

**Disambiguating Meaning:
An Examination of Polysemous Words
within the Framework of Lexical Priming**

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements
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Abstract

Hoey's theory of Lexical Priming (LP) attempts to provide a theoretical framework to explain the long-established phenomena of collocation (cf. Firth 1957; Sinclair 1991; Stubbs 1996), colligation (cf. Firth 1957; Sinclair 2004, Hunston 2001), and several kinds of semantic relationships (cf. Sinclair 1991, 2004; Hunston 2001; Louw 1993; Partington 2004). The framework generates a number of hypotheses which call for closer examination. One of them concerns the phenomenon of polysemy. According to LP, the collocations, semantic associations and colligations that a polysemous word is characteristically primed for will systematically differentiate its various senses (Hoey 2005: 81). The claim is further that the different senses avoid use of each other's collocations, colligations and semantic associations. The formulation of the claims of LP regarding polysemy was based on polysemous nouns with two or more abstract senses each (i.e. *consequence*, *reason*, *immunity*) on the one hand, and on the word *dry* looked at mainly in its use as an adjective, on the other. The present study aims to explore whether the claims of LP with respect to polysemy are equally applicable when other types of polysemous words are investigated.

Research consisted in two case studies based on data drawn from a subcorpus of the *British National Corpus* (BNC) comprising fiction texts. The corpus consists of 432 texts amounting to some 15,000,000 words. The first case study concerned the two most frequent senses –both concrete– of the noun *drive* (viz. "journey" and "private road"). Findings from this case study confirm the claims of LP. The second case study focused on the senses of the polysemous verb *face*. *Face* was chosen for having senses that can be classified along the cline concrete — abstract. There were two main reasons behind this choice: the first was that it was deemed necessary to examine whether the formulation of the claims of LP with respect to polysemy may have somehow been affected by the grammatical category of the polysemous words examined so far; verb meaning relies considerably on a verb's participants and this might generate new insights –and possible challenges– regarding the claims of LP with respect to polysemy. The second reason related to the classifiability of a word's senses along the concrete–abstract cline, and to the question of in how far the claims of LP –as currently formulated– fully account for such cases of polysemy as well. The verb *face* has a concrete use and an abstract use, illustrated by *I do not like coasts that face north* and *I had to face all my problems alone*, respectively, and it has uses that appear to merge the two to varying degrees, as seen in the examples below:

- (1) of little consequence." He turned her to **face** him. "If I gave that impression then I ca
- (2) This was yet another of his children to **face** him in defiance in this very kitchen. Jon
- (3) not realise then that Rioja had stayed to **face** the killers. From the hut behind them the

Given the claims of LP regarding polysemy, we would expect (i) that *face* will have primings that clearly distinguish not only between its concrete and abstract uses, but also (ii) that there will be primings that make a distinction among the sub-senses of the concrete, or "directional" use. While the analysis in part yielded results in support of LP claims, it also showed that collocation, colligation and semantic association are not always sufficient for the disambiguation of meaning. Indeed, the nature of the data, very often involving dialogue, called for an application of Burton's (1980) framework for the analysis of casual conversation. Evidence suggests that, beyond the phenomena of collocation, colligation and semantic association, categories from the analysis of casual conversation –specifically, Challenging Moves– can be instrumental in a systematic differentiation between the senses of polysemous words.

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Annotation key

Unless otherwise specified, the following conventions have been followed in the examples:

Single underlining:	grammatical features (e.g. Subject, Object, modifier, negation)
Thick single underlining:	expressions associated with something unpleasant
Double underlining:	Challenging Move; initiation of dialogue

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This work is original and has not been submitted previously in support of any degree, qualification or course.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Polysemy, the case of a word having two or more meanings, is a phenomenon that has preoccupied philosophers ever since antiquity and that has motivated many a debate concerning its exact definition, types and delineation from other kinds of lexical relations (i.e. homonymy and vagueness¹) in modern linguistics. It has been approached in many different ways², some very theory-oriented, others predominantly usage-based. Among the more usage-based approaches is Lexical Priming (cf., e.g., Hoey 2005) which forms the framework for the present piece of research.

Lexical Priming emerged from the field of corpus linguistics, the study of language that is based on large collections of naturally occurring data, written or spoken, taken from a variety of sources, such as newspapers, magazines, fiction, everyday conversations, interviews³. At the core of corpus linguistics lies collocation, i.e. “the relationship a lexical item has with items that appear with greater than random probability in its (textual) context” (Hoey 1991: 6-7), and the recognition that it is pervasive in language⁴. With his theory of Lexical Priming Hoey provides an explanation for this pervasiveness of collocation, drawing on and expanding upon psycholinguistic literature (cf. Hoey 2005: 8 for references). Put very simply, according to Lexical Priming every time we encounter a word we subconsciously note the patterns this word tends to form with other words in certain contexts, so that eventually, as a result of the cumulative effects of our encounters with this word (cf. *ibid.*: 13), it becomes “part of our knowledge of a lexical item that it is used in certain combinations in certain kinds of text” (*ibid.*: 10). If we then use this word ourselves, we are likely to reproduce these combinations in their respective contexts in our own language production.

Priming does not only explain collocation. It also accounts for other long-established and equally pervasive phenomena, like colligation (cf. Firth 1957, Sinclair 2004, Hunston 2001), i.e. “the collocation of a lexical and a grammatical item” (Partington 1998: 80), and several kinds of semantic relationships (cf. Sinclair 1991, 2004; Hunston 2001; Louw 1993; Partington 2004); an example of the latter is what Hoey (2005) refers to as ‘semantic

¹ ‘Homonymy’ –often also referred to as ‘ambiguity’– traditionally refers to the case of two (or more) different lexemes that have the same phonological and orthographic form but different etymological roots and unrelated meanings, e.g. *bark* (of a dog vs. of a tree). ‘Vagueness’ refers to a single lexeme with meanings that are hardly separable, because the only difference between them lies in semantic features that have been left unspecified; a typical example of vagueness is the lexeme *neighbour* which is not specified for gender.

² Some of which are briefly outlined in Section 1 of Chapter 2.

³ For a concise history of corpus linguistics see McEnery & Wilson 1996.

⁴ On the pervasiveness of collocation cf., for example, Firth 1957, Sinclair 1991, Stubbs 1996.

association' which is the regular co-occurrence of a word with members of a specific semantic set. As we will see in detail in the next chapter, one of the claims of Lexical Priming is that the collocations, semantic associations and colligations that a polysemous word is characteristically primed for will systematically differentiate its various senses (Hoey 2005: 81). The claim is further that the different senses will avoid use of each other's collocations, colligations and semantic associations (ibid.: 82). These two claims represent what Hoey (2005: 82) calls the 'drinking problem' hypotheses.

Hoey (2005) bases the claims of Lexical Priming regarding polysemy on an examination of polysemous nouns with two or more abstract senses each (i.e. *consequence*, *reason*, *immunity*) in a corpus of close to 100 million words, consisting mainly of texts from the *Guardian* newspaper. In more recent work, Hoey (2009) reports findings of an examination of the word *dry* –looked at mainly in its use as an adjective– from the perspective of Lexical Priming. Occurrences of the word, illustrating its various uses, were once again drawn from a corpus of newspaper texts, this time from the *Independent*. The intention of Hoey's (2009) contribution, however, is to discuss advances in lexical semantics within corpus linguistics rather than review the theory's implications for polysemy.

The aim of the present study is precisely to review the implications of Lexical Priming for polysemy and to investigate how far Hoey's hypotheses are supported by other data. Since these hypotheses have so far been demonstrated solely on the basis of polysemous nouns with abstract senses as well as –indirectly– on one polysemous adjective in corpora consisting mainly of newspaper texts, the following two questions naturally arise:

1. Are the "drinking problem" hypotheses equally applicable, as they have been stated, when other types of polysemous words are investigated?
2. Could an examination of polysemous words in a different set of texts (i.e. in a different genre) offer any additional insights for the "drinking problem" hypotheses?

The present study sets out to explore these two questions by means of two case studies, one of the polysemous noun *drive*, the other of the polysemous verb *face*. Both were examined in a corpus of fiction texts drawn from the *British National Corpus* (BNC) and comprising some 15,000,000 words in 432 texts. One of the main reasons for choosing a corpus of fiction texts was the expectation that the relative flexibility of the genre would be more likely to allow for unexpected primings which could not be accounted for by the theory in its present form.

Drive was chosen for being a good candidate for an investigation of a polysemous noun with concrete senses: its two most frequent senses in the BNC-fiction corpus are

“journey” and “private road” and they are sufficiently represented in the corpus to warrant an analysis.

Face was chosen for being a highly polysemous verb with senses that are well represented in the BNC-corpus. Moreover, it made an ideal candidate for putting Lexical Priming to the test, because its senses can be classified along a concrete – abstract cline. To illustrate, while the verb has a concrete use and an abstract use, as in (1) and (2), respectively, it also has uses that appear to merge the two to varying degrees, as in examples (3) to (5):

- (1) Maggie moved her to **face** the house
- (2) it was a trauma she had to **face**
- (3) He ... turned in the driving seat to **face** Vologsky. "Do you know how and why your parents died, Mikhail?"
- (4) This was yet another of his children to **face** him in defiance in this very kitchen.
- (5) They did not realise then that Rioja had stayed to **face** the killers.

Thus, in addition to allowing an examination of potential differences in the behaviour of a polysemous verb as opposed to polysemous nouns, it also allows an examination of whether the claims of Lexical Priming, as so far formulated, can account for cases in which the senses of a polysemous item do not have clear-cut boundaries.

As we will see in the following chapters, while the findings of the analysis of the patterns of the noun *drive* confirmed the claims of Lexical Priming regarding polysemy, the analysis of the verb *face* yielded some unexpected results, inviting further research in the direction of an amendment of the Lexical Priming hypothesis.

Chapter 2

Setting the scene

1. A brief discussion of polysemy

The principle that words have more than one meaning has been around for a long time. The term 'polysemy' is used for a word –or, to be more precise, a lexeme– that has two or more related senses, all going back to a single etymological root. Debates concerning the nature of meaning and in particular the relationship between words, their meaning and their referents go back to ancient Greek philosophy at the time of Plato and Aristotle, the latter of whom is credited with the formulation of the 'definitional criterion' which attempts to specify what it means for a word to have multiple senses: "an item has more than one lexical meaning if there is no minimally specific definition covering the extension of the item as a whole, and [...] it has no more lexical meanings than there are maximally general definitions necessary to describe its extension" (from Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* II.xiii, cited in Geeraerts 1993: 230). However, as Nerlich & Clarke (1997: 351) point out, it was linguists' interest in etymology, historical lexicography and historical semantics in the 18th and 19th century that gave rise to concrete research in the multiplicity of meaning through the study of neologisms, synonyms and the figures of speech. The popularisation of the term 'polysemy', however, is commonly attributed to Bréal (1990[1897]), who is credited with establishing semantics as a linguistic discipline (cf. Brugman 1997, Blank 2003, Nerlich & Clarke 1997, Nerlich 2003)⁵; his interest lay in the "multiplication of meanings based on the speakers' and hearers' social and cognitive needs" and he used the term "polysémie" to refer to the phenomenon (Nerlich & Clarke 1997: 364).

Polysemy is rarely discussed without mention of homonymy, the case of two or more lexemes that are phonologically and orthographically identical, but have unrelated meanings and different etymologies (cf. Bussmann 1996, entry for "homonymy"; Lyons 1968, 1977, 1981). Though the distinction sounds straightforward and is still being used as a guideline in the compilation of dictionaries, it presents problems. The etymological criterion is not entirely reliable, and according to Lyons (1977: 550) not always decisive in practice, since there is still uncertainty about the historical derivation of many words (p. 551). Furthermore, the establishment of an etymological relationship between what might be considered as two

⁵ Some appear to credit Bréal with actually coining the term 'polysemy' (cf. Bussmann 1996, entry for "polysemy"), though it seems more precise to credit him with using it in linguistics proper as we still do today (cf. Nerlich & Clarke 1997, Nerlich 2003).

lexemes is often a matter of “how far we are prepared to go, when we have the evidence, in tracing the history of words” (p. 551). Lyons makes a case in point with a discussion of *port*₁ meaning “harbour” and *port*₂ meaning “kind of fortified wine”, indicating that *port*₂ is actually derived from the name of the city in Portugal with which the export of this particular wine is associated, viz. Oporto, yet that the name of the city itself comes from the Latin lexeme *portus* “harbour, port” which lies at the root of the lexeme *port*₁ in English (ibid.). A further point that speaks against the etymological criterion is that, even though it may be of some use to lexicographers, it is not relevant to speakers of a language from a synchronic perspective, as most will not have access to such information; moreover, access to such information makes no difference at all to how words are used in everyday communication (Lyons 1968: 407). More crucially still, speakers’ intuitions about relatedness or unrelatedness of meaning may contradict etymological information and vice versa (cf. Saeed 1997: 65, Lyons 1981:147). Finally, there seems to be disagreement among linguists as to whether membership to different grammatical categories alone (e.g. *fall* (v.) vs. *fall* (n.))⁶ should preclude polysemy, a consideration which actually disregards the etymological criterion (for discussions see, for example, Brugman 1997: 12 and references therein, Taylor 1989, Lyons 1995).

The criterion of relatedness of meaning is therefore of more importance (Lyons 1977: 551)⁷, yet it is also fraught with problems. To begin with, relatedness of meaning is a matter of degree, as many linguists have pointed out – this raises the question of how related two (or more) senses need to be to still be considered as belonging to a single lexeme. Native speaker intuitions on that matter are notoriously unreliable as they will often differ from speaker to speaker⁸. Attempts to resolve the issue by means of componential analysis have not been particularly fruitful; as Lyons (1977: 553) points out, the method appears to work with carefully selected lexemes like *bachelor*⁹, but “[t]he problem lies in justifying the componential analysis of sense for the vocabulary as a whole and showing how it can be used, in other than a few relatively clear-cut examples, to separate homonyms from single polysemous lexemes” (ibid.). For one thing, it would first need to be established “just how many components, or alternatively what kind of components, two senses must share in order for them to meet the criterion of relatedness of meaning” (ibid.).

⁶ This example admittedly simplifies the matter; consider, for example *last* (adv.) vs. *last* (v.). This relates to the issue of the solidity of grammatical categories – yet another area in language which does not appear to have hard and fast boundaries (cf. Brugman 1997: 12).

⁷ Though elsewhere we find claims that the etymological criterion is “the more traditional distinction” (Croft & Cruse 2004: 111).

⁸ Saeed (1997: 67) points out on the basis of the lexeme *gay* that belonging to different generations can also be a factor for variation in the perception of relatedness or unrelatedness of meaning – an indication of the difficulty involved in grasping the status of relatedness of meaning in synchronic terms.

⁹ Regarding the polysemy of *bachelor* cf. also Jakobson’s brief discussion in Waugh & Monville-Burston (1990: 317-318).

Two ways of circumventing –rather than solving, as Lyons (1977: 553) points out– the difficulties in distinguishing between polysemy and homonymy have been typically put forth and discussed in treatments of the two phenomena. One is a maximisation of homonymy at the expense of polysemy; the other its reverse, a maximisation of polysemy at the expense of homonymy. The main problem with the first suggestion is that “it misses the theoretical point. Lexemes do not have a determinate number of distinct meanings. Discreteness in language is a property of form, not meaning” (Lyons 1981: 148); polysemy would be “reduced to an arbitrary, unmotivated phenomenon” (Taylor 1989: 105) and the important insights gained from “the study of recurrent patterns of category structure [...] rendered [...] inaccessible” (ibid.)¹⁰. The problem with the second suggestion is that it would disregard the fact that “the criterion of relatedness of meaning is one that native speakers draw upon in their intuitive judgements of what constitutes lexical identity” (Lyons 1977: 566); though we have seen that native speakers’ intuitive judgements can be unreliable for the systematisation of lexical phenomena, the merit of a branch of linguistics that disregards how speakers relate to (any aspect of) language would be seen as questionable by many a linguist.

Such considerations are to be found in any introduction to or textbook on lexical semantics and in any discussion that touches on the issues of polysemy or homonymy. With the advent of Cognitive Linguistics in the 1980s, such considerations were –for the most part– pushed aside¹¹ as we shall see a little further below. Cognitive Linguistics arose as a reaction to theoretical models prevalent in linguistics at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, and in particular transformational grammar. It is a usage-based approach to language, the main tenets of which are laid out in R. W. Langacker’s ‘cognitive grammar’ (cf. Langacker 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1999; see also the contributions by Langacker and others in Rudzka-Ostyn 1988), a theory of linguistic structure that Langacker started developing and articulating in 1976^{12,13}. Cognitive grammar sought to offer a unified account of language “that successfully accommodates our growing factual and analytical knowledge of language structure in all of its many aspects, treating it naturally and insightfully as an integrated whole” (Langacker 1987: v). It rejected the dominant view of language as “a self-contained

¹⁰ Insights into category structure are of particular importance within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics, as we shall see further below.

¹¹ Though not without extensive discussion; the list is very long, but see for example Brugman 1997, Croft & Cruse 2004, Cuyckens & Zawada 2001, Geeraerts 1993, Lakoff 1987, Nerlich et al. 2003, Tuggy 1993, to name but a few.

¹² Langacker, though being a main figure in the development of cognitive grammar, is by no means alone in stressing the need for “a cognitively grounded approach to grammatical structure” and his work is compatible with other developments in linguistics that took place around the same time, as he himself acknowledges (cf. Langacker 1987: 4, 1991: 1-2). His work is of particular importance, however, for it constitutes a systematic attempt at presenting the foundations of the model and supporting it.

¹³ Langacker, more often than not, avoids naming generative grammar in particular, but when talking about “established theories” or “orthodox theories” he can safely be understood as making reference primarily to transformational grammar.

system amenable to algorithmic characterization”, assuming instead that it “is neither self-contained nor describable without essential reference to cognitive processing (regardless of whether one posits a special *faculté de langage*)” (Langacker 1991a: 1). It is precisely the recognition that language is linked to human cognition in general and the integration of general cognitive processing in linguistic description that made the framework so radical compared to the established linguistic models of the time – and also gave it its name:

[A] conception of language as a non-autonomous system... hypothesizes an intimate, dialectic relationship between language on the one hand and more general cognitive faculties on the other, and... places language in the context of man's interaction with his environment and with others of his species. On this view, a clean division between linguistic and non-linguistic faculties, between linguistic facts and non-linguistic facts, between a speaker's linguistic knowledge proper and his non-linguistic knowledge, between competence and performance, may ultimately prove to be both unrealistic and misleading.

(Taylor 1989:18)

Such a view of language grants meaning¹⁴ and its conceptualisation a central place. It is therefore not surprising that lexical semantics enjoyed (and still does) increased attention within Cognitive Linguistics. The framework integrated Wittgenstein's (2003[1953]) notion of a 'family resemblance' network of senses, which arose from his discussion of the word *game*, and Rosch's findings from a number of psychological experiments (cf. Rosch 1978) regarding categorization by prototype¹⁵, thus opening up new perspectives for the investigation of meaning. As Cuyckens & Zawada (2001: x) point out, "lexical items, as well as word classes and grammatical constructions" started being viewed as "conceptual categories that have to be studied and investigated as reflecting general cognitive principles, rather than purely formal linguistic principles". Hence polysemy in particular assumed a central role in Cognitive Linguistic research, with each polysemous word viewed as forming a category of senses, organised around prototypes related to each other through a family resemblance structure¹⁶, by means of general cognitive principles such as generalisation, specialisation, metaphor, metonymy and image-schema transformations (for the latter cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987). Research into the structure of such categories thus "reveals important insights into categorization behavior" (Gibbs & Matlock 2001: 213; see also Sweetser 1990 and Taylor 1989, esp. Chapter 6). This approach led to a proliferation of studies on polysemy, which started out with work on prepositions (cf. Brugman 1988 on *over*¹⁷), and was followed by a wide range of research in the area of polysemy (for example,

¹⁴ Not just lexical meaning – cf. for example Langacker (1988).

¹⁵ A detailed discussion of the implications for cognitive semantics of Wittgenstein's notion of family resemblance and Rosch's findings on categorization by prototype can be found in Taylor (1989).

¹⁶ While the senses themselves can also be, at least in part, related to each other through family resemblance structures (cf. Brugman 1988).

¹⁷ Cuyckens & Zawada (2001: xiii) also refer readers to Lindner's (1981) unpublished PhD thesis on *up* and *out*, while Taylor (1989: 110) provides further references to early work on the structured polysemy of prepositions.

Brugman 1997, 2001; Dunbar 2001, Evans 2005, Geeraerts 1993, Newman 1996, Smith 2002, Tuggy 1993, Tyler & Evans 2001; the contributions in Cuyckens & Zawada 2001, those in Nerlich et al. 2003, as well as the contributions by Allwood, Janssen, Tuggy and Zlatev in Cuyckens et al. 2003), but also by debates concerning the nature of linguistic evidence and the type of claims that can or cannot be made regarding mental representations of language, including of course meaning (cf. Sandra & Rice 1995, Croft 1998, Sandra 1998, Tuggy 1999)¹⁸.

Given such an approach to meaning, a distinction between polysemy and homonymy based on etymology loses its relevance and so do debates about whether different grammatical categories alone –e.g. *fall* (v.) vs. *fall* (n.)– should preclude polysemy. Indeed, it has been proposed within cognitive semantics –which often also draws the notion of ‘vagueness’ into the discussion of homonymy and polysemy– that homonymy and polysemy are points in a continuum that has homonymy and vagueness at its poles with polysemy falling in the middle (see Geeraerts 1993 and Tuggy 1993; also Dunbar 2001). It has even been suggested that the criterion of relatedness of meaning is seen differently within cognitive semantics compared to “traditional” approaches. Cuyckens & Zawada (2001: xiii–xiv) draw a fine distinction between relatedness of meaning being the result of derivation, which would assume the existence of a basic sense from which the other senses are derived “by means of semantic rules (e.g., metonymical and metaphorical transfer)” (p. xiii)¹⁹ and relatedness of meaning being the result of the application of general cognitive principles such as generalisation, specialisation, metaphor, metonymy and image-schema transformations. The distinction is indeed a very fine one, and Cuyckens and Zawada seem to be trying to fence off any notion of polysemy “governed by processes which are productive, rule-governed, and predictable, very much like the processes of word formation” (Cuyckens & Zawada 2001: xxiii citing Ravin & Leacock 2000: 10).

Much is attractive in cognitive linguistic accounts of polysemy, yet some issues remain, like those debated in Sandra & Rice (1995), Croft (1998), Sandra (1998), Tuggy (1999), regarding mental representations of meaning. Some psycholinguistic research has been carried out to specifically address some of the claims of cognitive linguists regarding polysemy (e.g. Brisard et al. 2001, Sandra & Rice 1995²⁰) though this is not the place to report or comment on their findings. An interesting point though was made by Gibbs &

¹⁸ The part of the debate carried out through these papers concerning the nature of linguistic evidence mainly centres around types of linguistic vs. psycholinguistic evidence. Yet Croft also draws corpus evidence into the discussion. Up until the 2000s cognitive semantics relied heavily on intuitive data and/or examples drawn from dictionaries; this changed around the turn of the century with the introduction of corpora in cognitive linguistic research. Still, as far as I am aware, there are relatively few corpus-based studies of lexical polysemy within cognitive semantics (e.g. Aitchison & Lewis 2003, Croft 2009, Hümmel & Stathi 2006, Kilgarriff 2003, Meese 2001, Mukherjee 2005, Newman & Rice 2004).

¹⁹ The authors refer to Apresjan (1974) and his discussion of ‘regular polysemy’.

²⁰ There are of course numerous psycholinguistic studies the results of which are of relevance to the treatment polysemy has received within cognitive semantics; but few have specifically addressed claims of cognitive linguists regarding polysemy.

Matlock (2001)²¹ who “raise the possibility that lexical networks might not necessarily be the best way to describe polysemy” (p. 234), namely that

all meanings of polysemous words might be tied to very specific conceptual knowledge and lexico-grammatical constructions as opposed to being encoded in a network form in a speaker’s mental lexicon. This idea is consistent with **the idea that there may not be strict, or even any, boundaries between the grammar and the lexicon.**

(p. 235 – emphasis mine)

The theory of Lexical Priming suggests just that: a blurring of the boundaries between the grammar and the lexicon to the point of a reversal “of the roles of lexis and grammar, arguing that lexis is complexly and systematically structured and that grammar is an outcome of this lexical structure” (Hoey 2005: 1).

2. Lexical Priming

2.1 The main tenets of Lexical Priming

Lexical Priming developed out of progress made in the field of corpus linguistics. At its core lies collocation and in particular the recognition of its pervasiveness in language. The term ‘collocation’ in its established linguistic use is attributed to Firth (1957), who made collocation a crucial aspect of language. The term itself appears to have entered linguistic considerations in the early 1930s; Kennedy (2008: 36) cites Sinclair et al. (2004[1970]: ix) who in their OSTI report acknowledge that “the idea of collocation first emerged in the work of language teachers between the two world wars, particularly that of Harold Palmer in Japan”. Kennedy (2008: 36) further provides some quotes from Palmer (1933), one of which is a first definition of ‘collocation’: “a collocation is a succession of two or more words that must be learned as an integral whole and not pieced together from its component parts” (1933: i).

The importance of collocation was recognised early on by Sinclair, a student of Firth’s. In his first paper on lexis, he points out that “running parallel to grammar is lexis, which describes the tendencies of words to collocate with each other” (1966: 411) and that “[w]e are interested in the lexical *meaning* of items as represented by their collocations” (p. 428). The pervasiveness of collocation had become a conviction by 1987, when he published his

²¹ Who report on psycholinguistic experiments which “do not address specific claims about lexical network models of polysemy” (p. 234).

ideas about the 'open-choice principle' and 'idiom principle'²². The open-choice principle follows the traditional 'slot-and-filler' approach to language (Sinclair 1991: 109; cf. also Barnbrook 2007: 184), according to which syntactic rules generate slots for each sentence type, to be filled by lexical items with the main restraint being grammaticality. Sinclair (1991) by no means rejects the open-choice principle: "we have to advance two different principles of interpretation. One is not enough. No single principle has been advanced which accounts for the evidence in a satisfactory way" (p. 109). Yet he does place considerable emphasis on the idiom principle:

It is clear that words do not occur at random in a text, and that the open-choice principle does not provide for substantial enough restraints on consecutive choices. We would not produce normal text simply by operating the open-choice principle.

(Sinclair 1991:110)²³

and

normal text [...] appears to be formed by exercise of the idiom principle, with occasional switching to the open-choice principle

(p. 113)

and

For normal texts, we can put forward the proposal that the first mode to be applied is the idiom principle, since most of the text will be interpretable by this principle.

(p. 114)

Sinclair (1991: 110) points out that even given the constraints placed upon choice by the very nature of the world around us –the fact that "[t]hings which occur physically together have a stronger chance of being mentioned together", for example– and the constraining nature of register, which is normally a social choice, there is still too much choice left to the language user, and therefore "the principle of idiom is put forward to account for the restraints that are not captured by the open-choice model" (ibid.). He defines the idiom-principle as follows:

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.

(Sinclair 1991:110)

The ideas and research environment surrounding the formulation of the idiom-principle clearly paved the way for Hoey's ideas. With his *Lexical Priming*, Hoey takes Sinclair's (1991:

²² The paper, bearing the title "Collocation: A progress report", appeared in a collection of papers in honour of M. Halliday and was reprinted as Chapter 8, "Collocation", in Sinclair (1991) which is the publication from which I will be quoting here. The formulation of the idiom principle was a result of Sinclair's pioneering work in the COBUILD Project, a report of which is Sinclair (1987).

²³ The kind of "restraints" Sinclair has in mind here go well beyond those recognised in the nonsensicality of Chomsky's famous *Colorless green ideas sleep furiously* or in established idioms like *eat one's words*.

114) claim that “a model of language which divides grammar and lexis, and which uses the grammar to provide a string of lexical choice points, is a secondary model” a step further, arguing “that lexis is complexly and systematically structured and that grammar is an outcome of this lexical structure” (Hoey 2005: 1). While Sinclair’s observation, that there are restraints in the co-occurrence of words which are left unaccounted for by the open-choice principle, appears to reside on the level of the text only²⁴, specifically drawing on collocation, colligation and semantic association, Hoey seeks an explanation for the existence of such restraints²⁵. His understanding of collocation is thus closer to that of Leech (1974: 20) who defines “collocative meaning” as “consist[ing] of the associations a word acquires on account of the meanings of words which tend to occur in its environment”. Partington (1998: 16) refers to this definition as “the ‘psychological’ or ‘associative’ definition” of collocation and observes that “[i]t is part of a native speaker’s communicative competence [...] to know what are normal and what are unusual collocations in given circumstances” (ibid.). Hoey (2005: 5) nicely illustrates this point with his paraphrase of the opening sentence from a travel book by Bill Bryson (1991)²⁶; the original sentence and its paraphrase run as follows:

In winter Hammerfest is a thirty-hour ride by bus from Oslo, though why anyone would want to go there in winter is a question worth considering.

Through winter, rides between Oslo and Hammerfest use thirty hours up in a bus, though why travellers would select to ride there then might be pondered.

What makes for the “normality” of the first sentence is that it is made up of a string of interlocking collocations. The second sentence sounds strange, not because its grammaticality is affected in any way, but precisely because it is a conscious effort not to employ any collocations. Hoey (2005: 6-7) furnishes evidence from his corpus²⁷ to show how successive sequences of words in the first sentence are established collocations, while this is not quite the case for the second sentence (for example *in winter* occurs 507 times in Hoey’s corpus, as opposed to *through winter* which only occurs 7 times)²⁸. Such observations lead Hoey to the following definition of collocation:

²⁴ Cf. Sinclair’s (1991: 170) definition of collocation as “the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text”.

²⁵ And, as we shall see further below, suggests further restraints, like pragmatic association and a number of textual features that account for the textual patterns of words.

²⁶ The paraphrase is also a nice illustration of Sinclair’s (1991: 10) claim that “we would not produce normal text simply by operating the open-choice principle”.

²⁷ Which consists of some 95 million words of *Guardian* news, 3 million words of written text from the *British National Corpus* and 230,000 words of spoken data (cf. Hoey 2005: xi).

²⁸ Hoey (2005: 7) qualifies that even his paraphrase contains some existing collocations, as “it is hard to construct a meaningful sentence without calling upon them”. They are, however, fewer, weaker and do not interlock (ibid.).

Collocation [...] is a psychological association between words (rather than lemmas) up to four words apart and is evidenced by their occurrence together in corpora more often than is explicable in terms of random distribution.

(Hoey 2005: 5)²⁹

While Leech's (1974: 20) definition encompasses both the statistical and the psychological aspects of collocation and even links the two causally, Hoey takes things one step further in wanting to offer a model of language which seeks to offer an explanation for the pervasiveness of collocation. In other words, he sees collocation not only as being pervasive, but also essentially subversive – subversive of existing theories about the lexicon, because they do not account for the pervasiveness of collocation (Hoey 2005: 7).

In order to account for the pervasiveness of collocation, Hoey borrows the concept of 'priming' from psycholinguistics³⁰, though, as he points out (p. 7) with a slight variation. To illustrate the way 'priming' is used in psycholinguistics, Hoey (p. 8) gives the example of the way a listener will recognise the word *heart* more quickly if they have been previously given the word *body* than if they have been given an unrelated word, such as *trick*. Yet, while in psycholinguistics 'priming' is used to describe the relationship between the priming word (i.e. the prime) and its target (p. 8), for Hoey "lexical priming is a property of the person" (Hoey 2007: 9): it is actually the speakers of a language that are primed to associate a particular word or a sense of a word with specific collocations, colligations and semantic associations, as we shall see in more detail below. In Hoey's own words:

We can only account for collocation if we assume that every word is mentally **primed** for collocational use. As a word is acquired through encounters with it in speech and writing, it becomes cumulatively loaded with the contexts and co-texts in which it is encountered, and our knowledge of it includes the fact that it co-occurs with certain other words in certain kinds of contexts.

(Hoey 2005: 8; emphasis original)³¹

Hoey (2005) extends his priming assumption from collocation to a whole range of features in language, which leads him to the statement of a total of 10 priming hypotheses (p. 13), which it is worth quoting here in full:

1. Every word is primed to occur with particular other words; these are its collocates.

²⁹ Hoey is actually speaking of specific word-forms here. We shall take up the question of "word" vs. "lemma" further below in this chapter.

³⁰ Hoey cites Neely (1977), (1991) and Anderson (1983) as examples. An overview of the psycholinguistic background to Lexical Priming can be found in Pace-Sigge (2010: Chapter 3).

³¹ Hoey (2005) often talks about priming being a property of words, but, as he points out later in the book, this is just a convenient shortcut: "The notion of priming in this book has largely been discussed impersonally, as if it were simply a property of the language. [...] In fact, though, [...] priming is what happens to the individual and is the direct result of a set of unique, personal, unrepeatable and humanly-charged experiences" (p. 179).

2. Every word is primed to occur with particular semantic sets; these are its semantic associations.
3. Every word is primed to occur in association with particular pragmatic functions; these are its pragmatic associations.
4. Every word is primed to occur in (or avoid) certain grammatical positions, and to occur in (or avoid) certain grammatical functions; these are its colligations.
5. Co-hyponyms and synonyms differ with respect to their collocations, semantic associations and colligations.
6. When a word is polysemous, the collocations, semantic associations and colligations of one sense of the word differ from those of its other senses.
7. Every word is primed for use in one or more grammatical roles; these are its grammatical categories.
8. Every word is primed to participate in, or avoid, particular types of cohesive relation in a discourse; these are its textual collocations.
9. Every word is primed to occur in particular semantic relations in the discourse; these are its textual semantic associations.
10. Every word is primed to occur in, or avoid, certain positions within the discourse; these are its textual colligations.

So, every single time we encounter language we will subconsciously note the entire situational context in which the words are uttered/seen: physical surroundings, participants, topic; we will note the lexical environment of every word, its position in the sentence, its position in the text, the relationship it has with other words; and we will tend to reproduce these primings every time we produce language. This means that the entire set of priming claims is “in the first place constrained by domain and/or genre. They are claims about the way language is acquired and used in specific situations” (p. 13). One final remark is probably necessary before we turn to look at the sixth claim, the one concerning polysemy, and its implications in more detail. Since each of us is exposed to different kinds of language in different ways (e.g. in terms of what we talk about with the people we know privately or professionally, what social events we tend to participate in, what we choose to read, what role the media –and which media– play in our daily life, etc.), each individual will essentially have a unique set of primings. Yet the very fact that we all engage in daily acts of communication caters for sufficient overlap in primings for communication to be possible and successful.

2.2 Lexical Priming and polysemy

2.2.1 The “drinking problem” hypotheses

The idea that the uses of a polysemous word will be distinguished by their patterns has been around in corpus linguistics for some time. In the account of the development of the *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary*, Moon (1987) focuses on lexical meaning and in

particular on sense distinctions, looking into polysemy and homonymy and “rais[ing] some of the issues which all lexicographers have to face” (Sinclair 1987: viii). In her chapter, she reports a claim that Sinclair made, according to which “[e]very distinct sense of a word is associated with a distinction in form” (Moon 1987: 89). Hoey (2005: 81) builds on this idea with the claim that the senses of a polysemous lexical item will be *systematically* differentiated by the collocations, semantic associations and colligations with which speakers of a language are primed. Specifically, he puts forward three hypotheses regarding polysemy, which he calls –“somewhat whimsically” as he himself comments– the ‘drinking problem’ hypotheses (p. 82), and which are cited here in full³²:

1. Where it can be shown that a common sense of a polysemous word is primed to favour certain collocations, semantic associations and/or colligations, the rarer sense of that word will be primed to avoid those collocations, semantic associations and colligations. The more common use of the word will make use of the collocations, semantic associations and colligations of the rarer word but, proportionally, less frequently.
2. Where two senses of a word are approximately as common as each other, they will both avoid each other’s collocations, semantic associations and/or colligations.
3. Where either (1) or (2) do not apply, the effect will be humour, ambiguity (momentary or permanent), or a new meaning combining the two senses.

Hoey examines the first hypothesis with case studies of the polysemous abstract nouns *consequence* and *reason* and the second hypothesis with an investigation of the polysemous abstract noun *immunity*. The third hypothesis is briefly discussed on the basis of a handful of examples encountered in the investigation of *consequence* and *reason*. The next section is a brief summary and discussion of Hoey’s findings.

2.2.2 Evidence for the “drinking problem” hypotheses

There are 1,809 instances of the noun *consequence* (cf. pp. 82-88) in Hoey’s *Guardian* newspaper corpus, with the sense “result” occurring 91 per cent of the time and the sense “importance” making up the remaining 9 per cent of the lines. Given the 10:1 ratio for the two senses, Hoey sees *consequence* as fully appropriate for an examination of the first of his hypotheses regarding polysemy, according to which the less common sense will avoid the primings (i.e. collocations, colligations, semantic associations) of the more common sense. His findings point to the two senses differing systematically “on a whole range of

³² The hypotheses were named after a joke in the film *Airplane*, which exploits the polysemy of the word *drinking* by means of the positioning of its collocate *problem*: Hoey (2005: 82) explains that in one scene in the film “we are told of a pilot who is no longer permitted to fly because he has a ‘drinking problem’”. The next shot shows him spilling a non-alcoholic drink all over himself; his problem is in fact that he misses his mouth when he tries to drink. The joke depends on the order of the words [...]”.

characteristic primings” (p. 87). It is important to note that in the analysis carried out to examine the “drinking problem” hypotheses, what is of particular interest are not the primings of each sense in general, but those that distinguish between the senses. For example, Hoey (2005: Chapter 3) established colligational primings for *consequence* (=result), in part compared to four other abstract nouns³³; yet not all colligational primings of *consequence* (=result) are of relevance for its differentiation from *consequence* (=importance): Hoey finds, for instance, that *consequence* (=result) has very specific primings when it occurs as head of a noun group functioning as Subject (pp. 55-58). Since, however, he finds that *consequence* (=importance) avoids occurring as head of a noun group functioning as Subject (there are no such occurrences in his corpus), the specific primings of *consequence* (=result) in this position are not relevant for the distinction between the two senses. What is relevant, is the fact that one does occur as head of a noun group that functions as Subject, while the other one does not. The focus in this section, therefore, will be on those primings which Hoey shows distinguish between the senses of the polysemous items he investigated.

Apart from the just mentioned difference in the primings of *consequence* (=result) and *consequence* (=importance), concerning the occurrence (or not) as head of a noun group that functions as Subject, Hoey finds that the two senses differ in the following ways:

- While *consequence* (=importance) collocates with *of* and *any*, *consequence* (=result) does not.
- While *consequence* (=result) will occur as head of a noun group functioning as Subject or as Complement, *consequence* (=importance) will enter neither of the two colligational patterns.
- *Consequence* (=result) has a semantic association with adjectives the denotation of which focuses on the underlying logic of the process described by *consequence* (p. 24), in other words it has a semantic association with LOGIC (Hoey’s examples include *logical/ineluctable/direct/probable consequence*). It also has a semantic association with adjectives that express NEGATIVE EVALUATION (e.g. *doleful/disastrous/grisly/ludicrous consequence*). *Consequence* (=importance) does not have such semantic associations.
- *Consequence* (=importance) has a pragmatic association for DENIAL that is not shared by *consequence* (=result). In other words, *consequence* (=importance) tends to be used to “deny the importance of the event or entity referred to in the clause” (p. 85) – examples provided by Hoey (ibid.) include: *people of no great consequence; nothing of consequence is missing*.

³³ Hoey randomly picked *question*, *preference*, *aversion* and *use* and used sets of 300 instances of each, excluding “senses that were clearly separable and idiomatic uses that did not retain the word’s primary function” (ibid.: 45).

- *Consequence* (=importance) is primed to avoid occurring as Theme³⁴ even when it occurs as an Adjunct, “i.e. not as a postmodification to some other noun” (p. 86). *Consequence* (=reason), on the other hand, frequently occurs in Theme (pp. 49-52, 87).

The more interesting parts in Hoey’s analysis and discussion of the two senses of *consequence* are those that reveal that even when the two senses share a pattern, there will be systematic differentiation in terms of the options available within that pattern. For example, Hoey observes that both senses of *consequence* colligate with non-specific deictics³⁵. Yet, *consequence* (=importance) will colligate with the unmarked non-specific deictics *no* (*not any*), *some* and *any* (p. 84), while *consequence* (=result) will colligate with the unmarked non-specific deictics *a(n)*, *another*, *one*, *every*. Hoey’s findings with regard to the two senses of *consequence* fully support the first of his “drinking problem” hypotheses. In his second case study, he turns to the abstract noun *reason*.

As Hoey points out (p. 88), *reason* has a number of senses, the most frequent of which (probably not just in his corpus) is that of “cause”, which occurs in his dataset 12,805 times. The next most frequent senses are “logic” and “rationality”, which however account for 703 instances taken together and including “an assortment of idiomatic uses” (p. 88). Given that the purpose of the case study is to test the first of the “drinking problem” hypotheses, the question therefore being whether the less frequent senses do avoid the primings of *reason* (=cause) as predicted, Hoey considers them together to begin with. Hoey starts off with the presentation of primings that are characteristic of *reason* (=cause) when it is the head of a noun group functioning as Subject. He points out (ibid.) that though the occurrence of *reason* (=cause) as head of a noun group functioning as Subject follows what is typical for nouns in general, there is a number of very specific primings associated with *reason* (=cause) in this function – primings which the less frequent senses of *reason* would be expected to avoid. These are:

- Co-occurrence with *the*: the two less frequent senses of *reason* would be expected to avoid *the*, at least “in any circumstance where the further primings of *reason* (=cause) might be expected” (p. 89).

³⁴ Hoey (2005: 49) defines Theme as “any textual material in a clause up to and including the Subject, where the Subject precedes the main verb of the clause. In those cases where the Subject follows the main verb, Theme is taken to be any textual material preceding the main verb”.

³⁵ *Consequence* (=reason) also colligates with specific deictics while *consequence* (=importance) does not.

- Occurrence in Theme: the two less frequent senses of *reason* would be expected to “have an aversion to Theme or occur in Theme under distinctly different conditions, i.e. not with *the* or with any of the prepositions associated with *reason* (=cause)” (ibid.)³⁶.
- Occurrence as Subject with *BE*: *reason* (=cause) shows a strong tendency to co-occur with *BE*, which the less frequent senses of *reason* would therefore be expected to avoid.

Hoey (p. 90) also finds that *reason* (=cause) tends to occur as head of a noun group functioning as Complement, with *BE* as the most frequent copular verb. Hoey observes two further main primings for *reason* (=cause) when it occurs as head of a noun group which functions as a Complement, and one would expect the less frequent senses of *reason* to avoid these primings:

- The structure PRONOUN/*there* + *BE* + *reason* – with particular avoidance of the pronouns *this* and *that*³⁷.
- Co-occurrence with the unspecific deictics *no* and *any* – due to the fact that *reason* (=cause) tends to co-occur with denial most commonly instantiated with *no* and *any* (as in *there is/was no reason* and *there isn't/wasn't any reason*).

A further observation that Hoey makes (pp. 91-92) is that *reason* (=cause) also tends to occur as the head of the noun group of a prepositional phrase, in which case the most frequent prepositions it tends to co-occur with are *for* and *as*. Therefore, it would be expected that the less frequent senses of *reason* will avoid:

- Occurrence after the prepositions *for* and *as*.

In what follows I will attempt to present Hoey's main findings without summarising every step of his careful analysis (for one thing, it would be hardly possible to be more succinct than Hoey already is). Hoey finds the first of his predictions confirmed (pp. 92-95) with regard to the primings that *reason* (=rationality, logic) would be expected to avoid. Crucially, he observes that the avoidance of co-occurrence of *reason* (=rationality, logic) with *the* does not seem to be attributable to the noun's meaning, pointing out that the noun

³⁶ Hoey (2005: 90) argues that *reason* (=cause) may not show a special tendency to occur in Theme (compared with other nouns), but the fact that its occurrence in Theme (in 35% of all instances) is average shows that at least it has no aversion to occurring in Theme “and may indeed be weakly primed for occurring in Theme”, justifying an examination of the behaviour of the less frequent senses of *reason* with regard to Theme.

³⁷ Hoey (2005: 90) notes that, although *reason* (=cause) tends to co-occur with pronouns, this does not apply to personal pronouns.

imagination which is often coupled with *reason* (=rationality, logic) “occurs quite comfortably with *the*” (p. 93). He provides the following example from his dataset, numbered here as (1):

(1) Natural selection enriches and disciplines the imagination by *the reasoning faculty*.

which “shows a periphrastic expression (*the reasoning faculty*) that seems to have been used with no other purpose than to avoid invading the territory of *reason* (=cause)” (ibid.). Hoey also looks at specific deictics³⁸ other than *the*, to investigate if the two senses of *reason* continue to behave consistently with other deictics as well, and finds that while *reason* (=cause) has a clear priming for co-occurrence with demonstrative determinatives (*this, that, the*), *reason* (=rationality, logic) clearly avoids them. Both, however, co-occur with possessive determinatives (i.e. *my, your, our, his, her, its, their, one’s, X’s*), with *reason* (=rationality, logic) co-occurring with them slightly more frequently than *reason* (=cause) does³⁹. Hoey further explores this finding in his investigation of the prediction that *reason* (=rationality, logic) will avoid Theme.

Hoey focuses his examination of the prediction that *reason* (=rationality, logic) will avoid Theme, “except under conditions that [are] clearly distinct from those of *reason* (=cause)” on the one area “where the rarer sense(s) would seem to be uninhibited by the behaviour of the commoner sense” (p. 99). Yet, even in this case, he finds that there is not a single occurrence of *reason* (=rationality, logic) in Theme, while almost half the instances (46%) of the sequence of POSSESSIVE PRONOUN + *reason* (=cause) form part of a sentential or clausal Theme. Hoey, however, further observes that the co-occurrence of *reason* (=cause) with possessive determinatives is (at slightly over 1% of all instances of *reason* in the sense of “cause”) less frequent than might be expected “on the basis of the frequency of the words in the language and the behaviour of the plural [of *reason* (=cause)]” (p. 101), which he finds co-occurs with possessive determinatives in just over 4% of its occurrences. Hoey attributes this finding to the fact that *reasons*, not being polysemous, has no further senses to contend with – unlike *reason* (=cause): “once *reason* (=rationality, logic) is removed from the equation, the frequency increases fourfold proportionally” (ibid.).

The third and fourth predictions, regarding an expectation for *reason* (=rationality, logic) to avoid occurrence as Subject with *BE* and occurrence in the structure PRONOUN/*there* + *BE* + *reason* are straightforwardly confirmed. A handful of lines potentially challenging the claim in each case (slightly over 1% in the first case and just under 1% in the second) bear

³⁸ Using a classification adapted from Halliday (1994: 181) that lists demonstrative determinative, demonstrative interrogative, possessive determinative and possessive interrogative deictics.

³⁹ *Reason* (=rationality, logic) co-occurs with a possessive determinative in just under 5% of its occurrences, while *reason* (=cause) co-occurs with a possessive determinative in just over 1% of its occurrences.

primings characteristic of *reason* (=rationality, logic), which it does not share with *reason* (=cause).

The prediction that *reason* (=rationality, logic) does not co-occur with *no* and *any* –or with any other unspecific deictics, which Hoey also draws into the analysis (p. 96)⁴⁰– is also straightforwardly confirmed. Hoey convincingly argues (pp. 96-97) that the fact that *reason* (=rationality, logic) does not co-occur with *no* and *any* is not the result of the noun being uncountable, but rather the reverse: *reason* (=rationality, logic) is uncountable in order not to impinge on the primings of *reason* (=cause).

Finally, with regard to the prediction that *reason* (=rationality, logic) will not occur after the prepositions *for* and *as*, Hoey (pp. 103-104) indeed finds no occurrences of *as* + *reason* (=rationality, logic) and only seven lines (barely 1%) of *for* + *reason* (=rationality, logic). Of these seven lines, four feature patterns characteristic of *reason* (=rationality, logic), which are not shared by *reason* (=cause), while three feature “a competing collocational priming for *for* by a variety of words” (p. 104), those words being *called*, *stands* and *grateful* all of which collocate with *for*⁴¹.

So, even when it comes to an examination of the apparently more complicated case of *reason* –more complicated than *consequence*, that is–, the first of the “drinking problem” hypotheses is fully supported.

Hoey proceeds with an examination of the second of the “drinking problem” hypotheses –viz. “Where two senses of a word are approximately as common as each other, they will both avoid each other’s collocations, semantic associations and/or colligations”– on the basis of a case study of the word *immunity*, which has two distinct senses, one pertaining to the legal domain (“a situation in which someone is not affected by something such as a law because they have a special job or position”) and one pertaining to the medical domain (“the protection that someone’s body gives them against a particular disease”⁴²). After removing the multi-word lexical items *public interest immunity certificate* (occurring 100 times), *public immunity certificate* and *interest immunity certificate* (together occurring 62 times) “which do not require analysis” (p. 105), he is left with 412 instances of the legal sense of *immunity* compared to 102 instances of the medical sense. He comments:

Add to this the fact that the proportions are certainly distorted by the media’s predilection for stories about political intrigue and we can feel comfortable that the spread permits investigation of the second drinking problem hypothesis.

⁴⁰ Again using a classification of unspecific deictics adapted from Halliday (1994: 182).

⁴¹ *Stands* occurs in the sense of “represents” in which it collocates with *for*: *His image is of a character who stands for reason...*

⁴² Both definitions are provided by Hoey (2005: 105) and were drawn from the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*.

Although Hoey's argumentation here –as elsewhere– is compelling, the relative vagueness of two words being “approximately as common as each other” is perhaps a point of weakness in the “drinking problem” hypotheses. We will return to this issue in Section 3.2.

Having exemplified his methodology in detail in the discussion of *reason*, Hoey chooses to present his findings less extensively, “without consideration of exceptions or detailed statistics” (p. 105). Hoey (p. 106) finds that the collocational patterns of the two senses of *immunity* clearly distinguish between the two: of the 412 instances of “legal” *immunity* 235 co-occur with any of *certificate, prosecution/prosecutor, parliamentary, LIFT*⁴³, *legal, CHARGE, committee, CLAIM, diplomatic, sovereign, Crown*. None of them co-occur with “medical” *immunity*. “Medical” *immunity*, on the other hand, is found to collocate (in a total of 24 of these 102 occurrences) with *NATURAL, infection* and *ACQUIRE*, of which only *acquire* occurs once with “legal” *immunity*.

With the exception of some minor overlap, the two senses are also kept apart in terms of their semantic associations. “Legal” *immunity* is shown to have a semantic association with *GIVE* (e.g. *granted, offered*), *TAKE AWAY* (e.g. *stripped of, cancel, lifted*), *SEEK* (e.g. *claim, seeks*) and *CRIME*⁴⁴. “Medical” *immunity* has a semantic association with *GET* (e.g. *develop, acquired*) and *INCREASE* (e.g. *build up, increases*).

Finally, “legal” *immunity* is characterised by colligating with *from* + NG⁴⁵, with possessives, with classifiers, with a noun head (when “legal” *immunity*) is used as noun modifier. “Medical” *immunity* colligates with *to* + NG. Once again, the two senses only overlap minimally in their colligational behaviour.

So, the two senses “do indeed avoid each other's primings (in the *Guardian*, at least)” (Hoey 2005: 107). Hoey points out that while this is not really surprising in terms of the collocations of the two senses (given how different the two senses are), “it is not obvious in the case of the semantic associations and colligations” (p. 108) – it is worth quoting Hoey more extensively here:

There is no self-evident reason why ‘medical’ *immunity* might not be given, for example by means of a course of treatment, nor any reason why such *immunity* might not be possessed, for example by a lucky patient. Similarly there is no reason why ‘legal’ *immunity* should not be ‘created’. Most strikingly, the very presence of the occasional *from* and *to* following the ‘medical’ and ‘legal’ senses, respectively, is evidence enough that there is no reason for believing that there are grammatical obstacles occurring in such a position with these senses. And yet the two senses for the most part do not stray into each other's colligations.

(p. 109)

⁴³ Lemmas are capitalised.

⁴⁴ Hoey does not provide any examples for semantic associations with *CRIME*.

⁴⁵ I.e. Noun Group.

Hoey further observes (ibid.) that 92% of the lines of “legal” *immunity* feature one or more of the primings listed for it, making the sense in which *immunity* is used immediately recognizable and distinguishable from “medical” *immunity*. “Medical” *immunity* in its turn features at least one of its own characteristic primings in 52% of its instances. These findings thus fully support the second of the “drinking problem” hypotheses.

For the third of the “drinking problem” hypotheses (viz. “Where either (1) or (2) do not apply, the effect will be humour, ambiguity (momentary or permanent), or a new meaning combining the two senses”⁴⁶), Hoey draws vagueness and ambiguity into the discussion. Vagueness, he specifies (p. 110) “occurs when it is unclear what precise meaning can be assigned”. He briefly returns to *reason*, this time to discuss the two closely related yet distinct senses “rationality” and “logic” –which had been conflated for the purpose of investigating the second of the “drinking problem” hypotheses. Hoey (pp. 108-113) finds 455 and 175 instances of *reason* “rationality” and *reason* “logic” respectively in his data, i.e. they are approximately as common as each other. Though Hoey does not explicitly state this, with the two senses being so closely related, should the second of the “drinking problem” hypotheses be found not to apply, the effect would probably be “a new meaning combining the two senses”. Hoey finds that *reason* (=rationality) demonstrates the following primings in his corpus⁴⁷:

- it colligates with possessives in 17% of its occurrences;
- it has a semantic association with LOSS, demonstrated in 12% of its occurrences;
- it collocates with *sweet, human, voices of, voice of, sleep of, told* in 51% of its occurrences.

Reason (=logic) does not demonstrate a single instance of co-occurrence with any of the primings of *reason* (=rationality), and therefore appears to be avoiding the primings of *reason* (=rationality). The reverse, however, is not entirely the case. *Reason* (=logic) has the following primings⁴⁸:

- it shows “a colligational preference for coordination (or other coupling)” (p. 109);
- is shows a colligational aversion to any deictic.

⁴⁶ The effect of humour was aptly illustrated by means of the “drinking problem” joke in *Airplane* which gave rise to the hypotheses of Lexical Priming with respect to polysemy their name: here, the rarer sense (that of a purported physiological disorder) uses a priming associated with the more common sense (that of alcoholism).

