EXHIBIT F

THE STYLE OF POP SONG LYRICS: A CORPUS-LINGUISTIC PILOT STUDY

Abstract: In the present paper, we discuss the analytic potential of corpus-linguistic research into the genre of pop song lyrics. More specifically, we are interested in a corpus-based description of the general style of and, potentially, the stylistic variation within the genre of pop song lyrics. To this end, we envisage the compilation, annotation and analysis of a large and representative corpus of pop song lyrics, the Giessen-Bonn Corpus of Popular Music (GBoP). In the present paper, we report on general findings from a pilot investigation of the pilot version of GBoP. The focus here is on the identification of style markers of pop song lyrics in general and on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the vocabulary and of lexicogrammatical routines in the corpus. Finally, we will also discuss the extent to which GBoP may help to shed light on metaphors that are typical of pop song lyrics.[1]

1. Introduction

In Western societies we are surrounded by pop songs – and their lyrics – all day long, not only when listening to the radio and watching music television, but also when shopping in the supermarket, listening to music while jogging and in many other contexts. Given this communicative 'impact factor', it seems remarkable and strange that the genre of pop song lyrics does not figure very prominently in the linguistic sciences, let alone corpus linguistics. Note, for example, that pop song lyrics have not been included in any of the standard reference corpora of present-day British and American English (e. g. the British National Corpus); pop song lyrics are virtually absent from corpus-linguistic research. One of the few exceptions is the work by Murphey (1989, 1990, 1992) much of which, however, has a language-pedagogical slant. But the methodology and the descriptive results presented by Murphey (1992) have exerted some influence on the present study: he compiled a small 13,000-word corpus of the top 50 songs on the basis of the *Music & Media*'s Hot 100 Chart. This corpus was then analysed both quantitatively (e. g. with regard to the type-token ratio) and qualitatively (e. g. with regard to the use of the pronoun *you* in the songs at hand). A much more ambitious songtext-specific corpus-linguistic project, albeit restricted to early blues lyrics, is the BLUR (Blues Lyrics Collected at the University of Re-

[1] This paper is dedicated to Jürgen Esser on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

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gensburg) corpus (cf. Miethaner 2005). In this project, more than 8,000 song transcripts have been collected and computerised. The BLUR corpus thus provides a powerful research tool for the description of blues lyricism as one of the oldest oral traditions in African American English.

Apart from the relatively few attempts to analyse the language of song lyrics, linguists have also been interested in unveiling parallels between the textual structure of language and the musical structure of songs. Such parallels have been suggested at a very abstract level for the concepts of theme and variation in discourse and in music (cf. Longacre & Chenoweth 1986), but also for specific pop songs, e. g. metaphors of musical motion in the Beatles' music (cf. Johnson & Larson 2003). Some more psycholinguistically-oriented studies place special emphasis on potential links between the language and the music of pop songs in the mind. A very interesting concept, in this context, is the well-known Song-Stuck-in-my-Head Phenomenon (SSIMHP), i. e. the repeating of the tune of a song in one's head, which, as Murphey (1992, 773) points out, "might even be capable of tricking, or activating, the LAD into involuntary rehearsal". This mental link between music and language might help to explain why, as has often been observed, Parkinsonians may be unable to talk but able to sing (e. g. when prompted by musical input).

The discourse and language of pop song lyrics has attracted much interest in the field of cultural studies and in the English language teaching community. In cultural studies, popular music is very often viewed as a mirror of cultural and societal developments and changes in general. Viol (2000), for example, discusses recent tendencies in British popular music and argues that the lyrics of British popular music in the 1990s indicate different approaches to – and constructions of – national identity in the United Kingdom. A very good overview of cultural key concepts with regard to popular music is Shuker's (1998) handbook. In English language teaching, pop songs as teaching resources have become an increasingly accepted genre – but some reservations seem to remain. Terhune (1997) provides a comprehensive list of – partly legitimate – concerns about the use of pop songs in the English language classroom, e. g. the grammatical ill-formedness of many pop song lyrics and the embarrassing content of some pop song lyrics (at least for some students, especially when it comes to sexually explicit content). On the other hand, pop songs are viewed as easily available, motivational, easily accessible, and very much conversation-like. It is for these reasons that pop songs have become an integral part of English language teaching around the world, and there is a rich body of literature on how to use pop songs and their lyrics in the English language classroom (cf. e. g. Plitsch 1997, Murphey 1990).[2]

[2] A more recent trend is to utilise music video-clips as audio-visual language-pedagogical resources (cf. e. g. Thaler 1999, Mukherjee 2002).

Both the lack of large-scale corpus-linguistic research into the language of pop songs and the language-pedagogical value of pop song lyrics make it all the more necessary and desirable, in our view, to compile a large general corpus of pop song lyrics. It is only by analysing a sufficiently large corpus that previous assumptions about the vocabulary, the syntax, the conversation-like style and the underlying metaphors of pop song lyrics can be put on a truly empirical footing. To this end, we envisage the compilation (and annotation) of a large general corpus of pop song lyrics, the Giessen-Bonn Corpus of Popular Music (GBoP). The present paper reports on a pilot study which is based on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of a pilot version of GBoP.[3]

The plan of the present paper is as follows. In the following section (2), we will briefly discuss the style of pop song lyrics by introducing and exemplifying songtext-specific style markers. Then, we will describe the design of the GBoP pilot corpus (section 3). In section 4, we will analyse the corpus and identify style markers that seem to be more or less characteristic of the genre of pop song lyrics. The focus of the corpus analysis will be on vocabulary, lexicogrammatical routines and metaphors. Finally, we will offer some concluding remarks.

2. Pop song lyrics from a stylistic perspective

As discussed at length by Enkvist (1973, 23 ff.) and Esser (1993, 91 ff.), the style of a particular text or of a genre is based on the use of 'style markers', i. e. stylistically significant linguistic means that are characteristic of the text or genre at hand:

> In principle, all linguistic means at all structural levels of description (graphemes, phonemes, words, phrases, clauses, complex sentences) can convey stylistic information, i. e. can be regarded as style markers. (Esser 1993, 91)

It is important to note in this context that style markers need not necessarily be isolated (and marked) elements that are typical of – or unique to – a specific text or genre (as, for example, a medical term would be for the language of medicine, resulting in a 'local stylistic effect'). Very often it is the distribution of otherwise unmarked forms that creates a 'global stylistic pattern' that is typical of a text or genre. Finally, a text may exemplify a textual superstructure, which is defined by van Dijk (1980, 131) as follows:

> Eine Superstruktur ist eine Art abstraktes Schema, das die globale Ordnung eines Textes festlegt und das aus einer Reihe von Kategorien besteht, deren Kombinationsmöglichkeiten auf konventionellen Regeln beruhen.

[3] We would like to thank Rosemary Bock, Susanne Kämmerer and Kinga Marcjanik for their support in the compilation of the GBoP pilot corpus.

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Van Dijk (1980, 140ff.) refers to the case of the narrative text-type which usually follows an abstract and hierarchical superstructure, which we will discuss in more detail in section 4.3. Figure 1, which is taken over from Esser (1993, 92), summarises the various kinds of style markers.

