examined the semantic and syntactically-defined phraseological resources of the general language which are employed by the administrative register. In each of these respects, the EU and national administrative discourses were found to differ. The four parts of this chapter are connected by a focus on phraseological patterning which is the product of the corpus itself - that is to say, a statistical notion. In order to do this, the chapter takes a number of both open and closed approaches to the material, each of which highlights a different aspect of the administrative language.

The sections of this chapter are also linked in their concern with the collocational and phraseological patterning of individual words: administrative documents are not obsessed, like Frobisher in *Small World*, with grease, but some of the key words in the register, identified by computation rather than intuition, are just as surprising. Chapter 2 discussed J. R. Firth's original notion of collocation and recent extensions to the concept, which, while arguably moving beyond the notion of collocation itself, have produced many interesting and often unexpected findings, and have enabled collocation to become the central element in a more holistic conceptualisation of language. Michael Hoey has summarised the questions that can be asked of a word with regard to its patterning in text, and these are useful to bear in mind throughout this chapter:

> 1. What lexical patterns is it part of?
> 2. Is there any pattern of association of the word with other meanings?
> 3. What structure(s) does it appear in; i.e. what are its immediate colligations?
> 4. Is there any correlation between the word's uses/meanings and the structures in which it participates?
> 5. Is it associated with any (position in any) textual organisation; i.e. does it have any textual colligations? (Hoey 2000, p. 95)

Question one relates to the lexical environment of the word: that is to say, its collocations in Firth's own sense, and any idioms and terminological items etc. of which it forms a part, whereas question two relates to the semantic environment of the word, including any discernible discourse (or semantic) prosody. While the theoretical distinction between the two questions is clear, in practice they are difficult to separate. With only corpus evidence, it is not always straightforward to determine whether a word or phrase is indeed collocating with a meaning, or with a finite set of lexical items. Question three refers to the word's colligational or grammatical patterning, and question four to the relation between pattern and meaning, following Hunston and Francis' demonstration that there is a strong correlation between the two (cf. 1999, and Section 2.5.4.1.). Question five, finally, extends the examination to features of text and discourse.

Taken together, the questions investigate "actual words in habitual company" (Firth 1962, p. 14): only question one, however, investigates the habitual lexical company of words. In the strict sense of the word, then, question one alone deals with collocation proper. The other four questions, however, seek to make other features of the word's environment and phraseology more amenable to linguistic analysis. In this chapter, while the analysis is not restricted purely to question one, it is the lexical, i.e. collocational, environment of words which is the main focus.

The complete administrative corpus contains nearly 38,000 word types. Clearly, then, in order to analyse the patterning of individual words, a judicious selection is necessary. Each of the sections focuses on words which are 'key' by different definitions: keywords allow for a very focused approach, and both quantitative and qualitative analysis which can be tailored to suit particular interests. There are two main definitions of keywords which have been exploited by corpus methodology: a statistical definition and a sociological definition. Section 6.2. introduces the notion of statistical keywords, a concept which allows the corpus to speak for itself. Section 6.3. then deals with sociological keywords. The order taken here therefore parallels that taken in Chapters 4 and 5: in the first instance, the corpus provides the starting point for the analysis, and then areas which are likely to provide insights are targeted, from outside the corpus. These two sections continue the analysis of Chapters 4 and 5, in that they seek to differentiate the European Union and national discourses of administration through their phraseology: this is the descriptive goal of this thesis. The remaining sections of the chapter make two initial attempts to suggest an explanation for the phraseological differences between the discourses (see Section 6.4.).

6.2. Statistical keywords

The statistical concept of keywords was developed by Mike Scott, in the context of the WordSmith Tools software. Scott explains keywords as follows:

> The purpose of this program is to locate and identify key words in a given text. To do so, it compares the words in the text with a reference set of words usually taken from a large corpus of text. Any word which is found to be outstanding in its frequency in the text is considered 'key'. (Scott 1999 - WordSmith Tools)

This notion is closely mirrored in Michael Hoey's work on lexical patterns in text (cf. Hoey 1991). Keywords in Scott's sense, as the quotation above implies, need not be lexical. Grammatical words can also appear as statistical keywords in a corpus, and frequently do. Finally, while Scott's statistical keywords do not by definition differ in usage or collocational patterning among contexts, it transpires, however, that some do have strong patterns of collocation in the corpus, and that these can be different from their patterns in other registers, and can differ according to discourse or genre factors within the corpus. These are the focus of this section.

The Keywords facility of WordSmith Tools works by comparing wordlists compiled on the basis of the corpus in question and a specified reference corpus. There are therefore numerous possibilities for comparison using this method with FRADCO. It is possible to compare the two discourses with each other, the complete administrative corpus with the comparator corpus, groups of related genres with others (such as speech genres with press releases), single genres with the whole corpus, or a single genre from one subcorpus with the nearest equivalent genre in the other. It is, of course, impossible to compare corpora in different languages by this method. Depending on the comparison made, different types of words in different proportions are shown to be key: names, nouns specific to the context, words which are part of formulae used in individual genres, adverbs and grammatical words.

Here it has been decided to concentrate on a comparison between, firstly, the complete administrative corpus and the comparator corpus, and secondly between the European Union and the French national halves of the administrative corpus. Reference is also made to the comparator corpus at certain points of the latter analysis, for example where the collocational behaviour of a particular word differs markedly between registers as well as between discourses. Appendix 5 contains keyword lists for three different comparisons: the complete administrative corpus (FRADCO) with reference to the comparator corpus; FREUCO compared with FRNACO and, vice versa, FRNACO compared with FREUCO. For reasons of space, only the top 50 keywords for each are listed.

It is notable that many of the keywords in the list for FREUCO compared with FRNACO also appear in the keyword list for the complete administrative corpus: this indicates that while a word may be key in the administrative corpus as compared to the 'general language', this is often due to a very high frequency of occurrence in a single part of the corpus, in this case the European Union discourse. Within the EU discourse, of course, the word may further owe its keyness to a single genre or group of genres.

Comparing the three keyword lists in Appendix 5, it turns out that the following words are key in the register as a whole primarily because of their significance in FREUCO:

> article, Commission, membres, Conseil, européenne, Union, européen, directive, traité, paragraphe, communauté, règlement, mesures, euro, concernant, communautaire, conformément, UE, décision, présent, programme, membre, accord

Only one word, on the other hand, is key in the register primarily because of its significance in FRNACO: this is 'formation' ('training'). This suggests once again that the European Union discourse has a higher proportion of words more or less specific to its context, and uses certain of these words very frequently. Below, also, are the words which are key in the administrative corpus as a whole, that is to say that their appearance in the keyword list of FRADCO against the comparator corpus is not due to their predominance in one or other discourse, but the two combined: these would seem therefore to have a special place in the administrative register as a whole. These tend to be grammatical words:

> des, l', la, dispositions, de, cadre, services,[1] les, coopération, mise, d', application, aux, développement, emploi, ou, conditions, procédure, du, niveau, notamment, accès, sécurité, information

In looking in more detail at a selection of these keywords below, each word is discussed in the context of the corpus or subcorpus in which it is most key. The discussion of keywords in the full administrative corpus therefore concentrates on this final group of words.

6.2.1. Statistical keywords in FRADCO

If one looks at the keyword list for the administrative corpus compared with the more general comparator corpus, it can be seen that many of the top keywords do appear in the comparator corpus, although much less frequently. Indeed, there is only one word form in the top 50 keywords which does not appear at all in the comparator corpus: this is the abbreviation 'UE' ('Union européenne'). While the comparator corpus contains

[1] The singular form 'service', however, is key in FRNACO.

many references to the European Union, it does not abbreviate the name. It turns out that the instances of 'UE' occur almost exclusively in the European Union part of the corpus (910 instances of the 912 in FRADCO). Of the other keywords, some, primarily words concerning administrative institutions and legal instruments ('Commission', 'Conseil', 'dispositions', 'directive', 'traité', 'paragraphe', 'accord'), or words suggesting major policy areas or concerns ('emploi', 'développement', 'formation', 'sécurité', 'information') appear very infrequently compared to the administrative corpus, while others, often grammatical words, appear frequently in both corpora, but are still key in the administrative corpus as compared to the more general comparator corpus. Gledhill has pointed out that "Grammatical items appear to be excellent indicators of general phraseology, yet they have not received as much attention in general lexicology or corpus linguistics as their lexical counterparts" (2000, p. 73). From the point of view of collocation, one can look in more detail at the words with the highest degree of 'keyness' (in FRADCO, these are both grammatical and lexical, cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.1.), and those whose keyness in a particular corpus may be counterintuitive.

Given the common appearance of 'état' in the multiword sequences identified in Chapter 4 (and cf. also Section 6.4.1.6. below), it is perhaps not surprising that its frequent collocate 'membre', in its plural form, should appear in the keyword list. One might want to see, however, with what else 'membre' collocates in both the administrative register and the comparator corpus. In the latter, the keyword and its plural form occur overwhelmingly in the journalistic texts, although in the other parts of the comparator corpus it collocates with a number of organisations and bodies, such as 'Académie', 'Corps', 'Conseil d'état', 'Chambre', 'Institut' etc. In the corpus as a whole, it is to be found in the environment of a number of similar words, although mostly contemporary administrative bodies, such as 'comité', Conseil', 'bureau' and 'secrétariat'. It is only rarely used as an adjective, collocating as such with 'état(s)', 'pays', and 'consommateurs'. In FRADCO on the other hand, just as 'état' collocates overwhelmingly with 'membre', so the reverse is true: 'état(s) membre(s)' accounts for around three quarters of the instances of ‘membre(s)’. ‘Pays membres’ is much less frequent but does occur, often to refer to member states of organisations other than the European Union. As an adjective, it is also to be found with ‘communes’ (in FRNACO only), and very rarely ‘habitants’, ‘candidats’ and ‘personnalité’. As a noun, it collocates in particular with numbers, the names of bodies and organisations and the names of individuals (as in ‘M. Bangemann, membre de la Commission’).

Similarly, given the discussion in Chapter 5, it is not a surprise that ‘cadre’ is also to be found high in the keyword list. In FRADCO, it is part of the collocations ‘dans le cadre de’, ‘dans un cadre + ADJ’ and ‘dans ce cadre’: these account for around 70% of the instances of ‘cadre’. In the L1 position, the first word to the left of the node word, ‘programme’ (‘programme-cadre’ - ‘framework programme’), ‘nouveau’ and ‘accord’ (‘accord-cadre’ - ‘framework agreement’) are the most frequent lexical words. In the comparator corpus, these collocations only account for around 46% of the instances of ‘cadre’. Another frequent collocation is ‘hors cadre’ (‘seconded’, ‘detached’ or ‘unclassified’), especially in the context of ‘préfet hors cadre’.

The fact of appearing in a keyword list for a particular corpus does not necessarily mean that a word is either specific to a particular context, or that it is used in a notably different way in that context. Some words merely occur in the corpus with a greater frequency than in the reference corpus against which it is compared. ‘Niveau’ (‘level’) is a case in point. In both the comparator corpus and the administrative corpus, it collocates with adjectives of degree: ‘haut’, ‘bas’ and ‘élevé’. However, it is evident from the relative occurrences that things are referred to more in terms of rates and levels, whether rising or falling or being maintained over time, in the administrative corpus. Similarly, the keyword is very commonly followed by an adjective indicating the scope of an initiative, law, policy, etc., with adjectives such as ‘européen’, ‘national’, ‘international’, ‘global’, ‘local’, ‘mondial’. This type of collocation is much less frequent in the comparator corpus, although some examples do exist. Much more typical of this corpus are instances of 'niveau' used to indicate a standard or level, as in 'niveau de vie' ('standard of living').

In the comparator corpus, 'coopération' occurs only in the journalistic texts. 'Coopération' may take place in various contexts, particularly economic, scientific, industrial and technological, and it may be international, bilateral or between specific areas ('Nord-Sud', 'entre le Nord et le Sud'), or particular nations ('américano-nippon', 'entre la France et la RFA'). Often only a single nation is mentioned explicitly, with France understood as the other party. Cooperation is something desirable: 'la poursuite d'une coopération étroite', 'le maintien de bonnes relations de coopération', and something which one seeks to increase: 'accroître / élargir leur coopération'. France even has of course a 'Ministre de la coopération et du développement'. In the administrative corpus, there are a number of very frequent collocations, including 'accord(s) de coopération' and 'établissement public de coopération intercommunale'. Once again, cooperation comes across as desirable: it has a positive prosody from such collocating verbs as 'favoriser', 'intensifier', 'promouvoir', 'renforcer', 'stimuler' and 'améliorer'. As in the comparator corpus, the collocates of the keyword show that cooperation occurs in a wide range of areas: 'douanière', 'policière', 'scientifique', 'culturelle', 'judiciaire', 'au développement', and at various levels: 'régionale', 'intercommunale', 'internationale', between the European Union and other groups of nations.

There are a number of strong patterns of collocation in the environment of the keyword 'développement': it collocates, firstly, with words indicating the encouragement given to development in the administrative context: especially the verbs 'stimuler', 'promouvoir', 'favoriser' and the nouns 'coopération (au)', 'appui (au)', 'aide (politique au)'. Development is ideally 'durable' and 'harmonieux', and often presented as 'nouveau', which suggests that it is considered from its starting point (an initiative taken or plans to concentrate on a particular area), rather than as a change in progress, although there is some reference to time frames, with the fixed expressions 'à long/moyen/court terme' often occurring in the environment of the keyword. There is also evidence of a large number of strategies, programmes and projects which have in view the development of certain areas of responsibility. Development can be seen therefore to have a positive prosody. There is no reason why, for example, a doctor should not monitor the development of a disease, but neither corpus contains evidence of such a use. For a country to be 'en développement' comes across as positive, by emphasising the ongoing development rather than the current underdevelopment.

In some cases, the keyness of a word with relation to the comparator corpus is primarily due to a couple of very frequent collocations. This is the case with 'information', for which over a third of the occurrences are accounted for by the collocations 'société de l'information', 'technologies de l'information' and 'système(s) de l'information'.

As was mentioned above, the keyword list for FRADCO contains grammatical as well as lexical words. All of these are key in the administrative corpus as a whole, that is to say that their appearance in the FRADCO keyword list is not due to their highly frequent occurrence in either of the subcorpora individually. 'Des' is the most key grammatical word form in the corpus, with over 50,000 occurrences, as both the fusion of 'de' and the plural definite article, and the partitive article. The definite article appears in the keyword list in five other forms: the feminine singular form 'la', the abbreviated form which precedes a vowel 'l'', the plural 'les' and its form when preceded by the preposition 'à': 'aux', and finally, 'du', the form produced by the fusion of 'de + le', and also a partitive article.

The coordinating conjunction 'ou' ('or') occurs around twice as frequently in FRADCO as in the similarly sized comparator corpus. A detailed analysis of the differences in usage of the word, which occurs nearly 8,500 times, in the two corpora, while of considerable interest, is beyond the scope of this study, where the aim is to give a more general picture. Suffice it to mention for the purposes of this study that 'ou' forms part of a number of repeated phrases in the administrative corpus, including 'Chefs d'état ou de gouvernement' and 'langues/cultures régionales ou minoritaires', and that in the comparator corpus its occurrence with the succeeding adverbs 'bien', 'même' and 'plutôt' ('or rather', 'or even') is notable compared with the administrative corpus in which these constructions are used very infrequently.

A couple of other keywords can be placed more towards the grammatical end of the lexicogrammatical continuum, but are not purely grammatical words. 'Mise' owes its keyness to its part in a number of phrasal nouns: 'mise au point', 'mise à disposition', 'mise à jour' and especially 'mise en œuvre' and 'mise en place', which occur also in the comparator corpus but with smaller frequencies. These appear to be one of the resources of the French language which the administrative register draws upon to the greatest extent. The adverb 'notamment' is also key in the administrative corpus: it is frequently followed by a set phrase indicating context, such as 'dans le cadre / domaine de', 'en ce qui concerne' and 'en matière de', and also by precise reference to an article of a piece of legislation, as in 'vu le traité instituant la Communauté européenne, et notamment son article 43' (from both the C and L Series of the *Journal Officiel*).

6.2.2. Statistical keywords in FREUCO

A large number of the top 50 keywords in FREUCO can be seen through intuition to have a particular importance in the European Union context (such as 'Bruxelles', 'Union', 'communauté' and its derived adjective 'communautaire', 'euro', 'Commission', 'traité'), or to have special meanings or specific reference in this context ('écus', 'Conseil', 'paragraphe' [in legislation]). If one looks at the statistics too, the top key words in FREUCO have a greater combined frequency than those in FRNACO,[2] and these keywords are less likely to appear in the other subcorpus.[3] The European Union keywords, then, are on average more specific to their particular discourse than are

[2] A total of 66,459 occurrences as against 55,349 in the FRNACO keyword list.

[3] The combined occurrences of FREUCO's top 50 keywords in FRNACO is 13,425, whereas the combined occurrences of FRNACO's top 50 keywords in FREUCO is 21,036.

the French national ones (cf. Section 6.4.1. for further discussion of this finding, in the context of another approach).

It is notable that there are no grammatical words in FREUCO's top 50 keywords: the most 'key' grammatical word is the feminine definite article 'la' in sixty-fourth place, which owes its keyness to the sheer frequency of reference to 'la Commission' in the EU subcorpus. There are however a number of abbreviations: 'UE' ('Union européenne'); 'CEE' ('Communauté économique européenne', the EU's predecessor as formed by the Treaty of Rome); 'DN' ('document number', which is used in all language versions of documents); 'AOP' (all of the instances of this are to be found in a single text, a Commission press release approving an EU symbol for designations of origin and geographical indications for agricultural products - at the start, the text indicates that AOP stands for 'protection des appellations d'origine'); 'JO' ('Journal Officiel'); 'IP' (a handful of the occurrences of this refer to a computer's IP [i.e. Internet Protocol] address, but the vast majority form part of the document number of Commission press releases); 'AFF' (all of the instances of which occur in the Bulletin of the European Court of Justice documents, where it occurs as part of the reference number of particular cases ['affaires']). Apart from 'JO', which is used in the French national subcorpus to refer to the French *Journal Officiel*, all of these abbreviations are very infrequent, or even in some cases non-existent, in FRNACO.

Many of the keywords form part of legal formulae: 'considérant', used as a recital giving factual information in a treaty; 'concernant', which introduces the area of interest of a directive etc. - such as in 'la directive 94/67/CE concernant l'incinération des déchets dangereux'; 'conformément', translated in the European Communities Glossary (1990) as 'as provided for in...' or 'in accordance with...', a previous piece of legislation, agreement or procedure; 'instituant', 'establishing', particularly in 'traité instituant la Communauté européenne'; and 'statuant', 'acting', particularly in 'le Conseil, statuant à l'unanimité' ('acting unanimously'), 'statuant à la majorité qualifiée' ('acting by a qualified majority'), and 'statuant conformément à la procédure visée à l'article #'.

The two subcorpora have very similar patterns of collocation for the keyword 'marché' ('market'). These include: 'marché + adj. for nation' (e.g. 'marché britannique', 'marché européen'), 'marché commun', 'marché communautaire', 'marché unique', 'marché intérieur', and particular market areas, 'de l'emploi' and more commonly 'du travail' and such collocations as 'marché monétaire / financier / des transports'. Interestingly, the comparator corpus contains nearly three times as many instances of 'marché' as FRNACO. This is entirely due to the journalistic texts once again, where collocations like those listed above are common. In the other registers the word form 'marché' is more frequently the past participle of the verb 'marcher' ('to walk'), except in the expression 'bon marché' ('cheap').

For 'mesures' ('measures') also, the patterns of collocation are similar over the two subcorpora, although the EU subcorpus uses the word around two and a half times as frequently as the national subcorpus. In both corpora, 'mesures' are talked about in groups: 'une série de mesures', 'une campagne de mesures', 'un ensemble de mesures'; but in the national subcorpus also there is a strong tendency to talk about individual measures, especially in the formulae: 'le Conseil des Ministres a adopté les mesures individuelles suivantes' and 'ont été adoptées diverses mesures d'ordre individuel relatives à...'. Two principal verbs collocate with the keyword: 'prendre' and 'adopter' (in the context of administration usually translated 'to introduce'). It is interesting that 'adopter des mesures' (and 'adopter une mesure'), including all forms of the verb, tends strongly to occur towards the end of individual texts where it implies agreement, while 'prendre des mesures' (and 'prendre une mesure') is distributed evenly throughout the texts and implies action taken. Measures appear to be 'adoptées' particularly in summaries, even when they have been 'prises' throughout the text.

6.2.3. Statistical keywords in FRNACO

Turning to the equivalent keyword list for the French national subcorpus compared with the EU subcorpus, a glance down the list suggests that a larger proportion of the keywords are not specific to the discourse in question, although of course many turn out to be used in distinct ways or with specific meanings in the discourse. However, despite the words themselves appearing to be more general in usage, there are still a number of words key in FRNACO which do not occur at all in FREUCO, referring as they do to organisations and bodies which are particular to the French context: these are 'gendarmerie', 'sénat', 'intercommunale', 'interministéri+', covering all forms of the adjective 'interministériel'.[4] Alongside a number of words which clearly have an importance in administrative language, whether French particularly or more generally, such as 'loi',[5] 'ministère', 'ministre', 'décret', 'département(s)', there are many word of more general reference, including 'France', 'français(e)', 'femmes', 'ville', 'art', 'enfant', 'temps', 'parents', 'heures', 'travail' and 'continue'.[6] While in FREUCO there are a number of abbreviations among the statistical keywords, in FRNACO's top 50 keywords there is only one abbreviation: this is 'M.', the short form of the title 'Monsieur'.

It is notable that there are a number of more grammatical words among the keywords of this subcorpus. In addition to the third person singular form of the verb 'être', 'est', which occurs around 40% more frequently in FRNACO than FREUCO (see also Section 6.4.2.2. below), there are a number of personal pronouns: 'vous', 'on', 'il' and 'nous'; and the first person plural possessive adjective 'notre'. This is in part due to the inclusion of a transcribed meeting of the Assemblée Nationale, but even disregarding the presence of this text in the corpus, there is a significant difference in this regard

[4] WordSmith Tools is set to truncate word forms with more than 14 characters.

[5] It may appear surprising that 'loi' should be by such a long way the most key word-form in FRNACO, given that laws are clearly important in both contexts. This is explained, however, by the fact that the European Union does not use the word 'loi' for its legislative acts, but rather 'Règlement', 'Directive' and Décision', depending on the applicability of the piece of legislation (see also Appendix 1, footnote 11).

[6] 'Continue' owes its presence in the keyword list primarily to its part in the collocation 'formation continue' ('life-long learning').

between the two subcorpora. The national subcorpus appears also to appeal more, using 'vous', to the reader or audience of a text. First person plural possessive adjectives, especially in 'notre pays', 'notre patrimoine', 'notre culture', 'notre objectif commun', and even 'notre France', in FRNACO appeal to the reader or listener's sense of national pride and invite cooperation and a sense of common purpose.

Here a number of the lexical keywords are discussed in more detail. First of all, it is notable that there are several keywords referring to people, grouped according to natural or socially-imposed criteria: 'femmes', 'familles', 'parents', 'enfant'[7] and 'élèves'.

'Femmes' in both subcorpora are mentioned primarily with respect to their rights and careers: 'droits des femmes', 'égalité (des chances) entre les femmes et les hommes / entre les hommes et les femmes', 'les femmes dans la vie professionnelle / dans la fonction publique / dans les emplois'. In addition, in FREUCO there is much reference to violence towards women, among other 'vulnerable' groups, whereas in FRNACO nearly a quarter of the instances of 'femmes' appear in a co-text which makes direct reference to figures, proportions, and changes in these: 'les femmes représentent 57%', 'le nombre de femmes a doublé / est particulièrement élevé', 'la proportion d'hommes et de femmes...', 'le taux des femmes'. The concordances taken together show a keenness to report cases, in administration or in business, where proportions or numbers of women employees have reached or exceeded the level of equality. The national French subcorpus also gives evidence of 'femmes' followed by another noun: 'les femmes cadres', 'les femmes candidats' and 'les femmes fonctionnaires', which do not occur at all in FREUCO.

[7] 'Enfant' is less key in FRNACO in its plural form - the plural form 'enfants' is only the 58th most key word compared with FREUCO. The singular form in FRNACO is key because of its use in such constructions as 'tout enfant' (as in 'information accessible à tout enfant'), 'le droit de l'enfant', 'les besoins de l'enfant', where the singular is used almost as a collective noun. This usage is extremely rare in FREUCO. See also discussion of the singular form below.

In Michael Stubbs' data, the keyword 'family' occurs in collocations which indicate an important change in social structure, such as 'single-parent families'. The French 'familles' is statistically important in FRNACO, with 430 occurrences, but is very infrequent in FREUCO, with only 19 occurrences, 17 of which appear in Commission Press Releases. While in FREUCO, the families referred to are almost exclusively outside Europe, in troubled areas such as Bosnia, Afghanistan and the Balkans, for example, in FRNACO, the families tend to be French. In both subcorpora, however, there is a strong prosody of 'aid' in the environment of the keyword. The European Union documents' concern is with the repatriation of families, the reunification of people (such as refugees) with their families, and food aid to families in need. In FRNACO, while such concerns are present, the majority of the concordance lines bear on financial aid ('allocations familiales', 'soutien' and 'transferts financiers vers les familles') to poorer French families ('les familles les plus défavorisées / démunies / pauvres / modestes / qui ont le plus de difficultés'). Families are also shown to be important for their role in education: this is another role which does not appear in FREUCO.

'Parents', similarly, are infrequently mentioned in FREUCO (only 16 occurrences, in only 6 different documents, compared with 299 occurrences in FRNACO). Here, they are most commonly considered in relation to 'enseignants' or 'éducateurs', for the role they have to play in a child's education. In FRNACO there are clear patterns of occurrence: 'parents' collocates frequently with 'enfants' (or 'bébés'), and with 'élèves', with parents having an important role to play from birth, through school, when 'parents' appears in the collocation 'parents d'élèves' (usually translated simply as 'parents' in English, but with their role in the child's education implied), and beyond, when there may be 'une rupture avec [les] parents'. Throughout, they have a level of responsibility towards their children, which is highlighted repeatedly in the concordances.

It is perhaps not surprising that 'enfant' should also be infrequent in FREUCO: here it occurs only 5 times, compared with 290 in FRNACO. While it is impossible to indicate any typical collocates on the basis of a handful of occurrences, it can be seen that the keyword appears to occur in the context of rights and the protection provided in law for children. This is true also for FRNACO, which, despite many more occurrences of ‘enfant’, has few frequently repeated expressions containing the keyword, and relatively few frequent collocates. The most common environment of the word concerns the rights of children: ‘l’enfant a droit à la protection de la loi / à la liberté d’expression / à l’éducation’. ‘Élèves’, on the other hand, understandably, occurs primarily in the context of education, in FREUCO referring to school pupils, and in FRNACO referring in addition to pupils and former pupils of ‘conservatoires’ (music schools), and ‘l’École Nationale d’Administration’ (‘l’ÉNA’).

Finally, it is revealing to take a closer look at a couple of very general, unrelated, words which appear in the keyword list. These are ‘ville’ (‘town’) and ‘temps’ (usually ‘time’, but used in many set expressions). ‘Ville’ in FREUCO is used only 24 times, a third of which are references to the European City of Culture (‘capitale européenne de la culture’). Of the other instances, several refer to ‘la ville de demain’, a common theme in the context of urban transport systems and the protection of the environment particularly. The others tend to be references to particular towns: ‘la ville de Bonn / Vienne / Saint-Petersburg / Rennes’ etc. In the French national context, which has nearly twenty times as many occurrences of the keyword, there is evidence of ‘la politique de la ville’, with its main concerns for employment, safety and education, carried out by means of detailed ‘contrats de ville’, being a much more important level of concern, and this is not due just to the existence of a ‘Ministre délégué à la ville’ and a ‘Délégation interministérielle à la ville’. Towns are important in many respects, for example from the point of view of public transport (particularly with the annual ‘journée “en ville sans ma voiture?”’), and even information technology, with the introduction of various urban intranet systems. ‘Ville’ also occurs, as in FREUCO, as a collocate of individual towns: ‘la ville d’Issy-les-Moulineaux / Besançon / Saint-Etienne’.