⁴⁷ Presented here in reduced form.

⁴⁸ Again, presented here in reduced form.

While *reason* (=rationality), as mentioned, shows a positive colligation for possessive deictics unlike *reason* (logic), it does occur in couplings in 14% of its occurrences. So, it appears not to avoid the primings of *reason* (=logic). Hoey (p. 110) concludes:

The truth is that *reason* (= logic) is recognisable as such when, and only when, one of its regular primings is apparent. Still more so, *reason* (= rationality) is only recognisable as such when one of its primings is present. The fact is that I recognise the 'rationality' meaning in these instances exactly **because** they are accompanied by possessives. If the primings are absent, the distinction between *reason* (= logic) and *reason* (= rationality) disappears.

Hoey then proceeds with a discussion of three instances in his data which give rise to ambiguity (pp. 110-113). He defines ambiguity as follows: "Ambiguity [...] occurs when there are two or more entirely precise meanings assignable to a sentence, and they are different meanings" (p. 110). In one of the instances –featuring the word *reason*– the ambiguity that arises is, as Hoey points out (p. 111), only momentary, and resolved by textual cohesion – Hoey's example is given here in (2):

(2) For George Bush to put the problems down to 'the misguided actions of one man' ignores both the facts and the roots of wider feelings. However, the focus on Saddam does not stop at substituting his personal reasoning for the collective experience of Arab peoples. *There is also considerable speculation as to whether the Iraqi leader shows any reason at all.* From the time Kuwait was invaded the sanity of Saddam began to be questioned. At first it was unclear whether the invective was meant metaphorically or literally ...

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As we saw in the summary of Hoey's analysis of *reason* (=cause) and *reason* (=rationality, logic) above, *reason* (=cause) is primed to occur with the unspecific deictic *any*, which *reason* (=rationality, logic) avoids, while *reason* (=rationality, logic) has a preference for occurrence as Object, which *reason* (=cause) avoids⁴⁹. So, on the basis of primings alone, a reader would have one good reason to understand *reason* as "cause" and an equally good reason to understand it as "rationality, logic". What resolves the situation is the textual cohesion between *reasoning* and *reason* on the one hand, and *reason* and *sanity* on the other, since both *reasoning* and *sanity* encourage an interpretation of *reason* as "rationality, logic".

The second example of ambiguity in Hoey's data is reproduced here as (3):

(3) But Article 7.1(a) of this directive which allows members to retain equality in state pensions also refers to 'the *consequence* thereof for other benefits'.

⁴⁹ The argument here has been slightly reduced compared to Hoey (p. 111), but it has not been altered.

The ambiguity in this instance is mainly brought about by the fact that no clear primings for one or the other sense of *consequence* are present. Hoey observes (p. 112) that there is what he calls “a weak priming” for *consequence* (=importance) to co-occur with *for* (with such a co-occurrence having been attested in 4% of the occurrences of *consequence* in the sense of “importance”) compared to *consequence* (=result) co-occurring with *for* in less than 1% of its occurrences. This would speak in favour of an interpretation of *consequence* as “importance”. On the other hand, the presence of *the* would support an interpretation of *consequence* as “result” (p. 112), since it was found (p. 83) that *consequence* (=importance) “seems never to occur with a specific deictic”. Hoey argues (pp. 111-112) that the main issue in this instance is that *‘the consequence thereof for other benefits’* has been recontextualised, and thus an “absence of information on cohesion and other textual influences [is generated which] means that we are denied crucial, potentially disambiguating, information” (p. 111). On the basis of the legal context and the presence of *the*, Hoey argues in favour of an interpretation of *consequence* as “result”.

The third and final example of ambiguity in Hoey's discussion (pp. 112-113) also features *consequence*:

- (4) His reading of Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary made him briefly an atheist (Boyer beat religion back into him, to lifelong effect), but of more lasting *consequence* was his discovery of twenty-one sonnets by a Wiltshire clergyman called William Lisle Bowles (1762–1850). The sonnets struck Coleridge with the force of revelation ...

It is worth presenting Hoey's full argument with respect to this example, for reasons that will become clear further below. In the context of the four lines in (4), *consequence* appears to have the sense of “importance” for two reasons: one has to do with the presence of *of* before *consequence* (a priming, as we saw, of the “importance” sense); the other has to do with the fact that *consequence* is thematised and without negation. This is of relevance, because Hoey showed (pp. 85-86) that *consequence* (=importance) never occurs as Subject in Theme, but does (though rarely) occur in Theme as Adjunct, in which case it is primed for association with affirmation⁵⁰. In the larger context of the example (here as 5), however, things become a lot less clear:

- (5) The destruction of the Bastille in 1789 **drew from** Coleridge impassioned verse in praise of freedom and ‘glad Liberty’, and the fevered excitement inspired throughout Europe by the early days of the French Revolution **provided** the intellectual climate in which his radical conscience began to form. His reading of Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary **made** him briefly an atheist (Boyer beat religion back into him,

⁵⁰ Otherwise, *consequence* (=importance) is actually primed to be denied; in other words, it has a pragmatic association with DENIAL (cf. pp. 85, 87).

to lifelong **effect**), but of more lasting *consequence* was his discovery of twenty-one sonnets by a Wiltshire clergyman called William Lisle Bowles (1762–1850). The sonnets struck Coleridge with the force of revelation, seeming to him, in their natural use of language and heartfelt expression of personal feeling, unlike anything he had ever read. He made over 40 transcriptions of the sonnets ‘as the best presents I could offer to those who had in any way won my regard’, and in his own poetic experiments of the next few years **found an important model** in the work of the now-forgotten Wiltshire poet.

(p. 112; emphasis original)

Hoey argues that, contrary to what was the case in example (2), “the textual dimension [...] here [...] creates the ambiguity” (p. 113), due to several instances in the text “of the language of cause and effect” (p. 112), which Hoey marks in bold. The one instance of *important* towards the end of the passage which again would support an understanding of *consequence* in the sense of “importance”, cannot be said to sufficiently resolve the ambiguity. As we shall see in later chapters, the polysemous verb *face* can also give rise to ambiguity which, however, often appears to be neither resolvable by means of the textual dimension (at least not in terms of textual collocation, textual semantic association and textual colligation; cf. Hoey 2005) nor created by the textual dimension (as is the case in example 5).

Lexical Priming offers an intriguing new perspective for the study of polysemy. Yet it also opens the floor for questions regarding the theory itself. This thesis is an attempt to tackle some of these questions, which will be stated in the following section.

3. The present research

3.1 Research questions

As we just saw, the formulation of the claims of Lexical Priming regarding polysemy was based on polysemous nouns with two or more abstract senses each (i.e. *consequence*, *reason*, *immunity*). Hoey (2009) examines the word *dry* –looked at mainly in its use as an adjective– and the idiom *dry up* from the perspective of Lexical Priming; there is no mention, however, of the “drinking problem” hypotheses, the purpose of the paper being to discuss advances in lexical semantics within corpus linguistics rather than review the “drinking problem” hypotheses. We also saw above that the formulation of the “drinking problem” hypotheses was based on the examination of polysemous words in a corpus consisting predominantly of *Guardian* texts (cf. footnote 23).

Two questions arise quite naturally, therefore:

1. Are the “drinking problem” hypotheses equally applicable, as they have been stated, when other types of polysemous words are investigated?
2. Could an examination of polysemous words in a different set of texts (i.e. in a different genre) offer any additional insights for the “drinking problem” hypotheses?

These are the questions that lie at the core of this thesis. They have been stated in a reduced form to begin with; however, as the analysis of the data developed, further/more specific research questions arose that will be presented together with the analysis.

3.2 Materials and methods

For the purposes of this piece of research I used the 100,000,000-word *British National Corpus*, World Edition (2001 – henceforth BNC). The BNC is a ‘general’ corpus of British English, “general” referring to the fact that “it is not specifically restricted to any particular subject field, register or genre”⁵¹. It is a ‘sample’ corpus in that the texts it is composed of are “generally no longer than 45,000 words”⁵², something that is linked to copyright issues associated with corpus compilation. And it is a ‘mixed’ corpus in that it contains samples from both written (about 90% of its size) and spoken language (the remaining 10% of its size). The BNC was also compiled as a ‘synchronic’ corpus, containing informative texts from 1975 onwards and imaginative texts from the 1960s onwards, “reflecting their longer ‘shelf-life’ though most (75 per cent) [...] were published no earlier than 1975”⁵³. According to the information provided in the reference guide of the BNC⁵⁴, the selection of texts from the imaginative domain was carried out on the basis of Whitaker’s *Books in Print* (1992), on bestsellers “that appeared in the *Bookseller* at the end of the years 1987 to 1993 inclusive”⁵⁵ as well as bestseller lists obtained from *The Guardian*, the British Council, and from Blackwells Paperback Shop. Lists of literary prize winners, literary prize runners-up and shortlisted titles were also used, “as well as lists of the hundred most issued books and the hundred most issued children’s books, in both cases for the years 1987 to 1993”⁵⁶.

My data were all drawn from a subcorpus from the written component of the *British National Corpus* (BNC), comprising fiction texts (henceforth BNC-fiction). The corpus consists of 432 texts amounting to some 15,000,000 words. The domain of fiction was

⁵¹ http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/URG/BNCdes.html#body.1_div.1_div.4_div.1 (accessed February 2012).

⁵² http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/URG/BNCdes.html#body.1_div.1_div.4_div.1 (accessed February 2012).

⁵³ http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/URG/BNCdes.html#body.1_div.1_div.4_div.1 (accessed February 2012).

⁵⁴ <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/URG/> (accessed February 2012).

⁵⁵ http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/URG/BNCdes.html#body.1_div.1_div.4_div.1 (accessed February 2012).

⁵⁶ http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/URG/BNCdes.html#body.1_div.1_div.4_div.1 (accessed February 2012).

chosen for the following reasons: First and foremost, in order to investigate whether an examination of polysemous words in a genre other than the newspaper genre –on which, as we saw above, the “drinking problem” hypotheses were based– can offer any additional insights for the “drinking problem” hypotheses. Furthermore, as briefly mentioned above, according to Hoey (2005:13) all types of priming “are in the first place constrained by domain and/or genre”. More specifically,

the claims that might be made about a word’s likely primings for a particular set of members of a speech community must be limited to the genre(s) and domain(s) from which the evidence has been drawn. For this reason, indeed, specialised corpora may be more revealing than general corpora about the primings that people may have, since a general corpus may on occasion iron out the primings associated with particular genres or domains.

(Hoey, 2007: 9-10)

There is indeed no reason not to expect that words –or indeed senses of words– will be primed differently depending on the genre they tend to appear in. A study of the primings of the senses of a polysemous lexical item which does not take genres into consideration may yield misleading results in that what might be considered as disambiguating primings might only be primings associated with a sense of a word in a particular genre. Primings which are exclusively associated with a specific genre in which a sense of a word appears, may override any other collocational, colligational, etc. primings this sense of the word might have, because issues of potential ambiguity with other senses might not arise in the genre⁵⁷. The selection of a specialised corpus was therefore deemed essential in attempting to examine the validity of the claims of LP with respect to polysemous words. The BNC was chosen for being the second largest corpus of British English at the time this piece of research was embarked upon, and for not having any accessibility constraints. The BNC subcorpus of imaginative texts was chosen for two reasons that complement each other: First, for its size, as according to the User Reference Guide of the BNC⁵⁸, there is only one domain of informative texts (world affairs) that contains more words –or to be more precise, ‘w-units’⁵⁹. Second, the fact that fiction texts pose little restriction in terms of choice of topic was viewed as considerably raising the chances of the occurrence of multiple senses of a given polysemous item, and therefore as making this piece of research more practicable.

Research began with an examination of the two most frequent senses –both concrete– of the noun *drive* (viz. “journey” and “private road”). As a next step, I chose to look at a polysemous verb, with senses that can be classified along the cline concrete — abstract.

⁵⁷ The connection between collocation and genre/register has also been made by Sinclair (e.g. 1966, 1991) and before him by Firth (1957: 195).

⁵⁸ <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/URG/> (accessed August 2010).

⁵⁹ <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/URG/cdifbase.html#cdifcomp> (accessed August 2010).

There were two main reasons behind this choice: the first was that it was deemed necessary to examine whether the formulation of the claims of Lexical Priming (henceforth LP) with respect to polysemy may have somehow been affected by the grammatical category of the polysemous words examined so far; verb meaning relies considerably on a verb's participants and this might generate new insights –and possible challenges– regarding the claims of LP with respect to polysemy. The second reason related to the classifiability of a word's senses along the concrete–abstract cline, and to the question of in how far the claims of LP –as currently formulated– fully account for such cases of polysemy as well. The verb *face* was chosen for this second case study, for satisfying all requirements, as we shall see in detail in Chapter 4.⁶⁰ It has a concrete use and an abstract use, illustrated by *I do not like coasts that face north* and *I had to face all my problems alone*, respectively⁶¹ and it has uses that appear to merge the two to varying degrees:

- (6) of little consequence." He turned her to **face** him. "If I gave that impression then I ca
 (7) This was yet another of his children to **face** him in defiance in this very kitchen. Jon
 (8) not realise then that Rioja had stayed to **face** the killers. From the hut behind them the

Given the claims of LP regarding polysemy, we would expect (i) that *face* will have primings that clearly distinguish not only between its concrete and abstract uses, but also (ii) that there will be primings that make a distinction among the sub-senses of the concrete, or "directional" use. The reason behind this expectation is that, if a sense distinction is perceivable, there will be something in the context to prompt this perception (cf. Sinclair 1987: 109; Hoey 2005: 81).

In both case studies specific word forms were examined rather than lemmas, as it has been widely acknowledged in corpus linguistic research and lexicographical practice that every word form has its own grammar and its own meanings (cf. Hoey 2005, Moon 1987, Renouf 1986, Sinclair 1991, Stubbs 1996, Tognini-Bonelli 2001)⁶². All concordances were created using the *WordSmith Tools* software (Scott 2004), a sophisticated software which, apart from creating concordances, allows one (among other things) to sort concordances in various ways (e.g. by the first, second, etc., word to the right or left of the 'node' – i.e. the search word), to classify concordance lines using user-defined categories (and later sort the

⁶⁰ Choosing a candidate for this part of the analysis was a tricky matter, as it had to satisfy so many requirements: it had to be a verb, with a concrete and an abstract sense, as well as with uses that straddle both, and it had to be sufficiently frequent in the corpus. A keyword list generated comparing BNC-fiction against the rest of BNC-written featured *face* among the first 120 most frequent words, though it made no distinction between noun and verb. It sparked the idea, however, and a look in the dictionary coupled with a search on word-class tags (cf. Chapter 4, Section 2) confirmed the choice.

⁶¹ Both from BNC-fiction.

⁶² As an aside, the idea in corpus linguistics that every word form will be associated with different patterns pre-empted one of the theoretical issues encountered in discussions of polysemy within other paradigms, namely whether different grammatical categories alone –e.g. *fall* (v.) vs. *fall* (n.)– should preclude polysemy (cf. Section 1 above). Still, this remains a decision that needs to be made for lexicographic purposes.

concordance on the basis of these categories), and –most importantly– to view the original file from which any given concordance line comes from, which means that one has access to the entire text sample from which any given concordance line comes from⁶³. In later stages of the research the upgraded *WordSmith Tools* software (Scott 2008) was used. Due to the polysemous nature of the data, the initial stages of the analysis –relating to the sorting of concordance lines– involved manual analysis. All claims are made on the basis of normalised frequencies and, where needed, concordance contextual analysis⁶⁴ which involved qualitative examination of words in their context⁶⁵.

As we will see in Chapter 3 the second of the “drinking problem” hypotheses proved to be the most relevant one for the data examined there (viz. “Where two senses of a word are approximately as common as each other, they will both avoid each other’s collocations, semantic associations and/or colligations”). However, as alluded in Section 2.2.2 above, the way this hypothesis has been formulated is somewhat problematic. The problem lies in the expression “approximately as common as each other” – this may work on an intuitive level, but is it quantifiable? The ratios with which Hoey (2005) works to test the second of the hypotheses are 4:1 for “legal” *immunity* and “medical” *immunity* and close to 3:1 for *reason* (=logic) and *reason* (=rationality). These are close compared to the 10:1 ratio for *consequence* (=result) vs. *consequence* (=importance) and look even closer compared to the 24:1 ratio for *reason* (=cause) vs. *reason* (=rationality, logic) that Hoey worked with to test the first of the hypotheses. But without such a comparative frame, claims as to senses being “approximately as common as each other” when the ratio is not 1:1 would seem open to attack. For the purposes of the present research, the second of the “drinking problem” hypotheses was taken at face-value, with ratios up to 4:1 (following Hoey 2005) taken to represent senses “approximately as common as each other” to begin with; results, however, are critically discussed. As we will see, issues of a similar nature are also raised in Chapters 4-6 with regard to the first of the priming hypotheses; there, too, the hypothesis was taken at face-value to begin with and critically discussed in the light of the results of the analysis.

3.3 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 3 is devoted to the analysis of the polysemous noun *drive*. The clear colligational preference of both senses to co-occur with an article was taken as the starting point for an examination of characteristic semantic associations and colligations for each of the senses when co-occurring with an article. Chapters 4-6 are all devoted to the polysemous verb *face*,

⁶³ Something that is not the case with most freely-available corpora for copyright reasons, but which proved crucial for the present research, as we will see in later chapters.

⁶⁴ The term ‘concordance contextual analysis’ is found in Hardy & Colombini (2011).

⁶⁵ Concordance contextual analysis proved absolutely necessary in the case of *face*, as we will see in Chapters 4-6.

the complexity of which demanded that the data be grouped according to its different uses and their analysis and discussion covered in three chapters. The considerations involved in grouping the verb's uses are presented and the decisions taken explained at the beginning of Chapter 4. The ensuing qualitative analysis of the data within each group made quantitative observations possible regarding patterns of use for each of the senses. Both chapters conclude with a discussion of the findings. Finally, Chapter 7 discusses the findings together and presents the possibilities for future research generated by the present research.

Chapter 3

The polysemous noun *drive*

1. Introduction

For the purposes of this chapter the focus will be on the second of the claims of Lexical Priming with respect to polysemy –viz. that two similarly common senses of a polysemous lexical item will avoid each other's primings⁶⁶–, testing out the extent to which it is valid with data on the polysemous noun *drive*. The reason for choosing to look at *drive* is that it is a highly polysemous noun about which dictionaries disagree regarding the exact number of its senses⁶⁷.

I focused on the two most frequent senses of *drive* in my BNC-fiction corpus –both concrete–, which also happened to be the first two listed in all dictionaries that were consulted, namely “journey in a car or other vehicle” (*Collins COBUILD English Dictionary*) and “wide piece of hard ground or private road leading from the road to a person’s house” (*Collins COBUILD English Dictionary*)⁶⁸. Their high frequency of occurrence and the consensus of the dictionaries about them was taken as an indication that they must both be common and that an investigation of the second claim of Lexical Priming with regard to polysemy on their basis would therefore be justified.

There were 844 instances of the noun *drive* in a total of 432 fictional texts (i.e. in approximately 15,000,000 words). It was careful manual sorting of 2,009 concordance lines featuring *drive* that yielded only the lines in which the word is a noun. It became immediately obvious that the vast majority of instances of the two most frequent senses of *drive* occurred with an article. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show the proportion of instances occurring with an article, and the distribution of the instances of each sense between the definite and the indefinite article, respectively.

⁶⁶ Following Michael Hoey, I will –for the sake of brevity– sometimes be talking of words or senses of words being primed to co-occur with specific collocations, colligations and semantic associations, but, since “lexical priming is a property of the person” (Hoey, 2007: 9) it is actually the speakers of a language that are primed to associate a particular word or a sense of a word with specific collocations, colligations and semantic associations.

⁶⁷ I checked the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English*, the *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary*, the *Collins English Dictionary*, the *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* and the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*; the number of senses listed varied between seven and thirteen.

⁶⁸ *Drive* (=private road) occurred 47% of the time in my dataset and *drive* (=journey) occurred 26% of the time. The next most frequent sense was *Drive* as it is used in the names of some streets occurring 7% of the time.

Table 3.1. Proportion of instances of *drive* (=journey) and *drive* (=private road) occurring with an article

	Nr of occurrences of <i>drive</i>	Nr of instances occurring with an article	Percentage of instances occurring with an article
<i>Drive</i> (=journey)	223	200	90%
<i>Drive</i> (=private road)	400	381	95%

Table 3.2. Distribution of the instances of each of the two most frequent senses of *drive* between the definite and the indefinite article

	Definite article		Indefinite article	
	Nr of occurrences	%	Nr of occurrences	%
<i>Drive</i> (=journey) 200 occurrences with an article	100	50%	100	50%
<i>Drive</i> (=private road) 381 occurrences with an article	342	90%	39	10%

What was interesting to notice was that while the instances of *drive* (=journey) are equally distributed between co-occurrence with the definite and co-occurrence with the indefinite article, *drive* (=private road) co-occurs 9 times more frequently with the definite than with the indefinite article. This strongly recalls Halliday & James (1993), who posited that grammatical systems can be of either an equi or a skew type, and showed on the basis of a large-scale study on polarity and primary tense that in the case of an equi system “the options [are] equally possible –there being no ‘unmarked term’, in the quantitative sense” (ibid.: 35), while in the case of a skew system “the options [are] skew, one term being unmarked” (ibid.: 35). Indeed they showed that in terms of probabilities equi systems will follow a 0.5 : 0.5 distribution, while skew systems will follow a 0.9 : 0.1 distribution, which we see exactly reflected in Table 3.2. The important difference with respect to Halliday & James (1993) is that it is one and the same grammatical system –that of the definite and indefinite article– which is of an equi type with one set of data (i.e. *drive* in the sense of “journey”), and of a skew type with another set of data (i.e. *drive* in the sense of “private road”); so, while Halliday & James (1993) made a claim about the behaviour of grammatical systems in language generally, my data show that the behaviour of a grammatical system can be influenced by local contextual factors.

In the attempt to determine the primings associated with these two senses of *drive* when they co-occur with an article, I first turned to the types of pre-modification of *drive* that follow the article. I then turned to examine what tends to immediately precede the sequences of DETERMINER + *drive*. Given that 90% of the instances of *drive* (=journey) and 95% of the instances of *drive* (=private road) in my dataset co-occur with a determiner, these two steps in the analysis took the vast majority of my data into consideration.

2. Results and discussion

2.1 Semantic associations of the two main senses of drive

2.1.1 Co-occurrence of *drive* (=journey) with the indefinite article and pre-modification

I started with *drive* (=journey) and its co-occurrence with the indefinite article and had a look at the kinds of words that tend to pre-modify this sense of *drive* when the indefinite article occurs in second and third position to the left of the node (designated N-2 and N-3, respectively), with a view to determining their semantic categories⁶⁹.

There were 70 instances of pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) co-occurring with the indefinite article in 65 lines of my dataset; so, 65% of the co-occurrences of *drive* (=journey) with the indefinite article involved pre-modification, which is a fairly high proportion. Sixty eight of the pre-modifiers of *drive* (=journey) belonged to one of the semantic categories of EVALUATION, DISTANCE / DURATION, DURATION, DISTANCE, TIME-of-DAY, while two expressed PURPOSE.

The instances of pre-modification falling under the semantic category of EVALUATION made up 33% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) when it co-occurs with the indefinite article. I classified under this category pre-modifiers like *fast*, *hot*, *hard*, *nice*, *peaceful*, *romantic*, *interesting* and *uneventful*.

While I encountered pre-modifiers of *drive* (=journey) that I could justifiably allocate to either the semantic category of DISTANCE or to that of DURATION –as we shall see below–, I also encountered instances that could not safely be allocated to either one of these categories, because they were actually covered by both. Such instances involved the adjectives *long*, *longish* and *short*. These, I found, could not simply be categorised as either DISTANCE or DURATION, because a *long/longish/short drive* evokes the notion of DISTANCE

⁶⁹ There were only two instances of the indefinite article occurring further to the left of the node and still structurally related to it and these were:

(1) ...It's a couple of hours' drive from Berlin...
and

(2) ...a one-hundred-and-twenty-odd-mile drive there and back...

I included both in my dataset where the indefinite article occurs at N-2 and N-3, for reasons that will be presented further in the analysis.

just as well as it evokes the notion of DURATION, since in a *long/longish/short drive* under normal circumstances (i.e. with a relatively good car, under normal weather and road conditions) there is a correlation between length of distance and duration of travel. Disambiguation of the precise sense is not relevant in everyday communication; what we are dealing with, therefore, is what Hoey would call a case of 'benign ambiguity' (personal communication). So, instead of allocating these pre-modifiers arbitrarily to either one of the semantic categories of DISTANCE or DURATION I chose to create a new, binary category, the one of DISTANCE / DURATION. This semantic category consists of 21 instances of pre-modification, making up 30% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) when it co-occurs with the indefinite article.

I allocated 16 instances of pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) when it co-occurs with the indefinite article to the semantic category of DURATION. In at least thirteen of these cases the pre-modifier of *drive* (=journey) consists of a combination of QUANTIFICATION + TIME-unit, signalling DURATION. The TIME-unit slot is present in all 16 cases and filled by *hour*('s) (in 11 instances), *minute*('s) (in 3 instances) and *evening*'s (in 1 instance), while there is also an instance of *an easy drive away*, which we will return to further below. QUANTIFICATION is realised by a number in only two cases (*three-hour drive*, *twenty-minute drive*). One instance features *couple of* (*It's a couple of hours' drive from Berlin*), two feature *few* (*only a few minutes' drive away*), and there are two instances of *half* (*half an hour's drive south*; *less than half an hour's drive*). A further three instances of *less than* (*less than an hour's drive*) as well as an instance of *about* (*about an hour's drive*) could presumably be seen as qualifiers rather than quantifiers, yet, since in these cases they are used to qualify quantity, they were also considered as expressions of QUANTIFICATION.

The combination *easy hour's* in the following concordance line

(1) When Stan retired, he settled in Dornoch, the market town of Sutherland, [...] ⁷⁰ within an easy hour's drive of Scourie

also includes a TIME-unit expression and equally pertains to the group of pre-modifiers of *drive* signalling DURATION, because *an easy hour's drive* actually means *a drive to be achieved within an hour*. I also included *an easy drive (away)* –cf. example (2)–in the category of DURATION, by analogy to *an easy hour's drive*. Apart from signalling DURATION, *easy* could also be seen as an expression of QUANTIFICATION, though only by analogy to the other expressions of QUANTIFICATION in the context of QUANTIFICATION + TIME-unit + *drive*.

⁷⁰ Dots in square brackets "[...]" are used throughout to signal the omission of some text.

(2) She lived an easy drive away, near Newbury.

It could be argued that even the remaining of the 16 lines involve QUANTIFICATION, since *an* in these cases could be seen as serving the role of a quantifier along with being an indefinite article. In (3)-(5) *an* actually refers to “any one evening’s/hour’s”:

(3) Hardsmere’s hardly an evening’s drive from Weymouth.

(4) When I discovered it was an hour’s drive I persuaded the colonel to rent me his house

(5) We look forward to an hour’s drive to an appointment

The semantic category of DURATION then, with its 16 members, makes up 23% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) when it co-occurs with the indefinite article.

The pre-modifiers of *drive* (=journey) forming the semantic category DISTANCE all conformed to the pattern NUMBER + MEASURE-of-DISTANCE-unit. Among these was the following line

(6) ...a one-hundred-and-twenty-odd-mile drive there and back...

which features the indefinite article at L7, but can be counted among the instances where the indefinite article occurs at L3, i.e. *hundred-mile*, *six-mile*, etc. It is semantic associations we are dealing with after all, and according to Sinclair (2004: 33) “[t]he criterion of semantic preference implies a loosening of syntactic regimentation”, which, as he points out, in turn means that the strict word-counting on which positional statements can be based may at times not be appropriate⁷¹. There was a total of 5 pre-modifiers of *drive* (=journey) belonging to the category DISTANCE, making up 7% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) when it co-occurs with the indefinite article.

Three concordance lines featured what I classified as TIME-of-DAY units, namely *late-night*, *afternoon* and *evening*, making up 4% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) when it co-occurs with the indefinite article.

Finally, there were two occurrences of *test-drive*. Following Halliday (1985: 164) this is actually a classifier, “indicat[ing] a particular subclass of the thing in question, e.g. *electric trains*, *passenger trains*, *wooden trains*, *toy trains*” – in our case a very particular kind of *drive*, aiming at testing a car before deciding to purchase it, before a car race or prior to

⁷¹ Hoey (2005: 24) points out that “[t]he terms semantic preference and semantic association may be seen as interchangeable”. He prefers the term semantic association to Sinclair’s term semantic preference, in order to avoid confusion, as lexical priming involves “a psychological preference on the part of the language user [and] to talk of both the user and the word having preferences would on occasion lead to confusion” (ibid.: 24). I am following Hoey in his choice of the term semantic association.

reviewing it for a car magazine. Given the common denominator of a *test-drive* serving a very specific purpose, it was allocated to the category PURPOSE.

The above findings can be found in Figure 3.1 for a better overview. The figure shows that, on the basis of my dataset, *drive* (=journey), when preceded by the indefinite article and pre-modification tends to be associated with the semantic categories of EVALUATION, DISTANCE / DURATION and DURATION.

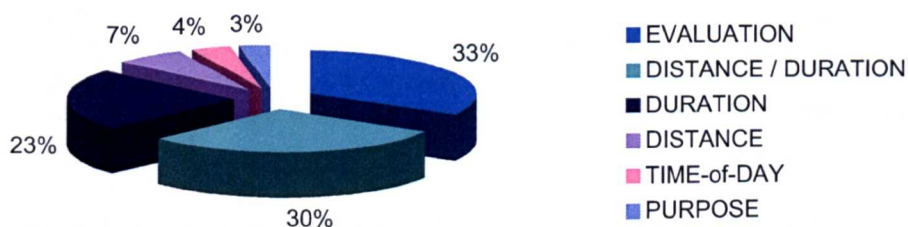


Figure 3.1. Semantic associations of *drive* (=journey) when preceded by *a / an* + pre-modification

Let us now turn to the co-occurrence of *drive* (=journey) with the definite article and see what its semantic associations are in this construction.

2.1.2 Co-occurrence of *drive* (=journey) with the definite article and pre-modification

About one third of the instances of *drive* (=journey) co-occurring with the definite article involved pre-modification. So, in 31 concordance lines there were 33 instances of pre-modification for *drive* (=journey) co-occurring with the definite article, and these were distributed among the semantic categories of DISTANCE / DURATION, EVALUATION, DISTANCE, DURATION, TIME-of-DAY and SHAPE, the last one being the only semantic category of pre-modifiers of *drive* (=journey) that we did not encounter in its co-occurrences with the indefinite article.

The pre-modifiers belonging to the category DISTANCE / DURATION –*long* (occurring 12 times) and *short* (occurring 3 times)– made up 46% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) when it co-occurs with the definite article.

The seven pre-modifiers pertaining to the semantic category EVALUATION made up 21% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) when it co-occurs with the definite article. Four out of these seven pre-modifiers involved two-word combinations the first part of which intensified (as in *most embarrassing*, *most exciting*) or in its turn modified the second part of the combination (as in *horrendously bumpy*, *ill-fated*). One concordance line featured as pre-modifiers the words *slow* and *crawling*:

(7) ...so that he could turn round and make the slow, crawling drive across town to his home...

In this case we have two semantically very similar items, both signalling EVALUATION, the second in some way intensifying, specifying the first. The semantic difference between *slow* and *crawling* could probably be best captured by reference to Martin's notions of inscribed vs. evoked appraisal, as described by Hunston & Thompson (2000: 142):

Inscribed appraisal is explicitly expressed in the text (*a **bright** kid, a **vicious** kid*), whereas with evoked appraisal an evaluative response is projected by reference to events or states which are conventionally prized (*a kid who **reads a lot***) or frowned on (*a kid who **tears the wings off butterflies***).

It could be safely assumed that the examples provided are meant to make the distinction between inscribed and evoked appraisal as clear as possible; given the range of types of appraisal, the notion of moral judgement that is present in the examples provided for evoked appraisal need not be regarded as inherent in the definition of the term. Neither is it essential that inscribed appraisal be made explicit from the meaning of a single word while evoked appraisal should be so implicit that it should be mainly based on our knowledge of the world and its recognised values. So, to turn to our concordance line, *slow* could be seen as an instance of inscribed appraisal, carrying the criterion-based evaluation that the drive across town takes a long time, while *crawling* could be seen as an instance of evoked appraisal, as it carries the connotation of far less than optimal driving conditions, evaluating the situation by commenting on it rather than just describing it. Having made this distinction I nevertheless chose to classify the two pre-modifiers under a single semantic category of EVALUATION, as a distinction within this category proved not to contribute any further insights to the analysis.

The category of DISTANCE involved a total of six instances of pre-modification, making up 18% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) when co-occurring with the definite article. Five of them followed the pattern NUMBER + MEASURE-of-DISTANCE-unit (e.g. *fifteen-mile drive, thirteen-kilometre drive*). One of them, *mile-long*, occurred in the following concordance line

(8) ...On the mile-long drive up to the Abbey...

Here we may have the presence of *long*, the semantics of which –as we saw above– are best mirrored through classification under the binary category of DISTANCE / DURATION, but in this case it is in its turn modified by *mile* which clearly belongs to the category of DISTANCE and

therefore stresses the “distance”-sense of *long* at the expense of its “duration”-sense. Thus, allocation to the semantic category of DISTANCE is sanctioned.

Two concordance lines

(9) ...a small car in which to make the fifteen-minute drive to campus each day...

and

(10) ...the question had tormented him for the whole drive back to Perugia...

featured pre-modifiers of *drive* (=journey) which I classified under the category of DURATION; this semantic category made up 6% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) when it co-occurs with the definite article. One of the pre-modifiers (*the fifteen-minute drive*) follows the pattern QUANTIFICATION + TIME-unit which we already encountered among the pre-modifiers of *drive* (=journey) when it co-occurs with the indefinite article. The other one features *whole* which means “entire” and therefore apparently also signals DURATION. Examination of a concordance for *whole* in my BNC-fiction corpus (4.648 hits) found that *whole* indeed occurs with such nouns that the notion of DURATION becomes relevant in the meaning in some 320 instances, i.e. in one out of fifteen instances; some examples are *afternoon, day, evening, NUMBER + minutes, morning, night, time, years*.

A further semantic category of pre-modifiers of *drive* (=journey) was that of TIME-of-DAY, making up another 6% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) when it co-occurs with the definite article:

(11) ...They didn't speak much during the afternoon drive...

(12) ...the weirdness and the exhaustion of the long night drive up the coast...

Finally, there was a single instance among my set of data for *the* + PRE-MODIFICATION + *drive* (=journey) featuring a pre-modifier from the semantic category of SHAPE, a category which actually occurs greatly more frequently with *drive* in the sense of “private road” as we shall see below:

(13) ...he thought wearily, as he began the curving drive down the east side of the lake...

This instance then represents an apparent challenge to the claim of Lexical Priming with respect to polysemy that is being examined in this paper, namely that two similarly common senses of a polysemous lexical item will avoid each other's' primings. Yet, it is the word *began* that precedes the sequence *the* + PRE-MODIFICATION + *drive* which makes unquestionably clear which sense of *drive* is being talked about and this is precisely what makes this line

interesting. *Began* could only possibly be used with *drive* in the sense of “journey”, as it signals the onset of an action and therefore calls for a noun with an inherent notion of duration to co-occur with. So, in this case, the strong tendency of *drive* (=journey) to be semantically associated with DURATION –something which we will see in the recapitulation below– is present, not in its pre-modifier, but in the verb immediately preceding it. The semantic category of DURATION on the other hand never co-occurs with *drive* (=private road), as we shall see below.

The above findings are presented graphically in Figure 3.2 for a better overview. The figure shows that *drive* (=journey), when preceded by the definite article and pre-modification tends to be associated with the semantic categories of DISTANCE / DURATION, EVALUATION and DISTANCE.

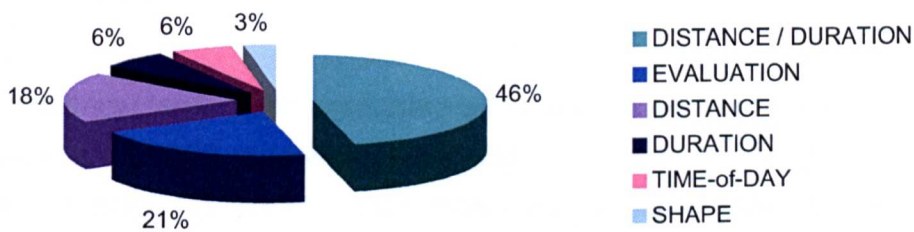


Figure 3.2. Semantic associations of *drive* (=journey) when preceded by *the* + pre-modification

Figure 3.3 overleaf shows in light green the semantic associations of *drive* (=journey) with respect to the lexical items pre-modifying it when it co-occurs with the indefinite article; juxtaposed with these are, in olive, the semantic associations of *drive* (=journey) with respect to the lexical items pre-modifying it when it co-occurs with the definite article.

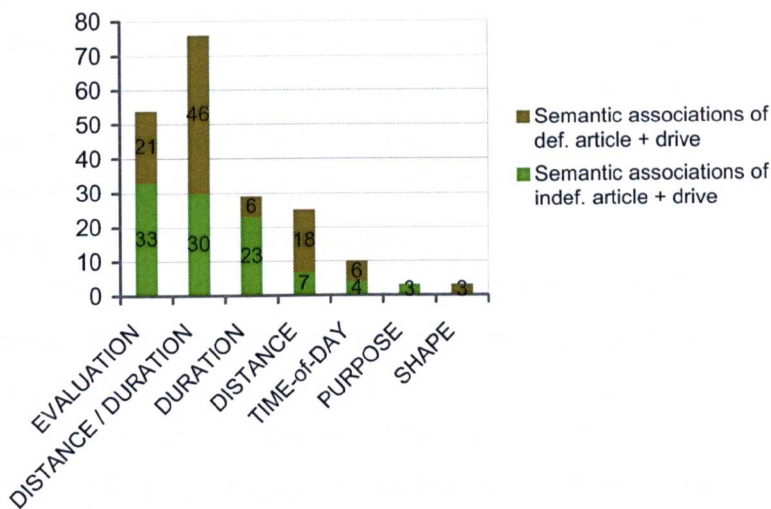


Figure 3.3. Semantic associations of *a/an + drive* (=journey) vs. semantic associations of *the + drive* (=journey)

Drive (=journey) tends to be associated with pre-modifiers from the semantic categories of DISTANCE / DURATION and EVALUATION, while –not unexpectedly, given the presence of the merged category DISTANCE / DURATION– the semantic categories of DISTANCE and DURATION also play an important role. Whether *drive* (=journey) occurs with the definite or the indefinite article does not seem to make any difference in the semantic categories selected for pre-modification.

Let us now turn to *drive* in the sense of “private road”.

2.1.3 Co-occurrence of *drive* (=private road) with the indefinite article and pre-modification

Out of 39 lines of *drive* (=private road) co-occurring with the indefinite article, 30 involved pre-modification, i.e. 77% ⁷². There was a total of 38 pre-modifiers in these 30 lines. Thirty seven of them belonged to one of the semantic categories of SIZE, MATERIAL, SHAPE and ATTRIBUTE, while one pertained to the category PURPOSE⁷³.

The largest semantic category of pre-modifiers of *drive* (=private road) was that of SIZE, making up 37% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) when it co-occurs with

⁷² The very high proportion of lines featuring the indefinite article and involving pre-modification (as opposed to a very low proportion of lines involving pre-modification when *drive* in the sense of “private road” is preceded by the definite article - which we will see below), is anything but counter-intuitive given that the noun is being introduced in the text for the first time.

⁷³ There was one instance of the indefinite article occurring five positions to the left of the node and still structurally related to it:

...They drove in convoy round behind the great house on a sopping weed-infested gravel drive...

This line features three distinct modifiers of *drive* (=private road), the first two falling under the category ATTRIBUTE, the third under the category MATERIAL.

the indefinite article. It consisted of the items *huge* (occurring once), *narrow* (occurring 4 times), *broad* (occurring once), *wide* (occurring 3 times) and *long* (occurring 5 times)⁷⁴.

The next largest semantic category of pre-modifiers of *drive* (=private road) was that of MATERIAL, making up 26% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) when it co-occurs with the indefinite article. This category included members like *concrete*, *gravel / gravelled* (occurring 7 times), *asphalt* and *tarmac*.

The semantic category of SHAPE made up 13% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) when it co-occurs with the indefinite article and included the members *flat*, *curved*, *(semi-)circular* and *winding*.

The semantic category ATTRIBUTE made up 21% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) when it co-occurs with the indefinite article featuring –among others– three members that deserve special attention, namely *grassy*, *dusty* and *stony*. The first two of these pre-modifiers of *drive* (=private road) bear strong similarity to *gravel*, *concrete*, *asphalt*, *tarmac*, which have all been classified as MATERIAL, since my interpretation of these pre-modifiers of *drive* follows the pattern “a drive made of *gravel*, *concrete*, *asphalt*, etc.”. The reason that led me to allocate *grassy* and *dusty* to the category ATTRIBUTE has to do with our general knowledge about drives, according to which it is uncommon that one would deliberately build a *grassy drive* (though one can’t completely avoid grass growing through cracks in the surface of a drive), while it is common that a *drive* is deliberately *concrete*. It belongs to our knowledge of the world that *drives* are made of solid materials just as it belongs to our knowledge of the world that only certain materials are regularly used. The same goes for *dusty*: it belongs to our general knowledge of the world that a drive could hardly be deliberately caused to be dusty. So, the only possible interpretation of these two pre-modifiers of *drive* follows the pattern “drive with *grass* accidentally growing on its surface” and “drive with *dust* scattered on its surface”.

The case of *stony* is more complicated. It was the morphology of this word that led me to think that we might be dealing with a case of a “drive with *stones* scattered on its surface” rather than with the case of a “drive made of *stone*”. To check if this was indeed the case, I looked at a concordance for *stone* and one for *stony* in my BNC-fiction corpus. Setting aside the fact that *stone* occurs nearly twenty times as frequently as *stony* in my set of data, I found that in 92% of the cases where *stone* modified a noun (and where no metaphorical use was intended), this noun denoted an object or a construction deliberately made by human beings, like *arch*, *bench*, *bridge*, *church*, *wall*. This was the case in only 39% of the nouns modified by *stony*. Furthermore, *stony* –but not *stone*– modified nouns such as *beach*, *(river) bed*, *hillside*, *track*, and these nouns denote entities that could hardly be understood as having been “made of *stone*”, but rather as having stones scattered on their surface. On the

⁷⁴ In this case, *long* only refers to one-dimensional space, which is why it was classified under SIZE.

basis of these findings I classified *stony* under the category ATTRIBUTE together with *grassy* and *dusty*.

One concordance line featured a different type of pre-modifier of *drive* (=private road):

(14) ...The path [...] was in fact almost a private **drive** used by the Rector and occasionally by riders cutting across to the Broad...

Once again we are dealing with the case of what Halliday (1985: 164) defined as a classifier, *private drive* being a very particular kind of drive, there being no such thing as a **public drive*, though there is such a thing as a *shared drive*. Again, the notion of “purpose” becomes relevant, a *private drive* serving the purpose of private use. So, this case of a pre-modifier of *drive* (=private road) formed the category PURPOSE.

Figure 3.4 presents the above in an overview. There is a strong tendency of *drive* (=private road) to become associated with a pre-modifier from the semantic category of SIZE when the pre-modifier is preceded by the indefinite article, while the semantic categories of MATERIAL, ATTRIBUTE and SHAPE also seem to play a role that cannot be overlooked.

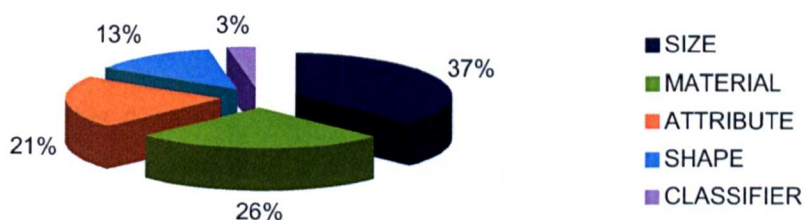


Figure 3.4. Semantic associations of *drive* (=private road) when preceded by *a/an* + pre-modification

Let us now turn to *drive* (=private road) and its pre-modification when it is preceded by the definite article.

2.1.4 Co-occurrence of *drive* (=private road) with the definite article and pre-modification

There were 62 instances of pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) distributed among the semantic categories of MATERIAL, SIZE, ATTRIBUTE, SHAPE, PURPOSE, which we have just encountered in our consideration of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) when this co-occurs with the indefinite article. Three further semantic categories (involving 26 instances of pre-modification) appeared with this dataset, namely ASSOCIATION, POSITION and

POSSESSION. On the whole, about 23% of the instances of *drive* (=private road) co-occurring with the definite article involved pre-modification^{75, 76}.

Of a total of 89 instances of pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) co-occurring with the definite article, 18 belonged to the semantic category MATERIAL, making up 20% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road). *Gravel/gravelled* predominated in this category, occurring 17 times, the other pre-modifier being *stone-chip*. *Gravel* appeared in a two-word combination on three occasions:

(15) ...her tyres squealing on the loose gravel **drive**...

(16) ...she heard Douglas's car draw up on the short gravel **drive**...

(17) ...Their boots crunched loudly on the frozen gravel **drive**...

What is interesting here once again is the major role that our knowledge of the world plays in processing meaning. *Loose gravel* can only be taken as one entity, with *loose* pre-modifying *gravel*, since a *drive* (=private road) cannot be loose, but gravel can be loose in that it is not attached to an underlying layer of material; the combination therefore pertains to the semantic category MATERIAL. The two-word combination *short gravel*, however, makes no sense on its own and therefore both parts of the combination must be seen as modifying *drive* (=private road) separately. Accordingly, *short* was classified under SIZE while *gravel* was classified under MATERIAL. Things get a little more complicated when it comes to *frozen gravel drive*. In this case two interpretations are conceivable, one in which the combination *frozen gravel* modifies *drive* and one in which *frozen* modifies *gravel drive*. In the first case *drive* would have a single modifier pertaining to the category of MATERIAL (*frozen gravel*), while in the second case it would have two modifiers, one from the category ATTRIBUTE (*frozen*) and one from the category MATERIAL (*gravel*). The second interpretation appears far more plausible for the following reason: just as a [*loose gravel*] *drive* (cf. example 15) is a drive which has gravel that is permanently loose, one would expect a [*frozen gravel*] *drive* to be a drive which has gravel that is permanently frozen. While that is perfectly possible in some regions of the world, it is not the case in the text where the line in (17) comes from; there are clues around this line that conclusively point to the action taking place in Vienna, Austria. These contextual clues have been underlined in the following excerpts:

⁷⁵ I.e. 79 out of 342 lines featuring the definite article with *drive* (=private road) involved pre-modification.

⁷⁶ Four instances of the definite article occurring further to the left of the node than L3 and still structurally related to it featured 5 pre-modifiers of *drive* (=private road) falling under the categories of ASSOCIATION (*Rectory*), ATTRIBUTE (*sandy*, *oleander-lined*, *oleander-and-silk-cotton-lined*) and SIZE (*spacious*):

(1) ...the deep, luxurious gravel of the Loxford Old Rectory drive...

(2) ...the sandy, oleander-lined drive...

(3) ...Slowly she walked the oleander-and-silk-cotton-lined drive...

(4) ...His eyes wandered across the spacious lawns and drive...

My interpretation of the last sentence is "the spacious [lawns and drive]", rather than "[the spacious lawns] and [drive]", for if the second case were intended one would expect an explicit repetition of the definite article.

His driver, though no speed merchant, had to be reminded to draw rein as the carriage ahead rumbled into the Stefansplatz, disappearing behind the cathedral as Lefevre's vehicle entered the square.

He expected his quarry to turn left at any moment for Heiligenstadt and the north, but instead it pressed on into a part of the city unfamiliar to him, in or near the Jewish quarter. [...] And here was the waterfront, not of the river, but a grimy offshoot of the Danube Canal, apparently little used, though a couple of moored barges were bumping against the ramshackle wooden pier.

[...] "No name. Just said he was the brother of one of the French officers killed in the brawl in the Leopoldstadt."

[Note: "Leopoldstadt" is the name of what used to be the Jewish quarter in Vienna – cf. a little further up in this excerpt.]

Thus, *frozen* was classified as ATTRIBUTE and *gravel* as MATERIAL.

The category SIZE (involving 19 instances of pre-modification) makes up 21% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) co-occurring with the definite article, and features members like *short* of example (16), along with *long*, *spacious* and *wide*.

The category ATTRIBUTE makes up 16% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) co-occurring with the definite article and involves fourteen instances of pre-modification. Interesting among these are the cases of *gravelly* and *sandy*:

(18) ...she thought dismally as she drove up the gravelly **drive**

(19) ...she leapt back into the jeep and drove up the long gravelly **drive**

(20) ...the sandy, oleander-lined **drive**...

Gravelly, which occurs twice with *drive* (=private road), was classified under this category, as its patterns of co-occurrence resemble those of *stony* which was discussed above; 22 out of a total of 26 non-metaphorical occurrences of *gravelly*⁷⁷ in the entire BNC⁷⁸ (i.e. 85%) modified instances of the following set of nouns: *bank* (of a river), *beach*, *bed/beds* (of a river; of land to grow plants on), *earth*, *floor* (of a river), *desert*, *soil*, *bottom* (of a lake), *plains*, *riverbed*, *shore/shores*, *soils*; for all of these an interpretation involving "gravel scattered on the surface" seems to offer itself readily⁷⁹. *Sandy* was also allocated to the category ATTRIBUTE rather than MATERIAL as, like *stony*, it does not appear to be used to pre-modify nouns denoting an object or a construction deliberately made by human beings. While there were 10 instances in BNC-fiction⁸⁰ of *sand* pre-modifying nouns denoting constructions deliberately built by human beings using sand (e.g. *sand castle(s)*, *sand moulds*), there were

⁷⁷ The two co-occurrences with *drive* (=private road) were excluded for this calculation.

⁷⁸ The entire BNC was drawn upon, as BNC-fiction yielded only 9 instances of *gravelly* used non-metaphorically to pre-modify a noun (in two of which *gravelly* pre-modified *drive*).

⁷⁹ In contrast, only 3% of all non-metaphorical instances of *gravel* (i.e. 291 lines) in my corpus of fiction texts modified nouns from this set, which could be labelled LAND BOTTOM.

⁸⁰ Concordances for *sand* and *sandy* in BNC-fiction yielded comparable datasets: 63 lines in which *sandy* pre-modifies a noun and 77 lines in which *sand* pre-modifies a noun.

none with *sandy* as a pre-modifier. Thus, *sandy drive* in example (20) above is more likely to mean “drive with *sand* scattered on its surface” or “drive made of *sandy* soil”⁸¹ than “drive made of sand”.

The new category ASSOCIATION makes up 11% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) when it co-occurs with the definite article. I included the following lexical items in this category: *factory, hotel, house, rectory, station, vicarage*. All of these modify *drive* signalling “association” for the benefit of access.

Another 11% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) are made up by the semantic category POSITION. This category consisted of the lexical items *front, rear, adjoining* and *main*, the last of which probably is the least obvious item to include in this category. Still, a concordance for *main* in my corpus of fiction texts (which yielded 1,674 concordance lines) and a glance at what immediately follows it showed that in one out of three cases *main* is semantically associated with routes, things that people pass through, the most frequent instances being *road* (occurring 197 times), *street* (127 occurrences), *door* (67 occurrences) and *entrance* (62 occurrences), all of which include the notion of POSITION, to a greater or lesser degree. *Drive* (=private road) is very similar semantically. Besides, *main* implies the existence of (at least one) similar entity which is not main, usually to be found at the sides or at the back of the point of reference; placing *main* in such a perspective again makes it appear strongly positional.

The semantic category of SHAPE (including members such as *curving, semicircular, winding*) makes up 9% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) when it co-occurs with the definite article, while the category POSSESSION which appeared for the first time in the sequence *the* + PRE-MODIFICATION + *drive* (=private road) and follows the pattern *the* + FAMILY NAME + *drive* makes up another 7% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road).

There were three lines featuring pre-modifiers of *drive* (=private road) which I chose to assign to the category PURPOSE (cf. the discussion of *private drive* in Section 2.1.3):

(21) ...slope on the other side to join the carriage **drive** which led them to the stable...

(22) ...the red convertible nipped into the private **drive** to the apartment block...

(23) ...Besides the long access **drive** that climbed into the trees...

These made up almost 4% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) when it co-occurs with the definite article.

Finally, one concordance line, accounting for 1% of the pre-modification of *drive* (=private road) when it co-occurs with the definite article, featured a pre-modifier (*canyon*)

⁸¹ In which case *sandy* would still be an ATTRIBUTE.

which did not fit into any of the semantic categories encountered and was therefore left unclassified:

(24) ...her mother's car as it drove carefully up the twisting canyon **drive**...

While *canyon* could be seen as similar to *factory*, *hotel*, *house*, *rectory*, *station*, *vicarage*, – which were discussed above– in that they all denote “location”, they could not convincingly all be allocated to a common category LOCATION, since *canyon drive* denotes “passing through” while the other 6 modifiers of *drive* denote “access to”.

Figure 3.5 presents the above results in an overview. As was the case with *drive* (=private road) when it co-occurs with the indefinite article, *drive* (=private road) shows a strong tendency to be associated with pre-modifiers that are members of the categories MATERIAL and SIZE when it co-occurs with the definite article.

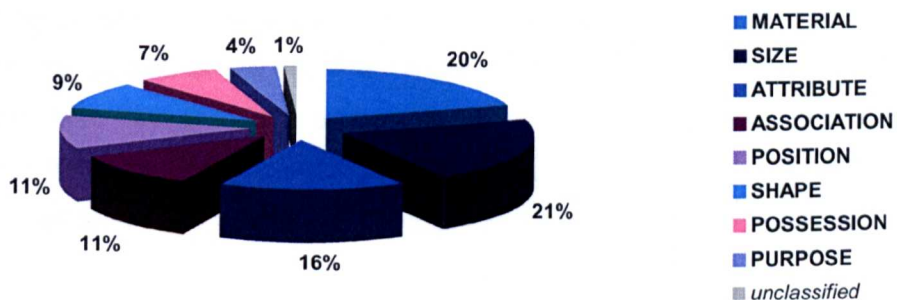


Figure 3.5. Semantic associations of *drive* (=private road) when preceded by *the* + pre-modification

Figure 3.6 overleaf shows in light green the semantic associations of *drive* (=private road) with respect to the lexical items pre-modifying it when it co-occurs with the indefinite article; juxtaposed with these are, in olive, its semantic associations with respect to the lexical items pre-modifying it when it co-occurs with the definite article.