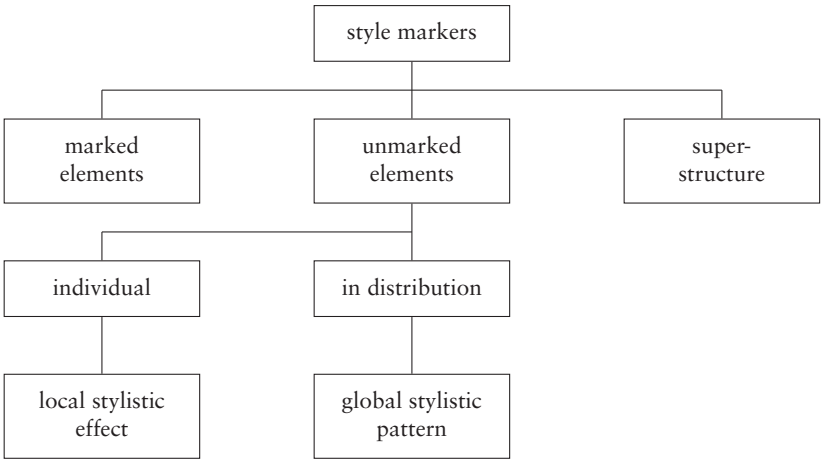


Figure 1: An overview of style markers (Esser 1993, 92)

Individual marked elements that are at the root of local stylistic effects in pop song lyrics include, for example, deviant spellings like the following ones:[4]

(1) Synkronized
(2) Afrika Shox
(3) C U When U Get There
(4) Money Don't Matter 2 Night

Such spelling deviations are nowadays very often ascribed to the innovative force of the Internet, but they had already been used long before the advent of the World Wide Web, e.g. in advertising (e.g. *Beanz Meanz Heinz*). As discussed in detail by Mukherjee (2000), these forms are licensed only because in the English language-system the deviant graphemes (e.g. <k> in *Synkronized*) can be mapped onto the same phonematic equivalent (e.g. /k/) as the standard graphemes (e.g. <ch>). Examples (1) to (4) thus illustrate local stylistic effects in pop song lyrics caused by deviant spellings as indi-

[4] Sources: (1) taken from the album *Synkronized* (Jamiroquai 1999, Sony Music Entertainment Ltd.), (2) taken from the single release *Afrika Shox* (Leftfield 1999, Columbia Records), (3) taken from the album *My Soul* (Coolio 1997, Tommy Boy Music Ltd.), (4) taken from the album *Diamonds and Pearls* (Prince & The New Power Generation 1991, Warner Bros. Records).

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vidual marked elements. As Figure 1 visualises, such marked elements can also be distributed in such a way that a global stylistic pattern emerges. This is the case, for example, in many songtexts written by Prince, now calling himself TAFKAP (The Artist Formerly Known As Prince). The deviant choice of graphemes, e. g. the replacement of *you* with *u*, *to* with *2* and *for* with *4*, and the systematic application of the conventional capitalisation rule to the non-standard forms *U* and *u* have become a consistent feature of his songtexts, as the following two examples show:[5]

(5) There will come a time
When love will blow your mind
And everything u'll look 4, u'll find
(6) U know I am, u know I am
Ready 2 whisper
Ready 2 shout
Ready 2 scream from the highest mountain top

It thus seems that the distribution of the above-mentioned marked spellings creates a global stylistic pattern which is characteristic of Prince's individual style and his song lyrics.

Non-standard spelling is also often used to indicate deviant pronunciation. The well-known Jamaican-English poet and musician, Linton Kwesi Johnson, for instance, sings with a very strong Jamaican accent, which is also represented on the graphemic level. Consider the poem/song titles in (7) and some lines from his poem/song *Inglan is a bitch*:[6]

(7) New Cross Massakhah
Mi Revalueshanary Fren
Di Great Insohreckshan
(8) w'en mi jus' come to Landan toun
mi use to work pan di andahgroun
but workin' pan di andahgroun
y'u don't get fi know your way aroun'

Here the global stylistic pattern indicates membership to a particular social and cultural group. Further examples can be found in Rap and Hip Hop music (cf. below, section 4.1).

A global stylistic pattern can also be based on a text-specific or genre-specific distribution of elements that are otherwise unmarked. It is much more difficult to pinpoint such patterns of unmarked elements. However, there are particular branches of popular music the songtexts of which follow particular patterns because the referential content often requires par-

[5] Sources: (5) and (6) taken from the album *Diamonds and Pearls* (Prince & The New Power Generation 1991, Warner Bros. Records).

[6] Sources: (7) and (8) taken from Johnson, Linton Kwesi (1991): *Tings an Times. Selected Poems*. Newcastle: Bloodaxe Books. These poems are also found in the albums of the artist.

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ticular linguistic means. A case in point is Gothic Rock, an offspring of the Dark Wave movement of the 1980s, which is characterised by dark and gloomy music and marked by lyrics in which a general sense of *weltschmerz*, despair, escapism and also a mystification of death and suicide figure prominently. It does not come as a surprise, therefore, that the vocabulary of Gothic Rock songs is typically marked by semantically related lexical items from the semantic fields of death, pain and blood (at least as Gothic Rock discourse is concerned). The songtext in (9), taken from the GBoP pilot corpus, illustrates the global stylistic pattern that is characteristic of Gothic Rock song lyrics. The lexical items that belong to the semantic fields of death, pain and blood are marked in boldface.[7]

(9) **My Tourniquet**
I tried to kill the **pain**
but only brought more
I lay **dying**
and I'm pouring **crimson** regret and betrayal
I'm **dying** praying **bleeding** and **screaming**
am I too **lost** to be saved
am I too **lost**?
my **god** my **tourniquet**
return to me **salvation**
my **god** my **tourniquet**
return to me **salvation**
do you remember me
lost for so long
will you be on the other side
or will you forget me
I'm **dying** praying **bleeding** and **screaming**
am I too **lost** to be saved
am I too **lost**?
my **god** my **tourniquet**
return to me **salvation**
my **god** my **tourniquet**
return to me **salvation**
my **wounds cry** for the **grave**
my **soul cries** for **deliverance**
will I be denied **christ**
tourniquet
my **suicide**

Example (9) shows that particular words from a semantically restricted set seem to be 'primed' for use in the song lyrics of specific branches of pop music, which ties in well with the theory of lexical priming that has recently been developed by Hoey (2005).

[7] Source: (9) taken from the album *Fallen* (Evanescence 2003, Sony Music Entertainment).

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As Figure 1 shows, texts can also be stylistically characterised by a textual superstructure. Pop song lyrics typically follow an abstract superstructure which is marked by an alternation of (typically two or three stanzas) and the chorus. Pop song lyrics usually begin with a stanza and end with a chorus; sometimes the repetitions of the chorus (e. g. at the end of the song) are represented by the song lyrics (but very often, they are not). As rhythm and metre put considerable restrictions on the choice of lexical items and grammatical structures, the musical structure of a song is also a relevant factor in determining the textual superstructure. For the purpose of our paper, we would like to extend the concept of superstructure from the realm of discourse structure to metaphors. By metaphorical superstructure, we thus refer to an overarching lead metaphor that provides an organisational schema for the songtext, e. g. with regard to lexical choices. For example, the songtext in (9) can be viewed as a manifestation of the interrelated metaphors of TOURNIQUET IS DEATH, DEATH IS SALVATION and, consequently, TOURNIQUET IS SALVATION. Given the related kinds of metaphors in other Gothic Rock songtexts, it seems that the general lead metaphor of DEATH IS SALVATION provides a metaphorical superstructure for song lyrics in Gothic Rock in general. In section 4.3, we will discuss in detail the concept of metaphorical superstructure and its implications for the decoding of pop song lyrics.

In the present paper, it is our intention to identify the three kinds of style markers that have been introduced and discussed in this section in the language of pop song lyrics. In our corpus-based pilot study, our focus will be on vocabulary, lexicogrammar and metaphors. Our research agenda in the present paper can thus be summarised as follows:

1. Marked elements (leading to local stylistic effects): Are there text-specific and genre-specific marked elements in pop song lyrics at the levels of vocabulary and lexicogrammar?
2. Unmarked elements (leading to global stylistic patterns): Are there text-specific and genre-specific distributions of unmarked elements in pop song lyrics at the levels of vocabulary and lexicogrammar?
3. Metaphorical superstructures: Are there lead metaphors that can be viewed as organisational schemas for particular songtexts, groups of songtexts or pop song lyrics in general?

Note, by the way, that the examples of style markers in this section illustrate the fact that pop song lyrics constitute a special case of a written-to-be-spoken (or, rather, written-to-be-sung) genre and, thus, sit somewhat uneasily on the boundary between writing and speech. On the one hand, the production of pop song lyrics is prototypically written: the texts are well planned, carefully edited and free from (unintentional) mistakes. Also, the use of deviant spellings, for example, indicates that the first encoding

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of pop song lyrics is written language: spelling is a medium-dependent feature of writing. On the other hand, the free choice of lexical items and grammatical structures in a songtext is almost always restricted by the musical structure, i. e. the melody, the rhythm etc. – features that are of course bound to the spoken medium. Finally, there are style markers that are largely medium-independent, e. g. the choice of a network of lexical items from specific semantic fields as exemplified in (9). From the point of view of a theory of presentation structures in speech and writing (cf. Esser 2000, 2006), pop song lyrics thus represent a particularly interesting and rich genre because they unite medium-independent choices, graphic medium-dependent choices and phonologically motivated medium-dependent choices.