The reason for the keyness of such a common word as 'temps' in FRNACO, where it occurs 1,190 times, over twice its frequency in FREUCO is revealing. Both subcorpora contain instances of the keyword in such expressions as 'ces derniers temps' ('lately'), 'entre-temps' ('meanwhile'), 'en même temps' ('at the same time'), 'dans un premier temps' ('in the first instance'), 'en temps voulu' ('in due course'), 'la plupart du temps' ('most of the time'), as well as part of the lexical item 'emploi du temps' ('timetable'). The principal difference between the two discourses appears to be merely one of frequency of occurrence. While both the EU and the French national sides of the corpus use 'temps' very frequently in a number of expressions relating to work and employment, this is a more commonly-mentioned concern of FRNACO. These expressions include: 'le temps de travail' ('working hours'), a number of expansions, 'directive sur le temps de travail' (in FREUCO), 'aménagement du temps de travail' ('reform of working hours'), 'réduction du temps de travail', and several common expressions also related to working hours: 'à temps partiel' ('part-time') and 'à temps complet / plein', all of which are very frequent in both corpora.

6.3. Sociological keywords

Sociological keywords were noted as the potential source of useful linguistic information by J. R. Firth in *The Technique of Semantics* (1935). In this work, Firth reveals that "research into the detailed contextual distribution of sociologically important words, what one might call *focal* or *pivotal* words, is only just beginning" (Firth 1935, p. 10, the emphasis is Firth's). He goes on to indicate types of word which are linguistically interesting:

> The study of such words as *work, labour, trade, employ, occupy, play, leisure, time, hours, means, self-respect* in all their derivatives and compounds in sociologically significant contexts during the last twenty years would be quite enlightening. So would the study of words particularly associated with the dress, occupations, and ambitions of women, or the language of advertising, especially of quackery, entertainments, food, drink, or of political movements and propaganda. (*ibid.*, p. 13)

Raymond Williams, in his well-known work on *Keywords* (1976, 1988) effectively put some of Firth's ideas into practice,[8] although with a focus that was more social than linguistic, and more diachronic than synchronic. He explains that his interest was sparked by the realisation that the word 'culture' is important in the two separate areas of art and society. This led him to investigate other words, which he also found to be key in more than one field (1976, p. 12). *Keywords* contains short essays on over one hundred words, from 'aesthetic' to 'work', primarily based on the *Oxford English Dictionary*. His discussion of 'bureaucracy', for example, traces the different uses and connotations of the word from its origin in French to its contemporary importance. Mike Scott has explained the difference between his own statistical notion and Williams': for Williams a keyword is significant at the level of the context of culture, which Scott terms level 9 in his schema. Scott's keywords, on the other hand, are significant at level 6, the level of the text (Scott 1997, p. 246 footnote).

Michael Stubbs has recently applied corpus linguistics to the study of English keywords, illustrating how Firth and Williams' proposals could be carried out with the aid of computer technology, and with particular reference to the concept of collocation. He claims that:

> To talk repeatedly of education in terms of *falling standards* or *trendy teachers*, or to talk of employment in terms of *job losses, cheap labour* or *unemployment blackspots*, is to maintain familiar and limited sets of categories and metaphors for talking and thinking about the social world. Since such repeated collocations are simply used, as part of our habitual ways of talking, their connotations are not made explicit, are difficult to question and can seem merely natural. (Stubbs 1996a, p. 194)

Stubbs discusses around forty keywords himself, in particular words concerning issues in contemporary society: these include 'class', 'work', 'labour', 'unemployment', 'care', 'national', 'Scottish', 'intellectual' and 'public'.[9]

[8] Stubbs (1996a, p. 166) claims, however, that Williams was not familiar with Firth's work.

[9] This approach has been followed up in a number of further studies, particularly in the framework of critical corpus linguistics (cf. Hunston 1999a, Piper 1999, Sealey 1999). Andreas Musolff (e.g. 1996), similarly, has carried out research into what he calls 'internationalisms', or etymologically-related expressions which have different meanings across discourses: words such as 'democracy', 'capitalism' and 'federalism'. These are cases where there appears to be a large element of common ground, but where in practice there are often important differences in interpretation in various national contexts.

The notion of sociological keywords is also a familiar one in French research, although there is no direct equivalent of Raymond Williams' *Keywords* for French. In the context of lexicology, Georges Matoré initiated 'la lexicologie' in 1953 (cf. Matoré 1953, 1988, and discussion in Picoche 1992, Posner 1997, Wise 1997). Matoré describes his work as "un examen conjugué du vocabulaire et de la civilisation dont ce vocabulaire est l'expression" (Matoré 1988, p. 14). In so doing, he identifies keywords which designate an important idea or notion in a particular age, such as feudal times, the Renaissance and the classical age.

Benveniste (1966) contains a chapter-length discussion of the word 'civilisation'. While Benveniste does not discuss any other similar words, he recognises the importance of a small set of cultural words, saying:

> Toute l'histoire de la pensée moderne et les principaux achèvements de la culture intellectuelle dans le monde occidental sont liés à la création et au maniement de quelques dizaines de mots essentiels, dont l'ensemble constitue le bien commun des langues de l'Europe occidentale. (Benveniste 1966, p. 336)

Benveniste's concern is with the word's diachronic description, and especially with the first period of its use. Thody and Evans' *Faux Amis and Key Words* (1985) is perhaps the closest equivalent to Raymond Williams' *Keywords*, although the entries are shorter and focus purely on contemporary usage rather than diachronic change. As the title suggests, they emphasise the relation between *faux amis*, often cognate forms, and keywords, as many of the entries, which are grouped by subject area (e.g. 'Administration, Law and the Armed Forces', 'History and Politics' etc.), have been selected on the basis of their superficial similarity with English words.

This section takes a number of keywords, selected because of their clear importance in the context of administration, and investigates their phraseology. Given the essential nature of keywords, notably the fact that they are used in more than one context, one might expect their usage not to be dominated by only one or two very frequent patterns or collocations. Although the focus is primarily on their lexical environment, and where relevant, any patterns of association with features of meaning, where it is noteworthy attention is also drawn to other features of the immediate environment of the word. In carrying out the analysis, patterns of distribution within the corpus are taken into consideration, especially between the European Union and national texts, but also highlighting any strong genre bias. Comparisons are also drawn with the more general comparator corpus. Two sets of keywords are discussed here: keywords related to the notion of 'society' and keywords in the particular area of 'employment'. There is not space here to investigate any more: however, distinctive patterning between the two discourses can also be found for words in such areas as development and change, and culture.

6.3.1. Society

The first group of related keywords are all concerned with society. It is interesting to see how the different discourses conceive of the areas within their administration, and what collocational differences and similarities there are between discourses. The keywords investigated here are 'communauté', 'société', 'régional', 'civilisation', 'tradition', and 'nation', 'pays' and 'état'.

6.3.1.1. 'Communauté'

'Communauté' and its plural form occur a total of 2,694 times in FRADCO, with around two thirds of these occurrences coming from the European Union subcorpus. This is to be explained principally by the high frequency of references to 'la Communauté européenne' itself in this subcorpus. Within FRNACO it is particularly frequent in the Assemblée Nationale draft legislation genre, and in the speeches. In FREUCO also it is most frequent in genres of a legal nature, such as the treaties, the Official Journal genres, and the bulletin of the European Court of Justice.

Both Williams and Stubbs deal with the English keyword 'community'. Williams points out that "it seems never to be used unfavourably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term" (1988, p. 76). Stubbs contradicts this, citing the recent example of 'community charge' which in the late 1980s acquired a negative prosody. Other common collocations from his data, however, such as 'community values', emphasise the predominantly positive prosody of the word. Neither 'charge' nor 'values' collocates with 'community' in the English equivalent of FREUCO. It is not surprising that the collocation 'community charge' does not occur, given both the time frame of the corpus and its supranational character.

Many of the most frequent collocates in the two subcorpora are in fact part of multiword sequences as discussed in Chapter 4. These are often easy to locate using the 'collocate' facility of WordSmith Tools, which details the most frequent collocates in each position around the node word (e.g. the collocate immediately to the left of the node, the collocate four words to the right of the node). Those frequent collocates which appear exclusively or near-exclusively in a single position in relation to the keyword in question are often part of a multiword sequence. For the keyword 'communauté' these include 'traité instituant la communauté européenne' (the formal name of the Treaty of Rome) and 'publication au journal officiel des communautés européennes'.

As regards discourse-based differences in the collocations which 'communauté' enters into, as the large discrepancy in occurrences suggests, the word appears in very different contexts in the two subcorpora. In FREUCO, the most frequent lexical collocates are: 'européenne' and its plural form, 'traité', 'instituant' (cf. above), 'membres' (usually as part of 'états membres'), 'article' and 'Commission'. In FRNACO, on the other hand, the adjective 'européenne' is only the 31st most frequent collocate,[10] and comes below 'communes' ('la communauté des communes'), 'urbaine(s)', 'Conseil', 'nouvelle', 'internationales' and 'villes' ('la communauté des villes'). These collocates are all fairly rare in FREUCO: for example, 'communes' only collocates with 'communauté' three times, and 'urbaine' does not collocate with it at all.

[10] This figure covers both lexical and grammatical collocates.

The comparator corpus contains nearly four hundred occurrences of the keyword, all but seven of which appear in journalistic texts, and here often in the context of the European Community. 'Communauté' also collocates with a number of adjectives denoting particular groups of society, such as 'juive', 'musulmane', 'religieuse', 'chiite', 'islamique', and 'scientifique', 'économique' and 'financière'.

'Communauté', then, differs greatly in its collocational patterns according to context. Its important role in European Union discourse means that it is particularly frequent in this discourse, especially in genres of a legal nature which repeat names of treaties and institutions frequently and also contain frequent multiword sequences and formulae. In FREUCO, reference is made much less commonly to the European Community, but rather to groups smaller than nations, such as towns, working together. The comparator corpus, in addition to a large number of references to the European Community in the journalistic texts, uses the keyword with a variety of adjectives to designate groups of people with common interests, whether religious, economic or adjectives of nationality.

6.3.1.2. 'Société'

Williams points out that 'society' in English refers both to the body of institutions and relationships within which large groups of people live, and also to the conditions in which such institutions and relationships are formed. Both of these meanings are represented in the administrative corpus. 'Société' and its plural form are slightly more frequent in FREUCO than FRNACO (759 occurrences as compared with 537). There is a certain amount of overlap in the most frequent collocates of the keyword between the two discourses: in FREUCO, the top lexical collocates are 'information' (as in 'société de l'information'), 'gestion' (also in R2 position, that is, the second word to the right of the node, or central, word), 'civile' and 'européenne'; in FRNACO on the other hand, the top collocates betray the texts' concern with French society specifically: in addition to 'information', and 'civile', which are important in both subcorpora, the most frequent collocates are 'notre', 'France' and 'française'. 'Société' is rarely part of the phrase 'société anonyme' spelt out fully (there are only six instances), but there are thirty-three examples of the abbreviation 'S.A.', of which twenty-nine occur in FREUCO, and overwhelmingly in the Bulletin of the Court of Justice and Commission Press Release genres, in the context of legal cases between private companies and the Commission. Otherwise, there is no strong bias as regards genre tendencies for the keyword.

6.3.1.3. 'Régional'

For Williams, the English word 'regional' can have either a positive or a negative semantic prosody, but is rarely neutral. In such collocations as 'regional accent', it implies something subordinate or inferior, whereas in relation to cuisine or architecture, for example, he claims it represents a valuably distinctive counter-movement. In the administrative corpus, as indeed in the comparator corpus used here, the keyword is used exclusively in a positive or neutral sense. Unlike 'communauté' and 'société' above, 'régional' and its inflected forms appear about twice as frequently in the French national subcorpus than in the EU subcorpus, and within the national subcorpus they are particularly frequent in reports and speeches. The collocates in FRNACO are closer to those of the comparator corpus than the EU subcorpus: these include 'conseil' ('Conseil régional' - regional council) and 'conseiller'. 'Conseil' as a collocate appears only once in the whole of the EU subcorpus. In addition, FRNACO places a strong emphasis on 'langues régionales' (often in the context of the promotion or teaching of regional and minority languages, therefore not regarded as inferior, merely previously overlooked), 'cultures régionales', and 'développement régional', in the light of the decentralisation of the 1980s. The EU subcorpus, on the other hand, lexicalises 'régional' as one of the levels at which processes, such as 'intégration économique', 'coopération' and 'développement', happen. Frequent clusters include 'à finalité régionale' and 'au niveau régional'.

6.3.1.4. 'Civilisation'

Benveniste's discussion of the word 'civilisation', as was mentioned above, concentrates on the description of the word from a diachronic perspective. Williams also discusses 'civilisation', and traces the changing meanings of the word. He comments that in modern English, the word “attracts some defining adjective” (Williams 1988, p. 59) and has become relatively neutral, although it retains a certain normative quality: he lists such collocations as ‘Western civilization’, ‘modern civilization’, and ‘industrial civilization’. Comparing this with its use in current administrative language, the word occurs only 40 times in the administrative corpus, 6 times in FREUCO and 34 times in FRNACO, especially in the speech genres (sppr, sppm, spm). Fourteen of the instances are of the plural form ‘civilisations’. Apart from three instances in the EU subcorpus of ‘civilisation européenne’, which does not occur as a collocation in FRNACO, and one each in FRNACO of ‘civilisation moderne’, ‘civilisation omeyyade’ and ‘civilisation occidentale’, the word does not attract defining adjectives in the corpus. The comparator corpus contains a much higher proportion of ‘civilisation’ with a defining adjective or ‘de + noun’ fulfilling the same function. These include: ‘civilisation(s)’ ‘chinoise’, ‘occidentale’, ‘de Byzance’, ‘de l’Europe’, ‘humaine’, ‘indo-iranienne’, ‘françaises’, ‘ancestrale’, ‘des Africains’, ‘urbaine’.

Only ‘civilisation occidentale’ occurs more than once, which suggests that while ‘civilisation’ followed by an adjective is a common pattern in this corpus, there is no evidence of there being a bias towards individual adjectives. That is to say that it appears in the environment of a meaning rather than collocating with limited set of lexical items. In neither FRADCO nor the comparator corpus are there repeated three-word clusters which include ‘civilisation’ and any other lexical word. The only recurrent cluster in each case is ‘de la civilisation’.

The English EU corpus contains only four instances of ‘civilisation’ (or ‘civilization’) or the plural form: this accounts for all four cases occurring in parallel texts. That is to say that the French word is in all cases translated here by the English cognate. The other two instances of ‘civilisation’ in FREUCO are in the comparable-only Commission Speeches genre (cf. Appendix 1), and this figure is far too low to give any revealing insights.

6.3.1.5. 'Tradition'

'Tradition' / 'traditions', like 'régional' above, is much more frequent in the French national subcorpus, especially in the speech genres. In this subcorpus the keyword has a more consistently positive prosody, which collocates such as 'valeurs', 'ancienne' and 'patrimoine' support. There is also, as is to be expected, much reference particularly to French tradition and heritage. The corpus also contains examples of 'tradition' in its related meaning of 'practices', such as 'une tradition de tolérance', 'une tradition d'échanges', where the prosody is often more neutral. This is a common use of the keyword in the EU subcorpus too, where the most frequent lexical collocates are 'membres', and 'résultent' (in the sequence 'sauvegarde des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales et tels qu'ils résultent de traditions constitutionnelles des États membres'). There are very few repeated collocations, since 'tradition' occurs only 26 times in the EU subcorpus, but individual collocations taken together show a neutral prosody for the word: these include 'une tradition d'autogestion', 'tradition de coopération transfrontalière', 'tradition de recherche en biologie moléculaire' and 'tradition démocratique'. Where the EU subcorpus uses 'tradition' in the sense of cultural heritage, the reference is usually to traditions at a particular level (local, national), but the nation in question is not specified.

The comparator corpus uses the keyword more than twice as often as the national subcorpus; by far the majority of instances occur in the journalistic texts. Once again, however, there are very few repeated lexical collocates: the only three in the top 50 collocates are 'pays', 'respect' and 'Dieu'. It is more informative to look at the semantic groupings of the collocates: particularly common in this corpus are adjectives of origin: 'viennoise', 'montmartroise', 'portugaise', 'françaises', 'occidentales'; of political adhesion: 'les gouvernements à tradition populiste', 'républicaine', 'absolutiste', 'colbertiste'; and of religious belief: 'spirituelle', 'chrétienne', 'catholique', 'pluriséculaire' and 'coranique'.

6.3.1.6. 'Nation' / 'pays' / 'état'

Finally, this section looks at a number of near synonyms, all words which may translate 'country', but each with different emphasis or status. Concordances were drawn up for each of 'nation', 'pays' and 'état' in the comparator corpus and the two subcorpora of FRADCO, and also for the three English equivalents 'nation', 'country' and 'state' in the English EU corpus.

Stubbs has analysed the English word 'nation'. He finds that it collocates with adjectives revealing the classifications in which nations are talked about, such as 'industrialized' and 'wealthiest'. 'Nationalist', on the other hand, has a negative prosody. This appears to be true also in the administrative register - there are very few instances of 'nationaliste(s)' in the corpus, which in itself is perhaps telling, but the collocates of those that do occur include 'xénophobe', 'fièvre' and 'sentiments exacerbés'. Williams discusses 'country' as a keyword, and finds that it has a more positive association than either 'nation' or 'state', perhaps in part because of its dual meaning of a native land and the rural areas of it. He claims that: "*Country* habitually includes the people who live in it, while *nation* is more abstract and *state* carries a sense of the structure of power." (1988, p. 81, the emphasis is Williams'). The collocational patterns around the three more or less equivalent French words, 'nation', 'pays' and 'état', reveal that there are roughly parallel distinctions made in French, although there are differences between the more general comparator corpus and the administrative corpus compiled for this study.

Each of the two subcorpora uses all of the three keywords to different extents. 'Nation', which occurs around 440 times in the administrative corpus, is around twice as frequent in the national French side of the corpus; 'pays', which occurs over 3,000 times in total, is around twice as frequent in the European Union subcorpus; and in the case of 'état', by far the most frequent of the three keywords with over 8,000 occurrences, almost 70% of these occurrences are in the EU side of the corpus. It is revealing to make both a register-based comparison (that is, between the comparator corpus and the administrative corpus) and a discourse-based comparison (between the two halves of the administrative corpus).

'Nation' in the comparator corpus collocates frequently with very few lexical words, and, when it does, this is often to form names of entities. The most frequent lexical collocate is 'Unies' (in 'Nations Unies' - United Nations); also frequent as collocates are 'Assemblée' and 'générale' (in the longer 'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies'), and 'état' in 'état-nation' ('nation state'). 'Grande' is the most frequent adjectival collocate, occurring most often in Biblical texts, and other fairly frequent collocates are 'peuple', 'notre' and 'monde'. In the administrative corpus, the most frequent collocate is also 'Unies', and most of the other most important collocates also contribute to form names of organisations and instruments in the UN: 'secrétaire général des Nations Unies', 'la Charte des Nations Unies', 'la convention des Nations Unies'.

If one separates the two subcorpora, subtler differences become clear: while reference to the United Nations accounts for the majority of instances of the keyword in both subcorpora, slightly less frequent collocates, or groups of collocates, reveal discourse-based differences. The instances of 'nation' in the European Union subcorpus are particularly dominated by reference to the UN - indeed these account for all but ten instances. The remainder tend to occur in the context of the discussion of cooperation ('Elle rapproche les nations de la Communauté', 'paix entre les nations', 'le concert des nations', 'réconciliation des nations'). In FRNACO, on the other hand, only 30% of the instances of 'nation' are in the context of the United Nations. Another common pairing is 'état-nation'. In addition, there are several references to links between the army or the military and the nation: 'resserrer les liens Armée-Nation', 'rapprocher l'armée et la nation', 'relations entre la nation et son armée', 'relations entre les militaires et la nation'; and of war: 'les certitudes qui attendent chaque nation en temps de guerre'. Around a fifth of the instances where 'nation' is not part of 'Nations Unies' have reference to the army, to arms, or, less commonly, to war. A nation, it would seem from the corpus, is conceived in terms of its relation to other nations. It can therefore be seen as an abstract entity, in French as well as in English, as Williams suggested. This does not imply that a nation is always an indefinite notion in the administrative corpus. Whereas in the European Union subcorpus all but one instance of the keyword is in the plural form,[11] in FRNACO nearly three-quarters of the instances are of the singular form, and over half of these are capitalised and refer to the French nation specifically, as do many of the non-capitalised instances. It is therefore not surprising that a number of the most frequent collocates also relate to the home nation: 'France', 'français', 'notre' and 'nos deux'.

'Pays' occurs 3,065 times in the complete administrative corpus, and 2,093 times in the comparator corpus. It contributes in both corpora, as is to be expected, to a number of names of countries and regions: 'Pays Basque', 'Pays de Galles', 'Pays Bas', and in the Bible texts of the comparator corpus 'Pays de Canaan'. There are also a number of collocations more particular to the administrative register, in both the administrative corpus and the journalism texts of the comparator corpus: 'les pays candidats', 'les pays de l'Union', 'les pays ACP' ('African, Caribbean and Pacific States'), 'les Pays de l'ASEAN' ('Association of South-East Asian Nations') and especially in the EU subcorpus, 'les pays tiers' ('third countries'), that is to say, countries which are not members of the Union or other organisation in question, or countries which are not contracting parties to a treaty or agreement.

Disregarding these compound names and very common collocations, the most frequent individual collocates in the comparator corpus are 'notre', 'monde', 'deux' (in L1 position), and 'développement'. It is more informative to look at the concordances themselves, where groups of related nouns stand out clearly. 'Pays' collocates frequently with adjectives and 'de + noun' functioning as adjectives, as Williams found for 'nation', such as 'industrialisés', 'nordiques', 'de l'Est', 'africains francophones',

[11] The other instance, in fact, is indefinite: 'chaque nation intéressée est invitée à se joindre...'.

'développés', 'pauvres', 'arabes'. The collocates and collocational patterns of 'pays' in each of the two subcorpora are very different: that is to say that they appear to be more dependent on issues of discourse than of register or genre. The European Union subcorpus is dominated by frequent collocates which combine with the keyword to create semantic units, such as those listed in the previous paragraph. Apart from cases where 'pays' forms part of the name of one of the members of the European Union, the word is mostly used for non-member countries, both collectively and non-specifically in the collocations 'pays tiers', 'pays candidats', 'pays associés' etc., which all stress the relation between the Union as a whole and these outsiders, and individually: 'les pays de l'Asie', 'les pays de l'Amérique', 'les pays orientales'. Often, reference is to the inhabitants of a particular country: 'ressortissants' (nationals) come from 'pays', if outside the EU, or 'états membres', if one of the members of the Union. However, there are no instances of collocation with 'nation' (within a window of five words each side of the node).

The concordance lines produced for the national subcorpus are much less dominated by reference to particular countries and groups of countries. It is clear from the list of frequent collocates that the corpus is of texts at a national level, as France features highly: 'notre', 'nos (deux)', 'France', although often in cooperation with other countries: 'nos deux pays', especially in speech genres. There is however still a great deal of comparison with the, especially economic, development of other countries.

'État',[12] finally, is by far the most frequent of the three keywords investigated here. This, however, is in large part due to the frequency of a few very common phrases which form semantic units in which 'état' is one of the component words. This is true for both the comparator corpus and the administrative corpus. These include: 'les États-Unis', 'secrétaire d'État', 'chef d'État' ('head of state'), 'Conseil d'État', 'état-nation', and, originating in the EU context, but present in both corpora, 'État

[12] The concordances for 'état' are based only on the instances of the keyword in its sense of nation under one government, and not in its unrelated meaning of 'condition'.

Membre' ('Member State'). This last collocation accounts for almost two-thirds of the instances of 'état' in the EU subcorpus, but occurs as the R1 collocate, that is the collocate immediately to the right of the node word, only seven times in the national subcorpus. In both subcorpora, 'état' occurs almost always capitalised and refers to a particular state or a group of states, in the French national subcorpus, of course, this is in the great majority of cases France. In each of the comparator corpus and the administrative corpus, Williams' statement that 'state' carries a sense of the structures of power rings true for the French 'état'. All of its frequent collocates concern the administrative and governmental context. For the comparator corpus, principally the journalistic texts, these are: 'Unis', 'major' ('état-major' - 'administrative staff'), 'ministre', 'secrétaire', 'chef', 'Conseil', 'France' and 'deux'. For the EU subcorpus these are: 'Commission', 'membre(s)', 'Unis', 'Conseil', 'article', 'secrétaire' and 'européenne'; and for the national subcorpus: 'secrétaire', 'mer' (usually in 'le secrétaire d'état d'outre-mer'), 'Conseil', 'publique', 'entre', 'décret', 'réforme' and 'fonction'.

6.3.2. Employment

One can also investigate the collocational patterns around related keywords in a single policy area. Employment has been a major area of policy in the European Union throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, following the increase in long-term unemployment in the 1980s. The Treaty of Amsterdam, which was formally signed in 1997, has expanded the legal basis for employment policy in the Union.[13] This section begins, therefore, by looking at 'emploi' ('employment') and its opposite 'chômage' ('unemployment'), and then take a look at 'travail' ('work').

6.3.2.1. 'Emploi' and 'chômage'

Michael Stubbs has found that the English keyword 'employment' collocates with words which indicate a legal use (e.g. 'contract', 'discrimination', 'law', 'legislation', 'terminate'), and with statistical expressions (e.g. 'fluctuations', 'gainful', 'temporary',

[13] See, for example, Bainbridge 1998 for a summary of the history of employment issues in the EU.

'figures'). The collocates of 'unemployment', on the other hand, show that unemployment applies to areas or populations rather than individual people. It collocates notably with references to groups of people and areas and with quantitative expressions, and also forms part of a large number of fixed expressions.

Straehle et al. (1999) have carried out a qualitative analysis on a corpus of English EU Presidency Conclusions and Commissioners' speeches of the conceptualisation of unemployment. They show that in the European Union, unemployment is conceptualised as both a fight and a problem and that these can be subsumed under the conceptual metaphor of a struggle. They conclude that the speeches, which represent an external genre, that is, one directed to the public outside the European Union institutions, treat employment more abstractly than do the Presidency Conclusions, an example of what Straehle describes as an internal genre. Employment is conceptualised as a common enemy which affects institutions and citizens alike. This conceptualisation also has an effect on the collocational patterns of 'chômage'. A look at the typical collocates of both 'emploi' and 'chômage' in the administrative corpus and the comparator corpus can highlight more general register differences.

The French 'emploi' also appears as a statistical keyword, the 32nd most key, of FRADCO. 'Chômage' does not appear at all: that is to say that it is not key in the administrative corpus in comparison with the comparator corpus. Of course, given that the corpus is not semantically tagged, the only way to discriminate between 'emploi' in the sense here ('employment' or 'job') and in its sense of 'use' is by manual intervention. Concordances have been drawn up for 'chômage' and for 'emploi' in its sense of 'employment' or 'job' only, and those instances of the word in non-related senses have been discarded.

Looking first of all, however, at relative quantities, there is a striking difference between 'emploi' and 'chômage', namely that the former is around two and a half times more frequent in the comparator corpus (roughly 350 occurrences of 'emploi' to 130 of 'chômage'), and a massive thirteen times more frequent in the administrative corpus (over 2600 compared with just over 200), although both words are more or less evenly spread between the two subcorpora. These figures suggest that issues of employment are very important in administrative discourse, both at supranational and national levels, but that it tends here to be framed in positive terms.

By far the majority of instances of 'emploi' in the comparator corpus occur in the journalistic texts. There are a number of fixed phrases, which this corpus shares with the administrative corpus: 'le bassin d'emploi' ('labour market area'), 'les demandeurs d'emploi' ('job seekers'), 'les sans-emploi' ('the unemployed'), and which generally indicate negative phenomena. Other frequent lexical collocates are 'formation', 'travail', 'professionnelle' (in the feminine form because of its collocation with 'formation'), 'ministre', 'création', 'mille' and 'nombre'. These latter show that the keyword collocates frequently with figures and statistics.

Similarly, all but one of the instances of 'chômage' in the comparator corpus occur in the journalistic texts. Unemployment comes across as having a strongly negative prosody in this register, collocating with such words as 'fléau' ('scourge'), 'endémique', which itself has a strongly negative prosody, 'gâchis', 'pauvreté', 'violer' and 'aggraver' among many others. It is something which people and areas have very little choice about: 'ils se sont mis au chômage', 'il faudra faire face au chômage'; and something which governments must struggle against ('lutter contre'). Like 'emploi', the word is often found in the company of expressions of rates and levels (numbers, percentages, 'faible', 'bas') and words indicating change in rate ('augmentation', 'diminution'), and expressions of time period (months, years). These findings are similar to those of Michael Stubbs for his corpus of journalism, fiction, non-fiction and conversation.