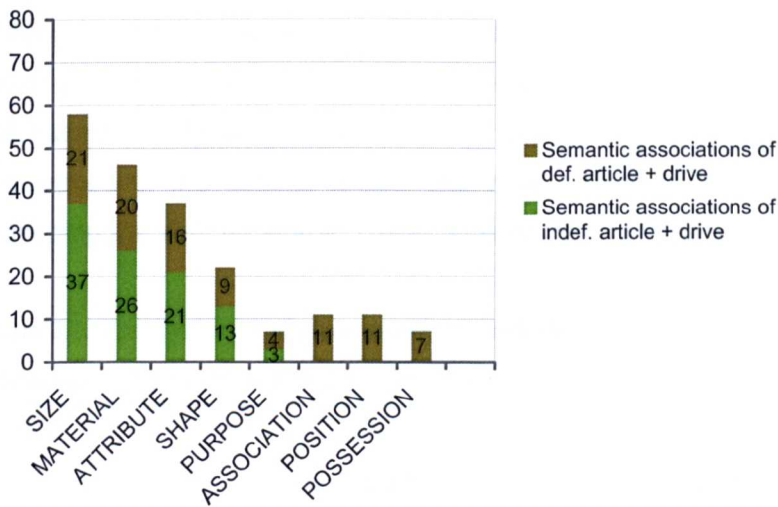


Figure 3.6. Semantic associations of *a/an + drive* (=private road) vs. semantic associations of *the + drive* (=private road)

The above figure shows at one glance that *drive* (private road), regardless of whether it is preceded by the definite or the indefinite article, tends to be associated pre-dominantly with pre-modifiers from the semantic categories of SIZE and MATERIAL, while the semantic categories of ATTRIBUTE and SHAPE also offer themselves for pre-modification. Let us now turn to see what tends to immediately precede the sequence of DETERMINER + *drive*.

2.2 Some colligational primings of the two main senses of drive

2.2.1 Drive (=journey)

As we saw in Table 3.1, 90% of all instances of *drive* (=journey) in the BNC-fiction corpus co-occur with a determiner (i.e. 200 out of 223 lines). Half of these feature the indefinite article, while the other half feature the definite article (cf. Table 3.2). Turning to look at what immediately precedes the sequence of DETERMINER + *drive*, we find that in those lines where *drive* (=journey) co-occurs with the indefinite article in a contiguous sequence (i.e. in 35 lines), the indefinite article is immediately preceded by a preposition in almost 49% of the lines (i.e. in 17 out of 35 lines). When the sequence of the indefinite article with *drive* (=journey) involves pre-modification, the indefinite article is immediately preceded by a preposition in 37% of the lines (i.e. in 24 out of 65 lines). So, 41% of the entire⁸² dataset of *drive* (=journey) co-occurring with the indefinite article features a preposition immediately preceding the sequence.

This pattern is even strong when the preceding article is definite: When *drive* (=journey) co-occurs in a contiguous sequence with the definite article (i.e. in 69 lines), the latter is

⁸² I.e. with and without pre-modification taken together.

immediately preceded by a preposition in 55% of the lines under examination (i.e. in 38 out of 69 lines). When the sequence involves pre-modification of *drive* (=journey) by one or more words (i.e. in 31 lines), the definite article is immediately preceded by a preposition in 65% of the cases (i.e. in 20 out of 31 lines). So, 58% of the total of 100 lines featuring a co-occurrence of the definite article with *drive* (=journey) involves a preposition immediately preceding the definite article. These findings can be seen in an overview in Table 3.3 below:

Table 3.3. The presence of prepositions immediately before the sequences –contiguous or not– of a *drive* (=journey) and *the drive* (=journey)

Sequences	Percentage of prepositions immediately preceding the sequence	Total
PREP. + <i>a</i> + <i>drive</i>	17%	41%
PREP. + <i>a</i> + pre-mod. + <i>drive</i>	24%	
<i>drive</i> (=journey)		
PREP. + <i>the</i> + <i>drive</i>	38%	58%
PREP. + <i>the</i> + pre-mod. + <i>drive</i>	20%	

An examination of what tends to immediately precede a determiner that is intimately related with *drive* (=private road) showed that there are interesting differences in the colligational patterns of the two senses of *drive*, as we shall see in Section 2.2.2.

2.2.2 *Drive* (=private road)

As we saw in Table 3.2, out of a total of 381 lines of *drive* in the sense of “private road” co-occurring with a determiner, only 39 (i.e. 10%) feature the indefinite article. In nine lines thereof the indefinite article immediately precedes *drive*, i.e. no pre-modification of the noun is involved. In eight out of these nine lines the indefinite article is immediately preceded by a preposition. In one line the preposition is further away, but its repetition is implied by the conjunction *and*:

(25) ...they passed an estancia with stables and a **drive** flanked by poplars...

From the context of this line it becomes clear that the *drive* belongs to the estancia, so that an analysis of the above sentence as “they passed an estancia with stables and they passed a *drive*” would not render the meaning of the sentence correctly; the *drive*, just like the

stables, belongs to the estancia, and the intimate relationship of the preposition *with* with the word *drive* is established by its implied repetition through the conjunction *and*. So, actually, in all 9 instances a preposition immediately precedes the indefinite article. Therefore, it becomes an important matter to determine the possible effect of the contiguity of the sequence of the indefinite article and *drive* (=private road) on what tends to immediately precede the indefinite article.

A look at the 30 lines in my dataset which feature a co-occurrence of the indefinite article with *drive* (=private road) and involve pre-modification revealed, however, that in 57% of the cases (i.e. in 17 of the lines) a preposition immediately precedes the indefinite article, which is still a fairly high percentage. So, in 67% of all 39 lines in my corpus featuring a co-occurrence of *drive* (=private road) with the indefinite article, the sequence is immediately preceded by a preposition.

Ninety per cent of the lines of *drive* (=private road) co-occurring with a determiner in my corpus feature the definite article (i.e. 342 lines). What was striking with this set of data was that the position of the definite article with respect to *drive* (i.e. whether the sequence was contiguous or involved pre-modification by one or more words) hardly makes any difference as to what immediately precedes the definite article; the definite article is immediately preceded by a preposition in 90% of the occurrences of the contiguous sequence *the drive*, while it is immediately preceded by a preposition in 85% of the lines where pre-modification is involved. So, focusing on the total of the co-occurrences of *drive* (=private road) with the definite article, the latter is immediately preceded by a preposition in 89% of the lines in question. The above can be seen in an overview in Table 3.4:

Table 3.4. The presence of prepositions immediately before the sequences –contiguous or not– of *a drive* (=private road) and *the drive* (=private road)

	Sequences	Percentage of prepositions immediately preceding the sequence	Total
<i>drive</i> (=private road)	PREP. + <i>a</i> + <i>drive</i>	23%	67%
	PREP. + <i>a</i> + pre-mod. + <i>drive</i>	44%	
	PREP. + <i>the</i> + <i>drive</i>	69%	89%
	PREP. + <i>the</i> + pre-mod. + <i>drive</i>	20%	

The question naturally arising from the above observations is whether the greater colligational preference for occurrence within prepositional structures that *drive* (=private road) shows in comparison to *drive* (=journey), relate to its semantics of location. Related to this is the question of whether the patterns demonstrated by either of these two main senses of *drive* reflect a tendency which is generally present in the language of the genre of fiction.

To take the second question first, a look at what tends to immediately precede the indefinite and definite article in the BNC-fiction corpus shows that the patterns of co-occurrence of *drive* (=journey), which were presented in Table 3.3 above, appear to follow a general tendency in the genre of fiction – at least as far as one agrees that this is sufficiently represented in the BNC. Indeed, in my corpus of fiction texts, the indefinite article is immediately preceded by a preposition in 33% of its occurrences, while the definite article is immediately preceded by a preposition in 52% of its occurrences (cf. Table 3.5) – figures which closely resemble those of *drive* (=journey).

Table 3.5. The presence of prepositions immediately before the indefinite and the definite article in the BNC-fiction corpus⁸³

Sample	Sequences	Percentage of prepositions immediately preceding the article
All 432 BNC fiction prose text files	PREP. + <i>a</i> / <i>an</i>	33%
	PREP. + <i>the</i>	52%

⁸³ In contrast to Tables 3.3 and 3.4, this table does not present information on the presence or absence of pre-modification for reasons of practicability, as there were 131,496 instances of *a/an* and 430,919 instances of *the* respectively that were preceded by a preposition.

The patterns of *drive* (=private road) when it co-occurs with a determiner, on the other hand, demonstrate a particularly strong presence of prepositions immediately preceding the determiners, which would not be expected on the basis of what tends to be the case in the corpus of BNC fiction texts, and which therefore could be attributed to its semantics.

In order to check the validity of this hypothesis I turned to a group of co-hyponyms of *drive* (=private road) and examined their co-occurrence with the indefinite and the definite article, in order to see what tends to immediately precede these sequences. The nouns that I looked at were *road*, *street*, *alley*, *lane* and *avenue*.

2.2.2.1 Road, street, alley, lane and avenue. For each of these nouns I made a concordance in the BNC-fiction corpus. I then looked at the co-occurrence of each with the definite and the indefinite article, focusing on what immediately preceded the article⁸⁴. I considered contiguous sequences of the definite or indefinite article with each of the nouns, as well as sequences of the indefinite or definite article with each of these nouns where single-word pre-modification was involved⁸⁵. I looked at contiguous and non-contiguous sequences separately for purely practical reasons, then proceeded to collapse the results that these sequences yielded for each of the two determiners when they co-occurred with each of the nouns, just as I had done for each of the main senses of *drive*. I chose not to look at instances where the determiner occurred further to the left of the node (i.e. where pre-modification of more than a single word was involved) for reasons of practicability. Furthermore, the nature of my investigation did not necessitate a comprehensive coverage of all relevant data, as long as all nouns were handled in the same way⁸⁶.

What I found was that in the case of the nouns *street*, *lane* and *alley* the presence of prepositions immediately preceding the determiner is considerably higher than the presence of prepositions immediately preceding the definite and indefinite article in the BNC-fiction corpus; at the same time, it is very similar to that found immediately preceding the sequence of a determiner with *drive* (=private road) (cf. Table 3.6 below). Specifically, I found that the sequence of the indefinite article and the noun *street* is immediately preceded by a preposition in 75% of its occurrences, and that the sequence of the definite article and this noun is immediately preceded by a preposition in 87% of its occurrences. In its co-occurrence with *lane*, the indefinite article is immediately preceded by a preposition in 71% of the dataset, and the definite article is immediately preceded by a preposition in 86% of the

⁸⁴ Care was taken to confirm that in all sequences of a determiner and any of the nouns *road*, *street*, *alley*, *lane* and *avenue*, the determiner was indeed structurally related with the nouns in question; those lines where the nouns in question functioned as pre-modifiers for a further noun were not taken into account.

⁸⁵ Where pre-modification was involved I looked at both forms of the indefinite article, *a* and *an*.

⁸⁶ A caveat is in order here: the data were considered without prior removal of any metaphorical uses of the nouns in question. Although a quick glance at the concordances confirms that the vast majority of instances were indeed literal, and it was therefore unlikely that the results were significantly skewed, it would have been preferable to have considered only the literal uses, since all instances of *drive* (=private road) are in a literal sense.

dataset. Finally, the sequence *an (a/an...) alley* is immediately preceded by a preposition in 75% of its occurrences, and the sequence *the (...) alley* is immediately preceded by a preposition in 85% of its occurrences.

Table 3.6. The presence of prepositions immediately before the sequences –contiguous or not– of the definite and the indefinite article with each of the nouns *street*, *lane*, *alley*, *road*, *avenue* and *drive* (=private road)

Sequences	Percentage of prepositions immediately preceding the sequence
PREP. + <i>a (a/an...) street</i>	75%
PREP. + <i>the (...) street</i>	87%
PREP. + <i>a (a/an...) lane</i>	71%
PREP. + <i>the (...) lane</i>	86%
PREP. + <i>an (a/an...) alley</i>	75%
PREP. + <i>the (...) alley</i>	85%
PREP. + <i>a (a/an...) road</i>	52%* / 64%**
PREP. + <i>the (...) road</i>	78%
PREP. + <i>an (a/an...) avenue</i>	52%* / 61%**
PREP. + <i>the (...) avenue</i>	83%
PREP. + <i>a (a/an...) drive</i>	67%
PREP. + <i>the (...) + drive</i>	89%

Note. * When all sequences are taken into account.

** When those sequences involving *there BE a / PRONOUN BE a* are excluded from the calculations.

As the figures in Table 3.6 indicate, the cases of *road* and *avenue* were not quite as clear-cut. While their co-occurrence with the definite article features a preposition immediately preceding the definite article in 78% and 83% of their occurrences respectively –which followed the patterns demonstrated by the other members of the semantic set–, they both feature a preposition immediately preceding their co-occurrence with the indefinite article in just 52% of their occurrences. Still, a closer look revealed that there are recurrent structures with these two nouns, that account for use without a preposition, namely *there BE a* and *PRONOUN BE a*, as illustrated by the following lines:

(26) ...There was a **road** on the other side...

(27) ...It was a **road** on the way up...

(28) ...It was a straight **road**...

(29) ...There was a beautiful **avenue** of mimosas...

(30) ...it will be an **avenue** [of trees]...

Once these structures are excluded from my calculations, the presence of prepositions immediately preceding the sequences of *a (a/an...) road* and *an (a/an...) avenue* rises to 64% and 61% respectively, and is therefore about twice as strong as would be expected on the basis of what tends to be the case in the BNC-fiction corpus (cf. Table 3.6).

It would be perfectly legitimate to have a closer look at the concordances for the other co-hyponyms of *drive* (=private road) considered here, in order to trace any further *there BE a* and *PRONOUN BE a* structures and exclude them from the calculations; this could potentially lead to a further statistical increase in the presence of prepositions in the sequences examined, but as this would hardly contribute any further insights to the analysis, applying this procedure was not considered necessary.

To conclude, the co-hyponyms of *drive* (=private road) examined in this paragraph all show striking similarities with *drive* (=private road) in terms of their colligational preferences as regards the sequence DETERMINER + (*pre-modification*) + Y, where Y is one of *drive* (=private road), *street*, *alley*, *lane*, *road* and *avenue*, as there appears to be a priming for the sequence to be immediately preceded by a preposition. This finding is perhaps not surprising given the semantics of location of this set of nouns.

3. Conclusion

It appears to be the case, therefore, that the semantic associations of *drive* (=journey) involve predominantly the categories of DISTANCE / DURATION and EVALUATION, while the categories of DISTANCE and DURATION separately also play an important role. At the same time, the semantic associations of *drive* (=private road) involve predominantly the categories of SIZE and MATERIAL, while the semantic categories of ATTRIBUTE and SHAPE also offer themselves for its pre-modification. So, the main categories that these two senses of *drive* draw their semantic associations from are, indeed, distinct.

There was, however, one apparent challenge to the claim examined here and this was presented by the semantic category of PURPOSE, which therefore merits a closer look. The presence of this semantic category in the pre-modification of the two senses of *drive* is weak, in proportion to the other semantic categories, yet it is equally strong for the two senses⁸⁷. A closer look at this category, however, shows that the way it is realised is not shared by the two senses of *drive*. We encountered *private*, *access* and *carriage* with *drive* (=private road) and *test* with *drive* (=journey); concordances for these words in the entire BNC⁸⁸ showed that

⁸⁷ 7% for *drive* (=private road), 3% for *drive* (=journey), but granted that there was a nearly 2:1 distribution of the two senses in my corpus in the total of their occurrences as well as in their occurrences with an article, the presence of the semantic category PURPOSE is equally strong for both.

⁸⁸ Only those lines that did not have fiction texts as their source were considered.

whenever they co-occur with *drive*, the latter is always in the sense we encountered them with in the BNC-fiction corpus. This finding weakens the challenge considerably, so that it can be safely concluded that the above analysis offers supportive evidence for the second claim of Lexical Priming with respect to polysemy.

Furthermore, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that when *drive* (=private road) co-occurs with a determiner, the sequence is primed to be immediately preceded by a preposition. This evidence of a colligational priming also offers support for the second claim of Lexical Priming with respect to polysemy, if only on the level of language production. For, as sequences of a determiner with *drive* (=journey) also feature prepositions immediately preceding the determiner –though by no means to such a striking extent as *drive* (=private road) does–, a close examination of the prepositions co-occurring with each of the two main senses of *drive* would be necessary in order to establish in how far there is overlap in the prepositions used with the two senses, before one can make claims as to whether the observed priming for *drive* (=private road) might also apply to language processing; for only if different prepositions are used with each of the two senses, could the colligational priming that *drive* (=private road) demonstrates with respect to language production also be a priming relating to language processing, functioning as a signal for the hearer/reader as to the intended sense of *drive*. A cursory examination of the prepositions preceding the sequence of determiner + *drive* suggests that the prepositions *across, along, before, by, down, in, into, near, off, onto, outside, over, round, towards* and *up* appear to co-occur exclusively with *drive* (=private road), while the prepositions *about, after, during, for, than, throughout, under* and *within* appear to co-occur exclusively with *drive* (=journey). Yet the two senses of *drive* also demonstrated overlap in five prepositions (*from, of, on, to, with*). A question to be answered in future work, therefore, would be whether what precedes the preposition is in some way restricted to one or the other sense of *drive*.

Chapter 4

The polysemous verb *face* I

Non-visual use

1. Introduction

As has already been mentioned in the previous chapters, so far the LP claims regarding polysemy have been based mainly on nouns with multiple abstract senses (i.e. *consequence, reason, immunity*) on the one hand, and on the word *dry* looked at mainly in its use as an adjective, on the other. An examination of the two most frequent senses –both concrete– of the noun *drive*, in a subcorpus drawn from the BNC and comprising fiction texts (BNC-fiction), fully supported the findings of LP regarding polysemy, as we saw in Chapter 3 (see also Tsiamita 2009).

As a next step, I chose to also look at a polysemous verb, with senses that can be classified along the cline concrete – abstract. There were two main reasons behind this choice: the first was that it was deemed necessary to examine whether the formulation of the claims of LP with respect to polysemy may have somehow been affected by the grammatical category of the polysemous words examined so far; verb meaning relies considerably on a verb's participants and this might generate new insights –and possible challenges– regarding the claims of LP with respect to polysemy. The second reason related to the classifiability of a word's senses along the concrete–abstract cline, and to the question of in how far the claims of LP –as currently formulated– fully account for such cases of polysemy as well.

The verb *face* has a concrete use, illustrated by concordance lines (1)-(4), and an abstract use, illustrated by concordance lines (5)-(8):

(1) itional in China for those in authority to **face** south when giving an audience. So we face
(2) rning without demur as Maggie moved her to **face** the house. She went back as she had come,
(3) up in the morning, step out of my caravan, **face** the ocean and do my exercises, followed b
(4) ike the village. I do not like coasts that **face** north. On my last day I had a boatman tak

(5) ng to blackmail me to leave the company or **face** a false charge of fraud, and I knew so mu
(6) they knew that it was a trauma she had to **face**. After nearly five minutes, Louise starte
(7) somehow to prevent it recurring, she must **face** again the memory of that afternoon nearly
(8) needed to when I was a teenager. I had to **face** all my problems alone. She'd let me get h

The concrete, or "directional", use usually involves –very roughly– a person looking at a concrete entity or in a particular direction. Cases as in example (4) above are also encountered with this use of *face* and are only slightly different in that they involve a metaphor often used with *face*, whereby very specific animate features (i.e. a face, eyes) are

attributed to something inanimate (i.e. *coasts*) which is then construed as looking at a concrete entity or in a particular direction, viz. as having a specific orientation (*north* in the example).

The abstract, or “confrontational”, use usually involves –again, very roughly– a person having to deal with abstract entities like *a false charge, a trauma, the memory* (of an afternoon involving an accident), *problems*. In such cases the metaphor is of a different kind, as we shall see in detail further below; here, it is about a person “seeing” not in a physical but in a metaphorical way, i.e. acknowledging something unpleasant.

The “directional” use of *face*, however, appears to have subcategories. Apart from instances that have a purely directional meaning, as in (1)-(4) above, there are also instances which intuitively have an additional level of meaning, as examples (9)-(17) illustrate:

(9) initial surprise at Angel One's turning to **face** them, was further compounded by his screech
(10) outraged by these reinforcements, turned to **face** his enemy. Sharpe slowed to a walk and did
(11) not realise then that Rioja had stayed to **face** the killers. From the hut behind them the

(12) ?" All humour had vanished as he turned to **face** her, dropping her key on to the stand beside
(13) ." This was yet another of his children to **face** him in defiance in this very kitchen. Jon
(14) e words had her twisting round in shock to **face** him. "I - I'm going home! she stuttered,

(15) my nearest and dearest." She had turned to **face** him. There was neither vehemence in her voice
(16) e of little consequence." He turned her to **face** him. "If I gave that impression then I caught
(17) ngine, then turned in the driving seat to **face** Vologsky. "Do you know how and why your p

In lines (9)-(11)⁸⁹, the focus in the use of *face* is less on the positional orientation of the characters and more on the sense of confrontation involved, which however automatically involves physically looking at someone or something, as the very etymology of “confrontation” implies. Lines (12)-(14) also appear to involve some friction in the relations between those present in the situation, though certainly not as strong as in (9)-(11). Finally, examples (15)-(17) involve two people talking to each other. Our daily experience of interaction with human beings in our western culture has taught us to expect that in such a context the interlocutors will by default also be looking at each other –or at least be face-to-face, so that establishing eye-contact would be a matter of split seconds. Yet in examples (15)-(17) there is apparently something in the situation that makes an explicit mention of one character’s positioning with respect to another particularly interesting or important – otherwise it would not be worth mentioning. One could argue that in (17) the default expectation of eye-contact is overridden by the circumstances, as the scene takes place in a car and driving requires that the driver’s attention –and therefore eyes– be on the road. But

⁸⁹ The extended context of the line in (9) is: “But, pitted against them [sic] mainly fanged attack of dogs, no matter how ferocious, his own superbly trained body possessed superior weapons in the form of brain, hands and feet. The dogs' initial surprise at Angel One's turning to **face** them, was further compounded by his screaming kung-fu attack cry, and his sudden leap high to his right.”

then why should this situational default expectation be overridden through an explicit mention of the driver's shift of attention from the road to their front-seat passenger? Through this choice alone it appears, the author wishes to signal that something of particular interest is taking place in the situation. (Indeed, what happens in (17) is that the driver actually pulls over in order to be able to devote his full attention to his interlocutor.)

Given the above discussion and the claims of LP regarding polysemy, we would expect (i) that *face* will have primings that clearly distinguish not only between its concrete and abstract uses, but also (ii) that there will be primings that make a distinction among the sub-senses of the concrete, or "directional" use. The reason behind this expectation is that, if a sense distinction is perceivable, there will be something in the context to prompt this perception (cf. Sinclair 1987: 109; Hoey 2005: 81).

2. Methodology

For the purposes of my analysis I looked at all instances of the base form of the verb *face* in a corpus of fiction texts comprising approximately 15,000,000 words, extracted from the BNC. The base form of the verb *face* was selected, rather than any other form of the verb, because it had the greatest number of occurrences compared to the verb's other forms; while there were 1,194 instances of *face*⁹⁰ there were only 14 instances of *faces*, 593 instances of *faced* and 602 instances of *facing*⁹¹. It was further important to look only at one form of the verb at a time, as it has been widely acknowledged in corpus linguistic research and lexicographical practice that every word form has its own grammar and its own meanings (cf. Renouf 1986, Sinclair 1991, Stubbs 1996, Tognini-Bonelli 2001) – as we already mentioned in a previous chapter. Since an initial concordance of *face* in my BNC-fiction corpus yielded no less than 18,244 hits, with the nominal uses of the word clearly making up the greatest part of the concordance, I proceeded to make a search on word-class tags using a part-of-speech command to locate only the verb uses of the word. This search yielded 1,595 hits, yet a closer look showed that many occurrences of *face* as a noun were still present, some as hard to detect as (18) below:

(18) , vi." "Right then, face ache, I'd better go and give my little friend the bad news." Her Careful manual sifting of the lines resulted in 1,192 instances of *face* as a verb.

In making a search for a word-class tag there is, however, always the possibility that a use of a word in a specific sense might have been consistently tagged erroneously by the tagging software as belonging to a different grammatical class. In order to eliminate the risk

⁹⁰ Excluding all phrasal verb uses of *face*.

⁹¹ These counts do not include lines in which *face*, *faces* and *facing* were not used as verbs.

of missing out on a sense of the verb *face* due to special circumstances in its immediate surroundings that might have misled the tagging software, I checked two random selections of 1,000 lines for the word *face* looking for instances where it might have been erroneously accorded a grammatical category other than verb. I did find two, one for each set, that had been missed –and subsequently added them to my concordance for the verb *face*, bringing my dataset to a total of 1,194 lines; these two lines, however, did not portray a different sense to those already represented by my concordance of 1,192 lines.

The natural next step was to classify the 1,194 concordance lines according to the concrete, “directional”, and abstract, “confrontational”, sense and then to proceed with a classification of concordance lines according to their participants, semantic associations, grammatical patterns, etc. in order to examine the validity of the above-mentioned expectations regarding the primings of *face*. As has been briefly mentioned above and will be shown in detail below, some clear patterns emerged for the two main senses, and this eventually gave rise to concerns about potential circularity; yet, to borrow the words of Sinclair (1987:109), “[o]f course, it is not possible to say how far the pattern subliminally influenced the sorting process; certainly it was not usually done consciously, and the emergence of a pattern was often a pleasant surprise”.

One rather straightforward observation that emerged from the preoccupation with the lines was that the concrete or “directional” use of *face* was a visual use, while the abstract or “confrontational” use was a non-visual one. Following this observation, it was deemed helpful to adopt the terms ‘visual’ and ‘non-visual’ for the two main uses of *face*, being more descriptively neutral than the initial distinction between ‘concrete’/‘directional’ and ‘abstract’/‘confrontational’, and therefore less likely to incur bias in the process of classifying the lines.

The ensuing classification yielded 469 lines of non-visual use of the verb (in their vast majority reflecting the purely confrontational sense of *face*) and 724 lines of visual use. One line among the 1,194 was left unclassified, reproduced here together with its extended context:

(19) He stared down at his knees, then stretched his legs out and gazed at his calves and feet. what a load of rubbish, he thought. Skin white, no moisture, hairs black, no glow, bones big, no beauty. Ugh. Better to be drugged than have to face it. My feet look like discarded lumps of sponge. Horrible hairs on them, even.

In this case it is unclear whether *face* is being employed in its visual (directional) or non-visual (confrontational) use, as *it* could be interpreted either as referring to the immediately preceding visual description (i.e. *Skin white, no moisture, hairs black, no glow, bones big, no beauty*) or as having cataphoric reference and picking up on the evaluation that follows: *my feet look like discarded lumps of sponge*. This appears then to be an instance of what Hoey calls ‘benign ambiguity’ (personal communication), whereby “[r]ather than allocate such

instances to one or the other sense, it seems better to say that such usages draw on both senses. This is not a contradiction of the drinking problem hypotheses, but a recognition that vagueness is sometimes sought after rather than avoided in language” (2005: 109).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, *face* proved so complex that the presentation and discussion of its analysis will be covered in three chapters. The present chapter will focus on the non-visual use of *face* (comprising 469 lines), while Chapters 5 and 6 will cover the visual uses of *face* (comprising 724 lines). In Chapter 5 and especially, as we will see, in Chapter 6 the focus will be particularly on whether there are any linguistic features, i.e. primings, that enable readers to clearly recognise –and distinguish between– levels of meaning in addition to the core meaning of “directionality” in the visual uses of *face*.

3. Results and analysis: The non-visual use of *face*

This section reports on the findings of the analysis of the non-visual use of *face* in BNC-fiction. Each of the following subsections presents a pattern characteristic of the verb in its non-visual use. As already mentioned, in 469 lines in my data (i.e. in approx. 40% of my data) *face* is used in a non-visual way. As we will see from the evidence presented in the following subsections, in 94% of *face* in its non-visual use, the verb appears to be associated with a meaning of confrontation.

3.1 Expressions of compulsion/obligation

In one out of four lines featuring *face* in its non-visual use, there is an expression of compulsion or obligation. Table 4.1 lists these expressions and their frequencies in raw numbers and as a percentage of the “compulsion/obligation” markers, while the last column shows how much of the non-visual use of *face* each covers. Sections 3.1.1 to 3.1.5 briefly discuss each of these expressions of compulsion/obligation.

Table 4.1. Expressions of compulsion/obligation with non-visual *face*, and their frequencies

	Frequency in raw numbers	Frequency in % of compulsion/obligation markers	% of entire dataset of non-visual <i>face</i>
<i>HAVE (got) to</i>	70	57	15
Imperative	19	16	4
<i>must</i>	15	12	3
<i>FORCE (SELF) to</i>	12	10	3
<i>MAKE</i> animate <i>face</i> abstract	2	<2	0.4
<i>should</i>	2	<2	0.4
<i>need to</i>	1	<1	0.2
Total	121	100	26

3.1.1 *HAVE (got) to*

Most of the 70 instances of *HAVE (got) to* express compulsion/obligation. Of the 70 instances only 5 featured *got* – one of them without *HAVE* actually, but occurring in direct speech with the spelling clearly pointing to the reconstruction of a dialect. A distinction between the two variants was not considered necessary for the analytical purposes at hand.

In 19 instances *HAVE (got) to* co-occurred with a modal verb. The modals in these 19 instances (i.e. *could*, *might*, *must*, *should*, *will/'ll*, *would/'d*) carried one of the following meanings (cf. Appendix I): obligation (1 instance), logical necessity (1), hypotheticality (2), possibility (3), future prediction/certainty (6) and future prediction/expectation (6). In one of these cases (no. 16 of Appendix I, repeated here as example 20) the modal actually corroborates the meaning of compulsion/obligation that *HAVE (got) to* carries⁹²:

(20) it makes me so mad, Jo! No child of that age *should* have to face something which they've the intelligence to realize can affect their whole lives

In the remaining 17 or 18 cases the meaning of the modal at least is not conflictual to the sense of compulsion/obligation expressed by *HAVE (got) to*.

Finally, in 6 of the 70 lines *HAVE (got) to* co-occurred with negation (NEG). Four of these lines also featured a modal verb, and among those was the single modal verb carrying a meaning of obligation, mentioned in the previous paragraph. As we will see below (Section 3.2), negation also appears to be associated with the non-visual use of *face*.

⁹² The modal carrying a sense of logical necessity (no. 15 of Appendix I) possibly does, too, as it could be argued that where the logical necessity involves a human, there is automatically a sense of compulsion.

3.1.2 Imperatives

Face features in the imperative in nearly one out of six lines that carry a meaning of compulsion/obligation. As seen in Table 4.1, there were 19 lines of *face* in the imperative among the 469 lines of non-visual *face*. In 13 of these (i.e. in 65% of them) *face* took the pronoun *it* as a direct Object, which was replacing a clause. All of the clauses expressed something unpleasant or undesirable (cf. the underlined parts of the concordance below), –to the ears of the hearer, at least– which the hearer was urged to accept. Some of the concordance lines are given with their extended context for better illustration of the point made:

- (21) ou. You despise me. Face it, you're narrow-minded." Tammuz didn't react as Zambia expected
- (22)⁹³ "A-agh! Damn father! And damn this man he wants to wed me to!" "This man he will wed you to, sister!" John warned her. "Face it. It's his pride that's involved now. You've made it impossible for him to change his mind, with your carry-on in public. How can he give in to you after that? Ach, Elizabeth, what a witless way to behave!" Reluctantly, she nodded.
- (23) without a da. Better face it, Vi, you're on your own now. There's only Mary and the sister
- (24) in you as a special. Face it, Jo, you were a nut to use that subway! Specials aren't supposed
- (25) what are they up to? Face it, Summerfield, you don't know. But, she resolved, I'm going to
- (26) mention other people. Face it, will you? It wouldn't be safe for either of us. And while we
- (27) joke on her before. Face it, he used the same joke on everybody. He got a coffee for ⁹⁴
- (28) . Don't fuck about. Face it. Whoever was driving the car had been trying to kill her, it
- (29) "You don't love him," he ground out. "Face it, if I were to kiss you now I would feel you come to life under my fingers. Isn't that true?" "No! And what business is it of yours how I feel about Jonathan?"
- (30) looked on her mouth. "Face it, we used each other and –" "And, now that you've got what you
- (31) of his shortbread. "Face it, Shiona, you haven't a hope." She had to admit it looked that
- (32) ding guard over it. Face it. Grow up. In this world you get nothing for nothing." His eye
- (33) Most of the councillors seem to be hand in glove with each other; you can't make any one of them speak to you, let alone give an interview." "I know. It's some sort of fraud all right. That's the only explanation for it, but you try proving it... Maybe you should let it drop, love. It might be more trouble than it's worth." "Let it drop? No way! If we did that then face it, Fred, we'd end up like a dozen other so-called topical news programmes. Our audience deserves better than that from us." She glared at the older man, her grey eyes gleaming with determination, and saw him smile.

The remaining 6 lines also express that what needs be faced is unpleasant or undesirable – at least to the hearer: in line (34) below this is expressed by means of the denotation of the Object of *face*; in line (35) the hearer is accused of immaturity and of not accepting "facts" as a result; in (36) the fact to be faced is that the hearer is not capable of handling his finances. The context in (37) informs us that one of the two conversing characters, Jenna, experiences anxiety and other negative emotions (e.g. a feeling of being trapped, of being forced into

⁹³ Extended context: a brother tends to his sister after she's received a beating from her father for refusing to obey his will; brother and sister are discussing.

⁹⁴ Extended context:

In the refectory a queue was already forming alongside the hissing Espresso machines and perspex lids of the snack counter, so he sent Diane off to find a table. He insisted that the least he could do would be to pay for the coffee, and he always tried to do the least that he could. She smiled and relaxed a little, even though he was sure that he must have used the joke on her before. Face it, he used the same joke on everybody. He got a coffee for her and a tea for himself and then made his way through expanding groups at undersized tables, stepping over canvas bags, overstuffed briefcases, sliding piles of ring-folders.

something) at the thought of acknowledging some things about the past. This example comes from a text (text "hgd.txt" in the BNC) that was the source for a handful of instances of non-visual *face*, and for the interpretation of which some knowledge of the context proved indispensable, so I will briefly divert from the argument to provide some detail: Jenna's father separated from her mother when she was a toddler, she never saw him again and was raised to think that never seeing her father again was his choice, over which she was very bitter; at some point, years on, she found out he had married again in France, and that his dying wish had been to see her again, but she was not prepared to know any more about her father's life after her parents' divorce and chose to continue being bitter against him and his new family. So *the past* she is urged to face in (37) –by her father's step-son– is clearly something most unpleasant to her, though the speaker of the line perceives it differently (i.e. *and you may find it is not what you thought at all*). In (38), the *reality* that the character is being urged to face is that not paying up his debts is perceived as being equal to *insanity*, as it could put his life to danger. The last example, in line (39), is slightly different; there is an implication that one cannot get through *winter* in good health, "cheerfully" or "really fit" without help, i.e. *winter* is seen as something unpleasant. The imperative here, however, possibly does not carry so strong a sense of compulsion/obligation as in the other lines.

- (34) "So anyway," Vanessa continued, "then all those tanks appeared. This voice kept shouting something. I can't really remember what. It didn't sound friendly." "Something along the lines of surrender immediately or face total annihilation, I imagine." "Yeah, that was about it," Hazel confirmed. "we shouted back, trying to explain who we were and where we came from. But they kept coming. It was pretty frightening. " "Basically, " said Hazel, "we was shitting bricks."
- (35) 'You're thirty-five. Act it.' [...] 'Face the facts,' she said, later still. 'Grow up. for God's sake.'
- (36) He's got to go to those trustees and let them know I'm capable of handling my own money." "But you're not, Peter. Face facts!" she burst out. "You know Marc better than I do, and you should have realised he's not a fool. I've already told you he knew the minute he saw us that there was something wrong " "And now you're trying to tell me you told him everything?" "No, of course not. I promised. And anyway,
- (37) "I - I won't be trapped!", Jenna said with sudden anxiety. "It's cruel of you to try to force me into this family. I can't change my mind about the name Lemarchand as suddenly as this." "Then change your mind slowly," he urged seriously. "As to trapping you, are you not already trapped by the past? Your hatred of my mother disappeared as you looked at her. Already the walls are falling. Face the past and you may find it is not what you thought at all. That is not trapping you, Jenna. It is freeing you." He walked out and Jenna relaxed against the pillows. She knew he was right about his mother, but she also knew she would never forgive her father.
- (38) Do you want to be slowly battered to death, before dying in agony" [...] "I only want to know who slashed that picture if you didn't." "whoever they are - and only you know that - these people are serious. Punters often try to avoid paying. Examples often have to be made. You know that." Mike started to stride up and down the room. "Take that fucking urbane look off your face and face reality, Adam. If you lose money, that's tough. But if you don't pay up. that's insanity." "I've had enough of your melodrama," Adam snarled. Mike glared at his brother again. "I'm not exaggerating. Remember that incident when the Sultan's sister had her Rolls stopped,
- (39) One of my patients said to me recently about the Scarsdale Two-On-One-Off combination, "Dr Tarnower, this is the ultimate lifetime program. I may have other problems one of

these days, but overweight is never again going to be one of them"... Face the winter RADIANTLY HEALTHY & FIT with perfect inner health you can face winter cheerfully, really fit. How can you get this inner health? Take Bile Beans regularly. Purely vegetable Bile Beans, favourite family laxative, help you to cast aside sluggishness, liver and digestive upsets an

The issue of it being something unpleasant/undesirable that needs be faced actually lies at the core of the non-visual use of the verb, and finds various forms of expression, as we shall see further below.

3.1.3 MUST

Fifteen of the non-visual occurrences of *face* featured the modal *must* in the sense of compulsion/obligation. There were two further instances of a co-occurrence of *must* with *face*, in which, however, the modal did not bear a meaning of compulsion/obligation; in examples (40) and (41) below *must* has a meaning of logical necessity (cf. Appendix I):

(40) I'm afraid of the heartache she must surely face if she allowed the relationship to deepen
(41) and a little of what addicts must have to face when they're made to go cold turkey," he

Must is one of the two most frequent main modals co-occurring with *face* when no negation is involved, the other most frequent modal being *would*. There were a further 53 lines of positive polarity involving a main modal⁹⁵ (including the two instances of *must face* where *must* does not carry a meaning of compulsion) and these were spread across the main modals as follows: 18 instances of *would*, 10 of *will*, 8 of *can*, 8 of *could*, 3 of *should*, 2 instances each of *may* and *might*, and 2 instances of *must* in its epistemic sense.

3.1.4 FORCE + <reflexive> + to and MAKE + <animate> + face + <abstract>

The two expressions are synonymous and can therefore be discussed together. Their use clearly signals that the direct Object of *face* will be nothing one would confront willingly (cf. the underlined parts of the concordance below), therefore it must be unpleasant or undesirable, regardless of its actual denotation. Indeed, lines (45), (47), (49), (50), (52) and (54)-(55) below all feature a semantically neutral direct Object for *face* which, however, reveals itself as unpleasant/undesirable once the extended context has been taken into account (once again, some of the concordance lines are given with their extended context for better illustration of the point made):

(42) dealer forced himself to open his eyes, to face the bleak reality. "H-how can I?" he whis
(43) ttle room later, Leonora forced herself to face the indigestible truth. Forgetting Guy Fe
(44) Luke walked in. Then she forced herself to face prosaic reality. She guessed that the ear
(45) And then the questions which had arisen so few days ago arose unbidden, and this time, instead of forcing them away, he forced himself to face them - and the principal question of course was, just who was his father?

⁹⁵ Following Quirk et al. (1985: §3.39), we consider as main modals the verbs *will*, *would*, *can*, *could*, *shall*, *should*, *may*, *might* and *must*.

- (46) He knew, but rarely admitted to himself, that the search for Elsie was an excuse to get away. He had spent all his thirty-four years in and around one small town. He had followed the accepted paths – got a job, married, started a family – and now he was sick of it. Elsie offered him an escape and, more importantly, it was a legitimate escape. He knew, and again he had to force himself to face this point, that his escape itself was a dishonest one. He had left himself the option of return. He despised himself for this and consequently admired Elsie all the more. For her departure had been single-minded and irrevocable.
- (47) She didn't want to hear what he would say, didn't want to compound this foolishness with more folly, didn't want to hear him gloat at her easy capitulation. [...] "was that all part of the plan too?" she asked brittlely, forcing herself to turn and look at him, to face what she had done. "I really should try to remember how your mind works. Did you plan that little interlude before you came looking for me, just as you planned what happened this afternoon?"
- (48) he rejected her sympathy. "I was forced to face the fact that I was living with a woman I actually disliked
- (49) She sat down to rage silently but in spite of every effort to work herself up rage would not come and honesty forced her to face facts. It had been magical, filling her with hunger and crumbling her shell to dust. There was no pearl inside, though, nothing nearly so hard and polished. There was just a trembling being as vulnerable as any other woman, a being who had craved much, much more.
- (50) Without him, the world was incomplete. His absences, and an impending change, forced her to face her own feelings. His neat, slant-eyed Slavonic face was always before her. She tried, angrily, to brush it aside. Even music, which had always been her ultimate solace, failed to take her mind off him.
- (51) is. "I am mean and vicious, forcing you to face a few ghosts. And there is a ghost there,
- (52) "The way things look at the moment, Barney Willard and Rick Lawrence are rivals for the role of chief suspect. At the moment, the odds would seem to be on Rick but..." Melissa gave a sigh. Iris, her common-sense unclouded by emotional involvement, had forced her to face reality. "I'd give a lot to know what forensic evidence they've found."
- (53) so all sense and caution drained away from her dazed mind. His fingers laced themselves in the loose strands of her wet hair, pulling her head back so that her body was arched against him, forcing her to face the feverish gleam in the heavy-lidded grey eyes staring
- (54) I kind had been part of a plan to make her face her past for his mother's sake. No doubt
- (55) "Jesu, Guy, what the hell have you done to her?" FitzAlan glared at his brother-in-law over Isabel's unconscious body. [...] He'd never known such fury before. Rage at her, at himself for wanting her, at a war that had turned her into his enemy. "I made her face the truth," he grated, laying Isabel down

In line (45) the Object *them* refers to *questions* that had arisen *unbidden* and had already been *forced away* once – therefore they must have been unwelcome. In (47) the Object *what she had done* encompasses what the character describes as *easy capitulation* which in its turn is put on a par with *foolishness* and *more folly* and can be "gloated at". The *facts* referred to in (49) is that the character's "protective shell" has crumbled leaving her *trembling* and *vulnerable*. The character in (50) appears to be unwilling to admit to *her own feelings* for a man; her attachment to him makes her *angry*. The Object of *face* in (52), *reality*, is semantically neutral, but implies that the character in question chooses some other perspective over it, apparently a more agreeable one, which however betrays a "common sense clouded by emotional involvement". The example in (54) comes from the same text that provided example (37) above ("hgd.txt"); as we saw above *the past* is most unpleasant for the character in question. Finally, in line (55) *the truth* is apparently so unpalatable that the character who was forced to face it fainted at being presented with it.

The direct Object in (53) may seem at first sight also semantically neutral, but, as a “fever” is nothing pleasant, something that is “feverish” could also be considered likely to be unpleasant; in addition, the context appears to suggest that *the feverish gleam* in the character’s eyes is potentially dangerous, since we are told that the other character in the scene is now bereft of *sense and caution* – which raises the question of why *caution* should be essential if the situation didn’t require it⁹⁶.

3.1.5 SHOULD

Out of a total of 3 instances of *should + face* in my dataset, two carry a sense of obligation:

(56) m. If you are right- well, better I should face the consequences before there's harm done
(57) really don't agree. One should be able to face death," I cried earnestly, standing in th

The third one rather falls under the meaning that Quirk et al. (1985: 227) describe as ‘tentative inference’ – or else ‘non-committed necessity’ – where “the speaker does not know if his statement is true, but tentatively concludes that it is true, on the basis of whatever he knows”:

(58) If he was still himself, he should be able to face it. It began to be a test – the test –

3.2 Negatives

There are 142 lines of the verb *face* in my dataset involving a negative expression, making up some 30% of the verb’s non-visual use. Of these, 93 lines (i.e. 65%) involve a negated modal verb. Only 7 out of these 93 lines involve a modal other than *can/could* which will be discussed on its own in Section 3.6.

Among these 142 lines, there was one line, example (59) below, with an expression defined as a broad negative in the *Collins COBUILD English Grammar* (Sinclair et al.: §4.83 ff.) and three lines featuring the “implied negatives” (Quirk et al. 1985: 390) *hard* (2 instances) and *difficult* (1) (cf. lines 60-62):

(59) ter all, even if she could hardly bear to face another row, she was going to have to put
(60) right. Ruth knew it but found it hard to face at times. And yet the painful burden of h
(61) of his psych-tech tricks. It was hard to face. He wanted to see her, to enjoy her puppy
(62) moment; and it was difficult for Ruth to face the utter loneliness of that gaze. But at

The ability to deal with the unpleasantness of *another row* is doubted in line (59), while what needs to be acknowledged and dealt with in lines (60)-(62) is not an easy task but rather requires effort, therefore we have an implication that the task in question cannot be quite as

⁹⁶ This line in my data caused some deliberation over whether it should be classified among the non-visual use of *face* or perhaps among the visual use, since “facing the feverish gleam in someone’s eyes” actually involves looking at a physical entity. Still, I found that the focus in the line was rather on the expression in the eyes, and not the eyes themselves, and therefore decided that the line verges more on the non-visual that gets described in a metaphorical way, rather than the visual.

agreeable as something that can be done effortlessly (cf. discussion of the noun *effort* in Section 3.3).

What type of negation tends to be used with *face* was also looked into. It turned out that 105 lines (74%) of the 142 involving negation featured the grammatical negation *not*. In 81 (i.e. 77%) of these *face* was directly negated, predominantly by means of a modal auxiliary as mentioned above, while the remaining 24 lines (i.e. 23%) were instances of transferred negation (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1033, Xiao & McEnery 2010: 150), whereby *face* was indirectly negated through the negation of another element (mostly a finite verb expressing opinion or perception) immediately preceding it (i.e. NOT WANT, NOT THINK, NOT BE READY, NOT BE ABLE, etc.). The remaining 37 lines (i.e. 26% of the dataset involving negation) featured some kind of lexical negation of *face* (i.e. *unable to*, *refuse to*, *could hardly*, *hard/difficult to*, etc.).

The co-occurrence of non-visual *face* with a negative expression is actually three times as frequent as would be expected according to Halliday & James' (1993) analysis of binary grammatical systems; in their study Halliday & James (1993) found that "polarity [is] a skew system, with positive as the unmarked term" (p. 36), the relative frequency of the two values therefore being nine positive to one negative (ibid.). Even if only the lines involving the grammatical negation *not* are considered, the co-occurrence of non-visual *face* with a negative expression (at 22%) is still 2-2.5 times as frequent as would be expected according to Halliday & James' (1993) analysis. This, as in the case of expressions of compulsion/obligation co-occurring with non-visual *face*, can be seen as evidence towards the claim that non-visual *face* is associated with confrontation.

3.3 Nouns denoting something unpleasant

Cases of nouns denoting something unpleasant and functioning as Objects of the verb *face* cover 28% of the non-visual use of *face* in my data. Examples of such nouns are: *consequences*, *contempt*, *crisis*, *displeasure*, *destitution*, *discomfort*, *defeat*. Instances where such nouns were replaced by a pronoun were also considered. I also chose to include the nouns *dangers*, *revolution* and *examination (in court)* in the class of nouns denoting something unpleasant. In the case of *dangers* it seems reasonable to assume that anything that could jeopardise a person's physical or psychological health would normally be considered unpleasant. Whether a *revolution* is considered positive or not is a matter of perspective: whether someone is in favour of the revolution or someone the revolution is directed against. In the line in question, example (63) below, the speaker is clearly on the side of those a revolution would be directed against, therefore the noun was counted among those denoting something unpleasant:

(63) em in the ways you say. Perhaps we do not face immediate revolution, but our danger, seen

In the case of a court *examination*, I found it hardly conceivable that the situation alone could involve much that is pleasant. A full list of the nouns denoting something unpleasant and functioning as Objects of the verb *face* is provided in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2. List of nouns denoting something unpleasant and functioning as Objects of non-visual *face*

AIDS	emergencies	(outright) chauvinism
a scene	English charge ⁹⁷	parting
accusation	evil	penalties
ache	examination (in court)	pretence
annihilation	failures	problem (2)
argument	false charge	problems (6)
attack	fear (2)	prosecution
benign condescension	flak (metaphorical)	quarrel
capture	ghosts (2 – metaphorical)	reckoning
challenge	grief (2)	rejection (2)
challenges	hazard	revolution
complications	heartache	ridicule (<i>laughter and ridicule</i>)
consequences (5 instances)	heat (metaphorical)	rigours (of journey)
contempt	horror	rout
court martial (2)	illness	row
criminal charges (2)	imprisonment (<i>face fourteen years</i>)	sabotage (<i>observation and sabotage</i>)
crisis (2)	interrogation (2)	shame (2)
criticism	interruption	strain
danger (2)	laughter	tensions
dangers (3)	legal hassles	terrors (3)
death (6)	liquidation	the worst (2)
defeat (3)	look of exasperation	the wrath of the gods
despair (found in: <i>grief and despair</i>)	malice (<i>mockery and malice</i>)	trauma
destitution	mess	trouble (2)
difficulties (2)	misfortune	violence
disappointment	mockery	war (2)
discomfort (2)	murder	wickedness
displeasure	nightmare (2)	(withering) scorn
dragon's fire (metaphorical)	observation (<i>observation and sabotage</i>)	worry
effort	opposition	wrath
embarrassment (2)	ordeal	

Total: 130 nouns

⁹⁷ I have listed the noun *charge* three times in the table for transparency; it appears twice in the phrase *criminal charges* in my dataset and is further encountered twice, in two different senses, both negative – that of “attack” and that of “accusation”:
 ottish chivalry had re-formed in haste to face the English charge. Hotspur's lance, stead
 g to blackmail me to leave the company or face a false charge of fraud, and I knew so mu

Four out of these nouns (occurring as Objects in barely 1% of the non-visual use of *face*) merit a brief discussion, as they might not necessarily be seen as clearly denoting something unpleasant; these nouns were *effort*, *challenge(s)*, *benign condescension*, and *parting*.

I chose to categorise *effort* as a noun that denotes something unpleasant, since something that requires *effort* to be done is generally not viewed as quite so agreeable as something that can be done effortlessly. Indeed there appears to be special merit in doing things effortlessly, as a random selection from BNC-fiction of 10 lines featuring the word *effortlessly* shows⁹⁸:

(64) ry little, I'm afraid," replied Alison, **effortlessly** defusing the situation. Karen glared
(65) owever, he felt dismayed when Maidstone **effortlessly** translated the incident for Franco's
(66) n dreams of driving his car swiftly and **effortlessly** over thrilling lanes and highways... n
(67) s the Toyota in two seconds, and sweeps **effortlessly** past - Carly Simon, by happy coincid
(68) clock with a practised finger and falls **effortlessly** asleep. Five minutes later, the alar
(69) Nothing - The clumsily articulated, yet **effortlessly** accurate, German came to a sudden ha
(70) always smiling. The conversation passed **effortlessly** from mundane matters to philosophy,
(71) 's voice was cutting through the uproar **effortlessly**. She seemed not to have to exert her
(72) tress to enquire, in tones that carried **effortlessly** across the yard, precisely why Carol
(73) uck out as smoothly as a seal, skimming **effortlessly**, he could power onwards forever, the

Connected to *effort* denoting something rather unpleasant is the noun *challenge*; although a *challenge* need not be unpleasant, it certainly requires effort – and there is the additional implication that the party that accepts or enters a challenge takes the risk of not managing to meet it, which is associated with “losing”, itself negative in western cultures. This is supported by one of the two lines featuring the noun in my data of non-visual *face*, which takes the notion of “losing” to the extreme:

(74) well, this was the greatest challenge of her life and she would damn well face it if it killed her.

Condescension certainly is something unpleasant, and even an instance of *benign condescension* would hardly cancel out the negativity of the word's core meaning; at best, it would serve the purpose of drawing a slightly less negative picture of the character concerned. A random selection of half the concordance lines featuring *condescension* in the BNC-fiction corpus illustrates the point:

(75) them, and she scowled angrily, stung by his condescension. "If you entertain any serious
(76) er success! But she would not stand for his condescension. Shiona twisted round and pierc
(77) d one Iris's grin was a mixture of pity and condescension. "Be your age! Hefty young chap
(78) said Sally-Anne impatiently; she needed no condescension from him or any man. Unpleasant
(79) idn't bother to keep up the saccharin-sweet condescension she bestowed on her when Dane a
(80) asked me the dumb question in the van - his condescension brought him down to what he
imagined was my level.

(81) that you intend to make a fight of it." The condescension there implied that the acceptance was possible only because he knew he would win.

⁹⁸ There was a total of 89 occurrences of *effortlessly* in BNC-fiction.