3. Towards a corpus of pop song lyrics: the GBoP pilot corpus

As already mentioned in section 1, we envisage the compilation of GBoP as a large and general corpus of pop song lyrics. The final design will have to be guided by various compilation criteria in order to ensure a high degree of representativeness of a wide range of stylistic variation within the genre of pop song lyrics. The criteria will include a balanced representation of various music styles (e. g. Mainstream Pop, R'n'B, Hip-Hop, Gothic Rock), sales figures (i. e. charts rankings), the airplay time on major radio stations, the 'rotation' (i. e. frequency and air time) on music television channels, and the frequency of downloads from the internet (cf. Kreyer 2004). It will also be necessary to represent both English-speaking lead countries in the world of pop music, i. e. the United States and the United Kingdom.[8]

The present paper is based on a pilot version of GBoP. For the GBoP pilot corpus, we decided to include all the lyrics of the top 30 albums from the US Album Charts of 2003. Three albums, however, had to be excluded either because the texts were predominantly in languages other than English or because it was not possible to gain access to the lyrics. Thus, we ended up with 27 albums. A complete list of the albums used is given in Appendix 1. The 27 albums contain 442 songs, which we stored as individual text files, the relevant information about the albums being stored in separate header files. The GBoP pilot corpus comprises some 176,000 words. The texts were either taken from the booklets that are enclosed with the albums (if the CD was available) or they were downloaded from various song lyrics archives on the World Wide Web. In the former case, we re-

[8] Since we are also interested in the influence that English pop song lyrics may exert on German teenagers' and learners' use of English, it would be reasonable to also include a component based on the charts, the airplay time and the rotation in Germany.

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garded the booklet version as binding (even if the singer deviated from the song lyrics). In the latter case, we made sure that the same text of one and the same song was found in at least two Internet song archives. We stored the songs as plain texts. In the plain texts, the original punctuation and also wrong or non-standard spellings were retained. Also, we kept repetitions of all the choruses in the files (if they were included in the song texts of the booklets and of the Internet archives respectively). We also marked line breaks as they appeared in the booklet and archive versions.[9] By way of exemplification, Table 1 provides the header file of the Coldplay album *A Rush of Blood to the Head*. Example (10) illustrates the way the corpus looks; it is the beginning of the song file 'Rus 02' with the song "In My Place" from the Coldplay album.

Table 1: The header file of the Coldplay album *A Rush of Blood to the Head*

Directory name	17 – A Rush Of Blood To The Head
Year of release	2002
Label(s)	Capitol
Artist	Coldplay
Song file name	**Song title (Artist name)**
RUS01	Politik
RUS02	In My Place
RUS03	God Put A Smile Upon Your Face
RUS04	The Scientist
RUS05	Clocks
RUS06	Daylight
RUS07	Green Eyes
RUS08	Warning Sign
RUS09	A Whisper
RUS10	A Rush Of Blood To The Head
RUS11	Amsterdam

(10) In my place, in my place <Z> Were lines that I couldn't change <Z> I was lost, oh yeah <Z> I was lost, I was lost <Z> Crossed lines I shouldn't have crossed <Z> I was lost, oh yeah <Z> Yeah, how long must you wait for him? <Z> Yeah, how long must you pay for him? <Z> Yeah, how long must you wait for him? <Z> I was scared, I was scared <Z> Tired and underprepared <Z> But I wait for you <Z> If you go, if you go <Z> Leaving me here on my own <Z> Well I wait for you <Z> Yeah, how long must you wait for him? <Z> Yeah, how long must you pay for him? <Z> Yeah, how long must you wait for him? <Z> Please, please, please <Z> Come on

[9] Line breaks are coded in the corpus as <Z> (for German *Zeilenumbruch*).

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and sing to me <Z> To me, me <Z> Come on and sing it out, out, out <Z> Come on and sing it now, now, now <Z> Come on and sing it <Z> In my place, in my place <Z> Were lines that I couldn't change <Z> I was lost, oh yeah <Z> Oh yeah

The GBoP pilot corpus is thus designed and formatted in such a way that it can be analysed by using *WordSmith Tools* (version 4.0.0.219; Scott 2005). In the following sections, we will present some of the findings of our pilot study. The findings vindicate that a corpus-linguistic approach to – and a corpus-based description of – pop song lyrics helps to shed new light on the style of this genre.

4. Analysing the GBoP pilot corpus

We will first discuss some deviant spellings that can be found in GBoP (section 4.1). Then we will delve into lexical and lexicogrammatical aspects of the language of pop song lyrics (section 4.2). Finally, we will discuss the concept of metaphorical superstructure and apply it to GBoP song lyrics (section 4.3).

4.1 Deviant spellings in GBoP

Use of deviant spelling in GBoP is quite frequent. In general, deviant spellings may be used as attention-seeking devices, thus foregrounding particular words in the text, as for example in some of Avril Lavigne's song lyrics:[10]

(11) He was a sk8er boi
He was a sk8er boi
She said see you later boi (GBoP Let 03)

Note that the non-standard forms <sk8er> and <boi> are pronounced like the standard spellings <skater> and <boy> respectively: they are medium-bound graphic deviations which are not correlated to changes in pronunciation (cf. Mukherjee 2000). Note also, by the way, that <later> is written in standard spelling so that the grapheme <8> is not used systematically but exclusively for foregrounding <sk8er>.[11]

Non-standard spellings may also be triggered by deviant pronunciations, especially when pop song lyrics are intended to represent a particular accent

[10] Of course, one could also argue that in a wider perspective deviant spellings indicate the juvenile rebellion against norms and standards – both in society and in language.

[11] Note also that <8> may also be viewed as an iconic reference to a skateboard.

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of English. Most conspicuous in this context are the spellings in Sean Paul's album *Dutty Rock*. Similar to Linton Kwesi Johnson (cf. above, section 2), Sean Paul sings with a thick *patois* accent. It is the deviation from General American English pronunciation (and sometimes grammar, of course) that is encoded in the lyrics of his songs. As pointed out by Mair (2003, 256), the use of Caribbean Creoles in Jamaican diaspora communities (also on the Internet) helps to create a specific group-identity, constituting "an additional ethnic 'we'-code" in in-group communication and "a semiotic resource used to perform ethnicity and to negotiate community boundaries" in communication with out-groups. The text passage in (12), taken from Sean Paul's song lyrics, provides a very good example:

(12) bwoy ce'cile, I see it clear yuh know, mi need ya yuh know
please!!! I got a man ok
yeah but mi neva hear yuh seh nuttin bout him, mi talk bout mi and you now
well he's there so I gotta let ya know yuh know
well let's go kick it then we can chill
anyway yuh caan do nuttin (GBoP Dut 12)

For example, the unconventional writing of *me neva hear yuh seh nuttin bout him* (line 3) creates a 'we'-code by reflecting the *patois* accent. Virtually all the deviant spellings in example (12) can thus be viewed as pronunciation-induced. It does not come as a surprise that many such deviances in spelling can be found in Sean Paul's song lyrics as we are dealing with a variety of English that is to a large extent structurally different from American English.