The importance of the issue of employment in administrative language is shown by the frequent appearance of 'emploi' in the administrative corpus as part of the names of ministries and policies: 'ministre de l'emploi et de la solidarité', 'pacte européen pour l'emploi', 'stratégie européenne pour l'emploi' and 'le secteur emploi'. As in the comparator corpus, the keyword collocates frequently with percentages, rates and figures. It is often, however, considered in a positive light: although the situation may be less than ideal, the lexical collocates of 'emploi' show that it is usually discussed in terms of what a concerted effort may bring for the future: 'en faveur de', 'croissance', 'création', 'durable', 'possibilités', 'favoriser'. The national subcorpus in particular talks frequently of measures to improve the employment of young people.

'Chômage' in the administrative corpus appears to be something of a taboo word. It occurs only 211 times in total, evenly split between the two subcorpora, and never as part of a policy name, unlike 'emploi'. In addition, it is most commonly found in speech genres. Concordances reveal that unemployment is much more frequently lexicalised more positively, as employment, especially in the case of names of guidelines, strategies and bodies. This is reminiscent of George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* where the Ministry of Peace concerned itself with war, the Ministry of Love maintained law and order and the Ministry of Plenty dealt with the less than plentiful economic situation.

Where the word does occur, concordance lines show that 'chômage' is frequently embedded in a noun phrase and presented as given information in most contexts: it is 'un problème', 'un lancinant problème' ('a nagging question'), 'un fardeau' ('burden'), 'un fléau' ('scourge'). While 'chômage' is commonly grammaticalised as an actor (e.g. 'des jeunes adultes touchés par le chômage'), it is rarely the grammatical subject (although there are examples of this: 'le chômage est source de tensions'). Once again, it is also discussed in terms of rates and levels, and changes in level are noteworthy. The fixed expression 'taux de chômage' ('rate of unemployment') accounts for over thirty of the instances of the keyword. The collocates considered out of context suggest a positive picture ('réduction', 'réduire', 'baisse', 'diminution'): however, it is more often the case that the documents are talking about a hypothetical case of unemployment levels going down, or low levels in other countries, in other decades, etc., than actually commenting on current low or promising levels of unemployment in Europe or France. High unemployment is seen as a given, with the actual level often not stated but understood to be high.

Most notably, unemployment is presented as something which must be struggled against, with 'combattre' and especially 'lutter' ('to struggle') being common collocates. It 'threatens' and 'hits' groups and people, and people must face it, tackle it and take action to stop it. As Straehle et al. (1999) found, there is clear evidence of unemployment being conceptualised as a problem, not just in Presidency Conclusions and speeches, but across the genres. Collocationally, 'lutte' and 'lutter' are particularly common. A concordance of this word in the comparator corpus and the administrative corpus reveals that it is overwhelmingly found immediately before 'contre' or in the construction 'lutte anti-+noun', most commonly referring to a struggle against socially constructed or man-made evils: 'la fraude', 'la drogue', 'l'apartheid', 'l'exclusion sociale', 'l'immigration clandestine', 'la toxicomanie', 'le blanchiment des capitaux' ('money laundering'), 'le dopage' ('illegal drug use'), 'la pollution', 'l'effet de serre' etc. The struggle is only rarely directed against naturally-occurring phenomena, such as 'certaines encéphalopathies'. There are very few positive instances, where the struggle is *for* a cause, fewer than thirty out of nearly one thousand concordance lines, and of these the most common is 'la lutte pour l'emploi': one might wonder whether the apparent desire to avoid the word 'chômage' in the administrative register has led writers to go against the grain of the expected prosody on 'lutte'. The prosody of 'chômage' appears to be stronger than that of 'lutte'.

6.3.2.2. 'Travail'

In the light of the discussion above of 'emploi' and 'chômage', it is interesting for comparative purposes to look at related keywords in order to see how these are used in the two discourses and in the comparator corpus. Stubbs discusses the English words 'job', labour' and 'work'. Both 'job' and 'labour', he finds, have many negative collocates, in the latter case suggesting low-prestige and low-paid professions. He also finds that the various forms of the lemma 'work' have very different collocates: 'working' tends to occur in fixed phrases, 'work' occurs in compound nouns, and 'worker' in noun-noun phrases (such as 'factory worker'). The French 'travail' can translate all three of these English words. A concordance was made for 'travail*', truncating the search form in order to retrieve all forms of the lemma. The noun form 'travail' turned out to be by far the most common in both the comparator corpus and the administrative corpus, although it was proportionately more frequent in the latter, and especially in FRNACO, which accounted for two-thirds of the occurrences in this corpus. The two corpora have many fixed expressions in common: 'groupe de travail' ('working party', or less commonly 'working group'), 'temps de travail', 'marché de travail', 'conditions de travail', and expressions indicating the amount of time worked: 'travail à temps partiel', 'temporaire'. In addition, the keyword is used in many more such expressions in the administrative corpus, often in the context of legislation, including 'le travail en équipe', 'le travail non déclaré', 'contrat de travail', 'heures de travail', 'durée (hebdomadaire) du travail' ('working week'), 'journée de travail', 'lieu de travail', 'code de travail'. It is also often to be found in particular constructions: 'le travail accompli par...', 'le travail de la Commission / du Conseil / parlementaire' and 'le travail interministériel'.

'Travailleur(s)' in the comparator corpus appears almost exclusively in the journalistic texts once again. Only a handful of the instances, all of which occur in the comparator corpus, are of the adjective, meaning 'hard-working'. Its usage in the comparator corpus appears to owe a lot to administrative language. In both corpora, 'travailleurs' are spoken about in terms of categories: 'certaines catégories de travailleur', 'travailleurs migrants / handicapés / à temps partiel / de sexe masculin / de sexe féminin / (non) salariés / (non) mobiles. Different categories of worker are shown to have different needs. In addition, workers are very often the beneficiaries of legislation or measures: 'droits des travailleurs', 'une protection appropriée', 'des périodes équivalentes de repos compensateur', 'droits à pension complémentaire', 'droits sociaux fondamentaux', 'sécurité', 'allocations d'assurance' and 'protection sociale'.

6.4. The role of language change

Chapters 4 and 5, and Sections 6.2. and 6.3. of this chapter have all shown that there are phraseological differences among parts of the administrative corpus. The analysis has compared the administrative register as a whole with other registers of French, and has looked within the corpus to individual genres and types of genre. There are phraseological differences to be found in each of these cases: it is important not to overlook such factors of register and genre, which highlight the multidimensional nature of language variety. There are also, however, phraseological distinctions which can be made between the EU discourse of French and its national equivalent. These differences are clear in the patterning of formulae, the use of phraseological items from the general language, and extend to grammatical words as well as central lexical items.

In other words, the current discourses of EU and national French administrative language can be distinguished not only by their lexis and features of grammar, as Section 6.2. in particular showed, but also in terms of their phraseology. This was the descriptive goal of this thesis, to describe the French EU discourse in relation to the current state of the register from which it developed. This finding raises further questions. While it is not possible to come to definitive conclusions on the basis of the corpus compiled here and within the scope of this thesis, this section and Section 6.5. aim to indicate two further areas of study which may be able to provide an explanation for the current states of the discourses.

The first question which might be asked is, given that the two discourses can be distinguished phraseologically at the end of the 1990s, how has this difference come about? Are we dealing with two discourses which were originally closer, and which have come to differ over the last half-century? Has the EU discourse diverged dramatically from its national counterpart? Alternatively, has the EU discourse remained more faithful to the register from which it has inherited many of its concepts and linguistic patterning from the middle of the twentieth century?

Some of these questions would require an additional corpus to be compiled of the earliest EEC, and ECSC, documents. With such a corpus, it would be possible directly to compare the EU discourse of the late 1990s with that of its infancy. In the absence of such a corpus, however, we must turn to other sources of linguistic information for comparison. This is the purpose of the remainder of this section, with the aim of discovering to what extent the two discourses have come to differ from the French administrative register of the middle of the twentieth century.

6.4.1. The phraseology of key verbs in FRADCO

Chapter 1 discussed Robert Catherine's (1947) study of administrative French. This section returns to this study, in order to give the analysis a diachronic perspective. Catherine's study dates from the years immediately preceding early supranational developments, such as the European Coal and Steel Community, which led, ultimately, to the European Economic Community in 1957. It can be taken therefore to represent the register of national French administrative language around the time when Europe was looking to France for its administrative framework.

Chapter 1 also discussed René Georgin's (1973) research into a later state of the same register. Georgin's study cannot give an insight into the EU discourse: what it can do, however, is to provide a picture of the national discourse roughly halfway between the language which fed into the EU discourse, just before the time of the accession of the United Kingdom, and its state as represented by the national half of the corpus compiled here.

Both Catherine and Georgin's studies contain a discussion of verbs and verb phrases or frequent verb-complement pairings in the register. These are, according to Georgin, "les verbes et locutions verbales qui reviennent le plus souvent dans les textes administratifs" (1973, p. 275). More recently, Altenberg too has highlighted the centrality of verbs in communication, and in collocational patterning:

> Habitual collocations of course appear in all sorts of grammatical constructions, but the verb and its complementation are of particular interest, since they tend to form the communicative core of utterances where the most important information is placed. Moreover, the close relationship between the verb and its complementation, which is frequently strengthened by lexical ties, offers fruitful conditions for the creation of idioms and habitual collocations. (Altenberg 1993, p. 227)

Verbs are therefore the ideal place to carry out this comparison. The complement given, by Georgin in particular, is not always a particular collocate, but occasionally a hyperonym, or superordinate: in the case of 'se référer à un texte', for example, 'texte' is replaced by any of 'articles', 'conclusions', 'règlements' etc. in FRADCO, and presumably represents similar hyponyms of 'texte' in Georgin's source documents.

Appendices 6 and 7 list the verbs in question in both Catherine and Georgin's studies respectively, with their frequent complements, or typical environment. Given the frequency of nominalisation in the administrative register, the nominalised form of each verb, where appropriate, was also used as a node for the purposes of concordancing. The next two columns in each appendix indicate the number of instances of the verb-complement pairing in each of FREUCO and FRNACO. The final column gives the most typical environments or complements of the verb in the complete administrative corpus (FRADCO). There is a high degree of overlap in the verbs in the two lists: in order to avoid repetition, Appendix 7 indicates the typical environment of the verb in FRADCO only when this is not already listed in Appendix 6. However, there is less overlap in the complements and typical environment detailed by the two researchers: for this reason, Appendix 7 indicates the occurrences of the pairing in each of the subcorpora even where the verb itself appears also in Appendix 6. Here each of the lists is dealt with separately, in order that any changes which may be accounted for by the intervening time might be noted.

Robert Catherine's research details the phraseological environment for a total of 218 French verbs. Six of these verbs do not occur at all FRADCO, and a dozen others occur so infrequently that it is impossible to make any generalisations regarding their typical patterning in the register. Catherine indicates a total of 348 verb-complement pairings:

several pairings are listed for a number of common verbs such as 'être', 'faire', 'porter' and 'tenir'. Of these pairings, only 120, or just under a third, occur in both subcorpora of FRADCO, while 165 occur in neither. This immediately suggests that the language represented by the corpus has changed fairly dramatically from the state of the register described by Catherine. His research, however, while based on authentic texts, is not based on a corpus as such, and it is quite likely that his focus was on pairings which are intuitively salient, but not necessarily the most frequent or typical.

Comparing the use of these 'locutions verbales' in the two subcorpora, it can be seen that FREUCO contains examples of 147 pairings, or 42%. FRNACO contains 155 types of pairing, or 45%. This is only a small difference, but does not contradict the finding of Chapter 5 that FREUCO has recourse to fewer types of general language locution, or, to take the opposite perspective, that the national subcorpus contains more phraseological variety. This is supported by the finding that only 27 pairings occur in FREUCO but not FRNACO, while 35 pairings are specific to the national side of the administrative corpus.

It is the statistic for the respective number of tokens of these verb-complement pairings which is most striking. FREUCO contains a total of 3,014 instances of pairings, compared with only 1,967 in FRNACO: that is, just over 60% of the tokens appear in FREUCO. As with the general language locutions in Chapter 5, this is due to a large number of occurrences of a few types, in particular 'adopter une résolution', 'arrêter une disposition', 'conférer des droits', 'décider de', 'émettre un avis', 'être conforme à', 'être en mesure de', 'informer de', 'il vous incombe de', 'prendre acte de', 'prendre en considération', and 'tenir compte de' which the EU subcorpus exploits significantly more than the national subcorpus. This is not to say, however, that there are not cases where FRNACO draws on a particular pairing more than FREUCO: examples of this include 'constater un fait', 'convenir avec', 'donner lieu à', 'exercer une fonction', 'insister sur', 'modifier un projet', 'organiser un service', and 'promulguer une loi'.

With the exception of a dozen or so verb-complement pairings, the examples picked out by René Georgin also do not appear to be central to the administrative register as represented by FRADCO. As with Catherine, however, without access to the documents which Georgin used as his source material, it is impossible to say whether this is due to a biased range of source material (for example including only certain genres), or changes in the register over time. There is a total of 64 verbs, and 116 verb-complement pairs given. Of the 116 pairings, 47 do not appear in the administrative corpus at all. Forty-five pairings appear in both subcorpora. A total of 60 pairings appear in FREUCO, and 54 in FRNACO. This difference is fairly small, but counterintuitive. It suggests that FREUCO resembles the register which Georgin was describing more closely than does the national discourse. Might this represent a general trend, whereby the EU discourse is drawing more and more on the French national administrative discourse as the number of languages which could exert an influence is growing? It is as if the EU discourse is an exaggeration, and not simply a conservative retention of the original register.

As regards tokens, FREUCO contains a total of 1,297 instances of Georgin's verb-complement pairings, while FRNACO contains only 690. This is the statistic where the two subcorpora differ most: however, this discrepancy is for the most part due to a couple of pairings which are highly frequent in FREUCO: 'être en mesure', '[il vous] incombe de', 'investir des capitaux' and, especially, 'tenir compte de'. Once again, therefore, the EU subcorpus shows less variety but more dependency on phraseological elements.

6.4.2. Core verbs - case studies

Appendices 6 and 7 contain an indication of the most typical phraseological environment for each of the verbs highlighted by Catherine or Georgin as central to the administrative register. It is difficult, in a table, to provide anything more than a sketch of a verb's use in a register. This section therefore looks in more detail at some of the most core verbs of French, to see how they are used in the administrative register, and in the two discourses separately. Different word forms turn out to collocate differently: in this case therefore, an unlemmatised corpus highlights variation in phraseological patterning more clearly than would a lemmatised corpus. The downside, however, is that additional manual analysis is required to eliminate the homonyms of some word forms: the most time consuming, for example, was to exclude instances of a capitalised 'A' which are in fact the preposition 'à' devoid of its accent, but to retain those instances where it is the third person singular present tense of 'avoir'.[14]

6.4.2.1. 'Avoir'

The verb 'avoir' has 42 different word forms, of which 29 occur in FRNACO.[15] In total, there are 20,238 instances of the different forms of the verb in the corpus.[16] These are distributed fairly evenly across the two subcorpora, with 9,894 instances in FREUCO and 10,344 in FRNACO. FRNACO, however, uses a wider range of word forms, all 29 of which occur in the complete corpus. FREUCO contains no instances of past historic 'eut' and 'eurent', future tense 'aurai' and present subjunctive 'ayez'. The third person singular of the present tense, 'a', is the most common form in both subcorpora, with over five thousand instances in each: this however includes examples where the verb is used as an auxiliary in a compound tense. Contrary to the frequently-heard contention that the past historic tense is used in writing but more rarely in spoken French, there are only nine instances of this tense, of which seven occur in the speech genres of FRNACO. These are fairly formal speeches, of course, where the past historic is not out of place, but it remains true that the past historic is rarely used in the more formal written genres, even reports which do commonly discuss past events.

[14] It might be expected that capitalisation would make it clear whether the word form was a form of 'avoir' or the preposition 'à': in fact, in EU documents the sequence 'a arrêté le présent règlement' is often capitalised, and there are also occurrences of auxiliary 'a' at the start of a sentence ('A pu être ainsi acquis trois millions de francs pour la Bibliothèque nationale...' is one example from a French national press release).

[15] Those which do not occur are the second person singular present tense 'as', past historic forms 'eus', 'eûmes' and 'eûtes', future tense 'auras', conditional 'auriez', present subjunctive 'aie' and 'aies', and all of the imperfect subjunctive forms except for the third person singular 'eût'.

[16] Homonyms, such as 'avions' meaning 'aeroplanes', have been removed manually.

There is not space here to set out the typical phraseological environments of all forms of the verb, but the most striking, in either FREUCO or FRNACO specifically, or the administrative register more generally, are as follows:

<u>Avoir</u>

FREUCO:	'défaut d'avoir transposé, dans le délai prévu, la directive...'
FRNACO:	'après avoir consulté / examiné...'
Both:	'avoir accès à...' 'avoir lieu' '[pouvoir] avoir un effet'

<u>Eu</u> (+agreements)

FREUCO:	'eu égard aux [conclusions]'
FRNACO:	'[décision] a eu pour effet de...'
Both:	'réunion / forum / débat / négociations qui a / ont eu lieu' 'j'ai eu l'occasion de...'

<u>Ayant</u>

FREUCO:	'[politique] ayant trait à la défense' 'décisions ayant des effets / implications dans le domaine de...' 'points ayant fait l'objet d'un débat'
FRNACO:	'départements ayant répondu au questionnaire' 'ayant pour objet de...' 'ayant opté pour les dispositions [prévues]'
Both:	'en ayant recours à'

<u>Ai</u> (predominantly as an auxiliary)

FREUCO:	'j'ai décidé de...'
FRNACO:	'j'ai souhaité que...' (especially in speech genres) 'j'ai le sentiment que...'
Both:	'Comme je l'ai indiqué...'

<u>A</u> (predominantly occurs as an auxiliary verb)

FREUCO:	'la Commission / le Conseil a...' (i.e. institutions as actor in the clause. EU institutions appear as the actor much more frequently than do national institutions in FRNACO) 'Monsieur l'avocat général, [nom] a présenté ses conclusions à l'audience' (in Court of Justice bulletins)
FRNACO:	'la France a... / le gouvernement a...' 'le Conseil des ministres a adopté les mesures individuelles suivantes...' 'Président de la République a réuni le Conseil des Ministres au Palais de l'Elysée...'
Both:	's'il y a lieu' '[nom] a souligné que...'

<u>Ont</u> (including the perfect tense)

FREUCO:	'les États membres ont décidé / adopté...'
FRNACO:	'l'Assemblée nationale et le Sénat ont adopté...' 'En outre, ont été adoptées diverses mesures d'ordre individuel...'
Both:	'[discussions] qui ont eu lieu à...'

Aura (including the future perfect)

FREUCO:	'l'euro aura des conséquences...'
	'texte aura été mis au point...'
	'aura un impact important'
Both:	'[colloque etc] aura lieu'

6.4.2.2. 'Être'

'Être' is almost twice as frequent in the corpus as 'avoir', with a total of 40,258 instances of the verb. This includes forms of 'être' as an auxiliary in compound tenses and the passive voice. As regards its distribution between subcorpora, there is a small bias towards the national subcorpus, which contains 22,176 instances, compared with only 18,082 in FREUCO. As for 'avoir', FRNACO contains a wider range of word forms than FREUCO: 34 different forms as against only 29.[17] The most common form is the third person singular of the present tense, 'est': nearly 60% of all instances of this form occur in FRNACO (cf. below for some of the most common phraseological environments which account for this discrepancy). The imperfect subjunctive is rare in both subcorpora, but both third person forms do occur. The past historic tense is also uncommon, and especially so in FREUCO, where it occurs only 19 times, and only in its third person singular and plural forms. Again, this tense is more commonly to be found in spoken genres, both the formal 'written to be read' speeches, and even the transcribed Assemblée Nationale debates. The typical phraseological environment of the most common verb forms are as follows:

Être

FREUCO:	'une attention particulière doit être portée à...'
	'Ces mesures doivent être compatible avec le présent traité'
	'les variables doivent être transmises [sous forme brute]'
FRNACO:	'[...] est loin d'être [négligeable / une réalité]'
	'Nul ne peut être [soumis à / obligé de...]'
Both:	'une décision devant être prise à la majorité qualifiée'
	'la signature et / ou la date devraient être encadrées...'

[17] There are no instances at all in the complete corpus of the second person plural past historic 'fûtes', future tense 'seras', and the non-third person imperfect subjunctive forms 'fusse', 'fusses', 'fussions' and 'fussiez'. In addition to these, FRNACO does not contain examples of the second person conditional 'seriez'. FREUCO, similarly, has no instances of the present tense 'es', imperfect 'étiez', past historic 'fus' and 'fûmes', future 'serez', and present subjunctive 'sois'.

Étant

FREUCO:	'Étant donné que...' (very rare in FRNACO)
FRNACO:	'Cela étant, ... [il faut]'
Both:	'Tout en étant'

Suis (predominantly in speech genres)

FRNACO:	'je suis convaincu que...'
	'je suis frappé...'
Both:	'Je suis de ceux qui...'
	'Je suis heureux de [vous saluer / vous retrouver nombreux]

Est

FREUCO:	'la Cour de Justice est compétente pour statuer...'
	'l'article est modifié comme suit: [...]'
FRNACO:	'l'article [no.] est ainsi modifié / rédigé'
	'[...] est au cœur de...'
	'la parole est à [nom]'
	'[article] est complété par une phrase ainsi rédigé...'
	'Il est inséré, après l'article [no.]'
Both:	'[loi / article] est applicable [dans les territoires]'
	'il est essentiel pour [...] de [...]'
	'C'est pourquoi...'

Sont

FREUCO:	'les votes contraires ou abstentions sont indiqués'
	'les crédits annuels sont autorisés'
	'si elles ne sont pas conformes à l'avis émis par le comité'
FRNACO:	'les peines encourues par les personnes morales sont: [+ list]'
	'les mots [...] sont remplacés par les mots [...]' (in legal genres)
	'les mots [...] sont supprimés'
Both:	'[les résultats] sont les suivants [...]'
	'[les dispositions] sont applicables à [...]'

Sera

FREUCO:	'la position commune sera adoptée'
	'l'accent sera mis sur [...]'
FRNACO:	'le présent arrêté sera publié au Journal Officiel'
	'la présente loi sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat'
	'[...] sera mis en place'
Both:	'la décision sera prise / arrêtée / mise en œuvre'
	'une attention / un accent particulier/ière sera accordé(e)'

Serait

FRNACO:	'Il serait souhaitable que...'
	'[...] serait de nature à [...]'
	'ne serait-ce que parce que...'

Soit

FREUCO:	'[...] peut demander que le Conseil européen soit saisi de la question'
	'soit de sa propre initiative, soit...'
FRNACO:	'soit + number' (e.g. '42 sur 105 directeurs, soit 40% de l'effectif')
Both:	'Quoi qu'il en soit...'

6.4.2.3. 'Faire'

There is a total of 4,632 instances of the verb 'faire', in 24 different forms.[18] Almost 60% of these instances appear in FRNACO (2,657, compared with 1,975 in FREUCO). The only form for which FREUCO contains significantly more instances than FRNACO is the present participle 'faisant' (see below). The verb forms are involved in an especially large number of typical phraseological elements:

<u>Faire</u>

FREUCO:	'faire constater que...' (especially in the sequence: 'la Commission des Communautés européennes a introduit un recours visant à faire constater que...')
	'faire rapport à [au Conseil européen]'
FRNACO:	'faire de la formation continue un outil privilégié'
	'faire évoluer [la situation]'
	'faire partie de...'
Both:	'faire adopter [une loi]'
	'faire appel à'
	'faire avancer'
	'faire bénéficier'
	'faire connaître'
	'faire des propositions'
	'faire en sorte de... / que...'
	'faire face à [aux conséquences / défis]'
	'faire l'objet de [un traitement / de discussions]'
	'faire le bilan de...'
	'faire le point sur...'
	'faire part de [difficultés / propositions]'
	'faire preuve de'
	'faire progresser [les droits / les choses]'
	'faire respecter les règles'
	'faire valoir [les intérêts]'
	'savoir-faire' (in a particular area, e.g. 'technologique' / 'culinaire')

<u>Faisant</u>

FREUCO:	'Ce faisant, [le Conseil tient compte des conséquences / elle [la Commission] signale en particulier toute irrégularité]'
	'faisant partie [d'un groupe]'
Both:	'faisant foi' (e.g. 'le cachet de la poste faisant foi')
	'faisant l'objet de [un dumping / une dérogation]'

<u>Fait</u>

Both:	'Fait à Bruxelles / Paris [+ date]' (Journal Officiel genres of both subcorpora - found at the end of a legal text)

[18] Examples of the noun 'fait' (fact) and of 'tout à fait' and 'en fait' have been removed from this total. The forms are 'faire', 'fait' (both past participle and third person singular present tense), 'faisant', all forms of the present tense, the imperfect 'faisait', 'faisions', 'faisaient', the past historic 'fit' and 'firent', all forms of the future tense except for 'feras', conditional 'ferait' and 'feraient', present subjunctive 'fasse', 'fassions', 'fassiez', and 'fassent'. The imperfect subjunctive does not occur in either subcorpus.

'fait état de...'
'fait l'objet [d'un avis / un débat / une évaluation]'
'[nom] a fait observer que...'
'[...] fait partie [intégrante] de'

Faisons

FRNACO: 'Faisons un [autre] rêve... Imaginons...' (in reports)

Font

FREUCO: '[les dispositions] ne font pas obstacle [à l'adoption de...]'
'[En vertu des traités d'adhésion] font également foi les versions du présent traité en langue [anglaise et allemande]'

Fera

FREUCO: 'la Commission fera des propositions...'
'la Commission fera rapport à...'
'[sujets] feront l'objet de [un débat / un travail / des discussions]'
FRNACO: '[...] fera l'objet d'une étude...'

6.4.2.4. 'Tenir'

There is a total of 1,671 instances of the verb 'tenir' in the administrative corpus, covering sixteen word forms.[19] FREUCO contains almost 60% of these tokens: 983 instances. The most frequent form of the verb is the past participle, 'tenu(e/s/es)': its predominance is due to occurrences of the locution 'compte tenu de'. In fact, variations of 'tenir compte de' account for half of the instances of the verb, and the environments in which the verb is found are highly patterned. The forms of the verb typically occur as follows:

Tenant

FRNACO: 'en tenant dûment compte'
Both: 'en tenant compte de'

Tenir

FREUCO: 'Afin de tenir compte de...'
'[...] qui doit se tenir [+ date]'
Both: 'pour tenir compte de'
'sans tenir compte [du vote du représentant]'

[19] These are 'tenir', 'tenu' (including agreements), 'tenant', 'tiens', 'tient', 'tenons', 'tiennent', 'tenais', 'tenait', 'tenaient', 'tiendrai', 'tiendra', 'tiendront', 'tiendrait', 'tiendraient' and 'tienne'. FREUCO contains no instances of 'tenait' and 'tiendraient', and FRNACO has no examples of 'tiendrai'.

Tenu (+ agreements)

Both:	'Compte tenu du fait que...'
	'Compte tenu des [ressources]'
	'[Conférence etc.] s'est tenue à [location]'
	'j'ai tenu à exprimer [l'importance de...]'

Tiens

FREUCO:	'je tiens à souligner ici...'
FRNACO:	'je tiens à rendre hommage à ...'

Tient

FREUCO:	'la Commission tient le plus grand compte de l'avis émis par [...]'
	'le Conseil tient compte des conséquences éventuelles...'
FRNACO:	'[...] tient une place importante'
Both:	'[la mission] tient à souligner...'