(82) ision, with that odd blend of reverence and condescension reserved for royalty and its do
 (83) "Some of them are very good. But none of them is suitable for our market. I'm surprised
you didn't realise that for yourself." "I thought you wanted something different?" Her
 eyes sparked at his condescension. "why did you go to the trouble of hiring me if what
 you wanted were the same drab old styles of before?"
 (84) gh clenched teeth. Damn him and his air of condescension! But she was reluctantly gratef
 (85) o had just finished dispensing multiracial condescension to Mr Patel and was now turning
 (86) ng her, she answered him with such haughty condescension, such arrogance, that his face
 (87) bit rankled. Unassuming? Inexpensive? The condescension was beginning to go too far. So
 (88) " none the less displayed the best kind of condescension, and was in fact unusually coll

A *parting* usually isn't anything pleasant or neutral, whatever the disposition of the parties involved, as a random selection of 10 lines featuring *parting* from BNC-fiction shows⁹⁹:

(89) which it would take place. After *parting* from Madame Gebrec, Melissa returned to the lib
 (90) she corrected herself. It was the *parting* from his wife, unquestionably, which had etched
the lines of disillusion on his handsome face.
 (91) meeting; soothed my worries about *parting* from my family - we could save up, go and visit
 (92) ngel clearly that he was wrong in *parting* from Tess. The next day they got wet in a thund
 (93) er of the cross-eyes etc. But the *parting* had been dignified. She had left Finn, went com
 (94) seemed to lose no opportunity of *parting* her and Rob whenever he found them together, as
 (95) I thought he looked at me sadly. "*Parting* is such sweet sorrow," Mrs Hobbs said. "It's be
 (96) stocking seams weren't straight. "*Parting* is such sweet, sad sorrow, my young friend. Ste
 (97) o fall in love, So sad a lifetime *parting*. Let us cling to our hundred year span, Let us
 (98) l soft and warm. Presentiments of *parting* locked her tongue. She, in whom a natural clear

A further line in my dataset features the noun *implications* as an Object of *face*:

(99) ll neither of them had had the courage to face its implications. Now they would have to.

Implications does not clearly denote something unpleasant in the way the nouns listed in Table 4.2 do, and was therefore not included in the count. However, the very fact that in example (99) *courage* is said to be required to come to terms with the implications mentioned, suggests that these implications cannot be particularly desirable. This observation instigated a closer examination of the noun in order to see if perhaps it is not as neutral in its meaning as it appears.

Close examination of 140 lines yielded by a search on *implications* in BNC-fiction (from which the line in example 99 –the only line that featured *implications* as the Object of non-visual *face*– was of course excluded) cast some doubt on the "neutrality" of the word's denotation. Of the 140 lines, 50 involved some expression of cognitive activity having to do with processing the *implications*¹⁰⁰: CONSIDER, UNDERSTAND, THINK, REALISE, PONDER, MULL OVER, COMPREHEND, WORK OUT, EXAMINE, BE CONCERNED WITH, BELIEVE,

⁹⁹ There was a total of 79 lines featuring *parting* in BNC-fiction, and in which *parting* was not modifying another noun.

¹⁰⁰ One line actually featured two co-ordinated expressions of cognitive activity, but was still counted as one line in the calculation of percentages. In other words, 50 lines featured some expression of cognitive activity, but there were actually 51 expressions of cognitive activity among these lines:

Alexei spoke without thinking - without examining the implications of his reply.

CREDIT; among those were two instances in which the implications were *too awful/too unpleasant to contemplate* and a further two mentioning the very tool of cognitive activity: *...her mind raced with the implications...* , *...her mind was on the implications...* . A further 15 lines expressed this cognitive processing of *implications* in a metaphorical way, with the expressions: GRASP, TAKE IN, REGISTER, CHEW, DIGEST, ABSORB, SEE, *implications sink(ing) in/seeping into the brain/getting through, implications becoming clear*. So, all in all, 65 out of 140 lines (i.e. 46%) show that it is in the nature of *implications* to require explicit cognitive effort. This is not in itself “negative” or “unpleasant”, but shows some degree of difficulty involved in perceiving them – or at least, that *implications* are not necessarily self-evident.

Further to these 65 lines, there were 24 expressing that the *implications* were in some way unpleasant or undesirable, e.g. they were *dodgy, frightening, horrible, petrifying, sexist, sinister, sickening, worrying*, they could *cause fury, stir into irrational jealousy*, etc. Five of these combined with an expression denoting cognitive activity mentioned in the previous paragraph. One further instance played with the notion of *grasping the implications* of something:

(100) “I see you’ve grasped the implications.” “The implications have grasped us,” I said. Then Posi replied, and the lists confirmed every scrap of my dread.

That this was considered an unpleasant state of affairs is illustrated by the latter part (which has been underlined) of the subsequent sentence of the line in question. Finally, 7 lines featured expressions signalling that implications can carry a lot of weight: *massive, grave, profound, (very) serious; implications which must affect all of us; decisions having final and far-reaching implications*. So, well over half of the lines of the dataset (viz. 92 lines, 66%) indicate that *implications* require conscious effort to process and even when they are not clearly unpleasant, cannot be taken lightly.

In addition to these observations, 6 lines among the 140 involved the expression *the full implications*¹⁰¹, and the slightly wider context of all of them showed that the implications in question were no pleasant matter, as can be seen from what has been underlined in each¹⁰²:

(101) what would be the world reaction when the full implications of the new world Car Plan under the new centralised organisation became more obvious? what would be the reaction of local managers, of Governments, of the employees and the unions? He shuddered at the thought of all the potential conflict situations ahead.

¹⁰¹ Four of these also featured expressions of cognitive activity, which we just discussed. Since they have already been used once in drawing a percentage, they are not used again. The two remaining lines, however, bring the total percentage of lines indicating that *implications* require explicit cognitive effort, can be grave, and undesirable/unpleasant to 67% of the dataset of 140.

¹⁰² It would be interesting and pertinent to examine a concordance of *the full implications* in the entire BNC to see whether the phrase is consistently associated with a sense of negativity regarding the implications, but such a pursuit goes well beyond the scope of the present study.

- (102) "And the killing of Ladislav Sacher in Prague?" "Again, someone has to know who to hire to do the job - and probably how to smuggle the bomb into the country. The same applies to the so called accident to two Hungarians who were drowned in the Danube. Both were vocal in their belief that Hungary must pull itself up by its own bootstraps. And to stage that collision someone had contact with the skipper of a larger vessel plying the river." "You're reaching," Monica commented. "Three in three countries is too much," he repeated. "But I haven't worked out yet the full implications of the conspiracy."
- (103) He seemed to regard it as his duty to abuse the Jews on behalf of French society in general and, in particular, for all that was grievous and unfair in his own life. To avoid confronting him and coming to blows with him, I had skirted round these topics too long. Now I saw the full implications of the concessions I had made, and how compromised I had become.
- (104) "This is unlike you, Hal. For more than twenty years you have advised me to be cautious, to consider the full implications of my actions, but now, suddenly, you counsel me to rashness."
- (105) The Steen business had to be sorted out that evening. Charles felt an uncomfortable sense of urgency. It was now nearly a week since Bill Sweet's death on Sunday 2nd December, and Jacqui was still in great danger. Charles had known the full implications of the situation for only twenty-four hours, but he had a sick feeling that time was running out. A sense of gloom blanketed his thought as he looked down to the dark water and heard the hiss of it rushing over the invisible weir ahead of him. Somewhere down in the depths, he felt certain, lay Marius Steen's gun, thrown away after the murder was committed.
- (106) "Well don't I know just the place we'll be made as welcome as Christmas! We'll go to Gabriel's house! A play or two more on the way... It can't be but fifty or eighty mile from here. I have the memory of it perfect in here," and he stood with his hand spread on the top of his head, while the full implications sank into Gabriel's. The company would settle like locusts on the household, demanding to be fed, sheltered, kept in ale and hidden from prying eyes.

In (101) *the full implications* involve potential conflict situations, in (102) at the very least murders, in (103) *the full implications* of one's concessions involve having become compromised, in (104) it is implied that not considering the full implications of one's actions leads to rashness, in (105) the full implications of a situation are connected with grave worry and a person being in danger (while one murder has already been committed), and in (106) the full implications of a group of people settling in a house are paralleled to the implications of an invasion of locusts.

So, with 67% of the dataset of 140 lines indicating that *implications* require explicit cognitive effort, can be grave, and/or undesirable/unpleasant, even if we hesitate to claim with absolute conviction that the word *implications* has a negative semantic prosody, an occurrence of the noun as an Object of *face* appears to be fully in line with our findings so far concerning the "preferences" of non-visual *face* with regard to its immediate surroundings.

3.4 Nouns with modifiers that denote something unpleasant

Sometimes the nouns that function as Objects of *face* in its non-visual use do not themselves denote something unpleasant, but are modified by adjectives, prepositional phrases or clauses that denote something unpleasant, and so the modified nouns end up having a negative polarity. There are 21 lines in my data featuring such cases. These are listed in Table 4.3 and make up **4% of the non-visual use of *face***.

Table 4.3. Nouns modified by adjectives, prepositional phrases or clauses denoting something unpleasant

a Germany which is being torn apart	worst tasks
laborious business	thought of a handicapped wife
terrible choice	thought of a joyless future
appalling future	thought of having a stepson foisted on her
cosmic justice	uncomfortable truth
frosty manner	indigestible truth
worst moment	unpleasant truths
unequal odds	truths too horrible
bleak reality	burning illusion
harsh reality	shattered world
prosaic reality	

Total: 21 modified nouns

One further line in my data featured an Object of *face* which neither denoted something unpleasant in itself nor did it, strictly speaking, acquire a negative polarity through its modification; yet the noun and its modifier, placed in the context of the utterance, were rendered very unpleasant indeed:

(107) Over a thousand men stood in a formed square on a muddy field somewhere in France, wondering if twelve weeks of training and ten days of "acclimatisation" could possibly have made them ready to face the might of the German forces. "P'raps they've only had twelve weeks' trainin' as well," said Tommy, hopefully.

The noun *might* does not necessarily denote something undesirable/unpleasant¹⁰³ and its modifier, *of the German forces*, in itself is not something unpleasant either; but the entire

¹⁰³ BNC searches were carried out to examine whether the phrase *the might of the* is perhaps consistently associated with a sense of negativity. A search in BNC-fiction yielded only 6 occurrences and was thus inconclusive, while a search in the entire BNC returned no more than 29 instances (including the line in example 107). In a third of these lines the noun phrase immediately following *the might of the* clearly denoted something undesirable/unpleasant (e.g. *autocratic regime, Fascist dictators, Nazis, sexist porn industry*). Still, a closer analysis, preferably of a larger dataset, would be necessary for a strong claim to be made.

phrase, put in the context of war, acquires a very unpleasant meaning indeed, especially if one is on the end of those experiencing it (as opposed to exercising it), as is the case in this example.

I consider the case of nouns that acquire a negative polarity through their modification by an adjective, noun or prepositional phrase denoting something unpleasant, as a subcategory of nouns denoting something unpleasant. Thus, a total of 152 lines featuring *face* in its non-visual use (i.e. 32% of the verb in its non-visual use) involve a verbal Object denoting something unpleasant/undesirable.

3.5 *let's face X*

Let's, which is actually a type of imperative (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 830), co-occurs with non-visual *face* in the fixed phrase *let's face it* in about 9% of the lines in my dataset (i.e. in 42 lines). In 2 of the 42 occurrences of the phrase *it* has anaphoric reference, while in 40 occurrences it has cataphoric reference. It seems therefore –on the basis of this admittedly very limited dataset– that the phrase is used as a kind of signal or warning indicating that the hearer/reader (and possibly even the speaker themselves) could find what follows the expression unpleasant, something which they would rather not admit or which they would rather not have to deal with. The confrontational meaning of the expression is also clearly captured in its definition by the *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary*:

You use the expression '**let's face it**' when you are stating a fact or making a comment about something which you think your listener may find unpleasant or be unwilling to admit.

In a further 7 lines we encounter the expression *let's face X*, with *X* realised as (*some basic*) *facts*, *the music*¹⁰⁴, *the worst*, *the truth*, *things*. The extended context of the lines shows that the *basic facts* refer to the dim chances of two survivors of a small aircraft crash being rescued, that the *things* to be faced one by one include finding out how a seriously ill patient is faring, and that *the truth* is that a group of mourners at the funeral of a wealthy person are probably not grieving at all but rather glad at the prospect of taking over the share of the deceased:

(108) reported missing. The pilot sent out a mayday. I heard him." Travis sighed heavily. "OK, let's face some basic facts. We sent out a mayday, but your guess is as good as mine if anyone heard it. Our safest bet is to assume they didn't, but if they did the soonest they could launch a search is first thing tomorrow. Then what are they looking for? We came down in a small clearing and ended up in the trees. I can't see the wreckage from here, so how do you expect someone to see it from up there?" He pointed a finger skywards.

¹⁰⁴ *Let's face the music* occurs 3 times in my data, all of which are citations from Irving Berlin's 1936 song "Let's face the Music and Dance" (cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Let's_Face_the_Music_and_Dance).

- (109) "Like to bet?" I replied savagely. She touched my hand. "Let's face things one by one. Where are the nearest outside phone-boxes? Still in Cas.?" She jumped out of the car.
- (110) Let's face the truth. That group over there," he nodded in the direction of the Springall mansion, "do not mourn for anyone. I suspect they are glad Sir Thomas is dead! And Brampton! And Vechey! More money, less fingers in the pot and a larger portion of the spoils. All you can feel, Brother, is human greed.
- (111) Slither in now, young Rossiter, and let's see just how bad you are. Let's face the worst." Hoomey slithered, abandoning hope, and felt the water close over him like death,

So, in all four cases (*let's face the worst* included) what is to be faced is something which both speaker and hearer could potentially find unpleasant. Three lines (examples 112-113 below) feature the phrase *let's face the music and dance* from the same-named song. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (online) the origin of the expression *face the music* is "uncertain and disputed"¹⁰⁵, yet the two suggestions for the origin of the expression that it offers both carry a sense of confrontation with something unpleasant: "suggestions include reference to a nervous performer coming onstage in musical theatre, or to the practice of drumming a soldier out of his regiment"¹⁰⁶, the latter in the sense of "expel[ing] or dismiss[ing] publicly by beat of drum, so as to heighten the disgrace"¹⁰⁷. So, the expression appears to have carried a sense of confrontation for centuries. This fact, combined with the context of the expression *let's face the music and dance* in the song –which focuses on unpleasant things, like potential *trouble ahead*, potential *teardrops to shed*, etc.– leads us to think that, even though there seems to be nothing unpleasant about music and dancing, the expression *face the music* is still intended to carry its confrontational meaning; indeed, we might venture to suggest that the message of the song is that there can be enjoyment in life in spite of all its challenges. As the phrase then became adopted and started being more widely used, it appears to have gained a somewhat sarcastic edge, with *music* standing for something unpleasant and *dance* referring to going through the motions of dealing with it.

- (112) The portable gramophone played instead something from the latest Astaire and Rogers film There may be trouble ahead But when there's moonlight and music And love and romance, Let's face the music and dance.. They sat on the sofa with coffee cups. "Funny kind of war, isn't it?" Charles listened to Cole Porter's lyric, so full of irony.
- (113) Because he felt so relaxed, he was able to smile and wait for another bar or two before letting the music dictate an answer. There may be teardrops to shed Before they ask us to pay the bill And while we still have a chance let's face the music and dance.. dance. Let's face the music and dance. "could Hitler be lulling us into a false sense of security?"

Leaving the three lines pertaining to the song aside, as they feature *face the music* in a creative use, we find that in 46 out of the 49 occurrences of the expression *let's face X the*

¹⁰⁵ Online version November 2010.

¹⁰⁶

<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.liv.ac.uk/view/Entry/67426?redirectedFrom=face%20the%20music#eid134064993> (accessed February 2011).

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.liv.ac.uk/view/Entry/58011#eid6050446> (accessed February 2011).

Object of *let's face* is clearly something potentially unpleasant at least for the hearer, which justifies grouping these instances together with the noun groups denoting something unpleasant and functioning as Object of *face* (cf. Sections 3.3 and 3.4). We therefore have a total of 198 lines of non-visual *face* (i.e. 42%) featuring a verbal Object denoting something unpleasant or undesirable, and thus lending a confrontational sense to the verb.

3.6 *can face/could face*

Some 23% of the lines featuring *face* in its non-visual use (i.e. 109 lines) involve the modal verb *can/could*. Of the 109 lines, 26 feature *can* and 83 feature *could*. Four out of five of these lines, i.e. 79% (86 lines) of the occurrences of this modal, are with a negative expression, as has already been mentioned in Section 3.2 (15 with *can* and 71 with *could*).

One question that immediately arises is whether it is a specific meaning of *can/could* that predominates among these 109 instances and, if so, what proportion of it co-occurs with negation. According to Quirk et al. (1985) *can* and *could* have "three major meanings" (ibid.: 221), viz. that of "possibility", that of "ability" and that of "permission". In their "possibility" meaning *can* and *could* "[are] generally paraphrasable by *it is possible* followed by an infinitive clause" (ibid.: 222), while in their "ability" meaning they "may be paraphrased by use of the *be able to* construction, or in some cases by *be capable of* or *know how to*" (ibid.: 222). In their "permission" meaning the two modals can be paraphrased by *be allowed to* (ibid.: 222). There are no instances of either *can* or *could* carrying the meaning of "permission" among the 109 lines in question and there are only two instances that clearly express the meaning of "possibility":

(114) Scott knew that Annabel was now facing the worst moment any model can face: she was officially over the hill, gaining weight, losing her looks and on the downward path to wrinkles and sag.

(115) Kirov had other problems on his mind. His own survival, mainly. He had still to plan his own escape route, and a way to get out of the country himself. It might not be as easy as plotting Vologsky's defection - and Kirov had only just reminded himself of a few of the terrors which he could face if he failed.

In both (114) and (115) the only felicitous paraphrase of *can face* and *could face*, respectively, is one involving *it is possible*, viz. "...Annabel was facing the worst moment it was possible for any model to face..." and "...a few of the terrors which it would be possible for him to face if he failed...".

However, Quirk et al.'s (1985) dichotomy between a meaning of "possibility" and one of "ability" for the modals *can* and *could* does not appear to be upheld by the remaining 107 lines of my data. Any of the remaining 107 instances of *can/could face* appear to be

paraphrasable with the modal carrying either a meaning of “possibility” or one of “ability”. Three randomly chosen lines illustrate the point:

- (116) ...He's done some very good spinal work. He's got another spinal problem at the moment. He's not yet sure if it's operable, but if it is he wants me to take the case. It has to be in Benedict's wing." She shot me an almost scared glance. "Can I face it, Jo? I don't know." "Margaret, you must! After all, why not? Yes, of course, I know your reasons but be honest! Is there a nicer hospital to work in?..."
- (117) Dad in the office amid piles of unread scripts, unable to concentrate for fear that his darling? hated? infuriating daughter lies at the bottom of the Thames, the Severn, the Atlantic... I must have scared them. Yes, this'll sort them. Show them I'm not going to be messed around. If I go back I could... No. I can't face it. They'd say "But what were you doing all that time, Bina?"
- (118) RADIANTLY HEALTHY & FIT With perfect inner health you can face winter cheerfully, really fit. How can you get this inner health? Take Bile Beans regularly.

There seems to be nothing, even in the extended context of the lines, that unequivocally points towards an interpretation of the modal as either “possibility” or “ability”. The line in (116) could be paraphrased as either “is it possible for me to face it?” or “am I able to face it?”, (117) could be read as either “it is not possible for me to face it” or “I am not able to face/capable of facing it”, and (118) could be read both as “with perfect inner health it is possible for you to face Winter cheerfully” and as “with perfect inner health, you are able to face Winter cheerfully”.

What underlies this observation could be that the very meaning of non-visual *face* calls for an interpretation of “possibility” and “ability” that is not literal¹⁰⁸: acknowledging something unpleasant and deciding to deal with it is more a matter of willingness, decisiveness and maybe also emotional resilience than it is a matter of logical possibility. Similarly, when we are talking about the modal expressing a meaning of “ability” in *can/could face*, it is not really a specific “skill or capability on the part of the subject referent” –to borrow Quirk et al.'s (1985: 222) wording– that we have in mind; “being able to face/being capable of facing” rather refers to whether the mental and emotional state of the subject referent is judged to be such that a particular “confrontation” would not prove detrimental to them. For example, if one *can't face a quarrel*, it certainly does not mean they are actually not capable of quarrelling, but rather that they do not wish to. So, in 107 out of 109 lines featuring *can/could face* (i.e. in 98% of the lines), the modal bundles together the meanings of “possibility” and “ability”. Only in two lines, (114) and (115) above does the modal clearly express “possibility”, and these two lines happen not to involve negation.

A further question that arises from the observation that four out of five lines of *can/could face* co-occur with a negative expression is whether it is not perhaps *can/could*

¹⁰⁸ At least it isn't literal in 106 out of the 107 lines in question here. In example (118) *can* does express logical possibility; yet, unlike (114) and (115) which only allow for the modal to be interpreted as carrying a meaning of “possibility”, *can* in (118) can felicitously be interpreted as either expressing “possibility” or “ability”.

that tend to be used with a negative expression and therefore the priming simply gets “transferred over” to the main verb used with the modal. Attempting to answer this question raises some methodological issues. First of all, it would be pertinent to treat the two modals separately, given that the co-occurrence of non-visual *face* with *can* and *could* is not evenly distributed between the two modals, which we also find mirrored in the presence of negation: while in the case of *can face* co-occurrence with negation lies at 58% (i.e. 15 lines involving negation out of 26 lines of *can face*), in the case of *could face* co-occurrence with negation reaches 85%, with 71 of the 83 lines of *could face* featuring negation. In other words, in the case of *can face* co-occurrence with negation is about 6 times as frequent as would be expected on the basis of Halliday & James’ (1993) findings, while in the case of *could face* it is more than 8 times as frequent. Although the dataset is extremely small, this observation could be taken to suggest that *can* might demonstrate a slightly different behaviour with regard to negation compared to *could*, which might be of relevance to this discussion. A further methodological issue concerns the fact that merely creating a concordance for *can* and one for *could* in BNC-fiction and calculating the ratios of positive to negative uses would not necessarily do, as the meaning of the modals would also need to be taken into account and any instances of the modals in the sense of “permission” removed.

With these considerations in mind, a set of 200 lines from BNC-fiction was examined for each modal to calculate their colligation with negation. Care was taken so that neither of the two sets contained instances where the modals had a meaning of permission or instances where the modals co-occurred with the verb *face*. Instances where the modals occurred in tag-questions were also omitted from the sets. Lines featuring grammatical negation were counted as well as lines involving broad negatives (e.g. *hardly*) or some kind of lexical negation (e.g. *never can/could*, *nothing can/could*). In the case of *could* 63 out of 200 lines were negated, i.e. approximately 1 in 3, and in the case of *can* 77 out of 200 lines were negated, i.e. slightly more than 1 in 3, though not as much as 1 in 2. So, for both modals co-occurrence with negation proved almost identical to each other and three times more frequent than would be expected on the basis of Halliday & James’ (1993) findings regarding skew and equi systems.

So, what does this tell us about non-visual *face*? We saw above that in 86 out of the 142 lines in which non-visual *face* co-occurs with negation, it also co-occurs with either *can* or *could*. Let us put these 86 lines aside for a moment and consider the dataset of non-visual *face* as consisting of 383 lines (instead of the actual 469), with 56 lines thereof involving negation. In this case, the presence of negation in the 56 lines is actually expected according to Halliday & James’ (1993) findings, as the negated lines amount to 15% of all the lines (i.e. 383). It appears therefore that non-visual *face* has a collocation with *could* (and *can*) and through this collocation it has a colligation with negation.

Of the 109 lines featuring non-visual *face* with *can/could* 23 are positively formulated (i.e. 21%). Yet the mere consideration of whether it is “possible” for one to face something or of whether one is “able” to face something involves an implication of doubt to begin with and this comes as further support to the results of the analysis concerning the instances of *can/could face* involving negation. So, *can/could* appears to have a clear negative semantic prosody when it co-occurs with *face* in its non-visual use.

3.7 Some further forms/structures co-occurring with *face* in its non-visual use

The above analysis covers 85% of the concordance lines for non-visual *face*. A remaining 69 lines of non-visual *face* do not feature any of the above listed forms/structures, demanding a closer examination to see if they display any further characteristics that could be associated with this use of *face*.

3.7.1 (BE) ABLE TO

The expression (BE) ABLE TO *face* appears in three lines that have not been considered yet:

(119) given me your love, freely, but you have made me able to face life again, without fear,
(120) ere safe enough - secure enough in my love to be able to face the real truth. Gaston agr
(121) makes life worth living. It sets us up. Makes us able to face things.” “I don't know muc

Lines (119)-(121) imply that what there is to be faced is at least difficult, if not also unpleasant, so that the person doing the facing needs some form of external support to feel up to the task. In other words, there is an implication of doubt as to whether facing *life/the real truth/things* would have been at all possible without this external support. This is especially the case for line (119), where “facing life with fear” is implied as the natural assumption. There is further an implication of compulsion in facing *life/the real truth/things*, as the ability to carry out this confrontation is stressed, while the necessity of the confrontation appears to be taken for granted. In other words, facing *life/the real truth* and arguably also *things* are all unavoidable facts of life and therefore dealing with them is the default. The implication is that “facing” does not need explicit mentioning and therefore both statements of “ability” and “facing” are strictly unnecessary and therefore very meaningful.

The phrase further appears in 11 lines that were subsumed in the discussion in Sections 3.1-3.3 regarding “negatives” (examples 122-130 below), “expressions of compulsion/obligation” (example 131) and “nouns denoting something unpleasant” (example

132¹⁰⁹ – and also 123, 129, 131 which feature both negation and a noun group denoting something unpleasant):

(122) land. G.P. talks about the Paris rat. Not being able to face England any more. I can
(123) annelled the conversation at the last moment, unable to face his benign condescension.
(124) es, I know, but..." The truth was she hadn't been able to face it. She couldn't face speak
(125) tic revanchism. And I know something he seems unable to face: it will never happen again
(126) main reason why I have not until recently felt able to face the task of transcribing t
(127) d she brushed past him to go to the stairs, not able to face this at all. His arm shot o
(128) hivering uncontrollably, she went downstairs. Unable to face the thought of food, she ma
(129) you do it?" she dropped her eyes to the mug, unable to face his withering scorn. "You s
(130) was not a prospect which he thought he would be able to face with equanimity. "She is un
(131) the wine. "I really don't agree. One should be able to face death," I cried earnestly,
(132) He knew that to face their defeat in Strath Tay (he assumed defeat now) would be too wounding, too dispiriting: it would bring him near despair. If he was still himself, he should be able to face it. It began to be a test – the test – of whether he could still live with himself once the months (but probably it would be years) of imprisonment were over.

The expression is synonymous with *can/could*, and although it is far less frequent than *can/could* in my dataset (covering only 3% of non-visual *face* as opposed to the 23% of *can/could*) the implications of its co-occurrence with non-visual *face* appear to be similar to those of *can/could* (cf. Section 3.6 above).

The ratio of negative to positive uses of *able to face* is 2:1. Although the dataset is admittedly very small, the ratio is far from what would be expected on the basis of Halliday & James' (1993) findings regarding polarity. But, as was the case with *can/could*, the question that arises is whether it is *face* in its non-visual sense that "attracts" negative polarity or rather *able to* that tends to be negated either grammatically or morphologically. In an attempt to answer this question, I examined concordances for *(un)able* in BNC-fiction¹¹⁰ and for *(un)able to face*¹¹¹ in the entire BNC (bar fiction texts to ensure independence of the data)¹¹².

Able in BNC-fiction yielded a total of 4,132 lines. After deleting irrelevant instances (such as *able-bodied*, *Able Seaman/Seamen*, *take-off-able*) there were 4,114 lines left. Of these, 1,188 involved grammatical negation and 54 lines featured the broad negative *hardly*; so, 30% of the instances of *able* in BNC-fiction co-occurred with negation, i.e. about three times as frequently as would be expected according to Halliday & James' (1993) findings regarding skew systems. Further, a search for *unable* in BNC-fiction yielded 1,179 lines, almost the number of lines of *able* with grammatical negation. If we total the number of lines for grammatically negated *able* with those for *unable*, it emerges that about 1 out of 2 lines of

¹⁰⁹ The pronoun *it* probably replaces *defeat* in this line – though it could also be understood as replacing *despair*, which of the two is replaced is immaterial for our discussion both here and in Section 3.3 which discussed nouns denoting something unpleasant that function as the complement of *face*, as both *defeat* and *despair* are abstract nouns denoting something unpleasant/undesirable.

¹¹⁰ Excluding instances of *(un)able to face*.

¹¹¹ Only those lines were taken into account in which *face* has a non-visual use.

¹¹² A caveat is in order here: carrying out a search in the entire BNC of course means that I chose not to adhere to one genre and primings could be affected by a change in genre. Yet with the dataset for *(un)able to face* in BNC-fiction being so small, it was deemed necessary to extend the search in the hope of gaining better insight from a larger amount of data.

(un)able involve negation; in other terms, the ratio between negative and positive instances is 1:1 (1:0.7 to be arithmetically precise), which is five times as frequent as would be expected on the basis of Halliday & James' (1993) findings.

These findings suggest that *able* tends to be used with either grammatical or morphological negation by far more frequently than would be expected on the basis of Halliday & James' (1993) findings regarding polarity. So, it could be concluded that it is due to the primings associated with *able* that we find so many instances of *able to face* negated. In other words, as was the case with *can/could*, non-visual *face* collocates with *able to* and through this collocation it also colligates with negation.

3.7.2 Face the music

This phrase occurs in a total of 11 lines of my dataset. Three of those co-occurred with *let's* and were discussed in Section 3.5 above and a further 3 co-occurred with an expression of compulsion/obligation and were covered in Section 3.1. Only in one of the remaining 5 lines of my dataset does the phrase at first glance appear not to carry the meaning "to confront the consequences of one's actions" (*Collins English Dictionary* 2000), as there seems to be nothing in the immediate or even in the extended context to suggest there are any "consequences" in the narrative:

(133) The clientele of Le Club Zodiaque was mostly ladies of a late autumn who visit a grave back home with a weekly gift of fresh flowers. Women of a certain age. It was natural to dance together. This wasn't a tea-dance with cups of tea and staid sandwiches: it was a slick nightclub where the waiters and the band flirted like gigolos. Dancing was a pleasure in itself, as holidays were, and if one has to take them alone or with friends, then why not face the music and - give it rock all! As Lily put it. So Frances and Mrs [Lily] Malloy - four grown-up children and seven grandchildren - danced together for the last couple of hours. Last week they'd shared a bottle of champagne to celebrate the birth of the seventh grandchild.

In the remaining 4 lines, *face the music* is clearly used in a context of something unpleasant/undesirable needing to be confronted (cf. underlined text in examples 134-137). In line (136) we happen to need a page of more context to know that; the main character, Constance, is preparing herself to tell her mother (Nora) and aunt (Louise) that on the previous day she married a man she has only known for a week – news she anticipates will not go down very well.

(134) On the way back to Harwich, the newspapers did a marvellous job of keeping my mind off things, and it was only on the last leg of the journey that the butterflies started to flutter again. Meeting Jenny the following day at least gave me something else to hang on to, but I still hadn't the faintest idea how everyone was going to react. I arrived to face the music. Waiting for me behind the counter was Katrina. She quickly disappeared out the back and came around the front to greet me. "Dorothy! We've been so worried about you! Are you all right? Come and sit down and tell me what's been happening." "Where's Kathleen?" "She's gone to London to look for you." "What!"

- (135) I had desperately wanted to rush outside and leave the whole wretched affair behind me but something told me I had to stay and face the music. "why did that stupid idiot put her stupid fifty-pound note inside my pocket?" I wondered as I fumbled around inside my apron for my cigarettes. Then I noticed the tag on the collar. "No," I said to myself. "No, it can't be. It's not right. It can't be." I had, of course, been wearing Martha's apron. I felt sick. I felt the courage draining out of me.
- (136) Above all, she loved his Italian mannerisms: hands cupped together in a pleading gesture when she was slow to understand something or arms flailing in the air as he enthused about the beauty of Capri, the magnificence of St Peter's anything, so long as it was Italian. His Mediterranean vibrancy excited and stimulated her. She compared him with Nicky. How could she ever have thought that his negligent self-involvement would be enough for her? Constance knew the time had come to face the music and speak to Nora. But she also felt a compulsion to talk to Louise. She couldn't bear the rift that had come between her and the aunt who had always understood and helped her; who had so many times stood between her and her mother as faithful friend wanting the best for them both and who was now so alienated from her. She rang her first.
- (137) Davis would not release his hold on her. She knew that the longer the relationship lasted, the more she courted disaster. She no longer needed the groom to accompany her when she rode out, since she was now a proficient horsewoman. This placed obstacles in the way of their meeting with any regularity, causing Davis resentment and bringing out the ugly side of his nature. He had threatened on more than one occasion to reveal details of their love-making to Stephen. "Then I'd clear off and leave you to face the music," he had sneered.

3.7.3 Reality, fact(s), truth as Objects of face

A further 10 lines feature the semantically similar nouns *reality*, *(the) fact(s)*, *the truth* as the Objects of *face*, presented here in their extended context for better illustration:

- (138) "You shouldn't encourage your readers to think that their lives might turn out like your novels. You encourage them to turn to romance rather than face reality. And then they're at a disadvantage when they have to deal with real life problems." Her voice rose.
- (139) "You will do as you are told, mademoiselle . You will go into the barn and up to his studio. If you continue to behave in this childish manner then I will carry you up there!" "How dare you?" Jenna raged. "Just who do you think you are?" "I am Russell's friend, my mother's son and the man who will vanquish the past for you." He spun her to face him, his eyes once again merciless. "when you did not come to see him I made myself a vow that you would face reality and not some story that has been hammered into you since childhood. I knew Russell Bryant; you did not!" "I knew all I needed to know," Jenna reminded him fiercely. "I was left behind without a qualm." He didn't bother to argue further.
- (140) It would be different if you really did love him, but I don't think you do... certainly not enough to make the kind of sacrifices that would be necessary if you did marry him." "You can't know how I feel," Madeleine protested. "Besides, how do you know how much money Harry has?" "Because he told me. The pater told me his former guardians had frittered away the money his father left him, and Harry told me the amount of the salary Mr Harvey pays him. That's all he has, and it's not all that much more than your dress allowance, Pickles. You might as well face facts." For a few moments, Madeleine was silent,
- (141) "I don't think anyone is casting aspersions on you or your officers, Mr Nicholson," Clinton offered. "what happened was unfortunate, we're all agreed on that." "It was also inevitable," Nicholson said sharply. "The men in here are unpredictable, violent and

dangerous. To some, killing is a way of life, whether you want to face that fact or not. Mr Fairham obviously chooses to ignore it."

- (142) She was in limbo and would be for the rest of her life, if you could call it a life, dragging out its weary length with no more great joys or fearful griefs for her, for her blood was running too thin to bear them. And she was only fifteen. It was appalling. As she put away the cutlery and was so sorry for herself, she found it made things easier if she dramatised them. Or melodramatised them. It was easier, for example, to face the fact of Uncle Philip if she saw him as a character in a film, possibly played by Orson Welles.
- (143) He was a steadfast bachelor and intended to remain so. [...] He would be mad to try and change his way of life now. [...] Charles, Harold pointed out to himself, had nothing to lose when he married. [...] Besides, Charles was the sort of man who should be married: he was not. That was the crux of the matter. He took up the poker and turned over a log carefully. Watching the flames shoot up the chimney, he told himself firmly that marriage was out of the question. Once that poor girl's divorce was through, he hoped that some decent kind young man would appear to make her happy, and take some of her present burdens from her. Meanwhile, he would do what he could to help her, and would frankly face the fact that her presence gave him enormous pleasure. But for her sake, he must guard his feelings, he reminded himself. Thrush Green was adept at putting two and two together and making five, and she had enough to contend with already, without being annoyed by foolish gossip.
- (144) It's hard to say which one will take the most careful handling, especially in view of the fact that Calder is reported to be considering backing the building of the new radio station. If he does then it will almost certainly mean that he'll be offered a directorship. So you could find that in a few months' time he's your boss." Could it get any worse? She doubted it. "Thanks, Fred. That really does put my mind at ease!" "It's always better to face the facts, Fran, you know that. Still, don't worry too much about it. I doubt if Calder will take it any further once he's had time to think it over and realise how upset you were. I'll see you tomorrow, then."
- (145) g of the year. Suddenly, she felt lighter of heart, ready to face the truth she had long denied herself. Yes, there were things she would never experience in life, special things which a man and woman in love might enjoy; she would never carry Tyler's child again, nor would the two of them grow old together, content in each other's love. But she was blessed in so many other ways.
- (146) You don't want to know about your father's past. Keep his memory sweet." She quailed at his heartless words, afraid of discovering that her adored father had feet of clay but determined to face the truth. "It's too late," she said heavily. "I must know the truth.
- (147) "Do you know how and why your parents died, Mikhail?" vologsky shrugged. "It was always a little vague. An accident... a factory explosion," he murmured. "There were many deaths." Kirov smiled wistfully. "Yes, it is as I thought," he mused. "The truth was kept from you... perhaps for your own protection. Maybe it would do you no service to face it now."

In all ten cases *reality, facts* and *the truth* appear to be difficult to acknowledge, which is expressed in different ways in each context:

In example (138) an author is charged with encouraging escapism with her novels, which is more agreeable than dealing with the difficulties of *reality* and therefore preferred by readers who are then left *at a disadvantage when they have to deal with real life problems*.

Example (139) comes from text “hgd.txt” in the BNC the main plot of which was briefly presented in Section 3.1.2. In this line we have a character (Alain) who has vowed that another character (Jenna) in the novel would face reality; the implication here is that this can only come about with a lot of persistence, from which we understand that the latter character (Jenna) is reluctant or unwilling to acknowledge the former character’s (Alain’s) perception of reality. A little contextual knowledge (cf. Section 3.1.2) informs us that the reason behind the reluctance is that the character Jenna fears that the task could turn out to be extremely challenging emotionally.

Contextual knowledge is once again important in perceiving the intended meaning of the sentence *You might as well face facts* in line (140); “facts” refers to the just imparted information that the man a young woman who is used to financial comfort intends to marry is not affluent enough to provide for her to the standard she has been accustomed to. The person disclosing the information expects her to find the prospect disagreeable – something that the text confirms a few paragraphs further down (*Why, oh why, wasn't it Harry who could offer her the life Pogo could give her? It simply wasn't fair!*).

In line (141), *that fact* refers to the proposition expressed in *to some, killing is a way of life*; the correlatives *whether ... or* are there to reinforce the indisputability of the proposition as a fact, regardless of the stance of others towards it, implying that some might find the fact unpalatable and therefore also be reluctant to accept it. That this is indeed the case is clearly expressed in the sentence immediately following: *Mr Fairham obviously chooses to ignore it*.

The notion of difficulty in coping with something unpleasant is once again found in line (142) through the presence of *it was easier*, which actually implies a converse *harder*. *she found it made things easier if she dramatised them. Or melodramatised them. It was easier, for example, to face the fact of Uncle Philip if she saw him as a character in a film*. In support of this, it becomes clear from the context a few paragraphs prior to this line that a negative evaluation of “Uncle Philip” is also attributed to another character: *“E’s ‘orrible!” gasped Victoria, making her mind up about Uncle Philip*.

The “fact to be faced” in line (143) does not appear to be in the least unpleasant/undesirable: *...would frankly face the fact that her presence gave him enormous pleasure*. Yet in the couple of paragraphs preceding this statement we find clues that suggest that this fact must be at least disconcerting, and these clues were included in the presentation of the example (ellipses in square brackets, “[...]”, signal the omission of lines). Apparently, *the fact that her presence gave him enormous pleasure* is unsettling for this man who is a “steadfast bachelor”, “not the sort of man who should be married” and for whom marriage is “out of the question”. So, once again we find that the Object of non-visual *face* refers to something that is in some way undesirable.

Context plays an equally important role in line (144); given that the character is convinced that the potential situation that has just been outlined to her "could not get any worse", her exclamation "*Thanks, Fred. That really does put my mind at ease!*" can only be intended ironically and the subsequent *facts* can only be equated with the situation she finds so appalling.

This leaves us with the three instances of *face the truth*, examples (145)-(147). That the "truth" is unpleasant, or at least difficult to acknowledge, is signalled in all three instances. In line (145) the character in question is finally *ready to* acknowledge the truth *she had long denied herself* – the implication being that for a while the character was reluctant to come to terms with it. In line (146) disclosure of the truth causes fear (cf. *afraid of discovering that her adored father had feet of clay but determined to face the truth*), given that the truth could be potentially unpleasant, but the character professes herself determined to face it nevertheless. Finally, in (147) we find in the context immediately preceding the sentence in question that *the truth* was at one time potentially dangerous: *kept from you... perhaps for your own protection..*

These 10 lines are not the only ones in my dataset of non-visual uses of *face* that feature *fact(s)*, *reality* and *truth* as the Objects of the verb. There were another 44 lines, in which these Objects co-occurred with the features discussed in Sections 3.1 to 3.6 above, the presence of which –it has been argued– also indicates that what needs be faced is unpleasant/undesirable. An examination of these 44 lines, this time with the Object of *face* in focus, confirmed that, like in the 10 lines which we closely examined above, the nouns *fact(s)*, *reality* and *truth* have a negative semantic prosody.

3.7.4 Other cases of non-visual *face* being associated with something undesirable/unpleasant

Sections 3.7.1, 3.7.2 and 3.7.3 discussed 18 of the 69 lines of non-visual *face* that were not covered by Sections 3.1 to 3.6.

In 21 out of the remaining 51 lines, the fact that what needs be faced is undesirable/unpleasant is made clear by contextual clues. These lines (with the contextual clues underlined) are presented below together with their extended context for better illustration and will be discussed one by one further below:

(148) He let her go, but retained hold of her fingers as his face became serious. "Theda, there is no other future for us, you must see that. Aside from the rest, after what I have said to Caswell – that you are my wife – we should make it good. Especially as your reputation is blasted already in the village. And that is to my account." "Don't, Benedict! I am ready to face all that. I told you so," Theda said, a trifle tremulous again. "I would do anything I could for you, save – " "Save that which I want from you," he finished. "And you would have run from me to escape it, confound you!"

- (149) "What was the thora like? Richard asked suddenly, impelled by the curiosity that drives people to stare at and question the survivors of some calamity. Frank rubbed his cheek thoughtfully with the heel of his fist before replying. "Actually," he said, "it's like so many things in life something you go through with once, because you have to. But you'd die rather than face it again." "Who's talking of dying on a fine day like this?" They looked up to find Sister Cooney standing there.
- (150) They ran for the shelter of a large chunk of dislodged temple that had fallen a few metres away. Loud blasts echoed up from the valley below. "They can't have seen us already," said Rosheen. Bernice popped her head over the rock. pink bolts were rattling randomly about the area. "I don't think they did," she called down to Rosheen. "The idea seems to be to blast everything in sight." Rosheen slumped down helplessly. "This is it, then," she said. "We might as well face it." "No way," Bernice shouted bitterly. "I've lived too much to die like this. Even if they get me, I'll go down fighting."
- (151) "There is not much time left now for I will not always be here to help you and you must learn from me what you can. You may not like me for it but I will have to drive you hard if you are to learn all you will need to survive what you will face. what we all face." Creggan looked at her and then, mantling his wings, glared angrily at the world outside the Cages, a glare that took in the Zoo, the Men, the trees, the wind and even the sky
- (152) all you will need to survive what you will face. what we all face." Creggan looked at th
- (153) Had she really managed to look as though she were still holding together? One look inside her at the devastation of her soul would have told a very different story. She stared into the flames, almost speaking to herself. "The thing is, it's been building up inside me for weeks. I've been trying to ignore it - scared to face it - trying to pretend I didn't care. "You see, I know how I am. In love I don't hold back. If I'd admitted to myself how I really felt about him I'd have thrown myself into the whole thing, body and soul. And I knew that would be folly. I knew I couldn't trust him..."
- (154) "Oh, I see, I see," she said scornfully. "You are determined to wallow in self-pity again, determined to think me a whore so that you can return to the bottle, and blame all women, and not yourself, that you are frightened to face life. So be it.
- (155) The all clear came with the morning light, high-pitched and steady, the sweetest sound in the world. "That's it, then. Away to your homes the lot of you, and God go with you," called Father O'Flaherty. wearily, fearfully, they filed out to face the day. Vi smelled the desolation before she saw it: a mingling of dust and rubble and burning, water-doused timber.
- (156) Isabel began to climb the stairs, acutely aware of FitzAlan behind her every step of the way. She tried to pull her scattered thoughts into some sort of order, but all she could do was wonder if the cold, level gaze he had given her betokened indifference or anger. What was she going to face when they reached the privacy of the solar? What was he going to do to her for running away? Her imagination promptly sped through a catalogue of punishments which ranged from an hour in the stocks to a beating. She had just got to incarceration in a convent for the rest of her days when they arrived at the top of the stairs.
- (157) sometimes she had an almost maniacal look of purpose in her face, not like a little girl at all. Just as well she had such guts really, because no one was going to love her for her feminine self. She needed guts to face always being passed over by the boys for her gorgeous sister Gloria.
- (158) To run would be an easy option but cowardly in the extreme. She was a mature, successful businesswoman, not a gauche teenager flushing with girlish embarrassment at the sight of a lost lover. She was going to cope, to face this, to brave it out and lay a certain ghost.

- (159) "You're booked into what we call the Princess Elizabeth Children's Annexe. [...] That's Elizabeth, after our royal princess, you know." "'Course I know," said Dot. [...] "Then I dare say you also know, my dear, what Princess Elizabeth said during the blitz? How splendidly full of cheerfulness and courage all you young London children are. So that's why they've named the new wing after her. To remind you. For that is exactly how you are going to face tomorrow, aren't you? Full of courage"
- (160) But her own body told her a different story which, lying here for the long days of rest which had been prescribed for her, she had heard clearly enough through the bird-twitter of Linnet and her mother, and Tristan's determined joviality. perhaps she would never have a child. Perhaps - in fact most certainly - it would be sensible to face the possibility. She faced it, therefore. went over it a little whenever her mother was safely out of the way. And then found her thoughts, which desperately needed a new direction, turning slowly towards the mill-school. No child of her own. But there were other children.
- (161) "How do you feel about it all?" She didn't reply for a moment, and he glanced at her anxiously. She was hesitating, getting her thoughts into order. Then she said, "I don't, really. I suppose I still haven't grasped it, and I don't want to. It's like... well, the longer I leave it, the less it will hurt when I finally face it. What about you?"
- (162) They were running through thickly forested country, and tension began to mount in the car. [...] Jenna knew without being told that Marguerite was finding this difficult; each mile had added to her own anxiety, and Alain's mother was feeling many anxieties too. For Jenna, it was a barrier she had never expected to have to cross, this venture into her father's past. She was afraid, afraid of making a fool of herself, afraid that past bitterness would sweep over her and make her behave badly. [...] Jenna could not help feeling hostility, but none of it was directed at Marguerite. It was all centred on a man who was now dead, a man who had cast her aside long ago. Any dregs of left-over resentment were directed at Alain Lemarchand, the man who had forced her into this, the man who had forced both of them into it. She was determined that Marguerite would not suffer for it, and she clamped down on her growing fears. Whatever awaited her at the end of this journey she would face. She had faced worse, after all.
- (163) Jenna poured herself some coffee and sat opposite, deciding to face things through and not run as she had intended.
- (164) and he looked at her angrily. "I wanted you to come here to face your past, also to mak
- (165) The house damaged by fire? How badly?" "I hate to tell you - but it is completely gutted. I think it is quite beyond repair, Charles, as you will see." "I can't take it in, I really can't." said the poor rector. [...] "And Harold," said Charles in a firmer tone, "I very much appreciate your telling me the news so kindly. It couldn't have been easy. You have prepared us to face whatever awaits us there, quite wonderfully."
- (166) "I'm surprised she didn't put in a gold locket or something, or a precious necklace that could be traced back to royalty, or the aristocracy, or the Sultan of Kashmir, or the Pope." Juliet even surprised herself at the bitter words spilling over. Irene looked hurt. "No, Juliet," she said softly, "it was nothing like that. I don't even know whether anything she told me was the truth. Perhaps she wasn't a widow. Perhaps the father had left her to face it alone, I don't know. But it certainly wasn't the Oliver Twist story over again. There wasn't a locket - but she left a letter." Juliet leaned forward in her chair. "what did it say?" "It said she hated having to give you up, she'd hoped to keep you, but this way you'd have more than she could ever give you, and she knew you'd be loved, even as much as she loved you. Something like that. I can't remember the exact words."
- (167) Matt bent a kindly glance upon Lucy. "When shall you be riding again, lass?" But Lucy felt unable to speak. She merely shook her head while jealousy gnawed at her. The vision

of Doreen, head erect, and full of confidence as she rode beside Silas, was all too clear. In comparison, she herself would look little better than a sack of potatoes on horseback. [...] Dejection was again with her next morning, pressing heavily to remind her that she would face another day of visualizing Doreen riding knee to knee beside Silas.

(168) when her father was being stern with her, and she hid her face from the camera in the pillow on the morning before her wedding, he thought of all the arguments that he would have used to persuade her to get up and face the situation.

From the context immediately preceding the line in (148), we know that *all that* refers at least to the fact that the female character's "reputation is already blasted in the village" – a circumstance that the immediate context of the line does not allow to be interpreted as being desirable or pleasant. In line (149) what has already been "faced" once is so unpleasant/undesirable that the speaker of the line says they would rather die than have to do it again. The (probable) exaggeration here serves to highlight the unpleasantness of the task in question. In line (150) we have two characters in an area that is under heavy fire ("*The idea seems to be to blast everything in sight*") – causing one of them to acknowledge the possibility that they might die, which is not a welcome prospect for either of them. Similarly, in lines (151) and (152) – which feature two instances of *face* in very close proximity within one text – we learn that the situation the characters are in requires special skills if they are to survive it. It therefore cannot be easy to cope with or particularly pleasant/desirable, since the consequences of lacking the required skills are death¹¹³. In line (153), what needs to be acknowledged is "scary" for the main character, who opts to "try to ignore it" instead. Similarly, in line (154) somebody is being accused of turning to alcohol because they are too afraid of dealing with the demands of life, which they apparently find overwhelming. Line (155) comes in the context of the WW II blitz; people who took refuge in a church emerge to the devastation that is expecting them outside after the bombing, hence the feelings of "weariness" and "fearfulness" in the face of having to cope with what is expecting them. That there is fear behind the question in (156) – *What would she face when they reached the privacy of the solar?* – is hinted at in the preceding line, in which the character in question also wonders if she had detected indifference or *anger* in her interlocutor, and confirmed in the lines that immediately follow: *What was he going to do to her...?, Her imagination sped through a catalogue of punishments which ranged from an hour in the stocks to a beating*. Lines (157), (158) and (159) also reveal that what needs be faced is unpleasant/undesirable and in the case of line (159) also frightening, by means of stressing that the situation to be faced will *need guts* (l. 157), will be *coped* with and *braved out* (l. 158), and will be met with *full courage* (l. 159)¹¹⁴. "The possibility" which it would be sensible to face in line (160) is that the female character in this passage might not be able to have any children, which is a sad prospect for her: *Wept over it...* In line (161), whatever the

¹¹³ This text is about eagles kept in a zoo and their striving for freedom.

¹¹⁴ Several paragraphs prior to this line we are told that the little girl is to have a tonsillectomy the next day.

Object of *face* –“it”– replaces, will be emotionally painful to acknowledge/confront; the question for the character is reduced to how painful it will be, rather than whether it will be painful. The context prior to the line in (162) –another line from text “hgd.txt” in the BNC; cf. Section 3.1.2.– is of importance in identifying the possible scope of the Object of *face*, viz. whatever awaited her at the end of this journey; we find that the character in question finds herself gradually closer to a situation (i.e. *this venture into her father's past*) the thought of which causes her *tension*, *anxiety*, and gives rise to *growing fears*. This encourages expectations that “whatever awaited” her will encompass options of the same type, i.e. of an unpleasant type. The expectation is further strengthened by the sentence immediately following, *She had faced worse*; the use of the comparative degree of the adjective implies that there is an expectation that *whatever awaited her* can only be at least bad. Lines (163) and (164) come from the same text; this is of significance, because that is how we know that having to deal with the *past* referred to in line (164) was the cause for the *tension*, *anxiety* and *growing fears* in line (162), and at this point in the text it is perceived from the character as just as intimidating. In (163), the clue telling us that the *things* the character decides to face are not necessarily pleasant and that there has been initial reluctance to face them, comes in the contrastive *and not run as she had intended* which immediately follows the Object of *face*. Line (165) is another example of the role context plays in identifying the possible scope of *whatever awaits* as an Object of *face*; by the time the reader has reached this line they know that what awaits the speaker and his companion is seeing their house completely destroyed by fire. The situation is indeed so unpleasant and emotionally demanding that the speaker of the line acknowledges that even breaking the bad news to them *couldn't have been easy* and that they are grateful to be in the right frame of mind (i.e. *prepared*) to see with their eyes what has happened and accept it. In line (166) the verb's Object –“it”– stands for a whole situation which becomes clear from the preceding paragraphs: having a baby at a very young age and without any support from a partner (left her to face it alone) – an extremely demanding situation by any standard, which forced the young mother to give up her baby. Similarly, the context preceding line (167) informs us that the Object of *face* here (viz. *another day of visualising Doreen riding knee to knee beside Silas*) has already been the cause of “gnawing jealousy” and the prospect of facing such a day fills the character with “dejection”. Finally, that *the situation* which has to be dealt with in line (168) is unpleasant is hinted at by the fact that it takes “persuading” to deal with it.

This discussion leaves us with 30 lines of *face* in its non-visual use (viz. some 6% of the dataset on non-visual *face*) that have not been accounted for yet. Given the clear tendency of non-visual *face* to have a purely confrontational meaning (i.e. in 94% of my 469 lines), it is highly likely that any instance of non-visual *face* will activate a confrontational interpretation, even in the absence of one of its characteristic patterns that we discussed

above. A quick glance at the remaining 30 lines shows this to be the case (cf. Appendix II), as a random selection of five lines illustrates¹¹⁵:

- (169) Fear that all this may just be in my head. Fear that when I finally go in and face it, ready to start, the old revulsion will rise up in me again. Fear that I have only dreamed of m
- (170) Fear that I have only dreamed of moving forward, that when I go in and face it I will see that it is a mistake, not possible, uninteresting. That it was never on.
- (171) I was a little old lady so I was left in peace. At nine o'clock, on the dot, I went down to the station cafe to face whatever was going to happen.
- (172) "Particularly on the points raised by the Prime Minister. Mark would you like to face the next ball?" Mark smiled and nodded. "Before we begin, Mr Sanders," the Prime Minister said
- (173) It's been condemned for years now. We knew it would happen one day." "So what will you do?" "I'll face that when the time comes," said Jenny cheerfully. "I'll find a room somewhere I expect.