The more remarkable deviations are found in the lyrics of artists that come from an American English language background. Again, a number of deviations in spelling are induced by pronunciation. Most important in this respect are reduced forms of the second person pronoun YOU, which is often realised as *ya* (very rarely as *ya'* and *ye*) in GBoP.[12] On the whole, some 300 occurrences of such forms were found in the corpus. In comparison to the very high frequency of *you* in the corpus (more than 7,000 tokens), these numbers might seem small at first sight. Nevertheless, they contribute very strongly to a particular global stylistic feature of pop music lyrics. Although these alternative forms of YOU are most frequent in Hip-Hop and similar genres (13 to 15), they also occur in more mainstream albums (16 to 18):

(13) I keep on tellin' **ya** mayn I swear ain't nobody gon' find **ya** (GBoP Get 08)
(14) **Ya** won't believe in me, but you would fancy (GBoP Spe 04)
(15) Look at me now, I bet **ya'** probably sick of me now, ain't you mama (GBoP Emi 04)
(16) I wanna control **ya** (No) Just wanna hold **ya** (No) (GBoP Jus 10)
(17) Honey are **ya** lookin' for some trouble tonight (GBoP Che 07)

[12] Another frequent alternative to *you* is *yuh*. This however is restricted to the Jamaican-English songs in the corpus, i. e. songs by Sean Paul.

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(18) I'm there for **ya** (GBoP Thi 12)

Ya together with *yo* (or *yo'*) is also used as an alternative to *your*. This, however, seems to be restricted to the Hip-Hop genre (19 to 21):

(19) After we play, ok, got to **ya** husband (GBoP Get 11)
(20) **Yo'** girl was lookin at me (ohh!) (GBoP Now 02)
(21) Go get the burner nigga clap **yo**-self! (GBoP Nel 13)

Another, rather rare, variant of YOU, namely *cha*, is also found in the data. Again, orthography is used to mirror pronunciation, namely the assimilation of [j] to [ʃ] following word final [t]. Note that in these cases the word final [uː] will change to [ʌ]. An orthographic transcription of the resulting assimilated word [tʃʌ] is realised in the form *cha*. The assimilation is usually also indicated by contracting the preceding word and *cha*. Tokens where word and *cha* are separated by a single quote or a blank are rare:

(22) And they don't really know **whatcha** feel like (GBoP Dan 12)
(23) You're in a hurry SLOW DOWN and I might **letcha** touch it (GBoP Nel 06)
(24) **Whatcha** mean? (GBoP Spe 24)
(25) I'm gonna **getcha**, **don'tcha** worry 'bout that (GBoP Up! 02)
(26) I **eatcha** for breakfast, (GBoP Get 09)
(27) Don't **wantcha** for the weekend don't **wantcha** for a night (GBoP Up! 02)
(28) Chill out **what cha** yelling' for? (GBoP Let 02)
(29) Them gaters gon **bite cha** (GBoP Spe 39)

As another example of pronunciation-induced spelling deviations, let us consider one phenomenon that has been analysed by various researchers in the field of grammaticalisation: *I am going to* (cf. e. g. Krug 2000). One of the basic assumptions that underlies much work in current grammaticalisation theory is that highly frequent forms and strings of forms will through the course of time gain the status of unanalysable units (cf. e. g. Bybee 1985; Krug 1998). This change in status is often accompanied by a reduction of phonic substance and by coalescence of previously separated forms. A very famous example is the reduction of *going to* to *gonna* and thus the change from *I'm going to* to *I'm gonna* and even *I'ma* (see, for instance, Hopper 1996, 224). The data in GBoP show an interesting variety of forms, ranging from the full form *I'm going to* to different variations of *I'ma*:

(30) Flip the scrip Cause **I'm going to** slice the righteous (Coc 11)
(31) **I'm gonna** buy this place and start a fire (Rus 10)
(32) Tonight **I'm gonna** take you in dead or alive (Che 7)
(33) **I'ma** step on you and not even know it (Emi 17)
(34) **I'mma** keep on (keep on) singin' my song (Str 20)
(35) **imma** tell you wat Banks told me (Get 04)

Interestingly, example (30) is the only occurrence of the full form in the corpus. *I'm gonna* is most frequent with 107 tokens, but the three variants of *I'ma* sum up to a surprising 46 occurrences. The vast majority of these, i. e.

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41 cases, occur in the Hip-Hop genre, which of course is dominated by African Americans. Note, however, that the white Rapper Eminem also uses these forms. In addition, the remaining five cases occur in the chorus of a song by Christina Aguilera, a female white singer. The GBoP data thus seem to shed light on an area of on-going language change which also shows in pop song lyrics.

As a last example of spelling deviations, we will now turn to the use of the form *nigga* instead of *nigger* in American Hip-Hop. On the whole, there are 168 singular and 96 plural forms in the corpus. Interestingly, no instance of *nigger* is testified. This might be due to the particular attitude that African American Hip-Hoppers have towards this term. While *nigger* reminds of slavery and suppression, the term *nigga* (which indicates the tendency in African Americans to avoid rhoticity) rather seems to express an attitude of pride and self-confidence, at least among some Hip-Hoppers and Rappers; the term is sometimes used as "a badge of honor" (Quinn 2004, 34). As the late Tupac Shakur, a well-known Rapper, points out in an interview: "Niggers was the ones on the rope, hanging off the thing; Niggas is the ones with gold ropes, hanging out at clubs."[13] Some examples of *nigga* from the GBoP corpus are given below:

(36) For the **niggas** on lock, doing life behind bars (GBoP Get 03)
(37) Did you ever think that you would be the **nigga** on the block (GBoP Spe 34)
(38) There aint no way Ill let no **nigga** step in my shine (GBoP Nel 18)

The use of this spelling variant is a consistent feature of Hip-Hop lyrics. It seems to be part of the identity of at least some Hip-Hoppers and Rappers and reflects their wish to demarcate themselves from white people and artists. This effect is enhanced through the use of the conspicuous plural form *niggaz* instead of *niggas*. Both occur with almost identical frequencies in the corpus; however, it is important to note that the orthographic transcription of plural *-s* as *-z* is not a consistent feature of the Hip-Hop genre in GBoP: in fact, the use of *-z* as plural marker seems to be restricted to the form *nigga*. Plurals of other singular words ending in *-er* are always written in the conventional spelling apart from one occurrence of *gangstaz*.[14]

[13] Lazin, Lauren (2003): *Tupac: Resurrection*. Paramount; see also *Wikipedia* 2007, s. v. *Nigger* (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigger#Nigga>).

[14] The form *gangsta* and its related forms also seem to contribute to the identity of some Rappers, hence the term 'Gangsta Rapper'. Note, however, that in contrast to *nigga* we also find *gangster*; in addition, the plural form *gangsters* is more frequent than *gangstaz*.

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4.2 Lexical and lexico-grammatical aspects

While the previous section has dealt with deviant spellings and, thus, marked features of style in pop music, we will now turn to elements of lexis and lexicogrammar that in themselves are not marked but show a conspicuous distribution in GBoP and thus contribute to the style of pop song lyrics. In particular, we will first discuss word frequencies in GBoP and in the British component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB). We have already pointed out that pop song lyrics are a special case of written-to-be-spoken texts. With regard to text production, they are much more written than spoken: they are not spontaneous but permit the same amount of revision and editing as other written material. On the other hand, lyrics are meant to be sung and thus the writer has in most cases to consider metre and rhyme, i. e. aspects of spoken language. In addition, as has been shown in 4.1, orthography is often used to mirror pronunciation. To show the peculiarities of pop song lyrics it therefore seems reasonable to compare the GBoP data with spoken as well as written material. In our view, ICE-GB provides a very suitable reference corpus, as it includes a representative sample of *c.* 600,000 words from spoken English and 400,000 words from written English.[15]

A comparison of GBoP and the spoken and written component of ICE-GB (henceforth ICE-GB-sp and ICE-GB-wr, respectively) yields interesting results as to the status of pop song lyrics with regard to 'spokenness' vs. 'writtenness'. In general, the lyrics in GBoP show more characteristics of speech than ICE-GB-sp: the average word length in ICE-GB-sp is 4.16, which is lower than in ICE-GB-wr (4.67). The average word length in GBoP is lower than both, namely 4.02. Also, GBoP shows an extremely high number of the personal pronouns *you* and *I*, which again is higher than the respective numbers in ICE-GB-sp: the relative frequency of *you* is 3.87 % in GBoP and only 1.92 % in ICE-GB-sp (see Table 2). Similarly, *I* is more frequent in GBoP, i. e. 3.78 % as opposed to 2.59 %. Note that these frequencies would be higher still if contracted forms like *you're* or *I'm* and alternative spellings were counted.[16] Note also that the possessive determiners *my* and *your* rank very high on the frequency list in GBoP (ranks 9 and 12 respectively) but are not among the 50 most frequent word forms in ICE-GB-sp (*my* occurs on rank 62, *your* on rank 86).