6.4.2.5. 'Venir'

Sixteen word form types of the verb 'venir' occur in the administrative corpus.[20] There is a total of 731 instances of the verb, but with a bias towards the national subcorpus: 202 instances in FREUCO and 529 in FRNACO. These include examples of 'venir' in the senses of both 'to have just', and 'to come to'. Many of the forms do not occur frequently enough for patterns to be discerned. Phraseological patterning around the more common word forms is as follows:

venir

FRNACO:	'au cours des années à venir'
Both:	'dans les années à venir'
	'dans les mois à venir'
	'négociations à venir'

venu (+agreements)

Both:	'le moment est venu'
	'le moment venu'
	'le temps est venu'

[20] These are 'venir', 'venu' (including agreements), 'venant', 'viens', 'vient', 'venons', 'venez', 'viennent', 'venait', 'venaient', 'viendrai', 'viendra', 'viendront', 'viendrait', 'viendraient', 'vienne'. All occur in FRNACO, and all except 'viendrai', the first person singular of the future tense occur in FREUCO.

viennent

FRNACO:	'[dans les] années qui viennent' '[trois] ans qui viennent' 'les jours qui viennent' 'les semaines qui viennent'
Both:	'viennent renforcer' (e.g. 'diverses mesures viennent renforcer les droits des victimes') 'viennent s'ajouter à...'

viens (especially in speech genres of both discourses)

FREUCO:	'... que je viens de décrire'
FRNACO:	'j'en viens maintenant à' 'je viens de mentionner'
Both:	'je viens d'évoquer'

vient

FREUCO:	'Vient ensuite [la marché des obligations en yen]' (i.e. 'Vient' at head of sentence, cf. discussion of Georgin 1973 in Section 1.6.3. of Chapter 1)
FRNACO:	'[nom] vient de rendre publics les résultats...'
Both:	'[la Commission etc.] vient d'adopter...'

6.4.3. Conclusion

The analysis in this section, while it is limited to a comparison with two, non corpus-based studies, suggests that the EU discourse may be closer in some respects than the national discourse to the administrative French of the 1940s. This is counterintuitive. It might be expected, rather, that the EU discourse, given the new context of text production which it developed, and the influence of other languages, might have differentiated itself more.

6.5. The multilingual context

The picture which has been built up on the strength of the analysis in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, is of an EU discourse which can be differentiated phraseologically from the national administrative discourse. In addition, perhaps surprisingly, the EU discourse appears to have evolved less than the national discourse. To what factors should we turn, therefore, to explain these differences?

As Chapter 1 made clear, there are a number of important differences between the contexts in which the EU and national discourses are used: most crucially, the national discourse has a much longer history, and is based on a deeply-embedded national culture; the EU discourse is produced in a multilingual environment, and many documents go through a process of translation. One might therefore look to the influence of other languages on the EU discourse in order to explain its current state. French and English are now by a substantial proportion the most common languages of document production and internal communication in the EU: what, then, has been the effect of English-French language contact through the period of existence of the EU, both before and after the accession of Britain and Ireland to the Union? English is not of course the only language with which French has been in contact through bilinguals in the administration: German, Italian and Dutch have also been official languages since 1957. A case may be made for all of these to have influenced EU French: Italian as the most closely related to French; German as the second most common language in the Union after French in the early days; and Dutch, given the location of EU institutions in Brussels. There is another thesis to be written for each of these cases: however, this section attempts to outline by means of examples some of the ways in which corpus methodology might be used to investigate the influence of English on EU French.

6.5.1. Language contact with English

Given the predominance of both languages, therefore, it might be expected that English will have had an influence on the phraseology of EU French. The analysis carried out thus far has not, however, given specific evidence of such an influence. In order to test the hypothesis that contact with English has not had a notable effect on the French EU discourse, therefore, it is necessary to focus on areas of the latter discourse where the influence of English is most likely to have manifested itself. We are dealing here, however, as so often in corpus methodology, with 'black swan' data, in the sense described by Karl Popper: that is, regardless of the amount of evidence that can be gathered which points to a non-existent or minimal linguistic influence from English, this is not sufficient to prove that this is not a significant factor. One single example confirming such an influence, as it were an instance of a black swan, however, will falsify the hypothesis.

One place where we might expect to see any imprint of language contact is in the phraseological environment of words which have been borrowed from one language into another. We saw in Chapter 1 that French has certainly contributed a lot, semantically and lexically, to EU language. Tables 1.1. and 1.2. in Chapter 1 listed Eurospeak items which originated in French, and French terminological items used in English EU language, respectively. Have these words come to be used differently in French EU discourse compared with the national administrative discourse because of their central place in Eurospeak? If so, can the influence on their changes be attributed to contact with one particular language? The phraseological environments of these items in FREUCO may be compared with their use in FRNACO, the English EU corpus (especially the speech genres of this which are all original English texts) and the English comparator corpus (the BNC Sampler). Influence from English may be suggested by words in FREUCO which bear a closer phraseological resemblance to their use in these two English corpora than to their use in FRNACO.

'Acquis' is one such example: it occurs 167 times in FREUCO,[21] in a number of common patterns including 'acquis de Schengen', 'acquis communautaire', 'acquis de l'Union', 'acquis environnemental', signifying the set of legal decisions taken in a certain area, or the complete set of legislation which a member state must take on on accession to the Union. Even in French the word quite frequently appears in inverted commas, which suggests that it has not been fully integrated, and that its usage in EU discourse differs from that in other varieties of the French language. This is indeed the case: while it occurs 62 times in FRNACO, its phraseological patterning is very different here. There are a couple of occurrences of 'acquis communautaire', referring to the EU context, but there are fewer common patterns. Those that can be identified refer to an employment context: 'acquis de la formation', '[validation des] acquis professionnels'. The examples of 'acquis' in the French comparator corpus, all 23 of

[21] This total is of occurrences of the noun 'acquis' only, not the past participle of the verb 'acquérir'.

which occur in the journalism register, display few patterns, but ‘acquis sociaux’ can be identified. This collocation occurs only once in FRNACO. The English EU corpus also does contain instances of ‘acquis’, both in the parallel texts and in the comparable Commission speech genre. Except for the more frequent use of inverted commas, around either ‘acquis’ alone or ‘acquis communautaire’ as a collocation, there is no discernible difference in the phraseological patterning of the word in English and French. It is impossible, therefore, to claim any effect of language contact in this case: rather the word appears to owe its typical patterning to semantic and pragmatic factors alone.

‘Subsidiarité’ / ‘subsidiarity’ is a similar case. It occurs in both FREUCO and FRNACO, but much more frequently in the EU discourse (115 times, compared with only 8). It occurs more commonly in the collocation ‘principe de subsidiarité’, in both subcorpora, and also as ‘principle of subsidiarity’ (and less commonly ‘subsidiarity principle’) in the English EU corpus. Language contact appears to have resulted in French phraseology being adopted in English, rather than vice versa.

‘Comitologie’ / ‘comitology’, far from being the locus of phraseological change, appears from the evidence of the corpus to be going out of use. It occurs only 10 times in FREUCO, and of these 6 instances are in inverted commas. Bainbridge has indicated (1998, and cf. Table 1.1.) that ‘comitology’ is not yet assimilated into English: the corpus supports this. It occurs only once in the English EU corpus: this is in the sentence ‘This is the area sometimes known as “comitology”’. More commonly, the French ‘comitologie’ is translated by ‘committee procedures’. Indeed, there are instances where ‘committee procedures’ equates to ‘procédure du comité’ in FREUCO: although there are not enough instances to be sure, it seems as if English is in the process of influencing French phraseology in this case.

Secondly, we might investigate the converse situation, that is to say words of English origin in the French EU discourse, and especially words which do not also occur in

FRNACO. It is not only the words themselves which are of interest, but also any phraseological 'baggage' they may have brought with them to French. By means of a WordList comparison, English words which appear frequently in FREUCO were identified, that is words which appear in both the English EU corpus and FREUCO. Some of the words which WordList identifies as appearing in both corpora are of course cognate forms which belong to both French and English (such as 'surveillance' and 'occasion'). Others appear to be English words, but are not: 'best' for example turns out to be the acronym standing for a task force ('Business Environment Simplification Task Force'), and as such is always capitalised. Others still are indeed English words, but turn out rarely to be used except in titles and names (including 'Council' which is only used in the names of particular councils, 'new' which occurs in the place names 'New York' and 'New Holland', and 'speech' which is only used before the document number of a Commission speech to identify its genre). A couple of words, however, do look promising.

The English word 'task' appears 41 times in FREUCO, as part of the collocation 'task force' (or hyphenated 'task-force' in two cases) in all instances but one (where it is part of 'task group'). Only twice is it in inverted commas. The compound seems to be integrated into the French EU discourse, but has apparently not yet extended further: it does not occur in FRNACO, the French comparator corpus, or as an entry in *Le Petit Robert*. There is no evidence, however, of any phraseological baggage from English having been borrowed along with the word: apart from the one instance of 'task group' (which occurs in a Commission speech, that is to say a document originally written in French), its uses show little variation. It is generally followed by the name of the task force in question, as is the practice in French. Indeed, the name of the 'task force' is even found in following position in English: 'proposals as recommended by the Task Force "Educational Software and Multimedia"'. Once again, phraseological influence appears to be in the direction of French to English, rather than English to French.

In the case of the adjective ‘crucial’, the evidence of the corpus suggests that typical English constructions, such as ‘it is crucial to...’ and ‘of crucial importance’ have been carried over into the French EU discourse, in ‘il est crucial de’ and ‘d’une importance cruciale’. Neither of these constructions appears in the FRNACO or the French comparator corpus, but they are common in FREUCO, and both English corpora.

A further place to look for the effects on EU French of language contact is internationalisms, in the sense of Musolff (1996). These are “Terms that look or sound similar in different languages and are recognizable as etymologically ‘related’ expressions, such as ‘democracy’, ‘constitution’, ‘capitalism’”, but which “often carry different meaning aspects in their different realizations in various languages, and thus can add to problems of cross-national communication, as their outward similarity seems to suggest the existence of a ‘common ground’ for understanding which does not in fact exist” (Musolff 1996, p. 16). If it could be shown that such terms differ even subtly in their usage in FREUCO from FRNACO and the French comparator corpus, then there may be a case for arguing the influence of English: this could be supported by collocational analysis of the terms in the English EU corpus and the BNC Sampler.

Related to internationalisms, but of more general language import are *faux amis*, or false cognates. Mona Baker has defined *faux amis*, as “words or expressions which have the same form in two or more languages but convey different meanings” (Baker 1992, p. 25). If it can be shown that such false cognates, while differing in their propositional meaning in the English and French comparator corpora, bear a closer relationship to each other in the English and French EU corpora, then it may be possible to argue for the influence of English on French through contact in their respective EU discourses.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to carry out such an investigation. Initial attempts, however, on such common *faux amis* as ‘demand ‘/ ‘demander’, ‘achieve’ / ‘achever’, ‘sensible’ / ‘sensible’, ‘eventual’ / ‘éventuel’ do not suggest that this is a particularly fruitful area for the influence of the phraseological patterning of English on French.

'Éventuel' in FREUCO[22] occurs in a number of frequent patterns, and in all cases is used in the sense of 'possible': 'en vue de l'intégration éventuelle de l'UEO dans l'Union', 'le Conseil tient compte des conséquences éventuelles d'une telle suspension...' and 'éventuelles adhésions'. In the English EU corpus, on the other hand, the cognate 'eventual' is used to indicate both 'happening at the end of a period of time' and 'possible': it occurs only four times. In the instance 'reduction and eventual elimination of pollution', it is used to mean 'at the end of a (long) period of time', and in the instances 'enables member states to respond to eventual agricultural concerns', 'in order to address eventual new needs', and 'Project aimed at the eventual return home of 20 women refugees' it is used in a sense identical to the French sense of 'possible', 'hypothetical'. Interestingly, this final example is a translation of the French 'éventuel' in 'Projet visant au retour éventuel de 20 femmes réfugiées'. The BNC Sampler corpus, however, contains 19 instances of the word, of which 17 are clearly of the former sense, with collocates which indicate this: 'eventual winners', '94 of his eventual 134 not out [in cricket]', 'loss of the means of livelihood and eventual pauperization', etc. Two examples are ambiguous, and both occur in the 'world affairs' texts: 'thinking of any eventual cooperation between his party and Party B' and 'Ankara's eligibility for eventual membership of the EC'. If anything, then, it is French which is exerting a certain influence over English in the EU domain, not the other way around.

Faux amis are usually described in purely semantic terms, but since, according to Firth, a word's meaning is its function in context, there is no reason why the concept of *faux amis* should be restricted to propositional meaning. Words which are semantically very close may still differ wildly in their collocational patterning, especially across registers or discourses as this thesis has aimed to show with relation to administrative language.[23] The translation scholar Peter Newmark makes this point:

[22] This is examples of the adjective 'éventuel' (+ agreements) only. The adverb 'éventuellement' in French, and 'eventually' and the noun 'eventuality/ies' (which does clearly indicate possibility) in English, have been removed from the analysis.

[23] Cf. also Partington 1998, on 'true' and false friends in English and Italian, and Tognini-Bonelli (1996) who approaches the subject from the level of the unit of meaning, postulating a database of comparable units of meaning in English and Italian.

> 'native' translators are inexperienced and unaware that interference from the source or a third language may go beyond a few conventional *faux amis* (like *troubler, demander*), to clauses, phrases, technical terms, metaphors, word order and most collocations. (Newmark 1991, p. 23)

It may be useful to extend the notion of *faux amis* to identical word forms which differ in their usage, and therefore their meaning, across registers or discourses. That is to say, the concept of collocationally false friends can be useful when considered intralingually as well as interlingually. This, however, is another thesis.

Since it does not go beyond isolated examples, this demonstration can only be tentative and cannot make a claim for or against specific influence from English. Even if a case can be made for the influence of English on EU French which goes beyond the patterning of a few key words, however, this cannot explain all of the apparent phraseological differences between the EU and national discourses. Chapter 4 found that the EU discourse relied more than the national discourse on repeated sequences of words. Chapter 5, similarly, showed that the EU discourse has more recourse to locutions of French in terms of tokens: that is to say that while it shows less variety in this respect, overall it evidences a greater reliance on such semantic and syntactic phraseological resources. We might conclude from these two chapters that the EU discourse is more restricted than the national register: this is not to say that it does not have further resources, but simply that it appears not to rely on the resources open to it as widely as the national discourse. Section 6.4. of this chapter similarly suggested that while both discourses have evolved over the last fifty years or so, the EU discourse of French has remained truer to its origins in the administrative French of the middle of the century. This may yet be shown to be due to the influence of a particular language: if this is not the case, however, where then, should we turn to explain this finding?

6.5.2. The effects of translation

If the phraseological differences which can be seen between the EU and national discourses in the late 1990s are not the result of contact with other individual languages, then perhaps they are the result of the effects of the translation process itself. Mona Baker, in her work based on the Translational English Corpus has noted as one of the features of translated text, in any language, its conservatism, or ‘normalisation’, which she defines as “the tendency to conform to patterns and practices which are typical of the target language, even to the point of exaggerating them” (1996, p. 176). This may explain the apparent lack of variety in EU discourse which Chapters 4 and 5 both suggested, for multiword sequences and locutions. A further contributing factor might be the practice in the EU institutions of relying on previously translated documents in order to speed up the translation process. Another feature which Mona Baker finds to be typical of translated text is what she terms ‘levelling out’, or “the tendency of translated text to gravitate around the centre of any continuum rather than move towards the fringes [which] simply means that we can expect to find less variation among individual texts in a translation corpus than among those in a corpus of original texts” (*ibid.*, p. 177). This also appears to be relevant here. We are left with something of a paradox: while the language contact situation suggests variety, through the influence of other languages, the translation process suggests there will be a degree of conservatism, and a relatively high level of repetition. The result of both of these factors is a unique context of production for European Union documents.

6.6. Conclusions

The first two sections of this chapter furthered the descriptive aim of this thesis. It was shown that not only are different words key in each discourse, but these keywords are used differently. Lexically, the EU discourse appears to be more distinctive: this is not surprising as it describes new concepts within a novel administrative set-up, even although it owes a lot to the French administrative framework. Phraseologically, too, both statistical and sociological keywords are used in distinctive ways in the two discourses. The two contexts view issues from different ideological standpoints. While the focus is on the phraseological differences between the EU and the national discourses, it is important also to appreciate these differences in the proper light. Discoursal differences are only one element of language variety within the administrative register: language also varies according to factors of genre and type of genre. On the most general level, too, comparison with the more general corpus of French has demonstrated that the administrative register can itself be differentiated from other registers of French. While the comparator corpus used here is not large or heterogeneous enough to provide anything approaching conclusive evidence, the analysis carried out does suggest that there is a great deal of similarity between the administrative documents and the journalistic texts in terms of collocational patterning. In the case of the majority of the sociological keywords examined, the word appears only rarely in the remainder of the comparator corpus, and when it does this is often with a different meaning.

The conclusions of Chapters 4, 5 and Sections 6.2. and 6.3. of Chapter 6 all point to an EU discourse which is phraseologically conservative. It relies on repetition of multiword sequences to a high degree, and it makes frequent use of a limited number of locutions from the general language. Statistical and sociological keywords also form part of repeated phraseological resources. Undoubtedly, this is the combined effect of a number of factors. To explain fully the current state of divergence of the EU and national discourses would require a diachronic analysis of their development over the last fifty years, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. Initial comparison was made however with the French register of administration on which both discourses are based. This analysis found, counterintuitively, that the EU discourse appears to be more faithful to its origins than the national discourse is. This raised further questions regarding the external influences on both discourses. Contact with English, while it has arguably had an influence on EU French, is not able to explain the apparent conservatism of the discourse. It was suggested, finally, that rather than a particular language, it is the fact of the translation process itself which has most shaped the EU discourse.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Further Research

"Just in case I might forget, Robin Dempsey gave me a printout of the whole thing, popped it into a folder and gave it to me to take home. 'A little souvenir of the day,' he was pleased to call it." (Lodge 1984, p. 183)

In research of this type, where a picture is gradually built up from findings about individual words and phrases, it is essential to conclude by taking a wider perspective on the findings: in this case to relate the findings back to the extent of our understanding of the discourse of European Union French, and the administrative register as a whole. Our 'little souvenir of the day' must be of a higher order of generality than the concordance of Frobisher's uses of the word 'grease'. Research tends also to be self-propagating: it opens up more questions than it can possibly answer. The research carried out here is no exception, and raises questions in a number of areas. It is appropriate here also, therefore, to indicate some potentially promising avenues in which this research may be developed further.

A number of conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the findings of the analysis carried out. First of all, it has been shown that the EU and French national discourses, as represented by the FREUCO and FRNACO subcorpora, have a large degree of phraseological similarity. While the differences between the two discourses have been the principal focus and as such require more discussion, it is important to recognise the high level of similarity as well. This supports the notion of a register of administration, as described in neo-Firthian research: that is to say that the administrative register can be differentiated from other registers of French and the general language by its phraseology and collocational patterning.

Chapter 4 demonstrated that while the multiword repeated sequences which occur in both of the subcorpora are limited in number, and tend to be short and of a grammatical nature, they provide a point of contact between the two discourses, and highlight the underlying aims of these two varieties of administrative language; ultimately the transmission and often the explanation of complicated subject matter to a wider or general public. The administrative speech genres, of both discourses, also contain fewer multiword sequences: this difference may be attributable to the different mode of production (written-to-be-spoken). The limited range of registers in the comparator corpus, and the relatively small quantity of text from each register, makes it impossible to confirm whether or not the administrative register employs multiword sequences, or formulae, more than other registers: this does seem likely, but would require further research.

With regard to the role of locutions in the register, the study in Chapter 5 provided a phraseological point of contact between the administrative register and the general language. Once again there is a degree of similarity between the discourses in terms of the types of locution which are employed. As regards the phraseological patterning around keywords, Chapter 6 highlighted the differences between discourses, but also revealed a unity between the two discourses when these are set against the comparator corpus. A large number of statistical keywords are key in the administrative register because of their combined significance in both discourses: many of these are grammatical or function words, which shows that the two discourses have correspondences which go far beyond lexical items. Often, a word may differ in keyness, or relative frequency, between the two discourses, but only marginally in its phraseological patterning. A fundamental degree of similarity can also be seen in the collocational patterning of individual statistical and sociological keywords: for example, 'mesures' (cf. Section 6.2.2.) 'état' (Section 6.3.1.6.) and 'chômage' (Section 6.3.2.1.) which appear in similar phraseological environments in both subcorpora, although relative frequencies differ, and may be contrasted with their usages in the comparator corpus. At the level of discourse prosody, discoursal similarities outweigh the differences.

A second main conclusion is that despite this degree of similarity with the national discourse, the European Union discourse can be differentiated with respect to the various types of collocational and phraseological patterning investigated here. This shows that despite its origins predominantly in French administrative language and the French administrative framework, the EU discourse can be said now to have a recognisable phraseological identity. It is a variety of its own, and as such can be analysed on a par with other discourses. This stands counter to Larsen's findings: that political discourses are national, and that "international texts often consist of fragments of different discourses rather than one hegemonic discourse" (1997, pp. 24-27, cf. also Section 1.3.3.). It also gives hope to John Gaffney's suggestion that "the legitimacy of the European Union depends upon the emergence of a European-level political discourse" (Gaffney 1999, p. 199). At least at the phraseological level, this appears to be already the case.

Differences can be seen at both the macro level of the whole discourse and at the micro level of individual genres and groups of genres. In consistently showing differentiation at the levels of register, discourse and genre, the analysis here breaks down a monolithic notion of administrative French, and demonstrates that despite the common overriding function of administrative language, this has different manifestations in the EU and national contexts, and also in different genres. This endorses work done by corpus linguists on other registers and other languages, gives additional support to the concepts of register and genre, and also supports the sociolinguistic assumption that change in context and language variation are intimately related.

The overall picture from the different stages of analysis carried out in Chapters 4 to 6 is revealing. In some regards, the EU discourse appears to be quite conservative as compared with the national discourse and more highly patterned, having recourse to phraseological resources more frequently. There seems, therefore, to be linguistic justification in the popular perception of the discourse as conservative. In other regards, it appears to differentiate itself greatly from its national counterpart, appearing to be more distinctive, compared with the general language. While many of the differences can be at least partly explained by reference to semantic or pragmatic factors, others go much deeper: the analysis here gives evidence of differences in the collocational and phraseological patterning of words towards the grammatical end of the lexicogrammatical continuum, including pronouns and core verbs, such as 'avoir' and 'être' even when these are used as auxiliaries.

The EU corpus, for example, is more dependent on repeated identical multiword sequences. Generally, it is the shorter sequences which appear in both subcorpora (none over five words in length appears with a frequency of more than ten occurrences in both): semantic and pragmatic factors can be seen to have a large part to play in longer sequences. The EU discourse might also be seen however to be more distinctive in this regard: it contains a greater number than the national discourse of types of formulae which are specific to it.

This picture is consolidated by the analysis of phraseological elements in the form of locutions adopted from the general language. The EU discourse is more dependent on traditional locutions of French as regards tokens, but employs fewer types of locution. That is, it uses a narrower range of locutions but uses these more frequently. The register is not devoid of traditional idioms, but these are infrequent and more typical of written-to-be-spoken genres than written ones. This part of the analysis also highlighted some of the influence of administrative language on the general language, in the presence of locutions in Rey and Chantreau's dictionary which originated in administrative, political or legal domains: not surprisingly these are quite frequent in the administrative corpus, but for the most part are used in their original senses, the general language often having come to use them metaphorically. The wider phraseological environments of these locutions therefore differ quite strikingly.

The statistical keywords of the EU part of the corpus may be seen to be more distinctive than those of the national administrative register. A much larger number of keywords are key in the complete administrative corpus with respect to the comparator corpus because of their significance in the EU side of the corpus. With regard to sociological keywords, the two discourses differ in the patterns surrounding these. The phraseological patterning of sociological keywords also differs according to genre and register considerations. It is impossible, however, given the necessarily limited amount of analysis carried out on individual keywords, to evaluate the extent of difference.

With regard to the verb-complement patterns highlighted by Robert Catherine and René Georgin as typical of the register of administrative language, based on work from the late 1940s and mid 1970s respectively, once again the EU discourse demonstrates a greater reliance on this resource, in terms of tokens, but again less variety. However, neither subcorpus relies as strongly on these verb-complement patterns as one might expect. This is the combined result of a differently biased data source and semantic and pragmatic changes in the administrative context. This thesis presents a largely synchronic study of the discourse of the European Union, but in so doing raises questions about its development over time. A diachronic approach is the most obvious next step. It would be revealing to take a step back to the origins and early manifestations of the EU, to investigate the discourse in its nascent state, either the earliest EU documents, or indeed the language of its predecessors: the post-Second World War planning system of the European Coal and Steel Community, established in 1951, and the European Atomic Energy Community, or Euratom, established on the same day as the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957. This could be done by corpus methods. A sociolinguistic study of the mid-twentieth century situation would complement this: in terms of personnel, what was the composition of the early EEC, and in what ways did the people involved interact?

The global consistency of the picture of the EU discourse which is built up over the course of the approaches taken in Chapters 4 to 6 demonstrates that the notion of phraseology employed here is a workable concept and a useful point of entry for register and discourse analysis. There is value in the investigation of a range of different types of collocation and phraseological patterning: this highlights the multiple factors at work, and the subtleties possible despite overwhelming patterns in the data. The definition of phraseology adopted at the beginning of this thesis was that of Gledhill: "the preferred way of saying things in a particular discourse" (2000, p. 1. cf. also Chapter 2, Section 2.2. for a fuller definition). This is a working definition which is maximally open to interpretation in the context of different methodologies: it both shapes and is shaped by the methodology adopted. Collocation is one way in which the preferences of a particular discourse manifest themselves. The multiple approach taken here has drawn on traditional notions of phraseological units, in the form of locutions and set formulae, and corpus-based notions of collocation as a process by which both lexical and grammatical words adopt typical linguistic environments, themselves both lexical and grammatical in nature, to present a picture of the phraseologies of EU and national French administrative language. The fact that there are distinctive patterns of phraseology shows that administrators and translators are aware of the particular phraseological resources of the genre, register and discourse which combine to define texts. In the same way that a narrow notion of collocation closes off potentially fruitful avenues of research, and creates exceptions to rules which demand an explanation in linguistic terms, so a highly specific definition of phraseology may act as a blinker to the ways in which real language works. While research must be focused for it to be able to contribute anything useful to linguistic description, one must not lose sight of the wider picture: in this case the complexity of languages and registers, and the massive potential for choice even in a register which is perceived to be highly formulaic.

The comparison with the findings of Catherine and Georgin, and the statement that the EU discourse is phraseologically distinct from the national discourse raises questions about the developments in both discourses in the intervening years, and the influences on this development. How has the EU discourse come to differ phraseologically from the national discourse, or perhaps more accurately, how have the EU and national discourses come to differ from each other? We should not presume that the national discourse of administrative language has been immune to change.

We might also usefully wonder therefore what path the EU discourse has taken over the last forty to fifty years in relation to its national counterpart, although without losing sight of the complexity of language variation. From the outset, the EU has been a polyglot environment, although with only four original languages. It would not be too controversial a claim to suggest that the EU discourse of French in its very early days bore a close phraseological resemblance to French, although of course semantic and pragmatic factors would result in a large new technical and domain-specific vocabulary. When, or indeed whether, this early state began to change as a result of the different context of production of documents and contact with other languages in the day-to-day workings of the institutions is another question. It may have differentiated itself early on as a result of the novelty of the situation, or the change may have been gradual. German, presumably, had the potential to influence this change from the outset, given the forceful presence of Germany in policy matters from the birth of the EU, and English may have prompted a period of faster development from the mid-1970s. This must be the most promising place to look to find evidence of outside influence on the EU discourse of French. The influence of these languages on the EU French of the late 1990s is not clear from the corpus analysed here (cf. Chapter 6, Section 6.5.), but this suggestion would require further work to be substantiated. It may be the case that the polyglot environment is becoming monoglot, or that it was never truly polyglot, beyond vocabulary items, in the first place.[1] Has the discourse now settled down: is there currently a slower rate of evolution, or perhaps even is it beginning to resemble phraseologically the French national discourse more closely? This need not imply that

[1] This appears to confirm what C. Flesch (1998, mentioned in Chapter 1, footnote 15) found: that when working under a German boss in the Agricultural Division, while her German technical and domain-specific vocabulary increased substantially, the framework and intellectual approach remained primarily French-inspired, and continued to do so even after the United Kingdom joined the EU.

the EU discourse itself is reversing a process of change: we should not forget the two-way interaction between Brussels and Paris, and consequently the possibility for reciprocal influence of EU language on national administrative phraseology. This is one explanation suggested by the analysis of Catherine and Georgin's verb-complement pairings. While it is not possible to quantify the relative divergence from the state of the language which they present, it is perhaps counterintuitive that the EU register should more closely resemble this picture. In this respect the register appears not to have behaved in the way one might expect from a language contact situation. This may suggest that EU language is only recently starting to develop by itself, having remained fairly faithful to its origins in national administrative French for some decades. The national register on the other hand may have evolved faster, in part, ironically, as a result of the influence of the European Union and its discourse.