4. Conclusion

To recapitulate, all the expressions and constructions characteristic of *face* in its non-visual use, which were discussed in Sections 3.1 to 3.7 and which cover 94% of my dataset of 469 lines of non-visual *face*, attest to non-visual *face* having a purely confrontational meaning. It is used to express that what needs be faced is in some way unpleasant/undesirable, as evidenced by the fact that in more than half the lines of my dataset *face* had either an Object that was a noun denoting something unpleasant (130 lines) or a noun acquiring a negative polarity through its modification (22 lines), or an Object that was rendered clearly unpleasant/undesirable by means of clues in the immediate context (88 lines). The undesirability of the task of facing is also stressed by the frequent presence of expressions of compulsion/obligation (1 in 4 lines) which implies that the Subject of *face* would rather avoid the task if they could. The association of non-visual *face* with negation is also far more frequent than would be expected on the basis of Halliday & James' (1993) analysis of binary grammatical systems, with almost one in three lines of non-visual *face* being negated (138 out of 469 lines); the task of facing something is, therefore, not approached in an affirmative way.

¹¹⁵ These are the first five lines of the concordance of 30, sorted by file name.

Chapter 5

The polysemous verb *face* II

Visual use, Part 1

1. Introduction

In 724 lines of my data *face* is used in a visual way in that it always involves physical positioning of one entity with respect to another. As briefly illustrated in the Introduction to Chapter 4, within the category of visual uses of *face* (i.e. within the concrete use of the verb) there can be cases where the verb carries a purely directional meaning; but there are also cases (cf. examples 9-17 in Chapter 4) where the verb intuitively has an additional level of meaning, beyond pure directionality. Chapters 5 and 6 will both focus on the visual use of *face* in order to examine whether there are indeed primings that distinguish between the non-visual and visual uses of the verb –as would be expected on the basis of the theory of Lexical Priming– and also whether primings can be established that distinguish between the perceived sense distinctions within the visual use of the verb, since, if a sense distinction is perceivable, there will be something in the context to prompt this perception (cf. Sinclair 1987: 109; Hoey 2005: 81).

A preliminary examination of the 724 lines of visual *face* led to the following observations: (i) the vast majority of visual *face* (700 lines, i.e. 97%) involve an animate Subject, while the remaining 24 lines involve an inanimate Subject (and of these the vast majority feature *face* in a purely directional sense); (ii) of the 700 lines featuring an animate Subject, 599 (i.e. 86% of the 700 lines) also feature an animate Object; (iii) 101 of the 700 lines featuring an animate Subject (i.e. 14%) feature an inanimate Object. These observations were used to categorise lines in order to structure the analysis and make it more practicable. The present chapter will discuss those visual uses of *face* in which the verb features (i) an inanimate Subject (24 lines), and (ii) an animate Subject and inanimate Object (101 lines), while Chapter 6 will be devoted to the visual uses of *face* featuring an animate Subject and animate Object. The sequence of the presentation might at first glance appear counter-intuitive for the following two reasons: first, because it begins with the least populated category (i.e. the 24 lines of *face* featuring an inanimate Subject) rather than with the larger category (viz. the 599 lines of *face* with an animate Subject and animate Object); second, because the category of lines featuring an animate Subject and inanimate Object is treated together with the category featuring an inanimate Subject – rather than in Chapter 6 with the category featuring an animate Subject and animate Object. It was, however, deemed

appropriate to succeed the discussion of purely confrontational *face* with a presentation of what appear to be the characteristic patterns of purely directional *face* – exemplified by the 24 lines of *face* featuring an inanimate Subject as well as by 61% of the 101 lines featuring an animate Subject and inanimate Object– before embarking on a discussion of those lines in which *face* has the potential of combining both senses. Furthermore, as has already been suggested and as we will see in detail in Chapter 6, the category of lines in which *face* features both an animate Subject and an animate Object presented challenges in the analysis that were not shared by the other categories, and which led to the amendment of Lexical Priming theory with categories from Discourse Analysis.

2. *Face* featuring an inanimate Subject

Of my dataset of visual uses of *face*, 24 lines feature an inanimate Subject. This illustrates a major difference from the non-visual use of *face*, for which not one instance of an inanimate Subject was attested among 469 lines. These 24 lines of visual *face* are presented below with the inanimate Subject and, where necessary, its referent underlined. The referent of *they* in line (1) is *jars*, *it* in (5) refers to *repeater bolt thrower*, the referent of *the rest* in line (7) is *rows of houses*, *she* in line (11) refers to a boat; the Subject in line (12) is *the Broompark*, a war ship, while in line (16) it is *photographs*; *it* in line (17) refers to a space-ship; the Subject in (20) is a dead person, and was therefore considered inanimate; finally, the referent of *it* in (23) is *a slim black volume*.

- (1) d presenting – and," he paused, "they must all face the front. That's called facing up.
- (2) "Right. Twelve jars to go abreast. And the front two" Tim said with emphasis "must touch the shelf rim exactly – that's called presenting – and," he paused, "they must all face the front. That's called facing up. Now you put them on the shelves, and I'll check you." [...] "That's right. You're getting there. Cheers," at intervals. When Anna stepped back, she said, "I think I'll go straight home and face and present the larder."
- (3) The city of Lothorn is not simply built around the lagoon; at some points artificial islands have been built within its waters. On these rest great palaces, temples and storehouses forming an intricate network of canals. Towering two hundred foot-high statues of the Phoenix King and the Everqueen face each other across the mouth of the bay and around the harbour are other great statues of the Elf Gods
- (4) se." "Thank you." He pulled the chair round to face hers and sat down. It was easy to se
- (5) The repeater bolt thrower is a solid device which has a toughness value and an equivalent to 3 wounds as shown below. The repeater bolt thrower can be moved by its crew. It cannot move and shoot in the same turn, except that it can be turned to face its intended target. If one of the crew members is killed, then its movement is reduced by half.
- (6) ot like the village. I do not like coasts that face north. On my last day I had a boatman

- (7) These small rows of houses look as if they had been dumped down like baggage on a railway platform while the owner goes for a sandwich. Those on Furnace Road face across allotments and melancholy fields, that lead eventually to the mines. The rest face nowhere. And about all of them is the untidy spaciousness of land which has been forgotten, greens, allotments, sumps, dumps, and slag-holes.
- (8) nitials due south-west and turned the easel to face the door. Sitting and looking at it,
- (9) d-whipped hair. Defries swivelled his chair to face the front." You ever seen androids l
- (10) looking at Mariana, he swung the BMW round to face the mountains. The seconds ticked by
- (11) Somehow I was in the boat, and Neil had cast off and was edging her out from the jetty. she backed in a gentle arc to face the open sea, and as Neil gunned the engine she jumped forward and then settled to a smooth, fast pace.
- (12) It happened a month after the Broompark had rolled and wheezed her way out of Bordeaux to face the U-boats and the bombers, and it happened in a Soho pub.
- (13) The temptation to swing the trolley round to face the other way had to be resisted. As
- (14) rches, and move the target." "Turn it round to face the other way!" Hodai called out, an
- (15) The Isle of Moila is the first stop past Tobermory. It is not a large island, perhaps nine miles by five, with formidable cliffs to the north-west that face the weather rather like the prow of a ship.
- (16) nothing you could put your finger on... nothing definite... little things... the way she looks at the photographs on the mantelpiece. She's turned one or two of them round, you know, to face the wall. And she gets up in the night and sits by the telephone in the hall in the dark.
- (17) Thousands of them looked down now as something round and shiny drifted around the Earth. It had Arnsat-1 painted on its side, which was a bit of a waste of paint since stars can't read. It unfolded a silver dish. It should then have turned to face the planet below it, ready to beam down old movies and new news. It didn't. It had new orders. Little puffs of gas jetted out as it turned around and searched the sky for a new target. By the time it had found it, a lot of people in the old movies and new news business were shouting very angrily at one another down telephones, and some of them were feverishly trying to give it new instructions.
But that didn't matter, because it wasn't listening any more.
- (18) ushed it aside, swivelling his chair around to face the window and the panoramic view of
- (19) wheel hard across and turned the car around to face towards his chosen village. He slowed
- (20) the ground, slightly tilted so that she would face upwards in death, her mouth near the
- (21) g. Abberley's faces us. The two other machines face him, diagonally visible to us; Abberl
- (22) owing his fall. The study doors are those that face one as one comes down the great stair
- (23) she brought to light a slim black volume and tossed it to Rex. Rex turned it to face him and read the title. "THE SUBURBAN BOOK OF THE DEAD" it said in nice big letters.
- (24) "You said this Mr Lancaster come in yesterday?" Dexter nodded. A few seconds later the finger stopped moving and the man turned round the book to face Dexter. "There you are - one jacket and one pair of trousers." "And have you cleaned them yet?" The man shrugged

Line (2) will at first glance appear not to belong to this section, as the verb *face* seems to have an animate Subject. This impression, however, is short-lived once the context has been taken into account: it is about Anna who is new in her supermarket job and is being taught how to fill up shelves with products. In a line a little further above in the text (which also appears in the concordance, as line 1) we find out that the products “*must touch the shelf rim exactly - that’s called presenting - and,*” he paused, “*they must all face the front. That’s called facing up. [...]*”. So, Anna, the speaker in the line in question, is the Subject of *face* only as an agent of the activity, but not as a semantic Subject. In other words, Anna is the one who will change the orientation of the tins and jars in her cupboard so that all labels are nicely aligned and “looking” towards the front; but this instance of *face* is not about Anna’s own physical orientation with respect to her larder at home or about any sort of metaphorical confrontation Anna might engage in with her larder (in the sense of deciding to finally clean up a very messy larder, for example). The interpretation of this line is specifically triggered by the coordination of *face* with *present* which picks up on the instructions that Anna received previously in the text; its intention is to show understanding of these instructions, and humorous self-approval of the results of their implementation.

In 7 of the 24 lines above the Object of *face* denotes direction (viz. *north, the front* (2 instances), *the other way* (2), *towards, upwards*). This is arguably also the case in line (2) – since it is made explicit in the context that *face* is used to mean “face the front”. In a further 12 of the 24 lines the Object of the verb is an inanimate entity that serves as a point of orientation for the Subject of the verb. Six lines among these require further discussion: line (3) occurs in the context of the description of an apparently fictional city and in this description there is a mention of *Towering two hundred foot-high statues of the Phoenix King and the Everqueen fac[ing] each other across the mouth of the bay*. In this instance the metaphor involved in attributing animate features (a face, eyes) to inanimate entities which are then construed as looking at a concrete entity or in a particular direction, is weaker; the statues do have faces with eyes, but there are no clues in the immediate context of the line that any further animate attributes are projected onto them, and therefore *face* is here used in a purely descriptive, and thus purely directional, way.

In line (7) the Object of *face* is *nowhere* which is not exactly prototypical as a point of orientation. Yet in the text it is contrasted with clear points of orientation, and therefore *nowhere* also acquires the status of a point of orientation, albeit an apparently uninteresting one: while the small rows of houses *on Furnace Road face across allotments and melancholy fields*, we find that *The rest face nowhere*.

Lines (11) and (12) are similar in that in both the Subject of *face* is a vessel, yet while the meaning of *face* in (11) is purely directional, in (12) it is not. It is the Object of *face* together with contextual factors that make the difference. In (11) the Object is *the open sea*,

and, since the line occurs in a description of the boat being manoeuvred out of a jetty and there is no mention of rough seas, *face* can only be understood as having a purely directional meaning. In (12), however, the Object of *face* is *the U-boats and the bombers* in the context of WW II, therefore the context is one of wartime confrontation; here, both the Subject and the Object of *face* are personified and the focus in the use of *face* is predominantly on the sense of confrontation involved. So, the exact sense of *face* in lines (11) and (12) appears to be determined by the denotation of the verb's Object, and specifically by whether the verb's Object is attributed some degree of (potential) activity which is of an adverse nature for the Subject, rather than mere physical presence.

Similarly, line (15) calls on our world-knowledge for the interpretation of *face* and this world-knowledge leads us to a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*. The metaphor here is not only restricted to *the formidable cliffs* being attributed a face and eyes; they seem to also be attributed volition, and maybe even determination, to stand against the weather fronts coming down from the north-west. These *cliffs* are likened to *the prow of a ship*, which heads against the wind to stand a chance against the waves. And if that alone did not suffice to trigger a confrontational interpretation of *face*: the orientation of *the formidable cliffs* was given to us immediately preceding our node; they are *to the north-west*. By the time we reach *that face the weather* our world-knowledge has already been activated to inform us that cold weather fronts in the Northern Hemisphere usually travel from northwest to southeast¹¹⁶ and that geographic features, like cliffs, are formed over time under the influence of a number of processes, one of which is the erosive influence of weather.

In line (17) the sentence containing *face* evokes a purely directional interpretation of the verb, since there is nothing to suggest the presence of a confrontation: *It should then have turned to face the planet below it, ready to beam down old movies and new news*. The fact that there is a contrast relation (Winter 1977, 1994) between the clause featuring *face* (*It should then have turned to face*) and the clause of the following sentence (*It didn't*), as well as with the clauses that elaborate *It didn't* (i.e. *It had new orders. Little puffs of gas jettied out as it turned around and searched the sky for a new target*) further reinforces the purely directional meaning of *face* in this instance: directional *face* is replaced by *searched the sky*.

In 4 of the 24 lines, finally, i.e. in lines (21), (22), (23) and (24), the Object of *face* is an animate entity that serves as a point of orientation for the inanimate Subject of *face*. In all four lines the only metaphor involved in the Subject of *face* is that it is attributed very specific animate features (i.e. a face, eyes); no further animate attributes are projected onto these inanimate entities –like volition or intentionality, for example. Furthermore, all four animate Objects (*him, one, him, Dexter*) are neutrally referred to, as mere points of physical

¹¹⁶ Confirmation of my world-knowledge was found in Wikipedia, at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weather_front#Movement (accessed January 2011).

reference. So, all four lines serve a purely descriptive purpose with *face* having a purely directional sense.

The dataset is admittedly extremely small, and no more than an extremely tentative conclusion can be drawn from its analysis: in 22 out of 24 lines *face* has a purely directional meaning when it has an inanimate Subject which is attributed very specific animate features (i.e. a face, eyes), but –crucially– no volition. So the extremely tentative claim is that the verb appears to have a purely directional sense when it takes an inanimate Subject – unless contextual clues suggest otherwise.

3. *Face* featuring an animate Subject and an inanimate Object

There are 101 lines of *face* in my data featuring an animate Subject and inanimate Object. In 37 of these, the Object of *face* is a landmark in nature (e.g. *land, landscape, ocean, sea, sun*), a building or part of a building (e.g. *kitchen, window, wall, house*), or a human artefact (e.g. *glass case, ship, table, teacups*), towards which the Subject of *face* is oriented, as can be seen in lines (25)-(61). *Fire* as the Object of *face* in (38) was also included in this set, since it can stand both for the burning pile of wood, coal or gas and for the heating device itself, and it wasn't clear from the immediate context of the line exactly which is meant. In all these instances *face* is purely directional.

(25) ("oh ma'am, but yes," he began) I turned to face a kitchen or parlour, plain in its sha
(26) himself off from the knowledge, like someone turning to face a wall. He said, "Tell me
(27) that could depend on you." And he turned away from her to face his desk again, as if eve
(28) at he was back there, he would turn round and face the back of his cage, open his wings,
(29) sider the problem," Alain murmured. "we will face the barn or we will go out somewhere."
(30) she suggested, her hand on his arm as she steered him to face the big window. "Look outs
(31) "Certainly not," he replied firmly. He turned to face the camera lens. "Listen, I love m
(32) your own son is involved?" Harriet Shakespeare turned to face the camera directly. "I ho
(33) as if to check that no boat was there, then he turned to face the causeway, took somethi
(34) The four men ventured farther out and turned to face the chair; their wives hung back. A
(35) He laid the binoculars back on the passenger seat, turned to face the church. To reach t
(36) Sensing she was being watched, she spun round to face the doorway, the Beretta gripped t
(37) without you, Miriam." She blushed and turned away to face the easel. "You will have to p
(38) the table and took it out of the room. Willie turned to face the fire, his head bowed o
(39) and power built through the lines. As he turned to face the glass case, he felt every ey
(40) his head. "No, we'll do it my way." He turned to face the glass of the sliding windows
(41) either triumph or disaster. Charles had just turned to face the glass case, having made
(42) to a halt, turning without demur as Maggie moved her to face the house. She went back a
(43) She took her by the shoulders and turned her round to face the house. She gave her a tin
(44) As she faced out to sea then turned back to face the land through which she had just pa
(45) newspaper, makes no gesture of acknowledgement. I face the lonely and exposed landscape,
(46) brother, Francis. The boy behind the door. He turned to face the ocean. Just before he
(47) I would get up in the morning, step out of my caravan, face the ocean and do my exercise
(48) to be precisely right for his guest. would she prefer to face the room or the window? wa
(49) subtlety may win me, but force never will. She turned to face the sea again. "Do you lik
(50) fany!" I splutter a laugh. He turns away to face the sea. His hand moves with efficient

(51) until somebody throws a spanner in the works." He turned to face the ship. "I think it's
 (52) A guilty pain began gnawing at her chest. She turned to face the shop window. The woman
 (53) He kicked the motor cycle round and gunned it across the river, then swung back to face
the spit and the vee-shaped cut in the almost vertical bank.
 (54) shoulders that slump, a head that tips back to face the sun, feet that drag, a voice tha
 (55) "Gods, Ben, what have you been up to?" Ben turned to face the table. "It's a dead rabbit
 (56) as her rival's triumph, Gwendolen turned to face the teacups again, wrapped in misery.
 (57) when the Resident Superior finally stepped forward to face the throne, the Annamese empe
 (58) pavement, then tells us to turn and face the wall. "Put your hands flat against the bric
 (59) his face into the pillow and sighed. Richard turned to face the wall. Their buttocks tou
 (60) news," the inspector said. He turned away to face the window, a tall man with grizzled,
 (61) privy," he said. Cleo sighed heavily and turned to face the window. wakelate left the r

In a further 8 cases, although the Object of *face* is of the same type, a purely directional interpretation of *face* would be misplaced:

(62) grinned. "Let's get some lunch. I can't face the canteen but there's a trattoria round t
 (63) ht. Keith makes himself go to work. He can't face the head's study, so he collars Potter
 (64) He forced himself out of the chair and fastened his tunic. [...] At the main gate he
 acknowledged the sentry's salute and turned to face the short hill up Southern Road to
 his rooms.
 (65) and collected some keys from the study. "Right, then. Ready to face the great outdoors?"
 (66) paintings" "And fled from the studio." "I could face it now," Jenna said determinedly.
 (67) all probability none of them were. Determined to face the bullet when it came, he looked
 (68) - anything -- rather than sit down and face the empty page, except that that day the une
 (69) "The compositions are always so bad I can only face them if I do so right away." "This i
 (70) "You wouldn't understand," a young male engineer responded loftily when I asked what was
 wrong with the photocopier. It was tempting to march him home and face him with my
sewing machine and its 10-point threader.

In lines (62)-(63), (65)-(69) we encounter characteristics of non-visual *face*. As we saw, these characteristics are associated with a purely confrontational meaning in the case of non-visual *face*. *Face* in line (64) could be seen as purely directional, but the presence of *he forced himself out of the chair* shows reluctance about going outside, and this reluctance seems to be emphasised by the presence of the adverbial *up* which appears to direct attention to the ascending road and the strenuousness of walking uphill. A mildly confrontational interpretation of *face* would therefore appear perfectly compatible here. In (70), finally, we have the presence of a verb denoting "horizontal forward motion" (*march*), which as we will see in Chapter 6 associates with a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, in the context of a person who feels offended by an apparently sexist remark regarding her abilities to understand machines; *face* here is not purely directional.

In a further 25 lines the Object of *face* denotes orientation towards a direction (e.g. *towards the sea, eastwards, front, etc.*) and is therefore invariably purely directional:

(71) around the shoulders of both American boys and turning them to face across the street.'
 (72) better." Kirov stopped, suddenly, turning to face across the street. "Yes, we must talk.
 (73) uzzled. Nell, disturbed, turned away from him, to face back towards the sea. "I'm afraid
 (74) the rifle into its holster. He pulled the horse round to face eastwards, then spurred it
 (75) shoulders. He twists around. I tell him to face front. He does so. I stand behind him
 (76) I didn't have the heart to tell her no?" Turning to face front, she suddenly saw Ellie a
 (77) and so the whale will thrash about. She will not face inland, and so the whale will not

(78) sacred site is. Do you know the name of this sea that we face?" He shook his head again
 (79) authority to face south when giving an audience. So we face north and the book faces sou
 (80) Go on from there. Still on my knees I edged round to face north. The clearing was all mi
 (81) It turned out the reason we all had to face north-west was because it was the direction
 (82) Paddy's voice from the altar as he quickly turned to face out again. "Dominus vobiscum."
 (83) "Leg down. Left TURN!" he ordered. They turned, to face outwards from the line. "On the
 (84) "It was traditional in China for those in authority to face south when giving an audienc
 (85) his, he says. I painted this. I am responsible, and so I face towards you. Poets seem to
 (86) rself for reminding him, Julia turned back to face the front and said nothing more until
 (87) a good little girl," said Michael. Maria turned to face the front as Paddy intoned, "Do
 (88) "Army records," he says. He turns back to face the front as we head through the late-mo
 (89) he laughed, she decided, and quickly turned her head to face the front - she could neve
 (90) whitlock snarled but the policeman snapped at him to face the front when he tried to loo
 (91) I went down on my knees carefully and as carefully turned to face the other way, south.
 (92) how every man outside every taverna had turned to face the west, as if they were in a ci
 (93) gone a bit far when he told the Church, in 1982, to "Face north-west whenever possible."
 (94) He can't move his neck, but with the swivel chair he can face wherever he wants to. "He

In 13 lines the Object of *face* refers to food and makes little sense unless interpreted as predominantly confrontational. Unsurprisingly by now, in all lines *face* co-occurs with one of the characteristic primings of non-visual *face*, i.e. the modal *can/could*, which in 6 out of 13 lines is negated. In a further 2 lines (95, 103) there is an element of surprise over the fact that the Subject of *face* was able to face food at all, while another 3 lines (98, 99, 106) express doubt as to the willingness to face food:

(95) Happy Diner, and I was still rather amazed that I could face a bacon sandwich. But down
 (96) Polly set down her knife and fork, unable to face another mouthful. Suddenly she was awa
 (97) of them. Have a drink." "I don't think I could face any more peppermint or camomile," sa
 (98) bottom bunk?) it took real hunger and a strong stomach to face food. By the third day th
 (99) He launched himself out of the chair to rescue a rapidly cooling cup of coffee,
 grimacing slightly in disgust as he indicated the pot. "Help yourself, if you think you
can face it. So, how did it go yesterday?"
 (100) "Are you hungry, Conroy? I don't feel I can face more than a snack in this heat.. The doo
 (101) so churned my stomach at breakfast this morning I could not face my sausage, egg and Gui
 (102) Melissa stared at the two slabs of raw meat that he took from the refrigerator and felt
 her appetite vanish. "I'm sorry, Barney," she faltered. "I don't think I can face that."
 (103) nod at Jamie's pile of food. "I'm surprised you can face that, sliding around your plate
 (104) The two of them ate well, but Charlotte could not face the meal. "I'll just have a bit o
 (105) peacock feather to induce vomiting so he would be able to face the next enormous course,
 (106) a quiche Lorraine ("Billykins says it's about all she could face") and barked: "what

Of the remaining 18 lines of *face* featuring an animate Subject and inanimate Object, 16 require a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, as we will see in some detail in the following. This requirement is posed by the presence of characteristics which we encountered with non-visual *face* and/or –as we shall see in Chapter 6– with characteristics of *face* featuring an animate Subject and animate Object without a verb of motion preceding *face*. Thus, in lines (107)–(112) the Object of *face* is a noun denoting something unpleasant or acquiring an unpleasant denotation through modification. The *storm* in (107) refers to a literal storm, which is why it was allocated to the lines of *face* featuring an inanimate (rather than abstract) Object. This is also the case with *the big wave* in line (110); the line's (very) extended context informs us that *the big wave* refers to a real and potentially very dangerous

tidal wave that arises under particular circumstances. Both *the black night* and *the blackout* (lines 111-112) actually surround people and cannot truly be faced directionally, so *face* here requires a confrontational interpretation; besides, they are expressions with negative connotations. That *the road* in (115) denotes something unpleasant becomes clear from the extended context of the line¹¹⁷; it refers to a narrow road along a high, steep mountain, that has left the character feeling very shaken and apprehensive about having to use it again on the way back. The unidentifiable nature of *the phenomenon* in (116) is very likely to make it disconcerting – hence the relevance of “*Be not scared!*”. Finally, as we can see from what has been underlined in the extended context of (117), *it* refers to a bag, memories of distress that it evokes and perhaps even fresh distress. In (118) we have a pairing of concrete with abstract in the Object of *face* (*high winds and certain excitement*), neither of which can be truly faced in a purely directional manner, which again invites a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*. Finally, lines (119)-(122) feature several of the characteristics of non-visual *face* – negated *could* (in 119-120), expression of obligation (in 121), expression of reluctance (122).

Two lines of the set, (123) and (124) do not feature any of the characteristics discussed above: line (123) seems to leave it to the reader to decide how to invest *face* with meaning – *the icy wind* is something unpleasant for humans, but perhaps not so for wolves who rely on their sense of smell to detect prey and for whom the wind is the carrier of smells. The context for line (124) encourages a directional rather than a confrontational interpretation of *face*. The Subject of *face* has been trapped in an old animal trap in the woods for hours, has finally heard someone nearby, called for help, and now this someone is coming to her aid. Turning to face *the sound* here really stands for turning to face the source of the sound, i.e. an approaching human being. The line was nevertheless allocated to the set of concordance lines featuring *face* with an inanimate Object for consistency.

(107) as they did not like to think of Mrs Mullings having to face a storm unprotected. “suit
(108) spear-tip, glinting, pointed straight at her. She turned to face it, her back against the rock.

(109) “One word more – just one – and you’ll face my pistol at dawn!” “Caswell blenched, and
(110) he had the feeling that sooner or later, he would have to face the big wave with her. Th
(111) You are not to go. The Master will not have it. We may face the black night together for
(112) “Or there’s a spare room here, if you can’t face the blackout.” It was a knife’s edge of
(113) who he was. Only for a moment did he pause and face the buffeting wind with an effort, a
(114) ‘At Dartmeet, but I’ve run away. I’d rather face the Moor, starvation and anything else
(115) didn’t say anything. For a start, there was the road to face, and for another she didn’
(116) “Trau Heimdall. Move aside!” Tiw slowly turned to face the phenomenon. “Be not scared.”
(117) It was nerve-racking to remember Rosie’s shattering scream as the knife sprang from the
bag and hit the floor, but the memory of her distress forced Rain to tug at the staples
that secured the bag. If she left it unopened Rosie would face it when she got back from
lunch

(118) difficult for himself. We leave the room to face the high winds and certain excitement.

¹¹⁷ Which extends beyond a couple of paragraphs prior to this instance of *face* and has therefore not been included here.

- (119) ir way," said Lydia. "I don't think I could face Dr wyn's nudges and winks at the moment
- (120) He dropped the lot into a shoe box and pushed them under the bed. He couldn't face it. It was enough to kill a writer who had flu.
- (121) deal with this stupid funk I've got myself in. I have to face the Matter as well, you know, and in this case that means that fucking doll or manikin or whatever we call it.
- (122) "Leonora felt a deep reluctance to go upstairs, to face the night alone. She longed to s
- (123) and stared again at the wolves outside, who had turned to face the icy wind with narrowed yellow eyes.
- (124) Eventually, she heard a distant crackle. As it grew louder, she twisted around to face the sound. "Oh!" she said. "It's you!"

From the above we can conclude that when *face* features an animate Subject and inanimate Object, a purely directional interpretation for *face* is required when the Object denotes orientation towards a direction (e.g. *towards the sea, eastwards, front*, etc.), while there is also a tendency for a purely directional interpretation for *face* when the Object of *face* denotes a landmark in nature, a building or part of a building, or a human artefact. Objects denoting "food", on the other hand, will require a predominantly confrontational interpretation for *face*. We also encounter several of the characteristics of non-visual *face* which carry with them a strong association with confrontational *face*.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that it appears to be the case that when *face* has an inanimate Subject it will have a purely directional sense –regardless of the type or denotation of its Object–, unless this inanimate Subject is attributed volition in addition to very specific animate features like a face and eyes, in which case *face* is more likely to be predominantly confrontational. So, we seem to have a very clear distinction from non-visual, purely confrontational, *face* on the level of the type of Subject of the verb, i.e. in terms of the animacy/inanimacy of the Subject.

Yet the two senses of *face* can also be clearly distinguished in terms of the type of Object when the Subject of the verb is animate: while abstract Objects clearly associate with a purely confrontational interpretation of *face*, as we saw in Chapter 4, Objects denoting orientation towards a direction will –unsurprisingly– invariably associate with a purely directional interpretation; further, when the Object of *face* is inanimate and denotes a landmark in nature, building (or part of a building), or a human artefact, it appears to be highly likely (cf. it was the case in over 4 out of 5 lines in my data) that once again the sense of *face* will be purely directional, unless there are clues pointing to the contrary. Interestingly, these clues are none other than patterns that we encountered with the purely non-confrontational sense of *face*, like negation, expressions of compulsion/obligation, Objects denoting something undesirable/unpleasant from the point of view of the Subject of *face* (cf. Section 3 of Chapter 4). Such clues also appear to be invariably present when *face* has an

Object denoting “food”, thus reinforcing the purely confrontational interpretation of the verb provoked by its Object.

These observations seem to suggest that, while the general thrust¹¹⁸ of the “drinking problem” hypotheses of Lexical Priming with regard to polysemy (cf. Chapter 1) is confirmed, the particulars aren’t quite as clear-cut as suggested by the way they have been formulated. Specifically, if we accept that the non-visual, purely confrontational, use of *face* is more common than the visual, purely directional, use of the verb (as my data seem to suggest in terms of frequencies), then we wouldn’t expect the characteristic features of non-visual *face* to appear in conjunction with features of the less common, visual, use of the verb and influence its interpretation. We shall revisit these considerations in Chapter 7. First, let us turn to those instances of *face* in which both the Subject and the Object of the verb are animate.

¹¹⁸ I.e. that the senses of a polysemous word will be systematically differentiated by their primings.

Chapter 6

The polysemous verb *face* III

Visual use, Part 2

1. Introduction

The particularity of the visual use of *face* examined in this chapter is precisely that it involves animate entities as participants, both in Subject and Object position. This means that, apart from the presence of a sense of directionality in this use of *face* –since the issue of orientation between two physical entities is always relevant here (unlike non-visual *face*)–, an additional level of meaning may become perceivable, that of a confrontational element, which can in some cases be even more salient than the sense of directionality that the verb has. In this chapter we will examine whether patterns can be established that differentiate between the sense distinctions that can be perceived within the visual use of the verb *face* – sense distinctions which were briefly outlined in Section 1 of Chapter 4.

One prominent feature among the 599 lines of visual *face* under scrutiny here is the frequent presence of a verb of motion immediately preceding *face*, as in *She turned round to face him; she sprang gracefully to her feet to face him; Amanda filled her glass and spun round to face him; He jerked her back to face him*; this is the case in 431 of the 599 lines (i.e. 72%). So, the focus in nearly three quarters of the dataset of *face* featuring an animate Subject and an animate Object appears to be on the inception of facing. Given that our daily interaction with human beings in our western culture (at the very least) has taught us to expect that in the context of people involved in conversation, the interlocutors will also be looking at each other –or at least be oriented towards each other, so that establishing eye-contact would be a matter of split seconds–, such a focus on the inception of facing appears surprising. The question therefore arises as to what should trigger such a focus in text. The following possibilities offer themselves readily:

- (i) Could it be that no dialogue at all is taking place in the scene and that the focus on the inception of facing therefore has a purely descriptive purpose (as the scene does not awaken a default expectation of eye-contact)?
- (ii) Could it be that no dialogue has been taking place up to that point in the scene and that the focus on the inception of facing coincides with the commencement of dialogue? In this case there would also not be any expectation for eye-contact prior to the inception of facing.
- (iii) Could it be that the focus on the inception of facing emphasises the presence of a situational obstacle to eye-contact during discourse? For example, the conversation in

example (17) in Chapter 4, repeated here as (1), is taking place in a car and one of the interlocutors is driving, his attention –and eyes– focused on the road; (prolonged) eye-contact can only be re-established once the car has been stopped:

(1) I give you my sworn word as my father's son that I would never betray any trust you placed in me." "Ah." Kirov nodded abstractedly. "I trusted Leonid with my life, Mikhail. I can do no more for his memory than to extend that same faith to his son." Kirov broke off to slip the Moskvich out of gear, allowing the van to cruise to a halt by the roadside. He switched off the engine, then turned in the driving seat to face Vologsky. "Do you know how and why your parents died, Mikhail?" Vologsky shrugged. "It was always a little vague. An accident... a factory explosion," he murmured. "There were many deaths." Kirov smiled wistfully. "Yes, it is as I thought," he mused. "The truth was kept from you... perhaps for your own protection.

While (i)-(iii) above would be very practical explanations for a focus on the inception of facing in text, (iii) could potentially still leave us wondering as to why the choice should have been made to foreground the inception of facing at some point in the dialogue, in spite of the situational obstacles. In such cases therefore, as well as in cases which do not involve any of (i)-(iii) above, the following question arises:

(iv) Could it be that there is something in the discourse itself that accounts for the focus on the inception of facing?

Attempting to answer this question calls for an excursion into Discourse Analysis.

2. The relevance of Discourse Analysis for the analysis of face

A framework for the analysis of casual conversation is presented in considerable detail and its application demonstrated in Burton (1980)¹¹⁹. For the development of this framework, Burton took as a starting point the descriptive apparatus designed to account for spoken language in the classroom, which was developed at the University of Birmingham and presented in Sinclair et al. (1972) and Sinclair & Coulthard (1975). The Birmingham framework has two main features: One is that both in theoretical approach and descriptive apparatus it was based on the early work by Halliday (viz. Halliday 1961) (Burton 1980: 118, Sinclair & Coulthard 1975: 20). The other is that it focused on "a very microcosmic notion of functionality" (Burton 1980: 120), in that the function of each utterance was considered strictly in relation to the other utterances in the discourse; for example, the goal of the framework was to answer questions like "what does this utterance do, in terms of the actual discourse it contributes to? Does it request a verbal response? Does it mark a boundary in the flow of talk? Does it mark the fact that something interesting is coming up?" (ibid.). Burton (1980) expanded their model and adapted it for the analysis of casual conversation,

¹¹⁹ For applications of Burton's framework cf., for example, Toolan (1988), Tsui (1994), Itakura (2001), Egging & Slade (2005[1997]), Thornbury & Slade (2006).

exemplified in her analysis of dialogue in play scripts¹²⁰. An extensive presentation of Burton's framework is not within the scope of the present research project; of analytical interest for the question in (iv) above is her discussion of Challenging Moves and this will be presented in some detail in the following paragraphs.

At the basis of Challenging Moves lies the concept of 'paired utterances', the idea that a specific type of utterance awakens the expectation of a specific type of response. As Schegloff (1968: 1086) puts it

When we say that an answer is conditionally relevant upon a summons, it is to be understood that the behaviors referred to are not "casual options" for the persons involved. A member of the society may not "naively choose" not to answer a summons. The culture provides that a variety of "strong inferences" can be drawn from the fact of the official absence of an answer, and any member who does not answer does so at the peril of one of those inferences being made.

So, a 'Challenging Move' can be briefly defined as an unexpected or dispreferred response to a first-pair part of a pair of utterances, the first-pair part being an 'Initiating Move' which carries the topic of a conversation, like a statement ('Informative'), question ('Elicitation'), order ('Directive'), accusation ('Accuse').

Burton (1980: 150-152) presents an extended definition of a Challenging Move to encompass (a) Challenges within the 'Discourse Framework', (b) Challenges within Keenan & Schieffelin's (1976) concept of discourse-topic steps and (c) Challenges within an expansion of Labov's (1970) preconditions for interpreting any utterance as a request for action. We will now briefly outline each of these. The Discourse Framework "concerns the presuppositions set up in the Initiating Move of an Exchange [...] and the interactional expectations dependent on that Move" (Burton 1980: 149; cf. the excerpt from Schegloff 1968: 1086 presented above). In addition to the topic-carrying acts we have already mentioned, viz. Informative, Elicitation, Directive, Accusation, Burton also considers the pre-topic acts of 'Marker' (e.g. *Listen to this!*), 'Summons'¹²¹ and 'Metastatement'¹²² as setting up interactional expectations in the Discourse Framework. So, a Challenging Move within the Discourse Framework is any unexpected or dispreferred second-pair part to each of these acts; the appropriate and expected responses are outlined in Table 6.1.

¹²⁰ Suggestions for a revision of the framework presented in Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) were also made in Hoey (1993); they do not impinge, however, on the aspects of Burton's framework that will be of use here.

¹²¹ Which can be any "attention-getting device" (Schegloff 1968: 1080), such as mechanical devices (e.g. doorbell, telephone ringing), terms of address (e.g. *John?*), courtesy phrases (e.g. *Excuse me*), or physical devices (e.g. a tap on the shoulder, waves of a hand, etc.) (ibid.).

¹²² I.e. a "request for speaker's rights", for example *You know what your trouble is* (Burton 1980: 144).

Table 6.1. Appropriate and expected second-pair parts to initiatory acts; from Burton (1980: 150)

Initiatory Act	Expected second-pair part
Marker	Acknowledge (including giving attention / non-hostile silence)
Summons	Accept
Metastatement	Accept
Informative	Acknowledge
Elicitation	Reply
Directive	React
Accuse	Excuse

According to Keenan & Schieffelin's (1976) discourse-topic steps, a Challenge would be expressed if the hearer of an utterance (a) refused to give their attention, (b) asked for a repetition of the utterance (due to lack of clear articulation), (c) asked for clarification of information about the identification of objects, persons, ideas in the discourse topic, (d) asked for more information concerning the semantic relations that obtain between the referents in the discourse topic (Burton 1980: 151).

Finally, Burton extends Labov's (1970) preconditions "for interpreting any utterance as a request for action – a Directive" (Burton 1980: 151) by adding "more preconditions for hearing any utterance as either a valid Informative or a valid Elicitation" (ibid.: 152). So, according to Labov (1970; from Burton 1980: 152),

If A requests B to perform an action X at a time T, A's utterance will be heard as a valid command only if the following preconditions hold: B believes that A believes that (it is an AB-event that)

- 1 X should be done for a purpose Y
- 2 B has the ability to do X
- 3 B has the obligation to do X
- 4 A has the right to tell B to do X

Burton (1980: 152) extends these preconditions as follows:

If A informs B of an item of information P, A's utterance will be heard as a valid informative only if the following preconditions hold: B believes that A believes that (it is an AB-event that)

- 5 A is in a position to inform B of P
- 6 P is a reasonable piece of information
- 7 B does not already know P
- 8 B is interested in P
- 9 B is not offended/insulted by P

If A asks B for a linguistic response from B concerning a question M, it will be heard as a valid Elicitation only if the following preconditions hold: A believes that B believes that (it is an AB-event that)

- 10 B hears M as a sensible question

- 11 A does not know M
- 12 It is the case that B might know M
- 13 It is the case that A can be told M
- 14 It is the case that B has no objection to telling M to A.

Any utterance questioning the validity of any of the preconditions 1-14 constitutes a Challenging Move.

Section 3 below will present the results of the analysis of the 599 lines of visual *face* featuring an animate Subject and animate Object. More specifically, Section 3.1 will deal with the 431 lines of visual *face* which feature an animate Subject and animate Object as well as a verb of motion immediately preceding *face*; we will explore in how far the focus on the inception of facing in these lines can be attributed to possibilities (i)-(iv) above. The ensuing question is whether there is a match between each/any of these possibilities and the sense in which *face* is used, for example whether it can be shown that when there is absence of dialogue in a scene *face* will tend to carry a purely directional sense, or that when a Challenging Move is present the confrontational interpretation of *face* will be foregrounded. To enable a more practicable and accurate analysis as well as to facilitate discussion the 431 lines were split into three groups:

(a) one in which the verb of motion immediately preceding *face* is a form of the lemma *TURN TO*, as in *I turned to face two men, apparently soldiers; She turned to face Willie*. This group consisted of 229 lines (cf. Section 3.1.1);

(b) a group in which the verb of motion immediately preceding *face* is realised by a verb other than *TURN TO*, as in *Frank Braden shifted around to face the ex-soldier; she spun jerkily around to face him; Ellie whirled round to face him*. This group consisted of 148 lines (cf. Section 3.1.2);

(c) and a group featuring the special pattern "animate 1 + verb of motion + animate 2 + to face animate 1", as in *Lucenzo turned her around to face him; He jerked her back to face him; He took her shoulders and spun her to face him*. This group consisted of 54 lines (cf. Section 3.1.3).

These groupings could also facilitate detection of any potential influence of the semantics of specific verbs of motion (e.g. *TURN TO*, *SPIN TO*, *WHIRL TO*, etc.) on the sense of *face*.

Section 3.2, finally, will be concerned with the 168 lines of visual *face* featuring an animate Subject and animate Object without a verb of motion immediately preceding *face*.

3. Face featuring an animate Subject and an animate Object

3.1 With a verb of motion preceding *face*: <Animate Subject> + <verb of motion> + *face* + <animate Object>

The four possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing when *face* has an animate Subject and animate Object account for 91% of lines. In other words, in 394 out of 431 lines the focus on the inception of facing is explained by the absence of dialogue between participants (in which case there is no default expectation for eye-contact), by the initiation of dialogue at that point in the scene (which awakens the expectation of attendant eye-contact), by the presence of a situational obstacle which impedes the maintenance of eye-contact during dialogue, or by the presence of a Challenging Move in the discourse. These 394 lines are, however, not neatly distributed over the four possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing that have been posited, since combinations of the four can co-occur, as the following examples demonstrate:

- (2) He took the instrument and listened to Sandy's heart for what seemed a long time. Then he, too, frowned and was beginning to say something when suddenly there was one sharp whimper and, although Sophie did her best, Sandy was dead in a few minutes. She rose from her knees to face two pairs of eyes in which hope had died at last. True to type, they took it well. Mrs Hobden wept - not so much, she explained, for the dog as for her daughter, who would suffer the most.
- (3) You've got to pull yourself together! she lectured herself sternly as Ross took the keys from her nervous, trembling fingers. "Look - er - this is all... well, it's all quite ridiculous," she told him as he issued her into the apartment. "I mean - what's the point of dragging me back here, to my own home?" "I need to talk to you," Ross told her curtly. "Oh - come on!" she snapped nervously, turning around to face him as they entered the living-room. "If you needed to see me - for any particular reason - there are thousands of places to meet in the City. We could have had a perfectly civilised meeting, and not this -" "There was no time," he said curtly, walking across the deep-pile carpet towards the wide floor-to-ceiling windows at the far side of the large room.
- (4) It took nearly five minutes before Delaney, wearing a second set of earphones, looked up sharply to make sure that the radioman, swearing at the weird interference, could hear the stream of dots and dashes coming in. De-coded, the operator swung on his seat to face him. But Delaney could already read the answer in the grim, red-lit face. "The message is 'Albatross', sir."
- (5) "I was pursuing two Germans who were attempting to escape." "It looked the other way round to me" said Tommy. "And when we get back, I intend to let anyone know who cares to listen." "It would be your word against mine," said Trentham. "In any case, both Germans are dead." "Only thanks to me and try not to forget that the corp 'ere also witnessed everything what 'appened." "Then you know my version of the events is the accurate one," said Trentham, turning directly to face Charlie. "All I know is that we ought to be up in that tower, plannin' how we get back to our own lines, and not wastin' any more time quarrellin' down 'ere."

While we wouldn't necessarily expect the category of "no dialogue" to co-occur with any other of the four possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing, example (2) presents a case where the categories of "no dialogue" and "situational obstacle" actually co-

occur. While there is no dialogue in this scene, the Subject of *face*, a vet, has been busy with an ill dog prior to the inception of facing, so there would be no default expectation of her establishing eye-contact with those present, even if she were involved in verbal exchanges with them simultaneously. Furthermore, the establishment of eye-contact appears to be a means for confirming bad news (the death of Sandy, the dog), so it could even be argued that this also a marginal case of “initiation”. Example (3) presents a case in which the focus on the inception of facing (while a dialogue is taking place) is justified by the presence of a situational obstacle (i.e. entering an apartment¹²³) as well as by the presence of a Challenging Move (“*Oh – come on!*”, instead of an acknowledgement of the Directive “*I need to talk to you*”). In (4) and (5) the focus on the inception of facing is justified both by the fact that it accompanies an initiation of discourse and by the presence of a situational obstacle. More specifically, in (4) the Subject of *face* initiates discourse only once he has finished decoding a message that came in in Morse Code. Example (5) presents a more marginal case both of a situational obstacle and of a commencement of dialogue, as defined so far, since it actually falls between the posited categories of “focus on the inception of facing being due to a situational obstacle which impedes eye-contact during dialogue” and “focus on the inception of facing coinciding with the opening of dialogue in the scene”: on the one hand, there is a ‘contrast of options’ in the scene as three characters are present, which functions as a kind of situational obstacle (as there can only be eye-contact between two of the characters at any one time); on the other hand, the focus on the inception of facing coincides with the specific addressing of a character who wasn’t involved in the dialogue up to that point in the scene – which can be seen as the equivalent of an initiation of dialogue¹²⁴.

There were several such cases of overlap in my dataset and these caused considerable deliberation, as the objective of the classification was –apart from attempting to offer an explanation for the tendency to focus on an inception of facing when the verb has an animate Subject and animate Object– to examine whether any patterns emerged that would give clues as to the exact meaning of *face*. The following principles were adhered to in the classification: (a) where no verbal exchange is involved (as in example 2 above), in either direct or reported speech, lines were classified in the category “no dialogue”; (b) those cases were classified in the category of “initiation” in which the focus on the inception of facing marks the opening of dialogue in a scene, as in example (6) below, coincides with a character addressing –or being addressed– for the first time in a scene (cf. 5 above), or

¹²³ In which case, unless otherwise stated, our knowledge of the world awakens the expectation that (a) the two characters will have the same orientation and (b) that one of them will enter first; therefore, eye-contact will be impeded.

¹²⁴ A Challenging Move is also present in this example in that the informative *Then you know my version of the events is the accurate one* is not really acknowledged: *All I know is that we ought to be up in that tower, plannin' how we get back to our own lines, and not wastin' any more time quarrellin' down 'ere*. However, since the Challenging Move neither instigates nor accompanies the act of facing, it is not seen as relevant either for the focus on the inception of facing in the text or for the exact sense of *face* in this instance.

marks the introduction of a new topic in a conversation, as in example (7) below (cf. "Rob... I've decided to leave Woodline. You might as well hear it straight from the horse's mouth.")¹²⁵.

- (6) neither of us heard the light footsteps approaching the cottage along the grassy path. "Good evening, Mr Rivers," said a charming voice, as sweet as a bell. St John [Mr Rivers] jumped as if hit between the shoulders, then turned slowly and stiffly to face the speaker.
- (7) "Hmm, I wouldn't have thought that Luke was in any mood to judge," Rob retorted, "considering that he was frosty-faced for most of the evening. Anyway, he disappeared soon after you left - told Stella he'd had a heavy day and was off to bed with a book. But it certainly was a great party; you should have stayed longer." "I was rather tired..." Merrill turned to face him, laying down the flowers on her desk. "Rob... I've decided to leave Woodline. You might as well hear it straight from the horse's mouth."

In the cases subsumed in this category the Subject of *face* can be the one who initiates discourse (cf. example 5), the one who reacts to an initiation (cf. example 6) or the one who grants speaker's rights through an initiation of eye-contact, as in (8):

- (8) Somehow she'd imagined Penry leaping up from the sofa at the sight of her, angry at her intrusion. Or even smiling in welcome, in some of her wilder dreams. The silence of the deserted room was eerie. There was an open book on the sofa, a basket of ready-chopped wood near the stove, even a half-full glass on a table. Leonora shivered and held out her hands to the stove, then stood motionless as she realised she was being watched. She turned slowly to face the forbidding figure standing in semi-darkness halfway up the stairs. "They say an Englishman's home is his castle," said Penry tonelessly,

(c) Only those lines were classified in the category of "situational obstacle" in which dialogue was ongoing and at least one of the interlocutors was involved in a parallel activity that requires heightened attention (e.g. driving a car, making/pouring tea/coffee, cooking, applying make-up). Cases in which the interlocutors are presented as walking together were also included in this category –since it is the default that one will mind where they're treading and assuming eye-contact will come as an interruption of that– as well as cases in which the interlocutors are sitting or standing side-by-side looking at the view –since in these cases the view appears to play a sufficiently significant role in the setting of the scene to be mentioned;

(d) finally, all lines involving a Challenging Move were subsumed under the "Challenging Move" category. In these cases, the focus on the inception of facing can either come as a reaction to a Challenging Move or attend the Challenging Move itself, as in examples (9) and (10), respectively (the Challenging Moves have double underlining):

- (9) "What's wrong with her?" Luke asked impatiently. The Doctor ignored him and turned his attention to Peg. "Your daughter is pregnant, ma'am," he said quietly. He waited for her reaction, anticipating the floor of tears and the hysterics. Her calmness surprised him.

¹²⁵ For the purposes of the present research 'topic change' is understood as involving initiations that are not cohesive (in terms of logical or referential connections), except for cohesive references to the two speakers involved. In other words, a change of topic is understood here as a case in which the initiation starts a new two-pair exchange or Exchange Complex (cf. Hoey 1992).

He pursed his lips thoughtfully. You knew all along, he thought. "what's that ve said?" Luke hissed. The Doctor turned to face him. Luke's face was ashen. Sonny stood behind him, his mouth open. "I said the girl is pregnant," he replied.

- (10) Silas's scowl remained on his face as they continued to walk along the track. Lucy noticed he'd quickened his steps, and she found herself almost running to keep up with him. At last she said a little breathlessly, "Is anything wrong?" He stopped and turned to face her. "what would make you think so?"

The presence of a Challenging Move in an exchange was an overriding factor in the classification, so cases which also featured an initiation (as in both 9 and 10) or a situational obstacle (as in 10), were allocated to the "Challenging Move" category. This decision was based on the hypothesis that the very presence of a Challenging Move could potentially act as a clue in the interpretation of *face*. Burton (1980: 151) points out that "although I have chosen the mnemonic 'Challenge', I certainly do not intend it necessarily to indicate hostility. A Challenging Move may divert the ongoing talk in quite an amicable way"; yet, even though the presence of a Challenging Move does not in itself imply the presence of confrontation, it cannot be ruled out that in the context of the verb *face*, and particularly in the context of a focus on the inception of facing, it could provoke a confrontational reading of the word.

3.1.1 *TURN TO face*

As mentioned before, 229 lines of my dataset feature *face* preceded by a form of the verb *TURN TO*. The first observation that arose from the examination of these 229 lines concerned the tense of the verb of motion; in 175 out of 229 lines, i.e. in three quarters of the lines, *TURN TO* is used in the simple past. Table 6.2 shows all attested forms of *TURN TO* in the dataset with their frequencies in raw numbers and percentages.

Table 6.2. Attested forms of *TURN TO* in the 229 lines of <animate Subject> + *TURN TO* + *face* + <animate Object>

	Frequencies in raw numbers	Frequencies in %
<i>turned</i>	175	76%
<i>turning</i>	33	14%
<i>turn</i>	12	5%
<i>turns</i>	9	4%
Totals	229	99%¹²⁶

A second observation was that 206 out of the 229 lines of <animate Subject> + *TURN TO* + *face* + <animate Object> (i.e. 90% of the lines featuring *TURN TO*) are accounted for by the

¹²⁶ Percentages were rounded to three-digit accuracy which caused the odd sum total. The unrounded percentages are: *turned* 76.42%, *turning* 14.41%, *turns* 3.93% and *turn* 5.24%, which yield a total of 100%.

four possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing. A detailed breakdown of the distribution of the 229 lines over the 4 categories is presented in Table 6.3. Sections 3.1.1.1-3.1.1.4 below will discuss this distribution in more detail.

Table 6.3. Distribution of the 229 lines of <animate Subject> + *TURN TO* + *face* + <animate Object> over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing

	Distribution in raw numbers	Distribution in %
Challenging Move	83	36%
Initiation of dialogue	68	30%
Situational Obstacle	30	13%
Absence of dialogue	25	11%
Other	23	10%
Totals	229	100%

3.1.1.1 Challenging Move + TURN TO face. Roughly one in three lines (i.e. 83 lines) features a Challenging Move. In 61 of these 83 lines (i.e. 73%) *face* could be seen as inviting –to varying degrees– a confrontational interpretation. In some lines the foregrounding of a sense of confrontation is very clear through the presence of clues such as “types of weapons”¹²⁷:

- (11) The woman was still strolling along the corridor, glancing at her surroundings and at Daak and Defries, but heading towards Ace. Defries raised her blaster. “I’m External Operations Agent Defries, in charge of this squad,” she said. “Identify yourself.” The woman stopped, only a few metres away now, and exchanged a glance with Ace before turning slowly to face Defries. “Identify myself?” She put a finger to her lips and widened her eyes in mock puzzlement. She looked down at her body. “Good Lord! Do you know, I think I must be Bernice Summerfield, Professor of Archaeology. My friends call me Benny, but you can address me as Professor Summerfield. I take it you’re one of the narrow-minded military types that one usually bumps into in this sort of situation?”¹²⁸
- (12) “We must go on,” insisted Sheldukher. “There’s no time for this.” “I can save him,” said the Doctor. “He doesn’t matter,” replied Sheldukher. “You’re to go on with me.” The Doctor sighed. “I’ll be as quick as I can,” he said to Bernice and set off back down the passageway with Rosheen. “Doctor,” shouted Sheldukher. “Come back here!” He let off a warning shot. The Doctor turned to face him. “I’ve no time to argue,” he snapped. “watch him,” he said to Bernice, “and watch yourself.” He hurried off. Sheldukher raised the weapon and then lowered it with a sigh.