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[15] We are aware of the fact that ICE-USA would have been even more suitable; unfortunately, ICE-USA was not available at the time of writing this paper (Charles Meyer, personal communication).

[16] Contractions are not separated in GBoP but in ICE-GB.

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Table 2: The 23 most frequent word-forms in GBoP and the written and spoken components of ICE-GB

N	GBoP			ICE-GB-sp			ICE-GB-wr		
	Word	Freq.	%	Word	Freq.	%	Word	Freq.	%
1	**YOU**	6.818	3.87	THE	39.547	4.99	THE	43.251	6.66
2	**I**	6.662	3.78	**I**	20.580	2.59	OF	21.728	3.35
3	THE	5.607	3.18	AND	20.508	2.59	TO	16.187	2.49
4	TO	3.912	2.22	TO	18.838	2.38	AND	15.326	2.36
5	AND	3.863	2.19	OF	18.557	2.34	A	14.353	2.21
6	ME	3.745	2.12	A	16.313	2.06	IN	13.004	2.00
7	A	3.542	2.01	THAT	15.719	1.98	IS	8.401	1.29
8	IT	2.514	1.43	IT	15.607	1.97	THAT	6.677	1.03
9	**MY**	2.214	1.26	**YOU**	15.196	1.92	IT	6.266	0.96
10	IN	2.002	1.14	S	13.896	1.75	FOR	5.780	0.89
11	THAT	1.806	1.02	IN	13.097	1.65	**I**	4.964	0.76
12	**YOUR**	1.592	0.90	IS	8.859	1.12	WAS	4.948	0.76
13	I'M	1.568	0.89	UH	8.366	1.05	AS	4.782	0.74
14	ON	1.502	0.85	UHM	6.626	0.84	LSQUO	4.613	0.71
15	OF	1.439	0.82	WAS	5.838	0.74	S	4.535	0.70
16	ALL	1.304	0.74	ON	5.452	0.69	RSQUO	4.450	0.69
17	FOR	1.212	0.69	FOR	5.101	0.64	BE	4.449	0.68
18	SO	1.206	0.68	THERE	4.961	0.63	WITH	4.154	0.64
19	BE	1.196	0.68	THIS	4.952	0.62	AT	4.116	0.63
20	**LOVE**	1.142	0.65	BUT	4.932	0.62	ON	4.105	0.63
21	LIKE	1.117	0.63	WE	4.889	0.62	ARE	3.672	0.57
22	WE	1.082	0.61	HE	4.823	0.61	BY	3.519	0.54
23	DON'T	1.078	0.61	BE	4.778	0.60	**YOU**	3.457	0.53

While the data in Table 2 illustrate some spoken features of the pop song lyrics in GBoP, other features render the language of GBoP more written-like. For instance, GBoP has a much higher type-token ratio than ICE-GB-sp (38.44 as opposed to 35.85) and in this respect resembles the written part of ICE-GB (with a type-token ratio of 38.68).[17] Another example of the writ-

[17] We here make use of the standardised type-token ratio which is the aggregate of all type-token ratios of all successive 1,000 word segments of a particular text (cf. the on-line manual to *WordSmith* <http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version4/html/index.html>).

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tenness of GBoP is given in the use of *you know* as a discourse marker in the three corpora. *You know* is extremely frequent in ICE-GB-sp: 1,356 tokens, of which 1,132 are used as discourse markers, i. e. 19 occurrences in 10,000 words. In GBoP the frequencies are considerably lower: 298 instances of *you know* were found in the corpus. Of these only approximately 20 %,[18] i. e. 60 tokens, occur in discourse marker function, i. e. 3 tokens in 10,000 words. *You know* as a discourse marker is extremely rare in ICE-GB-wr. Only 3 in a total of 47 instances (less than 1 token in 100,000 words) were found, all originating from the creative writing section of the corpus. These numbers are not surprising given the fact that *you know* in spontaneous speech is often used by speakers to keep the ground while they are planning an utterance, i. e. as a filler (cf. Müller 2004). This important function of the discourse marker in on-line speech production is not relevant to pop song lyrics as they resemble written texts with regard to the clearly off-line text production (leaving aside attempts to simulate a natural dialogue). *You know* as a discourse marker is also used with regard to information management in discourse. Fuller (2003, 188), for instance, claims that *you know* (or *y'know*) "can be used to present unknown information which the speaker wishes to have accepted by the hearer [. . . or] to frame information that follows from the speaker's previous comments." The first function is attested frequently in the GBoP. In these cases, the speaker/singer seems to directly address the listener, as in the examples below:

(39) I'm more like a pimp, then a trick, **you know** (GBoP Get 16)
(40) I've learned a lot **you know** I grow each passing day (GBoP Coc 05)

So far, we have considered the frequency of words and fixed phrases in our study of the contribution of unmarked elements to stylistic effects. We would like to turn now to lexicogrammatical aspects of the style of pop song lyrics. As an example, we will consider the patterns of the most frequent content word in GBoP, namely *love*. Forms of *love*, both as a verb and as a noun, occur 1,293 times in the corpus, with noun and verb forms in roughly equal proportions. The following analysis is based on a sample of 100 instances of the verb *love* and its inflected forms[19] and 106 tokens of LOVE_{VB} in ICE-GB.[20] Let us first take a look at how the subject and the object

[18] This estimate is based on an analysis of the first 100 instances of *you know* that were produced by the WordList tool in *WordSmith*; in this subset 19 cases were found.

[19] Forms with deviant spellings have not been considered in this table since they are rather rare; only two different tokens (*luv* and *luvin'*) have been identified.

[20] Note that quite a large number of tokens in GBoP are actually repetitions, as for example in Outkast's *The way you move*: "I love the waaaay you move / I love the way, I love the way. / I love the waaaay you move / I love the waaaay you move (Whoo-o-o!) / I love the waaaay you move / I love the way, I love the way" (GBoP Spe 25). In cases like these, repeated material was counted only once.

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position are realised in the two corpora. We distinguish between subjects realised as *I*, *you* or other and objects realised as *me*, *you*, NP (other than personal pronouns) and a complementation by *to* + VERB. Table 3 presents the quantitative findings.

Table 3: Absolute and relative frequencies of complementation types in GBoP and ICE-GB

	GBoP (N = 100)		ICE-GB (N = 106)	
	Abs. freq.	**Rel. freq.**	**Abs. freq.**	**Rel. freq.**
Subject: *I*	47	47 %	50	47 %
Subject: *you*	19	19 %	8	8 %
Object: *you*	37	37 %	9	8 %
(. . .) I (. . .) love you	30	30 %	5	5 %
Object: *me*	25	25 %	2	2 %
Object: NP	16	16 %	36	34 %
Love to VERB	2	2 %	21	20 %
I 'd/would love to	0	0 %	14	13 %
Love *GERUND*	0	0 %	3	3 %

For both ICE-GB and GBoP, *I* is the most frequent subject, making up 47 % of all cases in both corpora. In contrast, *you* as subject is rather rare in ICE-GB whereas it is quite frequent in GBoP (8 % as opposed to 19 %). An even more pronounced discrepancy is seen with regard to object *you*: this is highly frequent in the latter, i. e. 37 of 100 cases (37 %), but fairly rare in the former, where 9 tokens were found (8 %). Interestingly, most of the instances of *you* as object in GBoP occur together with subject *I*, leading to a high proportion of the string *(. . .) I (. . .) love you* in GBoP. Most frequent among these is the uninterrupted string (23 out of 30 cases; 77 %). However, there may be intervening elements between *I* and *love you*, see examples (41) to (43).