The influence of other languages, particularly English and German, but maybe also Dutch or Italian, is therefore an area where further research would be useful. This would require a corpus of the EU discourse of these languages, a comparator corpus of the respective national discourses, and a diachronic element to the study would also be beneficial. One might ask whether the early material shows the influence of German or English, and has subsequently become closer to French. On the other hand, perhaps the earliest manifestations of the discourse were even closer to the national French discourse. If these contact languages are shown to have had no significant effect on the discourse of the EU, then the question is raised as to why this is so. Was the influence in the language contact situation all one-way traffic, from French to German and English? Is the situation comparable to the linguistic situation in thirteenth and fourteenth-century England, where French had a considerable influence on English but there was little reciprocal influence? These are questions which a primarily synchronic analysis can do no more than raise as possibilities for future research. All that can be stated here is that the EU discourse of French has a fairly substantial debt to the French administrative institutions and procedures and therefore the language of the middle of the twentieth century, and that by the late 1990s the two discourses can be differentiated phraseologically from each other.

Whatever the process of development over the last half-century, however, the current state of EU French appears, however, to be counter to what might be expected in a situation of language contact. Various reasons, such as additional linguistic influences, its hybrid nature, the multiple authorship of many documents, the heavy dependence on precedent and factors of intertextuality, and the sphere of influence of the EU compared with the national domains, may be adduced for this unique character. The French language and culture are deeply ingrained in the French people: however, while Europe, as an entity, as yet has a fairly weak collective cultural identity, which only seldom impinges on Europeans in their day-to-day lives (and often only in a negative manner when the European interest is opposed to the national interest), the foundations of a distinctive cultural identity, as manifested in phraseological identity, are already present.

The apparent conservatism of the EU discourse may, as Chapter 6 suggested, be explained by the process of translation itself, and the conservatism, or normalisation, and levelling out which Mona Baker (e.g. 1996) has identified as features of translated text, in any language. This provides a possible explanation for the apparent lack of variety in the EU side of the corpus compared with the national side. Although not all of the texts here have undergone translation into French as such, many more are the product of a non-native drafter, and even those written originally in French by a French native speaker will quite probably owe a proportion of their wording to precedents which have been translated or drafted by a speaker of another language of the Union. This does not necessarily imply that the texts will show the influence of a particular language, as we have seen above: rather it is the fact of being translated which has this effect. The paradoxical situation we are left with is that while the language contact situation suggests discoursal variety, through the influence of other languages, the translation process suggests there will be a degree of conservatism, and a relatively high level of repetition. The result of both of these factors is the unique phraseological character of European Union documents. This in turn prompts further, wider, research questions, regarding the mechanisms and effects of language contact in other international organisations, where the extent of the contact is limited to a particular register. While the EU is a unique treaty-based organisation, one might ask whether the mechanisms of language change and the establishment of discourses are paralleled by similar institutional settings, such as the United Nations or NATO. This would also supplement work on hybrid language.

In conclusion, then, it can be seen that while the research detailed in this thesis opens up many more questions, it also provides new evidence for existing theories, of register, genre and discourse, language contact and translation, and approaches to language, such as corpus methodology, and phraseology. As such it can be seen as a contribution, based on a new data-set, itself illustrative of a newly-emerging discourse, to the collective enterprise of linguistic description.

Appendix 1
Text Sources and Design of Administrative Corpus

Text sources

All of the texts in the administrative corpus were drawn from the Internet between March and September 1999. The key sites used were as follows:

EU texts:

http://europa.eu.int
http://ue.eu.int
http://www.ecb.int
http://www.euro-ombudsman.eu.int
http://www.europarl.eu.int

French national texts:

http://www.adit.fr
http://www.assemblee-nat.fr
http://www.elysee.fr
http://www.ladocfrancaise.gouv.fr
http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr
http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.fr
http://www.senat.fr
http://www.justice.gouv.fr
http://www.plan.gouv.fr

Table A1.1.: Outline of EU half of Administrative Corpus (FREUCO)

		Texts	French	English
PRSP	**Discours - Commission**[1]	80	168,434[2]	181,116[3]
PASP	**Discours - Parliament**[4]	8	15,110	14,141
ECB	**Discours - ECB**[5]	3	12,737	10,474
PRIP	**Comm. de presse - Commission**[6]	250	177,761	151,693
PRPRES	**Communiqué de presse - Council**[7]	20	21,855	18,508
PRCES	**Communiqué de presse - Ecosoc**[8]	10	4,470	4,021
OMBPR	**Comm. de presse - Ombudsman**[9]	4	1,582	1,405
RG	**Rapport Général - introductions**[10]	2	5,129	4,253
OJL	**Textes législatifs - JO (OJ L)**[11]	40	135,445	122,066
COM	**Documents COM (OJ C Series)**[12]	20	56,631	51,811
TREAT	**Traités**[13]	3	107,645	101,893
CE	**Session du Conseil Européen**[14]	25	103,954	87,724
PC98	**Concl. de la Présidence (Conseil)** [15]	5	74,171	61,669
LB	**Livres blancs**[16]	3	43,545	37,264
PRCJE	**Bulletin de la CJE**[17]	5	43,498	38,509
PT	**Programme de Travail**[18]	3	35,864	31,225
PRMEMO	**Memo - Commission**[19]	20	35,210	29,990
PRPESC	**PESC - Council**[20]	40	11,592	9,808
PA97	**Plans d'action**[21]	2	10,756	9,323
		543	1,065,389	966,893

[1] Speeches by EU Commissioners.

[2] All word counts are made using the WordList facility of WordSmith Tools (Scott 1999).

[3] The English texts in this genre are comparable, not parallel texts.

[4] Speeches by the President of the European Parliament at various meetings and councils.

[5] Speeches by the European Central Bank to the public.

[6] Press releases issued by the European Commission.

[7] Press releases issued by the Council of Ministers of the European Union.

[8] Press releases issued by the Economic and Social Committee.

[9] Press releases from the European Ombudsman.

[10] Introductions to General Reports on the activity of the European Union.

[11] Community legislation. The L Series of the Official Journal contains EU legislation. This includes: Regulations (which are binding in their entirety and directly applicable in all Member States), Directives (which are binding in the States to which they are addressed, but the method of application is left to national authorities), Decisions (binding in entirety on those to whom it is addressed), Recommendations and Opinions (neither of which has any binding force).

[12] The C Series of the OJ (Communications) contains material other than actual legislation, including European Commission proposals for legislation.

[13] Founding treaties. The Amsterdam Treaty, Maastricht Treaty (consolidated), and Treaty of Rome (consolidated).

[14] Meetings of various European Councils (e.g. on Agriculture, Budget, Culture etc.)

[15] Presidency Conclusions from European Councils.

[16] White papers (proposals for Community action) and Green papers (communications on a specific policy area).

[17] Bulletin of the European Court of Justice.

[18] Commission programme of work.

[19] Informal Commission documents offering background information on topics, primarily for journalists.

[20] Council of Ministers' statements in the framework of the External and Security Cooperation Policy (PESC).

[21] Commission action plans.

Table A1.2.: Outline of French national half of Administrative Corpus (FRNACO)

		Texts	Words
SPPR	**Discours - President**[22]	30	52,113
SPPM	**Discours - Premier Ministre**[23]	30	71,734
SPM	**Discours - Ministres**[24]	30	74,255
CPCM	**Communiqué - Conseil de Ministres**[25]	40	47,788
CPPM	**Communiqué de presse - PM**[26]	60	15,946
CPM	**Communiqué de presse - Ministères**[27]	200	77,943
CPS	**Communiqué de presse - Sénat**[28]	30	31,869
RAPO	**Rapports officiels**[29]	10	195,596
RAPM	**Rapports**[30]	4	132,671
JO	**Journal Officiel**[31]	60	82,982
DP	**Dossiers de Presse**[32]	10	67,638
TFCONV	**Textes fond. - Conventions**[33]	1	8,444
TFCONS	**Textes fond. - Constitution**[34]	2	14,531
TFDH	**Textes fond. - Droits de l'Homme**[35]	2	8,350
ANCRs	**Compte rendu (Ass. Nat.- transc.)**[36]	1	50,355
ANCRw	**Compte rendu (Commissions of the Ass. Nat.)**[37]	20	46,315
ANPL	**Assemblée Nationale projets de loi**[38]	10	73,714
CGLM	**Lettres de mission - Commissaire au plan**[39]	3	3,920
		543	1,056,164

[22] Speeches by the President of the French Republic (Jacques Chirac).

[23] Speeches by the Prime Minister (Lionel Jospin).

[24] Speeches from Ministries: 2 from each of Agriculture et Pêche; Culture et Communication; Défense; Economie, Finances et Budget; Education Nationale, Recherche et Technologie; Equipement, Transports et Logement; Intérieur; Jeunesse et Sports; Justice; PME, Commerce et Artisanat; Santé; Social; Télécommunications, Technologies de l'Information et Postes; Tourisme; Ville.

[25] Press releases from the Conseil de Ministres.

[26] Press releases from the Premier Ministre.

[27] Press releases from the various Ministries: Aménagement du Territoire et de l'Environnement; Commerce Extérieur; Culture et Communication; Défense; Economie, Finances et Budget; Education Nationale, Recherche et Technologie; Emploi et Solidarité; Equipement, Transports et Logement; Industrie; Jeunesse et Sports; Outre-Mer; PME, Commerce et Artisanat; Santé; Social; Télécommunications, Technologies de l'Information et Postes; Tourisme; Ville.

[28] Press releases from the Sénat.

[29] Official reports from experts to Ministers on a range of topics and issues.

[30] Reports from experts to Ministers on a range of topics and issues.

[31] Documents from the Official Journal, including Lois, Ordonnances, Décrets, Arrêtés and Circulaires.

[32] Dossiers on a range of topics, predominantly for the Press, emanating from various ministries.

[33] Convention relative aux droits de l'enfant.

[34] Constitutions.

[35] Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme, and Convention européenne des Droits de l'Homme.

[36] Transcription of National Assembly debates.

[37] Reports from various commissions of the Assemblée Nationale.

[38] Draft legislation from the Assemblée Nationale.

[39] Letters from Premier Ministre to Commissaire au Plan. Between 1946 to 1952, Jean Monnet was head of the Commissariat Général du Plan, before he left to run the European Coal and Steel Community.

Appendix 2

Locutions in FRADCO - taken from Rey and Chantreau (1993)

Ordered by frequency

Dans le cadre de...	1481
Tenir compte de...	895
Entrer/Être en vigueur	440
Avoir lieu (de)	408
Jouer un rôle	338
En vertu de	332
A compter de...	299
A l'égard de...	251
En cause	247
Prendre à sa (en) charge	194
Sous réserve de...	193
De plus en plus	189
Dans la mesure de (où)	181
A long terme	165
De (plein) droit	153
Faire face	146
Être en mesure de	139
En revanche	137
Au plus tard	132
Donner lieu à...	130
Bien sûr!	127
Tout au (du) long de	121
D'ores et déjà	118
Prendre acte de qqch	118
A moyen terme	107
A (ce) propos	97
Faire preuve de...	80
En tout état de cause	74
A l'heure	70
Entre autres	70
Faire appel à	70
A distance	69
Prendre (bonne) note	68
En fait	67
Avoir l'intention de...	66
Rendre hommage à (qc/qn)	64
Mettre en évidence	60
Mener à bien	59
A défaut de	58
A court terme	57
Avoir droit à	57
Faire le point	54
Rendre compte	54
Faire valoir	51
Faire part de qqch à qqn	49
Faire état de	46
Être en train de...	45
Sans délai	45
Tirer parti de...	45
Avoir trait à	43
Prendre part à...	43
Être loin de...	42
Il est vrai que...	41
Par la suite	40
Aller loin	39
A usage	37
Dans la mesure du possible	37
Plus ou moins	36
Être à même de...	35
Au détriment de	34
De premier plan	34
Ce faisant...	33
Mettre à profit	33
A son tour	32
Faire usage de	32
Vouloir dire	32
A côté de	31
Aux côtés de qqn	30
De sorte que	29
Donner suite à (qqch)	28
En quelque sorte	28
En temps utile	28
Faire le bilan de...	28
Pour le compte de	28
Au fil de...	27
Mettre un terme à	27
Faire foi	26
Prendre position	26
Aller de pair avec...	25
Faire suite à	25
A mon sens	24
Autant que possible	24
Dresser le bilan de...	24
Faire défaut	24
Sans réserve	24
Avoir raison	23
Être en droit de	22
Mettre en lumière	22
Premier pas	22
Suivre de près	22
Voir (le) jour	22
Au fur et à mesure	21
En tout	21
Il est (n'est pas) question de	21
Mettre à plat	21
Tirer profit de qqch	21
A juste titre	20
A peu près	20
En détail	20
Tout comme	20
De longue date	19
Rendre service (à qqn)	19
Avoir tendance à...	18
En retour	17
Sur le point de	17
A l'écart (de)	16
Aller dans le sens de qqn	16
Au premier chef	16
Dans l'ensemble	16
De concert	16
En retard	16
Entre temps	16

Faire entendre	15
A condition de...	14
A/sur (une) grande échelle	14
Au plus vite	14
Autrement dit	14
Être en jeu	14
Donner le signal de (qqch)	13
En connaissance de cause	13
Mettre à (l')exécution	13
Porter préjudice à qqn	13
Prendre la parole	13
Tenir à cœur	13
...de réserve	12
Aller de l'avant	12
Donner l'exemple	12
En honneur de (qqn ou qqch)	12
Mettre en chantier	12
Pour peu que...	12
A tout prix	11
Du reste	11
Mettre en pratique	11
Mettre en vigueur	11
Par comparaison (avec)	11
Sous le signe de...	11
Sur un pied de	11
Tout de suite	11
Dans une certaine mesure	10
Prendre place	10
Quand même!	10
A bref délai	9
Au plus tôt	9
En tout point/en tous points	9
Être garant de qqch	9
Faire écho à	9
Pas du tout	9
Qui plus est	9
A l'usage de qqn	8
A vrai dire	8
De telle sorte que	8
Donner corps à qqch	8
En bonne voie	8
En gros	8
Faire ses preuves	8
Mettre en doute	8
Passer en revue	8
Prendre garde	8
Sous prétexte (de...)	8
A brève échéance	7
Au premier plan	7
Avoir tort	7
Bonne foi	7
Cela dit	7
Clé de voûte	7
De bout en bout	7
De premier (second, dernier) ordre	7
De toute urgence	7
En résumé	7
En somme	7
Faire (toute) la lumière sur qqch	7
Faire sien (sienne)	7
Premier plan	7
Se faire jour	7
A deux vitesses	6
A la rencontre (de...)	6
Au long de	6
Bonne volonté	6
Cas de force majeure	6
Comme il se doit	6
Comme par le passé	6
Coup d'envoi	6
Dans la ligne	6
De longue haleine	6
Donner à penser	6
Il y va de...	6
Mettre en jeu	6
Surveiller de près	6
(Être/entrer) en concurrence avec	5
A la portée de qqn	5
Après tout	5
Au courant	5
Avoir qualité pour...	5
Cas de figure	5
Coup d'État	5
Dans la foulée	5
Donner la préférence à...	5
En aucune manière	5
En douceur	5
En famille	5
En fin de compte	5
En instance	5
En masse	5
En revenir	5
En usage	5
Entrer en ligne de compte	5
Faire place à qqn	5
Faire son entrée	5
Jouer le jeu	5
Se rendre compte	5
Sous peu	5
Tenir à l'écart	5
A coup sûr	4
A huis clos	4
A tour de rôle	4
Arrière(-)pensée	4
Au bout du compte	4
Bel et bien	4
Courir le (un) risque	4
De bon (mauvais) augure	4
Donner raison à qqn	4
En comparaison de	4
En lieu et place de qqn	4
Être en possession	4
Faire fond sur...	4
Faire grief (à qqn de qqch)	4
Faire la différence	4
Faire les frais de...	4
Flagrant délit	4
Hors d'usage	4
Il/Cela va sans dire	4
Laisser à penser	4

Le cachet de la poste faisant foi	4
Mettre sur pied	4
Mode d'emploi	4
Ne rien avoir à voir avec (qqn,qqch)	4
Noyau dur	4
Par voie de conséquence	4
Prendre au sérieux	4
Prendre corps	4
Prendre ses précautions	4
Toutes choses égales d'ailleurs	4
(Re)mettre sur les rails	3
A bout de...	3
A condition que...	3
A la tâche	3
A proprement parler	3
Aller au devant de...	3
Au dernier, au plus haut point	3
Avoir force de loi	3
Avoir partie liée avec qqn	3
Avoir ses raisons	3
Bon vent!	3
Dans la course	3
De fortune	3
De plein fouet	3
Des bouts de ficelle	3
Du jour au lendemain	3
Du même coup	3
En retrait	3
Entre parenthèses	3
Être en passe de...	3
Être juge et partie	3
Faire date	3
Faire double emploi	3
Faire droit à	3
Faire office de	3
Faire son chemin	3
Fort des halles	3
Laisser passer	3
Les grandes occasions	3
Mauvaise foi	3
Mettre à mal qqn	3
Mettre en demeure	3
Mettre en question	3
Montrer du doigt	3
Nulle part	3
Occuper le devant de la scène	3
Passer outre (à qqch)	3
Passer sous silence	3
Point de repère	3
Porter un grand coup	3
Prendre racine	3
Prendre soin de...	3
Si j'ose dire...	3
Tourner la page	3
(Être) en reste	2
A chaud	2
A la pointe de...	2
A point nommé	2
A reculons	2
A tel point que...	2
Aller trop (un peu) loin	2
Au plus fort de...	2
Autant dire	2
Avoir gain de cause	2
Avoir la cote	2
Avoir le dernier mot	2
Avoir l'honneur de...	2
Avoir qqch à cœur	2
Avoir son mot à dire	2
Avoir/mettre un tigre dans le (son) moteur	2
Baisser la (sa) garde	2
Battre en brèche	2
Bonne (mauvaise) conscience	2
C'est bien le moins	2
C'est chose faite	2
C'est pas vrai!	2
Contre vents et marées	2
Coup de fouet	2
Coup de pouce	2
De circonstance	2
De côté	2
De plain-pied	2
De temps à autre	2
De temps en temps	2
De tous côtés	2
De tout temps	2
Dernier mot	2
Des hauts et des bas	2
Du coup	2
En catamini	2
En dernier recours	2
En mon âme et conscience	2
En prise (directe) avec	2
Entrer en jeu	2
Et pour cause	2
Être à la merci de	2
Être bon pour...	2
Être en position	2
Être en règle	2
Être en service	2
Être hors de question	2
Être laissé pour compte	2
Être maître de qqch	2
Faire cause commune	2
Faire échec à	2
Faire mal	2
Faire montre de	2
Faire un tour d'horizon	2
Gagner du terrain	2
Jeter le discrédit	2
Jusqu'à concurrence de...	2
Le petit écran	2
Mauvais coup	2
Mettre en service	2
Mot d'ordre	2
Ni plus ni moins	2
Ô combien!	2
Par dessus-tout	2
Par le menu	2
Passer la parole à qqn	2

Pour une fois	2
Prendre de court	2
Prendre des risques	2
Prendre en main	2
Prendre le parti de...	2
Prendre pied	2
Prendre son élan	2
Procès d'intention	2
Que sais-je (encore)?	2
Quelque part	2
Quoi qu'on dise	2
Remettre les compteurs à zéro	2
Rendre des comptes	2
Rideau de fer	2
Sans appel	2
Savoir gré à (qqn) de (qqch)	2
Se battre à armes égales	2
Souhaiter la bonne année	2
Sous la houlette de	2
Sous le couvert de...	2
Sur cet article	2
Tenir en laisse	2
Tenir qqn en haute (grande) estime	2
Tourner le dos à qqn	2
Tout au plus	2
Tout court	2
Tout est pour le mieux (...)	2
Trouver moyen de...	2
Venir à bout de qqch	2
Venir à l'esprit	2
(A) cent pour cent	1
(C'est) la moindre des choses	1
(Être) le dos au mur	1
...comme un(e) malade	1
A bout de souffle	1
A cela près	1
A cette heure	1
A cheval	1
A cor et à cris	1
A dessein	1
A double sens	1
A double tranchant	1
A la chaîne	1
A la clé	1
A la dérive	1
A la longue	1
A l'usage	1
A plus forte raison	1
A portée de la main	1
A première vue	1
A tout propos	1
A tout risque	1
Aller et venir	1
Aller sur le terrain	1
Aller un peu vite	1
Aller vite en besogne	1
Au (grand) complet	1
Au ban de...	1
Au pied de la lettre	1
Au reste	1
Autant que faire se peut	1
Aux abonnés absents	1
Avant la lettre	1
Avec armes et bagages	1
Avoir (une) bonne/mauvaise presse	1
Avoir beau jeu de (pour)	1
Avoir deux poids et deux mesures	1
Avoir l'air	1
Avoir matière à	1
Avoir ses habitudes	1
Avoir toute latitude pour	1
Avoir voix au chapitre	1
Baisser les bras	1
Baptême du feu	1
Billet vert	1
Bon an, mal an	1
Bons offices	1
Brouiller les pistes	1
Ce n'est pas du luxe	1
Ce n'est pas la peine de...	1
Ce n'est pas une petite (mince) affaire	1
C'est (n'est pas) un cadeau	1
C'est (trop) commode	1
Clés en main	1
Contre nature	1
Coup d'accélérateur	1
Coup de grâce	1
Coup de main	1
Coup de poing	1
Crier victoire	1
Dans le désordre	1
Dans le principe	1
Dans les limbes	1
Dans tous les azimuts	1
De bon cœur	1
De bonne heure	1
De chair et de sang	1
De fraîche date	1
De près ou de loin	1
De prime abord	1
De quel droit?	1
De toute(s) sorte(s)	1
Demander des comptes	1
Déposer son bilan	1
Dernier cri	1
Descendre dans la rue	1
Donner acte à qqn	1
D'un seul coup	1
En (bon) père de famille	1
En bonne intelligence	1
En compagnie	1
En conscience	1
En cours de route	1
En dents de scie	1
En réserve	1
En temps normal	1
En vrac	1
Enfoncer une porte ouverte	1
Engager le fer	1
État de choses	1

Être à (la) portée (de qqn)	1
Être à égalité (avec)	1
Être à la botte de qqn	1
Être à la veille de	1
Être au-dessous de la barre	1
Être de (tout) cœur avec qqn	1
Être de son temps	1
Être de taille à...	1
Être en action	1
Être en délicatesse avec qqn	1
Être en phase	1
Être en situation de...	1
Être fort de...	1
Être hors course	1
Être loin du compte	1
Être sur la mauvaise pente	1
Être sur la touche	1
Être sur ses gardes	1
Être/se mettre dans la peau de qqn	1
Faire avec	1
Faire bloc	1
Faire bon (mauvais) ménage avec	1
Faire carrière	1
Faire cas de...	1
Faire comme si	1
Faire connaissance (avec)	1
Faire du bruit	1
Faire école	1
Faire fausse route	1
Faire florès	1
Faire honneur à (qqch)	1
Faire la grève	1
Faire la navette	1
Faire la soudure	1
Faire le coup de poing	1
Faire le jeu de qqn	1
Faire le plein	1
Faire le tour de (qqch)	1
Faire l'éloge de qqn	1
Faire machine arrière	1
Faire œuvre de	1
Faire peine, de la peine à	1
Faire pencher la balance	1
Faire profession de...	1
Faire semblant	1
Faire ses premières armes	1
Faire un bout de chemin avec qqn	1
Faire violence à qqn	1
Fermer les yeux	1
Fermer sa porte à...	1
Force de dissuasion	1
Force des choses	1
Gros sous	1
Hors pair	1
Hors service	1
Il doit se retourner dans sa tombe	1
Il est grand temps de...	1
Il y a belle lurette	1
Je vous prie de croire (que...)	1
Jeter aux oubliettes	1
Jeter de l'huile sur le feu	1
Jouer au chat et à la souris	1
Jour J	1
La dernière ligne droite	1
La nouvelle vague	1
La politique de l'autruche	1
L'affaire est faite	1
Laisser (libre) cours à	1
Laisser à désirer	1
Laisser dire	1
Laisser le champ libre	1
Le jeu n'en vaut pas la chandelle	1
Le pire n'est pas toujours sûr	1
Le pourquoi et le comment	1
Le siècle des Lumières	1
Le troisième âge	1
Les quatre coins de...	1
Les règles de l'art	1
Marcher tout seul	1
Mauvaise volonté	1
Mettre à contribution	1
Mettre à la portée de (qqn)	1
Mettre à l'épreuve	1
Mettre au jour	1
Mettre des bâtons dans les roues	1
Mettre en pièces	1
Mettre en vedette	1
Mettre le cap sur...	1
Mettre les bouchées doubles	1
Oiseau de mauvais augure	1
On dirait...	1
On ne peut plus	1
Ouvrir la porte à...	1
Ouvrir le chemin	1
Ouvrir l'esprit	1
Parer à toute éventualité	1
Parler au cœur	1
Pas de si tôt	1
Passer à l'acte	1
Passer d'un extrême à l'autre	1
Payer de sa personne	1
Perdre du terrain	1
Perdre prise	1
Porter à faux	1
Porter au pinacle	1
Porter bonheur	1
Poser les jalons	1
Pour le meilleur et pour le pire	1
Pré carré	1
Prendre la place de	1
Prendre le taureau par les cornes	1
Prendre les devants	1
Prendre parti (pour, contre)	1
Prendre possession de...	1
Prendre qqch à cœur	1
Prendre qqn au dépourvu	1
Prendre rang	1
Prendre son plein essor	1
Prendre un bon (mauvais) tour	1
Prêter le flanc à	1

Quitter la place	1
Quoi de neuf?	1
Recevoir qqn cinq sur cinq	1
Réchauffer le cœur	1
Regarder d'un œil	1
Remonter à la surface	1
Renvoyer dos à dos	1
Rester à la traîne	1
Sans aller plus loin	1
Sans commune mesure (avec)	1
Sans compter que...	1
Sans crier gare	1
Sans plus	1
Se faire un nom	1
Se faire un plaisir à...	1
Se jeter à l'eau	1
Se rendre maître de qqch	1
Se tirer d'affaire	1
Second souffle	1
Serrer le cœur	1
Si tant est que	1
Sonner le glas (de qqch)	1
Souffler mot	1
Sur les barricades	1
Sur-le-champ	1
Tant qu'à faire	1
Tant soit peu	1
Tenir parole	1
Tirer au clair	1
Tirer des plans sur la comète	1
Toucher à sa fin	1
Tour de table	1
Tourner en dérision	1
Tout de go	1
Tout un chacun	1
Travailler d'arrache-pied	1
Un tant soit peu	1
Vivre de l'air du temps	1
Voir loin	1
Y perdre son latin	1

Appendix 3
Wordlists of FRADCO, FREUCO, FRNACO, Comparator corpus and EUENCO
Statistics + Top 100 words by Frequency.