¹²⁷ In the following examples the second-pair part constituting the Challenging Move has double underlining while the clues leading to a confrontational interpretation of *face* have thick underlining. Consistently with the formatting of examples in all chapters, the members of the pattern examined here have single underlining.

¹²⁸ While the Directive in this case (*Identify yourself*) appears to receive the appropriate Reaction (*I must be Bernice Summerfield*), the manner of the reaction (*mock puzzlement, looked down at her body*), and comment (*“I take it you’re one of the narrow-minded military types”*) demonstrates that the person who responds does not consider that the issuer of the Directive has a right to do so, wherein lies the Challenging Move.

In other cases, the clear expression of strong, mostly negative, emotions also provokes a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*:¹²⁹

- (13) pull yourself together! she lectured herself sternly as Ross took the keys from her nervous, trembling fingers. "Look - er - this is all... well, it's all quite ridiculous," she told him as he issued her into the apartment. "I mean - what's the point of dragging me back here, to my own home?" "I need to talk to you," Ross told her curtly. "Oh - come on!" she snapped nervously, turning around to face him as they entered the living-room. "If you needed to see me - for any particular reason - there are thousands of places to meet in the City. We could have had a perfectly civilised meeting, and not this-" "There was no time," he said curtly, walking across the deep-pile carpet towards the wide floor-to-ceiling windows at the far side of the large room. Laura's normally full, warm lips tightened with annoyance.
- (14) "Please unlock the boot, so I can get my bag out." To her surprise, he took the keys from his pocket and unlocked the boot. He lifted her bag out but, instead of handing it to her, he kept a firm grip on it and began to walk towards the house. "where are you taking that bag?" she yelled at him. "The same place as you're going," he replied, his voice still remarkably calm. "Into the house." "How many times do I have to tell you I'm not setting foot inside that house?" He gave a brief, unconcerned shrug. "As many times as you like, but it won't change anything. You're staying here." "You can't make me!" At that, Julius turned back to face her, and she saw that his features were a lot less calm than his voice. A dangerous light glinted in his eyes, small lines flared around the corners of his mouth, and his colour was slightly heightened. "Oh, but I can," he said softly. "Because we're still technically married?" Jessamy threw at him scornfully.¹³⁰
- (15) "Snowdrops?" she sneered. "Are you trying to impress somebody? Could it be Silas - or the men in the rafts - or perhaps it's one of the guides?" she finished waspishly. A slow flush crept into Lucy's cheeks, but she controlled herself while putting the last of the long, slim leaves into position, then she turned slowly to face the other woman. Staring at her wordlessly, she noticed that Doreen's lips appeared to be thinner than usual, and that her eyes held a glitter that betrayed subdued anger. At last she queried in a calm voice, "what's the matter with you, Doreen? why are you so - bitchy?"

Further, there are scenes in which the strong emotions that would justify a confrontational interpretation of *face* are not named, but emerge through what is going on in the text - cf. (16) below, in which the character who issues the Challenging Move ("What?") and initiates the inception of facing shows her annoyance at what she considers to be the other character's indiscreetness through the Informative "You don't seem to have much hesitation...".

- (16) "And what about you?" Piers asked, breaking into her thoughts. "will you go down to the beach? It's very private. You should be able to do quite a bit of useful contemplation about whether you actually love this boyfriend of yours." "what?" she turned to face him, staring into the grey eyes, thinking that, up close, he really was confusingly overpowering. "You don't seem to have much hesitation about speaking your mind, whether I want to hear what's on it or not, so I'll speak mine for a change. My private life is absolutely none of your business whatsoever, and I'll thank you to keep your little pearls of insight to yourself."

¹²⁹ In this section "confrontation" is used as a label which covers a broad range of experiences which have as a common denominator the unpleasantness/undesirability of what need be/should be faced, unless otherwise stated.

¹³⁰ "You can't make me!" is only one in a series of Challenging Moves in this passage, yet it is singled out from the others, since it is the one that provokes the reaction that is in part realised with the inception of facing.

Still, the presence of clearly expressed strong emotions or even clues like weapons in the text does not necessarily suffice to motivate a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, as is the case in examples (17) and (18):

- (17) "OK, Ross," she ground out. "We've had the caveman impersonation, and your version of a minor kidnapping – so what's next on the agenda?" Fighting hard to control her temper, Laura glared at her husband's tall figure. It didn't seem as if the awful man was listening to one word of what she was saying! Continuing to stand with his back to her, he stared silently down at the muddy green waters of the River Thames for some moments, before turning slowly around to face her. "This is a pleasant room – very charming," he murmured, clearly absorbed by his own inner thoughts as he glanced idly around at the cream carpet and the matching raw silk curtains edging the windows.
- (18) Bishop holstered his gun. "Trau Heimdall, we must leave here immed..." His voice died away. "Who said that?" "I said nothing." Bishop drew his gun. "Can you hear anything?" "Smell something, I can. Like grass growing in the meadows, like thunderclouds gathering in the sky in the days before the weather control –" "Come on. We're leaving." "I think I will stay." No! Bishop turned to face Tiw Heimdall. There was a dim light behind him, writhing slowly in the air. Bishop levelled his gun, but Tiw prevented him from getting a clear view of the target. "Trau Heimdall. Move aside!" Tiw slowly turned to face the phenomenon. "Be not scared." "Move aside!" "I will not." Scowling, Bishop leapt forward and grabbed Tiw around the waist with one hand.

The Challenging Move in (17) lies in the fact that the Elicitation "*so what's next on the agenda?*" remains unanswered; the character to whom the question is addressed remains silent for a while, then comes up with a comment that is irrelevant to the question, and more likely intended as an initiation itself rather than a Response: "*This is a pleasant room – very charming*". The strong emotions that could justify a confrontational interpretation of *face* are not attributed to the character who performs the Challenging Move and who effects the inception of facing – quite the contrary, he appears calm (*turning slowly, glanced idly*), and is *so clearly absorbed by his own inner thoughts*, that he seems not to even have registered the Elicitation (*It didn't seem as if the awful man was listening to one word of what she was saying!*). His *turning to face* therefore appears to be portrayed simply as a natural gesture accompanying an initiation ("*This is a pleasant room – very charming*") rather than as a reaction to the other character in the scene, so that a confrontational interpretation of *face* as far as the male character is concerned would be misplaced. In (18) the Challenging Move ("*No!*") is addressed to the character Tiw Heimdall, but the weapon is not aimed at him, it is aimed at something behind him; so, unless one were prepared to equate disagreement with confrontation¹³¹, *face* could in this instance be interpreted as being purely directional. So, we find that the same clues that encourage a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face* can also be present in cases in which *face* has a clearly directional meaning.

It is actually only 25 among the 61 lines that *require* a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*; in the remaining 36 lines the clues that are present in the text are not

¹³¹ In a number of lines involving disagreement *face* actually has a clearly directional meaning; examples (24), (27), (28) further below are a case in point.

clear enough as to lead the reader *unequivocally* to a decision over whether *face* should be interpreted as being purely directional or predominantly confrontational. Some randomly chosen examples further illustrate this point:

- (19) "where're you going?" "I've got someone coming to see me at nine," he said. They did not speak again until he was dressed and ready to leave. "well," he said, "better be off, then." She still said nothing. "I expect I'll see you in the office," he said. She muttered something into the pillow. "sorry?" She turned round to face him and he thought that she had been crying. "I said I won't be in the office," she said. "I've got an appointment with the pregnancy advisory service." He didn't understand at first. He thought it was some research she was doing. But she wasn't a researcher. "I'm having an abortion," she said. "Next Tuesday."
- (20) Leaning his arms along the top of the car, he stared down at her. "But you know what's wrong with it, and it really won't work, Ellie." "I do not know what's wrong with it!" she gritted. With a disbelieving shrug, he walked round to release the bonnet, and then glanced into the engine. "My, my, such wilful damage. I do hope you know how to repair it, Ellie, otherwise you will be backpacking out of here." "what?" she asked blankly. Swinging herself hastily out of the car, she slammed the door. "Temper, temper," he mocked. "oh, go play in the traffic!" Going to stand beside him, she too peered into the engine. "what's that wire doing loose?" she demanded. "waving?" "Feargal," she warned, and was aware of him slowly turning to face her. Glancing at him, she saw him frown. "well?" "Feargal?" Peering round the raised bonnet, she stared at Terry who was beckoning her brother urgently from the open front door.
- (21) She took her hand away, leaned on the rail and looked out over the sea. After some time, she said, without looking around: "It's my Uncle Adam, isn't it?" "Yes. we don't know him, we don't trust him and we think he's a highly suspicious character. You will forgive me talking about your nearest and dearest in this fashion." "He is not my nearest and dearest." She had turned to face him. There was neither vehemence in her voice nor marked expression in her face: at most, a slight degree of bewilderment in both. "I don't know him, I don't trust him and I think he's a highly suspicious character."
- (22) one side of Ace's face was bruised and swollen. "Ace! what's happened? Did you crash?" He ignored her, walking past into his room followed by the stranger, who gave her a lop-sided grin. She turned to Mike, her face once more white with shock. He gave her a hard-eyed stare, then swung away to look out of the window. "Mike, please?" He turned back to face her after hearing her impassioned plea, but his mouth was grim. "My God, what a day! First the fuel problems, and now this!" "But what actually happened?" "He slipped on a patch of oil trying to get away from Dara.
- (23) That brought tears to my eyes and I turned away so that Jeff wouldn't be able to see them, then fought them back. "Look, Dorothy, I know it isn't easy for you here, but I honestly don't think you're going to have better luck anywhere else. You've got to be realistic." I do wish he hadn't said that last bit. Suddenly I thought of Anne and felt impelled to rebel. "You're wasting your time, Jeff." I turned to face him. "Thanks, pet, but there's nothing you can do. Look, I'll survive, don't worry." He looked crestfallen, but he smiled. "we all do until we die." "Leave a silly old woman alone, Jeff, she's got things to do." He turned and walked towards the door. "Jeff." "what?" "I meant it when I said thank you. You can't imagine how much of a help you've been to me.

Examples (19)-(23) essentially leave it to the reader to assign a predominantly confrontational or purely directional meaning to *face*. Once again, degrees of likelihood appear to be present: it could be argued that a reader might more readily attribute a

predominantly confrontational meaning to *face* in examples (20) and (21), and perhaps even in (19), than in (22) and (23). What gives rise to the *possibility* of a confrontational interpretation of *face* in (19) is the reversal of two expectations: (a) that there will be a response (and specifically an Acknowledgement) to an Informative, which in this case functions as an initiation and (b) that eye-contact will be assumed once there has been an initiation¹³². The reversal of these expectations is explicitly commented in both cases: *She still said nothing* and *She muttered something into the pillow*, respectively. Such a reversal of expectations can be interpreted as involving unwillingness on the part of one of the interlocutors to engage in conversation¹³³. Whether this unwillingness is further attributed to a “wish to avoid something potentially unpleasant” or simply to “being sleepy” is decisive in how *face* will be interpreted. The subsequent *he thought that she had been crying* would probably support the first of the two alternatives, but the text neither confirms nor refutes the proposition.

The situation in (20) is one of an argument (*she gritted; he mocked; she slammed the door*), with accusations (*But you know what's wrong with it*) that are refuted (*I do not know what's wrong with it!*), threats (*otherwise you will be backpacking out of here*), ironic remarks (“*Temper, temper,*”; “*Oh, go play in the traffic!*”; “*Waving?*”), ill temper (*she slammed the door, she warned*). In such a context, *face* could be interpreted as predominantly confrontational. And yet, *slowly turning to face her* could be seen as counter-balancing this evidence, as it is not unambiguously menacing; it may signal that some doubt is beginning to creep into the accusations (viz. *But you know what's wrong with it*). The *frown* of the accuser (*Glancing at him, she saw him frown*) may be a sign that he is thinking twice. Indeed the fact that the author chooses to give an account of the change in orientation of the male character from the perspective of the female character (*she ... was aware of him slowly turning to face her. Glancing at him, she saw him frown*) removes the focus from the Agent of *turning to face* – another possible clue for a purely directional interpretation of *face*.

The excerpt in (21) starts off with the explicit reversal of the expectation that an Elicitation will be attended by an inception of eye-contact: *she said, without looking around*. When the reaction to the Apology (*You will forgive me talking about your nearest and dearest in this fashion*), albeit a Challenging Move, is attended by an inception of eye-contact, this seems perfectly natural and therefore encourages a purely directional interpretation of *face*. The subsequent *There was neither vehemence in her voice nor marked expression in her face*, however, reads as an assumption of a confrontational interpretation of *face*, through the very rejection of such an interpretation. It therefore at least confirms the *possibility* of such an interpretation.

¹³² The Initiation here being “*Well, [...] better be off, then.*”, followed up by “*I expect I'll see you in the office.*”.

¹³³ And this also reminds of Grice's (1975) ‘co-operative principle’; it is the maxims of quantity (“make your contribution as informative as necessary for the current purposes of the exchange, but no more informative than necessary”) and manner (“be clear, avoid ambiguity; be brief and orderly”) that are flouted in this example.

The only clue for a confrontational interpretation of *face* in (22) is the peculiar persistence in ignoring the concern of someone who is clearly worried. The female character needs to repeat her Elicitation three times before she receives a Reply: her initial Elicitation, addressed to one character (*Ace! What's happened? Did you crash?*), receives no Reply (*He ignored her*); she then implicitly addresses it to another character (*She turned to Mike*), also without any success (*He gave her a hard-eyed stare, then swung away to look out of the window*); she re-elicits a second time with "*Mike, please?*", which at least receives a reaction in the form of taking up eye-contact (*He turned back to face her after hearing her impassioned plea*) though still not a Reply in terms of Grice's (1975) maxims of quantity and relevance¹³⁴ (*My God, what a day! First the fuel problems, and now this!*); it is only after a third re-elicitation ("*But what actually happened?*") that the Challenging Moves are replaced by a Reply ("*He slipped on a patch of oil...*").

In (23) the clue allowing for a confrontational interpretation of *face* is the preceding *felt impelled to rebel*, which is accompanied by a Challenging Move ("*You're wasting your time, Jeff*"). It is admittedly a weak clue, supported at the most by the fact that the situation is apparently unpleasant for the character in question (*That brought tears to my eyes and I turned away so that Jeff wouldn't be able to see them*), but it is there and it does leave it to the reader to assign a predominantly confrontational or purely directional meaning to *face*.

So, we have seen so far that of the 83 lines involving a Challenging Move, 61 (i.e. 73%) can be seen as allowing for a confrontational interpretation. In 25 of the 61 cases a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face* is actually *required*, while in 36 lines the clues that are present in the text are not clear enough as to lead the reader *unequivocally* to a decision over whether *face* should be interpreted as being purely directional or predominantly confrontational. What is important with respect to these 36 lines, however, is that they do not *preclude* a predominantly confrontational interpretation for *face*.

In the remaining 22 of the 83 lines (i.e. 27%) *face* could be interpreted as having a purely directional sense, as illustrated in examples (24)-(28):

- (24) "You asked why they are here?" "Yes." "And they said nothing at all?" "Not yet." "why would they kill Trimmer? And Goodenache?" "If they did." "You don't think they did?" Frick turned back to face his lieutenant, surprised by the answer. "I don't know. I just can't see why."
- (25) "I was about ter give up on yer. I knew we should 'ave met in the pub," he said lightly. Billy Sullivan stopped in his tracks and turned suddenly to face his friend, his face serious. "Look, pal. I wanted us ter meet 'ere. I've got somefing ter show yer," he said, a note of excitement in his gruff voice. with a grand gesture of his arm, he announced, "Take a look at that." "what the bloody 'ell are yer talkin' about?"

¹³⁴ i.e. "make your contribution as informative as necessary for the current purposes of the exchange, but no more informative than necessary" and "make your contribution relevant", respectively (Bussmann 1996, entry for "maxim of conversation").

- (26) she was drowsy with the wine. She shook herself vigorously to throw off the fogginess in her head. "So, is there some new big fish, as you put it, who's about to defect?" Urquhart sauntered along thoughtfully for a moment, stopped and turned to face her. "No idea. Information like that is guarded very carefully. Besides, defectors are handled first by MI6. We in MI5 come in a bit later. But the odd rumour has gone round that Six has been operating someone big, someone quite high up in the KGB. Someone with an elephant's memory who might be about to finger Mills once and for all." "And who is this person?" she enquired innocently.
- (27) "Craig, can't you do something?" Craig shook his head. "Mother, you amaze me," he said. He thrust his hands into his pockets and moved to the window, staring out into the sun-dappled drive flanked by swaying trees. "But Craig, you know Spencer has never been strong like you, he could not survive in prison, his health." Her words fell away into silence. After a long moment, Craig turned to face his mother. "Send one of the servants for Edward Morris," he said, "and for a solicitor, an honest one." Craig stared directly at his brother. "The best I can offer you is a head start, get out of here and don't ever come back."
- (28) Cameron and Menzies looked at each other, their eyes gutted of all expression. Allan Stewart went to the door. "I will get horses now." He was looking at them as though they were ill or crazed. "To run off? Why?" "Angus!" Stewart strode over and seized Cameron by the front of his cloak. "You have only minutes now!" "No. You go if you like - you should go." "Come on, Angus!" The man had scarcely heard him. Cameron turned to face Menzies. "James I am for staying here do you agree?" "Let Allan get the horses." Menzies' voice was low and automatic. "James I say we stay. Flight is guilty. If we stay, we can defend ourselves." "with the guns?" "with arguments."¹³⁵

Example (29) below also features *face* in a purely directional meaning:

- (29) "Now I think I'd better go and pack my things," she mumbled. She swung open her door, half hoping that something would happen, that fortune would toss some unforeseen card at her that would alter everything between them, but nothing happened. "Aren't you coming in?" she asked timidly. She looked through the window at his profile. He didn't turn to face her when he spoke. "I can think of better things to do than share a house with a bitch like you. Even if it is for only one night more. So, if you wouldn't mind stepping back, I'll bid you goodbye. It's been an enlightening experience." He gave her a mocking salute, started the engine and, before she could find anything to say, was driving away from her.

The Challenging Move here is perhaps of a marginal nature: although the Elicitation "*Aren't you coming in?*" does receive a Reply in "*I can think of better things to do...*", the character who gives the Reply does not engage in eye-contact, even though there is no situational obstacle involved: *She looked through the window at his profile. He didn't turn to face her when he spoke*. This is an explicit reversal of the default expectation for eye-contact when two people engage in a verbal exchange. Since the emphasis is placed on precisely this default expectation (or, to be more precise, on the absence thereof), *face* can only be interpreted as being purely directional.

Seen in terms of frequencies, 30% of the 83 lines featuring a Challenging Move require a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, 27% require a purely directional

¹³⁵ The full names of the characters in this scene are Allan Stewart, Angus Cameron and James Menzies. Both "*Come on, Angus!*" and *Cameron turned to face Menzies* are Challenging Moves, the first as an unexpected response to the Directive *You go if you like - you should go*, the second as an unexpected response in its turn to the Directive *Come on, Angus!*

interpretation of *face*, and in 43% of the 83 lines, it is essentially left to the reader to decide how to interpret *face*, depending on their experience of the verb and the way the text and the characters have been built up until then. From these results it appears that there is no conclusive evidence as to a matching between the presence of a Challenging Move and a foregrounding of a confrontational or directional element in the sense of *face*.

3.1.1.2 Initiation of dialogue + TURN TO face. As we saw in Table 6.3, in 68 of the lines featuring *TURN TO face* the focus on the inception of facing is accounted for by the presence of an initiation of dialogue in the scene. One would expect such cases to favour a purely directional sense for *face*, since the inception of a verbal exchange awakens the expectation of attendant eye-contact. Analysis of the data showed that a purely directional interpretation of *face* was required in 44 out of the 68 lines in question (i.e. 65%), as the following examples illustrate¹³⁶:

- (30) It was a spacious room with wall-to-wall carpeting, a teak desk and three imitation leather armchairs against the wall to the right of the door. The shelves on either side of the window behind the desk were stacked with files, directories and timetables. "Entschuldigen Sie, Herr Brummer?" she said, addressing the silver-haired man standing by the window. He turned to face them. "Ja. Kann ich Ihnen helfen?" Graham held up his hand before she could reply. "Sprechen sie Englisch?" Brummer nodded. "Of course. Can I help you?"
- (31) Elizabeth did not enter the museum at once, but lingered in the courtyard. She stood fingering the tresses of the willow, branches of which wept over the upturned hull of a boat, which had been dug out of the peat bog to the north of the island and was permanently on display. "Much perishes, of course, but, happily, something always survives!" Elisabeth had not heard Svend Larsen approach; at the sound of his voice she turned to face him. "I'm sorry! I'm a little late.
- (32) without taking his eyes off the stacks of machinery which shielded the glimmer from direct sight, Craig walked quickly backwards until he felt the entrance hatch to the Power Bay thump into his shoulder. He jumped as a voice beside him said, "Leave this lot, will you? The Doctor wants everyone back in operations, pronto." Craig turned to face Bernice and Teal. "I can handle that," he whispered fervently as he pushed past them and rushed off up the corridor.
- (33) "well, do you know if this is west wallsbury?" The youth admits that it is. Does he know the way to J. Pringle & sons? He shakes his head again. "Pringle's? I'll take you there." Robyn turns to face a man who has just entered the shop: tall, heavily built, with bushy sideboards and moustache, a sheepskin coat open over his three-piece suit. "with pleasure," he adds, smiling and looking Robyn up and down. "If you would just show me the route on this map," says Robyn, without returning the smile, "I'd be most grateful."

In 12 of the 68 lines a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face* is required. As was the case with the lines featuring a Challenging Move, the foregrounding of a sense of

¹³⁶ In the following examples Initiations have double underlining; further "clues" for the interpretation of *face* have thick underlining.

confrontation in *face* becomes clear through the presence of clues such as negative emotions, illustrated by the following examples¹³⁷:

- (34) In the course of such disagreeable duties, Charles mounted the steps of an imposing mansion in Chester Square, close by another of the company billets. [...] In answer to his pull at the doorbell a butler appeared who regretted, on Charles's enquiry for Lord Southdown, that His Lordship was out. Charles explained that he'd come round in answer to a complaint [...] the butler shook his head regretfully once more, indicated that Lady Charity was at home, and felt certain that she would deal with the matter. He would go and find her if the officer would step into the hall. "Lady Charity Rainham? Oh no, I don't think so. No, no, I'll call again." Charles turned to walk as quickly as he could down the steps and away without actually running, when a young woman appeared beside the butler. "Who is it, Maxwell?" It was said quite sharply and directed at Charles's retreating back. It made him turn to face her from the bottom of the steps. To flee cravenly would only invite more complaint, and personal complaint too. "An officer, my lady, to see his lordship." "Oh, but I know the officer. Come in, Mr Willoughby. How nice. I'm acting as my father's secretary." "Oh." "That's my war job. Come along and follow me."
- (35) Endill hugged goodbye to the Bookman and climbed down the shelves, hoping no-one had spotted him. But as he left the library he heard a shout behind him. "Swift!" cried the Headmaster. "Stop there!" Endill froze. This was it. He had been seen climbing down. "Got you at last," the Headmaster said putting his hand on Endill's shoulder. Endill turned to face him, trying to hide his fear. If the Headmaster had discovered he had been friends with the Bookman all along, he was in deep, deep trouble.
- (36) Xanthe's face flushed, but she did not cry, unlike Miranda, who began to beg, in a mess of tears and mucus and smeared makeup until her grandfather, two high spots of vexation colouring his cheeks, ordered her to return to her hotel. At the door, Xanthe took her by both hands and held her so hard Miranda felt her nails cut into the palms and her eyes met hers with a pale blue flare, as clear as her father's, and as unassailable, as she breathed out, holding Miranda by her side, and turned to face her father across the room. "I hate you," she said. "I hate you." "Really, Goldiel!" Anthony Everard tried to laugh away his daughter's fury.
- (37) Anna put down the telephone and waited. Luke and Flora waited too, by the table. They heard Peter slam the car door, then pull down the groaning metal garage door, then approach the house along the path of concrete slabs which were lethally glazed all year round with slippery green. He opened the kitchen door and came in and shut it before he turned to face them. He looked wholly unhappy. "It seems -" he said, and then he stopped. "It seems I am not to be Archdeacon of Woodborough. The next Archdeacon of Woodborough is to be someone from the north, someone called Daniel Byrne."

While examples (34)-(36) are straightforward, example (37) merits further comment. Here, it is not the expression of strong emotion alone (viz. *He looked wholly unhappy*) that encourages a confrontational reading of *face*; the text emphasises the waiting (*Anna put down the telephone and waited. Luke and Flora waited too*), further underlined by a description of the sounds announcing the awaited arrival (*They heard Peter slam the car door, then pull down the groaning metal garage door, then approach the house*) and by a descriptively protracted encounter (*He opened the kitchen door and came in and shut it*). The very syntax of these two sentences seems to mirror emotions: we have asyndeton in the first

¹³⁷ As in the section discussing Challenging Moves, this is just a selection of examples for illustration of the points made, since an exhaustive presentation of the data would not contribute to the discussion.

(*slam, pull, approach*), perhaps an expression of rising anticipation, and parataxis in the second (*opened and came in and shut*), perhaps an expression of weariness. This build-up culminates in *He looked wholly unhappy*: he is about to confront those who have been waiting with bad news. As mentioned before (cf. Footnote 129) "confrontation" here is used as a label which covers a broad range of experiences which have as a common denominator the unpleasantness/undesirability of the task at hand; the minute description in the text serves to evoke that the character is thoroughly unhappy about his bad news as well as about having to impart it.

In one case in the data the situation involves guns and prisoners, making it unlikely that the meeting between the prisoners and the character *Swarf* is neutral; this is further supported by the presence of *He was snarling*:

(38) The khthons were in control and waved their guns as if they had captured the travellers. Thomas shouted, "No!" However, there was no point, and he raised his arms in surrender, following his companions. They entered the castle. [...] The captives' hands were bound with thick metallic rope. Bernice could see Thomas trying to prise his hands apart, but his broken arm proved to be a burden. The shapechanger was waiting in the centre of the castle. A huge drill had been lowered into a shaft in the ground. The drill was screaming and an intense heat was rising from deep inside the shaft. Khthons ran around, checking the operation and the equipment. The dwarf sat on the floor, guiding the operation. Swarf turned to face Bernice. He was snarling. "We meet again. And you are now here to witness my greatest triumph." Bernice looked around the mediaeval castle.

There are also cases in which there is no explicit expression of negative or strong emotions, but in which the preceding context prepares the ground for an interpretation of *face*. In (39), for example, one of the characters (*Ursula*) has discovered that her husband (*Maurice*) has not fully abided by an agreement made with the kidnappers of their daughter, which is putting their daughter's life at serious risk. A few paragraphs prior to the excerpt in (38) the reader finds out about Ursula's full reaction to the discovery and that she intends to confront her husband decisively: *It's Maurice who should apologize. To all of us. And I mean to make sure he does.*

(39) "For your daughter's sake, Mrs Abberley, make sure your husband does as he is told this time. It is your last chance. No more tricks. Good afternoon." As the recording ended, Maurice rose, walked slowly across to the hi-fi and switched it off. Charlotte saw him glance out through the window and clench his teeth before turning back to face Ursula. He had bought some time for himself by refusing to answer any questions till he had heard the tape. But now time had run out. "There's no way they could have known there was another letter." The denial was as stubborn as it was futile. "If I'd thought there was -" "You think too much, Maurice, that's your trouble!" Ursula's interruption was almost a scream.

In (40) the reader is implicitly told that the narrator does not approve of the actions of the police and is *tempted to join in the [r]eaction that is swelling all around [him]*. This piece of information, coupled with the narrator's assumption that the tap he receives on the arm

comes from a policeman (conveyed by the use of the definite article in the direct Object of *face*), foregrounds a confrontational reading of *face*:

- (40) I can't believe what I am seeing. In just ten seconds a peaceful shopping street is transformed. There's no rough stuff from the police - nothing you could file a complaint about - just an unexpected public display. They ain't behaving out of hand; they're just questioning suspects in the street. But this is an exhibition. It has to be deliberate. Reaction is swelling all around me, and I'm tempted to join in. I move onto the kerb to cross the road. Then I feel a tap on the arm. I turn to face the cop, but find I'm looking at a black guy I ain't seen before. I can tell he belongs to Rufus. "Don't do it, my friend," he says. "Come listen to this instead."

It should be mentioned that this example was allocated to the category of Initiation of Dialogue, because the *tap on the arm* was understood as a Summons and the turning to face as an Answer to the summons, following Schegloff (1968: 1080) who notes that

Just as there are various items that can be used as summonses, so are there various items that are appropriately used as answers, e.g., 'Yes?', 'What?', 'Uh huh?', turning of the eyes or of the body to face the beckoner, etc. Some typical summons-answer sequences are: telephone ring-'hello'; 'Johnny?'-'yes'; 'Excuse me'-'Yes'; 'Bill?'-looks up.

What provokes a confrontational reading of *face* in (41) is the phrase *since she last confronted him, last* implying that a new confrontation is imminent. The presence further of the modifiers *imposing, harder* and *menacing* serves to uphold the context of confrontation:

- (41) He had been waiting for her, it seemed. The door opened instantly. Dark eyes pierced through her as he stepped aside to let her enter. "Your time-keeping, if nothing else, is perfect," he observed drily. Over the hours since she had last confronted him Lisa had forgotten just what an extraordinarily imposing figure he was. He was taller than she remembered, more powerfully built, the angles of his face even harder and more menacing than she had recalled coming up in the lift. Dressed now in a sharply cut plain grey suit, his thick black hair slicked back from his forehead, he seemed to fill the room with his own visceral energy. As though the very lamps in the gleaming candelabra were powered by the electricity that seemed to radiate from his skin. Lisa turned to face him. "I have an explanation." "I'll bet you do. And I'm longing to hear it." ¹³⁸

Once again, however, (cf. the discussion of Challenging Moves) the presence of clearly expressed strong emotions or even clues like weapons in the text does not necessarily suffice to motivate a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*. Examples (42) and (43) illustrate the point. In (42) the presence of *smiling, not displeased* and *teasing tone* counterbalance the presence of *however* and *coming to her defence*, so that a directional interpretation of *face* seems encouraged:

- (42) It ended. For a time no one spoke. Then Wu Tsai leaned forward and took her cup from the table, smiling, looking across at Tsu Ma. "My cousin is very gifted," she said. "It is said in our family that the gods made a mistake the day Fei Yen was born; that they meant Yin Tsu to have another son. But things were mixed up and while she received the

¹³⁸ "I have an explanation" was analysed as an initiation here, as it does not refer to the preceding observation "Your time-keeping, if nothing else, is perfect".

soul of a man, she was given the body of a woman." Fei Yen had looked up briefly, only to avert her eyes again, but it was clear from her smile that she had heard the story often and was not displeased by it. Tsu Ma, however, turned to face Wu Tsai, coming to Fei Yen's defence. "From what I've seen, if the gods were mistaken it was in one small respect alone. That Fei Yen is not quite perfect..." Fei Yen met his eyes momentarily, responding to his teasing tone. "Not quite, Chieh Hsia?" "No..." He held out his empty cup. "For they should have made you twins. One to fill my cup while the other played."

In (43) we have an illustration of emotional turmoil with respect to one of the characters, which however has nothing to do with the way the two interlocutors relate to each other, *face* here is therefore purely directional:

(43) Gradually, her expression relaxed and soon they saw she was genuinely asleep. Together, they left the room. Mr Browning, she saw, was as robust as his wife was pitifully weak. He strode about the drawing room restlessly, occasionally hitting the back of a chair with his hand, and she saw how pent-up were his energies. Finally, he came to a stop in front of the fireplace and turning to face her said, almost accusingly, "You know her, Wilson. What am I to do?" "Well, sir, I fear there is nothing you can do except what is done already, which is to keep Mrs Browning calm and quiet and endeavour to feed her nourishing food to give her back some strength."

In a further 12 of the 68 lines of this dataset, it is left to the reader to decide how to invest *face* with meaning, as there are no conclusive clues in the immediate context of the verb. In (44), for example, a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face* appears to be just as possible as a purely directional interpretation. It really depends on the way the characters and the relationships between them have been built up in the text so far:

(44) "I was pursuing two Germans who were attempting to escape." "It looked the other way round to me" said Tommy. "And when we get back, I intend to let anyone know who cares to listen." "It would be your word against mine," said Trentham. "In any case, both Germans are dead." "Only thanks to me and try not to forget that the corp 'ere also witnessed everything what 'appened." "Then you know my version of the events is the accurate one," said Trentham, turning directly to face Charlie. "All I know is that we ought to be up in that tower, plannin' how we get back to our own lines, and not wastin' any more time quarrellin' down 'ere." The captain nodded his agreement, turned, ran to the back of the church and up the stone stairs to the safety of the tower. Charlie quickly followed him.

In (45) the scene containing the inception of facing is no longer one involving weapons and threat to life, though the imbalance of power remains. This alone could justify a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*. On the other hand, we have a *faintly bemused* controller (not an accusing or angry one) turning to face a *shaking and distraught officer* – the situation appears to be unpleasant, yet mild, so that a purely directional interpretational of *face* would be equally possible. Again, the reader's choice seems to depend on the way the characters and the relationships between them have been portrayed in the text so far.

(45) What had he done? "Throw down your weapons or I shoot," shouted one of the androids. He put his hands into the air.
<p>

Kopyion sat at his desk looking at the major. The androids had pulled the shaking and distraught officer from the wreck of the room and taken him directly to their controller. Kopyion looked faintly bemused. He dismissed the androids and turned to face Carlson. "I don't know why I did it." Carlson said. And he didn't. Kopyion poured him a drink of wine and offered him a date. "No, I don't want them," he replied abruptly. Kopyion chewed a date and filled his glass of wine with mineral water. „why don't you do something! why can't you stop it!" Carlson realized he was shouting.

So, in the lines featuring *TURN TO face* and an initiation of discourse, we find that 65% of the cases require a purely directional interpretation of *face*, some 18% require a confrontational interpretation of *face*, while a further 18% do not seem to give sufficient clues for an unequivocal interpretation. In other words, in some 35% of the 68 lines in question, it is possible to interpret *face* as predominantly confrontational. From these results there appears to be a tendency for a purely directional interpretation of *face* when it co-occurs with an initiation. This observation, however, needs qualification: (a) the dataset, with 68 lines, is small; (b) a chance of *face* having a purely directional meaning in 2 lines out of 3 does not seem that big; (c) this result only concerns the lines in which *face* is preceded by *TURN TO*.

3.1.1.3 Situational obstacle + TURN TO face. There were 30 lines featuring *TURN TO face*, in which the focus on the inception of facing is justified by the presence of a situational obstacle in the scene (cf. Table 6.3). Of these, 28 (amounting to 93% of the lines) require a purely directional reading of *face*. In two of the lines, the event of facing does not actually take place:

- (46) Julia saw that the moon was almost full and hung, huge and round, just over the Palladian dome. "I know it's a cliché," she said, standing with David's hand in the crook of her arm, "but it really does look as though it were floating, as though it might be washed away by the next tide." His hand tightened slightly as he agreed with her, and she longed to turn and face him, pull his head gently down and kiss him.
- (47) "Fen," she pleaded, „please let go of me. I'm all right now, really I am. I... I'll go to my own cabin." She hoped her words carried more conviction than she felt. She didn't want to go. She wanted to stay here, the place that was her idea of heaven - Fen's arms. She wanted to turn to face him, to bury her face against that broad chest, to feel his bodily stirring grow until... She groaned, tortured once more by her own vivid imagination.

Apart from the fact that the general context does not leave room for a confrontational interpretation of *face* in these two lines, it would also be highly unlikely that a confrontational use of *face* be preceded by a verb denoting willingness: *longed to*, *wanted to*.

Three further lines feature vocabulary associated with danger: in (48) we have *matter of life and death*, in (49) there is *explosion, rattle of small arms, safer off the streets*, in (50) *barricade, anxiously, tremendous blows, terrific crash*. In all three cases, however, a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face* is not supported, since this vocabulary does not impinge upon the relationship between the two characters in each of the scenes.

So, once again, the presence alone of vocabulary that is fully compatible with a sense of confrontation does not necessarily evoke a confrontational interpretation of *face*:

- (48) It was a job of the utmost precision, and even a large-scale blow-up might not reveal that it was not genuine. Kirov averted his eyes from the photograph abruptly. Thinking of the young man, and his quiet, idealistic manner, he felt a slight twinge of shame. Fighting it, Kirov reminded himself that he was involved in a matter of life and death. His life and death. He turned back to face Zhukov. "You have a negative, I take it?"
- (49) When I was finished, he said, "Convenient, the girl's death, you were right about that." "Which doesn't look too good for me." There was an explosion not too far away and as he got up and opened the door to the rear yard, the rattle of small arms fire. "It sounds like a lively night," I said. "Oh, it will be. Safer off the streets at the moment." He closed the door and turned to face me. I said, "The facts in that file. Were they true?" "A good story." "In outline." "Which means you'd like to hear the rest?" "I need to hear it." "Why not." He smiled, sat down at the table again and reached for the Bushmills. "Sure and it'll keep me out of mischief for a while. Now, where would you like me to begin?"
- (50) Delaney pulled up, frightened at the sight of the dismembered barricade at the bottom, but began shouting for her as he dropped down. "Nell!" He kicked the wreckage aside, and ran into the empty engine room, searching, as the Russian looked anxiously back up the stairway, listening to the tremendous blows echoing through the ship. There was one last terrific crash. Then silence. The Russian turned to face Delaney. "It's through!" Delaney tried to work out what had happened. Why the door to the engine room was open and undamaged. But the continuing silence was ominous. That the creature was seeking them out was not in doubt.

In one line the purely directional meaning of *face* is necessitated by the presence of the event schema (cf. Bartlett 1995 [1932], Anderson & Ausubel 1965) of a dance:

- (51) His eyes glittered. "No... I'm too busy considering other - more exciting - prospects!" he reached out then, and his hand curved over her wrist. "Let's dance." Rachel's pulses thundered as she allowed him to lead her to the dance-floor beneath the flashing lights. As they turned to face each other, the music ended. Roxy Music blasted out.

Two of the 30 lines call for a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*. In both, the wider context of the scene is helpful in establishing the meaning of *face*. The context of (52) is that of an argument that runs over a few paragraphs and culminates in an angry departure and an impolite suggestion:

- (52) "You'd never keep Jupe awake long enough to listen to the arguments. Ye gods, even when he is awake all he ever says is let's sleep on it..." The American smiled at the accurate description of the Vice President whose reputation for always falling asleep at meetings had earned him the nickname of Mogadon Man. "But I will speak to Jupe if you would like me to do so," he replied. "Can't do any harm. But I don't think it would do any good." Mark jerked the door open and turned to face the American eyes hardened with anger. "Yes, maybe that's not a bad suggestion," he said slowly and deliberately. "Speak to Jupe by all means on my behalf. Tell him to stuff it up his arse."

The context immediately preceding the excerpt in (53) prepares us for a scene of subtle, cunning negotiation between two old acquaintances over the price of a house; but what really provokes a predominantly confrontational interpretation for *face* is the comparison of the

Subject of *face* to a *liner manoeuvring to ram a tugboat*. One might argue that this description immediately follows *face*, therefore the meaning of the verb will have already been decided upon, with the reader having in all probability opted for a purely directional interpretation. Psycholinguistic research, however, has shown that alternative meanings of polysemous words become and stay activated for a significantly long time even after a polysemous word has been heard in an irrelevant context (Williams 1992). Therefore, a revision in favour of a predominantly confrontational meaning would not pose any difficulties in terms of processing: the prepositional phrase *like a liner manoeuvring to ram a tugboat* itself actually refers back to and modifies *turned slowly*, the goal of which is *to face*:

- (53) without waiting for an invitation, as if the house were already his, he led the way into the sitting room. Peter followed, thinking how such behaviour would have infuriated his mother, and how it strengthened his own position. "Thank you for lunch on Saturday," he said. "I really enjoyed myself." "well, what's the verdict?" "I don't know. It's a difficult decision." Coleby turned slowly to face him, like a liner manoeuvring to ram a tugboat. Peter held his ground. "would you like a cup of coffee?" "Coffee?" Coleby frowned at the idea. "No, I can't stay long. What's the problem?"

Although the dataset is admittedly very small, it seems to be the case that when the sequence *TURN TO face* co-occurs with a situational obstacle, *face* tends to be used with a purely directional meaning. This, however, has to remain a very tentative conclusion, at least until we have completed the discussion of all the lines featuring the sequence <Animate Subject> + <verb of motion> + *face* + <animate Object>.

3.1.1.4 Absence of dialogue + TURN TO face. There are 25 lines in the dataset of *TURN TO face* involving no dialogue (cf. Table 6.3). Of these, 16 provoke a purely directional interpretation of *face*, 7 a predominantly confrontational interpretation, while in two cases the reader could equally well decide in favour of either option. Examples requiring a purely directional interpretation of *face* are given in (54)-(56).

- (54) They lay on his jacket, and she tried to read while he tried to kiss her. She won. After an hour the sun clouded over, so they picked up their things and started back towards the fence where they had left their bicycles. At the far end of the field, by the gate, there was a group of small cows, and as Clara and Walter approached, these cows turned round to face them. They were in a solid line, between them and the gate. There were about twenty of them. They did not move. Walter and Clara slowed down. [...] Then, [...] she advanced alone upon the cows, and they parted softly and meekly before her and Walter. Ash followed her, and they regained their bicycles.

- (55) I wait by the gate as they pick their way down to the slimy bottom of the dip. The dampness in the air becomes drizzle. I find I'm holding my breath. My stomach muscles are tight. Dixie and the breadhead pause at the bottom, then turn to face each other. Dixie wipes a raindrop from his brow. Along the valley, the old man wanders off from his allotment into a small rickety shed. The two joggers resume their training run.

- (56) when he saw that Mass was to be in the Lady Chapel he moved across and sat in the back row. He didn't speak. No one else was there. It wasn't Miss Wharton's morning and Mr Capstick, who likes to come to the nine thirty Mass, had influenza. There were just the

two of us. When I'd finished the first prayer and turned to face him, I saw that he was kneeling. He took Communion. Afterwards, we walked together to the Little Vestry.

There are two examples that are very similar to the one in (54) in that the participants of *face* are people and animals, yet, unlike (54), they both contain clear indications for a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*:

- (57) Mary screamed and pointed to the rear. They looked back and saw the stag bound out of the wood. "Christ, he got rid of the blanket," yelled Billy. They were now running alongside the wall, but still a long way from the crossing stile. They looked back again. The stag was now at full gallop on the springy turf. "We'll never get to the stile," gasped Billy and prepared to turn and face the animal. "We can get through that hound flap," screamed Molly, and pointed ahead. At intervals, all around the park wall, wooden flaps are built into the base of the wall to allow the Berkeley Hunt hounds access into the park during the fox hunting season.
- (58) Had he been facing any of the big cat family, with their formidable armoury of fang, claw, power and speed, he would, for all his martial arts training, have been in with very little chance of survival, let alone victory. But, pitted against them[sic] mainly fanged attack of dogs, no matter how ferocious, his own superbly trained body possessed superior weapons in the form of brain, hands and feet. The dogs' initial surprise at Angel One's turning to face them, was further compounded by his screaming kung-fu attack cry, and his sudden leap high to his right.

In (57) a group of people is being chased by an apparently incensed stag¹³⁹. For the case that escape is not successful, one of the frightened (*gasp*) characters sees no other option than trying to deal with the danger posed by the animal: *prepared to turn and face the animal*. Similarly, the context of *turning to face* in (58) is one of a fight between a person and dogs (*fanged attack of dogs, ferocious, weapons*) and therefore only a confrontational interpretation of the verb would be appropriate. Once again, we see how important the immediate and general context are for the interpretation of a single word in the text.

The five further lines in which *face* has a predominantly confrontational meaning are:

- (59) Then Tyrion slipped and Urien loomed over him blade held high. It was the opening that the High Elf had waited for. A quick thrust of his weapon found the assassin's heart. The host of darkness let out a howl of anguish and charged forward to overwhelm the lone Elf warrior and the Elf army raced to meet them. Malhandir reached his master first and Tyrion vaulted into the saddle then turned to face his foes.
- (60) then leaped from the last table to land with a crash in Lord John's path. Lord John twisted round, running back towards the ballroom. Sharpe pursued him, kicking aside a spindly gilt chair. A group of scarlet-coated cavalry officers appeared in the supper room entrance and Lord John, evidently encouraged by these reinforcements, turned to face his enemy. Sharpe slowed to a walk and drew his sword. He dragged the blade slowly through the scabbard's wooden throat so that the sound of the weapon's scraping would be as frightening as the sight of the dulled steel. "Draw your sword, you bastard." "No!"

¹³⁹ In the couple of paragraphs preceding the excerpt here we find plenty of evidence that the animal is indeed incensed and attacking, e.g. *The enraged animal freed its antlers from the brambles and with a springing bound crashed into Yanto's protective cage of saplings; He couldn't believe that this normally timid creature could be capable of such aggression.*

- (61) I'm doubly grateful that you spent the time with me, Jenna, dear, when you were probably pining to get back to your fiancé." "I enjoyed being with you," Jenna assured her, and Marguerite smiled gleefully. "Then I know you will come back. Bring him with you, n'est-ce pas?" "I will," Jenna said. she had paid Alain back swiftly and firmly, but she could not turn to face him, and after one look at his tight face, Marguerite glanced from one to the other with suddenly astonished eyes. She might just as well have been driven to the airport by taxi, Jenna mourned. Alain would not speak to her. He drove grimly and skilfully and he drove very fast as if he could not wait to get her on the plane to England and out of his sight.
- (62) e obviously not sleeping well. You look quite haggard." Jessamy was about to fling an equally rude reply straight back at her, but Eleanor's gaze suddenly moved past Jessamy and her face changed completely. "Good morning, Julius," she said, in a very different tone of voice. Jessamy hadn't heard her husband walk into the hall. she turned round slowly, not at all sure she was ready to face him. She found that his dark brown gaze was already fixed on her, and she swallowed very hard. Julius stared at her for what seemed like an extraordinarily long time. Then his eyes finally flicked back to his secretary. "what are you doing here, Eleanor?" he said, very curtly.
- (63) we were ail [sic] safe in His hands, always. I wish there was still something to look at which gave me the same feeling. I want, even now, to be safe in His hands. Yet I had not thought of that banner for years. Leaning in over the sleeping child I must have wanted to see myself as the angel, hovering in protection of an infant who was so obviously in peril. I turned with burnished wings to face the wicked young mother, accusing words already at the roof of my mouth. I was going to abuse her. I was going to threaten her with the law. I think I even intended to gather up the sleeping bundle in my arms and take it away from this dreadful precipice.

A battle is underway in (59). The very Object of *face*, *his foes*, renders a purely directional interpretation of *face* highly improbable, while the vocabulary that precedes our node (such as *blade, weapon, warrior, army*) along with the description of the infliction of a deadly wound (*A quick thrust of his found the assassin's heart*) all bear the semantics of "confrontation".

The context in (60) is similar: a pursuit with life-threatening potential. Again, the Object of *face* (*his enemy*) alone activates a confrontational interpretation of the verb. The reader has already been prepared by the preceding paragraphs that describe the entire pursuit and the reasons behind it. Closer to our node, *evidently encouraged by these reinforcements* leaves no room for a purely directional interpretation of *face*.

Example (61) is one of a total of 5 instances in the set of 299 lines of *TURN TO face* in which the event of facing does not actually take place.¹⁴⁰ The dialogue that is taking place in the scene is between two female characters, and the clause *she could not turn to face him* concerns a third character, the driver of the car, which is what led to the allocation of the line to the category of lines involving no dialogue.¹⁴¹ The dominant feature here is the presence of *could not*, actually one of the patterns of non-visual *face* which, as we saw, carries a sense of confrontation with something unpleasant. Since there is no physical obstacle to

¹⁴⁰ For the other four see examples (29), (46), (47) and (57).

¹⁴¹ Notice, a little further down in the excerpt: *Alain would not speak to her*. In consistence with instances of addressing a new character in a scene that were allocated to the category of "initiation of dialogue", this instance involving no dialogue between two of the characters in the scene was allocated to the category of "absence of dialogue".

turning to face in the scene (the passenger can always turn to look at the driver), the implication is that *face* here has a meaning beyond directionality. In other words, the presence of *could not* prompts a sense of "acknowledging something unpleasant".

The presence of *ready to* in example (62) implies that the character in question needs to be in a specific emotional or mental state for the event of facing – therefore the event of facing cannot be purely orientational. Moreover, *ready to* is negated by *not at all sure*, so that even if *face* is not taken to be downright confrontational in this instance, it is certainly the case that it can cause emotional turmoil and unpleasantness.

The context of (63), finally, juxtaposes good with evil (*safe in His hands, angel vs. in peril, wicked*) with the Subject of *face* representing good and fighting for it (*in protection of, accusing words, abuse, threaten, away from this dreadful precipice*), thus precluding a purely directional interpretation of *face*.

Only in two cases does the meaning of *face* remain unspecified, leaving the reader to decide for themselves:

(64) He ran the pub with his wife, an Irish woman who was known as Mrs Nora, and whose reputation along the docks had been assured the day she had broken up a brawl between a huge Turk who had just knifed two men, and a dozen of the wounded men's shipmates. While the pub had been emptying of its customers, and Fritz had been covering down behind the counter, Mrs Nora had grabbed a broom and, holding it in both hands like a bat, had waited until the Turk had turned to face her - and then cracked him across the forehead. he [sic] had gone down without a sound - and by the time he had woken up, his ship had been two days out into the Channel.

(65) You never thought that being grown up would mean having to be quite so - how can I put it? Quite so - grown up. Now did you? You didn't think you'd have to work at it quite so hard. It's so relentless, this being grown up, this having to be considered, poised, at home within a shifting four-dimensional matrix of Entirely valid Considerations. You'd like to get a little tiddly, wouldn't you? You'd like to fiddle with the buttons of reality as he does, feel it up without remorse, without the sense that you have betrayed some shadowy commitment. Don't bother. I've bothered, I've gone looking for the child inside myself. Ian, the Startrite kid. I've pursued him down the disappearing paths of my own psyche. I am he as he is me, as we are all... His back, broad as a standing stone... My footsteps, ringing eerily inside my own head. I'm turning in to face myself, and face myself, and face myself. I'm looking deep into my own eyes. Ian, is that you, my significant other? I can see you now for what you are, Ian Wharton. You're standing on a high cliff, chopped off and adumbrated by the heaving green of the sea. You're standing hunched up with the dull awareness of the hard graft. The heavy workload that is life, that is life, that is death, that is life again, everlasting, world without end.

Although the excerpt in (64) contains vocabulary pertaining to a dangerous confrontation (*brawl, knifed, wounded, covering, like a bat*), which would justify a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, it is not entirely clear that there is intentionality in the Turk's turning to face Mrs Nora or that the Turk is even aware of Mrs Nora behind him. Both awareness and intentionality would be a prerequisite for a confrontational interpretation of the verb. So, the way in which the scene is construed is instrumental for the way *face* is invested with meaning: a reader that processes the entire sentence as the Turk turning with

the intention of facing Mrs Nora or the threat that he senses behind him, would rightly attribute a confrontational meaning to *face*. The reader who processes the sentence as Mrs Nora waiting patiently and in readiness for the Turk to turn around *at some point*, would be justified in investing *face* with a purely directional meaning.

Example (65) –presented here with even more context than the other lines– is a rare instantiation of the pattern “animate faces animate” and a marginal case for the analytical category involving no dialogue. Again, the way in which the reader decides to construe the narrative is instrumental for the interpretation of *face*: it is possible to read much of the passage in quite a literal way, as a scene of pursuit between two characters (*I've pursued him..., His back, broad as a standing stone, My footsteps, ringing...*), which culminates in an encounter: *I'm turning in to face myself* (“I” in this construal would in all probability be the pursued). In this case *face* could be processed as purely directional. It is also possible to invest everything in the passage with a metaphorical meaning and read the whole scene as a conflict between one’s past and present personality. In which case *face* would be confrontational. It is even possible for the reader to understand the entire passage as a conflict between one’s past and present personality, and yet within that construal to interpret the scene of pursuit in a literal way.

The set of 25 lines featuring *TURN TO face* and no dialogue is much too small for anything other than a brief recapitulation, at this point at least: two out of three lines feature *face* in a purely directional sense, while nearly one in three require a confrontational interpretation.

3.1.2 Verb of motion other than *TURN TO + face*

In 148 lines of my dataset, the sequence <animate Subject> + <verb of motion> + *face* + <animate Object> featured a verb of motion other than *TURN TO*. A list of the verbs can be found in Table 6.4 below. One observation that arose from an examination of these verbs was that they seem to belong to one of three categories semantically, reflected in the table through the use of different background shades: one category of verbs of motion denote pivoting on one’s axis (e.g. *SWING (a)round/back, SWIVEL round, WHEEL round* – cf. columns 1 and 2 of Table 6.4, with the white background); another category of verbs denote what could be described as “horizontal forward motion” (e.g. *GO in/back/across/over, COME, EMERGE from* – cf. column 3 of Table 6.4, with the light cream background); the third category of verbs denote “vertical motion” (e.g. *RISE, STAND up/upright, POP up* – cf. column 4 of Table 6.4, with the dark cream background).