(41) Maybe **I**'ll **love you** one day (GBoP Emi 13)
(42) **I**'d never **love you** enough to trust you(GBoP Emi 13)
(43) **I** don't **love you** anymore (GBoP Fal 03)

However, the string *I love you* not only occurs as 'direct speech' but is often integrated into larger patterns, such as *I think* X (44), *You know* X (45), or SUBJECT COPULA X (46):

(44) I think **I love you** baby (GBoP Emi 13)
(45) You know **I love you** (GBoP Coc 07)
(46) all I wanted to say was **I love you** (GBoP Fal 10)

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In contrast to GBoP, the frequency of the string *(. . .) I (. . .) love you* is very low in ICE-GB, only 5 out of 106 (5 %). On the basis of this small number it does not make much sense to discuss the differences between the two corpora with regard to variations of the string. However, the fact that this string is so rare in ICE-GB seems to be significant: firstly, it reveals clear and identifiable differences in the complementation potential of the verb LOVE between general language use and pop song lyrics; secondly, the string seems to be a central metaphorical vehicle in pop music (cf. below, section 4.3).

Huge differences between the two corpora can also be found in the use of *me* as the direct object of *love*. While ICE-GB shows a negligible two cases (2 %), *me* as object is fairly frequent in GBoP (25 instances; 25 %). The majority of these, namely 17 tokens, either occur with *you* as subject (47, 48) or involve an addressee in some other way: either in an imperative clause (49) or as an object clause within a clause with subject *you* (50).

(47) **You** didn't **love me** enough (GBoP Jus 13)
(48) Will **you** still **love me** wherever we fall (GBoP Che 16)
(49) Hold me when I'm scared And **love me** when I'm gone (GBoP Awa 13)
(50) **You** don't know how to **love me** (GBoP Dut 10)

Findings like these are perhaps not unexpected if we take into account that love between two people is one of the standard topics of popular music. Other discrepancies between the two corpora are more surprising. Objects realised as NPs (other than personal pronouns) are relatively rare in GBoP (16 of 100 cases; 16 %) but fairly frequent with ICE-GB (36 of 106 cases; 34 %). More remarkable still is the relatively high frequency of the pattern '*love to* VERB' in ICE-GB (21 of 106 cases; 20 %) as opposed to a meagre two occurrences (2 of 100 cases; 2 %) of this pattern in the GBoP sample:

(51) **I love to pump** crack (GBoP Get 08)
(52) **I love to hit** the block (GBoP Get 08)

Furthermore, a related pattern of '*love to* VERB' is the – semantically different – pattern '*I'd/would love to* VERB', which occurs in 14 of 106 cases (13 %) in the ICE-GB data but is absent in GBoP.

(53) **I'd love to see** the other five (ICE-GB s1a-013:020)
(54) **I'd** really **love to tape** it from you if you if you didn't mind (ICE-GB s1a-042:129)
(55) **I would love to hear** from you (ICE-GB w1b-008:138)

As the examples show, we are here dealing with a classic case of routine formula, the complete absence of which in GBoP is noteworthy.

The pattern 'LOVE + gerund' is rare in both corpora, with no instances in GBoP and only three occurrences in ICE-GB.

The differences in using the verb LOVE between GBoP and ICE-GB can be summarised and visualised by sketching out usage-based models of the verb LOVE for the two corpora. The term 'usage-based model' has been coined by

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Langacker (1987; 1999; 2000) to capture a model of language cognition in which not only rules but also instantiating expressions are included. Capitalising on Langacker's conceptions, Mukherjee (2005, 221 ff.) specifies four central principles of a usage-based model: it should be (1) a real-data model, (2) a frequency-oriented model, (3) a lexicogrammatical model, and (4) a core-periphery model. Principles (2) and (4) can be viewed as largely complementary as they result in a model in which frequent and routinised forms figure prominently but in which less frequent and innovative forms are also included (if attested). Figure 2 sketches out lexical networks for LOVE_{VB} in GBoP and ICE-GB which visualise the different trends in complementation. Note that the thickness of the arrows and the boxes indicates the frequency of the form at hand. Note also that in some cases specific structures seem to be co-selected by the verb LOVE and another element, e. g. the co-selection of the object *you* by the verb LOVE and the subject *I* in GBoP.

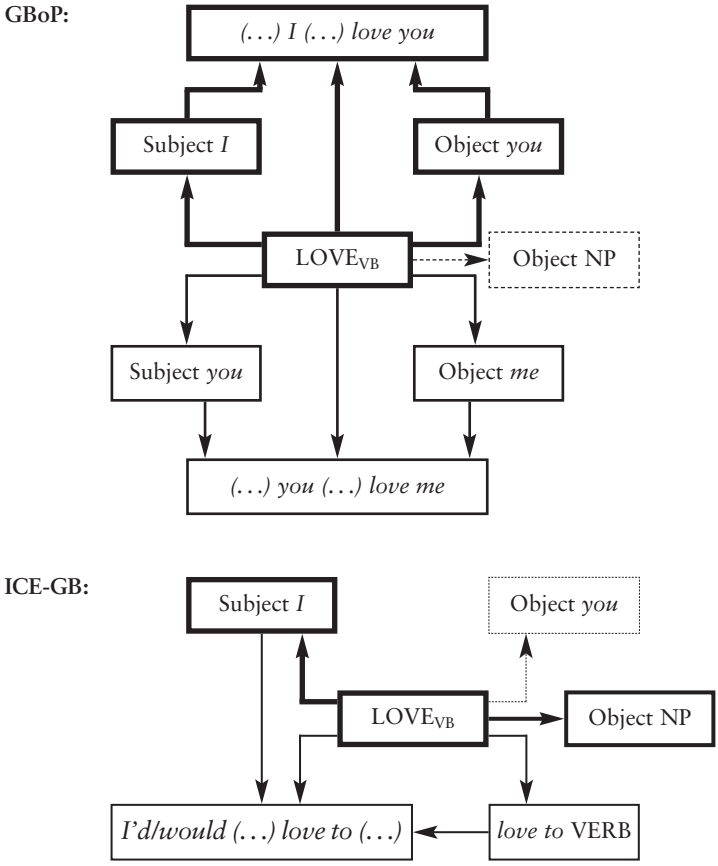


Figure 2: A usage-based model of LOVE_{VB} in GBoP and ICE-GB

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4.3 Metaphors

In section 2, we have already discussed the use of metaphors in one song-text. We will now turn to the question as to whether particular metaphors are recurrent in different texts and may thus serve as a *leitmotif* for particular types of songs. A very illustrative example is the noun HEART and its associated metaphors, all of which stand for feelings. *Heart* and its inflected forms are one of the most frequent words in GBoP, with 217 tokens in 176,000 words. If we leave out repeated lines, a total of 136 different occurrences of HEART can be found in GBoP. In the following, we will provide an overview of the metaphors that are associated with HEART.

A HEART IS A VULNERABLE ENTITY: A heart can be broken, stabbed, tortured or bruised. Consider examples (56) to (58):

(56) You broke my mother's heart (GBoP You 13)
(57) My heart may never mend (GBoP Jus 13)
(58) my heart has been bruised (GBoP Str 03)

A HEART IS AN ENTITY THAT CAN BE POSSESSED BY OTHERS: A heart sometimes is treated as something which can be owned by a person, either because it has been conquered, stolen or given away, cf. examples (59) to (61).

(59) Now a team of wild horses couldn't drag your heart away (GBoP Che 07)
(60) The thief who stole my heart from me I couldn't let escape (GBoP Chi 19)
(61) She said I gave my heart too soon (GBoP Str 06)

A HEART IS A HUMAN BEING: Some tokens show a heart to be human; in GBoP hearts are smiling, trembling, crying and sad, cf. examples (62) to (64).

(62) My heart smiles (GBoP Dan 08)
(63) My heart starts trembling (GBoP Dan 10)
(64) Made your heart sad an' blue (GBoP Com 03)

A HEART IS A LOCATION/A VESSEL: Quite often a heart is likened to a location, which people can get to or enter into, that can be opened or closed or a vessel, which may hold something or out of which something may be torn, cf. examples (65) to (67).

(65) I've been trying to get to your heart (GBoP Che 17)
(66) Enough hearts to find some love inside (GBoP Che 9)
(67) Nobody, nowhere holds the key to your heart (GBoP Che 34)

A HEART IS A BLOCK OF ICE/A PIECE OF ROCK: More rarely, invulnerability or lack of feeling is emphasised by likening hearts to ice or stone, cf. examples (68) and (69).