Wordlist: FRADCO

Statistics

Bytes	13,529,846
Tokens	2,121,553
Types	37,904
Type/Token Ratio	1.79
Standardised Type/Token Ratio	38.00
Ave. Word Length	4.91
Sentences	53,201
Sent. Length	35.37
sd. Sent. Length	55.65
Paragraphs	9,455
Para. length	114.60
sd. Para. length	779.50
1-letter words	207,493
2-letter words	483,949
3-letter words	279,872
4-letter words	189,681
5-letter words	136,141
6-letter words	142,244
7-letter words	161,943
8-letter words	135,023
9-letter words	127,582
10-letter words	98,843
11-letter words	63,190
12-letter words	42,424
13-letter words	26,619
14(+)-letter words	15,296

Top 100 words by frequency

N	Word	Freq.	%
1	DE	124,136	5.85
2	LA	78,257	3.69
3	L	61,785	2.91
4	DES	53,486	2.52
5	ET	52,525	2.48
6	LES	49,462	2.33
7	À	44,389	2.09
8	LE	44,287	2.09
9	D	40,993	1.93
10	EN	31,051	1.46
11	DU	29,470	1.39
12	DANS	20,625	0.97
13	UNE	19,392	0.91
14	UN	18,795	0.89
15	POUR	17,383	0.82
16	QUE	16,543	0.78
17	EST	15,955	0.75
18	PAR	15,880	0.75
19	AU	15,362	0.72
20	SUR	13,329	0.63
21	A	13,246	0.62
22	QUI	12,041	0.57
23	IL	10,477	0.49
24	AUX	9,574	0.45
25	CE	8,595	0.41
26	OU	8,444	0.40
27	ARTICLE	7,652	0.36
28	SONT	6,981	0.33
29	COMMISSION	6,937	0.33
30	CONSEIL	6,455	0.30
31	PAS	6,366	0.30
32	PLUS	6,280	0.30
33	QU	6,239	0.29
34	NE	5,884	0.28
35	S	5,836	0.28
36	ÊTRE	5,540	0.26
37	AVEC	5,475	0.26
38	CETTE	5,266	0.25
39	N	5,095	0.24
40	CES	4,788	0.23
41	ONT	4,230	0.20
42	SE	4,171	0.20
43	MEMBRES	4,060	0.19
44	LEUR	3,892	0.18
45	EUROPÉENNE	3,796	0.18
46	ENTRE	3,710	0.17
47	ÉTÉ	3,519	0.17
48	ELLE	3,391	0.16
49	AINSI	3,348	0.16
50	NOUS	3,308	0.16
51	C	3,254	0.15
52	UNION	3,202	0.15
53	SON	3,190	0.15
54	M	3,072	0.14
55	PAYS	3,065	0.14
56	EUROPÉEN	3,052	0.14
57	POLITIQUE	2,875	0.14
58	COMME	2,666	0.13
59	JE	2,666	0.13
60	AUTRES	2,644	0.12
61	PEUT	2,605	0.12
62	ETAT	2,557	0.12
63	SES	2,497	0.12
64	MAIS	2,469	0.12
65	MÊME	2,448	0.12
66	CADRE	2,416	0.11
67	SERVICES	2,400	0.11
68	TRAVAIL	2,370	0.11
69	DÉVELOPPEMENT	2,349	0.11
70	MISE	2,326	0.11
71	Y	2,287	0.11
72	SA	2,274	0.11
73	TOUT	2,249	0.11
74	SI	2,226	0.10
75	ÉTATS	2,219	0.10
76	NOTAMMENT	2,219	0.10
77	DOIT	2,190	0.10
78	MINISTRE	2,178	0.10
79	DEUX	2,154	0.10
80	MESURES	2,147	0.10

81	COMMUNAUTÉ	2,139	0.10
82	LEURS	2,136	0.10
83	FAIT	2,129	0.10
84	TOUS	2,110	0.10
85	FORMATION	2,068	0.10
86	DISPOSITIONS	2,065	0.10
87	FRANCE	2,043	0.10
88	LOI	2,032	0.10
89	ÉTAT	2,024	0.10
90	CONDITIONS	1,983	0.09
91	ETATS	1,979	0.09
92	MARCHÉ	1,933	0.09
93	CAS	1,927	0.09
94	ILS	1,914	0.09
95	AUSSI	1,901	0.09
96	DONT	1,885	0.09
97	EMPLOI	1,873	0.09
98	COOPÉRATION	1,869	0.09
99	ACTION	1,862	0.09
100	ÉGALEMENT	1,859	0.09

Wordlist: FREUCO

Statistics

Bytes	7,005,956
Tokens	1,065,389
Types	24,461
Type/Token Ratio	2.30
Standardised Type/Token Ratio	36.48
Ave. Word Length	4.95
Sentences	27,353
Sent. Length	34.79
sd. Sent. Length	61.76
Paragraphs	3,925
Para. length	120.92
sd. Para. length	577.77
1-letter words	105,494
2-letter words	243,554
3-letter words	139,390
4-letter words	91,887
5-letter words	65,187
6-letter words	68,389
7-letter words	84,089
8-letter words	66,671
9-letter words	65,174
10-letter words	54,792
11-letter words	32,958
12-letter words	21,445
13-letter words	13,736
14(+)-letter words	7,233

Top 100 words by frequency

N	Word	Freq.	%
1	DE	60,204	5.65
2	LA	41,417	3.89
3	L	31,503	2.96
4	ET	26,786	2.51
5	DES	26,408	2.48
6	LES	25,303	2.38
7	À	23,436	2.20
8	LE	22,732	2.13
9	D	20,558	1.93
10	EN	16,207	1.52
11	DU	14,783	1.39
12	DANS	10,887	1.02
13	UNE	9,465	0.89
14	UN	9,379	0.88
15	POUR	9,209	0.86
16	QUE	8,813	0.83
17	AU	8,077	0.76
18	PAR	7,739	0.73
19	SUR	7,413	0.70
20	A	6,786	0.63
21	EST	6,673	0.63
22	COMMISSION	6,010	0.56
23	QUI	5,753	0.54
24	AUX	5,249	0.49
25	CONSEIL	4,987	0.47
26	ARTICLE	4,877	0.46
27	CE	4,551	0.43
28	IL	4,340	0.41
29	OU	3,840	0.36
30	MEMBRES	3,533	0.33
31	SONT	3,358	0.32
32	EUROPÉENNE	3,214	0.30
33	QU	3,105	0.29
34	PAS	2,841	0.27
35	UNION	2,776	0.26
36	EUROPÉEN	2,768	0.26
37	ÊTRE	2,711	0.25
38	AVEC	2,604	0.24
39	NE	2,601	0.24
40	PLUS	2,566	0.24
41	S	2,519	0.24
42	CES	2,454	0.23
43	CETTE	2,383	0.22
44	N	2,285	0.21
45	ÉTATS	2,158	0.20
46	ONT	2,078	0.20
47	PAYS	1,981	0.19
48	SE	1,954	0.18
49	ENTRE	1,908	0.18
50	ÉTÉ	1,832	0.17
51	LEUR	1,706	0.16
52	TRAITÉ	1,697	0.16
53	COMMUNAUTÉ	1,693	0.16
54	CADRE	1,620	0.15
55	MARCHÉ	1,618	0.15
56	ELLE	1,587	0.15
57	AUTRES	1,586	0.15
58	ÉTAT	1,569	0.15
59	POLITIQUE	1,567	0.15
60	AINSI	1,564	0.15
61	MESURES	1,537	0.14
62	ETATS	1,533	0.14
63	SON	1,519	0.14
64	DIRECTIVE	1,491	0.14
65	MEMBRE	1,482	0.14
66	C	1,462	0.14
67	MISE	1,326	0.12
68	DISPOSITIONS	1,307	0.12
69	RÈGLEMENT	1,284	0.12
70	ACCORD	1,280	0.12
71	ACTION	1,258	0.12
72	SES	1,244	0.12
73	ÉCONOMIQUE	1,228	0.12
74	PARAGRAPHE	1,220	0.11
75	PEUT	1,217	0.11
76	COOPÉRATION	1,215	0.11
77	DÉVELOPPEMENT	1,211	0.11
78	NOUS	1,171	0.11
79	EURO	1,166	0.11
80	NOTAMMENT	1,165	0.11
81	MATIÈRE	1,146	0.11
82	DÉCISION	1,145	0.11
83	COMME	1,139	0.11
84	Y	1,136	0.11
85	PRÉSENT	1,135	0.11
86	SA	1,128	0.11
87	EUROPE	1,125	0.11
88	CONCERNANT	1,124	0.11

89	NIVEAU	1,090	0.10
90	ÉGALEMENT	1,069	0.10
91	PARLEMENT	1,062	0.10
92	COMMUNAUTAIRE	1,060	0.10
93	SI	1,060	0.10
94	SERVICES	1,045	0.10
95	PROGRAMME	1,044	0.10
96	LEURS	1,037	0.10
97	CAS	1,023	0.10
98	DOIT	1,018	0.10
99	TOUT	1,016	0.10
100	CONDITIONS	1,004	0.09

Wordlist: FRNACO

Statistics

Bytes	6,523,890
Tokens	1,056,164
Types	27,887
Type/Token Ratio	2.64
Standardised Type/Token Ratio	39.47
Ave. Word Length	4.88
Sentences	25,848
Sent. Length	35.98
sd. Sent. Length	48.34
Paragraphs	5,530
Para. length	110.12
sd. Para. length	895.54
1-letter words	101,999
2-letter words	240,395
3-letter words	140,482
4-letter words	97,794
5-letter words	70,954
6-letter words	73,855
7-letter words	77,854
8-letter words	68,352
9-letter words	62,408
10-letter words	44,051
11-letter words	30,232
12-letter words	20,979
13-letter words	12,883
14(+)-letter words	8,063

Top 100 words by frequency

N	Word	Freq.	%
1	DE	63,932	6.05
2	LA	36,840	3.49
3	L	30,282	2.87
4	DES	27,078	2.56
5	ET	25,739	2.44
6	LES	24,159	2.29
7	LE	21,555	2.04
8	À	20,953	1.98
9	D	20,435	1.93
10	EN	14,844	1.41
11	DU	14,687	1.39
12	UNE	9,927	0.94
13	DANS	9,738	0.92
14	UN	9,416	0.89
15	EST	9,282	0.88
16	POUR	8,174	0.77
17	PAR	8,141	0.77
18	QUE	7,730	0.73
19	AU	7,285	0.69
20	A	6,460	0.61
21	QUI	6,288	0.60
22	IL	6,137	0.58
23	SUR	5,916	0.56
24	OU	4,604	0.44
25	AUX	4,325	0.41
26	CE	4,044	0.38
27	PLUS	3,714	0.35
28	SONT	3,623	0.34
29	PAS	3,525	0.33
30	S	3,317	0.31
31	NE	3,283	0.31
32	QU	3,134	0.30
33	CETTE	2,883	0.27
34	AVEC	2,871	0.27
35	ÊTRE	2,829	0.27
36	N	2,810	0.27
37	ARTICLE	2,775	0.26
38	CES	2,334	0.22
39	SE	2,217	0.21
40	LEUR	2,186	0.21
41	ONT	2,152	0.20
42	NOUS	2,137	0.20
43	M	2,092	0.20
44	LOI	1,892	0.18
45	ETAT	1,849	0.18
46	ELLE	1,804	0.17
47	ENTRE	1,802	0.17
48	C	1,792	0.17
49	AINSI	1,784	0.17
50	JE	1,704	0.16
51	ÉTÉ	1,687	0.16
52	FRANCE	1,685	0.16
53	MINISTRE	1,678	0.16
54	SON	1,671	0.16
55	MÊME	1,650	0.16
56	MAIS	1,616	0.15
57	TRAVAIL	1,590	0.15
58	FORMATION	1,552	0.15
59	COMME	1,527	0.14
60	CONSEIL	1,468	0.14
61	PEUT	1,388	0.13
62	NATIONALE	1,371	0.13
63	SERVICES	1,355	0.13
64	VOUS	1,338	0.13
65	ON	1,318	0.12
66	POLITIQUE	1,308	0.12
67	SES	1,253	0.12
68	TOUT	1,233	0.12
69	FAIT	1,216	0.12
70	DEUX	1,212	0.11
71	TEMPS	1,190	0.11
72	DOIT	1,172	0.11
73	SI	1,166	0.11
74	DONT	1,164	0.11
75	PRÉSIDENT	1,154	0.11
76	Y	1,151	0.11
77	SA	1,146	0.11
78	DÉVELOPPEMENT	1,138	0.11
79	AUSSI	1,134	0.11
80	TOUS	1,124	0.11
81	NOTRE	1,123	0.11
82	LEURS	1,099	0.10
83	SERVICE	1,098	0.10
84	PREMIER	1,094	0.10
85	PAYS	1,084	0.10
86	FAIRE	1,081	0.10
87	ILS	1,071	0.10
88	AUTRES	1,058	0.10

89	NOTAMMENT	1,054	0.10
90	SERA	1,048	0.10
91	PUBLIC	1,032	0.10
92	SANS	1,024	0.10
93	GÉNÉRAL	1,006	0.10
94	MISE	1,000	0.09
95	GOUVERNEMENT	996	0.09
96	CONDITIONS	979	0.09
97	SOIT	959	0.09
98	TRÈS	944	0.09
99	ENSEMBLE	940	0.09
100	COMMISSION	927	0.09

Wordlist: Comparator corpus

Statistics

Bytes	13,201,977
Tokens	2,223,862
Types	68,392
Type/Token Ratio	3.08
Standardised Type/Token Ratio	43,94
Ave. Word Length	4.55
Sentences	93,202
Sent. Length	18.45
sd. Sent. Length	16.00
Paragraphs	53,573
Para. length	41.06
sd. Para. length	153.50
1-letter words	198,193
2-letter words	519,076
3-letter words	305,761
4-letter words	259,309
5-letter words	202,218
6-letter words	183,719
7-letter words	160,379
8-letter words	133,058
9-letter words	103,647
10-letter words	69,190
11-letter words	37,857
12-letter words	24,516
13-letter words	13,646
14(+)-letter words	8,074

Top 100 words by frequency

N	Word	Freq.	%
1	DE	107,517	4.83
2	LA	62,618	2.82
3	LE	49,671	2.23
4	ET	47,803	2.15
5	L	47,282	2.13
6	À	41,743	1.88
7	LES	39,106	1.76
8	DES	32,853	1.48
9	D	32,422	1.46
10	IL	29,736	1.34
11	EN	28,972	1.30
12	UN	26,582	1.20
13	EST	25,628	1.15
14	QUE	23,717	1.07
15	DU	23,432	1.05
16	UNE	21,181	0.95
17	QUI	19,452	0.87
18	A	17,272	0.78
19	DANS	16,803	0.76
20	PAS	14,445	0.65
21	QU	14,414	0.65
22	POUR	14,341	0.64
23	AU	13,813	0.62
24	NE	13,720	0.62
25	PAR	11,784	0.53
26	CE	11,771	0.53
27	N	11,092	0.50
28	PLUS	10,753	0.48
29	JE	10,127	0.46
30	SE	10,064	0.45
31	SUR	9,642	0.43
32	S	9,357	0.42
33	ON	9,354	0.42
34	M	8,772	0.39
35	NOUS	8,381	0.38
36	MAIS	8,248	0.37
37	SON	7,824	0.35
38	C	7,811	0.35
39	AVEC	7,222	0.32
40	ELLE	7,047	0.32
41	LUI	6,475	0.29
42	VOUS	6,357	0.29
43	COMME	6,235	0.28
44	CETTE	6,039	0.27
45	ILS	5,750	0.26
46	SONT	5,570	0.25
47	SA	5,510	0.25
48	TOUT	5,435	0.24
49	AUX	5,374	0.24
50	MÊME	5,335	0.24
51	SES	5,285	0.24
52	Y	5,237	0.24
53	OU	4,917	0.22
54	ÉTAIT	4,865	0.22
55	SI	4,717	0.21
56	ÊTRE	4,470	0.20
57	CES	4,450	0.20
58	ONT	4,342	0.20
59	LEUR	4,321	0.19
60	MONDE	4,141	0.19
61	AVAIT	4,073	0.18
62	BIEN	3,974	0.18
63	FAIT	3,953	0.18
64	ÉTÉ	3,907	0.18
65	J	3,889	0.17
66	DIT	3,602	0.16
67	DEUX	3,588	0.16
68	OÙ	3,432	0.15
69	SANS	3,408	0.15
70	ME	3,084	0.14
71	PEUT	2,920	0.13
72	AUSSI	2,807	0.13
73	DONT	2,796	0.13
74	FAIRE	2,786	0.13
75	TOUS	2,766	0.12
76	APRÈS	2,594	0.12
77	ENTRE	2,588	0.12
78	ANS	2,559	0.12
79	ENCORE	2,466	0.11
80	AI	2,423	0.11
81	AUTRE	2,348	0.11
82	DEPUIS	2,256	0.10
83	FRANCE	2,252	0.10
84	HOMME	2,239	0.10
85	AUTRES	2,133	0.10
86	SOUS	2,127	0.10
87	MON	2,107	0.09
88	PAYS	2,093	0.09

89	NON	2,066	0.09
90	TRÈS	2,065	0.09
91	PAGE	2,054	0.09
92	LÀ	2,042	0.09
93	LEURS	2,016	0.09
94	QUAND	1,950	0.09
95	PEU	1,936	0.09
96	POINT	1,928	0.09
97	AVOIR	1,918	0.09
98	CONTRE	1,914	0.09
99	AINSI	1,896	0.09
100	MOINS	1,893	0.09

<u>Wordlist: EUENCO</u> (English EU corpus)

Statistics

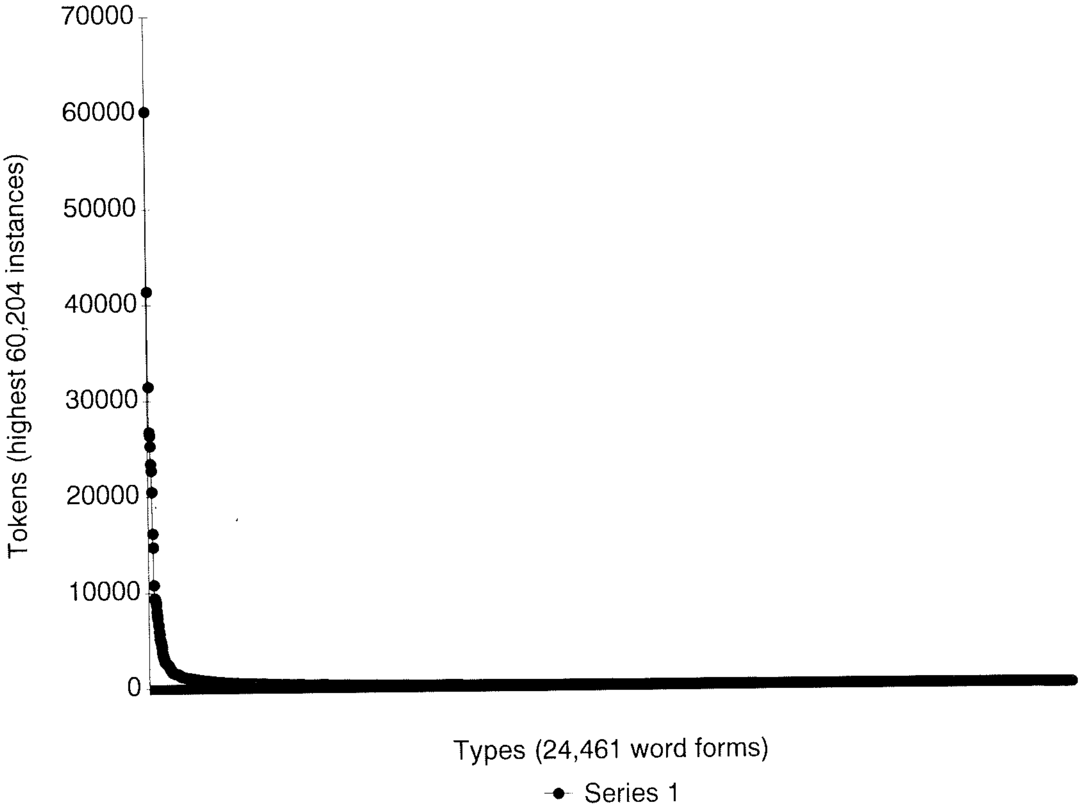
Bytes	6,480,808
Tokens	966,893
Types	18,914
Type/Token Ratio	1.96
Standardised Type/Token Ratio	36.00
Ave. Word Length	5.11
Sentences	27,359
Sent. Length	31.56
sd. Sent. Length	54.56
Paragraphs	4,232
Para. length	95.96
sd. Para. length	383.87
1-letter words	35,608
2-letter words	182,783
3-letter words	181,795
4-letter words	100,978
5-letter words	81,034
6-letter words	75,071
7-letter words	79,523
8-letter words	68,828
9-letter words	58,101
10-letter words	47,199
11-letter words	27,441
12-letter words	13,383
13-letter words	8,945
14(+)-letter words	4,038

Top 100 words by frequency

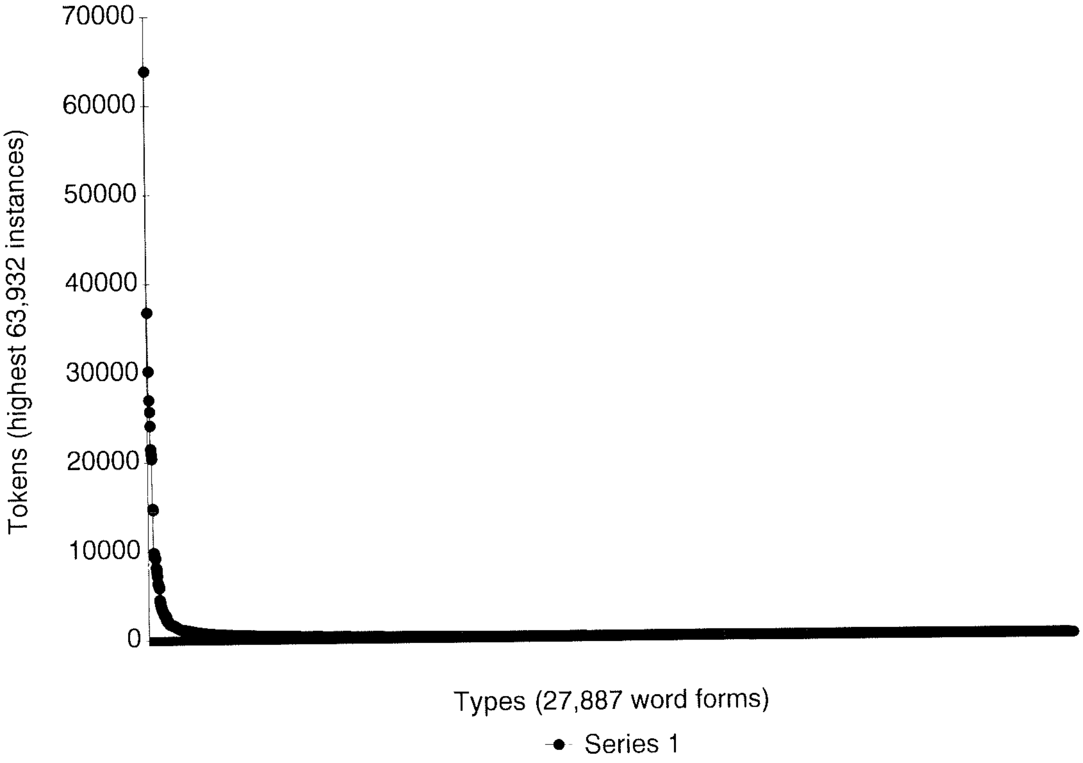
N	Word	Freq.	%
1	THE	87,730	9.07
2	OF	45,085	4.66
3	TO	29,916	3.09
4	AND	29,322	3.03
5	IN	24,787	2.56
6	A	15,318	1.58
7	FOR	12,433	1.29
8	ON	10,551	1.09
9	BE	8,864	0.92
10	THAT	7,689	0.80
11	BY	7,530	0.78
12	IS	7,331	0.76
13	EUROPEAN	6,496	0.67
14	WITH	6,428	0.66
15	AS	5,923	0.61
16	COMMISSION	5,832	0.60
17	THIS	5,619	0.58
18	WILL	4,876	0.50
19	COUNCIL	4,821	0.50
20	ARTICLE	4,816	0.50
21	SHALL	4,773	0.49
22	MEMBER	4,708	0.49
23	WHICH	4,653	0.48
24	IT	4,527	0.47
25	OR	3,951	0.41
26	ARE	3,832	0.40
27	STATES	3,565	0.37
28	AT	3,171	0.33
29	AN	3,141	0.32
30	ITS	3,128	0.32
31	FROM	3,109	0.32
32	COMMUNITY	3,091	0.32
33	NOT	3,091	0.32
34	HAVE	3,038	0.31
35	HAS	2,972	0.31
36	S	2,602	0.27
37	UNION	2,369	0.25
38	THEIR	2,223	0.23
39	STATE	2,112	0.22
40	ALL	2,045	0.21
41	ECONOMIC	1,965	0.20
42	OTHER	1,961	0.20
43	I	1,938	0.20
44	EU	1,920	0.20
45	MARKET	1,837	0.19
46	SHOULD	1,778	0.18
47	MAY	1,762	0.18
48	ALSO	1,753	0.18
49	NEW	1,715	0.18
50	WE	1,703	0.18
51	TREATY	1,674	0.17
52	SUCH	1,607	0.17
53	POLICY	1,605	0.17
54	BETWEEN	1,584	0.16
55	THESE	1,556	0.16
56	BEEN	1,540	0.16
57	DIRECTIVE	1,512	0.16
58	MEASURES	1,504	0.16
59	UNDER	1,504	0.16
60	INTO	1,460	0.15
61	NATIONAL	1,404	0.15
62	MORE	1,381	0.14
63	COUNTRIES	1,373	0.14
64	ACTION	1,362	0.14
65	WITHIN	1,344	0.14
66	THEY	1,321	0.14
67	ANY	1,296	0.13
68	INFORMATION	1,283	0.13
69	NO	1,282	0.13
70	DEVELOPMENT	1,249	0.13
71	REGULATION	1,235	0.13
72	FINANCIAL	1,227	0.13
73	COMMON	1,226	0.13
74	WOULD	1,226	0.13
75	WAS	1,171	0.12
76	DECISION	1,152	0.12
77	PARTICULAR	1,144	0.12
78	UP	1,144	0.12
79	PUBLIC	1,138	0.12
80	AGREEMENT	1,127	0.12
81	SOCIAL	1,098	0.11
82	PROVISIONS	1,093	0.11
83	IF	1,092	0.11
84	EUROPE	1,089	0.11
85	INTERNATIONAL	1,070	0.11
86	OUT	1,067	0.11
87	EMPLOYMENT	1,059	0.11

88	CAN	1,058	0.11
89	AID	1,054	0.11
90	MUST	1,053	0.11
91	BUT	1,019	0.11
92	WHEREAS	1,017	0.11
93	EURO	1,009	0.10
94	FIRST	1,009	0.10
95	COOPERATION	1,004	0.10
96	PARLIAMENT	1,001	0.10
97	TAKE	989	0.10
98	SERVICES	985	0.10
99	PROGRAMME	984	0.10
100	ONE	980	0.10

FREUCO
Type-Token Curve



FRNACO
Type-Token Curve



Appendix 4
Sequences common to FREUCO and FRNACO speech genres (frequency of occurrence ≥ 10)

	Freq.	%
DANS LE DOMAINE DE LA	20	0.01
DANS LE CADRE DE LA	15	
LA MISE EN ŒUVRE DE	10	

DANS LE CADRE DE	51	0.03
MESDAMES ET MESSIEURS LES	35	0.02
EN CE QUI CONCERNE	32	0.02
DE PLUS EN PLUS	30	0.02
LA MISE EN PLACE	30	0.02
DANS LE DOMAINE DE	29	0.01
LA MISE EN ŒUVRE	26	0.01
UN CERTAIN NOMBRE DE	26	0.01
DES DROITS DE LHOMME	21	0.01
LE DOMAINE DE LA	20	0.01
POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS	19	
TOUT AU LONG DE	16	
À LA FIN DE	15	
DANS LE CADRE DU	15	
IL Y A UN	15	
LE CADRE DE LA	15	
LA LUTTE CONTRE LA	12	
DANS LE DOMAINE DES	11	
DE LA CONSTRUCTION EUROPÉENNE	10	
DE LA RECHERCHE ET	10	
IL NY A PAS	10	
LES DROITS DE LHOMME	10	
MISE EN ŒUVRE DE	10	