Table 6.4. List of verbs of motion other than *TURN TO* appearing in the sequence <Animate Subject> + <verb of motion> + *face* + <animate Object> with their raw frequencies

<i>COME round</i>	2	<i>SHIFT oneself around</i>	1	<i>BE on one's way</i>	1	<i>(BE) (on) one's feet</i>	2
<i>EASE X round</i>	1	<i>SHUFFLE oneself about</i>	1	<i>BRING forward</i>	1	<i>LOOK up</i>	1
<i>FLING round/ oneself over</i>	2	<i>SPIN ((a)round/back)</i>	18	<i>COME</i>	1	<i>RISE</i>	8
<i>LIE on one's side</i>	1	<i>STOP</i>	2	<i>EMERGE from</i>	1	<i>POP up</i>	1
<i>MANOEUVRE</i>	1	<i>SWING ((a)round/back)</i>	31	<i>GO in/back/across/ over</i>	7	<i>SPRING</i>	1
<i>MAKE a line</i>	1	<i>SWIVEL (round)</i>	13	<i>LEAN forward</i>	1	<i>PULL oneself upright</i>	1
<i>MOVE around</i>	2	<i>TWIST (round)</i>	5	<i>LEAP out</i>	1	<i>SEAT oneself</i>	1
<i>PULL round</i>	1	<i>WHEEL (round)</i>	2	<i>SIT forward</i>	1	<i>SIT up</i>	1
<i>RETURN</i>	1	<i>WHIP round</i>	2	<i>SLAM out</i>	1	<i>SQUARE oneself</i>	1
<i>ROLL over</i>	3	<i>WHIRL (round/back)</i>	12	<i>STEP out</i>	1	<i>STAND (up/upright)</i>	9
<i>RUN round</i>	1	<i>WALK around</i>	1	<i>WALK into</i>	1	<i>STRAIGHTEN</i>	1
<i>SHAMBLE round</i>	1	<i>WRIGGLE</i>	1				

Certain decisions regarding this classification would appear to require some explanation. The verb *LIE* was classified among the verbs denoting pivoting on one's axis, because the line in which it was attested makes clear that we are dealing with a pivoting movement covering some 90 degrees:

- (66) His lean brand of nonchalant sexuality was attracting quite a few appreciative glances. "Is this a regular haunt of yours?" she asked him a little waspishly. "well, no. why?" He peered at her from under the cloth cap which he was using to shade his face, and she lay on her side to face him. "Because the place is littered with women who all look as though they might know you, or else, if they don't, would like to." He grinned at her.

The meaning of *MAKE a line* and of *WRIGGLE* was also specified by their respective contexts:

- (67) Both Dragoons had galloped past Sharpe and were now trying to turn their horses for a second attack. In the pasture behind Sharpe the Prussian horsemen were making a line to face the remaining Dragoons who, outnumbered, had cautiously pulled back towards the skyline.
- (68) she heard him but kept her back turned so that she would have his arms around her and then she could wriggle inside them to face him. As he held her she seemed to swell, as if another skin, another body, more calm and perfect than the one she had, grew out of

her as token for that love of him which could in looks and words show itself so inadequately. He kissed her on the cheek

While the conceptualisation of the scene in (67) can involve various trajectories, it will certainly also involve some pivoting on one's axis, since the point of the line is for the cavalry to end up facing in the same direction. Similarly, the situational context in (68) helps the reader conceptualise *wriggle* as denoting a fairly accurate 180 degree turn.

In the case of *MOVE around*, *RUN round* and *WALK around* the pivoting motion does not occur around a point, but rather around a wider "axis":

- (69) Mafouz responded by altering the direction of his arm movement to a forward thrust. He also increased the speed. His face, red with the effort, wore a glazed, far-away expression. He started to bite his lip. "watch out, Sheikh!" he called - "this is going to be a fast one." Mahmud, unable to restrain himself any longer, moved from his position in the slips to face Sheikh directly. "Yeah, Sheikh," he called - "this will be punishment!"
- (70) "what is it?" Clare stepped into the room, and some of Carolyn's terror communicated itself to her. Quickly she stepped back and switched on the light. She couldn't see anything in the corner. Carolyn shifted abruptly on her seat, turning her head away. "what is it? what did you see?" Clare ran round the chair to face her.
- (71) she laid her hands on the top of his shoulders and kneaded the base of his neck with her thumbs. Fred dropped his head and groaned. "Gawd, that feels good," he murmured in a low voice. After a pause he added, "D'yer fink yer can get a discount from Johnson's?" Carrie walked around to face him and gestured towards the mess of papers.

The presence of *STOP* in a list of verbs of motion may at first sight seem counterintuitive. Yet in the sequence *STOP + to + face* the 'windowing of attention' (cf. Talmy 2000: 258 ff.) is placed at the final stage of the path that the Subject of both *STOP* and *face* has traced. In other words, *STOP* cannot be understood without preceding activity, which in this set of data involves motion (*walking away, her progress about the room*) – and, as at least the first of the examples below makes clear, pivoting:

- (72) "where are we going?" Maggie asked worriedly. "This room, the Hall of Secrets. Come, I will show you something. I expect it still works." He led her inside and left her at one side of the room, walking softly away and stopping to face her at the other side.
- (73) From within the arena of armchairs and sofa he had been mirroring her progress about the room, two steps forward to the drinks trolley where she placed her glass, four steps to her eight over to the window, three back on her way to the door again. "what do you mean, 'seen'?" she could not bring herself to say, You were shut outside the gate. "You were a little boy. Playing. Your mother was there too." "Oh, she would've been." His voice was suddenly loud, strained. "Mamma was always there by me. She, why she, throughout my life, has always stood by me to help me make big decisions..." Delia Sutherland had stopped to face him while his voice rose still higher.

The verbs *LEAP out* and *STEP out* actually denote lateral motion in the relevant lines, but since they do not involve any change in orientation were considered sufficiently good candidates for the category of verbs denoting "horizontal forward motion". *STEP out* further

has an element of vertical motion in the context in which it was encountered (cf. example 74), but, as we will see further below, its allocation to either the category of verbs denoting "horizontal forward motion" or that of verbs denoting "vertical motion" does not impinge on the analysis.

- (74) And there was something about him, an aura of confidence and power, as he stood there facing her across the bonnet of the Mini that told her that even if she'd been driving a tank there was no way in the world he would have let her go past. Lisa pushed open the driver's door and stepped out to face him.

A word of explanation for the inclusion of *(BE) on one's feet* in the list of verbs of motion is also due. The lines concerned were

- (75) she blinked and stared up at the shadowy image of Guy Sterne's face, bending over her. "oh, hell..." she groaned, and tried to sit up, her head feeling as if someone had stuffed it full of cotton wool, "I fainted, didn't I? Oh, damn and blast..." The dark face was a study in rueful amusement as he helped her to her feet to face the worried circle of fellow-diners and waiters hovering to offer assistance.

and

- (76) The violent hammering continued and Jenna crept out of bed to look down into the dark courtyard. She couldn't see anything.[...] She would have given anything for a glimpse of the moon that had been shining when she was here before, but it was not there, and as the knocking gathered strength she realised she would have to go down, whoever it was might just break in and, if they did, she wanted to be on her feet to face them. In any case, she was too scared to go back to sleep even if she had been able to.

As was the case with *STOP*, what we have here is the focusing of attention on the final stage of a path of vertical motion, traced by the Subject of *face* which is also the semantic Subject of *on her feet*. In the second of the two excerpts a verb of motion focusing on the initial stage of the character's trajectory is actually mentioned, though a few sentences previously –*Jenna crept out of bed*– and thus the shift from a lying to a vertical position is fully traced. There were two further lines in the dataset featuring the phrase *(on) her feet to face*, namely *she rose shakily to her feet to face him* and *she sprang gracefully to her feet to face him* and both actually contained a verb of motion. So, what we have in these four instances is a continuum of explicitness regarding the motion that ends with the Subject *(on) her feet*.¹⁴²

In the case of the verbs *LOOK up*, *SQUARE oneself* and *STRAIGHTEN*, the trajectory involved may not be quite as expansive as that traced in the case of a verb like *STAND up*, but they still denote vertical motion.

One final point to make is that the sum total of the verb tokens listed in Table 6.4 is actually 150 instead of the expected 148. This is because two lines in the data actually contain two verbs of motion each:

¹⁴² *She rose shakily to her feet to face him* and *she sprang gracefully to her feet to face him* were treated as instances of *she rose ... to face him* and *she sprang ... to face him*, respectively, and the two verbs of motion were both allocated to the category of verbs denoting "vertical motion".

- (77) Although so alike physically, she felt sure that Jonna would not stand up to his father's rage, as George would have done. To everyone's amazement, however, Jonna faced his father with a courage born of desperation. Rising slowly to his feet, he placed both hands on the table and leaned forward to face Jonadab. Blue eyes met blue eyes; each pair as cold and piercing as the other. "It's not my land. It never will be my land. It'll pass to George, and everything else with it."
- (78) "How dare you come barging in here like this? who the hell do you think you are?" Shiona never faltered. Her nervousness had vanished. She felt suddenly bold, on an adrenalin "high". With a mocking smile she lifted one eyebrow. "Have you forgotten? I'm your sister." Jake had risen from his seat and was standing to face her. "I thought I told you to stay in London? You should have taken my advice. I really don't want you here."

In example (77) we have Rising slowly to his feet, he... leaned forward to face Jonadab – since both verbs of motion have the act of facing as a goal, both were taken into account.¹⁴³ Similarly, in (78) the character Jake rises and is standing in order to face the other character in the scene. The inclusion of *was standing* in the list of verbs of motion followed the same principles that were applied in the inclusion of *STOP* and *(on) her feet* in the list: *was standing* in this line is explicitly the final stage of the act of *rising*. The choice of putting extra emphasis on the final stage of the character's trajectory (as opposed to opting for *Jake had risen from his seat to face her*) appears only to strengthen an already unequivocal, predominantly confrontational, interpretation of *face*.

Of the 148 lines featuring the sequence <animate Subject> + <verb of motion other than *TURN TO*> + *face* + <animate Object>, 106 contain a verb of motion denoting "pivoting on one's axis", 17 contain a verb of motion denoting "horizontal forward motion" and 27 a verb denoting "vertical motion" (cf. Table 6.4). While with those verbs denoting "pivoting on one's axis" the orientation between the participants changes, with the verbs denoting "horizontal forward motion" and "vertical motion" the physical orientation between participants remains constant (cf. examples 74-78 above). It therefore seems less likely for *face* to be predominantly directional in such cases, since the element of physical positioning between the characters is already established. In other words, given that a description of physical orientation between the characters would appear redundant, verbs of motion denoting "horizontal forward motion" and "vertical motion" would function as a signal to the reader to invest *face* with a predominantly confrontational sense. This claim will be examined in Sections 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.2.

3.1.2.1 Verbs denoting "horizontal forward motion". Of the 17 lines featuring a verb of motion denoting "horizontal forward motion" immediately preceding *face*, 13 refer to situations in which the characters are spatially separated – to varying degrees: in lines (79)-

¹⁴³ This is the last of a total of five instances featuring *(on) one's feet* and, as in the other two cases that contained an explicit verb of motion immediately preceding *(on) one's feet*, it was treated as an instance of *rising ... to face*.

(85) the participants of face are not at the same location; in (86)-(87) they are at the same location but not in the same building; in (88)-(91) they are in the same building but not in the same room:

- (79) "That's the lass took Marion Aluinn, had cess to her, up off the shore yesterday! It's maybe for her." Iain Reamhar pursed his mouth. "Seumas Ban said she was to be fed." "She was to be fed in the kitchen!" the old wife protested. "Let the vixen come and face us, and beg from us here!" She was gloating. "Dhia, Mor, you women won't let her off easy, will you!"
- (80) "I know you can hear me, because there must be loads of electricity in this building. We're at the airport. We can't find Grandson Richard, 39. We don't know how to start looking. Please help us." The Thing stayed silent. "If you don't help us," said Masklin quietly, "we'll go back to the quarry and face the humans, but that won't matter to you because we'll leave you here. We really will. And no nomes will ever find you again. There will never be another chance. We'll die out, there will be no more nomes anywhere, and it will be because of you.
- (81) There was no way the actors and actresses could possibly manage the complicated looks she'd created cosmetically, by themselves. They might be able to contrive something, but Josh had been adamant that the highly distinctive, futuristic styles were essential to the whole atmosphere and setting of the drama. She dropped her head into her hands with a despairing groan. she couldn't go back and face them all - not now, not when Marianne would have told them all about her criminal father, doubtless revelling in every sad little detail, probably creating a few more just to spice the story up still more.
- (82) "It's not a meeting," explained Simon Swan. "It's a massacre." "A massacre? what? where? who's massacring whom?" the mayor demanded. "Do they have a licence?" "It's Anabelle," replied Uncle Alfred. "She has gone across the canal to face the beast." "She's about to get et up, too," added the mice. "That dog will gobble her down whole - the admiral said so!"
- (83) The real crux of the matter was finding out why her daughter felt the need to take drugs. why she lied and cheated. what the hell was going on in the child's mind. She pulled into her drive and sat looking at the house. It was early evening and the day had been too long. Far too long and far too fraught. She rubbed the back of her neck with a gloved hand. she had to walk into work tomorrow and face her colleagues. It was the talking point of the station, she would lay money on that. Groaning slightly, she got out of the car.
- (84) Threadneedle turned her into some sort of cyborg death machine." "That's not good news for law-abiding citizens, is it?" "Certainly not, Lynne." "So, is Jessamyn Bonnev in fact the Most Dangerous Woman in the world?" "well, we asked that question to Redd Harvest of the T-H-R agency as the Op was on her way to face a cadre of the Trap Door Spiders." "And what did Ms Harvest say?" "I can give you the exact quote. Her reply was "not while I'm alive, she isn't."
- (85) went to help her headmistress. "Back to bed for you," she said firmly, "and then I'm going to the telephone. Up you come!" Five minutes later, with her patient safely tucked up, Miss Fogerty spoke to Doctor Lovell and then to Lulling Police Station. That done, she went over to the school playground to face the forty or more children for whom she alone would be responsible that day. Normally the thought would have made timid little Miss Fogerty quail.
- (86) Turning her round, he began propelling her back the way she'd come. "No!" she exclaimed in horror. Digging in her heels, she refused to move. "No, Leo!" "Yes," he argued grimly. Gone was the amiable giant; his face now was totally transformed. He looked

suddenly very tough and dangerous. "You're going to go in and face him. Yes, you are!" he repeated as she fervently shook her head. "I can't," she whispered.

- (87) This is the time when a professional knows he has to cut sentimental connections and kick close friends and women back into the world of clerks and shopkeepers. They always tie you down. You have to smack them in the face and leave without saying goodbye. And when I slam out of the hotel to face Darius in the street, I have Rachel right beside me. Which may make her happy but means that I am losing my marbles, and Darius thinks I've betrayed him, and Victor would swallow his cigar.
- (88) Lucy stared from his retreating back to the indentations on the bedspread and pillow. He's forgotten those few minutes already, she thought resentfully while a state of depression began to grip her. But she was unable to see what she could do about it. She then felt reluctant to go downstairs to face the man who had so recently been kissing her bare breasts, so she took extra time to straighten the bed
- (89) register office. A ten-minute wait round a low coffee table bearing three London telephone directories and three copies of the Yellow Pages. Ollie trying to amuse the company by looking up relevant professionals like Divorce Lawyers and Rubber Goods Purveyors. No spirit of fun ignited, however. Then we went in to face this perfectly oleaginous and crenuscular little registrar. A flour-bomb of dandruff on his shoulders. The show went off as well as these things do.
- (90) She stood in front of the mirror [...], and she suffered because she knew that there was no escape; the reasons why the dress would not do were reasons which could never be communicated. [...] She hardly dared to draw the curtains to show herself to the other girls, though she had warned them of the horrid sight in store for them.[...] And, when, finally, she did emerge from her curtain cubicle to face the other girls, they took it very well, for they could afford to be charitable, and they were secretly glad that Clara's style was cramped, for without some handicap she would have been a more serious threat.
- (91) he stepped into the gap of the open doorway and swung the gun up to cover the empty corridor. As he did so, he heard Angel One's harsh voice shout something unintelligible. Grant was still trying to puzzle out what the man had shouted, when there was a sudden blur of movement at the far end of the corridor and the black clad oriental leapt out to face him. He was holding one of the machine pistols. In a split second of surprised immobility, Grant saw the deadly muzzle come to bear on him. Then he unfroze, pulled the trigger of the shotgun and leapt back into cover, all in the same movement. Too late. In that same instant, the oriental fired.

Several factors converge to determine the sense of *face* in these cases:

(a) All excerpts except for (80) and (87) contain lexical items that act as clues for a confrontational interpretation of *face* (cf. thick underlining).

(b) Excerpts (79)-(84), (86) and (88) describe situations in which the event of facing has not (yet) taken place;¹⁴⁴ in five of them the event of facing is portrayed as something clearly unpleasant/undesirable – through the negated modal in line (81), couldn't go back; through the dangers involved in facing a *beast* in line (82), *a massacre, she's about to get et up, That dog will gobble her down whole*; through the expression of compulsion/obligation in line (83), *She had to ... face her colleagues*; through the persistent refusal to face someone in (86) ("*No!*", *she refused*; "*I can't*") and the *horror* the prospect generates; through the reluctance

¹⁴⁴ The point regarding unrealised *face* will be picked up again in Section 3.2.

towards an event of facing expressed in (88), *She ... felt reluctant*. A purely directional interpretation of *face* in these cases would therefore hardly be appropriate. In line (79) "*Let the vixen come and face us, and beg from us here!*" sounds like a challenge coming from an unwelcoming source: the referent of *her*, *the vixen* and *her in bad cess to her* and *you women won't let her off easy*, respectively, is one and the same person and the one for whom the challenge is intended. Knowledge of the wider context of (80) could prove helpful and yet it seems that "facing the humans" cannot be a pleasant or welcome matter since it is being used as a threat; it can therefore hardly be just about orientation. The context of the excerpt in (84) is rather obscure, yet it appears to be one of some kind of combat (*cyborg death machine, the Most Dangerous Woman in the World*) and therefore the encounter between *the Trap Door Spiders* and the woman who thinks *she is the Most Dangerous Woman in the World* ("*not while I'm alive, she isn't*") does not seem to be about mere physical orientation. The difference between these lines and the lines featuring *TURN TO* in which the event of facing does not actually take place is that in the latter case an encounter between the characters is already unfolding (cf. examples 29, 46, 47, 57, 61), while in the cases under examination here an encounter is yet to take place.

(c) There appears to be something about verbs of motion denoting "horizontal forward motion" that makes a purely directional interpretation of *face* inappropriate. Moving away from corpus data for a moment for the sake of the argument, there is an intuitive difference between *go to see person X* and *go to face person X*. With only 17 lines of data in BNC-fiction the exact motivation for this difference remains elusive and all that is possible here is some speculation: (i) it could be that verbs denoting "horizontal forward motion" involve a higher degree of intentionality than verbs denoting "pivoting on one's axis", given the trajectory that needs to be traced for the Subject of the verb to accomplish their aim, i.e. *face*; (ii) perhaps the very fact that these verbs denote horizontal motion from a point A to a point B leads the reader to assume a constant (in the sense of "unchanging") physical orientation between the participants, therefore rendering a purely directional interpretation of *face* redundant. Such redundancy is clearly illustrated in the remaining 4 of the 17 instances that feature a verb of motion denoting "horizontal forward motion" – here the characters are not spatially separated and the verbs of motion are used in the context of scenes in which characters are clearly already oriented towards each other:

(92) Although so alike physically, she felt sure that Jonna would not stand up to his father's rage, as George would have done. To everyone's amazement, however, Jonna faced his father with a courage born of desperation. Rising slowly to his feet, he placed both hands on the table and leaned forward to face Jonadab. Blue eyes met blue eyes; each pair as cold and piercing as the other. "It's not my land. It never will be my land. It'll pass ti George, and everything else with it."

(93) She had barely moved an inch when she was aware of the sound of footsteps. Suddenly a tall, broad-shouldered man was standing in her path, arms extended, glowering down at

her with all the wrath of hell. "Stop right there!" He thundered the command at her. From beneath hostile dark brows a pair of black eyes bored into her. "I'm afraid you're going nowhere, young lady!" [...] And there was something about him, an aura of confidence and power, as he stood there facing her across the bonnet of the Mini that told her that even if she'd been driving a tank there was no way in the world he would have let her go past. Lisa pushed open the driver's door and stepped out to face him. Suddenly she felt nervous, though she fought not to show it. This man looked as though he might demolish her! She cleared her throat. "Are you the owner of the Bentley?"

(94) He paused and sat forward ever so slightly in his seat. "He tricked me into employing him to look after my boats simply in order to gain access to my cousin. And then he likewise tricked me into employing you as her tutor in order that he could continue to divert her from her studies." He smiled a grim smile. "But he will not succeed." "I find this all rather insulting, as I've already told you." Ronni sat slightly forward in her own seat to face him. "The reason I'm here is because my brother phoned me and told me your cousin was in urgent need of a tutor.

(95) "My dear Rose, we have been hearing of your protégé[sic]. So delightful to have a new face in our midst! You simply must bring her to my little soirée on Wednesday evening." Shock thrust Theda into a panic reaction. Flinging aside the curtain, she stepped forward. "Oh, no!" she uttered in a far from steady voice. "I beg your pardon, but I cannot!" The trio before her were stricken to silence. She beheld Rose in the act of taking the hand of a middle-aged battleaxe of a woman, very fashionably attired, whom she at once deduced to be the lady who had last spoken. The third, a skinny matron with popping eyes under a feathered bonnet, gaped at her. "Dear me!" she gasped out. "Araminta never said you were so beautiful!" Then she coloured up, as Theda's grey gaze came round to her, the mix of emotions there apparent. Mrs Alderley stepped smoothly into the breach. "Lady Danby," she said, reaching for Theda's arm and bringing her forward to face the battleaxe [of a woman], "you will allow me to present Miss Kyte, and she will, I am sure, be delighted to accept your invitation." "Rose!" broke from Theda desperately, and then she bit her lip, trying for some self-command.

All 4 lines contain additional clues for a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, clues that are stronger for lines (92) and (93) than for lines (94) and (95) (cf. think underlining); yet the sheer redundancy of a purely directional interpretation of *face* in all 4 cases serves to consolidate the confrontational interpretation in (92) and (93) and to remove any doubts as to the appropriateness of a confrontational interpretation in (94) and (95).

3.1.2.2 Verbs denoting "vertical motion". The redundancy of a purely directional interpretation of *face* also becomes apparent in the case of verbs denoting "vertical motion". Of the 27 lines that featured a verb denoting vertical motion, 19 required a confrontational interpretation of *face*. Excerpts (75)-(78) above illustrate the point; some further examples are:

(96) "Look, Mr Calder," she began, "I know you must be annoyed about what -" "Annoyed! No, I'm not annoyed, Miss Williams. I'm furious." He came right up to the desk, towering over her, despite the solid barrier of wood. He had shed the formal suit he'd worn previously and was dressed today in [...]. He looked like the devil incarnate as he stood there glaring at her, and it took every scrap of courage and pride Fran possessed to stand and face him. "All right then, Mr Calder, furious. But you must surely understand that I never meant things to get out of hand like that."

- (97) Benedict was on his feet, overturning his chair in one violent gesture, a face of livid fury turned on Theda. "You lying, traitorous, scheming witch!" he sarled. Theda's eyes met the scorching flame in his as she rose shakily to her feet to face him. "You think I did this?" she whispered hoarsely, not even conscious that Agnes Diggory rushed to Araminta's side where she lay back in her chair, hiccuping on her choking laughter.
- (98) Hearing a footstep she looked up, smiling, thinking the lass had returned; and startled saw Lachlan studying her. She was afraid, and nearly scrambled to her feet. Then, as he made no move to come any nearer, she sank back and lifted an eyebrow. "well, Lachlan Cattanach? Have you come to revenge yourself on me for failing you?" She leaned back, seductive, her colour returning, her smile challenging. Lachlan gazed, but didn't move. "speechless, Lachlan? I was told it was Duart was struck dumb. And Hector near death. Our trick has worked, after all." He drew a breath deep into his chest, as if it hurt him. "Aye. It has worked, after a fashion. Hector is blind. And a blind man can never be accepted as chief of the Macleans. A moid of the whole clan is called in two weeks, at the start of october. I am to be legitimated, and made heir to Duart." At that she sprang gracefully to her feet to face him. "So!" She tossed back her hair proudly. "I told you it would happen, my man!" He laughed abruptly.

The double underlining in (96)-(98) serves to point out the clues available to the reader for a reconstruction of the scene regarding the physical orientation between the characters. Even though other clues suggesting a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face* are also present¹⁴⁵ (cf. thick underlining), the redundancy of a purely directional interpretation of *face* suffices for the activation of a predominantly confrontational interpretation.

In 6 cases, however, a purely directional interpretation is not ruled out – if not encouraged:

- (99) Back in the room, he made her kneel before him, as he sat on the upright chair. Her abused posterior faced him, and he began to soothe it by gently applying a liquid cream. [...]He looked at her small dainty body as she knelt before him. He'd thought she was something special from the moment she'd been brought in. He'd never allowed his personal feelings to interfere with his work before, but her cute, pocket Venus body; the worried look of fearful apprehension on her pretty face; and her utter stoicism had somehow got under his skin. "Stand up and face me, Madeleine. I may be able to keep you here as my mistress. You would be confined to the building, naturally, and you would have to live in the cells, but it would probably save your life." "Thank you, sir," she said simply. "I'd like that."
- (100) we sit on the dead leaves at the foot of the vent, backs against the stone. [...] we sit there for some time but I keep glancing up, and gradually become terrified that the man is somehow not dead or has become a zombie and is climbing back up the shaft towards us, to push the grating up and put his already rotting hands down and grab us both by the hair. I stand up and face Andy. My legs are still shaky and my mouth has gone very dry. Andy stands too. "A swim," he says. "what?" "Let's -" Andy swallows. "Let's go for a swim. Down to the loch, the river."
- (101) He hardly paused in his stride as he led the way up two flights of stairs and, outwardly calm but instinctively wary, Merrill followed. His office was a large, airy room at the top of the building. The walls were white, but the angles of the roof and the three dormer windows had been lined with cedarwood which lent the room a very faint, pleasant scent. "I must apologise for keeping you waiting, Miss Stanton," he said formally, indicating a chair and seating himself to face her across a big black desk. "My

¹⁴⁵ Such clues are present in all 19 lines in focus here and express contexts ranging from embarrassment (cf., e.g., excerpt 75) to downright confrontation (cf., e.g., 76-78, 96-97).

telephone's on the blink, and we're revamping the reception area as you'll have gathered. It should have been completed over the weekend. So I suppose one could say that you've seen us at our worst, and anything else can only be an improvement."

(102) Feargal was there before her, and she halted for a moment to watch him. He was leaning against the car, staring rather broodingly at the rhododendrons. He looked remote, and somehow weary. Trouble on the farm? With his horses? Before she could pursue her thoughts further, he lifted his head, and with a slight smile straightened to face her.

(103) This dinner they planned must capture the living memory of every lucky guest. [...] Aunt Tossie had a faint dribble of desire at the corners of her mouth when, at length, she laid down the slate pencil and rose from her chair to face Mrs Geary, her companion in what was to be an immortal triumph: its finale that most acceptable of puddings before diets and regimens were conceived: a really beautiful Trifle. "Layer it up, up into a glorious round mountain," Aunt Tossie adjured. "Plenty of brandy,

(104) Bernice peered into the inspection hatch. "Have you got any idea about this thing?" she called up. "It must be ancient." "It is," he replied, misunderstanding her. "And no, I don't. I'm no good with machines." Bernice rose to face him. "I've got an idea what might be wrong -" she began. Sendei interrupted her. She had been resting against his trunk and now he could see what had happened to it. "The lock on my trunk's been forced," he said angrily. "Molassi's taken my books!"

Even though we have a verb denoting vertical motion in (99) and (100) –*stand up*– the context makes clear that the characters are not already oriented towards each other. In (99) we are told that the female character is kneeling before the male character, with her back to him (*Her abused posterior faced him*). In the paragraph following this piece of information (omitted here for reasons of space) and up to the Directive "*Stand up and face me*", there is no mention of any change in the characters' orientation – indeed, there is no reference to the characters' positioning at all. Similarly, in (100) we are told that the two characters who have just been through a harrowing experience are sitting with their *backs against the stone*, i.e. they appear to be sitting next to each other. So, the construal of the scene in both instances appears to require pivoting on one's axis as well as vertical motion, even though the author has opted for a focus on the vertical motion only. In these cases, therefore, a purely directional interpretation of *face* would not be redundant.

Although there is no explicit information about the characters' orientation prior to the inception of facing in line (101), a construal of the scene again invites the reader to imagine some pivotal motion in addition to the vertical motion denoted by *seating himself*. We have here an instance of two people entering a room, in which case –as has been pointed out before– our knowledge of the world awakens the expectation that (a) the two characters will have the same orientation and (b) that one of them will enter first. These expectations are confirmed by the presence in the text of *he led the way* and *Merrill followed*. Our knowledge of the world further informs us that –usually– desks are placed in such a way in an office that the desk's occupier will not have his/her back to the door when sitting at it.¹⁴⁶ So there is

¹⁴⁶ Certainly in the case of offices occupied by a single person who has a very high status within a company, as is the case here.

every reason for the reader to assume that the male character leading the way into his office at some point pivots on his own axis before taking a seat behind his desk. So, a purely directional interpretation of *face* in this case is not made redundant by the verb denoting vertical motion and, since there is nothing in the context to suggest anything but a neutral encounter between the characters, it is actually encouraged.¹⁴⁷

Lines (102)-(104) also support a purely directional interpretation of *face*. The two characters in (102) are explicitly oriented towards each other, which in principle would render a purely directional interpretation of *face* redundant; yet there are two elements in the context that override such redundancy: (a) there is at first no eye-contact between the characters and indeed one of them is portrayed as unaware of the presence of the other for a while: *he was staring rather broodingly at the rhododendrons and looked remote while she halted for a moment to watch him*; (b) awareness of the other character's presence is accompanied by a *slight smile* which, in the absence of any clues to the contrary in the text, is a positive gesture and as such incompatible with a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*.

The exact positioning of the characters with respect to each other is not made explicit in the context of excerpts (103) and (104). The relationship between the characters in (103), however, is portrayed in positive terms in the immediate context of the excerpt and a purely directional interpretation of *face* reinforced by the explicit modification of the Object of *face*, *Mrs Geary, as a companion in what was to be an immortal triumph* – any potential redundancy of a purely directional interpretation of *face*, generated by the verb *rose*, is thus overridden.

While excerpts (99)-(103) contain clues that override the redundancy of an understanding of *face* as purely directional, line (104) contains neither clues that would override the redundancy of an interpretation of *face* as purely directional nor any clues that might reinforce a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*. Given the arguments presented so far regarding verbs denoting "vertical motion", this should actually promote a confrontational interpretation of *face*; such an interpretation, however, feels improbable in the immediate and local context of *face*¹⁴⁸. A "normal" reader (as opposed to a concordance reader) with knowledge of the entire text up to this point might have other/further clues at their disposal. In terms of the present research, this instance of <verb denoting vertical motion> + *face* can only be treated as a one-off case, which neither supports the analysis so far nor appears to present sufficient ground for its refutation.

¹⁴⁷ The presence of *instinctively wary* has to do with something only the female character is aware of and which has been outlined in the paragraphs prior to this excerpt; for the male character in the excerpt –who is the Subject of *face*– the female character is a complete stranger. Once again, knowledge of the general context appears to be important for an interpretation of *face*.

¹⁴⁸ By "immediate context" I mean the context in the few lines preceding *face* (and sometimes following it) – illustrated by the length of the excerpts presented for exemplification; by "local context" I mean the context of the couple of paragraphs preceding *face*.

One line out of the set of 27 featuring a verb denoting “vertical motion” actually leaves it to the reader to decide how to invest *face* with meaning:

(105) She knelt next to him, her hands beating furiously on the mattress. "I'd have told you!" she shouted. "I told Mike, I told Robert Dexter. why won't any of you believe me?" Her brown eyes now had a film of tears over them. "Do you really believe I'd have blown a career I loved just to get even with you for something that happened ten years ago? You think like all the rest. Just because I'm a girl I can be brushed aside as if I'm of no account. You chose to believe a stinking little rat who can't take the fact that a woman might just be better at his job than he is!" "Then you'd better tell me!" Ace had sat up and discarded the ice-pack so that he could face her. So once again she told her story.

The inception of facing in (105) takes place in the context of an argument and the presence of the verb denoting “vertical motion” actually renders a purely directional interpretation of *face* redundant. Yet a slight syntactic ambiguity means that the reader can choose between two readings: *Ace [had sat up [and discarded the ice-pack] so that he could face her]* and *Ace [had sat up] and [discarded the ice-pack so that he could face her]*. While the first reading would combine with the context of an argument and the presence of *sat up* to support a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, the second reading would allow for a purely directional interpretation of *face*¹⁴⁹.

Finally, *face* in (106) appears to sanction a purely directional and a predominantly confrontational interpretation **at the same time**, in an instance of ‘benign ambiguity’ (Hoey, personal communication; see also Hoey 2005: 109):

(106) "The Treasury exists to stand in front of the safe, shouting 'Go away!' and making threatening gestures at any Department who comes near it or them," he remembered Francesca's clear, amused voice explaining the system. "But in the end they get pushed over; they just manage to delay the bigger-spending Departments a bit, And they pop up again, good as new, the next time, like a row of skittles." [...] McLeish moved forward, keen to see what the kingpin of this row of skittles looked like. His first thought, as he shook the hand of the distinctive dark man almost as tall as himself, was that Francesca must have got it wrong this time. Giles Hawick was not the sort of man you could flatten easily, and if you managed it, he would not pop up, bright, smiling and bearing no grudge, to face you the next time. If you injured this one, it would be as well to kill him before he killed you.

Rather than it being left to the reader to decide how to invest *face* with meaning, two levels of interpretation are valid simultaneously. This is sanctioned by the fact that *face* is used in the framework of a comparison of a person to a skittle: when operating at the level of the game, the Subject of *face* is understood to be an inanimate object, a skittle, in which case a confrontational interpretation would not make sense (unless further animate features, like volition or intentionality –cf. Chapter 5, Section 2–, were metaphorically attributed to the skittle, which clearly is not the case here). When operating at the level of the person, however, a whole scenario of antagonism is applied, starting off with the general evocation of

¹⁴⁹ We know from the local context of the excerpt that *one side of Ace's face was bruised and swollen* after a fall and that the scene where our excerpt comes from begins with him *lying on the large double bed with the first of the ice-packs over one side of his face. One blue eye swivelled in her direction, but his head didn't move.*

“an organisation X trying to defend Y from advances by Z”, unsuccessfully as we find (cf. *The Treasury exists to stand in front of the safe, shouting 'Go away!' and making threatening gestures [...] in the end they get pushed over*) and moving down to an individual level (*Giles Hawick was not the sort of man you could flatten easily*), thus motivating a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*.

To recapitulate, 19 out of 27 lines featuring a <verb denoting vertical motion> + *face* motivate a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, which has been argued is reinforced –if not provoked– by the very semantics of the verb of motion which render a purely directional interpretation of *face* redundant. In a further 5 lines the redundancy of a purely directional interpretation of *face* is counterbalanced and overridden by very specific clues in the text. In one line a purely directional and a predominantly confrontational understanding of *face* are equally possible due to a slight syntactic ambiguity (example 105), while one line actually requires a simultaneous interpretation of *face* as purely directional and predominantly confrontational in an instance of ‘benign ambiguity’ (106). Finally, one line (104) appears to be a one-off case, neither supporting nor refuting the analysis regarding verbs denoting “vertical motion”.

3.1.2.3 Verbs denoting “pivoting on one’s axis”. The analysis so far has covered 44 of the 150 verbs of motion encountered with *face* (cf. Table 6.4). Of the 106 verbs denoting “pivoting on one’s axis”, the most frequent is *SWING* ((a)round/back) (with 31 occurrences), followed by *SPIN* ((a)round/back) (18), *SWIVEL* (round) (13) and *WHIRL* (round/back) (12). Among the definitions for *SPIN*, *SWING*, *SWIVEL* and *WHIRL* in the *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary* (1995) we find the following (bold original, underlining mine; the numbers refer to the original numbering of definitions in the dictionary):

1 If something **spins** or if you **spin** it, it turns quickly around a central point.

3 If a vehicle **swings** in a particular direction, or if the driver **swings** it in a particular direction, they turn suddenly in that direction.

4 If someone **swings** round, they turn around quickly, usually because they are surprised.

1 If something **swivels** or if you **swivel** it, it turns around a central point so that it is facing in a different direction.

2 If you **swivel** in a particular direction, you turn suddenly in that direction.

1 If something or someone **whirls** round or if you **whirl** them round, they move round or turn round very quickly.

With the exception of definition no. 1 for *SWIVEL*, all other definitions mention the adverb (*very*) *quickly* or *suddenly*, so it appears that all four verbs are semantically “stronger” synonyms of *TURN TO*. In order to check whether the first definition for *SWIVEL* in the *Collins COBUILD* should be seen as implying that “quickness” or “abruptness” are not inherent in the semantics of the verb, a concordance for *SWIVEL* in BNC-fiction was examined. There were 174 lines for *SWIVEL*¹⁵⁰, in only 4 of which (i.e. in 2% of the lines) the verb was modified by *slowly* (3 times) and *lazily* (once):

(107) As Masklin stared, the big eyes **swivelled** slowly sideways. The head turned around.

(108) Liz had slowly **swivelled** her head round, and stared at her as though from a great way off,

(109) Entering from under the pit of his arm it pierced and split his left shoulder joint, and his body **swivelled** slowly into an upright position, suspended on the horn.

(110) settled himself into the pilot's bucket seat and **swivelled** lazily from side to side,

Rather than functioning as evidence against “quickness” or “abruptness” being inherent in the semantics of the verb, the presence of *slowly* and *lazily* in these four lines confirms that if *SWIVEL* is not to be understood as something “quick” or “abrupt”, this needs to be made explicit in the text.

The question that arises from this observation regarding the semantics of these four verbs denoting “pivoting on one’s axis” and covering 74 of the 106 remaining instances is whether they are associated with –or even trigger– a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*. With the exception of *SWIVEL*, which co-occurs with at least 9 (69%) purely directional uses of *face* as opposed to 4 (31%) predominantly confrontational uses of *face* at the most, all other verbs show a (slight) tendency to co-occur with a confrontational interpretation of *face*. Of the 31 lines with *SWING* 15 (48%) are compatible with a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, 10 (32%) with a purely directional interpretation of *face*, while 6 (19%) appear to allow either interpretation. Of the 18 lines with *SPIN* 8 (44%) are compatible with a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, 4 (22%) with a purely directional interpretation of *face*, while 6 (33%) appear to allow either interpretation. Finally, when *face* is preceded by *WHIRL*, it has a predominantly confrontational interpretation in 6 (50%) instances, a purely directional interpretation in 4 (33%) instances, while 2 (16%) instances appear to allow either interpretation (cf. Table 6.5). The datasets are very small, so only two cautious observations can be made, at this stage at least: (a) when *face* co-occurs with a “strong” verb of motion –with the exception of *SWIVEL*– there are more lines in which *face* has a predominantly confrontational meaning than there

¹⁵⁰ Verb only, all forms.

are lines in which it has a purely directional meaning, and *SWING* appears to favour association with a predominantly confrontational meaning of *face*; (b) although there are no more than 13 lines featuring *SWIVEL*, the verb's ratio of co-occurrence with purely directional *face* to purely confrontational *face* (9:1) is strikingly different to the ratios of the other three "strong" verbs of motion. This could be taken to suggest that when *SWIVEL* co-occurs with *face* in the pattern examined here, *face* will in all probability have a purely directional sense.

Table 6.5. The verbs *SWING*, *SPIN*, *SWIVEL* and *WHIRL* and the meaning of *face*¹⁵¹

	Predominantly confrontational <i>face</i>	Purely directional <i>face</i>	Inconclusive	Totals
<i>SWING</i>	15 (48%)	10 (32%)	6 (19%)	31
<i>SPIN</i>	8 (44%)	4 (22%)	6 (33%)	18
<i>SWIVEL</i>	1 (8%)	9 (69%)	3 (23%)	13
<i>WHIRL</i>	6 (50%)	4 (33%)	2 (16%)	12

3.1.2.4 Effects of the presence of the categories of "Challenging Move", "initiation", "absence of dialogue" and "situational obstacle". At this point, it might be informative to turn to the categories that explain a focus on the inception of facing in text (i.e. "Challenging Move", "initiation", "absence of dialogue" and "situational obstacle"), in order to examine if their presence can be associated with how *face* is to be interpreted. Disregarding the three semantic categories of the 150 verbs of motion for this purpose, however, could hide important patterns. For one thing, we saw in the discussion of the verbs denoting "horizontal forward motion" and of the verbs denoting "vertical motion" that their presence alone requires a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face* in the majority of lines (100% in the case of verbs denoting "horizontal forward motion" and 70% in the case of verbs denoting "vertical motion"); we also saw that a purely directional interpretation of *face* required the presence of overriding factors in the context which ran counter to the default assumptions that the verbs' semantics seem to set up. It is therefore conceivable –and some of the argumentation above was to the same effect– that the presence of such verbs of motion would take precedence over other factors in the interpretation of *face* (for example over other vocabulary in the context that also supports a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, as we saw above)¹⁵². It was thus deemed preferable to view these two groups of verbs in conjunction with a potential effect of the categories of "Challenging Move", "initiation", "absence of dialogue" and "situational obstacle" on the interpretation of *face* only in very general terms (cf. Table 6.6).

¹⁵¹ The percentages in rows one, two and four only add up to a total of 99% due to rounding effects.

¹⁵² This claim admittedly gives rise to a number of questions about how precedence could be determined.

It might, however, prove enlightening to investigate whether there are any links between the “strong” verbs of motion –*SPIN*, *SWING*, *SWIVEL* and *WHIRL*– and the categories of “Challenging Move”, “initiation”, “absence of dialogue” and “situational obstacle” on the interpretation of *face*, links which might perhaps allow for stronger claims regarding these verbs than were deemed appropriate above.

Let us begin with a general view of the distribution of the 148 lines¹⁵³ of <animate Subject> + <verb of motion> + *face* + <animate Object> over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing, shown in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6. Distribution of the 148 lines of <animate Subject> + <verb of motion> + *face* + <animate Object> over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing

	Distribution in raw numbers	Distribution in %
Challenging Move	50	34%
Initiation of dialogue	39	26%
Absence of dialogue	37	25%
Situational Obstacle	9	6%
Other	13	9%
Totals	148	100%

A removal of the lines containing verbs denoting “vertical motion” and verbs denoting “horizontal forward motion”, results in the following distribution (cf. Table 6.7). As was the case with *TURN TO* the categories of “Challenging Move” and “Initiation of dialogue” covered two thirds of the data:

Table 6.7. Distribution of the 106¹⁵⁴ lines of <animate Subject> + <verb of motion> + *face* + <animate Object> over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing

	Distribution in raw numbers	Distribution in %
Challenging Move	40	38%
Initiation of dialogue	30	28%
Absence of dialogue	20	19%
Situational Obstacle	7	7%
Other	9	8%
Totals	106	100%

¹⁵³ We are reverting to an investigation on the basis of the total of lines, since the allocation of lines to the categories of “Challenging Move”, “initiation”, “absence of dialogue” and “situational obstacle” is independent of the type or number of verbs of motion preceding *face*.

¹⁵⁴ Care was taken to subtract 42 rather than 44 (17 lines of verbs of forward motion plus 27 lines of verbs of vertical motion) from the set, since two of the lines feature two verbs of vertical/forward motion each, as was pointed out above.

Tables 6.8 to 6.11 show the distribution of each of the verbs *SWING*, *SPIN*, *SWIVEL* and *WHIRL* over the four possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing (i.e. “Challenging Move”, “initiation”, “absence of dialogue” and “situational obstacle”) as well as over the sense of *face*. Those lines were classified under “predominantly confrontational *face*” in which a predominantly confrontational interpretation was clearly required, while only lines that clearly required a purely directional interpretation were allocated to “purely directional *face*”; any cases that did not provide unequivocal clues for one or the other interpretation were classified as “inconclusive”, following the practice presented in some detail in Section 3.1.1 on *TURN TO face*. While each table on its own does not appear particularly enlightening, when juxtaposed, patterns become visible that were previously masked:

(i) When *SWING*, *SPIN* and *WHIRL* co-occur with *face*, we see a tendency for association with a Challenging Move, and a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*;

(ii) When *SWING*, *SWIVEL* and *WHIRL* co-occur with *face* and an Initiation of discourse, *face* will tend to have a purely directional sense – it might be that *SPIN* tends to follow this pattern as well, though more data would need be investigated for a less tentative claim to be made¹⁵⁵

These results gave the impetus for a similar analysis of *TURN TO*, to see whether the patterns that are outlined here are also upheld in the case of *TURN TO*, which involves three times more data than the four “strong” verbs of motion taken together. Table 6.12 presents the results of this analysis.

What wasn’t visible when *TURN TO* was examined in isolation, becomes clearly visible now. Even with as large a dataset as that of *TURN TO*, the patterns outlined by the four “strong” verbs of motion are fully upheld: when *TURN TO* co-occurs with *face* it also tends to be associated with a Challenging Move and a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*. When the sequence *TURN TO face* co-occurs with an Initiation, *face* tends to have a purely directional sense. What we also see in the case of *TURN TO* is a tendency for instances of *face* that were deemed inconclusive regarding their meaning, to co-occur with a Challenging Move. It is conceivable that someone who has been primed to associate a co-occurrence of *TURN TO + face + Challenging Move* with a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face* will resolve “inconclusive” instances by reading a predominantly confrontational interpretation into them. It would be interesting to test this hypothesis by means of experimental research.

We are now left with 32 lines of *face* co-occurring with verbs of motion that denote “pivoting on one’s axis”; the most frequent among them, *TWIST (round)*, occurs just 5 times, the second most frequent, *ROLL over*, just 3 times, while the remaining lines feature verbs occurring once or twice each. It was thus deemed appropriate to bundle them in order to see

¹⁵⁵ The lighter background of cells marks cases of weak tendencies.

whether they, too, demonstrate the same patterns of co-occurrence with *face* and categories that explain the focus on the inception of facing as the “strong” verbs of motion and *TURN TO*. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6.13. Neither of the two main patterns of co-occurrence of the “strong” verbs of motion and *TURN TO* appear in this set of data. Indeed the one tendency that is present –namely, for a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face* to be associated with absence of dialogue– is unique to this grouping of verbs.

Interestingly, the patterns of co-occurrence demonstrated by the “strong” verbs of motion + *face* and *TURN TO* + *face* re-appear with the group of instances featuring a special pattern of co-occurrence of *face* with a verb of motion (cf. Table 6.14): the pattern <anim. 1> + <verb of motion> + <anim. 2> + to + *face* + <anim. 1>, which we will turn to in Section 3.1.3 below, exemplified in *he caught up to her and spun her around to face him; His hands were on her shoulders, turning her gently to face him; But he turned her around with one swift jerk and forced her to face him.*

Table 6.8. The 31 instances of the verb *SWING*, and their distribution over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing and the meaning of face

	Predominantly confrontational face		Purely directional face		Inconclusive	Totals
Challenging Move	11		1		3	15
Initiation of dialogue	1		6		2	9
Absence of dialogue	2		2		-	4
Situational Obstacle	-		-		1	1
Other	1		1		-	2
Totals	15		10		6	31

Table 6.10. The 13 instances of the verb *SWIVEL*, and their distribution over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing and the meaning of face

	Predominantly confrontational face		Purely directional face		Inconclusive	Totals
Challenging Move	1		1		1	3
Initiation of dialogue	-		5		2	7
Absence of dialogue	-		1		-	1
Situational Obstacle	-		-		-	-
Other	-		2		-	2
Totals	1		9		3	13

Table 6.9. The 18 instances of the verb *SPIN*, and their distribution over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing and the meaning of face

	Predominantly confrontational face		Purely directional face		Inconclusive	Totals
Challenging Move	6		1		3	10
Initiation of dialogue	-		2		2	4
Absence of dialogue	1		-		-	1
Situational Obstacle	-		1		1	2
Other	1		-		-	1
Totals	8		4		6	18

Table 6.11. The 12 instances of the verb *WHIRL*, and their distribution over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing and the meaning of face

	Predominantly confrontational face		Purely directional face		Inconclusive	Totals
Challenging Move	4		-		1	5
Initiation of dialogue	-		4		-	4
Absence of dialogue	1		-		1	2
Situational Obstacle	-		-		-	-
Other	1		-		-	1
Totals	6		4		2	12

Table 6.12. The 229 instances of the verb *TURN TO*, and their distribution over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing and the meaning of face

	Predominantly confrontational face	Purely directional face	Inconclusive	Totals
Challenging Move	25	22	36	83
Initiation of dialogue	12	44	12	68
Absence of dialogue	7	16	2	25
Situational Obstacle	2	28	—	30
Other	2	16	5	23
Totals	48	126	55	229

Table 6.13. The 32 remaining instances of verbs of motion, and their distribution over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing and the meaning of face

	Predominantly confrontational face	Purely directional face	Inconclusive	Totals
Challenging Move	3	2	4	9
Initiation of dialogue	1	2	3	6
Absence of dialogue	6	4	—	10
Situational Obstacle	—	4	—	4
Other	—	—	3	3
Totals	10	12	10	32

Table 6.14. The 54 instances of the pattern <anim. 1> + <verb of motion> + <anim. 2> + *to* + face + <anim. 1>, and their distribution over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing and the meaning of face

	Predominantly confrontational face	Purely directional face	Inconclusive	Totals
Challenging Move	24	6	4	34
Initiation of dialogue	—	2	1	3
Absence of dialogue	—	5	—	5
Situational Obstacle	1	9	1	11
Other	—	—	1	1
Totals	25	22	7	54

3.1.3 Special pattern: <anim. 1> + <verb of motion> + <anim. 2> + to + face + <anim. 1>

Fifty four of the 599 lines of visual *face* featuring an animate Subject and an animate Object (i.e. about one in eleven lines) followed a special pattern, in which one character turns (or swings, or spins, etc.) another character around to face the first character, as in *Penry seized her by the waist and turned her to face him; Alain sat down by her again, turning her to face him; He grabbed her wrist, and spun her back to face him*. What we have in this pattern in terms of thematic roles is an Agent (in our three examples *Penry*, *Alain*, *He*, respectively), i.e. an “animate entity which intentionally either instigates a process or acts. [...] [i]t seems necessary to insist that intentionality is crucial to the definition of Agent” (emphasis original – Longacre 1996: 157) and a Patient (the grammatical Subject of *face* underlined in the examples), defined by Longacre as “the entity of which a state or location is predicated or which is represented as undergoing change of state or location; the entity may be **Inanimate** or **animate** (but, in the latter case, the registering nervous system or the intentionality of the animate entity is not relevant to the predication)” (1996: 157, emphasis original). So, this bears a certain similarity to visual *face* with an inanimate Subject¹⁵⁶: <animate 2> in the pattern under investigation here has as much volition/intentionality as an inanimate Subject oriented in a specific way vis-à-vis to something else. Interestingly, in 87% of the lines (i.e. in 47 lines) the Agent is a male character and the Patient a female character – apparently a favoured pattern for fiction texts (in the BNC, at least).

In only one of the 54 lines is the focus on an inception of facing not justified by the presence of one of the categories “Challenging Move”, “initiation”, “absence of dialogue” or “situational obstacle”. This line is

(111) At the look on her face he held up his hand, silencing her ready protests. “It is nothing you can deny,” he informed her sharply. “You were too young to know.” “Ned Clarke, the – the solicitor said she started the divorce proceedings,” Jenna confessed. “She did, and Russell was so unhappy that he did not contest it.” Alain sat down by her again, turning her to face him. “What he did not agree to was losing you!” he said harshly. “That part of the divorce was all very amicable on the surface. He was to have access to his daughter whenever possible. They were both agreed that you should not be dragged into things.”

Line (111) seems inconclusive as to the meaning of *face*. The topic of conversation is apparently disagreeable to the female character (*At the look on her face; silencing her ready protests; nothing you can deny*). We also know from the extended context of the excerpt (text “hgd.txt” in the BNC, which we first encountered in Chapter 4, Section 3.1.2) that the female character believes that her now deceased father abandoned her as a child and anything that has to do with a different version of the events is emotionally difficult for her. All this information would justify a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, in that the male character forces her to hear things she tends to find difficult to cope with. It could,

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Chapter 5, Section 2 and in particular examples 2, 5, 8-10, 13-14, 16, 18-19, 23-24 there.

however, also simply be the case that he wants to emphasise what he's about to say through eye-contact; in which case *face* could be read as purely directional. This is one more case in this chapter, which shows how knowledge of the extended context can have an influence on the interpretation of *face*. For the purposes of the analysis it was deemed preferable to classify the line as being “inconclusive” as to the meaning of *face*.

The distribution of the 54 lines over the 4 possible explanations for a focus on the inception of facing (viz. “Challenging Move”, “initiation”, “absence of dialogue” or “situational obstacle”) and the meaning of *face* is shown in Table 6.14. As is the case for the “strong” verbs of motion and for *TURN TO*, a co-occurrence of a verb of motion with *face* and with a Challenging Move is clearly associated with a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*. Similarly to *TURN TO*, there also seems to be a tendency for instances of *face* that were deemed inconclusive regarding their meaning, to co-occur with a Challenging Move – though it is admittedly a considerably weaker tendency than was the case for *TURN TO*, which however could be due to the limited set of data here.

Having examined the 431 lines in which *face* has an animate Subject and animate Object, and co-occurs with a verb of motion which serves to draw attention to the inception of facing, let us now turn to an examination of the 168 lines in which *face* has an animate Subject and animate Object, but does not feature a verb of motion.

3.2 *Face* without a verb of motion

Of the 599 lines of visual *face* featuring an animate Subject and an animate Object, 168 (28%) *do not* also feature a verb of motion immediately preceding *face*. What is striking about these lines is that in 76% of them (i.e. 128 lines) the event of facing does not actually take place¹⁵⁷, or has not yet taken place. Moreover, in no less than 77% of them we find patterns which we already encountered with the non-visual use of *face*^{158, 159}. We find, for example, expressions of compulsion/obligation, which have been (singly) underlined in the following examples. These –as was also the case with the non-visual use of *face*– tend to co-occur with further clues in the context that what needs be faced is unpleasant/undesirable (consistently with previous chapters, I have used thick underlining for such clues in the examples below):

(112) He waited on the cold landing for a long time, nursing his throbbing hand, anticipating the moment when he must face his parents and the serious punishment that was surely due to him.

¹⁵⁷ As we saw, there were also cases of unrealised *face* among the lines featuring a verb of motion immediately preceding *face*, but these covered only 4% of the data (i.e. 19 out of 431 lines).

¹⁵⁸ These 77% do not fully overlap with the 128 lines in which the event of facing is not realised; it is actually in 120 of the lines featuring a pattern already encountered with non-visual *face* that the event of facing is not realised.