(68) And melt your cold cold heart (GBoP Com 03)
(69) Mercy, mercy wish your heart was a heart of stone (GBoP Che 21)

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It is important to note that 60 % of all of the 136 tokens named above belong to one of the five groups. This indicates the extreme importance of the role metaphors play in the genre of pop song lyrics. Note also that we are not dealing with idiosyncrasies of a particular artist nor even of a particular subgenre. Rather, all aforementioned HEART metaphors represent excessively used clichés (and are thus easily accessible to even the most casual listener).

Let us now turn to metaphorical superstructure with regard to pop songs. The idea of superstructure as developed by van Dijk (1980) is closely connected to the psycholinguistic notion of a schema, i. e. a particular way of organising knowledge within the brain. As soon as a particular schema is activated, the interpretation of new information is guided by a certain set of expectancies. Take van Dijk's (1980) narrative superstructure as an example, cf. Figure 3: as soon as the reader of a story realises that the text in front of him or her is a narrative, he or she will expect a series of events that all consist of a complication and a resolution of this complication. The reader may be expecting a particular setting that is relevant to the series of events and so on. The reading process and the interpretation of the text will be guided by the schema 'superstructure of a narrative text', in particular by the expectancies that are raised by the fact that the text is a piece of narrative. Note, however, that not all of these expectancies need to be fulfilled, i. e. not every narrative will have to be in line with the prototypical narrative superstructure as depicted in Figure 3.

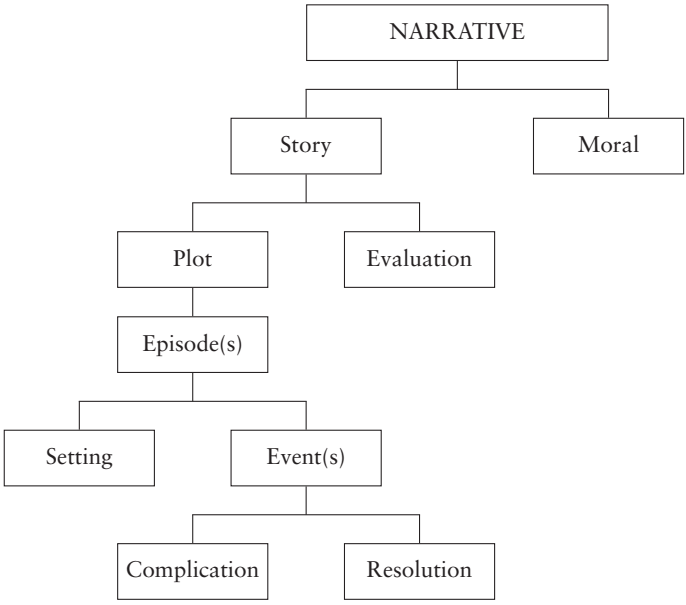


Figure 3: The narrative superstructure (Esser 1993, 49)

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Pop song lyrics, too, may be described in terms of metaphorical superstructures. One main metaphor (or *leitmotif*) may govern the whole text, and this main metaphor will give rise to minor metaphors that may be used to express particular aspects of the *leitmotif*. One *leitmotif* found in the lyrics in GBoP can be expressed in the main metaphor LOVE IS AN UNPLEASANT THING. This main metaphor may be further developed in a number of sub-metaphors that specify in what way love is unpleasant, for instance LOVE IS SOMETHING THAT HURTS YOUR BODY or LOVE IS SOMETHING THAT HURTS YOUR SOUL. These again may be made more concrete by further sub-metaphors that refer to various ways in which love hurts your body (LOVE IS A SWORD, LOVE IS AN OPPONENT IN A FIGHT, LOVE IS A FIRE THAT BURNS YOU), and your soul (LOVE IS A LIE, LOVE IS A FICKLE THING or LOVE IS A CLOUD (taking away the sunshine and thereby making you sad)). Associated with these metaphors about love are metaphors about the body or soul of the person entangled in love. Examples are HEART metaphors which may either concentrate on the vulnerability and woundedness of the heart (A HEART IS A SAD PERSON, A HEART IS A WOUNDED BEING) or on the toughness and impenetrability of the heart (A HEART IS A PIECE OF ROCK, A HEART IS A BLOCK OF ICE). Figure 4 shows how this set of interrelated metaphors can be described in terms of a metaphorical superstructure similar to van Dijk's textual superstructures:

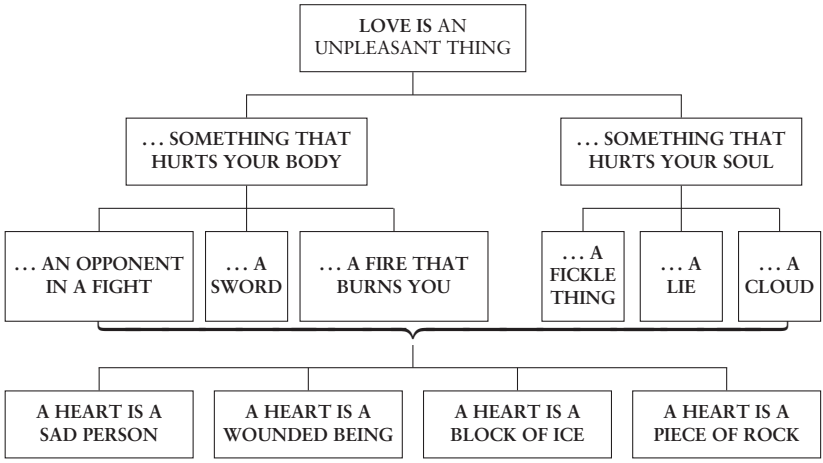


Figure 4: The metaphorical superstructure LOVE IS AN UNPLEASANT THING

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For example, in Cher's song *Heart of Stone* (CHE 21),[21] the artist tells the listener at the beginning of the song that "love's wings are broken all too soon". In the following lines large portions of the vocabulary centre around terms connected to pain and sorrow (*hurt*, *pain*, *sorrow*, *tears*). This evokes the metaphors LOVE IS SOMETHING THAT HURTS YOUR BODY and LOVE IS SOMETHING THAT HURTS YOUR SOUL. The first of these is specified in terms of the submetaphor LOVE IS AN OPPONENT IN A FIGHT, evoked by the lines *ten rounds in the ring with love* and *knocked out of the ring by love*. The experiences described make the reader wish for a heart that is invulnerable, thereby evoking the A HEART IS A STONE metaphor: *Don't you sometimes wish your heart was a heart of stone*, *with a heart of stone you'll be well protected*, etc.

Another song by Cher, *Love hurts* (CHE 35),[22] basically is a mere sequence and repetition of some of the metaphors discussed above. The first two lines *love hurts, love scars / love wounds and mars* very drastically evoke the main metaphor LOVE IS AN UNPLEASANT THING. The two sub-metaphors given in Figure 4 are not made explicit but are activated by lines that evoke their respective sub-metaphors, namely *love is like a stove / it burns you when it's hot*, *love is just a lie and it's / made to make you blue*, and *love is like a cloud / and it holds a lot of rain*. Again, the lyrics can to some extent be characterised with regard to the metaphorical superstructure given in Figure 4.

We understand the metaphorical superstructure LOVE IS AN UNPLEASANT THING as a first attempt to get a grip on the use of one specific group of metaphors in pop song lyrics. As this is a pilot study, the findings discussed above are of course provisional and need to be refined and supplemented by the analysis of more material from the pilot version of GBoP and by additional material that will be included in the complete corpus. Nevertheless, the results presented here are promising and show the applicability of the concept of metaphorical superstructure to a corpus of pop song lyrics. In addition to giving insights into the way lyrics are structured and (meant to) 'work' at the listener's end, this concept can also help us to get a more thorough understanding of the stereotypicality that is often associated with pop songs and their metaphors: a pop song that intuitively is felt to be highly clichéd might turn out to be very much in line with a particular metaphorical superstructure (e.g. by making excessive use of HEART metaphors), thus easily fulfilling all of the listener's expectancies. On the other hand, lyrics that are felt to be non-cliché-like and innovative might combine metaphors that belong to different metaphorical superstructures.