DE LA COMMISSION	262	0.13
DE LA POLITIQUE	112	0.06
DE LUNION EUROPÉENNE	104	0.05
LA MISE EN	97	0.05
EN MATIÈRE DE	92	0.05
ET DE LA	92	0.05
DANS LE CADRE	91	0.05
IL Y A	84	0.04
MESDAMES ET MESSIEURS	79	0.04
MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT	75	0.04
DANS LE DOMAINE	60	0.03
LE CADRE DE	57	0.03
PRÉSIDENT DE LA	50	0.03
JE VOUS REMERCIE	49	0.02
À LA FOIS	48	0.02
DE LA CROISSANCE	47	0.02
ET À LA	46	0.02
AU COURS DE	45	0.02
AU COURS DES	43	0.02
MISE EN ŒUVRE	43	0.02
DES POLITIQUES ÉCONOMIQUES	42	0.02
DANS CE DOMAINE	41	0.02
LE #ER JANVIER	41	0.02
AU SEIN DE	40	0.02
DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ	40	0.02
LA FIN DE	40	0.02
CEST-À-DIRE	39	0.02
EST-À-DIRE	39	0.02
ET MESSIEURS LES	37	0.02
LA CRÉATION DE	37	0.02
NE SONT PAS	37	0.02
SUR LE PLAN	37	0.02
QUE NOUS AVONS	36	0.02
UN CERTAIN NOMBRE	36	0.02
DE #	35	0.02
EN CE QUI	35	0.02
CE QUI CONCERNE	34	0.02
LA MONNAIE UNIQUE	34	0.02
MISE EN PLACE	34	0.02
DROITS DE LHOMME	33	0.02
MISE EN ŒUVRE	33	0.02
DE LA RECHERCHE	31	0.02
PLUS DE #	31	0.02
DE PLUS EN	30	0.02
LA CROISSANCE ET	30	0.02
PLUS EN PLUS	30	0.02
DES DROITS DE	29	0.01
LA LUTTE CONTRE	29	0.01
LE DOMAINE DE	29	0.01
EN # ET	28	0.01
EN FAVEUR DE	28	0.01
LA PLUPART DES	28	0.01
À CE QUE	27	0.01
UNE PLUS GRANDE	27	0.01
CERTAIN NOMBRE DE	26	0.01
DE LA POPULATION	26	0.01
DE LA SOCIÉTÉ	26	0.01
À CET ÉGARD	25	0.01
DE TOUS LES	25	0.01
LE RESPECT DES	25	0.01
DE LA CONSTRUCTION	24	0.01
DE LA COOPÉRATION	24	0.01
EN PREMIER LIEU	24	0.01
DE LA PART	23	0.01
DOMAINE DE LA	23	0.01
IL NOUS FAUT	23	0.01
LA CONSTRUCTION EUROPÉENNE	23	0.01
POINT DE VUE	23	0.01
AUX ETATS-UNIS	22	0.01
CE QUI EST	22	0.01
DANS LE MONDE	21	0.01
DORES ET DÉJÀ	21	0.01
EN MÊME TEMPS	21	0.01
IL NY A	21	0.01
LA PREMIÈRE FOIS	21	0.01
A TOUS LES	20	0.01
CE NEST PAS	20	0.01
DANS LES DOMAINES	20	0.01
DE NE PAS	20	0.01
EN TANT QUE	20	0.01
ENSEMBLE DE LA	20	0.01
LE PASSAGE À	20	0.01
NE DOIT PAS	20	0.01

ORES ET DÉJÀ	20	0.01
À LA FIN	19	
AU SEIN DU	19	
IL SAGIT DE	19	
MIS EN PLACE	19	
POUR LA PREMIÈRE	19	
À PARTIR DE	18	
CELUI DE LA	18	
CEST À DIRE	18	
DE LA BANQUE	18	
EST À DIRE	18	
LENSEMBLE DE LA	18	
PERMETTEZ-MOI DE	18	
TOUT AU LONG	18	
IL NE FAUT	17	
LA RECHERCHE ET	17	
LE CADRE DU	17	
LE PROCESSUS DE	17	
SUR CE POINT	17	
AU LONG DE	16	
AU-DELÀ DE	16	
DE LA GESTION	16	
DE LA VIE	16	
DE METTRE EN	16	
DE TOUTES LES	16	
GRÂCE À LA	16	
LA POLITIQUE DE	16	
LA QUALITÉ DE	16	
LA QUESTION DE	16	
LE RESPECT DE	16	
VIS-À-VIS	16	
À LA MISE	15	
CADRE DE LA	15	
DANS LE RESPECT	15	
DANS LE SECTEUR	15	
DE LA NOUVELLE	15	
DE LA RÉFORME	15	
EN PLACE DE	15	
LE # SEPTEMBRE	15	
LUTTE CONTRE LA	15	
METTRE EN PLACE	15	
Y A UN	15	
AU SERVICE DE	14	
DE # MILLIONS	14	
EN CE SENS	14	
EN ŒUVRE DE	14	
LA POSSIBILITÉ DE	14	
LA SOCIÉTÉ CIVILE	14	
LUTTE CONTRE LE	14	
ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE	13	
IL NEST PAS	13	
JE SUIS CONVAINCU	13	
LA RESPONSABILITÉ DE	13	
LES CONDITIONS DE	13	
PRÈS DE #	13	
A LOCCASION DE	12	
AVANT LA FIN	12	
EN ŒUVRE DES	12	
IL FAUT QUE	12	
JE SOUHAITE QUE	12	
LA RÉFORME DE	12	
NOUS AVONS BESOIN	12	
CE QUE NOUS	11	
DE LA NÉGOCIATION	11	
JE ME RÉJOUIS	11	
JE TIENS À	11	
LE DÉVELOPPEMENT DU	11	
LE DOMAINE DES	11	
LES DROITS DE	11	
À METTRE EN	10	
ALLER PLUS LOIN	10	
AU-DELÀ DES	10	
CE QUE LES	10	
DE LA RESPONSABILITÉ	10	
JE SUIS HEUREUX	10	
JE VOUDRAIS VOUS	10	
NY A PAS	10	
POUR MA PART	10	
QUE NOUS DEVONS	10	
QUI A ÉTÉ	10	
QUI SE SONT	10	
QUIL YA	10	
RESPECT DE LA	10	
Y A PAS	10	

Appendix 5 - Keywords: FRADCO against Comparator corpus, FREUCO against FRNACO, FRNACO against FREUCO

FRADCO against Comparator corpus

N	WORD	FRAD[1]	FRAD	COMP[2]	COMP	KEYNESS[3]
		FREQ.	%	FREQ.	%	
1	ARTICLE	7,652	0.36	320	0.01	8,729.5
2	COMMISSION	6,937	0.33	300	0.01	7,862.6
3	DES	53,486	2.52	32,853	1.48	6,119.2
4	MEMBRES	4,060	0.19	357	0.02	3,823.1
5	CONSEIL	6,455	0.30	1,406	0.06	3,762.2
6	EUROPÉENNE	3,796	0.18	334	0.02	3,573.5
7	UNION	3,202	0.15	323	0.01	2,866.9
8	L	61,785	2.91	47,282	2.13	2,746.6
9	EUROPÉEN	3,052	0.14	333	0.01	2,647.8
10	LA	78,257	3.69	62,618	2.82	2,639.9
11	ÉTATS[4]	2,219	0.10	111		2,439.3
12	DISPOSITIONS	2,065	0.10	98		2,295.4
13	DE	124,136	5.85	107,517	4.83	2,223.0
14	DIRECTIVE	1,600	0.08	20		2,106.2
15	CADRE	2,416	0.11	271	0.01	2,071.5
16	SERVICES	2,400	0.11	306	0.01	1,942.6
17	LES	49,462	2.33	39,106	1.76	1,786.9
18	TRAITÉ	1,811	0.09	140		1,777.8
19	PARAGRAPHE	1,259	0.06	13		1,678.1
20	COOPÉRATION	1,869	0.09	196		1,647.5
21	COMMUNAUTÉ	2,139	0.10	321	0.01	1,592.5
22	MISE	2,326	0.11	406	0.02	1,583.7
23	RÈGLEMENT	1,424	0.07	75		1,547.4
24	MESURES	2,147	0.10	365	0.02	1,486.2
25	D	40,993	1.93	32,422	1.46	1,472.1
26	EURO	1,365	0.06	75		1,469.0
27	APPLICATION	1,544	0.07	132		1,467.1
28	CONCERNANT	1,358	0.06	77		1,450.6
29	AUX	9,574	0.45	5,374	0.24	1,407.0
30	DÉVELOPPEMENT	2,349	0.11	504	0.02	1,383.8
31	COMMUNAUTAIRE	1,194	0.06	47		1,375.5
32	EMPLOI	1,873	0.09	296	0.01	1,354.3
33	CONFORMÉMENT	1,114	0.05	39		1,309.1
34	UE	912	0.04	0		1,308.0
35	DÉCISION	1,495	0.07	187		1,220.8
36	FORMATION	2,068	0.10	457	0.02	1,190.2
37	OU	8,444	0.40	4,917	0.22	1,119.1

[1] Frequency of keyword in source corpus: here FRADCO.

[2] Frequency of keyword in reference corpus: here the Comparator corpus.

[3] A word is said to be 'key' if "its frequency in the text when compared with its frequency in a reference corpus is such that the statistical probability as computed by an appropriate procedure is smaller than or equal to a p value specified by the user" (Scott 1999). The procedure used here is log likelihood, recommended by Scott when comparing long texts or whole genres against a reference corpus.

[4] WordSmith Tools searches for word forms, and counts as distinct forms words which differ only because of the presence or absence of an accent. This allows words which are otherwise homographs to appear separately on keyword lists, but can be misleading in the cases where an initial accented character loses its accent when capitalised, such as in the case of 'état', which is usually capitalised in the European Union subcorpus (because of its principal use in the collocation 'État(s) membre(s)'). This explains the separate entries for État(s) and Etat(s) in the keyword lists. When the two spellings are conflated, it turns out that 'état' is not as key in FREUCO as the lists above suggest.

38	CONDITIONS	1,983	0.09	485	0.02	1,047.9
39	PRÉSENT	1,507	0.07	257	0.01	1,041.0
40	PROCÉDURE	1,032	0.05	75		1,031.9
41	DU	29,470	1.39	23,432	1.05	1,016.7
42	NIVEAU	1,653	0.08	335	0.02	1,016.4
43	NOTAMMENT	2,219	0.10	636	0.03	1,006.1
44	ACCÈS	1,061	0.05	99		977.7
45	SÉCURITÉ	1,474	0.07	277	0.01	955.9
46	INFORMATION	1,367	0.06	230	0.01	952.1
47	ÉTAT	2,024	0.10	560	0.03	951.7
48	PROGRAMME	1,378	0.06	237	0.01	946.8
49	MEMBRE	1,627	0.08	356	0.02	943.7
50	ACCORD	1,705	0.08	402	0.02	930.1

FREUCO against FRNACO

N	WORD	FREU FREQ.	FREU %	FRNA FREQ.	FRNA %	KEYNESS
1	COMMISSION	6,010	0.56	927	0.09	4,129.0
2	ÉTATS	2,158	0.20	61		2,501.3
3	MEMBRES	3,533	0.33	527	0.05	2,472.1
4	EUROPÉEN	2,768	0.26	284	0.03	2,322.8
5	CONSEIL	4,987	0.47	1,468	0.14	2,002.2
6	EUROPÉENNE	3,214	0.30	582	0.06	1,990.2
7	UNION	2,776	0.26	426	0.04	1,909.9
8	TRAITÉ	1,697	0.16	114	0.01	1,646.8
9	DIRECTIVE	1,491	0.14	109	0.01	1,410.9
10	PARAGRAPHE	1,220	0.11	39		1,388.0
11	MEMBRE	1,482	0.14	145	0.01	1,266.9
12	UE	910	0.09	2		1,228.3
13	RÈGLEMENT	1,284	0.12	140	0.01	1,049.5
14	MARCHÉ	1,618	0.15	315	0.03	950.6
15	COMMUNAUTAIRE	1,060	0.10	134	0.01	809.1
16	CEE	625	0.06	6		801.8
17	COMMUNAUTÉ	1,693	0.16	446	0.04	765.0
18	EURO	1,166	0.11	199	0.02	750.5
19	CONSIDÉRANT	639	0.06	31		672.6
20	ÉTAT	1,569	0.15	455	0.04	639.5
21	CONCERNANT	1,124	0.11	234	0.02	627.1
22	ETATS	1,533	0.14	446	0.04	622.6
23	DN	425	0.04	0		585.6
24	ARTICLE	4,877	0.46	2,775	0.26	568.8
25	PARLEMENT	1,062	0.10	246	0.02	541.9
26	CONFORMÉMENT	930	0.09	184	0.02	539.7
27	BRUXELLES	479	0.04	29		478.1
28	COMMUNAUTAIRES	538	0.05	55		451.7
29	ACCORD	1,280	0.12	425	0.04	441.8
30	DÉCISION	1,145	0.11	350	0.03	438.8
31	EX	436	0.04	26		436.9
32	AOP	317	0.03	0		436.8
33	AUTORITÉS	684	0.06	119	0.01	434.6
34	MONÉTAIRE	567	0.05	72		431.7
35	ÉCUS	324	0.03	2		424.8
36	MESURES	1,537	0.14	610	0.06	406.1
37	PRÉSENT	1,135	0.11	372	0.04	398.4
38	PROGRAMME	1,044	0.10	334	0.03	378.1
39	AFF	271	0.03	0		373.4
40	JO	359	0.03	24		348.7
41	INSTITUANT	363	0.03	27		341.5
42	IP	277	0.03	6		331.9
43	STATUANT	301	0.03	12		329.6
44	VUE	776	0.07	219	0.02	325.9
45	VISANT	538	0.05	101		324.4
46	STABILITÉ	487	0.05	80		321.1
47	EUROPÉENNES	574	0.05	120	0.01	319.1
48	STRATÉGIE	480	0.05	81		311.1
49	PROTOCOLE	400	0.04	49		309.9
50	LUXEMBOURG	296	0.03	17		299.4

FRNACO against FREUCO

N	WORD	FRNA	FRNA	FREU	FREU	KEYNESS
		FREQ.	%	FREQ.	%	
1	LOI	1,892	0.18	140	0.01	1,814.5
2	FRANCE	1,685	0.16	358	0.03	948.4
3	NATIONALE	1,371	0.13	275	0.03	806.6
4	MINISTÈRE	863	0.08	99		702.9
5	MINISTRE	1,678	0.16	500	0.05	683.5
6	COLLECTIVITÉS	582	0.06	25		638.0
7	CODE	795	0.08	112	0.01	585.5
8	PERSONNELS	483	0.05	12		577.4
9	FORMATION	1,552	0.15	516	0.05	552.8
10	FRANÇAIS	692	0.07	84		549.2
11	DIRECTION	539	0.05	33		545.2
12	VOUS	1,338	0.13	403	0.04	538.2
13	ETAT	1,849	0.18	708	0.07	538.1
14	DÉCRET	499	0.05	25		529.7
15	FEMMES	757	0.07	121	0.01	518.8
16	ASSEMBLÉE	605	0.06	62		516.9
17	GENDARMERIE	353	0.03	0		492.5
18	ENSEIGNEMENT	631	0.06	80		490.4
19	VILLE	463	0.04	24		487.8
20	NOTRE	1,123	0.11	319	0.03	482.3
21	ART	642	0.06	88		479.7
22	FRANÇAISE	614	0.06	80		470.8
23	FAMILLES	430	0.04	19		468.7
24	ÉTABLISSEMENTS	591	0.06	75		459.1
25	MISSION	753	0.07	144	0.01	458.6
26	EST	9,282	0.88	6,673	0.63	454.9
27	POLICE	502	0.05	45		451.4
28	PARIS	494	0.05	49		427.6
29	M	2,092	0.20	980	0.09	422.1
30	INTERCOMMUNALE	300	0.03	0		418.5
31	ON	1,318	0.12	483	0.05	410.0
32	DÉPARTEMENTS	366	0.03	16		399.8
33	JEAN	405	0.04	28		396.1
34	RÉDIGÉ	339	0.03	10		396.0
35	ENFANT	290	0.03	5		360.8
36	PUBLIQUE	886	0.08	273	0.03	346.9
37	DÉPARTEMENT	279	0.03	6		339.3
38	TEMPS	1,190	0.11	466	0.04	334.1
39	IL	6,137	0.58	4,340	0.41	327.2
40	TERRITORIALES	299	0.03	13		327.0
41	SERVICE	1,098	0.10	421	0.04	318.7
42	INTERMINISTÉRI+	228	0.02	0		318.1
43	PARENTS	299	0.03	16		312.7
44	MÊME	1,650	0.16	798	0.07	310.6
45	HEURES	435	0.04	67		304.7
46	SÉNAT	218	0.02	0		304.1
47	CONTINUE	460	0.04	81		296.5
48	ÉLÈVES	275	0.03	13		295.6
49	NOUS	2,137	0.20	1,171	0.11	295.2
50	TRAVAIL	1,590	0.15	780	0.07	289.9

Appendix 6 - Verbs and verb phrases from R. Catherine (1947) in FRADCO[1]

Verb	Environment in Catherine	Appearance[2] in FREUCO	FRNACO	Examples of typical environment and collocates of verb[3] in FRADCO
aborder	une question un point particulier	23 9	30 4	'aborder des questions' 'aborder la question de...'
aboutir à	en vue d'a. à...	2	1	positive prosody e.g. 'à une meilleure cohérence' 'à un accord' 'pour / afin d'aboutir à'
abréger	un délai	0	1	only seven instances of verb, especially in 'livre blanc' genre of FREUCO
abroger	une loi	0	0	'Article [no.] (abrogé)' 'L'article [no.] est abrogé'
accéder à	un poste	0	1	'qualifications pour accéder à...' 'accéder à une formation'
accepter	une proposition une transaction une solution	9 0 1	1 0 1	'[Member State / La Commission] accepte...' accepter un amendement 'l'acceptation du présent accord'
accompagner	une remarque de...	0	0	'mesures d'accompagnement' 'modes / moyens / mesures d'accompagnement'
accorder	une autorisation	4	4	'l'autorisation / l'aide est accordée' 'la priorité / protection accordée' '... aux travailleurs / personnes / familles'
accuser	réception	2	2	'personnes accusées d'avoir (participé au coup d'Etat)' 'mettre en accusation' 'chambre d'accusation'
acquiescer	à une demande	0	0	no instances of verb
admettre	une façon de voir	0	0	'candidats admis' 'admettre que'

[1] In the fifth edition (1985), Catherine also includes the verbs: accréditer, affecter, appeler, atteindre, attribuer, automatiser, baser, budgétiser-débudgétiser, commencer, coordonner, déclasser, dégager, émarger, éponger, étatiser, fonctionnariser, fonder, impartir, incorporer, indexer, influer, légaliser, liquider, mandater, manifester, manquer, méconnaître, mensualiser, mériter, mettre, percevoir, perdre, privétiser, radier, rapprocher, reconnaître, reporter, ressortir de, restructurer, revenir, seconder, situer, stipuler, titulariser, viabiliser.

[2] Within a range of five words each side of the node.

[3] Including the verb's nominalised form where appropriate, but not any adjectival forms.

adopter	une resolution	26	10	adopter une décision / une approche / un texte / une monnaie unique / un projet de loi / un règlement 'adopter à l'unanimité' 'Discussion et adoption le [date]' 'le Conseil des Ministres / la Commission européenne a adopté les mesures individuelles suivantes'
agir / rétroagir	agir rapidement	0	1	one instance of 'rétroagir' ('faire rétroagir l'application du présent règlement') reflexive verb most common: 's'agissant de' / 'qu'il s'agisse de' / 'il s'agit de' 'Légiférer moins pour agir mieux' '[le comité] agissant conformément à la procédure...'
	cette disposition ne rétroagit pas	0	0	
ajourner	une réunion	0	0	'ajourner ou suspendre leurs mesures'
	l'application de...	0	0	
allouer	une indemnité	0	2	'les fonds / les moyens / les crédits alloués'
aménager	un impôt	0	0	'aménagement (et de développement) du territoire (et du l'environnement) / du temps de travail / des rythmes de vie'
amender	un projet de texte	2	5	accepter un sous-amendement adopter un amendement du rapporteur 'texte de l'amendement' repousser un amendement
amortir	une dépense	0	0	'les coûts de location, de leasing ou d'amortissement' amortir un investissement
annexer	un procès-verbal	0	0	'protocoles / dispositions annexés au traité / à la présente loi'
annuler	une disposition	1	0	'division d'annulation' 'annulation de la décision de la Commission'
apparaître	cette mesure a. inefficace	0	0	faire apparaître, 'il apparaît nécessaire / important / indispensable', '... apparaît comme une nécessité'
appartenir de	il a. au Ministre de...[4]	1	1	'il appartient au Conseil / au gouvernement / au Parlement'

[4] Where the indirect object is an individual, but not necessarily 'Ministre'.

				'sentiment d'appartenance nationale / collective', 'il nous appartient de'
appliquer	une règle une sanction	16 5	3 2	'la bonne application [du loi etc.]' '[mesure] adoptée en application de [article / droit]' 'champ d'application d'une directive', 'modalités d'a.' 'en a. du présent traité / article' 'en a. de l'article [no.]'
apporter	du soin à une conclusion	1 0	0 0	apporter des solutions / réponses / une contribution / un soutien / les précisions suivantes 'modifications apportées à la loi' 'prêt[e] à apporter une contribution'
apprécier	le bien-fondé de...	1	0	porter / apporter une appréciation exprimer son appréciation '[information] pour permettre d'a. le caractère, etc]'
approuver	une proposition une disposition les termes d'une lettre	8 2 0	1 0 0	'la Commission / le Conseil a approuvé [au nom de l'UE] [un projet]' 'la Commission approuve l'acquisition [of one company by another]' 'points approuvés sans débat'
appuyer	une requête	0	0	s'appuyer sur 'l'appui au développement / aux réformes'
arguer	d'un précédent	0	0	only 3 instances of verb 'arguer' - no patterns
arrêter	un compte une disposition le Préfet a. que...	0 28 0	2 3 3	'a arrêté le présent règlement / la présente décision' 'le Conseil, statuant conformément à la procédure visée à l'article [no.] arrête des mesures / des directives' 'la Cour déclare et arrête: [...]'
assigner	un but	0	0	'objectifs [qui lui ont été] assignés', 'assigner pour but / objectif'
assujettir	à l'impôt	0	4	'assujettis à la taxe / à la TVA' 'le [non-]assujettissement des associations aux impôts commerciaux'
assurer	une publicité la diffusion de...	1 2	0 7	'l'assurance maladie' assurer la continuité du service / la sécurité / le bon fonctionnement / le respect des

				mesures / l'application du présent article / la cohérence / la coopération
attacher	de l'importance à...	22	3	'attacher une grande importance' 'la Commission s'attache à préparer... / continuer... / à approfondir...'
	du prix à...	0	2	
autoriser	l'envoi	0	0	'projet de loi autorisant l'approbation de l'accord' 'la Commission autorise la création / l'acquisition / la fusion' 'l'autorisation de mise sur le marché de...' 'loi autorisant la ratification...'
	l'émission de...	0	1	
	être autorisé à...	44	33	
aviser	en temps utile	0	0	only 8 instances of the verb - no patterns
avoir	pour effet de...	32	18	See discussion in Chapter 6 for typical uses of 'avoir'
	une répercussion sur...	14	5	
	une suite	0	1	
centraliser	une gestion	1	2	'procédure / système / informatique centralisé[e]'
	des documents	0	0	
certifier	conforme	7	2	'animaux de troupeau certifiés indemnes'
charger	d'une question	7	1	lots of instances of past participle used adjectivally, e.g. 'membre de la Commission / Ministre chargé [du budget]' 'la Commission est chargée de l'instruction...', etc., 'le Conseil a chargé le Comité de représentants permanents d'examiner / de poursuivre...'
collaborer	à la mise en œuvre de...	0	0	'collaboration étroite entre...' collaborer étroitement / pleinement
communiquer	une lettre pour information	0	0	'communication' and 'communiqué (de presse)' both frequent as nouns 'ces mesures sont communiquées par la Commission au Conseil', 'les états membres communiquent à la Commission le texte de...'
comporter	une suite	0	1	'l'accord comportera trois volets' 'comporter des mesures / risques'
	une réponse	0	0	
	des observations	0	0	
compromettre	une intervention	0	0	'compromettre le (bon) fonctionnement de... / la sécurité'
	un résultat	1	0	

concerner	un service	15	24	'la Directive [no.] du Conseil de [date] concernant ...' adopter une décision concernant 'en ce qui concerne' 'les ministres / l'état membre / pays / services etc. concernés'
concilier	des manières de voir	0	0	'comité de conciliation', 'faciliter la conciliation vie familiale/vie professionnelle', 'mieux concilier vie familiale/vie professionnelle'
concourir	à un résultat	0	0	concourir au développment / à l'amélioration
conditionner	la bonne marche de...	0	0	conditionner une politique
conférer	des droits	25	1	'droits conférés par le brevet' conférer protection / attributions / compétences
	une dignité	0	1	
confirmer	les termes de...	0	0	volonté / décision / position / accord
consentir	à une mesure bienveillante	0	0	'efforts consentis par les états membres / la France etc.', 'avec / sans le consentement de...'
considérer	réconsidérer la question	0	0	'considérant que...' used as a recital to a legal document is frequent. 'la Commission considère que...', '... est considéré(e) comme un facteur / un objectif... etc.'
consolider	un argument	0	0	'consolidation budgétaire / financière' consolider la démocratie / stabilité / version du traité
constater	un fait	2	31	'force est de constater que' 'le Conseil constate avec satisfaction que...'
contester	une affirmation	0	0	'[Etat Membre] ne conteste pas que le directive n'a pas été transposé dans le délai imparti'
	un droit	1	0	
contraindre	à prendre une sanction	0	0	noun 'contraintes' is frequent adj. 'contraignant' also frequent, 'juridiquement contraignant' verb is rare and displays no clear patterns
contribuer	à la bonne marche du service	0	0	'contribuer au développement / au maintien / à améliorer / à assurer / à l'amélioration / à la réalisation' 'la contribution communautaire / de l'UE / financière'

				'apporter une contribution'
contrôler	les prix les instruments de mesure	7 0	1 0	'appellation d'origine contrôlée' 'institutions de contrôle nationales', 'mécanismes / services / processus / système de contrôle'
convenir	avec	9	33	'convention' frequent as a noun as part of a recital: 'considérant qu'il convient de...' 'il convient d'accélérer / assurer / effectuer / examiner / constater / notes / préciser / rappeler / souligner'
convoquer	à une réunion[5]	0	1	convocation d'une conférence / d'un comité, 'le président / la présidence convoque...'
créditer	un compte un chapitre	0 0	0 0	only two instances of verb 'créditer' - no patterns
créer	un organisme un service	2 4	3 15	'la création d'emplois / d'entreprises / de l'euro' 'créer les conditions nécessaires' '[article / règlement de [date]] portant création de...'
débiter	un compte	1	0	noun: 'à haut débit' only two instances of verb
décider	de que	343 43	148 11	'la Commission [européenne] a décidé de [saisir la Cour de Justice / envoyer un avis motivé]' 'le Conseil, statuant à la majorité qualifiée peut décider de...'
décréter	le Ministre d. que...	0	0	noun 'décret' particularly common in FRNACO only two instances of verb in FREUCO 'le Conseil d'Etat [...] Décrète: Art 1.' etc., in FRNACO
défendre	de que	0 0	0 0	'défendre une position commune' 'défendre les intérêts de...'
déférer	en Conseil d'État	0	0	'questions déférées' déférer une loi / une affaire
définir	le caractère les grandes lignes de	0 1	0 4	'définir les grandes lignes / lignes directrices' 'définition de la politique + adj.'