¹⁵⁹ In comparison, the patterns of non-visual *face* hardly co-occurred with the visual uses of *face* discussed in Chapter 5, Section 2, and Section 3.1 of the present Chapter.

- (113) For a moment he thought of being ill, but he couldn't be ill for ever. He'd have to face Helen sooner or later, so better sooner.
- (114) He spoke lightly, but in truth he dreaded having to face Sharpe in a dawn duel.
- (115) "I had hoped to be gone so that I would not be obliged to face her." "Stay here!" ordered Taggy. "I'll tell her you're out."
- (116) well, she'd faced up to and conquered one major challenge in dealing with Marianne – but that trauma would seem nothing when she was forced to face Dane. The very prospect made her spirit quail.

Interestingly, the Object of *face* in line (112) is a co-ordinated structure the second part of which (*the serious punishment*) instantiates the non-visual use of the verb; in other words, we have here a merging of both the visual and the non-visual uses of *face* in one instance, with the sense of confronting something unpleasant relevant for both parts of the co-ordinated Object (through the presence of the modal verb *must* – cf. Chapter 4, Section 3.1.3) and therefore fully activated, yet with the sense of physical orientation, taken literally, only relevant for the first part of the co-ordinated Object (*his parents*).

We also encounter a number of lines featuring a negative expression with this set of the data, mostly realised grammatically (as in example 118), but also lexically (as in 117, 119, 120, 121):

- (117) "Of course I'll come back to the Dordogne to see you," Jenna promised, knowing as she said it that she could never face Alain again.
- (118) As he got more excited as they got closer to Pollensa so Ruth sank into a deeper depression. She couldn't face Fernando again but she was going to have to and it was going to hurt her so very much.
- (119) 'I shall write to her. Soon. It's a cowardly thing to do, but I cannot bear to face her... not yet. Not now, Sarah?' 'Yes?' I force myself to look up.
- (120) Sighing, wishing she felt more confident, more able to cope, she made her way slowly downstairs. Reluctant to face Leo, she idled to admire Colonel Newman's family portraits.
- (121) He had attempted to obtain more whisky, but was informed that the bar was now closed until five-thirty. Unable to face his wife in the bungalow in High Park Avenue and fearful of meeting her in one of the shops

Can and *could* also feature prominently in this set of data, mostly in combination with negation (as in examples 117-119 above): six out of 11 instances of *can* and 22 of 32 instances of *could* are negated in the lines under scrutiny here; what is notable is that all 5 positively formulated instances of *can face* (examples 122-126 below) and 6 out of 10 positively formulated instances of *could face* (examples 127-132) actually form questions (an indirect question in 128):

- (122) "watermelon juice, please." "You can face Don Juan on watermelon juice?" "Of course. I'm only going to shake hands anyway, then you can take me home." "No way – I've got a date. Miguelito is taking you home." Her voice rose considerably. "You've what?" Several people turned to look [...]. "That's not fair!"
- (123) I don't want to go in and have anyone see me. How can I face people when I must look as if I've just gone ten rounds with an all-in wrestler?"
- (124) Poor George, he will be so disappointed! How can I face him?" "You won't have to for long," Nora assured her

- (125) No, he'd have given it to her at the hospital. But how can I face him again, after this afternoon? she thought.
- (126) Worse still, how can I face him dressed like this? "Juliet?" called her father again.
- (127) For the first time in two years, Maggie simply wanted to run. How could she face him now?
- (128) Tess now began to awake from her sorrow and wonder how she could face her parents. She left the carriage and came into Marlott on foot.
- (129) her thoughts immediately flashed back to Luke and last night. How could she ever face him again? She screwed her eyes tight shut, trying to forget the images of last night
- (130) when she woke, the misery was still there. How could she face Rosie and Francisco?
- (131) The dinning room door opened - she did not look up, for how could she face Maman? She truly felt she had sinned and failed.
- (132) as if just the strain of knowing was wearing her out, exhausting her physically. Could she face Luke now? Confront him with everything?

In these examples one's ability to face a particular person (or *people* in line 123) is questioned, and this clearly does not have to do with any practical or physical obstacles, but rather with the fact that the Subjects of *face* in these lines find facing a particular person (or *people* in line 123) emotionally difficult or unpleasant, as shown by the doubly underlined expressions in the examples.

Further patterns encountered with the non-visual use of *face* are featured in this dataset; the Object of *face* in some cases denoted something clearly unpleasant, as in examples (133)-(147) below:

- (133) the heat in the tent, the pinched faces and the angry voices were all becoming unbearable. She couldn't face them a minute longer.
- (134) He had ninety thousand men, of whom half might fight well, and he knew he would likely face a hundred thousand of Napoleon's veterans.
- (135) Tuathal had to drop his attack and race to be first over the river, since he could not face eight times his number in the open plain between the Glen and the crossing.
- (136) Isabel watched him vanish beneath the barbican and felt as though she had been abandoned to face the enemy without weapons or protection.
- (137) She had not one, but two enemies to face, and didn't know which was more terrifying.
- (138) No one volunteered. Who would be brave enough to face the terrible beast? Who would do such a foolish thing?
- (139) HAR-R-R-R-O-O-O-O-M-M-M-F-F-F! Anabelle Hedgehog was going to face the great golden beast.
- (140) "She's made up her mind." "Somebody has to face the dog," croaked Ferd the frog.
- (141) "I will do it, Mayor Badger," Anabelle said again. "I will face the dog."
- (142) he knows exactly what you can expect when we eventually end up in France and have to face the enemy. Listen to his every word carefully, because it might be the one thing that saves your life.
- (143) maximise your strengths and minimise your weaknesses. If you're likely to face daemons a daemon-slaying sword is essential
- (144) They did not realise then that Rioja had staved to face the killers. From the hut behind them they had heard a single shot.
- (145) He used a filthy trick to defeat the Executioner. He will face his next opponent unarmed. I will see to it
- (146) n that, at least, he was right. She had to turn and fight, to face her accusers with her head held high and he
- (147) The two men, Executioner and challenger stood motionless for a few seconds, each weighing up the opponent he would now face in a fight to the death.
- (148) It seemed a good idea to have a companion when I knew I had to face a Spanish maniac!" For a second he looked as if he was about to grab her and shake her to pieces

The examples do not need to be discussed one by one, yet a couple of points merit brief discussion. In example (133), like (112) further above, *face* appears to straddle its non-visual and visual uses by means of a co-ordination of visual and non-visual Objects, *the pinched faces* on the one hand and *the heat* and *the angry voices* on the other. Once again, the orientational sense of the verb, taken literally, can only be upheld with the visual Object, while the sense of dealing with something unpleasant (cf. *unbearable* in the text) is activated for all Objects. The unpleasantness of facing an enemy in (136) is underlined by the qualifying *without weapons or protection*, while both *enemies* in (137) are *terrifying*. Examples (138)-(141) all come from the same children's story; *the terrible beast*, *the great golden beast*, and *the dog* have the same referent, who at those points in the story is spreading terror. The Object *demons* in (143) is actually intended literally, which is why the example was classified under the visual use of *face*. The confrontational sense of *face* in (146) is arguably triggered not only by the preceding verb of compulsion/obligation (*had to*) but also by the presence of *turn and fight* and then consolidated by the negative semantics of the Object *accusers*. Finally, I will allow myself a small diversion from naturally-occurring data to make a point regarding example (144): in this case, it is not only the semantics of the Object *the killers* that trigger a confrontational interpretation of *face*; if we compare the – invented, but plausible– *Rioja turned to face Dave* and *Rioja stayed to face Dave*, without imagining any contexts for them, a difference in the meaning of *face* is still perceivable. Both the directional and the confrontational sense are open for both cases; yet, in the first case there is no trigger for an activation of the confrontational sense and *face* is –without further contextual information– far more likely to be understood as having a purely orientational sense, while in the second case the confrontational sense is more likely to prevail over the orientational sense (which is also activated, but to a lesser extent). So, what is it about *stayed* that seems to trigger a confrontational interpretation of *face*? It appears to be the fact that while a verb like *turn to* can also be used for an instinctive reaction to an acoustic signal, *stayed to* can only signal a conscious decision; so, volition seems to make a difference in the interpretation of *face* (cf. Chapter 5, Section 2).

Apart from instances where the Object of *face* clearly denoted something unpleasant, there were also instances in which it was the modification of the Object that denoted something unpleasant, thus transferring the negative polarity onto the Object. Some examples are provided below:

- (149) If the finger had not been pointed, all the class would have known who was being called to face the fearsome sister, and when Millie stood by the side of the nun's desk...
- (150) "Don't so much as breathe on her," Leo warned coldly as he descended the stairs behind them. "Don't even look as though you're going to." watching Ryan's face, she had to give him points for courage. She wouldn't have cared to face Leo in that mood.
- (151) and I would be thinking to myself," Mon Dieu, now I have to face that idiotic English girl.

- (152) After fighting his way through all this, he would have to face an angry and almost certainly stark-naked Owigley.
- (153) eyeing him with even greater suspicion. He was sending her to face a hostile male and when everything was clearly laid down she was to spy on him

There were also 7 instances of *(un)able to face* which was extensively discussed in Chapter 4, Section 3.7.1. In all but one instance (example 156) a person's ability to face someone is negated (examples 154, 157-160) or questioned (example 155), indicating that an encounter would be (very) unpleasant – and therefore not merely a matter of orientation between them:

- (154) It would be all over town that her son wrote pornography. She would never, never, she cried inwardly, as she clutched her handkerchief to her mouth, be able to face the girls again. Boyd was surprised at the
- (155) what I thought about was how in God's name we were going to be able to face each other in the morning. Well, we did it somehow, of course.
- (156) Not only have you given me your love, freely, but you have made me able to face life again, without fear, be able to face Mama and Papa when I next see them,
- (157) Telephoning Jonathan to break off the engagement had almost been a high point of comic relief. And cowardly. But she had not felt able to face anyone, least of all him.
- (158) Scared of the country, scared of ward. Most of all of ward. I think it was then [...] that I realised how formidable the man was. I turned away, no longer able to face the eyes that looked at me so coldly in the gleam of the dashboard light.
- (159) "What did your father say?" His voice sounded sharp. She turned away, unable to face him again, her eyes full of unaccustomed tears
- (160) He had attempted to obtain more whisky, but was informed that the bar was now closed until five-thirty. Unable to face his wife in the bungalow in High Park Avenue and fearful of meeting her in one of the shops if he hung about the town,

Example (156) was also discussed in Chapter 4, Section 3.7.1, as the visual use of *face* that we have here is co-ordinated with a non-visual use (*able to face life again, without fear*); what is implied in this line is that the person "facing life" and "facing Mama and Papa" needed some form of external support to feel up to these tasks, so they must have been difficult/unpleasant.

Further expressions that carry the idea that facing a person is unpleasant and therefore not merely a matter of physical orientation can be found in examples (161)-(170) below. People can be *ashamed to face* others, they can be *afraid* or not have the *courage to face* others:

- (161) And then he'd waited there, too ashamed to face other nemes, until the car went back
- (162) ued to grow. No doubt Craig was ashamed to face her, he had allowed her father to be dup
- (163) is myself in there. Myself I am afraid to face. Myself without excuses. Myself after tr
- (164) gnarls in the trunk of the oak, afraid to face the voice, terrified at the prospect of
- (165) I know his sort. Like I said, he wouldn't have the bottle to face anyone. He's a coward, see."
- (166) Jay wished she could borrow some of Jamie's crowd-quelling chutzpah to face Lucy. Lucy who didn't know she was going to be pounced on.
- (167) in half an hour or so she'd have to find the courage to face Roman again, possibly over the breakfast-table.

- (168) Urian Poisonblade, the Witch King's personal champion called out a challenge to single combat. Was there anyone in the Elf army brave enough to face him? Urian's reputation preceded him. [...] He was Death incarnate.
- (169) No one volunteered. Who would be brave enough to face the terrible beast? Who would do such a foolish thing?
- (170) God knows what they got up to in the past. Or haven't you got the nerve to face them now?

Such expressions, like *can/could face* and *(un)able to face*, question whether the subject referent's mental and emotional state is such that they could cope with "confronting" someone without any detrimental consequences for them. This is also expressed by means of questions which do not feature any of the patterns that we already encountered with non-visual *face*:

- (171) She fumbled feverishly in a fancy box on the table for a paper handkerchief. "How I am going to face the girls at the ball tomorrow? It's all right for a man;
- (172) Isabel almost groaned aloud. How was she ever going to face him again? He knew of her weakness.
- (173) A bitter, bitter blow. To myself – and to the school. All the hopes I had... How am I going to face his father? What can I tell the other parents?
- (174) As she must have known, when he put in the advertisement, that it would terminate Paul's employment, make them beggars, for Dinah also had lost her place. How was he to face her? How could he continue to pay the rent of their lodgings?
- (175) But then she remembered... How on earth was she to face Fen this morning? She looked at her watch.

As we saw in example (156) above, some form of external support can help the subject referent of *face* feel up to such unpleasant tasks. This appears to also be reflected in examples (176)-(182) below. What activates a predominantly "confrontational" interpretation for *face* in (176) is that a *strong black coffee* cannot possibly facilitate physical orientation towards other people – so, the implication that *facing Helen and Joanna* must be in some way unpleasant is immediately activated. Being "*(left) to face someone alone*" / "*left to face each other (across + NP)*" (examples 177-182) also appears to be a pattern with this set of data, which activates a "confrontational" interpretation of *face*. In (177) and (178) being left to face someone alone is explicitly said to be dangerous (cf. underlined parts); the immediate context in (179) makes it very likely that "facing Bull O'Malley" might not be something pleasant (*If ye won't think of yerself, then think of the girl*); in (180) "facing alone" becomes an explicit confrontation; in (181) we are told that the two characters who are later left to face each other are already sitting opposite each other, and that at least one of them is experiencing strong emotions (*his eyes still blazing*), therefore it becomes very likely that *face* will have an additional sense to that of physical orientation, as we have already been informed as to that aspect, and indeed the opening utterances of the dialogue that follows (*"I'm going to kill you."* Ryker hissed. "You're not going to do anything." Donna told him, anger in her voice) confirm that the scene is about a confrontation. Finally, in (182) the comparative adjective *warier* suggests that the atmosphere will have been wary to begin with

(something that is confirmed by a glance at the preceding couple of paragraphs in the text), which the normal reader ("normal" as opposed to the concordance reader) will have registered; the presence then of *leaving* before *face* will suffice to activate an implication of unpleasantness in the solitary meeting, which is further enhanced by the descriptive *the atmosphere grew warier*¹⁶⁰.

- (176) Perhaps a strong black coffee would help her to face Helen and Joanna without betraying the shock of rejection she had just suffered
- (177) "It's been a bad night for you, hasn't it? You had to wait, knowing that almost certainly she would come here, but without any idea of how dangerous she might be." He reached out to lift the chestnut curls from her cheek. "Did you really think I would leave you to face her alone?"
- (178) "The Myrcans struck me down. It's in my mind that they did not want to kill me, but Isay was left to face them alone. He kept shouting that they were wrong while he was fighting them, and in the end they listened.
- (179) "If ye won't think of yerself," he said in a low voice, "then think of the girl. Don't leave her to face Bull O'Malley alone." He paused.
- (180) and when Helen decided that she wasn't needed in the surgery it seemed that she was destined to face Robert alone. He came in when Sophie was giving her booster injection to her client's dog, and as soon as she had finished with them he confronted her.
- (181) Ryker sat down opposite her, his eyes still blazing. "would you like a brandy?" the conductor said. "It'll calm your nerves. [...]" "That's very kind of you," Donna told him. "Thank you." He scuttled off to fetch it, leaving them to face one another across the table. "I'm going to kill you," Ryker hissed. "You're not going to do anything," Donna told him, anger in her voice.
- (182) with a casual lift of his hand, Charles had gone, leaving Virginia to face Guy across the empty office. The atmosphere grew warier.

A further 5 instances of *face* in this set of data carried a predominantly confrontational meaning, triggered by the context of battle:

- (183) But enough time wasting. Either you accept my terms and face me in combat, or I will leave you here with your weapons... and two corpses!
- (184) they are not open to negotiation. Throw away your weapons and face me in combat, and I will release these two.
- (185) inform you. After Famagusta is taken, I propose that you and I face one another in public combat. In spite of w
- (186) I was never afraid of Flint in his life and, by thunder, I'll face him dead! There's seven hundred thousand pounds not a quarter of a mile from here. I'll not leave that much money for a drunken seaman - him dead, too!
- (187) I cannot fight him while he's my prisoner, I cannot kill him until he's free to face me again in arms.

The patterns discussed so far account for 144 out of the 168 lines (i.e. for 86%) featuring *face* with an animate Subject and an animate Object but no verb of motion preceding *face*. Observation of the remaining 24 lines showed that in 19 of them *face* had a predominantly confrontational sense, which was triggered by linguistic features not covered by the categories discussed above and sometimes by a wider knowledge of the context. For the sake of the argument we will go through them one by one.

¹⁶⁰ I actually suspect that the pattern *leave someone to face someone else (alone)* in itself activates a confrontational meaning for *face*, but it would take a lot more data to confirm this hypothesis.

In 2 of the 19 lines we find the adjective *ready to* immediately before *face*. In both cases the adjective seems to imply that the subject referent of *face* needs to be in a specific emotional or mental state for the event of facing – therefore the event of facing cannot be purely orientational. This expectation is indeed supported by contextual factors: in line (188) the subject referent of *face* is concerned about hiding her vulnerability from the person she will be shortly meeting. The context of (189) is an argument, going over a couple of paragraphs; the male character wishes to marry the female character, who vehemently refuses for reasons she will not disclose to him. *You had better be ready to face a pastor* is a warning for the female character to accept that which currently appears to be a most unwelcome and unpleasant option for her (viz. a wedding).

- (188) He would just look at her with those piercing eyes and make her feel as vulnerable as she was beginning to realise she was. How could she hide that? How...? At seven forty-five, she was dressed and ready to face him over breakfast, but a knock on the door
- (189) You must marry me, whatever it costs." "And bring you to ruin also?" se cried despairingly. "Is that how I am to express my love? [...]" [...]
"I'm not finished with you yet, Theda, so don't think it. I'll be back for you, and you had better be ready to face a pastor!" "Never," Theda yelled after him, as he slammed out of the room.

Two similar cases feature *prepared to* immediately before *face*:

- (190) Then suddenly she heard a car sweep into the yard, and, getting up from her desk, she felt her heart leap uncomfortably once more as she saw Robert getting out of his Land Rover. For a wild moment she contemplated locking the door against him, then, nulling herself together, she prepared to face him. To her astonishment he was smiling as he said, "No need to look so unwelcoming."
- (191) She usually arrived about a quarter to nine, greeted her colleague, read her correspondence, and was then prepared to face the assembled school.

In line (190) contextual clues preceding and following *prepared to face* (cf. underlined parts) carry the implication that the visitor is unwelcome and therefore facing him an unpleasant prospect. While line (191) does not provide any such explicit clues, *prepared to*, like *ready to*, implies that the subject referent of *face* needs to be in a specific emotional or mental state for the event of facing. This is coupled with the information that *the assembled school* refers to some 36 primary school children, which encourages some inferencing as to the degree of strenuousness of the task on a middle-aged teacher (the Subject of *face*), and which therefore also invites a predominantly confrontational interpretation of the verb

Three further lines feature a comparative expression before *face*; in two of them (192 and 193) the option expressed by *face* and its Object constitutes an unpleasant alternative for the implied subject referent of *face*:

- (192) Sean wished that he had gone down to Birdie Mac's and knocked on the door for a bar of Kit-Kat, anything rather than face these two.

(193) "I've seen everything now. Eight weeks of collecting the order and still they haven't paid a penny. Now they send a child rather than face us." "Don't serve him," Bill Hamilton said decisively

Line (194) expresses that the character would prefer to face what she perceives to be the lesser of two evils – but evils they are both:

(194) "I didn't bring you here to open up all the old wounds again," he growled at last. "Of course not," she shot back sarcastically. "You brought me here so that I'd be safe. only I never feel safe when I'm around you. I think I'd sooner face whoever sent that poison pen letter!"

So, the presence of *rather than* and *sooner* trigger a confrontational interpretation for *face*.

Lines (195)-(196) suggest that the act of facing is not a matter of mere physical orientation, as it takes a lot to reach the emotional state required to manage facing the other person (*had to call on acting powers she'd never known she possessed to face X calmly, when she calmed herself sufficiently*). Moreover, in (195) we have already been told that the two characters are oriented towards each other (*She... faced Shae directly*), and it is unlikely that the author would wish to give the same information twice. So, in this case –as in example (181)– the presence of explicit information as to the physical orientation of the characters triggers a confrontational interpretation of *face*, as was the case with examples featuring verbs denoting "vertical motion" and "horizontal forward motion".

(195) She laid down the brush and faced Shae directly. "So why don't you give him a break? He'd far rather be with the grown-ups than [sic] playing nursemaid to you." Her words sliced through Shannon like burning arrows but only a faint staining of her cheeks showed she'd been affected in the slightest. She had to call on acting powers she'd never known she possessed to face Marianne calmly, but before she could say a word there was a knock on the door

(196) She did not see him leave. She turned her back again, her shoulders heaving, her eyes blind with tears. And when she calmed herself sufficiently to face him he had gone. Thank god, at least, for that. Much better so. Or, at least, it would be when she managed to dry up these damnable tears.

A reflexive use of *face* can have a literal sense of directionality when mirrors are involved, as in line (197) below, but the adverbial *without flinching* suggests that the sight is in some way unpleasant for the subject referent of *face*, thus encouraging a confrontational interpretation of the verb. In (198) the character faces herself in a metaphorical way, in that she decides to deal with the unpleasant thoughts (*to work out just how besotted she had sounded to him*) that cause her gloom (*miserable, a great weight*). This instance of *face* actually falls in between a visual and a non-visual use; it was allocated to the visual use of *face*, because the Object of *face* is "animate" and because of the presence of example (197), in which a reflexive use of *face* is indeed visual.

(197) She learnt to feed herself. To walk. To talk. To face herself in a mirror without flinching: neat mid-brown hair [...]

(198) At least she had the villa to herself to be miserable in. She made some coffee, and went out on the balcony in her cotton housecoat, where she could see the sun rising from behind the dark hills, and the slopes slowly become bathed with light. She felt as though she was seeing them from under a great weight. But in the sweet and gentle light of day, she began to face herself, to think back over the conversation she had with "Miguelito" and to work out just how besotted she had sounded to him.

Lines (199) and (200) contain strong emotions (*frightened; depressed*), the presence of which is an indication that the event of facing is not merely orientational. In line (200) one unpleasant thing (*She groaned. Not that. Not that too. Not now. Her period*) has been dealt with (*She rushed to the bathroom, washed and stuffed paper into her fresh knickers*) and the "Now" at the beginning of the following sentence implies that the next unwelcome challenge is due:

(199) "I feel very uneasy about this well-behaved Gesner." "No need," said Willi with confidence. "He's been badly frightened. That first row, when we got the committee up to face him, that frightened him, and then it was made plain that Therese was here to stay."

(200) She groaned. Not that. Not that too. Not now. [...] Her period. [...] She rushed to the bathroom, washed and stuffed paper into her fresh knickers. Now to face her brother and his housemates. She felt depressed. Nothing was going according to her plan.

Line (201) refers to sports, in which teams face each other in competition, i.e. confrontationally. In order to understand how *face* is used in line (202), knowledge of the wider context (several paragraphs before this occurrence of *face*) is required. The context is WWII and the group of girls has volunteered in the army. They had to travel the previous day, missed their train (thus failing to appear at their station when they ought to have) and had trouble getting a stamp that would excuse them from the Railway Transport Officer (referred to as "RTO" in the excerpt below) until one of the characters stepped in forcefully. Now they find themselves missing another train and the prospect of "facing him with the hook again" is not a pleasant one, so *face* is predominantly confrontational. The Subject of *face* in (203) prepares for combat (*She assumed a fighting stance*), wherefrom we know that facing won't be just directional. The character in (204) appears to have to convince herself (*she told herself, now again*) that she knows *how to handle* her father, which betrays doubt and concern about the issue she wishes to confront him with (*He would not willingly part with his leading actress*). In (205) there is a matching structure between *face the herd* and *control the stampede*, which carries the implication that the herd poses a threat (*stampede*). Finally, in (206) the interlocutors appear to be wishing the death of the character Sipotai, but their Schadenfreude does not stop there (*why should it be soon?*); they seem to find pleasure (*grinned*) at the idea of him suffering at the hands of another character (Vortai) before he dies.

(201) It was only minutes before the Athletico gladiators took to the field that Chamden's assistant manager, Frank Spanner, announced that owing to an outbreak of foot and mouth

amongst the first team, they had been forced to include six second-team men in their squad at Billington Euphonia. This left only five players to face us. Despite pleas from both Spanner and the referee I insisted that the match go ahead, pointing out that not only a principle but also three certain points were at stake.

(202) "Then I suppose it's the RTO again," Lucinda ventured. "You what?" Vi exploded. "Face 'im with the 'ook¹⁶¹ again? Tell 'im we got lost in the blackout? Oh, that'd make 'is day, that would. "Been to the ale house, 'ave yer?" that's what he'd say. We'd be in the rattle before you could say wet Nelly!"

(203) with the left side of her sight, she was seeing her past replayed. There was her father, bleeding from the throat. [...] And there was Elder Seth, baring his teeth as he pushed her face into the asphalt. She shook her head and tried to rub out the impossible visions. [...] In the darkness inside, Elder Seth laughed silently, his eyes blazing through his mirrorshades. Her face was in his eyes, distorted and shimmering. She was on the landing now, and it spun around her. She assumed a fighting stance, but couldn't remain balanced. The door opposite hung ajar. [...] Reflections flashed in the darkness. Suddenly, Jazzbeaux knew whom she was about to face. Elder Seth. In the dark, seth would be his true self, his human face off but his dark glasses still on.

(204) the bruise turmoil that was her body had subsided into a kind of contentment. The need to face her father was in any case uppermost in her mind. She told herself, now again, that she knew how to handle Papa. He would not willingly part with his leading actress, his Asshe heir: and as friendly Mrs Gracie had said, he could not now refuse Paul and herself permission to marry.

(205) Everything mass-produced. Mass-everything. I know we're supposed to face the herd, control the stampede - it's like a wild west film. work for them and tolerate them

(206) "Sipotai can only die once. But why should it be soon? In the meantime he will have Vortai to face. "Name of God, yes." Jotan grinned. "I hadn't thought of that."

Face only has a purely directional sense in 5 of the 168 lines of this set of data. A predominantly confrontational interpretation in (207) is precluded for three reasons: one is that little babies can hardly be conceptualised as capable of confronting; a second reason is that in this case the baby is being physically pulled away, which reinforces a physical, i.e. directional interpretation of *face*; finally, the presence of *the sight of whom* emphasises only the visual aspect involved in the act of facing. So in this case, given the three overriding factors just mentioned, the presence of *couldn't* does not suffice to activate a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*. Similarly, the presence of *could hardly* does not suffice to lend *face* a predominantly confrontational sense, given the context of the line: the scene is about a husband and wife, simply meeting for the first time after a violent storm, concerned about each other (*How did you manage?*). Line (209) is a description of what is to become a scene in a film. There is absolutely no indication in the couple of paragraphs before it (not repeated here for reasons of space) of any negative emotions between the character Fairfax and the laibon; the paragraphs merely provide a detailed description of the setting as Fairfax lands in his small plane to deliver his news. Line (210) concerns the inspection of a new

¹⁶¹ "the 'ook": vi studied the bright red anchor on the man's left sleeve. A hook in naval slang, his badge of rank.

dress, which has just been tried on, by a friend. Finally, the purely orientational sense of *face* in (211) is made clear by the juxtaposition of *still trying to face* and *finally leaping up and rushing to the door*.

(207) She was always there and each time I tried to speak to her. "Nice day" I'd say, ask the baby's name, that sort of thing. She always had the same reaction: she'd gather her baby close and back away, her hand firmly encircling the little head, pulling it against her breast so he couldn't face me. I hated the way it made me feel, someone the sight of whom could contaminate, endanger a baby.

(208) In the cold dawn, with the wind pushing them so that they could hardly face each other, the King and his wife met on the slope above the battered hall. [...] Thorfinn said, "Paul's arm is broken, but he is all right. They've taken him off to a dry house. How did you manage?" "The roof came off!" Erlend said.

(209) Anyway, this music rises hauntingly. The laibon and Fairfax **face** each other. They speak in Maa, but with subtitles. Fairfax tells them that Claudia is dead. There is a throaty murmur, a sort of groan. The laibon asks who killed her. Fairfax says she was killed by the Germans.

(210) "Let's have a look at you then," said Laura. Maggie stopped what she was doing to **face** Laura. Her dress was one she'd bought specifically for work in the factory.

(211) As he was talking, he was sliding out of bed, still trying to face his wife, but finally leaping up with a glad cry and rushing for the door.

What we find then, is that 97% (i.e. 163 lines) of the instances of *face* featuring an animate Subject and animate Object, but no verb of motion preceding *face*, require a predominantly confrontational interpretation. The characteristic specifically associated with this pattern is that in about 78% of the 163, the event of facing has not (yet) taken place. There is, however, also a strong presence of patterns (in 120 of the 163 lines, i.e. in 74% of the lines) which were found to be associated with non-visual, i.e. purely confrontational, *face*.

4. Conclusion

4.1 Findings regarding *face* featuring an animate Subject and animate Object

A first observation resulting from the examination of the verb *face* when it features an animate Subject and animate Object was that it tends to co-occur with a verb of motion: in 72% of the 599 lines in question a verb of motion immediately precedes *face*. This very much appears to be significant, not only in terms of the role that the verb of motion itself plays on the interpretation of *face*, but also in terms of the way in which an *absence* of a verb of motion affects the interpretation of *face*: as we saw in Section 3.2, when *face* has an animate Subject and an animate Object, and no verb of motion immediately precedes *face*, it is most

likely that *face* will carry a predominantly confrontational meaning, as was the case in 97% of the 168 lines of my data. Interestingly, in this set of data the act of facing is more often than not unrealised (128 of a total of 168 lines, i.e. 76%), and 94% of these cases (i.e. 120 of the 128 lines) feature characteristics encountered with non-visual, i.e. confrontational, *face*.

The fact that *face* featuring an animate Subject and animate Object is preceded by a verb of motion in nearly three quarters of the data suggests that when *face* is used in the context of animate participants, there tends to be a focus on the inception of facing. Four possibilities were put forward to account for such a focus: (i) if no dialogue is taking place in the scene in question, then the pattern involving *face* is perhaps used for purely descriptive purposes (which would lead us to expect that *face* will have a purely directional sense); (ii) if no dialogue has been taking place up to that point in the scene, then perhaps the focus on the inception of facing coincides with the commencement of dialogue – which in our western culture (at least) would give rise to the expectation of an establishment of eye-contact to accompany the verbal exchange (in this case, too, we might expect *face* to have a purely directional sense); (iii) if the focus on the inception of facing in the narrative comes while dialogue is being conducted, then perhaps there is a situational obstacle to eye-contact that justifies not only a focus on the inception of facing, but crucially also the lack of eye-contact up to that point; (iv) perhaps it is something in the discourse itself that accounts for a focus on the inception of facing. The latter possibility –and potentially also possibility (iii)– is connected to the presence of a Challenging Move in dialogue, which within Burton's (1980) discourse framework is any unexpected or dispreferred second-pair part to an initiatory act (cf. Section 2). Accounting for the focus on the inception of facing had the purpose of exploring whether a match could be established between each/any of these possibilities and the sense in which *face* tends to be used.

The findings of the analysis suggest that there is indeed an association between the presence of a Challenging Move and a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face*, and also that there is an association between the presence of an initiation of dialogue in a scene and a purely directional interpretation of *face*. Interestingly, those lines from the data that did not unambiguously require a predominantly confrontational or purely directional meaning of *face* tended to feature a Challenging Move (cf. Tables 6.8-6.14); this was especially visible in the case of the dataset featuring the 229 lines of *TURN TO face* (cf. Table 6.12). Thus, it is conceivable that someone who has been primed to associate a co-occurrence of <verb of motion> + *face* with a Challenging Move and a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face* will resolve "inconclusive" instances by reading a predominantly confrontational interpretation into them.

An association between the presence of a Challenging Move and a predominantly confrontational interpretation of *face* was even demonstrable in the special pattern examined

in Section 3.1.3 (<anim. 1> + <verb of motion> + <anim. 2> + *to* + *face* + <anim. 1>). This is perhaps surprising for the following reason: although the pattern bears a certain similarity to visual *face* with an inanimate Subject in terms of the volition/intentionality attributed to the semantic Subject of *face*, unlike visual *face* with an inanimate Subject, this lack of intentionality/volition does not go hand in hand with a purely directional interpretation of *face*.

A further finding was that when the verb of motion immediately preceding *face* denotes “horizontal forward motion”, the interpretation of *face* is highly likely to be predominantly confrontational. It was hypothesised that this may be linked to the verbs’ semantics, which (i) potentially involve a higher degree of intentionality than verbs denoting “pivoting on one’s axis” and (ii) potentially lead the reader into assuming a constant physical orientation between the participants, precisely because the verbs denote horizontal motion from a point A to a point B; such an assumption would render a purely directional interpretation of *face* redundant. Similarly, we found that verbs denoting “vertical motion” will also trigger a confrontational interpretation of *face*, unless there are specific contextual clues that override the redundancy of a purely directional interpretation of *face*. Again, it is the very semantics of the verbs that render a purely directional interpretation of *face* redundant in the absence of evidence to the contrary – since the orientation between the characters actually remains constant.

4.2 Findings regarding the verb *face*

We have seen in Chapters 4 and 5 that the verb *face* demonstrates clear patterns that work on a very general level to distinguish between its two “core” senses, that of “confrontation” and that of “direction” – namely the animacy/inanimacy of the Subject and concreteness/abstractness and denotation of the Object. So, when *face* is non-visual, i.e. when it features an abstract Object, it will have a purely confrontational meaning. In these cases it will also invariably feature an animate Subject. When it features an inanimate Subject, it will have a purely directional sense¹⁶². When *face* is visual featuring an animate Subject and inanimate Object, we found that when the Object denotes a landmark in nature, a building (or part of a building), human artefact, or orientation towards a direction, then *face* will also be purely directional, unless there are specific contextual clues overriding the tendency. We have also seen that the non-visual use of the verb is associated with a number of patterns which attest to its having a purely confrontational meaning. All these findings appear to support the claims of Lexical Priming with respect to polysemy as they have been formulated.

¹⁶² Unless its inanimate Subject is attributed volition in addition to very specific animate features like a face and eyes, in which case *face* is more likely to be predominantly confrontational.

However, in Chapters 5 and 6 we have also found that the characteristic patterns of non-visual, purely confrontational, *face* can also co-occur with instances of visual *face*, in which case they will invariably override any other characteristic patterns and lend a confrontational interpretation to the verb. Moreover, in this chapter, which explored those cases in which the directional sense of *face* can co-occur with its confrontational sense, we found that it is features going beyond the localised primings posited by LP –i.e. collocation, colligation, semantic association– that at times determine which of the two senses of *face* is more salient; features that belong to the level of Discourse Analysis. We will discuss how these findings affect the claims of Lexical Priming with respect to polysemy, as currently formulated, in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

General discussion and outlook for future research

My research on the two most frequent senses of the polysemous noun *drive* has found the second claim of Lexical Priming with respect to polysemy, i.e. “where two senses of a word are approximately as common as each other, they will both avoid each other’s collocations, semantic associations and/or colligations”, confirmed. The two senses, both concrete, are distinguished by the semantic associations each has when pre-modified – pre-modifiers for *drive* (=journey) come from the semantic categories of DISTANCE / DURATION and EVALUATION, with the categories of DISTANCE and DURATION also offering themselves for pre-modification. *Drive* (=private road), on the other hand, draws its pre-modifiers predominantly from the semantic categories of SIZE and MATERIAL, while the categories of ATTRIBUTE and SHAPE also play an important role. Furthermore, there was sufficient evidence to suggest that when *drive* (=private road) co-occurs with a determiner, the sequence is primed to be immediately preceded by a preposition. This finding also offers support for the second of the “drinking problem” hypotheses with respect to polysemy, on the level of colligational primings.

Yet, it also appears to raise a question regarding primings that can be related to language production as opposed to primings that can be related to language processing. This is because sequences of a determiner with *drive* (=journey) also feature prepositions immediately preceding the determiner –though by far not to such a striking extent as *drive* (=private road) does. A close examination of the prepositions co-occurring with each of the two main senses of *drive* would therefore be necessary in order to establish in how far there is overlap in the prepositions used with the two senses, before one can make claims as to whether the observed priming for *drive* (=private road) might apply to language processing apart from being relevant for language production; for only if different prepositions are used with each of the two senses could the colligational priming that *drive* (=private road) demonstrates with respect to language production also be a priming relating to language processing, functioning as a signal for the hearer/reader as to the intended sense of *drive*. As mentioned in Chapter 2 a cursory examination of the prepositions preceding the sequence of determiner + *drive* suggests that the prepositions *across, along, before, by, down, in, into, near, off, onto, outside, over, round, towards* and *up* appear to co-occur exclusively with *drive* (=private road), while the prepositions *about, after, during, for, than, throughout, under* and *within* appear to co-occur exclusively with *drive* (=journey). Yet the two senses of *drive* also demonstrated overlap in five prepositions (*from, of, on, to, with*). A question to be answered

in future work, therefore, would be whether what precedes the preposition is in some way restricted to one or the other sense of *drive*.

The research on the polysemous verb *face* proved more intriguing on a number of levels. First of all, and probably most importantly, it showed that primings appear to function not only on the already posited level of collocation, colligation and semantic association, but also on the level of Discourse Analysis, in that –when it comes to narratives, at least– the presence of a Challenging Move in dialogue appears to be connected to a predominantly confrontational use of *face*, while the presence of an initiation of dialogue in narrative appears to be linked to a purely directional use of *face*. This finding broadens the scope of Lexical Priming theory –potentially even beyond polysemy–, but also raises the following methodological issue: when it comes to exploring the structure of exchanges and the effects of such structure on lexical choices and their precise meaning, corpus analysis becomes essentially increasingly qualitative – which carries the subsequent effect that the amount of data that can be processed for a piece of research will have to be limited to remain manageable. Yet, since the results of the present study indicate that this can prove to be a rich and rewarding area of research, it is conceivable that a growing amount of research in the area could result in an impetus for research into annotating corpora for discourse moves. While corpus annotation on the level of discourse has already been attempted, it was, as far as I am aware, carried out on a pragmatic rather than an exchange structure level (cf. the *London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English* which was annotated for categories such as “apologies”, “greetings”, “hedges”, etc.; see Svartvik 1990). However, “[d]espite their potential role in the analysis of discourse these kinds of annotation have never become widely used, possibly because the linguistic categories are context-dependent and their identification in texts is a greater source of dispute than other forms of linguistic phenomena” (<http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fss/courses/ling/corpus/Corpus2/2DISCOUR.HTM>). Given that there has been a growing interest in research in the area of corpus linguistics, pragmatics and discourse in recent years (cf., e.g., Adolphs 2008, Adolphs et al. 2011, Jucker et al. 2009), the time may have come for such “disputes” to be revisited and for constructive attempts to be made towards their resolution.

What also became clear in the attempts to determine whether a specific instance of *face* was to be understood as purely directional or perhaps predominantly confrontational was that sometimes the lexical or even textual or discursal environment of a word does not provide conclusive clues. Sometimes, the exact meaning of *face* only became clear after having read a chapter or two leading up to the instance of *face* in question; in such cases, it was the relationships between characters that had been established in the build-up of the text that provided the only conclusive clues for an accurate interpretation of *face* – clues available to any “normal” reader of a text as opposed to a concordance reader. This raises

questions regarding the role of context and narrative structure in the kind of lexical analysis carried out in this piece of research and appears to suggest that more needs to be done in the domain of narrative/textual semantic association than even has been done within Lexical Priming (cf. Hoey 2005, 2007).

The analysis of those instances of *face* featuring an animate Subject and Object as well as a verb of motion immediately preceding *face* further yielded a surprising finding concerning the methodology. Statistical distribution of instances (i.e. in the form of percentages) kept patterns masked, and small datasets for some of the linguistic features examined (e.g. the number of instances featuring each of the four “strong” verbs of motion) gave me the impression that my findings could not support any but the most tentative of claims – if at all. Yet a simple mapping of raw figures onto two parameters (the parameter comprising the four possible explanations for the tendency to focus on an inception of facing in text¹⁶³, and that of the sense of *face*¹⁶⁴), presented in juxtaposed tables, proved catalytic for the detection of what look like very regular patterns (cf. Chapter 6, Tables 6.8-6.14) – patterns connecting an explanation for a focus on an inception of facing in fiction texts with the meaning of *face* and its collocational (e.g. co-occurrence with *TURN TO*) and semantic associational (e.g. with “strong” verbs of motion) preferences. It would be interesting to explore if there are any statistical measures which could support or even reinforce the findings.

A particularly intriguing finding with regard to *face* is that primings appear to be ordered by some measure of precedence. To give one example, let us start with the main priming that distinguishes between the purely directional and the purely confrontational sense of *face* and which concerns the animacy or inanimacy and abstractness or concreteness of the verb’s Subject and Object, respectively. That is, when *face* has an animate Subject and abstract Object (i.e. “non-visual” *face*) it is pretty much bound to be purely confrontational. When it has an inanimate Subject (i.e. one of the cases of “visual” *face*), the chances are that it will be purely directional. This is not a new or surprising finding: “A further area where collocation supports –or enforces– meaning distinctions is that of verbs and the animate/inanimate identity of subject and object, or valency patterning” (Moon 1987: 94). What is intriguing is that further patterns that were found to be closely associated with the non-visual use of *face* were also found to apply across the board of the senses of *face*, in other words, once *can/could* or an expression of obligation co-occurs with *face*, no matter what its participants, a predominantly confrontational sense will be activated. Another example for this observation concerns the verbs of motion denoting “forward horizontal motion” and “vertical motion”. The restrictions/demands that their semantics pose were shown to take precedence over other factors in the interpretation of *face*, and to trigger a

¹⁶³ I.e. “Challenging Move”, “initiation of dialogue”, “absence of dialogue”, “presence of a situational obstacle”.

¹⁶⁴ Even if only for those occurrences which conclusively suggested which meaning should be ascribed to *face*.

confrontational interpretation of the verb. Yet another example of precedence of primings concerns the co-occurrence of Challenging Moves with the special pattern <anim. 1> + <verb of motion> + <anim. 2> + *to* + *face* + <anim. 1> (or, put more simply, *A turns B to face A*). As we saw in Chapter 6, Section 3.1.3, the pattern bears a certain similarity to visual *face* with an inanimate Subject in terms of the lack of volition/intentionality of the semantic Subject of *face*. We might therefore expect *face* to have a purely directional meaning within this pattern. This is, however, not the case when a Challenging Move co-occurs with the pattern: in 24 of the 34 instances (i.e. in 71%) of the pattern featuring a Challenging Move, *face* clearly had a predominantly confrontational sense, while it clearly had a purely directional sense in only 6 of the 34 instances (i.e. 18%) involving a Challenging Move (the clues in the text in favour of a directional interpretation of *face* relating to romantic intimacy, incidentally). So, some primings appear to be “stronger” or “more important” than others. Yet how are we to determine an “order of precedence”? In other words, how do we specify the conditions under which one quality can override a whole set of other primings?

This finding also goes against the “drinking problem” hypotheses as they have been formulated. We saw in Chapter 2 that the “drinking problem” hypotheses make the following claims:

1. Where it can be shown that a common sense of a polysemous word is primed to favour certain collocations, semantic associations and/or colligations, the rarer sense of that word will be primed to avoid those collocations, semantic associations and colligations. The more common use of the word will make use of the collocations, semantic associations and colligations of the rarer word but, proportionally, less frequently.
2. Where two senses of a word are approximately as common as each other, they will both avoid each other’s collocations, semantic associations and/or colligations.
3. Where either (1) or (2) do not apply, the effect will be humour, ambiguity (momentary or permanent), or a new meaning combining the two senses.

(Hoey 2005: 82)

As has already been commented at the end of Chapter 5, if we accept that the non-visual, purely confrontational, use of *face* is more common than the visual, purely directional, use of the verb (as my data seem to suggest in terms of frequencies), then we would not expect the characteristic features of non-visual *face* to appear in conjunction with features of the less common, visual, use of the verb and not only influence, but actually determine, its interpretation (cf. Chapter 5, Section 3). Does this finding then refute the claims of Lexical Priming? In the light of the presence of findings that lend support to the claims, this would probably be a rather rash conclusion. As we have seen, Hoey (2005: Chapter 5) presents

strong evidence in favour of the claims on the basis of an analysis of abstract polysemous nouns; the analysis of the concrete polysemous noun *drive* also delivered strong evidence in favour of the claims; and even parts of the analysis of the verb *face* provided evidence in favour of the claims (e.g. in that an abstract Object of *face* will be invariably associated with a confrontational sense of the verb, just as an inanimate Subject of *face* will be associated with a purely directional interpretation of the verb – unless we are explicitly dealing with a case of extended metaphor involving personification that goes beyond an attribution of animate features like a face and eyes to include volition/intentionality).

Rather, what the findings do is invite further research in the direction of an amendment of the Lexical Priming hypothesis (viz. “When a word is polysemous, the collocations, semantic associations and colligations of one sense of the word differ from those of its other senses”, Hoey 2005: 13) and of the “drinking problem” hypotheses in particular, which will accommodate these findings. In need of further consideration for a reformulation of the claims are the following:

- polysemous verbs, and in particular verbs with senses that can be classified along a concrete–abstract cline, as is the case with *face*;
- the theoretical and practical basis as well as the usefulness of a distinction between a “more common” and a “less common use”¹⁶⁵;
- the method for determining an “order of precedence” for primings. In other words, the specification of the conditions under which one quality/characteristic can override a whole set of other primings.

Of relevance for the claims of Lexical Priming with respect to polysemy, yet potentially also impinging on the theory of Lexical Priming on a more general level, are the following:

- dialogue, and specifically its organisation within the framework of Discourse Analysis;
- fiction texts – to explore (and eventually accommodate) the potential relationship between narrative structure and Lexical Priming.

The questions raised by the finding regarding the precedence of some primings over others as well as by the finding regarding the role of Discourse Analysis in Lexical Priming open up what appear to be promising new avenues for further research.

¹⁶⁵ And, as a corollary, also of the positing of “equally common” uses.

Appendix I

Modal verbs and their meaning in the sequence *MODAL + HAVE TO face*

1. "He's been arrested. Looks as if he **might** have to face a court-martial." "what? why
→ Possibility
 2. if Samantha was restored to her father, he **would** have to face another kind of reckoning.
→ (Future) prediction/expectation
 3. t everything right then, and then only, **would** he have to face the consequences himself,
→ Hypothetical meaning (i.e. future prediction/certainty)
 4. ed look at him, afraid of the contempt she **would** have to face, because of course he would
→ (Future) prediction/expectation
 5. is wife. It had all been very tame. Now he **would** have to face Gina's displeasure. He did
→ (Future) prediction/expectation
 6. hadn't much chance of that. "Very soon she **will** have to face the fact that Señor Mitchell
→ (Future) prediction/certainty
 7. problem was not going to go away, and she **would** have to face the harsh reality of a
→ (Future) prediction/certainty
 8. with faint grimness. "Besides, you'll probably have to face a full interrogation on the
→ (Future) prediction/expectation
 9. y wasted and out of place this time. "But you'll have to face it, sweetheart, and it might
→ (Future) prediction/certainty
 10. on like you," Peter was saying, "but you'll just have to face it I'm not and never will
→ (Future) prediction/certainty
 11. rt jump every few minutes but she knew she **would** have to face it again when she and Guy
→ (Future) prediction/expectation
 12. time an early one. But no; if he did that, he'd have to face the laughter and ridicule of
→ Hypothetical meaning (i.e. future prediction/expectation)
 13. g translated means: a couple of your pilots **will** have to face the music, I'm afraid."
→ (Future) prediction/certainty
 14. rned her, back in medical school, that she **might** have to face outright chauvinism in this
→ Possibility
 15. made me understand a little of what addicts **must** have to face when they're made to go cold
→ Logical necessity
 16. makes me so mad, Jo! No child of that age **should** have to face something which they've the
→ (involving NEG): Obligation
 17. **could** stay a little child and never have to grow up and face the world without her mother
→ (involving NEG): Possibility
 18. them to. what, without him, they **would** never have had to face. But that was the risk they
→ (involving NEG): Hypothetical meaning (i.e. unreal conditional)
 19. nished sweetly. "No, I think not... I rather hoped I **wouldn't** have to face you with this but
→ (involving NEG): Hypothetical meaning (i.e. unreal conditional)
-

Appendix II

A concordance of the 30 lines of non-visual *face* that do not feature any of the established patterns for non-visual *face*. Sorted by file.

- (1) arsnet (and Goldberg, sighing, typed). Fear that all this may just be in my head. Fear that when I finally go in and face it, ready to start, the old revulsion will rise up in me again. Fear that I have only dreamed of m
- (2) , the old revulsion will rise up in me again. Fear that I have only dreamed of moving forward, that when I go in and face it I will see that it is a mistake, not possible, uninteresting. That it was never on. Stay with i
- (3) ent, I was a little old lady so I was left in peace. At nine o'clock, on the dot, I went down to the station cafe to face whatever was going to happen. When I arrived at the counter I asked for Katrina. The person on dut
- (4) int," he said cheerfully. "Particularly on the points raised by the Prime Minister. Mark would you like to face the next ball?" Mark smiled and nodded. "Before we begin, Mr Sanders," the Prime Mi
- (5) a good thing too. It's been condemned for years now. We knew it would happen one day." "So what will you do?" "I'll face that when the time comes," said Jenny cheerfully. "I'll find a room somewhere I expect. Might even
- (6) Gary Oliver! What are you doing here?" „The same as you I expect, Paula - getting my strength up to face the rest of the day. Let me pay and then we'll have lunch together and do some catching up -
- (7) number. "I'm going to have to consult with the General Manager here, maybe the President in New York. Before we face Steve Pyle with this. Stay close to the phone for a couple of days. "what neither of them kne
- (8) eath agonies. The Subcommittee appointed by the Morals girls! How could she face it? And worse, how was she going to face the whole organization when it met? Some of the Morals group were also Queen Bees, some were Daugh
- (9) his restlessness increased. It was also essential that he believed he was being cured, because of the need he would face soon for what I can only call "self-help". I telephoned to the Union Jack Club asking fo
- (10) ftly, knowing that in the morning her worries would subside and her natural optimism take over once again. She would face the future with renewed determination but, for now, all she wanted to do was to crawl into her bed
- (11) Mrs Stewart Hughes" (the misspelling was a tad masterly, I thought), took a deep breath and prepared to face the glittering turmoil that my life would become. As I watched her before she became aware of me,

- (12) ould not work, she could not even read. What does one do, she asked herself. What can one do? At 2 p.m., rather than face more questions from the femme menage, she ladled the food that had been left for her to eat
- (13) with me than Jean-Claude. I told Emile that I was thinking of leaving Jean-Claude. By saying so, I started to face this as a probable decision. My problem was how and when to leave. Having heard myself announce my
- (14) y gets talking to women who have children, it's practically the first question he asks them it's the first test they face. And then nothing ever comes of it. Lots of nurses, plenty of sisters. Many matrons. But no mother
- (15) g you're pouring me. "Dawn. Birdsong and rebirth and the sheer undiluted delight of living creatures awaking to face another day. Tongues of colour washing over the old grey mansion. The vibrant hues of coral, and t
- (16) because she didn't want a baby and that's why he was sickly." "Good God!" Joe said. "And did he face her with it? His wife, I mean?" "Yes, but she denied it, and then she said she didn't kn
- (17) at different speeds and water running in and out of bath tubs. But I had managed to scrape through and felt ready to face anything. There were some unexpected shocks in London. I didn't anticipate spending days mucking o
- (18) avy rope-soled canvas espadrilles, a white cricket hat and a yellow swimsuit under the shirt, she'd felt equipped to face whatever the day might bring. But there was no fail-safe way to dress for outings in Roman's compa
- (19) (ea, he felt that he might, after all, survive. He chewed coriander seeds to sweeten his breath and, feeling ready to face the world, had decided to put on his newest, cleanest kilt, with the leather sandals and the one h
- (20) t cheered, feeling he could face anything. First he should go to the hotel to see what was happening. His ability to face anything was severely tested by Mr Multhrop, who clutched him firmly by his lapels as he entered t
- (21) not. With a regretful look at Edith still slumbering at his side in the huge mahogany bed, he swung his feet down to face the day. One hour later, after a breakfast that reminded him of his French experience in its meagr
- (22) and as hard-hearted as he was! And so, with her emotions wrapped up safely in a package of anger, Lisa proceeded to face the coming fortnight. She dared not think of Alexander. That would only distress her. So, instead,
- (23) th rolled-up sleeves, the glorious hair piled ruthlessly on top of her head. „Yes, thank you. It seems we're to face another flight? "Maggie looked straight back at him, making no attempt to smile; after all, h
- (24) e. She didn't know whether to be grateful or alarmed that her time here had softened her. There was still a world to face and in that world she had learned to take care of herself. There would be no Felipe to spring to h

- (25) outside seat which in some models is adapted into a mini-swimming-pool. Two unknown companions squeeze in with me to face the elements. At least Mr Cocaine Smoothie isn't one of them. With twenty-one passengers per super
- (26) would bring a polite message of regret, and that would be that. Although she still had Saturday evening's dinner to face, she reminded herself. Unless she cut her losses and went back to England. That was an option gain
- (27) ied the end of the toothpick. "Master, are you well? Do you find that toothpick more enigmatic than the mysteries we face?" He grinned. "Aristotle, my dear Roger, always claimed that careful observation, coupled with log
- (28) self in the company of my bestest friend, it is my considered opinion that we proceed together upon the epic journey and face as one whatever adventures lie before." "Well said. And wherefore art we headed?"
- (29) ewhere, stayed the night at the Kings Arms in the town, and spent most of Sunday with Leonora before driving home to face his Monday morning clinic next day. To her delight he even took to discussing his work with her, a
- (30) tion she had suffered. She sat in the little café in the High Street, then, having managed to calm herself enough to face the world, she prepared to leave. Bending down to pick up her bag, she jerked erect as a voice said

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