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[21] See Appendix 2 for the complete lyrics.
[22] See Appendix 3 for the complete lyrics.

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5. Concluding remarks

In this study we have presented some preliminary results of a corpus-linguistic analysis of a pilot version of the Giessen-Bonn Corpus of Popular Music (GBoP). The results discussed in this paper have given an overview of the style of pop music on several distinct levels of linguistic description, namely the graphemic level, the level of lexis and the level of syntax. In addition, the study provides an analysis of the use of metaphors in pop song lyrics. On the whole, it has been shown to what extent the pilot version of GBoP opens up new perspectives for the linguistic analysis of the language of pop song lyrics.

Although it will be necessary to include many more pop song lyrics in GBoP, the present study of the pilot version of GBoP has already demonstrated in our view the enormous analytic potential of corpus-linguistic research into the genre of pop song lyrics. It has been shown how corpus-linguistic techniques provide interesting and sometimes surprising insights into song lyrics. It is important to note, however, that some of the most common analytical tools have not yet been fully exploited: the potential of frequency lists, for instance, has by far not been exhausted in this study. Future research will have to provide a comparison of the vocabulary used in pop music texts and other, less specialised corpora. The same holds true for the area of verb complementation, which in the present study has only been examined with regard to LOVE_{VB}.

Note also that the tool of collocational analysis has been ignored completely in the present paper. Collocational analysis of pop song lyrics will prove useful not only for the lexicogrammatical description, but also for the description of metaphors in the language of pop song lyrics. Specifically, the combination of our concept of metaphorical superstructure and of collocations might lead to a more objective identification of metaphors: a collocation analysis of a particular keyword (for instance LOVE) should show among its collocates a large number of words that originate from the source domain of the metaphor that is being used. A collocational analysis of LOVE, for instance, should result in collocates like SWORD, BLADE, CUT, and so on if the metaphor LOVE IS A SWORD is frequent in the corpus. This would then also provide evidence for the superordinate metaphors given in the metaphorical superstructure, for instance LOVE IS SOMETHING THAT HURTS YOU PHYSICALLY. In this way, collocational analysis might be used as a convenient tool to identify the core metaphors employed in pop song lyrics.

In addition to providing valuable information on grammar and lexis, the full exploitation of corpus-linguistic tools will also shed light on the linguistic substance of clichés in pop song lyrics. One aspect has already been discussed in this study, namely the complementation patterns of LOVE_{VB} in GBoP and ICE-GB, and another has been hinted at, namely the use of

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metaphorical superstructures. Further insights will be gained through an in-depth analysis of other complementation patterns, other lexicogrammatical routines, collocations and a more thorough analysis of metaphors in the corpus.

Pop songs, however, are not only stereotypical but also show a certain amount of innovation. Many illustrations of this point were given in the deviant spellings that we have discussed. Sometimes these deviations are extended from their normal range of application. We have shown, for instance, that <a> is often used as an alternative to <ou> in <you> or <er> in <nigger> or <gangster>. In example (70) an innovative use of <a> is illustrated: <a> here replaces <ow> in *tomorra*. Note the conspicuous sequence of <o> and <a> in this example – a nice illustration of the poetic function of language in Jakobson's (1960) sense.

(70) **So sayonara,** try **tomorra,** nice **to** know **ya.** (GBoP Emi 14)

Future research will have to identify further innovations on other levels of linguistic description. In the light of the findings of the present pilot study, there is every reason to hope that the complete GBoP corpus will turn out to be an extremely useful resource for linguistic research into the language of pop song lyrics, a hitherto widely neglected genre.

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Appendix 1

Albums included in the GBoP pilot corpus (selection based on the most-selling albums from the US Album Charts 2003):

No.	Title	Code	Artist(s)
01	Get rich or die tryin'	Get	50 Cent
02	Come away with me	Com	Norah Jones
03	Up!	Up!	Shania Twain
04	Home	Hom	Dixie Chicks
05	Let go	Let	Avril Lavigne
06	Meteora	Met	Linkin Park
08	Fallen	Fal	Evanescence
09	Tim McGraw and the Dancehall Doctors	Tim	Tim McGraw
10	Stripped	Str	Christina Aguilera
11	Justified	Jus	Justin Timberlake
12	This is me … then	Thi	Jennifer Lopez
13	Chocolate Factory	Cho	R. Kelly
14	The Eminem Show	Emi	Eminem
15	Now 11	Now	Various Artists
16	Cocky	Coc	Kid Rock
17	A rush of blood to the head	Rus	Coldplay
18	The young and the hopeless	You	Good Charlotte
19	Dangerously in love	Dan	Beyonce
20	Unleashed	Unl	Toby Keith
21	Dutty Rock	Dut	Sean Paul
22	Away from the sun	Awa	3 Doors Down
23	Audioslave	Aud	Audioslave
24	Nellyville	Nel	Nelly
25	Chicago Soundtrack	Chi	Various Artists
27	More than you think you are	Mor	matchbox twenty
28	The very best of Cher	Che	Cher
29	Speakerboxxx/The love below	Spe	OutKast

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Appendix 2

Cher: *Heart of Stone* (Che 21)

Beneath the white fire of the moon <Z> Love's wings are broken all too soon <Z> We never learn <Z> Hurt together, hurt alone <Z> Don't you sometimes wish <Z> Your heart was a heart of stone <Z> We turn the wheel and break the chain <Z> Put steel to steel and laugh at pain <Z> We're dreamers in castles made of sand <Z> The road to Eden's overgrown <Z> Don't you sometimes wish <Z> Your heart was made of stone <Z> Look at the headlines <Z> Big crowd at the crazy house <Z> Long queue for the joker's shoes <Z> Ten rounds in the ring with love <Z> Do you lose and win <Z> Or win and lose <Z> Sweet rain like mercy in the night <Z> (Lay me down, wash away the sorrow) <Z> Caress my soul and set it right <Z> (Lay me down, show me your tomorrow) <Z> Summer tears, winter and the moment's flown <Z> Don't you sometimes wish your heart was made of stone <Z> Mercy, mercy wish your heart <Z> Was a heart of stone <Z> Get the picture <Z> No room for the innocent <Z> Peak season in lonely town <Z> Knocked out of the ring by love <Z> Are you down and up Or up and down <Z> I ask the river for a sign <Z> (In a dream we go on together) <Z> How long is love supposed to shine <Z> (In a dream diamonds are forever) <Z> But you and I, hurt together, hurt alone <Z> Don't you sometimes wish <Z> Your heart was a heart of stone <Z> Mercy, mercy wish your heart was a heart of stone <Z> (With a heart of stone, you'll be well protected) <Z> Don't you sometimes wish your heart was made of stone <Z> (With a heart of stone, you'll be well connected) <Z> Mercy, mercy wish your heart was a heart of stone <Z> (With a heart of stone, you'll be well protected) <Z> Don't you sometimes wish your heart was made of stone <Z> (With a heart of stone, you'll be well connected)

Appendix 3

Cher: *Love hurts* (Che 35)

Love hurts, love scars <Z> Love wounds and mars <Z> Any heart not tough <Z> Or strong enough <Z> Take a lot of pain <Z> Take a lot of pain <Z> Love is like a cloud <Z> And it holds a lot of rain <Z> Love hurts, (oh), love hurts <Z> You're young, I know <Z> Baby, what's so <Z> I know a thing or two <Z> Oh honey, I learned from you <Z> I really learned a lot <Z> I really learned a lot <Z> Love is like a stove <Z> It burns you when it's hot <Z> Love hurts, (oh), love hurts <Z> Some fools rave, of happiness <Z> Of blissfulness, togetherness <Z> Oh, some fools, <Z> They fool themselves, I guess <Z> They're not fooling me <Z> And I know it isn't true <Z> God, I know it isn't true <Z> Love is just a lie and it's <Z> Made to make you blue <Z> Love hurts, (oh) love hurts <Z> (oh), love hurts <Z> And I know it isn't true <Z> Oh, I know it isn't true <Z> Love is just a lie and it's <Z> Made to make you blue <Z> Cause love hurts <Z> Early in the morning you hurt, <Z> Love hurts, (oh), love hurts

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