[5] Also five instances of 'convoquer une réunion'.

déléguer	des pouvoirs	0	3	many instances of nouns 'délégations' and 'délégué' 'juge / maire délégué'
délivrer	une ampliation	0	0	certificats / brevet / diplômes / visas 'autorisation délivrée'
démettre	d'une fonction	0	0	no instances of verb noun: 'en cas de décès / de vacance ou de démission d'office', 'démission collective', 'démission volontaire'
	se démettre	0	0	
démissionner	d'un poste	0	0	'démission d'office'
dénoncer	une convention	1	3	'dénoncer la présente Convention' 'dénonciation d'un accord bilatéral'
départager	des intérêts	0	0	no instances of verb
	des points de vue différents	0	0	
dépendre de	l'autorité de	0	0	'zones dépendant de la pêche'
	l'appréciation de	0	0	
déposer	une demande	3	2	'par requête déposée au greffe de la Cour [de Justice] le [date]...' 'les instruments de ratification seront déposés auprès du ....' (both subcorpora) 'déposer une demande / une proposition de loi'
désavouer	une mesure	0	0	only 4 instances of verb avoir le pouvoir de désavouer...
désigner	les bénéficiaires de	0	0	'les gouvernements des Etats membres désignent d'un commun accord la personnalité qu'ils envisagent de nommer [président]'
dessaisir	d'une question	0	0	all examples in FRNACO 'se dessaisir au profit de...'
	se d. d'un dossier	0	0	
détacher	auprès de	0	1	'pièces détachées pour automobiles', 'travailleurs détachés'
déterminer	les cas d'application de	0	0	'un décret en Conseil d'Etat détermine les conditions d'application / les modalités' (FRNACO) 'pour une durée déterminé' 'les conditions déterminées par la loi'

devoir	rendre compte	1	1	devoir permettre de préciser / favoriser 'les pays candidats doivent....' 'la Commission doit / devra ...' 'cette décision doit être prise' 'nous devons trouver des solutions / défendre ... / encourager / respecter etc'
	exécuter	0	1	
différer	la mise en application de	0	0	'La Commission diffère une application'
diriger	un service	0	0	'l'habilitation à diriger des recherches' '[organisation or group] dirigé par [name]'
	une enquête	0	0	
disjoindre	une demande	0	0	only 2 instances of verb in FRNACO
dispenser	de	11	22	'dispenser une formation' dispensation d'un médicament
disposer que	le texte d. que...	5	8	'les dispositions du présent article / traité / règlement' dispositions communautaires
dissoudre	un organisme	0	0	especially in FRNACO 'le Conseil des Ministres a prononcé la dissolution [du Conseil]'
donner	une directive	0	1	donner la priorité donner les moyens donner la possibilité donner son accord donner feu vert à
	son accord	10	10	
	son agrément	0	0	
	son avis	8	22	
	son consentement	0	1	
	lieu à	43	87	
	naissance à	5	6	
	motif à	1	0	
	prétexte à	1	0	
	effet	5	1	
édicter	une disposition	0	0	édicter un règle / un règlement
émaner de	l'ordre é. du Ministre	0	0	'une demande / des demandes émanent de [un individu]'
émettre	un avis	45	11	'le comité émet son avis sur ce projet', 'l'avis est émis à la majorité prévue à l'article [no.]' (FREUCO - ojlfr) 'limitation des émissions [de polluants]', 'réduction des émissions de CO2' 'émissions de gaz à effet de serre' 'la Commission émet un avis positif / motivé / détaillé'
emporter	l'agrément de...	0	0	l'emporter

	décision	0	0	
en appeler à	l'autorité	0	0	7 occurrences - no repetition
	la compétence de	0	0	
encourir	des difficultés	0	0	'les risques encourus'
	une sanction	0	0	'les peines encourues'
enfreindre	une prescription	0	0	enfreindre un article d'un traité / une interdiction
engager	des crédits	6	1	'prendre des engagements'
	sa responsabilité	1	3	'les Parties s'engagent' 'concertation engagée'
entamer	des pourparlers	0	0	'entamer des négotiations / un processus'
entendre	il est/reste entendu que	4	2	'on entend par «[...]» [+ explanation]', (FRNACO) 'le gouvernement entend poursuivre / mener / conduire'
	j'entends que	0	2	
entrer	en contact	3	0	'[le présent règlement / traité / décision etc.] entre en vigueur'
	en relation avec	0	2	'date d'entrée en vigueur de...'
entretenir	d'une question	0	0	'la construction, [aménagement] et l'entretien [et gestion] de...' 'je me suis entretenu avec le Premier Ministre / le Président' 'entretien avec le PM / le Président'
envisager	une solution[6]	1	3	'l'action / les actions envisagées' 'les mesures envisagées' 'envisager + vb: prendre / nommer / proposer / présenter'
établir	une distinction	8	3	'établir des mesures de protection', l'établissement d'un espace de liberté / d'un plan / d'un programme / de contacts / de relations', 'établissement public de cooperation intercommunale'
	une attestation	0	1	
être	d'accord sur...	2	2	See discussion in Chapter 6 for typical uses of 'être'
	pour...	18	5	
	conforme à	52	16	
	de nature à	33	30	
	donné de	0	2	
	en état de[7]	1	2	
	en mesure de	105	34	
	en règle	0	3	
	question de	7	14	
	susceptible de	62	54	

[6] 'Solutions envisageables' is also a recurring pairing in FREUCO.

[7] There are also instances of 'en état' with other verbs, especially maintenir, remettre.

étudier	un dossier	0	0	‘la Commission étudie les moyens de... / étudiera diverses options...’, ‘étudier la possibilité de...’, ‘étudier attentivement’
évoquer	un cas d’espèce	0	0	‘questions évoquées dans le rapport’, ‘évoquer [...] tout à l’heure / précédemment / plus haut’, ‘avoir l’occasion d’évoquer’ predominantly in spoken genres and very informal written genres
exciper	d’un certificat	0	0	no examples of verb ‘exciper’
	d’une attestation	0	0	
exécuter	une prescription	0	0	mettre à exécution, ‘chargés de l’exécution du présent arrêté’, prendre en exécution, exécution d’un programme, du budget, ‘la présente loi sera exécutée comme loi de l’Etat’
exercer	une fonction	35	69	exercer une mission / une fonction / une activité [professionnelle] / des responsabilités ‘avocats exerçant sous leur titre professionnel d’origine’
exonérer	d’une redevance	0	0	fiscale / de l’impôt / de taxes / de la TVA
exposer	une affaire	0	0	exposer des motifs
	exposer que...	0	4	exposer clairement
faire	connaître	30	36	See discussion in Chapter 6 for typical uses of ‘faire’
	savoir que	11	3	
	part de	18	20	
	droit	3	1	
	en sorte	49	34	
	état	15	21	
	jouer une disposition	1	0	
	office	3	0	
	le nécessaire pour	2	2	
	des réserves	0	0	
	parvenir	0	6	
	retour	0	1	
	suivre	1	0	
	valoir	24	27	
fixer	la composition de	1	13	‘les conditions / critères / règles sont fixé[e]s par...’ ‘conformément à la procédure fixée à l’article [no.]’ (FREUCO - ojlfr) ‘un délai que le Président peut fixer en fonction de l’urgence de la question en cause’ (ojlfr)

				‘dans de conditions fixées par décret en Conseil d’Etat’ (FRNACO) ‘arrêté du [date] fixant [les dispositions]’
formuler	des observations	5	2	‘formuler des propositions / recommandations’
habiliter	un contrôleur être habilité à	0 23	0 11	[institution] est habilité[e] à effectuer / exercer / diriger etc. ‘loi portant habilitations du Gouvernement à prendre [des mesures]’
homologuer	un règlement une norme	0 0	0 0	‘arrêté portant homologation du prix de vente’, ‘homologation des organes spéciaux pour l’alimentation du moteur au gaz’
ignorer	ne pas ignorer que	2	3	‘[...] ne peut ignorer que...’, ‘je n’ignore pas que...’
impliquer	l’assentiment de	0	0	‘avoir des implications dans le domaine de...’, ‘implications financières / économiques / militaires’ ‘être impliqué dans’, ‘ceci / cela implique...’
imputer	une dépense	3	0	typically occurs with financial information
incomber	il vous incombe de[8]	121	25	especially in the Bulletin of the Court of Justice ‘[état membre] a manqué aux obligations qui lui incombent en vertu de ladite directive’
infirmer	la portée d’un argument	0	0	only one instance of verb: ‘les formations linguistiques ne suffisent pas à infirmer la diagnostic...’
informer	de que	172 21	73 2	‘information’ very common as a noun. tenir informé ‘le Conseil informe le Parlement / la Commission’ etc. ‘le président / la présidence a informé...’ être informé d’une mesure / une évolution / de discussions / d’opérations
insister	sur	49	75	insister sur le fait que / sur

[8] All uses of the verb ‘incomber’, both personal and impersonal.

	pour que	10	5	l'importance de... / sur la nécessité
instituer	une procédure un contrôle	5 18	3 3	'les institutions de contrôle nationale' 'traités instituant les Communautés européennes' 'il est institué un comité...'
instruire	une réclamation	0	0	'juge d'instruction' noun is frequent, but verb occurs only 20 times in the whole corpus 'instruire un dossier'
interdire	l'usage de	0	0	'interdiction des armes biologiques / des exportations' 'article concernant l'interdiction de [nouveaux investissements]' 'il est interdit à [nom d'un pays] de...'
intervenir	en vue de en faveur de	0 7	0 2	'champ d'intervention' 'intervention' frequent: 'intervention de [Mme Edith Cresson]' 'intervention de l'Etat / de la Gendarmerie'
introduire	une demande un recours	7 19	1 2	especially in the Bulletin of the Court of Justice 'la Commission (...) a introduit un recours visant à faire constater que...' 'l'introduction de l'euro'
justifier	une prétention une mesure une demande	0 8 3	0 2 1	'justifier un intérêt / une importance' 'dans un cas dûment justifié' 'cela [ne] se justifie [pas]'
laisser	le soin de...	1	4	laisser [à] penser que / apparaître 'laissez-moi revenir / clore etc' (speech genres) predominantly in speeches and informal genres of both subcorpora
légiférer	en matière de	0	0	All instances of 'légiférer' in FREUCO, especially 'légiférer moins pour agir mieux' and 'légiférer mieux' (titles of Commission reports)
libeller	correctement	0	0	'billets et pièces libellés en euros'
mander	de	0	0	no instances of verb 'mander'
ménager	une entrevue	0	0	ne pas ménager aucun effort pour [réduire / atteindre]

modifier	un projet	7	25	‘la loi du [date] modifie ainsi...’ ‘vue la loi du [date] modifié [portant droits / dispositions etc.]’ ‘l’article [description and date] est ainsi modifié / modifé comme suit’ ‘en cas de modification...’ ‘proposition de modification’ ‘organismes génétiquement modifiés’ porter modification
négliger	ne pas négliger de	0	0	‘longtemps négligé[es]’ ‘sans négliger...’
nommer	à un poste	0	0	‘membres nommés pour [period of time]’ ‘[individu] est nommé [recteur / directeur / délégué / conseiller d’Etat / préfet de...]’
notifier	une décision	11	4	notifier une intention / un avis
observer	une prescription	0	0	[individu] fait observer que... ‘unité d’observation’
omettre	sans omettre de...	0	0	only 18 instances of ‘omettre’ and ‘omission’: few clear patterns ‘au cas où un Etat Membre omet de...’
ordonnancer	une dépense	0	0	‘article [...] de l’ordonnance no. [...] du [date]’ ‘l’exécution de la présente ordonnance’
ordonner	une enquête	0	0	‘selon / vu l’ordonnance [no.] du [date]...’ ordonner une politique / l’annulation d’un brevet
organiser	un service	7	33	porter organisation ‘organisation’ very frequent as a noun future tense is common: ‘un concours / des échanges / des évènements sera [seront] organisé[es]’ ‘la criminalité organisée’
outrepasser	des droits des instructions	0 0	0 0	only one instance of outrepasser - ‘outrepasser la valeur de référence de 3% du PIB’
pallier	une difficulté	0	0	usually in the infinitive: ‘pallier les conséquences / l’insuffisance / les carences’

paraître	il p. souhaitable de...	1	7	'il [me] paraît nécessaire / souhaitable / utile / indispensable etc.', '...peut paraître paradoxal'
parer à	toute éventualité	1	0	'parer à un risque'
partager	une manière de voir	0	0	'le partage de responsabilités' 'un partage équitable / égal' 'valeurs / volonté / responsabilité partagée[s]' faire partager 'en cas de partage égal des voix..'
permuter	d'un service à l'autre	0	0	no instances of verb (including nominalised form)
placer	en disponibilité	0	0	placer sous la responsabilité / le contrôle / le régime / la tutelle / l'autorité de...
porter	atteinte	59	36	'porter adaptation / adoption / atteinte / à la connaissance / création / réforme' 'loi no. [...] portant dispositions statutaires relatives à' 'portant modification de la loi'
	préjudice	12	1	
	intérêt	3	1	
	à la connaissance	3	13	
	création	9	15	
	fixation	0	0	
	institution	0	0	
	organisation	20	11	
	rattachement	0	0	
	réforme	0	12	
	effet	0	0	
préjuger	une affaire	0	0	verb is overwhelmingly in the negative, 'ne préjuge en rien' 'l'alinéa ne préjuge pas la compétence de Etats membres'
	d'une suite	0	0	
prémunir	se p. contre	0	0	no instances of the reflexive only three instances of verb
prendre	acte de	106	12	prendre une décision / décisions prises par [le gouvernement] prendre (toutes) les mesures nécessaires / mesures à prendre prendre note de prendre en compte prendre fin prendre en considération prendre en charge prendre effet prendre acte de / 'le Conseil a pris acte de' prendre un engagement prendre une initiative
	l'attache de	0	0	
	contact	6	0	
	effet	16	14	
	en considération	55	24	
	position sur/	3	0	
	à l'égard de	0	0	
	un texte	0	0	
prescrire	une mesure	2	2	'prescriptions de l'article [no.]' 'dans le délai prescrit' 'prescriptions qui sont prescrites par la loi'

présenter	un intérêt	22	3	'la Commission a présenté une proposition', présenter une communication sur... / un projet de loi 'Monsieur l'avocat général [nom] présente ses conclusions' 'la Commission a présenté [une proposition / un rapport / ses avis'
prêter	appui	0	0	prêter assistance, se prêter mutuellement assistance prêter concours
	son concours	3	0	
	à l'interprétation	0	0	
prévenir	une difficulté	0	1	'la prévention et la résolution des conflits', 'actions de prévention' prévention de la criminalité / de la délinquance / des conflits / et de lutte contre le dopage 'prévenir les dysfonctionnements familiaux'
procéder	à une étude	3	1	noun 'procédure' is frequent: 'statuant conformément à la procédure visée à l'article [no.]' procéder au vote / à l'examen de / à un débat / à un échange de vues
	à une enquête	3	1	
	d'une cause	0	0	
prohiber	l'usage de	0	0	uncommon, but predominantly in FRNACO - no patterns
promouvoir	une réforme	2	0	intégration / coopération / coordination / participation / développement / progrès / 'visant à promouvoir'
promulguer	une loi	0	50	'la date de promulgation de la présente loi', 'le Président de la République promulgue la loi dont la teneur suit...'
proroger	un délai	6	1	'délai / période prorogé(e)'
	la validité de	1	2	
proscrire	une méthode	0	0	only four instances of verb - no clear patterns
rallier	les manières de voir	0	0	'membres de l'Espace Économique Européen se rallient à cette déclaration'
rapporter	une mesure	8	1	'rapport final / intérimaire' 'rapport du Ministre / Conseil / de la Commission' 'rapport de M(adame) [nom] 'rapporteur pour / sur un projet de loi'
	un arrêté	0	0	
ratifier	un traité	30	24	'la ratification du Traité d'Amsterdam'

				'les instruments de ratification seront déposés auprès du gouvernement' (FRNACO) 'projet de loi autorisant la ratification de l'accord'
rattacher	à un service	0	2	predominantly in FRNACO 'les conditions de vote qui s'y rattachent'
reconduire	un délai	0	0	'les étrangers reconduits'
reconsidérer	une question	0	0	predominantly in infinitive form - no other patterns
recourir	à un argument	0	0	noun 'recours' is common: 'la Commission a introduit un recours visant à faire constater que' 'être autorisé à recourir aux institutions, procédures et méchanismes prévus'
recouvrer	un impôt	4	1	'le [non-] recouvrement des impôts', 'recouvrement des aides'
recueillir	l'agrément	0	0	'pour être adoptées, les décisions doivent recueillir au moins soixante-deux voix' recueillir des données / des indicateurs / des informations '[selon] les informations recueillies'
rédiger	un procès-verbal un rapport	0 1	0 6	overwhelmingly in FRNACO legal texts 'un article [no]. ainsi rédigé' 'un alinéa / deux alinéas / une phrase ainsi rédigé[s]' in FREUCO: 'rédigé dans la même langue', 'le présent traité, rédigé en un exemplaire unique..'
régler	une question	14	8	'régler des problèmes / questions' 'en règle générale' - common
régulariser	une situation	0	1	'régularisation des étrangers' 'étrangers (non) régularisés'
rejeter	une interprétation	0	0	'projet de loi, rejeté par le Sénat' rejeter une demande / une proposition, rejet de la demande / d'une proposition
relever de	la compétence de	22	6	'il convient de relever que...' 'les domaines relevant de la compétence de...', 'une question / une mesure relevant du présent traité / titre', 'relever les défis',

				'une question relevant de la politique étrangère'
remanier	un projet de texte	0	0	only seven instances of the verb - no clear patterns
rencontrer	l'accord	0	0	rencontrer des difficultés / un [vif] succès / un problème
	l'assentiment de	0	2	
	une difficulté	15	32	
répondre	pour répondre à	54	48	'il a proposé à la Cour de répondre [de la manière suivante]' 'pour mieux répondre [aux attentes]' 'pour répondre à des changements de la situation / aux préoccupations / aux exigences'
requérir	l'attention	4	0	'les qualifications requises' 'les conditions requises' 'l'autorité requise' 'délibérations qui requièrent une majorité qualifiée'
réserver	une suite favorable	0	0	'sous réserve [des dispositions / des exigences / des adaptations' etc.] is frequent '[...] [ne] doit [pas] être réservé à...'
résigner	une fonction	0	0	only 8 instances of 'résigner' most common pattern 'nous ne nous résignons pas à [...]' (and paraphrases)
résister	à un examen	0	0	'résistance aux antibiotiques' 'résister à la tentation de...'
résoudre	une difficulté	4	3	'proposition de résolution' résoudre un problème / des conflits une résolution du Conseil
	se r. à	1	3	
ressortir à	la compétence de	0	0	one instance of 'ressortir à' 'le chiffre ressort, qui ressort à 10,6%'
révoquer	un fonctionnaire	0	0	révoquer une décision pouvoir de révoquer / de révocation
saisir	d'une question	8	3	'la Commission a décidé de saisir la Cour de Justice'
	une autorité	3	0	
	un service	0	0	
	une jurisdiction	0	0	
sanctionner	par une pénalité	0	0	appliquer une sanction 'une levée des sanctions [en vigueur]'

				'sanctions disciplinaires'
s'arroger	le droit de	0	0	no instances of verb
s'attacher à	obtenir	0	0	'la Commission s'attachera à...' non reflexive verb also: 'réaffirmer son attachement au maintien de la stabilité...' 'attacher une importance à'
savoir	faire s. que	5	1	'il ne saurait être question' 'comme vous le savez' (in speech genres) 'la question [est] de savoir [si]' le savoir-faire
se démettre	d'une fonction	0	0	no instances of reflexive verb see also 'démettre'
se départir	de ses droits sans se d. de	0 1	0 3	few instances of verb - no other patterns
se disposer à	à l'intervenir	0	0	reflexive verb is infrequent disposer des compétences nécessaires / statistiques / délai de [time period] also: mettre à la disposition 'conformément aux dispositions de'
se mettre	d'accord	17	2	se mettre en place / en cause / d'accord / à l'abri
s'en rapporter à	s'en rapporter au jugement de	0	0	three instances of 'se rapporter à' - no clear patterns
s'en remettre à	(une personne)	0	0	only one example of the verb in its reflexive form: 'je m'en remets à la Déclaration d'Avignon'
s'en tenir à	aux instructions à l'assurance que	0 0	0 0	s'en tenir aux textes / un objectif
se permettre de	signaler que	0	0	'je me permets [d'insister]'
se prémunir	contre	0	2	+ 'contre des ruptures de situation'
se prévaloir de	d'un argument	0	0	'se prévaloir des traités / des droits conférés'
se référer à	au texte[9]	7	4	no clear patterns with individual collocates - lexical set of text types: e.g. 'se référant à ses conclusions'

[9] 'le texte' is interpreted here as a generic term rather than a particular collocate, and therefore includes reference to such texts as 'articles', 'conclusions' and 'règlements'

se reporter à	un précédent	0	0	'se reporter à [un texte]' is the clearest pattern.
se révéler	utile	1	0	se révéler essentiel / difficile / efficace etc.
	conforme à	1	0	
signer/ contresigner	un décret	0	3	'accord / convention [etc] signé à [placename]' only four instances of 'contresigner', all in FRNACO
solliciter	un entretien	0	0	no clear patterns - lots of one-off instances solliciter la protection / l'experience / l'avis de...
	une dérogation	0	0	
soulever	une objection	2	2	'problèmes soulevés' 'ces questions ont été soulevées dans le cadre de [...]'
statuer	sur une difficulté	0	0	'vu l'avis du Comité [...] statuant conformément à la procédure prévue à l'article [no.]' 'la Conseil, statuant à l'unanimité / à la majorité qualifiée'
substituer	une disposition à une autre	0	0	especially in FRNACO Assemblé Nationale texts 'être substitué de plein droit' se substituer à
surseoir	à l'application de	0	0	'ordonner le sursis à exécution'
suspendre	un délai	1	2	'les délais prévus sont suspendus' 'les droits de vote sont suspendus' 'le Conseil peut décider de suspendre certains de droits'
tendre à	un résultat	0	0	'tendre à la création de / à la sauvegarde de' tendre à favoriser [l'emploi] / à renforcer...
tenir	au courant de	2	0	See discussion in Chapter 6 for typical uses of 'tenir'
	compte de	605	289	
	lieu de	4	7	
	pour acquis	0	0	
	assuré	0	0	
	certain que	0	0	
	pour responsable	3	0	
	pour valable	0	0	
tirer	à conséquence	0	0	'tirer profit / parti de' 'tirer des conséquences / leçons de', 'tirer des conclusions de' 'tirer la meilleure parti de'
	argument de	0	0	

transmettre	pour avis	0	2	‘la Commission transmet au Parlement européen et au Conseil...’, ‘délais de transmission des données’ ‘les variables doivent être transmises’
valider/ invalider	l’acte dit loi no. ... du... i. un arrêté préfectoral	0	0	‘la validité d’un acte’
viser	un document à un résultat	2 0	0 0	‘[des efforts] visant / qui visent à améliorer [la coopération] / à assurer / développer / faciliter / promouvoir / prévenir / réduire’ ‘un recours visant à faire constater que [...]’ ‘[le comité] visé à l’article [no.]’ ‘conformément la procédure visée à l’article [no.]’

Appendix 7 - Verbs and verb phrases from R. Georgin (1973) in FRADCO

Verb	Environment in Georgin	Appearance[1] of pair in FREUCO	FRNACO	Examples of typical environment and collocates of verb[2] in FRADCO[3]
accuser	réception	2	2	see App. 6.
admettre	une manière de voir	0	0	see App. 6.
ajourner	une décision	0	0	see App. 6.
	une mesure	5	0	
	une réunion	0	0	
appuyer	une demande	2	0	see App. 6.
	une requête	0	0	
comporter	une suite	0	1	see App. 6.
	une réponse	0	0	
conférer	des droits	25	1	see App. 6.
confirmer	les termes d'une lettre	0	0	see App. 6.
	une lettre	0	0	
consolider	une dette	0	0	see App. 6.
contracter	un engagement	7	4	'engagements contractés'
	un emprunt	0	0	'obligations contractées'
définir	les grandes lignes ...d'un projet	1	4	see App. 6.
délivrer	un duplicata	0	0	see App. 6.
	une ampliation	0	0	
	une attestation	1	3	
dénoncer	une convention	1	3	see App. 6.
	un accord	4	1	
	un traité	0	0	
différer	une mesure	0	0	see App. 6.
	la mise en application	0	0	
disposer	ce texte dispose que (+ paraphrases)	5	8	see App. 6.
donner	(son) avis	8	22	see App. 6.
	son accord	10	10	
	son agrément	0	0	
	lieu	43	87	
	prétexte	1	0	
emporter	toute condamnation emporte interdiction de...	0	0	see App. 6.

[1] Within a range of five words each side of the node.

[2] Including the verb's nominalised form where appropriate, but not any adjectival forms.

[3] Only where this is not already detailed in Appendix 6.

en appeler	à la compétence	0	0	see App. 6.
	à l'autorité de	0	0	
encourir	une sanction	1	0	see App. 6.
	un blâme	0	0	
engager	des crédits	6	1	see App. 6.
	sa responsabilité	1	3	
envisager	une solution[4]	1	3	see App. 6.
	une mesure	30[5]	3	
être	en état[6]	1	2	See discussion in Chapter 6 for typical uses of 'être'
	en mesure	105	34	
	en règle	0	3	
faire	droit	3	1	See discussion in Chapter 6 for typical uses of 'faire'
	état de	15	21	
	office de	3	0	
	des réserves	0	0	
	retour	0	1	
	faire savoir	11	3	
	faire parvenir	0	6	
	faire valoir	24	27	
financer	un programme	9	4	'financement du budget / du service public / sécurité sociale
formuler	un avis	11	4	see App. 6.
	des réserves	3	1	
impartir	un délai	15	8	'dans le délai imparti' 'temps imparti' 'mission qui leur a été impartie'
imputer	une dépense	3	0	see App. 6.
incomber	il vous incombe de[7]	121	25	see App. 6.
incorporer	une prime dans un salaire	0	0	31 instances of verb - no clear patterns or repetition
instituer	un contrôle	18	3	see App. 6.
	une procédure	5	3	
introduire	un recours	19	2	see App. 6.
investir	des capitaux	31	2	'entreprises d'investissement' 'banque européenne d'i.' 'projets / programmes d'i.'

[4] 'Solutions envisageables' is also a recurring pairing in FREUCO.

[5] This pairing tends to occur in the *Journal Officiel* genre of FREUCO, especially in such environments as 'La Commission arrête les mesures envisagées lorsqu'elles sont conformes à l'avis du comité.'

[6] There are also instances of 'en état' with other verbs (esp. maintenir, remettre).

[7] All uses of the verb 'incomber', both personal and impersonal.

				'sociétés d'i.'
mandater	un représentant	1	2	'mandater des salariés' 'les agents mandatés'
notifier	une décision	11	4	see App. 6.
ordonnancer	une dépense	0	0	see App. 6.
outrepasser	des instructions	0	0	see App. 6.
	ses droits	0	0	
pallier	un inconvénient	0	0	see App. 6.
parer	à une éventualité	1	0	see App. 6.
porter	à la connaissance	3	13	see App. 6.
	préjudice	12	1	
	effet	0	0	
	création	9	15	
	fixation	0	0	
promouvoir	une réforme	2	0	see App. 6.
	un fonctionnaire	0	1	
proroger	la validité d'une carte	1	2	see App. 6.
rapporter	une mesure	8	1	see App. 6.
	dans un autre sens	0	0	
	un projet de loi	0	9	
reconduire	une loi	0	0	see App. 6.
	un budget	0	0	
régler	une question	14	8	see App. 6.
régulariser	une situation	0	1	see App. 6.
remanier	un projet	0	0	see App. 6.
	un texte	0	0	
requérir	l'attention	4	0	see App. 6.
résigner	une fonction	0	0	see App. 6.
ressortir de	une enquête	0	0	'il ressort [du dossier / présent Livre Blanc etc] que...' 'ressortissant d'un état' - frequent 'en dernier ressort'
	d'un examen	0	0	
ressortir à	une autorité	0	0	see App. 6.
	la compétence de	0	0	
saisir	une autorité (d'une ...question)	3	0	see App. 6.
s'en rapporter	au jugement de	0	0	see App. 6.
s'en remettre	à quelqu'un	0	0	see App. 6.

se prémunir	contre un danger	0	1	see App. 6.
se prévaloir	d'un argument	0	0	see App. 6.
	d'un précédent	0	0	
se référer	à (un texte)[8]	7	4	see App. 6.
	à une décision antérieure[9]	0	0	
se reporter	à un précédent	0	0	see App. 6.
	à un texte[10]	2	5	
soulever	une question	25	12	see App. 6.
	une objection	2	2	
statuer	sur un cas	5	0	see App. 6.
stipuler	le règlement[11] stipule que	12	6	'le [texte] stipule que [...]'
tenir	au courant	2	0	See discussion in Chapter 6 for typical uses of 'tenir'
	pour responsable	3	0	
	pour certain	0	0	
	compte de	605	289	
	lieu de	4	7	
tirer	argument de	0	0	see App. 6.
	à conséquence	0	0	
valider	un acte	8	0	see App. 6.
venir	en déduction	0	1	See discussion in Chapter 6 for typical uses of 'venir'
viser	un document	2	0	see App. 6.
	à un résultat	0	0	

[8] 'Un texte' is interpreted here as a generic term rather than a particular collocate, and therefore includes reference to such texts as 'articles', 'conclusions' and 'règlements'.

[9] 'Décision' on the other hand has been interpreted not to be a written text but a verbal decision.

[10] See footnote 7.

[11] 'Le règlement, traité, texte, directive, etc. stipule que'.

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